

2015-09-24

# Gender, Class and Food: Families, Bodies and Health

Parsons, Julie Milroy

<http://hdl.handle.net/10026.1/8535>

---

10.1057/9781137476418

Palgrave Macmillan

---

*All content in PEARL is protected by copyright law. Author manuscripts are made available in accordance with publisher policies. Please cite only the published version using the details provided on the item record or document. In the absence of an open licence (e.g. Creative Commons), permissions for further reuse of content should be sought from the publisher or author.*



PROOF

# 1 Introduction

In a twenty first century neo-liberal era, *everyday foodways* are a powerful means of drawing boundaries between social groups, distinguishing the 'self' from the 'other', defining who we are and where we belong. Throughout this book I draw upon data and analysis of 75 auto/biographical food narratives that formed the basis of my doctoral study: 'Ourfoodstories@e-mail.com; an auto/biographical study of relationships with food'. My research leads me to argue that everyday foodways enable individuals to present themselves as responsible neo-liberal citizens, so that eating healthily for example demonstrates an engagement with public and medical discourses that positions the self as responsible for her or his own health and well-being (responsible individualism). In this book, I emphasise the power of everyday foodways in maintaining and reinforcing social divisions along the lines of gender and class. Indeed, everyday foodways have become a potent means of 'doing gender' (West and Zimmerman 1987) and performing a middle class habitus (Bourdieu 1984).

Throughout, I use the term foodways. This usually refers to the production and distribution of food at a macro level; it is also used in anthropology when exploring food cultures or shared common beliefs, behaviours and practices relating to the production and consumption of food (Counihan 1999). Here I also consider foodways at a micro level, to reflect the multiplicity of ways of 'doing' food that incorporates all aspects of everyday food practices, from acquiring food, growing it, or shopping for it, preparing, cooking, sharing and eating (in/outside the domestic sphere), to the consumption of



2 *Gender, Class and Food*

1 food media. This incorporates the notion of foodways as an essential  
 2 aspect of an individual's cultural habitus (Bourdieu 1984), which  
 3 is cultivated and inculcated over time. Indeed, foodways are narra-  
 4 tives of relational affectation, or how we learn to know food, with  
 5 our food preferences embedded, produced and maintained through  
 6 the practice of doing 'tastes', over and over again (Carolan 2011: 6).  
 7 Thus, foodways are 'affective practices' (Wetherell 2012: 96), because  
 8 they are ongoing emotional, socially constructed, embodied, situated  
 9 performances infused with sedimented social and personal history.  
 10 This sedimentation is like lime scale fixing itself to the inside a kettle,  
 11 it becomes part of the material body of the kettle, naturalised.

12 Further, 'foodways' has multiple meanings; it highlights the sig-  
 13 nificance of modes of practice or ways of 'doing' food, as well as  
 14 movement and direction across time (history) and space (culture).  
 15 Consequently, foodways connect the individual with the social  
 16 through everyday practices (action/habit). The significance of food-  
 17 ways or ways of doing food is reminiscent of West and Zimmerman's  
 18 (1987) notion of 'doing' gender, Butler's (1999) conceptualisation  
 19 of gender as performance, and Morgan's (1996) theories on 'family  
 20 practices' as significant in distinguishing between what families 'are'  
 21 and what families 'do', in contrast to the institution of 'the' fam-  
 22 ily (Morgan 2011). A focus on foodways therefore emphasises the  
 23 embodied, affective, everyday food performances; interactions and  
 24 temporal ways of doing food that connect past, present and future.

25 It is notable therefore that foodways (like gender and class) work  
 26 within three interconnecting domains: (1) on an 'individual' level,  
 27 through socialisation, internalisation, identity work and the con-  
 28 struction of the self; (2) through interactional 'cultural' expectations  
 29 and 'othering' of practices; and (3) via 'institutions' that control  
 30 access to resources, as well as ideologies and discourses (Risman  
 31 2004). Thus, performances of everyday foodways are validated, con-  
 32 strained and facilitated by reference to wider institutional contexts  
 33 that may include gender (patriarchy), class (economics), culture  
 34 (capital) and 'the' family (discourse). Accordingly, everyday food-  
 35 ways inculcate a cultural habitus (Bourdieu 1984) through the rep-  
 36 etition, reproduction and reinforcement of values and tastes. Hence,  
 37 in an era of heightened anxiety about obesity, everyday foodways  
 38 continue to be morally loaded activities that have the power to  
 39 consolidate cultural boundaries. Similarly, public health discourses

reinforce divisions between appropriate and inappropriate foodways, with 'healthy' everyday foodways associated with 'good' food and therefore being good.

### Gender and class

A focus on gender and class raises obvious questions about why and how these forms of stratification still matter. Indeed, the impact of class and gender on foodways seems to belong to a former era and have more in common with research carried out across the UK in the early 1980s (Murcott 1982, 1983, Charles and Kerr 1988). In these studies gender roles within the home were clearly demarcated and economic social class directly related to household expenditure on food. Today gender and class positions are considered fluid and less easy to discern. Instead, there are cultural codes and symbols that individual consumers choose to buy into, such as 'healthy' eating or 'authentic' cuisine and these give the impression that we are free from patriarchal constraints and economic determinism. Of course this belies the reality for many, especially in terms of everyday foodways, that what we eat, with whom, how, where and when, are heavily influenced by cultural values inculcated within the family over time, and although this does not seem to relate directly to patriarchy (Walby 1990) or economic capital (Bourdieu 1984), 'time' is money, with those in control of it still mostly male.

When discussing gender throughout this book I will be referring to performances of femininities and masculinities (Butler 1999), or 'doing gender' (West and Zimmerman 1987). Although I identify as a feminist scholar, I will not be providing analysis of the range of possible feminist perspectives, as these are well rehearsed elsewhere (Cairns and Johnston, in press). Suffice to note that I agree with the Fawcett Society's (2010) mission statement in supporting 'a vision of society in which women and men enjoy equality at work, at home and in public life'. For me, being, doing or becoming a feminist is a political act. It signifies an alignment with egalitarian values. In the context of gender identities, everyday foodways are routinised repetitions, performances and affective practices that give the impression of a stable self; these become part of the 'performativity' of heteronormative gender practices 'that creates the illusion of an inner essence or psychic gender core' (Butler 1999: 28). However, whilst

## 4 Gender, Class and Food

gender is socially, culturally and discursively produced, it is also experienced through the division of labour at work and in the home.

Indeed, everyday foodways are a powerful means of reproducing and reinforcing difference (individually and culturally), and the lived experience of 'doing gender' cuts across individual, cultural and structural domains, especially in relation to the micro-politics of gender; as Whitehead (2002: 14) notes, 'to be gendered is to be political'. It is also relational, for example men resort to hegemonic masculinities to distance themselves from emphasised femininities (Connell 1995:183). There is no single form of masculinity or femininity, instead men and women position themselves in terms of gender relations, 'so that to be a man is to be not like a woman [and] to be a woman is to be not like a man' (Bradley 2007:48). This has obvious implications when considering foodways over the life course.

In terms of social class I utilise Bradley's (2014: 434) class schema that builds upon a Marxo-Weberian tradition that includes three or possibly four classes, the elite, the middle class, the working class and the labour surplus class or most disadvantaged fraction of the working class. Further, Bradley (1996: 19) notes:

*Class is a social category, which refers to lived relations surrounding social arrangements of production, exchange, distribution and consumption. While these may narrowly be conceived as economic relationships, to do with money, wealth and property ... class should be seen as referring to a much broader web of social relationships including, for example, lifestyle, educational experience and patterns of residence.*

Thus, like gender, social class is relational and following Bourdieu's (1984) model of cultural capital and the Great British Class Survey (GBCS) 'class operate[s] symbolically and culturally through forms of stigmatisation and marking of personhood and value' (Savage et al. 2013: 222). In addition, cultural hostility or 'aversion to different lifestyles is perhaps one of the strongest barriers between the classes' (Bourdieu 1984: 56). This centres on a contested relationship with the legitimate or high cultural capital of the dominant classes and assumes a level of cultural hostility (strong dislike) towards the illegitimate or low/'vulgar' cultural forms of capital associated with the working class (and vice versa) (Bourdieu 1984, Warde 2011). Hence, in analysing contemporary foodways, it is pertinent to utilise

1 Bourdieu's (1984, 1996) forms of capital: economic capital (wealth  
2 and income), cultural capital (embodied, objectified, institutional-  
3 ised), social capital (networks and relationships) and symbolic capital  
4 (the conversion and legitimisation of other forms of capital), as these  
5 are important resources in the boundary work and demarcation of  
6 moral hierarchies when considering what counts as legitimate/ille-  
7 gitimate taste (Bourdieu 1996).

8 Further, the manner of presenting, serving and eating food, or eve-  
9 ryday foodways fulfils the social function of legitimising social dif-  
10 ference (Bourdieu 1984: 6) and these cultural practices are gendered;  
11 as Skeggs (1997: 98) notes, 'the sign of femininity is always classed'.  
12 Indeed, Bourdieu (1986: 105) identifies mothers as significant in  
13 transforming economic capital into symbolic and cultural capital for  
14 their children; they are what Skeggs (2004a: 22) refers to as 'sign bear-  
15 ing' carriers of taste. For example, 'future oriented' middle classed  
16 food 'choices' become part of a reshaping of patriarchy that draws on  
17 the success of 'new' femininities, whilst simultaneously reaffirming  
18 a 'domesticated femininity from the past' (Taylor 2012: 16). Thus,  
19 respondents negotiate classed as well as gendered aspirations when  
20 reflecting upon transformations and improvements in their everyday  
21 foodways over the life course. In terms of contemporary construc-  
22 tions of new femininities, women today have to negotiate the twin  
23 poles of traditional femininity whilst embracing neo-liberal values of  
24 the autonomous self (Budgeon 2014).

25 Hence, 'doing gender to meet others expectations over time helps  
26 to construct our gendered selves' (Risman 2004: 431). Thus, when  
27 considering the intersectionalities of gender and class, firstly, every-  
28 day foodways reinforce classed feminine and masculine identities; as  
29 Morgan (1996: 158) argues, 'the micro-politics of food revolve around  
30 gender' and families tend to be 'mothered rather than gendered'  
31 (1996: 82). Today, for example working mums preparing healthy  
32 'home-cooked' meals from scratch is a means of reproducing an ide-  
33 alised new feminine identity (Parsons 2014a, 2014b). Secondly, these  
34 everyday foodways reinforce middle class cultural norms and values  
35 regarding what is appropriate (middle class) mothering, with respon-  
36 sible mothers acting as guardians of health, as well as 'moral guardians  
37 of family eating' (McIntosh and Zey 1989, James et al. 2009b: 8).

38 Indeed, when exploring everyday foodways, the intersection-  
39 alities of gender and class remain vital in maintaining and drawing

1 boundaries between appropriate and inappropriate foodways. A com-  
 2 mitment to particular gendered and classed foodways protects indi-  
 3 viduals from association with 'other' ways of doing food. It ensures  
 4 an association with a kind of food hegemony that insulates individu-  
 5 als from the stigmatising impact of improper foodways (Johansson  
 6 et al. 2013). In an obesogenic environment with high profile public  
 7 health discourses and mass media campaigns around 'proper' food-  
 8 ways it is hardly surprising that the anxious middle classes want to  
 9 be seen to be doing the right thing. In 2002, Ruppel-Shell argued that  
 10 the 'worried weighty' represented the biggest marketing opportunity  
 11 in history for products that could alleviate the battle with weight  
 12 watching. Over a decade later, this group is still negotiating the shift-  
 13 ing boundaries between acceptable and unacceptable foodways.

14 However, in contemporary Westernised neo-liberal societies, being  
 15 worried about weight and health-consciousness are coded as femi-  
 16 nine. Despite arguments regarding culinary capital and the value  
 17 of sustainability, health and dietary restraint amongst elite groups  
 18 in the United States (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012), men and elite  
 19 men especially are not constrained by such discourses. Indeed, elite  
 20 men are able to play freely within culinary fields. Further, in a culi-  
 21 nary field high cultural capital is also measured in terms of cultural  
 22 omnivorousness or a liking for high and low cultural forms (Peterson  
 23 and Kern 1996). Warde (2011: 345) argues that this omnivore debate  
 24 is significant as it not only draws symbolic boundaries within the  
 25 dominant class, but also has the potential to mute cultural hostil-  
 26 ity towards working class forms of capital and this is developed and  
 27 explored throughout the book.

28 Overall I focus on how identity is articulated, formed and reform-  
 29 mulated through the social categories of gender and class, which  
 30 are played out within a theatre of everyday foodways. This is not to  
 31 dismiss the significance of other major/minor categories of gender  
 32 intersections, such as (in no particular order) nation, (dis)ability,  
 33 sexuality, age, religion, faith and migration. Indeed intersectional-  
 34 ity is pertinent in discussions of identity, gender and power (Davis  
 35 2008, Nash 2008, Ratna 2013) and whilst it is more often used with  
 36 reference to the intersectionalities of gender and race (Puwar 2004),  
 37 in considering the intersectionalities of gender and class in the field  
 38 of everyday foodways, it is notable that social, cultural, economic  
 39 and symbolic capitals (Bourdieu 1986), become gendered resources

1 in boundary work and the demarcation of moral hierarchies. These  
2 forms of capital intersect with gender and enable individuals to pre-  
3 sent themselves as responsible neo-liberal citizens engaged in 'appro-  
4 priate' middle class and gendered foodways.

5 Therefore I examine how and why individuals position themselves  
6 as they do, which is primarily about their need to locate themselves  
7 as 'good' responsible citizens and the power of hegemonic forms  
8 of everyday foodways to delineate the moral boundaries between  
9 'good' and 'bad'. The persistence of Cartesian dualism (Levi-Strauss  
10 1969) and dichotomous thinking (Oakley 1992) alongside absolutist  
11 discourses regarding appropriate foodways contributes to the cultural  
12 milieu in which individuals are forced to negotiate their subjec-  
13 tive positions. There is a dominant gendered division of food that  
14 espouses a masculine/feminine food dichotomy within mainstream  
15 Westernised foodways (Adams 1990, Nath 2011). In developed  
16 capitalist consumer societies that draw upon neo-liberal discourses  
17 of responsible individualism, the notion of consumer choice and the  
18 moral imperative to make the 'right' choice is paramount. Further,  
19 making the 'right' choice assumes an engagement with a contempo-  
20 rary foodscape and current discourses on what might be considered  
21 'appropriate' foodways.

22 Hence, respondents use individual foodways as 'narratives of  
23 becoming' responsible neo-liberal citizens (Deleuze and Guattari  
24 1998) and these can be positioned within wider public discourses  
25 relating to issues of family, health and the body. Indeed, these com-  
26 mon vocabularies (Mills 1959) of transformation demonstrate the  
27 ways in which everyday foodways reify traditional forms of gender,  
28 class, family, health and the body. Despite the notion of foodways  
29 as marginal to individual identity (Warde 1997), or identity work,  
30 respondents draw on recognisable socio-historical narratives from  
31 an imagined past that valorise their engagement with contemporary  
32 individualised identities, whilst simultaneously identifying them-  
33 selves as belonging to positions that continued to be influenced by  
34 'old' representations of gender and class.

35 This book is different in its scope to similar texts on food. The  
36 most recent, *Food and Femininities* (Cairns and Johnston, in press),  
37 centres on interviews and focus groups with women and a few men  
38 (USA/Canada), but essentially positions individuals as consumers,  
39 interested in food shopping and consumption. In *Culinary Capital*



(Naccarato and LeBesco 2012), the authors discuss food as a means of drawing boundaries and distinctions between elites in the USA mostly through analysis of popular American television programmes and advertising. In both there is a focus on food scenes or trends in the cultural consumption of food (real and symbolic), so that shifts in everyday foodways become an issue of consumer choice and identity formation. The authors from both books here and elsewhere (Johnston and Baumann 2010) focus on sustainability (environmentalism, ethics, localism, slow foods, farmers markets), health and dietary restraint as a means of distinguishing between consumer tribes. Following Bourdieu's (1984) conceptualisation of cultural capital, Naccarato and LeBesco (2012: 2) argue that there is a kind of culinary capital at work, in which 'food and food practices become markers of social status'. Cairns and Johnston (in press: 3) focus on femininity, how food is embedded in hetero-normative cultural conceptualisations of 'how to be and act feminine'. Neither fully acknowledges the power of the intersectionalities of gender and class on everyday foodways. In this book I therefore focus on femininities and masculinities, especially how they intersect with formations of class (Skeggs 1997). I highlight the power of everyday foodways in marking what is 'appropriate' or legitimate in terms of gender, class, food, families, health and the body.

### **Families, bodies and health**

The subtitle to this book is 'families, bodies and health' and this represents the concerns of those participating in the study. These themes link public issues with private troubles (Mills 1959), as public health policies locate solutions to the 'problem of obesity', for example, within families. These are powerful ideological domains that impact upon the construction of a responsible neo-liberal self. Hence, everyday foodways become a means of demonstrating a commitment to health, whereby eating healthily signals a healthy body (mind) and a healthy family. Conversely if individuals are not considered to be complying with cultural expectations associated with health foodways, they are prone to be 'othered', demonised and stigmatised. Of course this is related to power, those with high status are less likely to be stigmatised; as Bergman (2009) notes, a big male body is more likely to be associated with power than a big female one.

1 Indeed, the everyday foodways of the dominant group can be used  
 2 to inflate cultural hostility and reinforce legitimate forms of social,  
 3 symbolic and cultural capital. For example, the media furore around  
 4 Jamie Oliver's comments in a *Radio Times* interview (that coincided  
 5 with a TV series and book launch) in which he said:

6  
 7 *You might remember that scene in [a previous series] of Ministry*  
 8 *of Food, with the mum and the kid eating chips and cheese out of*  
 9 *Styrofoam containers, and behind them is a massive f\*\*\*\*\* TV.*

10 (Deans 2013)

11  
 12 In this vignette, unauthorised foodways are clearly associated with  
 13 'take-away' food, marked as unorthodox and 'other'. It is notable  
 14 that it is mum (not dad) that is implicated and Oliver uses cultural  
 15 markers of class status to highlight how 'mum' is breaking the rules  
 16 associated with legitimate class based maternal foodways. There is a  
 17 lack of high cultural capital in this scene, it lacks a table, knife and  
 18 fork, healthy vegetables, care, sociability and this is juxtaposed with  
 19 excess in terms of a 'massive f\*\*\*\*\* TV'. These are powerful cultural  
 20 markers that commit acts of condescension and symbolic violence,  
 21 defined by Bourdieu and Wacquant (2002: 167) as 'the violence,  
 22 which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity'.  
 23 Thus, cultural hostility, moral judgment and approbation are  
 24 conferred because these are considered contentious foodways. This  
 25 highlights the extent to which class status is embedded in everyday  
 26 family practices (Morgan 1996, 2011). Indeed, foodways are 'satu-  
 27 rated with class connotations' (Seymour 2013: un-paginated) and  
 28 become part of a politics of aspiration (Andreou 2013) or dis-identifi-  
 29 cation. Indeed, 'good taste' continues to create, mark and consolidate  
 30 social divisions' (Bennett et al. 2009: 259). Indeed, 'culture' is not  
 31 a matter of indifference for the powerful and for some sections of  
 32 the middle class it remains critical and a source of ontological secu-  
 33 rity (Dawson 2012: 311). I therefore utilise Bourdieu's (1984, 1986)  
 34 theoretical framework in the context of analysing my data, in com-  
 35 mon with many 'feminists [who] have appropriated [his framework]  
 36 in order to examine the relationship between gender and class'  
 37 (Huppatz 2009: 45).

38 Thus, in Westernised neo-liberal nations across the globe, in an era  
 39 of arguably 'moral panic' (Cohen 2011) regarding obesity, everyday

1 foodways more than ever have the power to define who we are and  
 2 where we belong. The moral discourses concerning legitimate food-  
 3 ways and appropriate ways of purchasing, preparing and consuming  
 4 food, when, where and with whom, impact upon the presentation  
 5 of the self in everyday life (Goffman 1959). In order to be considered  
 6 a responsible neo-liberal citizen requires careful negotiation of the  
 7 moral boundaries that distinguish 'good' from 'bad' foodways. It  
 8 has been argued that in a post-modern, post-feminist epoch notions  
 9 of gender and class are empty signifiers devoid of power. Yet, when  
 10 respondents were asked to describe their lives around food, how their  
 11 tastes and habits had developed over time, they resorted to rigid  
 12 cultural scripts that were heavily coded, gendered and classed. These  
 13 were living, breathing fully formed narratives and not the living  
 14 dead 'zombie' categories that might have been expected (Slater and  
 15 Ritzer 2001). Instead everyday foodways continue to be saturated  
 16 with gender and class, the desire to distance oneself from 'other'  
 17 foodways, whether this is because they are feminising or culturally  
 18 contaminating, is strong. The narratives drawn upon throughout this  
 19 book therefore highlight the power of everyday foodways to display  
 20 what is legitimate in terms of families, bodies and health and these  
 21 are presented, located and/or performed in terms of gender and class.  
 22 Hence, the complex interplay of power and desire in everyday lives  
 23 continues to be played out within a theatre of food.

### 25 **Public/private issues**

27 This book incorporates respondents' voices, values and issues of  
 28 importance to them. I utilise an auto/biographical approach to  
 29 everyday foodways because it highlights the interconnectedness of  
 30 the individual and the social, the autobiographical and biographi-  
 31 cal, the micro and the macro, the private and the public (Morgan  
 32 1998). This enables an exploration of the private troubles and public  
 33 issues around everyday foodways (Mills 1959), whilst demonstrating  
 34 the inter-textuality of auto/biographical accounts. Thus, there are  
 35 two interrelated purposes of the study, firstly to explore the food  
 36 memories of others, and secondly to critically examine the social  
 37 and cultural milieu in which these are articulated. In keeping with  
 38 Mills' (1959) argument in favour of the 'sociological imagination'  
 39 personal troubles and public issues are interconnected. Indeed, food

1 memories have been used by food researchers as this method illus-  
2 trates the extent to which our memories of the everyday are socially  
3 constructed and simultaneously part of a shared socio-cultural his-  
4 tory (Lupton 1996, Belasco 2008).

5 Originally, the primary aim of the research was to investigate the  
6 relationship between individuals and their food 'choice' using an  
7 auto/biographical research approach. However, once the research  
8 started I shifted my focus away from notions of choice in order to  
9 distance myself from the neo-liberal assertion that *all* individuals  
10 are free to choose their identities outside of social, cultural and/or  
11 financial constraints. This is because everyday foodways continue to  
12 be constrained by the intersectionalities of gender and class. A focus  
13 on food choice implies a wholly conscious engagement with highly  
14 individualised consumer identities and identity politics, when food  
15 consumption can be unconscious or mindless and constrained by  
16 more structural factors, such as class, gender, ethnicity, age, (dis)  
17 ability. The concept of 'choice' is politically and morally loaded,  
18 especially when choices are made from a limited set of options that  
19 are constrained by economics, and/or cultural norms and values. It  
20 fits with a notion of food choice as part of a Foucauldian (1979) dis-  
21 ciplinary regime, the means by which individuals control or regulate  
22 their bodies in the process of creating themselves. In contemporary  
23 neo-liberal Western societies a high value is attached to individualism  
24 and the ability to make rational self-reflexive choices for one's self.  
25 What Foucault (1988: 18) refers to as technologies of the self that:

26  
27 *permit individuals to effect their own means or with the help of others*  
28 *a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts,*  
29 *conducts and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order*  
30 *to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection or*  
31 *immortality.*  
32

33 This is not to suggest that individuals are never active agents in  
34 their everyday foodways, it is just that an emphasis on individual-  
35 ism belies the role of social ties, interaction cues, relationality and  
36 the embeddedness of individuals in family and/or kin relations  
37 (Jallinoja and Widmer 2011: 5). Brillat-Savarin's declaration (1970:  
38 13) 'tell me what you eat and I'll tell you what you are' is indica-  
39 tive of the extent to which food is embedded within the cultural

1 norms and values of an epoch. Hence, food and foodways are both  
 2 individual and social. The individual is the carrier of these practices  
 3 through routinised ways of knowing and understanding, but these  
 4 conventionalised mental activities are not qualities of the individual  
 5 (Reckwitz 2002: 249) but culturally specific. Hence, the focus on an  
 6 auto/biographical approach is significant as it underlines the extent  
 7 to which the individual and the social, the autobiographical and the  
 8 biographical are interconnected (Morgan 1998).

9 Further, 'our food stories' are simultaneously individual and collec-  
 10 tive. They demonstrate 'social network affects' (Christakis and Fowler  
 11 2007) or how people are embedded in social webs of behaviour that  
 12 spread across a range of social ties. It is a kind of social contagion or  
 13 mimesis; for example, the significance of our relationships with others  
 14 in the spread of 'obesity' in a population (Christakis and Fowler 2007),  
 15 or the take up of a particular diet or exercise fad (Kolata 2007), reveals  
 16 how social connections matter. Thus, foodways and other practices  
 17 or routinised types of behaviour consist of several elements, things  
 18 and their uses, as well as background knowledge. Indeed, there is a  
 19 relationship between these things and the body; everyday foodways  
 20 are about embodiment and the senses. It is how respondents under-  
 21 stand these relationships, how these develop over time and impact  
 22 on everyday lives that I consider. Specifically how these relationships  
 23 and practices continue to be influenced by the intersectionalities of  
 24 gender and class, despite arguments that gender, class and family are  
 25 'zombie' categories 'that no longer capture the contemporary milieu'  
 26 (Beck, interviewed by Slater and Ritzer 2001: 262). An individualist  
 27 perspective makes no allowance for the fact that some individuals  
 28 have always been able to act outside of the structural constraints  
 29 of gender and class (especially white men) whilst others are wholly  
 30 constrained by them, even now. Indeed, the connection between  
 31 what Mills (1959) refers to as private troubles and public issues and  
 32 the development of a common vocabulary of motives persists.

33 Thus, public discourses form a repertoire of available stories that  
 34 respondents can draw upon in the telling of themselves. For exam-  
 35 ple, at the time of the research the UK government announced that  
 36 most of the major food manufacturers had agreed to comply with  
 37 standardised food labelling on their products by the summer of  
 38 2013. The Minister for Public Health, Anna Soubry, said that this  
 39 development 'will help us all choose healthier options' (Hickman

2012: un-paginated). The Chairman of the British Dietetic Association (BDA), Helen Davidson, claimed 'consumers need a quick understanding of the relative healthiness of a product' (Hickman 2012: un-paginated). These claims make significant assumptions about individual agency, notably that individuals make deliberate wholly conscious decisions about what to eat. They ignore the social context in which foodways are performed and practiced and the extent to which these decisions are related to routinised habitus (Bourdieu 1984) and emotional responses or affective practices (Wetherell 2012). They assume that 'healthier' and 'healthiness' are objective standards of measurement, again ignoring the social and emotional context in which these terms are embedded. Also, that 'healthiness' is achievable and/or a desirable universal goal in everyday life for everyone.

### Feeding time and Bourdieu

One route to exploring relationships with food is through memory (Sutton 2001), what Arendt (1996: 15) refers to as 'the storehouse of time'. The significance of time is also pertinent for Bourdieu (1984: 6) in terms of cultural capital and habitus; the disposition and embodiment of taste is inculcated or sediments over time. This includes what he refers to as a disposition for considering the future rather than living in the present that acknowledges a 'temporal power' (Bourdieu 1984: 315), or what Adkins (2011: 349) refers to as 'trading the future'. Hence, as Bourdieu (1986: 214–58) claims, the best measure of cultural capital is the amount of time devoted to acquiring it, because the 'transformation of economic capital into cultural [social and symbolic] capital presupposes an expenditure of time that is made possible by possession of economic capital'. In Bourdieu's thesis there is no innate aesthetic or pure taste, there is only 'taste' inculcated over time. Thus Bourdieu argues against a Kantian 'taste of sense' in favour of a 'taste of reflection' (Bourdieu 1984: 6). Indeed, following Bourdieu (1984) instant gratification, hedonism and 'lack' of time/investment in the future are associated with being in the present and a working class habitus. On the other hand, investing in the future, abstaining from having a good time is associated with a middle class disposition.

Indeed, as Morgan (1996: 166) explains 'food represents a particularly strong form of anchorage in the past [and] serves as one of the

links between historical time, individual time and household time'. Thus, everyday foodways are so 'embedded in the domestic cultures of everyday life that they come to be regarded as natural' (Scott 2009: 106), part of the doxic order of things. Here *doxa* according to Bourdieu means 'the immediate belief in the facticity of the world that makes us take it for granted' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 73). Further:

*The doxa comprises our naturalised understandings of how a particular field functions and which resources or types of capital are valuable within it. It is through doxic knowledge that agents make sense of the world and engage in meaningful patterns of behaviour, that is, practices* (Senn and Elhardt 2014: 320–1)

Thus, everyday foodways are everyday *doxa*, they are embedded and embodied habits, knowledge and practices learnt and sedimented over time. In a culinary field everyday foodways draw upon wider hegemonic discourses in a doxic battle over legitimacy. Therefore, auto/biographical memories are temporal reflections on the times in which they are written and imbued with 'romanticised representations and rememberings' (Taylor 2012: 16) of gender, class, food and family, past and present. There is a persistent tension between 'knowing' oneself and the creation of memory. For Deleuze and Guattari (1998) memory is the membrane that allows for the correspondence between the 'sheets of the past and the layers of reality'; it is a block of becoming. As Clough (2007: 29) notes, 'we write not with childhood memories but through blocs of childhood that are [always part of] becoming the child of the present'. We move backwards and forwards to locate a 'self', one that is, 'an autobiographical-techno-ontological writing block' (Clough 2007: 15). In creating an auto/biographical account, the presentation of the self in everyday life, one's narrative, continues to be a performance with front and backstage processes at work/play (Goffman 1963). It is mutable, temporal and in a continual process of becoming (Deleuze and Guattari 1998).

In keeping with an auto/biographical approach I write in the first person and draw upon my experiences (if and when appropriate). Everyday foodways are after all exactly that, and therefore experienced by researcher, respondent and reader. For example, when I

1 began the research that forms the basis of this book, I assumed from  
 2 my training as a sociologist, following the individualisation thesis  
 3 from Beck (1992, 2002) and Giddens (1991), that the social, political  
 4 and economic changes of late modernity had weakened the struc-  
 5 tural constraints of class and gender. Hence, as Adkins (2004: 192)  
 6 argues, 'the axes of (socially organised) difference, such as class, gen-  
 7 der and sexuality are more a matter of individual decision making in  
 8 the act of creating the self as an individual'. It was with this in mind  
 9 that I set out to explore 'individual' food histories from a conveni-  
 10 ence sample of women and men, rather than interviewing couples  
 11 and/or families (Murcott 1983, Charles and Kerr 1988, Lupton 1996,  
 12 2000, 2005, Jackson 2009, James et al. 2009b).

13 Consequently, when asking respondents to consider their individ-  
 14 ualised auto/biographies in relation to food I expected reflections on  
 15 changes in attitudes towards everyday foodways over the life course,  
 16 a blurring of the boundaries between the genders in relation to  
 17 both family foodways and body regimes (weight management), and  
 18 perhaps an acknowledgement of the influence of health discourses  
 19 (Foucault 1988, 1991). I assumed that if changes in the workplace had  
 20 been matched in the private sphere, there would be more equality  
 21 regarding domestic work and family foodways. I anticipated, due to  
 22 public and media discourses on perceived health risks associated with  
 23 obesity, that men would engage more in body regulation, self-care  
 24 and 'fat talk' (Ambjörnsson 2005). I had not considered the extent  
 25 to which respondents would assert their class positions in relation  
 26 to foodways, nor how gendered these practices continue to be. Nor,  
 27 despite the medicalisation of everyday life (Crawford 1980), that  
 28 healthy eating would still be considered as part of a cultural script of  
 29 normative (middle classed) femininity. In addition, neo-liberal poli-  
 30 tics that emphasise individual responsibility, active citizenship and  
 31 economic independence are constructed as particularly white mid-  
 32 dle class values. In hindsight it seems unreasonable to assume that  
 33 respondents would not be engaged with these values, particularly  
 34 when family foodways are represented as part of a problem of obesity.

### 36 Methodological approach of the study

37  
 38 I invited potential participants to write their own auto/biographical  
 39 food narratives through a series of asynchronous in-depth online



interviews, which is a form of computer-mediated communication (CMC) (Kozinets 2010). This entailed a series of written e-mail exchanges with respondents similar to correspondence techniques (Letherby and Zdrodowski 1995), from an e-mail account created specifically for the study [ourfoodstories@email.com](mailto:ourfoodstories@email.com). I purposely chose to conduct the research through CMC because it represents an emancipatory, non-hierarchical approach to research that enables respondents to participate on their own terms in line with early feminist critiques of positivist approaches to research (Oakley 1981, Finch 1984). Hence, respondents can revise their narratives before sending them; as Letherby (2003: 93) highlights, the act of writing can be a political and enabling act, as respondents decide what they do and do not wish to disclose. CMC can be spontaneous, quick and fleeting, but also has some of the temporal qualities of traditional letter writing – the frustration of waiting for the postman to deliver a letter is not dissimilar to waiting for correspondence to be e-mailed into an inbox. Similarly, there are traces of past epistolary traditions in some of the narratives, as well as more modern touches such as emoticons.

I received full ethical approval from the University ethics committee with the condition that I include an exclusion clause, 'that strongly advised' potential respondents 'not to participate if they had suffered from an eating disorder'. I used snowball sampling from my own social network, which is common in food research (Lupton 2000, 2005), and sent out 190 invitations over nine months, roughly 10 per week. Once respondents agreed to participate, they chose or I assigned a pseudonym and replied:

*What I'm really after is your 'food story'. Perhaps, this will include your earliest food memories, favourite foods, memorable food occasions, whether your eating habits have changed over time and why this may be. Also, absolutely anything food related that you'd like to share.*

Respondents therefore formed part of a self-selecting group in that the invitation appealed to those confident that they had 'something' to contribute to research about everyday foodways. I also devised a series of general, open questions that centred on eating and cooking, that I sent out on request. I did not question respondents specifically about any particular foodways and did not incorporate questions

1 relating to any fixed or clearly defined food related issues. I did ask  
2 if they had changed their eating habits at all and why this might be.  
3 It was very much an open invitation for them to tell their stories  
4 in their words and on their terms. It was the common vocabular-  
5 ies (Mills 1959) across the narratives that I was looking to discover,  
6 rather than directing them in any particular way.

7 Half of those invited to participate agreed to be involved, which  
8 resulted in 75 narratives by a self-imposed deadline. In terms of  
9 respondent demographics, one third were male, most were UK born,  
10 middle class (as identified by current or last occupational status),  
11 although the majority of the men were from social class 1, and their  
12 ages ranged from 27 to 85 years, with the majority born in the 1950s  
13 and 1960s (please refer to the demographics table in the appendix).  
14 The scope of food memories therefore spans the 1930s to the present  
15 day. Two thirds were parents at different stages in the life course,  
16 from those new to parenting to grandparents, and there was a range  
17 of family types including lone parents, co-habiting and married cou-  
18 ples with children (and step-children).

19 The methodology followed a constructivist grounded theory  
20 approach; it was iterative with themes developing as the project pro-  
21 gressed, so data collection and analysis were concurrent (Charmaz  
22 2006). The analysis of respondents' texts was rigorous and centred  
23 on wider cultural narratives and symbols used in the telling of the  
24 self (Charmaz 2006). This highlights the inter-textuality of auto/bio-  
25 graphical accounts and the extent to which written texts are social  
26 products, not unproblematic reflections of reality, and how individu-  
27 als continue to be constrained by structural influences beyond their  
28 own free will (Stanley and Morgan 1993).

29 Therefore, the food stories at the heart of this book are co-created  
30 within a particular time and space. They reflect the socio-historical,  
31 political and cultural concerns of the time they were written. Indeed,  
32 respondents presented their food histories as a type of transforma-  
33 tion narrative, expressing a shift in consciousness from unknow-  
34 ing child to all knowing adult with the memories of childhood  
35 explored through a modern day lens. Thus, respondents became  
36 'health conscious', 'body conscious', and/or 'food conscious' over  
37 time. Hence, respondents' narratives are simultaneously highly indi-  
38 vidualised expressions of taste and/or distaste, and interpretations of  
39 wider social and cultural norms and values regarding 'good'/'bad',

legitimate/unauthorised foodways. After several levels of analysis running concurrently with data collection, I identified five broad themes: (i) family relationships (foodways as reproducing family and family socialisation) (ii) maternal identities (foodways as representative of good/bad mothering), (iii) concerns about health (foodways as a means to achieving or practicing 'good' health and food as Complementary and Alternative Medicine), (iv) embodiment (issues related to weight management) and (v) the views and practices of mostly male gourmets (who used epicurean foodways as a means of expressing high cultural status and elite taste).

In a neo-liberal era I expected gender, class and family structures to be less significant due to the pervasive ideologies of individualism (Giddens 1991, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002). Yet when locating themselves within their food narratives these 'zombie' (Slater and Ritzer 2001) categories remain significant if not vital for ontological security (Dawson 2012). The focus is therefore on the intersectionalities of gender and class expressed through everyday foodways. In these, individuals distanced themselves from 'other' food practices and created a hegemony of 'appropriate' foodways based on heteronormative middle class cultural norms. Thus, far from an 'anything goes' approach to everyday foodways there are rigid cultural scripts to negotiate and these are outlined and developed throughout the book.

However, it is notable that whilst the majority of female respondents conformed rigidly to these, the men did not. Indeed, there were those who blatantly and fearlessly transcended the boundaries of what might be considered appropriate foodways *some* of the time. Of course, this is a means of distancing the self from contamination from activities usually coded feminine and displaying hegemonic masculinities (Connell 2005), which are:

*The [set of] qualities defined as manly that establish and legitimate a hierarchical and complementary relationship to femininity that, by doing so, guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women.*

(Schippers 2007: 94)

It also demonstrates how individuals with high cultural capital are able to *choose* to play by the rules of the game or not. Indeed, by not conforming to healthy dietary guidelines, for example, one is

positioning the self outside of the moral discourses that stigmatise and blame. In a patriarchal society, some of the rules of the game within a culinary field just do not apply to men.

### Subject positions/notes on the author

I am a feminist, sociologist, social researcher, lecturer, wife, mother, with a 'normal' body size and a part-time interest in epicurean foodways. In conducting my research I follow what I consider to be a feminist approach, which attempts to address the power relationships inherent in research and give 'voice' to respondents. I employ Butler's (1999) and West and Zimmerman's (1987) concept of gender as interaction/performance, Morgan's (1996) concept of family practices and Bourdieu's (1984) conceptualisation of cultural capital to position my work. My approach is therefore grounded in theories of gender/class/family/foodways as social constructions and performances rather than universal norms (Bourdieu 1984, West and Zimmerman 1987, 2009, Morgan 1996, 2011, Butler 1999). I do not focus on feminism or feminisms; instead I am interested in how gender and class intersect in the construction of a life around food. I use the first person and do not comply with the 'canons of writing practices from the nineteenth century that we should not be present in our texts and that the "I" should be suppressed' (Richardson 1997: 2–3).

So why study food? Partly it is about embodiment and a feminised subjectivity that considers foodways and 'fat talk' (Ambjörnsson 2005 as part of a gendered affective practice of self-surveillance and body management instilled from childhood. A protestant ethic that considered eating too much as sinful (from my father), whilst simultaneously having to contemplate the Biblical contention that one should 'eat, drink and be merry' (Luke 2013, 12: 19) (from my mother). Hence, I set out to explore the cultural capital associated with the 'thin ideal' (Germov and Williams 2004) or the tyranny of slenderness (Chernin 1981, LeBesco 2001) or the 'ethic of sobriety for the sake of slimness' (Bourdieu 1984: 175), as an enduring cultural symbol of contemporary femininity.

I locate my personal troubles (Mills 1959) in the context of tensions between maternal (family) and gourmet identities or issues of gender and high cultural capital (class). Hence, my interest in foodways is

1 also a response to legitimations of elite forms of cultural capital that  
 2 have the power to exclude and stigmatise. I started university in the  
 3 autumn of 1991 when my son was almost a year old. It was there  
 4 that I learned within the context of exploring second wave feminism  
 5 that 'motherhood was a socially constructed patriarchal institution'  
 6 (O'Brien Hallstein 2010: 132) and distinct from the act of mothering  
 7 (Rich 1986). I considered that if it was the rigidity of gender roles  
 8 that was keeping women confined to the domestic sphere, then a  
 9 dis-identification with the institution of motherhood might ensure  
 10 equality. However, I encountered a kind of 'matrophobia', a fear of  
 11 becoming like one's own mother that Lawler (2000) takes from Rich  
 12 (1986) and identifies as being embedded in classed processes of social  
 13 mobility. Lawler (2000) pitches her argument against the individuali-  
 14 sation thesis espoused by Beck (1992) and Giddens (1991, 1992) to  
 15 highlight how upwardly mobile women as autonomous, individual-  
 16 ised selves, secure middle class positions and then dis-identify with  
 17 their working class mothers.

18 Today, there is a glorification of feminine domesticity and retreatism  
 19 from the public sphere (Negra 2009: 130), as well as a fetishisation  
 20 of the maternal that is also thoroughly classed (Littler 2013: 233).  
 21 Further, O'Brien Hallstein (2010: 108) suggests that women now  
 22 have to negotiate a 'split subjectivity between old and new gender  
 23 expectations', whereby women need to be both 'successful at work  
 24 and successful as mothers' (Douglas and Michaels 2004: 12). This  
 25 works on the assumption that mothers engage in forms of 'inten-  
 26 sive mothering', which is 'child centred, expert guided, emotionally  
 27 absorbing, labour intensive and financially expensive' (Hays 1996: 8).  
 28 Therefore, 'intensive mothering' is a legitimate 'ideology of contem-  
 29 porary mothering for women, across race and class lines, even if not  
 30 all women actually practice it' (Hays 1996: 86).

31 Similarly, when considering epicurean foodways and a gourmet  
 32 identity, I have clear recollections of early 'fine dining' experiences,  
 33 with my father at a *French* Restaurant in Little Clarendon Street,  
 34 Oxford, in 1982 (I recall eating frogs legs and *escargot* for the first and  
 35 last time). However, despite a long-standing interest in the culinary  
 36 arts, the emotional capital required for feeding the family, is as Reay  
 37 (2004) identifies more about investing in others rather than the self  
 38 and this works against the formation of a gourmet identity. Also:  
 39

*To be a foodie requires self-absorption, self-love, self-delusion, self-confidence; in other words selfishness to a degree unsurpassed in modern times.*

(Simmonds 1990: 130–1, cited by Ashley et al. 2004: 149)

This therefore excludes those engaged in ‘intensive mothering’ (Hays 1996) or contemporary maternal foodways. Thus, stratifications of gender and class continue to determine inequalities on many levels (Marmot and Bell 2012). Women are excluded from elite cultural positions and identities (Adkins and Lury 1999, Adkins and Jokinen 2008). The rigidity of these gendered and classed positions has implications for men who cook and women who do not. It is still mainly men who are able to play in a culinary field.

Throughout this book I make a contribution to the field of cultural food studies through a focus on gender, cultural capital (class) and foodways. I argue that specific middle class strategies of ‘feeding the family’ (DeVault 1991), have become a way of establishing elite status for women (Bourdieu 1984). Further, I contend that this form of elite cultural capital, like others, both excludes and valorises all those involved in ‘feeding the family’ on a number of levels. It excludes, because ‘feeding the family’ is located within a feminised domestic sphere in which men are rewarded for developing affective caring skills. This is similar to the feminisation of economic work in the public sphere, where Adkins and Jokinen (2008) note, men are rewarded for skills that are naturalised and considered part of a feminine habitus. Femininity on the other hand rarely carries status or capital. This reinforces the doxic order that caring is part of a natural feminine habitus.

Thus, there are contemporary cultural scripts of legitimate ways of feeding the family (DeVault 1991), notably the emphasis on healthy home-cooked food prepared from scratch, which carries high social, cultural and symbolic capital (Parsons 2014a, 2014b). On the other hand a ‘gourmet’ identity is a means of accruing social, cultural and symbolic capital in the field of foodways that centres on a leisurely pursuit and acquisition of skills that sediment over time. In the field of culinary arts, the ‘gourmet’ also inhabits a particular gendered habitus that is predominantly masculine because of the links with high cultural capital, elite status and leisure

1 time. In both cases high cultural capital is accrued through an  
2 investment of time and/or money.

3 Indeed, the persistent distinctions between food play and food  
4 work contributes to the naturalising of women's work within the  
5 home. Hence, 'feeding the family' is conceptualised as hurried, low  
6 skilled, mundane and routinised (DeVault 1991) unlike the artistry  
7 of the epicurean, which is not 'work' at all. In a contemporary food-  
8 scape there is the additional pressure of preparing healthy 'home-  
9 cooked' meals prepared from scratch (Pollan 2013). This is a reaction  
10 against the impact of commercial/convenience foodways, but also a  
11 means of drawing boundaries between classes. Further, in an era of  
12 moral approbation regarding bodies out of control, feeding the fam-  
13 ily healthy 'home-cooked' meals prepared from scratch is a means of  
14 acquiring social, symbolic and cultural capital, with mothers in par-  
15 ticular positioned as responsible for both the health and size of their  
16 own and other bodies (Parsons 2014a, 2014b). A focus on maternal  
17 identity does not exclude women who are not mothers as it has  
18 implications for contemporary conceptualisations of femininity and  
19 class that reach beyond the actual activity of mothering.

20 I draw heavily on the work of Bourdieu (1984, 1996) and material-  
21 ist feminist scholars such as Adkins and Skeggs (2004), Lawler (2008),  
22 McRobbie (2008), Reay (2004), and Skeggs (2004b). I position my  
23 study within a contemporary foodscape that considers gendered and  
24 classed aspects of everyday foodways significant. A central aspect of  
25 understanding how cultural capital works relates to notions of time  
26 and lack and these are referred to throughout the book. Thus, hav-  
27 ing time to play in a culinary field is a significant aspect of epicurean  
28 foodways, and time to prepare healthy home-cooked meals from  
29 scratch important for maternal foodways. Further, a lack of time is  
30 indicative of a lack of care and access to resources (money).

31 It should be noted that throughout the book I am unable to use  
32 all respondents' narratives (in terms of complete narratives and  
33 all responses), because the 'selection of some [letters] entails the  
34 de-selection of many more' (Stanley 2004: 205). Instead I present  
35 'biographical assemblage[s] that remain open and incomplete, as a  
36 constant reminder of the forced coherences and closures of the bio-  
37 graphical discourse' (Tamboukou 2010a: 10). Further, there is a limit  
38 to the range of recognisable cultural scripts available and positioning  
39 the self as a responsible neo-liberal citizen continues to be bound by

1 issues of gender and class. Indeed Doucet (2009: 112) clearly articu-  
2 lates this dilemma in that:

3  
4 *Men's and women's lives as carers and earners are cut with deeply felt,*  
5 *moral and social scripts about what women and men should do within*  
6 *and outside of household life.*

7  
8 Although there has been movement around these moral dilemmas  
9 (Duncan and Edwards 1999, Gerson 2002), they nevertheless exist  
10 as strong ideological scripts to mothering, fathering and everyday  
11 foodways. Overall, throughout the book I highlight how respond-  
12 ents' everyday foodways are like a 'prism, which absorbs and reflects  
13 a host of cultural phenomena' (Counihan 1999: 6). Thus, specific  
14 middle class strategies of 'appropriate' everyday foodways, whether  
15 these relate to families, health, embodiment or epicurean pleasures,  
16 have become ways of establishing status and/or legitimising social  
17 difference (Bourdieu 1984). Hence, everyday foodways continue to  
18 be powerful ways of 'doing' gender and class.



## 2 Family Foodways

Family foodways, despite the rise of a neo-liberal individualism that values autonomy, self-governance and self-control, remain significant in drawing boundaries and reinforcing legitimate ways of doing food *and* family. Individuals learn to ‘do’ gender and class through family foodways and consequently family foodways reinforce legitimate ways of doing gender/ class/ food/ family. Thus, family foodways are vital for inculcating class tastes (Bourdieu 1984) and table manners (Visser 1991). Further, because family represents a theatre for the civilising of appetites (Elias 1978, Mennell 1985), if appropriate family foodways have not been instilled it has implications for identity.

I use the term ‘family’ in its broadest sense, acknowledging the fluidity in the idea of family and not ‘the’ institution or ideological family (Morgan 2011: 34). In Morgan’s (1996: 193–4) work the family is ‘a facet of social life, not a social institution, it represents a quality rather than a thing’ and ‘it is an adjective rather than a noun’, further Morgan (1996: 13) notes:

*Family life can be considered through a variety of different lenses and from different perspectives. Thus, family practices may also be gender practices, age practices and so on. This point is made in order to stress that family life is never simply family life and that it is always continuous with other areas of existence. The points of overlap and connection are often more important than the separate entities, understood as work, family politics and so on.*

1 Therefore, Morgan's (2011: 65) approach highlights the extent to  
2 which family practices are relational, fluid and different from tradi-  
3 tional relatively static models of 'the' family. Hence, 'the relation-  
4 ships between food, memories, emotions and family practices remain  
5 very strong' (Morgan 2011: 118). I assumed that gender, class and  
6 family would have less power due to the progress of individualisation  
7 and therefore respondents would document more of a 'negotiated  
8 family model' (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002: xxi). However, this  
9 is not the model respondents wrote about. Instead, family foodways  
10 as socio-historical artefacts follow food trends in the UK, from the  
11 influx of ambient ready meals and TV dinners (convenience food) to  
12 the expansion of foreign travel (food creolisation), to more contem-  
13 porary influences from the food scene (for example a commitment  
14 to authentic cuisine and/or cultural omnivorousness) and public  
15 discourses (for example healthism and responsible individualism).

AQ1

16 In this chapter I focus specifically on how respondents position  
17 themselves as belonging to a particular class schema that draws on  
18 recognisable cultural codes and symbols. Notably that respondents'  
19 early memories of family foodways reflect contemporary issues within  
20 a culinary foodscape that values individualism and cultural omnivo-  
21 rousness or the appreciation of high *and* low culture (Peterson and  
22 Kern 1996). Warde et al. (2007: 146) define cultural omnivorousness  
23 as a 'breadth of cultural involvements', in three areas, 'taste, knowl-  
24 edge and participation'. However, Warde et al. (2007) measure this  
25 in terms of 'taste' in music, literature, television, film, painting and  
26 sport, they do not explore omnivorousness in relation to foodways.  
27 This could be because foodways, especially in the domestic sphere  
28 are conceptualised as feminine, and elite patterns of consumption are  
29 usually associated with male activities. So when measuring cultural  
30 omnivorousness as a sign of cultural distinction amongst privileged  
31 groups for example, an interest in sport (masculinity) is seen as a  
32 dimension of cultural omnivorousness, whilst foodways (femininity)  
33 is not. Cultural omnivorousness therefore tends to relate to activities  
34 outside of the domestic sphere, as markers of distinction and elite  
35 status. However, cultural omnivorousness is recognised by Naccarato  
36 and LeBesco (2012) as a significant aspect of culinary capital and I  
37 consider it a relevant marker of status and class within respondents'  
38 foodways.  
39

1        Thus, it is through the recreation of childhood memories of family  
2 foodways that respondents express both individuality and compli-  
3 ance with dominant or legitimate forms of cultural capital. Indeed,  
4 the power of cultural representations of appropriate family foodways  
5 impacts upon how individuals represent their families, gender and  
6 class positions. The social and cultural milieu is reflected in their  
7 accounts and they demonstrate how particular cultural forms of  
8 middle class family foodways persist despite government and media  
9 discourses regarding the decline of family meals (Jackson 2009, James  
10 2009b) and cooking skills (Meah and Watson 2011). Hence elite  
11 family foodways continue to be significant in terms of maintaining  
12 status and drawing boundaries within culinary fields.

13        Overall, respondents distinguish between experiences of family  
14 foodways past and present, both infused with cultural markers of  
15 taste and distinction. Two thirds of respondents are parents and  
16 conformed to a range of family 'types' including lone parents, co-  
17 habiting and married couples with children (and step-children).  
18 These families are at different stages in the life course, some  
19 respondents are new to parenting; for example, two unconnected  
20 respondents (Otaline, Tom) had just had their first child, some had  
21 young children (Drew, Kevin, Simon, Larry, Ollie, Lex, Faith, Faye,  
22 Imogen, Jocelyn, Laura, Lola, Molly, Noreen, Regan, Steph, Zoe),  
23 others are living with teenagers (Ed, Ophelia, Katrina, Melissa, Ruth,  
24 Valerie, Mark, Nick), for some their children had recently left the  
25 family home (Hannah, Ida, Gaby, Willow), or had adult children no  
26 longer living with them (Celia, Daisy, Harriet, Linda, Vera, James,  
27 Paul, Richard, Stephen, Walt). There are those like myself, who are  
28 living with some children but had others who had left the family  
29 home (Annie, Beth, Chloe, Edith, Helen, Paula, Ursula, Ian, Jake).  
30 There are temporary or intermittent family compositions as well, like  
31 Henry's whose stepchildren lived with him and his wife only part  
32 of the time. And Sam, whose work took him away from the family  
33 home for extensive periods of time, so ostensibly he was not living  
34 in a family environment on a full-time basis. Two respondents are  
35 in long-term non-heterosexual relationships at the time of the study.  
36 One of these couples had adult children from a previous relation-  
37 ship, who are not living with them.

38        Respondents' family foodways rely on familiar cultural scripts,  
39 with cultural artefacts and common brand names providing temporal

1 markers. From 75 individual narratives there is one story that docu-  
 2 ments change over time and across legitimate middle class tastes.  
 3 This narrative involves a distancing from convenience/ready meals,  
 4 a commitment to 'healthy' family meals and snacks 'home-cooked  
 5 from scratch' (Pollan 2013: 9), commensality (Fischler 1980, 2011)  
 6 or the sharing of food, mostly (though not always) around a table  
 7 from the Latin '*cum mensa*' (in the company of a meal/table) and the  
 8 development of cultural omnivorousness (Peterson and Kern 1996).  
 9 It is notable that respondents adhered to this model of 'appropri-  
 10 ate' middle class family foodways regardless of whether they could  
 11 be positioned as middle class or not. Indeed, the power of what  
 12 might be considered legitimate or dominant cultural expectations  
 13 of 'appropriate' family foodways is such that working class mothers  
 14 especially demonstrated a commitment to these markers in order to  
 15 put a floor on their disadvantaged position (Skeggs 1997).  
 16

### 17 Commensality and cultural omnivorousness

18  
 19 Family foodways are embedded in family practices (Morgan 1996,  
 20 2011), or put another way foodways are the means by which fami-  
 21 lies perform and reproduce socio-cultural norms everyday. They are  
 22 simultaneously individual, social and relational and can be used  
 23 as cultural symbols and markers of class position. These relational  
 24 aspects of family foodways are not unlike Fischler's (1980, 1988,  
 25 2011) conceptualisation of commensality. This is the notion of food  
 26 as representative of inclusion and exclusion, as a shared and shar-  
 27 ing experience usually around a table, as a type of table fellowship  
 28 (Coveney 2006). Further, Grignon (2001: 23–36) identifies a typology  
 29 of commensality that includes 'domestic' commensality linked to  
 30 private and family life as opposed to the 'institutional' commensal-  
 31 ity of the public sphere, an 'everyday' commensality related to the  
 32 nuclear family and/or the usual circle of colleagues as opposed to  
 33 an 'exceptional' commensality, which is evident at stressful times  
 34 in the annual calendar or life cycle. He also identifies a 'segretive' or  
 35 the 'we and not we' and a 'transgressive' or ambivalent commensal-  
 36 ity. Overall, his analysis emphasises the significance of foodways in  
 37 drawing people together, creating bonds and/or excluding 'others'; it  
 38 is essentially about social connections and sociability. Indeed com-  
 39 mensality implies a degree of dependence and/or reciprocity and

1 implies equal or hierarchical relationships depending on whether  
 2 food is shared around a circular table or in a hierarchical manner,  
 3 with someone presiding at the head.

4 Generally, family foodways are an important theatre for inculcat-  
 5 ing a cultural habitus that recognises and reproduces social, symbolic  
 6 and cultural markers of value. It is the investment of time in devel-  
 7 oping 'a taste of reflection' (Bourdieu 1984: 6) and 'the total, early,  
 8 imperceptible learning performed in the family from the earliest  
 9 days of life' (Bourdieu 1984: 59) that is significant. Indeed, Friedman  
 10 (2011) following Bourdieu (1984) argues that cultural capital is a  
 11 modality of practice, it is not just about consuming something but  
 12 the manner in which the consumption is expressed. In Friedman's  
 13 study of comedy taste, he makes clear distinctions between the tastes  
 14 of those with high cultural capital (HCC) who take time and work  
 15 hard to appreciate their comedy, and those with low cultural capital  
 16 (LCC) who passively enjoyed a cheap laugh. In Friedman's (2011)  
 17 study he identifies 'family socialisation' as a means of measuring  
 18 cultural capital, alongside qualifications and occupational status.

19 Family socialisation refers to the class position of respondents'  
 20 parents, the assumption being that this impacts on the inculcation  
 21 of future cultural appreciation practices and taste. I did not set out  
 22 to gather this kind of data from respondents and cannot give them  
 23 a cultural capital score, high or low. However, respondents did infer  
 24 class positions and family socialisations within their narratives.  
 25 Either they identified themselves as middle class from childhood,  
 26 or reflected upon working class origins from a contemporary middle  
 27 class position. Those with middle class socialisations include Nick (a  
 28 51-year-old consultant, married with two children) who 'does not  
 29 really cook for me' but 'loves' food as 'it is all part of the sensual  
 30 experience of life, like music, paintings, sex etc'. He notes:

31  
 32 *My father worked all over the world during his working life, especially*  
 33 *in Western Europe. We lived in Surrey with quite a big garden and a*  
 34 *decent vegetable patch and fruit bushes, fruit trees etc. ... Both my Mum*  
 35 *and my Dad were brought up in houses with cooks so it was only really*  
 36 *after WW2 that this kind of life ended and they had to start cooking for*  
 37 *them selves. In fact my Hungarian granny kept just one lady on till she*  
 38 *died who did all the cooking and washing and cleaning. She was called*  
 39

1 *Margit and was very affectionate to me as she had virtually brought my*  
 2 *Mother up as well ...*

3  
 4 Here the markers of elite cultural capital can be understood in  
 5 terms of references to staff (cooks), a big garden and a lot of foreign  
 6 travel, which would have been unusual in the time this narrative  
 7 took place, before the boom in cheap air travel in the UK from the  
 8 late 1970s. This vignette includes more contemporary indicators  
 9 of elite culinary capital such as a 'decent vegetable patch and fruit  
 10 bushes and fruit trees'. There has been a shift in attitudes in favour of  
 11 'home-grown' food and against highly commercialised, mass indus-  
 12 trial food production (Pollan 2013). On one level this relates to issues  
 13 of sustainability (Johnston and Bauman 2010); on another admitting  
 14 to having a vegetable patch or allotment in the past might have indi-  
 15 cated a low income, whereas now it is more likely to be associated  
 16 with high cultural capital and having time to grow your own food.  
 17 Nick continues to explain that his mother was not from England and  
 18 this influenced the range of culinary experiences he had as a child:

19  
 20 *Everyday stuff probably wasn't that different to other middle class*  
 21 *English people. Sunday roasts, big breakfasts on Sundays made by my*  
 22 *Dad with bacon, eggs, tomatoes, mushrooms and fried bread eaten out*  
 23 *on the terrace in summer looking out over the garden. He put an outdoor*  
 24 *plug socket on the wall so we could take the toaster out there. It looked*  
 25 *like something off a battleship with a big circular screw thread cap on*  
 26 *a chain, to keep the rain out. My Mum made marmalade and jam and*  
 27 *all sorts of Hungarian things too such as 'kerezet' – cream cheese with*  
 28 *chives and paprika and another thing with cucumber, dill, vinegar and*  
 29 *sugar – not sure what that's called. When I took packed lunch to school*  
 30 *for a few years, my lunch box was no different to anyone else's really;*  
 31 *sandwich, Jacob's club biscuit, and packet of crisps, tangerine but often*  
 32 *something else like a chunk of salami or Swiss cheese.*

33  
 34 Hence Nick is clearly positioning himself as a middle class English  
 35 man, reinforced by reference to what might be considered tradi-  
 36 tional British food, with a nod to cultural omnivorousness (Peterson  
 37 and Kern 1996), so whilst he had a typical lunch box with a *Jacob's*  
 38 club biscuit he also had the addition of 'something else'. Again,  
 39

cultural omnivorousness has high cultural value in a contemporary foodscape (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012). Nick's parents conform to traditional gender roles, with a contemporary twist; his mother has responsibility for 'feeding the family' (DeVault 1991) but 'cooks from scratch' (Pollan 2013) including home-made jam etc., whilst his father cooks for pleasure at the weekend and these are certainly issues of concern within a contemporary foodscape (Cairns et al. 2010, Parsons 2014b).

Simon (a 55-year-old married chef with one child) writes:

*I was fortunate that my family lived in places like Hong Kong and Malaysia where our senses were constantly open to new sights, smells and flavours, where the Army tradition of curry lunches was still practiced and pineapples grew at the end of our garden ... So cardamom, ginger, lemongrass and sambals was as much a part of growing up as stew and boiled vegetables; peanuts were not only used as a spread for toast, but mixed with garlic, coconut and cumin to eat with skewers of marinated beef.*

Hence, Simon is reflecting upon his family foodways from the past through a modern day lens that celebrates cultural omnivorousness (Peterson and Kern 1996) and authentic cuisine (Johnson and Baumann 2010, Naccarato and LeBesco 2012). His childhood family foodways originated in countries other than the UK, but are steeped in Army traditions and references to what might be considered traditional British fare such as 'stew and boiled vegetables'. Similarly, Charlie (a 49-year-old self-employed consultant, living with his partner) wrote about family foodways and socialisation across cultures:

*Granma's homemade orange marmalade with wasps buzzing lazily around her thick forearms in the kitchen and stored in the cupboard under the stairs when finished along with dried stuff and cakes. Peppermints made in the same kitchen: icing sugar, peppermint flavouring formed into small thick 2p bit sized treats for when we came back. The same recipe coming out in sweets appearing as treats, half covered with chocolate, at home wherever that was at the time. Chocolate covered orange peel sticks, put out in small bowls with the same peppermints on coffee tables with strict admonitions not to eat them all before lunch at Christmas.*

AQ2

1 Again, as in Nick's account, for Charlie there is an association  
 2 between 'homemade' and made with care, this time it is his grand-  
 3 mother making sweet treats for him at Christmas or for when they  
 4 'came back'. This he contrasts with:

5  
 6 *The smell of rice cooking and peanut sauce and basic South East Asian*  
 7 *curry and fish paste really hits me right in the taste buds every time:*  
 8 *open market stalls in the town, regimental curry lunches on the beach*  
 9 *and the satay seller on the top of the arrival terminal at Subang airport*  
 10 *in Malaysia as a seven and eight year old. Durian, the sweet sewer smell*  
 11 *rising up to the third floor window from the street market in a 1967*  
 12 *Singapore and the lazy thwack of the ceiling fan in the hotel bedroom.*

13  
 14 Hence, Charlie's early family socialisation encompasses con-  
 15 trasting tastes, flavours, experiences and this inculcates a cultural  
 16 omnivorousness that in contemporary culinary fields carries high  
 17 cultural capital (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012). Ed (a 55-year-old  
 18 carpenter, living with his partner and her daughter) writes about his  
 19 early family foodways:

20  
 21 *My earliest food memories are the spicy dishes and fruit of the*  
 22 *Caribbean, where I grew up ... Watching Dad gutting freshly speared*  
 23 *fish, and throwing them on the grill to cook, and him revelling in the*  
 24 *hunter/gatherer role. Enormous crayfish, oysters, yellow fin tuna, sting-*  
 25 *ray, grilled over a wood fire and then dressed with nothing more than*  
 26 *squeezed lime and paprika. Crab stew. There always seemed to be a*  
 27 *lot of people at these meals – we all were in and out of the neighbour's*  
 28 *houses every day ...*

29  
 30 Ed is referring to the origins of his cultural omnivorousness, which  
 31 as identified has high cultural capital (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012).  
 32 These early family foodways also include his father in a traditional  
 33 'hunter/gatherer' and cooking over a wood fire. Ed negotiates the  
 34 contaminating associations between 'feeding the family' (DeVault  
 35 1991) and a traditionally feminine domesticity by reference to forms  
 36 of hegemonic masculinities (Connell 2005) that stress masculinise  
 37 attributes that could relate to violence such as 'gutting', 'spearing'  
 38 and lack of care when throwing food on to the grill. Yet, when con-  
 39 sidering this scene through a contemporary gaze, it is reminiscent of

AQ3



other displays of masculinity within a culinary field (Hollows 2003, Hollows et al. 2010) as well as elite culinary practices that favour a more sustainable approach (Johnston and Bauman 2010).

Early family foodways for Ralph (a 55-year-old single writer) have a different flavour; he notes that his first food memory was at:

*8/9 years old – mustard-and-cress crisp sandwiches with white bread, served every Saturday night when ‘Man in a Suitcase’ came on the telly. Traveling to the ‘Scottish Pie Shop’ on the bus to Streatham to buy said pies and black puddings – my parents were from Glasgow – hence the diet.*

Ralph’s narrative is full of working class references, ‘crisp sandwiches’, watching the TV, travelling on the bus, and white bread, which has shifted from an aspirational food in the early twentieth century to one associated with a ‘lack’ of taste (Mennell 1985). However, this is also about Ralph’s parents’ nationality; a kind of banal nationalism (Billig 1995) is at work and easily expressed through everyday foodways. However, Ralph continues:

*I have a thing about lumps in mashed potatoes, which relates to a family trauma, and on the other hand, my father actually had very epicurean tastes – he had his side of the fridge. As I got older I used to dip into it more. Finding out that I liked olive at the around the age of 12 was a definite turning point.*

AQ4

Firstly, he is noting that he prefers to have food prepared with care and is therefore more discerning in his tastes. Secondly, that his father also had refined tastes which Ralph began to appreciate himself from the age of 12. Indeed ‘olive oil’ and other *Mediterranean* foodways are persistent markers of ‘good’ taste within respondent narratives. It demonstrates engagement with wider cultural influences and hints at the development of cultural omnivorousness (Peterson and Kern 1996, Warde et al. 2007). Ralph’s identification with his father in becoming an epicurean protects him from any feminine associations with refinement or fussiness around not eating lumpy mashed potatoes.

AQ5

Fred (a 39-year-old single solicitor, foodie and former vegetarian) describes his early food experiences:

1       Going to my Nan's every Saturday and she had one of those huge cater-  
 2       ing margarine plastic boxes full of chocolate biscuits. She always kept it  
 3       in the fridge (she lived in a caravan and had the fire on all year round).  
 4       I'm sure plastic would melt so biscuits would have had no chance hence  
 5       the fridge. I can remember to this day the taste and texture of a chilled  
 6       Kit Kat. Oh and on the odd occasion I stayed she would make me that  
 7       roast beef from Birds-Eye, which came in a foil tray and had slices of  
 8       beef and gravy, a very distinctive taste. It's odd that I remember two  
 9       early experiences with my Nan, as we never really got on – she was a  
 10      difficult woman. Other early memories – Findus mince beef pancakes  
 11      and my first pizzas (frozen French bread ones, again I think from  
 12      Findus) ... I remember beef Monster Munch and the pickled onion ones  
 13      too. I used to drink nothing but full fat Coke when I was about 8 or 9  
 14      I suppose. Now I don't touch fizzy drinks. (or really anything other than  
 15      booze, peppermint tea or water and fruit and veg smoothies/ juices)

16  
 17      Here Fred's past and present merge and he peppers his narrative  
 18      with familiar brand names from the 1970s that locate his story  
 19      within a particular time and space. These foods from the past are  
 20      positioned in stark contrast to the diet he refers to today – references  
 21      to fruit and vegetable smoothies and 'not touching' fizzy drinks  
 22      infer an interest in 'good' food and healthy eating, which are values  
 23      relevant within a contemporary foodscape (Pollan 2013). Later he  
 24      claims 'I don't really like ready meals', but then again when referring  
 25      to a taste of home:

26  
 27      My Nan always used to serve me that Findus Roast Beef for one. It came  
 28      in a foil tin and had about two slices of beef and weird metallic gravy.  
 29      I loved it. Never ate it anywhere else.

30  
 31      On the one hand he eschews convenience foods and on the other  
 32      associates the taste of a classic TV dinner with the comfort and  
 33      familiarity of home. Hence, despite him not eating this meal again  
 34      and not liking his Nan very much, somehow the distinctive taste of  
 35      this meal is something he has not forgotten. He is reflecting upon  
 36      this taste through a modern day lens that considers convenience  
 37      food as lacking. He is simultaneously detailing his taste, knowledge,  
 38      and participation (Warde et al. 2007) of a previous UK foodscape, as  
 39      well as acknowledging a present foodscape that associates cultural

1 omnivorousness with high cultural capital (Naccarato and LeBesco  
2 2012). Indeed, it is because he has high cultural capital that he is  
3 able to acknowledge a liking for convenience food; this does not  
4 undermine his class position.

5 Ophelia (a 53-year-old married author with two children) also lit-  
6 ters her narrative with cultural references from the 1960s and 1970s  
7 but adds 'that there was a big divide between what the adults ate and  
8 what we ate, as children' and continues:

9  
10 *Later in the early 70s the frozen food revolution hit and Marmite sand-*  
11 *wiches were overtaken by cheesy balls and fish bites in batter that sort*  
12 *of exploded fatly in your mouth. I hated them. Frey Benton Steak Pies*  
13 *also made a short visit to our house but were universally loathed. I don't*  
14 *remember eating any salad (apart from ice berg lettuce) and potatoes,*  
15 *which we grew ourselves and frozen peas were about the only vegeta-*  
16 *ble we regularly ate. We had an orchard full of plum trees and apple*  
17 *trees though and helped ourselves to these. The plums were delicious,*  
18 *warmed by the sun with great globs of sticky amber resin where their*  
19 *flesh had burst as they hit the ground. Wasps were a big problem but*  
20 *we always gorged ourselves anyway. I still have a hole in my knee where*  
21 *I ran from a wasp that wouldn't leave my apple alone and slipped on*  
22 *the gravel drive. Everything suddenly became 'easy care and pre packed';*  
23 *Butterscotch Angel Delight was my absolute favourite.*

24  
25 Again, as in Fred's narrative Ophelia is positioning herself as some-  
26 one with knowledge of changes in the UK foodscape. Hence, her  
27 family are introduced to foods considered cutting edge at the time  
28 and had the cultural capital to enable them to engage with these  
29 changes. However these commercial foodways are mostly disliked  
30 and considered lacking, in terms of care/time spent in their prepa-  
31 ration. Ophelia also makes use of cultural markers of high cultural  
32 capital and class position; an orchard and gravel drive for example,  
33 whilst her references to a lack of salad are more in keeping with con-  
34 temporary public discourses around children's diets and 'five-a-day'  
35 (DOH 2010, DOH 2011). These concerns are indicative of Ophelia's  
36 position as a mother and the need to distance the self from asso-  
37 ciation with convenience or 'other' working class family foodways  
38 (Parsons 2014a, 2014b).

## Family meals

A significant aspect of everyday family foodways for inculcating cultural norms and values is the 'proper' family meal. Anthropologists Douglas and Nicod (1974) commented upon the structure and hierarchy of British meals in the 1970s. They identified 3 types of meal: (1) the main meal of the day, which they considered a social event with rules and a rituals, a focus on time and place, a centrepiece (meat or fish) with a staple (potatoes), a dressing (gravy) and a pudding; (2) breakfast, on the other hand, they documented as a minor or secondary meal; and (3) snacks which they described as unstructured food events without rules. Of course, all three of these food events are influenced by cultural expectations and wider discourses regarding what is considered appropriate or legitimate.

In terms of the family meal one of the ongoing public discourses concerning family foodways centres on a perceived decline of the 'proper' family meal and therefore the decline of the 'proper' family, as identified by Murcott (1995, 1997). The importance of commensality and sharing a family/proper meal in maintaining cultural identity has been well documented (Douglas and Nicod 1974, Fischler 1980, 1988, 2011, Charles and Kerr 1988, Lupton 1996, Murcott 1998, Bahr Buge and Almas 2006, Warde et al. 2007b, Kauffman 2010). Research by Murcott (1982) in South Wales and Charles and Kerr (1988) for example reveal the persistence of the main meal or proper meal as significant in reaffirming family norms and values. In Lupton's (2000) Australian study, 'the baked dinner involved sitting down with the family and taking time to serve and share food, with the emphasis on the traditional British style meat and vegetables as the mainstay of the main meal' (Lupton 2000: 99). Thus, the rituals and rules of this main meal event, these family foodways are considered significant for maintaining social stability. In an era of obesity and continued anxiety regarding the decline of 'proper' families, 'meals help create bonds and serve as an index of the quality of family life' (Kauffman 2010: 138).

This long-standing association between 'proper family dinners, proper families [and] proper children' (James et al. 2009a: 39, Johansson et al. 2013) fed into the 'changing families, changing food' project (2005–2008), the most recent study on family foodways

in the UK (Jackson 2009 and James et al. 2009b). The rationale centred on a perceived increase in diverse family forms and the potential impact of these changes on 'feeding the family' (DeVault 1991). It represents the most comprehensive research undertaken in the field of family food studies since the ESRC funded 'Nations Diet' in 1992 (Murcott 1998). Jackson (2009: 10) concludes that the political rhetoric about the decline of the family meal runs ahead of the evidence and that the discourse regarding the decline of the family meal serves a normative agenda, as 'making and eating of a proper family meal remains an important symbol of family life'.

This is certainly evident throughout respondents' narratives as they are keen to keep the 'family narrative going' (Giddens 1991: 54) especially in terms of a fondness for 'roast dinner', which is also a type of 'nostalgia' (Becket et al. 2002). Hence Laura (a 35-year-old teaching assistant, married with two children) writes 'I think we probably ate like most families in the eighties, roast every Sunday, leftovers on a Monday' and Imogen (a 36-year-old part-time housekeeper, married with four children) notes:

*I would have to say that my best taste and smell of home has always been and probably always will be a good roast! Very old fashioned but nothing gets the taste buds going like that for me.*

Similarly, Ian (a 64-year-old MD, married with three children) writes:

*[A taste of home ...] It is Sunday lunch particularly beef, toad in the hole, spaghetti Bolognese. When I was young say 5–8 Mum would take us to Any town to have chicken as a treat. It was expensive then. If I was lucky dad would let me have the end of the joint of beef if it was a little burnt – I loved it. On Sunday evenings there was a ritual as there was for lunch. My dad and uncle would put on clean shirts with armbands and cuff links. This may well have been the only bath of the week! Food was part of this Sunday celebration. I can remember looking forward to the toast and dripping.*

Again, like other respondents' Ian is contemplating the rituals of his childhood family foodways through a modern day lens, here with references to the expense of meat like chicken. There is also an intimacy and identification with his father and uncle, though their

1 concern to dress up for dinner might be considered feminising so Ian  
 2 introduces the notion that it may well have been the only bath of the  
 3 week, inferring that as working men they did not have time for such  
 4 niceties. Of course this also relates to other changes in cultural norms  
 5 around hygiene. His narrative also highlights the 'treat' of eating out  
 6 and comfort from the repetition of the Sunday rituals of lunch and  
 7 dinner that comply with the cultural norms of what Fischler (2011)  
 8 refers to as 'the fraternal agape of a communal meal [...] a token of  
 9 Christian fellowship, as held by early Christians in commemoration  
 10 of the last supper' (2011: 532).

11 These types of family meal events with their rules and rituals per-  
 12 sist as highly symbolic cultural representations, infused with class  
 13 norms and values as Ian's account implies. It is notable that the  
 14 'traditional' Sunday dinner according to Gillis (1997: 94), 'even as  
 15 it came into being in the mid nineteenth century, [...] was already  
 16 being spoken of as 'traditional' (1997: 94). He argues that 'we tend  
 17 to exaggerate the frequency with which families ate together in the  
 18 past and to underestimate the commitment to the family dinner in  
 19 the present (1997: 88). Also, how 'the poor ate out of the same pot  
 20 around the hearth, but they did not dine as such'. The poor also 'ate  
 21 whatever and whenever they could, but even the middle classes [...] had  
 22 no notion of the meal as we have come to know it (Gillis 1997:  
 23 89), indeed, he continues:

25 *It wasn't until the middle of the nineteenth century, [that] eating had*  
 26 *become a carefully arranged sequence of breakfast, lunch and dinner, in*  
 27 *an ascending order of significance.*

28 (Gillis 1997: 90)

29  
 30 However, despite or because of the cultural association between the  
 31 traditional Sunday dinner and middle class expectations, an attach-  
 32 ment to this type of meal persists and is significant for the display  
 33 of appropriate middle class family values. In Ian's narrative there are  
 34 hints of working class family foodways; in Ophelia's account on the  
 35 other hand, she positions her family quite differently:

36  
 37 *My parents entertained a lot and my mother loved planning her din-*  
 38 *ner parties. I remember her long shopping lists of ingredients and the*  
 39 *more complicated the better. She was an adventurous cook, born in*

*Buenos Aires, the first person to serve the exotic and strange 'avocado' and Camembert to friends in our small village in Yorkshire. She was a brave cook, a bit of a cause celebre amongst her circle of friends and not afraid to try new recipes. To her, cooking was an art – she would spend hours peeling grapes for some pudding if Elizabeth David said so. She was often very late with the food but her guests were always in raptures when it finally arrived. Like many children I sat on the stairs in my pyjamas smelling the delicious aromas of dinner mixed with heady perfumes of the 60s, Arpege, Lanvin and Chanel.*

Hence, Ophelia is positioning her childhood on the edges of a glamorous, expensive and rarefied setting. This scene from the 1960s was perhaps not as common as Ophelia implies for 'many children'; however, there is high cultural capital associated with gastronomy in contemporary culinary fields (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012) and Ophelia is aligning memories of her mother with this. However, it is worth noting that although this implies an inculcation of tastes with high cultural capital, Ophelia complains of not being allowed to eat the food her mother prepares nor to help with any cooking or baking. Again these are concerns associated with contemporary middle class family foodways that value inculcation of appropriate cooking skills from a young age. This is examined more fully in Chapter 3 on maternal foodways, but Ophelia is clearly judging her mothers' foodways in light of contemporary concerns about appropriate mothering, the glorification of feminine domesticity (Negra 2009), a fetishisation of the maternal (Littler 2013) and popular discourses on 'yummy mummies' (Allen and Osgood 2009, Littler 2013). When considering gender it is notable that Ophelia refers to her mother as brave and adventurous, which are adjectives not usually associated with women's domestic roles in the 1960s, but more commonly associated with epicurean foodways in a contemporary foodscape (Heldke 2003). Indeed, as Skeggs (2004b: 24) notes, 'cultural capital is always associated with high cultural practices and classifications, though upper middle class femininity would work'. Thus, the intersectionalities of gender and class intersect and position Ophelia's mother with access to elite cultural practices. Ophelia continues:

*Sunday lunch was the one-day of the week when we all ate the same food together. Always a roast of some kind. My mother, inevitably no*

1 longer hungry, hot faced and slightly bad tempered by the time it came  
2 to the table, my father rasping the huge knife and the sharpener together  
3 theatrically to ensure we were all paying attention to his manly role in  
4 this feast. My younger brother, on chicken days, always had given just  
5 the parson's nose as a family joke that had worn tearfully thin. My  
6 stomach churning with the anticipation of the general knowledge quiz  
7 inevitably to follow with my elder brother's arm waving in the air as he  
8 proceeded to answer every question, leaving me feeling thick, tiny and  
9 irrelevant on my red velvet-covered dining room chair. These Sunday  
10 meals were an ordeal, often both my younger brother and myself leav-  
11 ing the table tearfully to sit on the stairs after being teased or taunted  
12 too much by an overbearing older sibling and over-sherried parents. Just  
13 writing about it gives me indigestion.

14  
15 It is evident that whilst Ophelia is now describing a domestic,  
16 everyday commensal occasion, it is hierarchical and has a flavour  
17 of 'institutional' commensality, perhaps 'the' family ritual of the  
18 Sunday lunch becomes an 'exceptional' commensality (Grignon  
19 2001: 23–36) or highly stressed event because of Ophelia's child-  
20 hood dependency and status in this scene, as well as the pressure on  
21 both parents to display 'appropriate' family foodways. Of course, for  
22 Ophelia this is significantly the 'one-day of the week' when she has  
23 the opportunity of eating the food her mother has made, yet this  
24 simple pleasure is spoiled by the formality of the event and adher-  
25 ence to the cultural codes, norms and values prevalent at that time.  
26 Later she writes about her family foodways today and notes:

27  
28 *A taste of home is everyone around the table, all the generations in one*  
29 *place from the oldest to the youngest, sharing food, wine, family stories,*  
30 *love and laughter ...*

31  
32 Indeed, within a contemporary foodscape Ophelia places less  
33 emphasis on the type of food they are eating – the traditional roast  
34 dinner is missing – and instead there is an emphasis on the role of  
35 'food' in bringing people together, drinking wine (not sherry) and  
36 laughter rather than the stress of a general knowledge quiz. Ophelia's  
37 account demonstrates a shift in everyday foodways from the hierar-  
38 chical family mealtimes of her childhood to a more informal, relaxed  
39 dining experience and equality around the table. It is notable of



course that the food is still consumed around the table and not in front of the TV, as reminiscent of the symbolic violence afforded by *Jamie Oliver* to the 'mum and the kid eating chips and cheese out of Styrofoam containers, and behind them is a massive f\*\*\*\*\* TV (Deans 2013). Hence 'domestic commensality' (Grignon 2001: 23) continues to be a significant aspect of appropriate middle class family foodways. It is a cultural expectation and a means of 'othering' alternative family foodways (Parsons 2014a, 2014b).

AQ10, 11

However, when considering family foodways within the domestic sphere, Coveney (2014: 33) argues that there is a distinctive shift within the commensal hierarchy in the home. He comments on research carried out on Australia in the 1990s where he claims they did not find 'patriarchy on the menu'; instead children had a 'privileged voice on household food matters'. Dixon and Banwell (2004) in their report on this study identify how children metaphorically became the head of the family table. Indeed, children are considered equal members within a family as a consequence of individualism and the rise of human rights legislation. Further, these changes in attitudes towards children provide a lens through which respondents discuss their past. Thus Larry (a 48-year-old married managing director with two children and a foodie) writes:

AQ12

*I never really like tomato-based stuff when I was a kid, though Campbell's or Heinz tomato soup was always the exception. Vivid memories as about a 5 year old of Dad getting back from the office and daubing Heinz tomato ketchup all over my dinner ... he was trying to be efficient in distributing the condiment to all and sundry at the table while the bottle was in his hand ... I hate tomato ketchup in any form – even as the base to another sauce such as a barbeque or sweet and sour. I can detect its presence at about 50 feet and still cannot stomach it ... Rarely eat in McDonald's these days because the American assumption that everyone likes ketchup and their burgers therefore must come with it as a standard annoys me. Such choices I like to make for myself.*

In Larry's account he complains, as his food preferences have not been honoured by his father, which later turns into a criticism of a multinational company similarly ignoring his individual rights to choose how/what to eat. It is notable here too that it was his father (and not his mother, whom we assume cooked the dinner)

1 who spoiled his food by daubing it in ketchup. In Larry's example  
 2 as in Ophelia's there is a continued emphasis on traditional gender  
 3 roles within the family; in Ophelia's her father is wielding a knife  
 4 (his 'manly role in this feast'), whilst in Larry's vignette, his father  
 5 has returned to the home from the office. Thus, it is the head of the  
 6 household that adds the (unwanted) flourish to the meal; the person  
 7 responsible for preparing and cooking it is notably absent. There is  
 8 a distinction being made between the instrumental action of the  
 9 father, coming in from outside, and the potential time and care taken  
 10 in the preparation of the meal in the home. The association between  
 11 father, work, masculinity and a global multinational corporation  
 12 reifies the doxic order; the feminine contribution to food work is  
 13 naturalised, trivialised, invisible and easily spoiled.

### 15 School dinners

16  
 17 In contrast to 'proper' family meals, school dinners for some are con-  
 18 sidered improper or lacking. Indeed, school dinners differ from fam-  
 19 ily meals that value 'attending to [the] particular tastes and desires'  
 20 (DeVault 1991: 241) of individual family members, as school dinners  
 21 are contemplated within a contemporary gaze that values individual-  
 22 ism. There is a concern with a perceived 'lack' of care associated with  
 23 institutional and commercial food production (Pollan 2013), again  
 24 contemporary issues. For example, Ed writes:

25  
 26 *By contrast, later on, the school dinners of England seemed to echo the*  
 27 *drab, colourless, unexciting surroundings in which we now lived, with*  
 28 *stringy meat of unsure provenance, floating in watery gravy. Faggots,*  
 29 *these unappetizing balls of meat held together with a nauseating mem-*  
 30 *brane, vegetables boiled to within an inch of extinction ... My school*  
 31 *friends seemed to take all this in their stride, and it was only later that*  
 32 *I realised the ordeal the few who ate at [our] table must have endured*  
 33 *as Mum served up 'foreign muck' like spaghetti Bolognese, chicken and*  
 34 *rice with paprika etc.*

35  
 36 Here, Ed's reference to 'school dinners' draws on common con-  
 37 ceptualisations of institutional and corporate food as 'lacking' in  
 38 terms of taste and care. This contrast is stark when considering the  
 39 richness and complexity of the representation of his childhood in

the Caribbean. He not only distances himself from food of 'unsure provenance', but is critical of his peers who he implies also lack taste and/or a cultured palate. Ed's reference to not knowing where the meat has come from is common amongst those anxious or critical of 'other' foodways (Fiddes 1991). It also reflects interests from a contemporary foodscape that values sustainability and democracy within the food system (Johnston and Baumann 2010). He is making clear the distinctions between institutional and family foodways, as well as British and 'foreign muck', in both antinomies the former is associated with food for the masses and therefore lacking in taste or sub-standard. It is noticeable too that he associates his father with the adventurous food of the *Caribbean* and his mother with the 'foreign muck' prepared in the home. This reifies a gendered doxic order that associates women with feeding the family (DeVault 1991) and men cooking for pleasure. There are also symbols of cultural value here, Ed and his school friends are served meals around a table and although he refers to these as 'foreign muck', within a contemporary foodscape these have cultural value and contribute to his inculcation as a cultural omnivore.

AQ13

Drew (a 42-year-old senior manager, married with one child, living and working abroad and a self confessed foodie) also refers to school dinners when positioning himself as a cultural omnivore, he notes:

*Early bad food memories are around being force fed vegetables and school dinners. Both of which put me off certain foods for a long time ... School dinners, my memory is that each one included beetroot, every meal beetroot, spam, mash and beetroot, boiled fish and beetroot and the only value this vinegary pink thing added was colour – to everything, hands, potatoes in fact anything that touched it. Yuurch ... It took me 19 years to grow to like it/ even try it again – then one day at Borough Market I had a eureka moment, feta, beetroot, mint and lemon pasta – I now grow it, bake it – eat it raw and the Borough recipe is a strong family favourite.*

Here Drew equates his school dinner experiences with contamination or contagion (Fiddes 1991), as the beetroot spreads beyond the food on his plate. Again this is food that 'lacks' care and is associated with low cultural capital. In stark contrast to the beetroot he uses in his contemporary family foodways, a 'family favourite', 'he grows,

bakes and eats raw'. Hence Drew is clearly considering his past in light of his status as a committed foodie, engaged in a range of elite culinary practices (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012). Drew also associates being force-fed vegetables with school dinners – both practices when considered within a contemporary gaze challenge individualism and the contemporary role of family foodways for inculcating individual self worth. Magenta (a 39-year-old single academic, and vegan) also comments upon school dinners:

*I have vivid memories of the school desserts, which I quite literally found very hard to stomach. The worst were bread and butter pudding and spotted dick, which were stodgy slabs of yuck with currents and layers of grease in them. They tasted disgusting and stuck to the roof of my mouth and back of my throat if I tried to eat them and used to make me heave and gag. But the dinner ladies (or dinner-bags as they were known) used to make me sit there with it in front of me for most of lunchtime trying to force it down.*

Hence, Magenta's individualism is challenged and the women supposedly charged with her care are objectified and othered. Similarly, Ollie (a 44-year-old married teacher with two children, and a vegetarian) writes:

*My earliest memories of eating are probably school dinners. I definitely remember being freaked out by the skin on sausages and struck by the synthetic bright pink and yellow of icing on cakes and custard type stuff. I vividly remember the Primary school canteen and it being warm and sweaty in there ... I remember seeing that film where some scientists are shrunk down to microscopic size and journey through a human body (Fantastic Voyage – I think) and this so amazed me that I was convinced that scientists were trying to put a 'sub' inside me to do some sort of tests. As a result I used to look out for specs in my food, especially mash for some reason, and if there were any suspicious flecks I would put them to one side ... Oh God – I haven't thought of this for years and you'll probably think I need a psychiatrist now!*

This memory from Ollie clearly marks his school dinner experience as alien, unfamiliar and uncomfortable (sweaty). It is a foreign and unnatural (synthetic) environment and this is reflected in the food

he is served and his anxiety regarding its provenance. He counters this alienating ‘institutional commensality’ (Grignon 2001: 23–36) by picking over his food as a means of asserting his individualism and as a challenge to authority. This vignette is illustrative of a shift in the contemporary culinary foodscape towards more authentic, natural and locally grown/sourced cuisine (Johnston and Baumann 2010, Naccarato and LeBesco 2012, DeSolier 2013). Ollie’s alienating school dinner experience is also vaguely reminiscent of the *Jamie’s School Dinners* TV series in which Jamie ‘exposed’ the ‘low nutritional content of school meals ... [and] embark[ed] on a campaign to improve kitchen practices within schools’ (Hollows and Jones 2010: 309). Otaline (a 32-year-old PhD student, living with her partner and new baby), on the other hand has a different ‘school dinners’ experience, she writes:

AQ14

*I was a school dinners kid and I hated that when I grew old enough to know what that meant. I was the only one in my group. When I was younger it was fine, but later in my teens when my mum’s partner left and we were really poor we’d get like 50p to go to school so it was our only meal of the day and I was always starving.*

Thus, she continues:

*School dinners I loved. My step great aunt, Mavis was a dinner lady at my school. She was such a lovely, lovely woman, so frail and tiny, even then. With a tiny gentle voice. She’d always give me seconds and I’d always go for seconds. I’m really quite greedy with food and it started young. I loved, loved, loved the school’s roast potatoes with macaroni cheese. When I got older and everything became standardised they used to have portion control – God, I’m laughing – I can’t believe I did this, let alone remember it – and I used to ask for a cake or something – whatever was behind the dinner lady so I could lean over and nick a few extra potatoes. I was always starving.*

It is noteworthy that the provision of free school meals contributes to Otaline feeling different from her peers and an alienating sense of self. However, this is ‘the only meal of the day’ and this shifts the focus slightly. This institutional experience is given a more human face, as Otaline’s ‘step great aunt’ is her ally in acquiring ‘seconds’.

Hence, the usual dislike of school meals for their lack of 'care' and consideration of individualism is replaced by a need to nourish the self because of a lack of food in the home. Ruth (a 47-year-old MD, married with two children), however, draws upon more widely held cultural norms regarding food served in institutional settings and the position of children attending school in previous decades. She writes:

*At pre-primary school the food was disgusting ... I really hated rice pudding in particular and used to try and hide it or throw it in the toilet ... I was about 5 or 6 when one day a friend called Terry and I just couldn't eat it ... We were kept behind in the kitchen after lunch and the headmistress stood over us. Terry tried to eat a spoonful and he was sick into his bowl ... The headmistress then spooned the sick into his mouth ... I will never ever forget it. I was completely shocked ... She saw my face and quickly whisked away the bowls and then we were outside in the playground. The smell of rice pudding makes me retch now.*

Ruth has a corporeal reaction to an incident in which her individual food preferences are ignored and her human rights impinged. However, it is the instrumental reaction of the headmistress charged with their care that adds to the distress and 'shock'. The 'lack of care experienced in institutional settings demonstrates how food care is a cultural expectation within contemporary family foodways.

AQ15

### Food choice

There is a lack of fit between public policy initiatives that emphasise individual choice and the lived reality in which there is often no choice. In a culinary field 'choice' constitutes part of a doxic battle for legitimacy, as it is an embodied, affective practice that sediments over time, rather than a rational and deliberate act. Further, 'choice' is embedded in hegemonic discourses that are politically motivated and morally loaded, especially when choices are made from a limited set of options that are constrained by economics, and/or cultural norms and values. Indeed, commentators and researchers investigating structural inequalities in the UK have commented that health related and psychosocial behaviours are never truly voluntary (Singh-Manoux and Marmot 2005) and this includes family foodways. An emphasis on responsible individualism and freedom

1 to choose 'appropriate' family foodways belies the reality for those  
 2 unable to choose the circumstances of their birth. Hence, as Skeggs  
 3 (2005: 974) notes:

4  
 5 *Others do not have access to 'choice', all they can display is 'lack'; lack*  
 6 *of access to the techniques for telling themselves and lack of access to*  
 7 *the right culture; they cannot perform the good self because they do not*  
 8 *have the cultural resources to do so.*

9  
 10 Further, not all respondents are fortunate to experience elite culi-  
 11 nary practices and/or cultural omnivorousness within their child-  
 12 hood family foodways. For example, Otaline writes:

AQ16

13  
 14 *I remember being a little girl and often feeling, intensely, the restrictions*  
 15 *around food. My mother screaming at us: 'Don't drink the milk – I've*  
 16 *just bought it'; 'don't eat the food – I've just bought it'. Free access to*  
 17 *food was off limits and I hated that, resented it so much and I really*  
 18 *think this established my own fascination with the food I couldn't have.*  
 19 *And the food we could have – Jesus Christ – it was bad.*

20  
 21 She explains 'when you're poor there's a lot you can't have' and  
 22 notes:

23  
 24 *When I grew older and started going to other friend's homes for tea I*  
 25 *really began to realise how different I was from them. In my teens my*  
 26 *best friend's mum once made us venison! They all sat down together*  
 27 *every night and I loved my time there. I was always inviting myself*  
 28 *round. It was a home and it felt safe and cosy and warm and I loved*  
 29 *sitting perched on the end of that table with them being a part of it all.*  
 30 *Hmm, I still miss them now.*

AQ17

31  
 32 Indeed, Otaline's narrative demonstrates the power of appropri-  
 33 ate middle class family foodways in reinforcing cultural boundaries  
 34 between those who have access to resources and those who do  
 35 not. The economic, symbolic, social and cultural capital associ-  
 36 ated with 'appropriate' family foodways excludes on many levels.  
 37 It is also about 'lack' and this is not just in terms of economics; in  
 38 Otaline's account it is a lack of opportunity to learn the cultural  
 39 codes associated with middle class family foodways. In the domestic

1 commensality she witnesses at her friend's house Otaline highlights  
 2 how they sat at a table to share a home-cooked meal of 'venison',  
 3 which has high cultural capital, due to its long association with elite  
 4 practices of hunting and fishing. Yet, it is sitting around a table and  
 5 eating home cooked food that demonstrates 'love' for Otaline, not  
 6 practicing these culinary norms is indicative of a 'lack' of care. Eating  
 7 food together around a table is a marker of cultural capital, which  
 8 is also highlighted by Vera (a 59-year-old, divorced, shop assistant,  
 9 with two grown up children) as she notes:

10  
 11 *Growing up, we always ate together at the table except Saturday and*  
 12 *Sunday teatimes when we usually had sandwiches rather than some-*  
 13 *thing cooked and could eat in the sitting room watching TV, but it was*  
 14 *still eating together.*

15  
 16 However, Vera neutralises the transgression from the cultural norm  
 17 of eating around the table by stressing that they are still sharing this  
 18 activity as a family. Their family identity is not spoiled; eating the  
 19 same food at the same time together is part of reifying the family.  
 20 In Faith's (a 30-year-old teaching assistant from Zimbabwe, married  
 21 with two children) narrative, she writes:

22  
 23 *Before I turned 7 my siblings and I used to eat together in a large bowl.*  
 24 *The food was never enough so we ate really quickly ... When I*  
 25 *turned 8 my father was promoted at work and then we had separate*  
 26 *plates. I remember how excited we were about the separate plates, which*  
 27 *was a sure sign that we had gone up the social ladder. The portions were*  
 28 *still very small. I spent all my childhood and my teenage years very*  
 29 *hungry. Food was something very precious and we never had anything/*  
 30 *leftovers to throw away.*

31  
 32 Indeed, the consequences of Faith's early experiences are felt today:

33  
 34 *I try not to throw away any food. As a result I sometimes cook small*  
 35 *portions for meals, which means my two boys end up not satisfied at*  
 36 *meal times.... I also always carry a banana or cereal bar wherever I*  
 37 *go even to people's houses when they have invited me to dinner, just*  
 38 *in case. I am scared of being hungry ... I don't like 'shared platters' or*  
 39 *shared dishes when I go out with friends because I get anxious that I'm*



1 *not going to get anything. Because we were taught never to complain*  
 2 *about the quality and quantity of food I would never say anything if I*  
 3 *thought I wasn't getting a fair share of food.*

4  
 5 Otaline continues her narrative by outlining some of her struggles  
 6 and strategies to 'learn' the cultural codes lacking from her early  
 7 experiences:

8  
 9 *Moving around a bit, I finally came to live with Luca and Alyssa. He*  
 10 *was Swiss French and she was Italian. Again they had the table and*  
 11 *God could they cook. Both came from wealthy families. My memories*  
 12 *of this time are conflicted. I learned to cook in this house – we ate*  
 13 *together often so I really wanted to learn – to be a part of it. My dish*  
 14 *was a tuna with Mediterranean roasted veg. I also did great salads – I*  
 15 *was very proud of it :O! Once, however, the oven dish slipped out of my*  
 16 *hand onto the floor as they were seated waiting for me!! I scooped it all*  
 17 *back up and served it! They ate it all and loved it!! But this was also*  
 18 *a very hard time for me because they were cultured. Cultured in a way*  
 19 *that I didn't even know how to articulate back then. I just felt bad ...*

20  
 21 Here Otaline begins her culinary escape, notably beginning with  
 22 *Mediterranean* influences from those outside of her family and indica-  
 23 tive of a contemporary interest in *Mediterranean* foodways amongst  
 24 advocates of a healthy lifestyle (Pollan 2013). The strongest sense  
 25 throughout her narrative though is her feeling of shame at a 'lack' of  
 26 cultural knowledge and access to the 'circuits of symbolic [cultural]  
 27 production' (Skeggs 2005: 975). The power of legitimate middle class  
 28 family foodways excludes, marks and stigmatises those not familiar  
 29 with the cultural rules, rituals, norms and values of culinary capital  
 30 (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012). She continues:

31  
 32 *Luca once had friends coming to dinner and I offered to get the wine.*  
 33 *We had a specialist winery round the corner from our place and I spend*  
 34 *about a fiver or maybe more on a bottle of red but when I got home I*  
 35 *could sense his dismay – I'd got it wrong – the wine was cheap I should*  
 36 *have spent a tenner I guess. I was so upset. He never said explicitly that*  
 37 *I'd messed up and I'm sure he thought I was just being tight but I really*  
 38 *just didn't know how to buy the fucking bottle. So I sat at the table with*  
 39 *his friends – they were all speaking in French and I just sat there feeling*

AQ18  
 AQ19

1        *like I really didn't deserve to be there, but without fully understanding*  
 2        *why. It was awful. And there were many, many moments like this.*

3  
 4        Again, Otaline identifies the class-based associations with 'appro-  
 5        priate' foodways, which can be particularly difficult if they have not  
 6        been inculcated from a young age and over time. Magenta similarly  
 7        notes:

8  
 9        *I was quite often embarrassed at the very limited knowledge of food I*  
 10        *had, so would often eat things just to avoid the shame of admitting that*  
 11        *I didn't know what aubergine, for example, was like.*

12  
 13        Today Otaline has access to the social, cultural and symbolic  
 14        resources missing from her childhood family foodways and is able  
 15        to perform a 'good' self. Therefore she writes 'all that class stuff that  
 16        I've read loads on and written about', means that '[I have a] self-  
 17        understanding of that time now, but back then I felt like a peasant'.  
 18        She adds:

19  
 20        *The cutlery thing has followed me. Caught me out, exposed me on more*  
 21        *than once occasion. I still feel very anxious eating in groups – especially*  
 22        *colleagues, and I avoid it if I can. I still don't know how to hold it all*  
 23        *properly – or what order it all goes on that table and I can't bear the*  
 24        *shame, the pause to see what everyone else is doing, – and worst of all –*  
 25        *not being able to enjoy the food!*

26  
 27        Of course, a 'lack' of cultural capital is noticeable in social situ-  
 28        ations or when mixing with 'other' social groups, especially those  
 29        with high cultural capital themselves. Generally, Otaline like others  
 30        clearly documents the development of a type of 'food consciousness'  
 31        cultivated over time and linked to the acquisition of high cultural  
 32        capital. Her subsequent education, though, further exposes her  
 33        sense of alienation from the cultural rules that are not inculcated  
 34        in her family. Hence, a lack of familiarity with these cultural codes  
 35        and symbols has the capacity to expose her and this makes her vul-  
 36        nerable. Her narrative is reminiscent of Goffman's (1963) work on  
 37        stigma, as Otaline is forced to negotiate a discreditable (not visible)  
 38        status in intimate settings and information management (who to  
 39        tell). However, in public or more formal arenas she has to mediate a

1     discrediting (visible) condition and impression management. In both  
 2     scenarios there is an element of shame and fear. This demonstrates  
 3     the power of everyday foodways in drawing boundaries across culi-  
 4     nary and cultural fields. A significant consequence for Otaline is that  
 5     she is determined that her son will not lack access to the cultural  
 6     capital missing from her childhood family foodways. She notes 'I  
 7     do not want him to even know the tastes of my childhood. There  
 8     are no "grandmother's recipes" to pass on'. Indeed, Otaline is com-  
 9     mitted to feeding her family 'healthy' home-cooked meals prepared  
 10    from scratch (Parsons 2014a, 2014b). These contemporary healthy  
 11    family foodways are examined more fully in Chapter 3 on maternal  
 12    foodways.

13    Finally, healthy family foodways reify 'the' family as a site for incul-  
 14    cating appropriate healthy family values. Hence a 'pre-occupation  
 15    with achieving a "healthy diet" reflects a middle class disposition for  
 16    being "health conscious" and for taking on board "authentic" health  
 17    and dietary messages, that are sanctioned by (government) experts'  
 18    (Wills et al. 2009: 65). The violent repudiation of mass produced  
 19    convenience foodways (or food of the masses) then becomes part of a  
 20    hegemonic habitus that highlights privileged idealised feminine and  
 21    classed dispositions (Parsons 2014a, 2014b). A consensus amongst  
 22    accounts illustrates how an aspirational model of 'feeding the family'  
 23    (DeVault 1991) constructs boundaries and distances between sets of  
 24    practices. An engagement in healthy family foodways requires work,  
 25    time and a commitment to a particular set of cultural values. These  
 26    contribute to the symbolic vilification and cultural hostility regard-  
 27    ing alternative foodways and the reification and valorisation of  
 28    'healthy' family foodways. Put simply, middle class 'healthy family  
 29    foodways' are presented as the norm and others pathologies (Parsons  
 30    2014a, 2014b).

AQ20

# 3

## Maternal Foodways

There are two interrelated issues for maternal foodways, the valorisation of healthy 'home-cooked food prepared from scratch' (Pollan 2013) and the significance of home-baking. In respondents' accounts both are markers of high cultural capital and bound up with notions of appropriate middle class maternal foodways and intensive mothering (Hays 1996). Further, as highlighted in Chapter 2 on family foodways, respondents are keen to distance themselves from commercial/convenience foodways, ready meals (chilled, dried, canned, frozen) and take-away food. This dismissal of convenience foodways as inferior runs counter to research carried out by Carrigan et al. (2006) who identify a hierarchy of potential cheats when it came to the use of convenience products by women when feeding their families. Yet, commercial foodways are considered to 'lack' on many levels, mostly due to a perceived 'lack' of care due to a symbolic vilification of 'other' maternal foodways, such as the mum who feeds her children convenience foods, like 'cheese and chips out of a Styrofoam container' (Deans 2013).

This is despite a compound annual growth rate in the UK ready meals market of 3.1% in 2011, with the performance of the market forecast to follow a similar pattern of 3.2% for the five-year period 2011–2016 (MarketLine 2013). Indeed, the ready meal market as a whole is valued at £2.6bn (Winterman 2013). Moreover, alongside a steady rise in sales of ready meals is an increase in retail sales of home-baking products between 2009 and 2013 from £1.41bn to £1.79bn. Notwithstanding these contradictions, home cooking and baking is indicative of a commitment to intensive mothering (Hays

1996) and having time (economic resources) to prepare home-cooked food from scratch. Certainly women with dependent children at the time of the study were committed to 'creating [healthy] meals from raw ingredients' (Little et al. 2009: 204) and this reinforces the doxic order that this is woman's work, and a means of doing appropriate middle class mothering. Indeed the medicalisation and individualisation of everyday foodways is pertinent as there is an 'implicit assumption that healthiness is a product of home cooking' (Hollows et al. 2010: 310) and woman's domestic labour. This obscures:

AQ1

*The food industry's role in constructing people's food desires and behaviours and blames the individual ... [and] since food is a woman's responsibility, the corollary of individualisation of food-related health problems is that women are to blame.*

(Allen and Sachs 2007: 11)

Indeed, part of the problem with convenience/commercialised food products is that they are associated with less healthy diets, obesity and related chronic diseases such as cardiovascular disease, diabetes and cancer (Jabs and Devine 2006, Celnik et al. 2012). Hence, the rise in consumption of these types of meals is associated with unhealthy diets and therefore unhealthy families, it links junk food with a 'junk childhood' (James 2010: un-paginated). In Jackson's (2009: 10) work 'junk food' is associated with working class mothers, whereas the 'making and preparing of a proper (home-cooked) family meal from scratch', whilst accommodating 'the individual food preferences and tastes of different family members', is part of a middle class habitus and a means of displaying a 'healthy' family life (Parsons 2014a, 2014b). This raises obvious issues in terms of how individuals negotiate or counter the stigma/contamination associated with commercial foodways (ready meals, take-away food). Strategies include considering them as treats (a rarity), or in response to a work/life balance that means cooking from scratch is difficult (on occasion), or as 'authentic street food' and significant in the accumulation of culinary capital (Nacarrato and LeBesco 2012). However, *ALL* women with dependent children at the time of the study prepared healthy home-cooked meals from scratch (Pollan 2013). This accentuates the power of this cultural ideal for the display and performance of appropriate mothering and legitimate maternal foodways.

Throughout this chapter I demonstrate how maternal foodways continue to be influenced by gender and class. Hence, there is a consistency over time regarding who is responsible for 'feeding the family' (DeVault 1991) and subtle shifts in the display of appropriate middle class maternal foodways as markers of high cultural capital. It is notable that recent research on gender tends to focus on family foodways as leisure or lifestyle activities for men. Hence, men engage in foodie practices or 'choose' to become involved in the domestic sphere (Johnston and Baumann 2010, Meah and Jackson 2013, Szabo 2013). Neither of these lifestyle/leisure options is considered possible for mothers/women engaged in maternal foodways or the invisible work of feeding the family (DeVault 1991). Indeed, in terms of the individualisation thesis, 'motherhood' severely restricts everyday movement and future possibilities for women (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002: 70). Hence, individualisation can be conceptualised as masculine (Lewis 2007).

AQ2

### Intensive mothering and 'yummy mummies'

Hays (1996), Douglas and Michaels (2004) and O'Reilly (2004) argue that intensive mothering is an ideology based on white privilege and that this therefore 'others' alternative mothering practices such as mothering on welfare. Hays' (1996) definition of intensive mothering is referred to in Chapter 1. She adds that:

*Good childrearing requires the day-to-day labour of nurturing the child, listening to the child, attempting to decipher the child's needs and desires, struggling to meet the child's wishes, and placing the child's well-being ahead of their own convenience.*

(Hays 1996: 115)

Further, Allen and Osgood (2009: 7) discuss distinctions between the 'yummy-mummy' and the 'chav mum'. They note that McRobbie (2008) identifies this 'yummy-mummy' as a distinct consumer 'tribe', consisting of women 'who have established a successful career before embarking on a family'. It is an aspirational identity, occupied by white, middle class professional women. Ringrose and Walkerdine (2008: 232) argue that the 'yummy-mummy' falsely 'universalises middle class femininity and pathologises working class women',

1 especially younger women who have been unable to 'choose'  
 2 between career and family. In Tyler's (2008: 30) analysis the 'chav-  
 3 mum represents a thoroughly dirty and disgusting ontology that  
 4 operates as a constitutive limit for clean, white, middle class, femi-  
 5 nine respectability'. She contends that the vilification of alternative  
 6 mothering practices outside of intensive mothering ideologies links:

8 *New sets of norms about femininity, in which the ideal life trajectory*  
 9 *of middle class women conforms to the current government objectives*  
 10 *of economic growth through higher education and increased female*  
 11 *workforce participation.*

12 (2008: 30)

13  
 14 Hence, in the context of neo-liberal discourses, the 'yummy-  
 15 mummy' 'embodies self-responsibility and self-sufficiency'; the chav-  
 16 mum on the other hand 'is constituted as the unplanned result of  
 17 improper and immoral behaviour that results in welfare dependency'  
 18 (Allen and Osgood 2009: 8). Respondents did not refer to conceptu-  
 19 alisations of the 'yummy mummy' or 'chav mum' in their narratives,  
 20 however they would certainly have been aware of wider discourses  
 21 regarding intensive mothering ideologies, the glorification of femi-  
 22 nine domesticity (Negra 2009) and the fetishisation of the maternal  
 23 (Littler 2013).

24 Indeed, it is argued that 'intensive mothering' (Hays 1996),  
 25 'requires symbolic and material resources' due to the desire of middle  
 26 class parents 'to maximise [their] children's opportunities for success'  
 27 (Lareau 2003 cited in Francis 2012: 374). This includes appropriate  
 28 maternal foodways, (Elias 1978, Mennell 1985) and etiquette for  
 29 example inculcated within the family as an 'all consuming project'  
 30 (Francis 2012: 374). If this does not occur it can be viewed as a failing  
 31 of the family (mother) in the duty of care and responsibility. Francis  
 32 (2012) argues that 'intensive parenting' ideology is entwined with  
 33 neo-liberalism, one that 'emphasises individual responsibility and  
 34 self-management alongside a focus on managing risk' (Shirani et al.  
 35 2012: 26). There is an assumption therefore that parents (particu-  
 36 larly mothers) can manage and plan their children's lives through  
 37 'concerted cultivation' (Vincent and Ball 2007). This ensures that  
 38 their children are turned into responsible citizens. Hence, in an era  
 39 of concerted cultivation with regards to childcare (Lareau 2003) or  
 intensive mothering (Hays 1996), maternal foodways are even more

AQ3

1 significant in the display or performance of legitimate middle class  
2 mothering. Similarly in an age of obesity, with the medicalisation  
3 of eating along with other aspects of everyday life, and when neo-  
4 liberal government discourses charge families with the responsibility  
5 of enforcing dietary guidelines, mothers especially are implicated  
6 as the guardians of family health (James et al. 2009a) and eating  
7 (McIntosh and Zey 1989). Thus, in terms of contemporary construc-  
8 tions of new femininities, women today have to negotiate the twin  
9 poles of traditional femininity whilst embracing neo-liberal values of  
10 the autonomous self (Budgeon 2014).

11 Indeed, despite the demands placed on women by the dual burden  
12 or 'second shift' (Hochschild and Machung 2003) 'women are still  
13 responsible for the care of the house [and], the home [and family]  
14 regardless of the presence of a spouse or participation in paid work'  
15 (Robinson and Hunter 2008: 479). In DeVault's (1991: 22) study 'half  
16 of the women worked outside the home for pay'. In my study, not  
17 only are boundaries between home and work increasingly blurred,  
18 but the 'feminist political dilemma of housewife versus career  
19 woman has been replaced by narratives of renaissance women' (Allen  
20 and Osgood 2009: 7). These centre on the notion that women bal-  
21 ance their careers alongside motherhood, that they 'simultaneously  
22 work in paid employment' whilst working 'to produce a successful  
23 child' (Hey and Bradford 2006: 61). In my study, the majority (80%)  
24 of female respondents are working. The extent to which these are  
25 full-time or part-time occupations or carried out outside of the home,  
26 is not investigated. There are nine women (out of 49) who self-  
27 identify as 'housewives', which included Celia (a 79-year-old 'retired  
28 farmers wife', married with four grown up children). Yet, for mothers  
29 with dependant children at the time of the study, even (or especially)  
30 those working full-time demonstrated a commitment to feeding the  
31 family healthy home-cooked meals from scratch. Further, it is well  
32 documented that the 'pre-occupation with achieving a "good diet"  
33 reflects a middle class disposition for being "health conscious" and  
34 for taking on board "authentic" health and dietary messages, that  
35 are sanctioned by (government) experts' (Wills et al. 2009: 65). This  
36 is something that cannot be delegated or negotiated. It is integral to  
37 the identity of a good mother and the positioning of the self in rela-  
38 tion to one's own childhood experiences.

39 Thus, respondents (men and women) complied with a gendered  
division of labour within the domestic sphere particularly when



1 allocating the work of 'feeding the family' (DeVault 1991) and this  
 2 emphasised continuities, rather than disjunctures in social relations.  
 3 Despite accommodating individual family members' preferences and  
 4 maintaining an occupational identity, providing 'healthy' home-  
 5 cooked meals from scratch is a means of displaying high cultural  
 6 capital and appropriate maternal foodways (Parsons 2014a, 2014b).  
 7 These represent much more than domestic practices, they are embed-  
 8 ded in notions of what it means to be a 'good' mother. Specifically,  
 9 this incorporates intensive mothering practices (Hays 1996) associ-  
 10 ated with maternal foodways, both the everyday 'proper' food work,  
 11 such as home cooking from scratch (Pollan 2013), as well as baking  
 12 and sharing this with children as representative of a middle class  
 13 habitus and high cultural capital.

#### 15 **Maternal foodways 'past'**

17 Although not all respondents were parents themselves, many includ-  
 18 ing non-parents linked the good mother, both past and present  
 19 with notions of good maternal foodways. The extent to which eve-  
 20 ryday foodways would be so embedded within a normative script  
 21 of appropriate parenting was not anticipated, nor its significance  
 22 in positioning the self as a good mother. In most cases feeding the  
 23 family healthy home-cooked meals from scratch was used to 'dis-  
 24 play' (Finch 2007) appropriate family values and as a source of high  
 25 cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984). This applies to those reflecting on  
 26 maternal foodways from the past as well as those from the present.  
 27 Again, as in the previous chapter, respondents reflected upon the  
 28 maternal foodways of their childhoods, through a contemporary lens  
 29 that focused on how they developed their own subjective positions.  
 30 Thus Simon notes:

32 *My mother was a competent but unadventurous cook, whose style was*  
 33 *shaped by rationing, she loved to go to the hawker stalls for dim sum*  
 34 *and takeaways that came home wrapped in banana leaf.*

36 It is notable that Simon presents his mother's competency as a  
 37 cook in the context of living abroad. This is a central aspect of his  
 38 own food story and transition to becoming a professional cook. He  
 39 is acknowledging that his mother cared about his food/welfare, but

was unadventurous in contrast to his own style of cooking. Similarly, Paula, (a 55-year-old food/web writer, married with two children) makes the connection between her mother's foodways and her own contemporary interests:

*Mam did a very good Sunday roast with a very small piece of beef (always cooked 'through', as she would call it) with Yorkshires, roast potatoes and mashed potatoes, greens, carrots and always, mushy peas. I now wonder at how she managed to get it all onto the plates. Has to be my most vivid memory from childhood. A very early memory is of Mam trimming the rind off bacon before cooking it and giving me rind to chew on. She was a lover of nature and showed me which wild things were pleasant to eat. Chewing on new rose stems or new long grass, eating wood sorrel and primrose flowers, picking brambles. Also where to find crab apples and sloes, and that great field mushrooms would usually be found in a field where there had been a horse! Foraging is a habit to this day. Something for nothing being irresistible – and wild flavours being much better for not being tampered with and tamed.*

Thus Paula locates her current food interests within the context of her mother's skills. Similarly, Connor (a 27-year-old, single musician) frames his interest in cookery within the context of his mother and grandmother's skills, he writes:

*My Mothers Yorkshire Puddings (of which were always perfect) to go with the Sunday roast; how she would mash in turnip (swede to the southerners) into the mashed potato because I would turn my nose up at it; the spaghetti bolognese recipe that was full of carrots, mushrooms and peppers to bulk it out cheaply (I still make it that way-the 'real' Italian one is good but I still prefer my Ma's) and also, not forgetting her fudge recipe that comes from the far North-East from my Grandmothers hand written scrap/cook book which is a combination of the traditional English fudge and the Scottish tablet. In fact all of these come from her mother and no doubt from her mother before her.*

Hence, as noted previously respondents began their food narratives within a past family setting, in which mothers are judged on their cooking skills. Alison, for example, notes: 'food was very important to my mum – [she was] a real homemaker which meant feeding her

family – lots!’ This reinforces the doxic order, whereby feeding the family reifies maternal identity and naturalises a division of labour within the domestic sphere along gender lines. Connor valorises his mother’s and grandmother’s taste, participation and knowledge within a culinary field that usually associates high cultural capital with *Italian* cookery. Thus, he positions himself as a gourmet, who appreciates cultural omnivorousness with the taste and discernment to appreciate the difference. Dalia (a 50-year-old painter living with her partner) is similarly engaged in epicurean foodways in later life and therefore views her mother’s cooking through this lens. She notes:

AQ4

*Our Mums have a big advantage in that their cooking is all we know as kids and is often, therefore, the ‘best’ cooking. I now realise how unimaginative and probably bad my mother’s cooking was. With six kids to feed it was probably not an easy task and I forgive her for treating food as fuel ... well, almost. The big upside to her cooking was that it was homemade and probably healthy (in part) and not just reheated processed ready meals.*

In Dalia’s account she is also judging her mother’s cooking skills in terms of a contemporary middle class concern for appropriate maternal foodways that stress the importance of healthy home-cooked meals prepared from scratch (Parsons 2014a, 2014b). This would not have been a concern in the 1960s or 1970s, nor the connection between home-cooked and healthiness or the ‘implicit assumption that healthiness is a product of home cooking’ (Hollows et al. 2010: 310). This has the effect therefore of romanticising maternal foodways and adds to the continued valorisation and reification of healthy home-cooked meals cooked from scratch as the only appropriate way to feed children. Fred on the other hand writes about his mother’s cooking:

AQ5

*What I do remember is that around the age of 10–11, I became distinctly aware that the food my mum was preparing was really boring. It wasn’t her fault. At the time my dad ate no garlic, nothing spicy, nothing heavily flavoured, no rice, pasta or much else other than meat and two veg. His favourite meal of all time was a roast dinner. I found all this bland and uninspiring. I put it down to the meat. So I became a vegetarian. Not a complete one as my dad said I needed meat and*

1        *wasn't there any I liked – I didn't mind chicken and so I ate chicken*  
 2        *about 4 days a week for about 6 months. I was so over chicken by then*  
 3        *I dumped that too. I was a veggie for about 17 years and it was during*  
 4        *that time I guess I fell in love with food. My mum told me she wasn't*  
 5        *going to cook separate food for me (she would have done – it was a*  
 6        *ploy to get me in the kitchen). Because I was just cooking for me I could*  
 7        *experiment more. Also at the time the range of pre-made veggie food was*  
 8        *limited so I had to be more creative. I developed a passion for cooking.*  
 9        *I discovered Italian food, Indian, Thai. There wasn't much I didn't like.*  
 10       *My mum started eating what I cooked and I used to cook for my parents*  
 11       *too (as well as my friends).*

12  
 13       Thus, like Connor, Fred positions himself as an expert in cookery  
 14       and a gourmet, but unlike Connor, this is in spite of his mother's  
 15       'boring' cooking. It is notable that in not blaming his mother Fred  
 16       reinforces that notion that being a 'good' cook is a natural attribute  
 17       associated with being a 'good' mother. In this case it was just unfor-  
 18       tunate that his mother's good (natural) cooking skills were curtailed  
 19       by his father's tastes. Cooking 'proper' healthy family meals is there-  
 20       fore a skilled practice (Short 2006: 89), a significant aspect of mean-  
 21       ingful family-integration (Mosio et al. 2004: 265) and an essential  
 22       element of doing appropriate mothering. On the other hand, Faye  
 23       (a 46-year-old, secretary, married with one child) writes:

24  
 25       *My mum was a fabulous, creative cook; she loved reading cookery books*  
 26       *and took great pride in her cooking. We didn't have a lot of money when*  
 27       *we were young, but my mum was a very creative cook and every meal*  
 28       *was completely delicious and homemade.*

29  
 30       Thus, Faye considers her childhood through a contemporary food-  
 31       scape that places a high cultural value on home cooking from scratch  
 32       (Pollan 2013) and a glorification of feminine domesticity (Negra  
 33       2009). Otaline on the other hand claims:

34  
 35       *My mother was a really terrible cook. She could do mince – 100 different*  
 36       *varieties of mince – and I can remember that she would never drain the*  
 37       *fat so when the mince cooled you could feel the fat stuck to the roof of*  
 38       *your mouth. God, I can still taste that now; it makes me sick to think*  
 39       *about it. Safe to say I don't eat mince now – and if I did, I'd drain the*

1 *bloody fat! She once burnt our sausages black and when we complained*  
 2 *she told us they were Chinese!!*  
 3

4 Thus, Otaline valorises the value of home cooking from scratch as  
 5 an indicator of high cultural capital that is also indicative of mater-  
 6 nal care and exhibits a kind of matrophobia (Rich 1986). It is nota-  
 7 ble that in both accounts a 'lack' of money has an impact on food  
 8 provision, however, whilst Otaline equates this to 'lack' in terms of  
 9 cultural capital and 'appropriate' maternal care. Faye argues that her  
 10 mother was able to counter the association between 'lack' of money  
 11 and a 'lack' of care by being a 'creative' cook. Thus, being creative  
 12 and interested in reading cookery books has high cultural capital and  
 13 puts a floor on a potentially disadvantaged position (Skeggs 1997).  
 14 In Otaline's account on the other hand her mother is not creative in  
 15 the kitchen, nor in the excuses she provides for burning the sausages.  
 16 Further, Otaline comments on the association between convenience  
 17 food and 'lack' of taste. She writes:  
 18

AQ7

AQ8

AQ9

19 *Then there was the microwave meal. Thick bubbling, congealed beans,*  
 20 *over-cooked and the plastic tray crisped and melting into the beans and*  
 21 *whatever else was in those godforsaken things – three little triangle com-*  
 22 *partments of sheer poverty. I cannot believe she fed me that shit. But*  
 23 *then, when we were children my mother worked nightshift in a factory –*  
 24 *a thread mill. She'd come home at 7.30 and put out our breakfast before*  
 25 *we woke at 8. I remember asking her to please stop putting the milk into*  
 26 *the cereal before we got up as it was a soggy, gooey mess by the time we*  
 27 *did but she was just so desperate to sleep, to get to bed that she'd do it*  
 28 *just to have one less thing to do ...*  
 29

30 Thus, maternal foodways are firmly embedded in notions of cul-  
 31 tural capital and status, with the provision of good 'healthy' home-  
 32 cooked food with a good 'healthy' maternal identity. It is about time  
 33 and the lack of it. A lack of time is due to having to work outside  
 34 of the home and the lack of time to prepare or care about preparing  
 35 healthy meals from scratch. Convenience food is therefore clearly  
 36 associated with low socio-economic status, a particular working  
 37 class habitus and lack of care. It is an unauthorised culinary practice  
 38 associated with a subordinate group, these are not the legitimate  
 39 foodways practiced amongst the elite. Otaline continues:

AQ10

*I hated the shit quality of everything we ate. It just tasted shit. Long before we had the discourses on healthy eating we have now I knew this stuff was crap. And it made me really angry – even as a kid. I didn't know what the hell else was out there mind – but I knew that somehow this deal was raw.*

The food Otaline's mother provides is therefore alien, unnatural and unrecognisable as nourishing on any level. It fails to provide any cultural capital because it is lacking in taste and does not incorporate any of the 'healthy' cultural references enjoyed by those with access to resources. Indeed, as DeVault (1991) argues, 'feeding the family' is care work that takes time. Otaline's mother did not have time to care because of a lack of material resources. However, a lack of time and 'poor' mothering was not only associated with mothers who were working. Ulrika (a 46-year-old property developer, living with her partner) writes:

*I do have good memories associated with the feel good factor of being made soldiers to dip in a boiled egg. I think that this was my grandmother who was fab. I probably spent the rest of my child hood days hoping that I might persuade my mother to do something of that ilk ... She was a busy bird and I came along to consummate her 2nd marriage (I have 2 older half brothers).*

Ulrika identifies her mother as 'lacking' time for her, to feed or prepare the food that she liked. Instead it is Ulrika's grandmother who nourishes her through food. This is further reinforced when she writes about missing being fed baby food from jars:

*I also remember the jars of baby food, which at the time I really loved. I remember missing them so much that I did actually persuade my mother to buy me one when I was 5ish, and discovered that it tasted horrible. So although I had clearly realised that they did not satisfy my taste buds I felt this sense of loss, as I knew I had to resign my self to life without Jars. This might be explained, as I was not breast fed at all. Apparently my mother managed less than a week before she gave up (mastitis). Not only was I fed formula milk but I am told solids as well from about two weeks old (Probably Jars!!) so that sense of loss when I no longer saw jars was perhaps explainable and a bit like been weaned!*

The irony here is that by persuading her mother to buy her a jar of baby food, Ulrika is further alerted to the fact that her mother no longer feeds her. This therefore has the effect of making her feel bereft all over again at the loss of the closeness and comfort she craved and identified with the jars of food. In DeVault's (1991: 228) work she claims that whilst 'not all women feed the family, they live in the shadow of the social demands for the normalcy of care'. DeVault (1991: 237–9) expresses concern with being prescriptive about the caring aspects of feeding the family as it reinforces the association of women with nurturance and emotion. She asks, 'what are the consequences of calling this activity work and not that one? Who benefits from such a distinction?' She distinguishes between 'caring for' and 'tending', 'a kind of maintenance work and caring about an emotional, personal dimension of an activity' (1991: 237–9). Thus, maternal foodways are judged significant markers of legitimate mothering. A lack of care in the kitchen is therefore indicative of 'lack' on many levels and especially in terms of a lack of interest or care for the mother child relationship.

AQ11

### Contemporary maternal foodways

When, considering contemporary maternal foodways, respondents such as Faye, despite working herself and in common with many women juggling the second shift (Hochschild and Machung 2003) positioned herself as responsible for feeding her family. Indeed, Faye's comments are strikingly similar to those in DeVault's (1991) research from over 20 years ago; one of De-Vault's (1991: 56) participants says:

*As soon as I get up on the morning or before I go to bed I'm thinking of what we're going to eat tomorrow.*

Two decades later Faye comments:

*Oh my goodness! I wake up each morning and the first thing I think about is what are we going to have for supper! It's such a drag, as I can never think of anything new or inspirational, despite the fact that we have lots of lovely cookery books!*

Hence, these comments serve to reinforce further the status of 'feeding the family' (DeVault 1991) as central to maternal identity. Faye in contrast to her own mother has the additional pressure in an era of *Renaissance* woman (Allen and Osgood 2009) of having to cook new and inspirational food. Indeed, in preparing and purchasing food for herself or her family she notes:

*I would make a packed lunch of something I really enjoyed eating, that's healthy, balanced and nutritious, with a little treat tucked in! I just buy things that are healthy and nutritious and things that might be interesting to appear in [my daughter's] daily lunch box!*

Therefore by 'just buying things that are healthy' Faye contributes to the notion that feeding the family healthily is easy and natural care work. She positions herself in the mother role and as the 'guardian of health' (Beagan et al. 2008: 662, James et al. 2009b). This demonstrates the extent to which the caringscape and healthscape can be intertwined (McKie et al. 2002: 603), as well as, how health discourses seep into family foodways, whereby a 'good mother' ensures the health of her children through cooking/providing healthy food or by being engaged in emotion (food) work. Faye reiterates this by writing: 'if I have time [my cooking skills] ... are very good, if I don't they are rumpled together! But everything I cook is cooked with love!' Hence, this emotion work is not considered work at all, but an expression of love. This is what Erickson (2005: 338) following Hochschild (1983) considers the 'illusion of effortlessness' and 'part of doing the work (of mothering) well'. It contributes to the pervasive trivialisation of the work of managing meals (DeVault 1991) and reifies food work as part of a naturally occurring female disposition. Jocelyn writes about the transition from cooking to please herself to having to cook for her children:

*I used to spend many hours cooking for friends before I had children; nowadays complicated looking recipes put me off, too busy I guess. I'm really 'in' to the 5 a day fruit and veg idea and am much more conscious nowadays of the fat-content of food. I read labels in supermarkets, especially when buying for the children, and tend to avoid stuff with too many additives.*

AQ12



1 She contrasts feeding children with preparing meals for her husband:

2  
3 *When I cook meals for Philip and I, I tend to open up the fridge and*  
4 *create something and hardly ever follow a recipe for a main course ...*  
5 *Though I say it myself I come up with lovely dinners this way ...*  
6

7 Jocelyn is making a distinction between food work done to provide  
8 healthy meals for the children and the more creative aspects of food  
9 work she carries out for her husband and herself. Jocelyn is thoroughly  
10 engaged in the skilled practice of feeding the family (DeVault 1991);  
11 she has to accommodate government dietary guidelines and advice  
12 on appropriate healthy feeding, rather than being creative. The  
13 complex character of caring work, the effort and skill it requires, the  
14 time and resourcefulness of those involved in feeding the family is  
15 highlighted. Ophelia notes that:

16  
17 *After 15 years of daily cooking for my family I have become much more*  
18 *confident and proficient in food and what it really means. Today I bal-*  
19 *ance the weekly meals between vegetarian, pasta, fish and meat and we*  
20 *have a lot of salad. I have been trying to cook less meat, maybe twice*  
21 *or sometimes including a roast at weekends, three times a week. Teens*  
22 *need carbs so I cook them most evenings but I don't eat carbs myself in*  
23 *the evening now unless it's a pasta dish we are all sharing.*  
24

25 Ophelia highlights here how she had time to learn appropriate  
26 middle class maternal foodways that emphasise healthy home-  
27 cooked meals prepared from scratch and eaten together. She has  
28 the skills and is able to work within in a culinary field that places a  
29 high value on taste, participation and knowledge of the rules of the  
30 game (Peterson and Kern 1996, Warde et al. 2007). She is engaged in  
31 a middle class habitus, that values balance and control, responsible  
32 individualism and self-care. Further, home cooking healthy meals  
33 from scratch is aspirational and a way of accumulating cultural capi-  
34 tal (Parsons 2014a, 2014b) and as Hannah (a 43-year-old secretary,  
35 married with two grown up children) claims:

36  
37 *Once I started to work at buying good wholesome healthy foods and*  
38 *making every meal from scratch, I started to dislike the taste of chips*  
39 *and pizza's.*

1 Therefore, in terms of inculcating middle class tastes and cultural  
 2 capital within the family, Hannah's education in healthy 'whole-  
 3 some' cooking for her family has lead to change in her own tastes.  
 4 However, the need to display appropriate mothering through feeding  
 5 the family healthy home-cooked meals prepared from scratch, was  
 6 especially pertinent for women working and living on their own  
 7 with children, in order to put a floor on a disadvantaged social posi-  
 8 tion (Skeggs 1997). Hence Valerie (a 46-year-old website designer,  
 9 living on her own with her daughter) notes:

AQ13

10  
 11 *I am also responsible for feeding my daughter ... I make a great effort*  
 12 *to make sure she is getting a balanced diet. To this end I nearly always*  
 13 *cook meals from scratch. I use meal planners to get organised. I also*  
 14 *have to budget quite tightly and meal planning helps with this. I aim*  
 15 *to ensure we eat fish a couple of times a week, chicken a couple of times*  
 16 *of week, red meat maybe once or twice and vegetarian once or twice*  
 17 *a week. We always sit down to eat together at the table, even if it is*  
 18 *just the two of us. It gives us a chance to talk and focus on each other.*  
 19

20 It is notable that Valerie insists that they sit down to eat at a table.  
 21 This is a particular aspect of a middle class habitus and one that  
 22 distinguishes Valerie's family foodways from others, despite their  
 23 low income and family status. Hence, 'proper' mothering is about  
 24 cooking 'proper' meals from scratch, even or perhaps especially if on  
 25 a limited budget or having the sole responsibility for childcare. Chloe  
 26 (a 46-year-old occupational health advisor, co-habiting and living  
 27 with two of her three children) claims:

28  
 29 *I like to cook from scratch and meals can take time so I have to plan*  
 30 *that around work ... I use cookbooks for ideas for quick suppers ...*  
 31 *thinking about it I do spend quite a lot of time thinking about what I'm*  
 32 *going to cook. I shop with meals in mind for each night of the week ...*  
 33 *this will depend on what's available in the shops and what looks good,*  
 34 *and then what time I get home ...*  
 35

36 In DeVault's (1991: 230) study she argues that whether women  
 37 embrace or resist the responsibility for feeding the family, they  
 38 are subject to the cultural expectations and discourses of caring  
 39 that shape action. She contends that the work full characteristic of

AQ14

feeding is unrecognised by those who do it and it is problematised only when the work is not done, or perhaps when there are difficulties in doing it. Hence, mothers use home cooking from scratch as a means of demonstrating a commitment to appropriate middle class tastes. They are 'good' mothers because they understand the value of food, symbolically and metaphorically as well as in terms of its nutrients and health benefits. The assignment of a high priority to the health promoting aspects of maternal foodways is a particularly middle class concern (Wills et al. 2009).

### Men and maternal foodways (past and present)

In terms of the intersectionalities of gender and class within maternal foodways, respondents tended to draw upon traditional hegemonic masculinities. For example, Faye comments:

*One of my very favourite things to eat was roast lamb (this was my mums craving when she was pregnant with me!) and my mum made it at least twice a week for lunch when I was at playgroup – my dad hated the smell of lamb so we had to eat it when he was at work!*

Faye's mother is therefore only willing to accommodate her daughter's food preferences when her father is at work. This reifies a traditional gender order, with the male head of the house taking precedence. Here the power relationships embedded in the gendered domestic division of labour, the breadwinner role and the homemaker are revealed through the cooking of a meal; as Beagan et al. (2008: 665–6) note, emotion work in the domestic sphere includes activities that enhance others' emotional well-being and provides emotional support. However, food work strategies such as these are framed as individual decisions rather than being seen as collective normative constraints or a result of wider gender divisions/inequalities. Faye describes her early childhood memories from the perspective of a cultural climate that values neo-liberal individualism, whilst simultaneously acknowledging the gender expectations and possible constraints of a previous era. She continues:

*My dad and I loved opening a packet of crisps and adding pepper and vinegar to them and shaking the bag up to spread the vinegar before eating the soggy crisps inside!*

1 It is notable that references to her father are about sharing a snack,  
 2 or leisure time, reinforcing the gendered division of labour in the  
 3 home. Similarly Beth (a 57-year-old housewife, married with two  
 4 children) claims:

5  
 6 *My earliest memory of food must have been when I was five or under*  
 7 *as I remember my father showing me how to made a pie out of all the*  
 8 *food on my plate. You mash it all up together with a fork, but you can*  
 9 *leave the peas whole if you like to make the pie look prettier. He made it*  
 10 *into a pie shape then I could pretend it was a cake and cut it into slices*  
 11 *and eat it. It was fun.*

AQ15

12  
 13 The light-hearted and intimate experience of this encounter is  
 14 given greater significance by Beth:

15  
 16 *When I told my mum this, years later she was surprised because she*  
 17 *said he was a stickler for good table manners, so maybe he showed*  
 18 *me when she wasn't around. He did like to play. He died when I was*  
 19 *five so I can place my memories in a timeline easily.*

20  
 21 Here, playing with food, changing it on the plate and making it  
 22 fun undermines the serious business of 'feeding the family' (DeVault  
 23 1991) that mothers do. Beth's mother assumes that this must have  
 24 occurred outside of the formal eating arrangements around the  
 25 table. Or when the person who had spent time and effort preparing  
 26 the meal was not around. Again, this example assumes an invis-  
 27 ibility and effortless in preparing food for the family. The cultural  
 28 scripts of femininity relating to appropriate middle class mothering  
 29 assume a taken for granted naturalness and an effortless around  
 30 preparing food for the family. These are all part of the continued  
 31 glorification of feminine domesticity (Negra 2009) and the fetishisa-  
 32 tion of the maternal (Littler 2013). Thus, feeding work is a central  
 33 aspect of maternal foodways; when mothers with dependent chil-  
 34 dren discuss their partners these are framed in terms of hegemonic  
 35 masculinities. Otaline, for example, writes about her partner's role in  
 36 the kitchen:

37  
 38 *Justin now does all the cooking. It started when I was pregnant and he*  
 39 *felt rather useless, I think. He wanted to show me care, show me love*  
*and so he fed me and, of course, little Ethan who was growing inside.*

1 *He is a fabulous cook: reckless, meaty. Back then he would attend to my*  
 2 *dietary needs and make me eat buckets of Spinach for Ethan (lol). He*  
 3 *fed me mackerel so much I haven't been able to eat it since – or salmon.*  
 4 *And he loved doing it.*

5  
 6 There are contradictions here between food as work and food as  
 7 pleasure. It is notable that Justin's approach to cookery is 'meaty  
 8 and reckless', or qualities associated with hegemonic masculinities  
 9 that emphasise risk and adventure (Connell 2005). Otaline is also  
 10 clearly identifying the role of time in the preparation of food and the  
 11 association between cooking from scratch as an expression of love/  
 12 care, as opposed to the convenience food she endured in her child-  
 13 hood. She goes on to explain that her partner has become a gourmet.  
 14 Although since they have had their first child, the routine of having  
 15 to cook for her from Justin's perspective has become:

16  
 17 *Much more of a chore but still he is there cooking each night. It*  
 18 *was Chinese-spiced pork belly tonight with rice and Spinach. Damn*  
 19 *delicious – though I hate the fat. Anthony Bourdain is his hero. He*  
 20 *came to Brighton just before Ethan was born and Justin queued to have*  
 21 *his book dedicated to Ethan, I loved that. He fantasises about teaching*  
 22 *him the pleasures of food.*

23  
 24 Here, there is an emphasis made on the notion of 'food work'  
 25 (feeding her) as a chore alongside the notion of foodways as leisure  
 26 and pleasure. There are markers of high cultural capital as well, with  
 27 reference to specialist chefs associated with epicurean foodways.  
 28 Justin is participating in this and looking to pass on this cultural  
 29 habitus to Ethan. However, when it comes to feeding the family and  
 30 her new child:

31  
 32 *Today Ethan had his first bit of toast. I was anxious but Justin and I*  
 33 *were both delighted – gleeful – watching him sucking marmite on toast!*  
 34 *He loved it. I cook all his food. On occasion I will buy an organic pouch*  
 35 *but I want to cook for him because I love him. I am deeply concerned*  
 36 *about what he eats. I do not want him to even know the tastes of my*  
 37 *childhood. There are no 'grandmother's recipes' to pass on. He eats*  
 38 *three meals a day now and mostly I cook it fresh because I never seem*  
 39

1 *to have the time to cook and freeze – though I know life would be easier*  
 2 *if I made the time.*

3  
 4 Hence, Otaline positions herself engaged in contemporary mater-  
 5 nal foodways, with an understanding of legitimate cultural capital.  
 6 Unlike ‘the tablet recipe’ in Connor’s narrative, for Otaline there are  
 7 no grandmother’s recipes to pass on and she engages in a kind of  
 8 matrophobia (Rich 1986), reminiscent of Lawler’s (2008) argument  
 9 on how upwardly mobile women dis-identify with their working  
 10 class mothers. Thus, Otaline refers to her mother’s maternal food-  
 11 ways, the ‘lack’ of interest in taste, participation in and knowledge of  
 12 middle class culinary practices as well as ‘lack’ of time and money, in  
 13 contrast to the time-consuming practices of preparing healthy home-  
 14 cooked meals from scratch for her son. She does confess to buying  
 15 ‘an organic pouch on occasion’, but the potential stigma associated  
 16 with this is alleviated by cultural references to ‘organic’ which is  
 17 expensive and uncontaminated; it is also in a pouch, not a tin or  
 18 jar. Indeed, despite her lack of time, she insists on home-cooked  
 19 meals from scratch and is deeply concerned that he has three meals  
 20 a day (and not the one main meal a day she had as a child). Otaline  
 21 continues:

22  
 23 *I can eat whatever I like now ... But it does play a big part in our lives*  
 24 *still – the joy of it that is. Financially it’s not an easy time but food*  
 25 *will be the last thing we skimp on – it’s fundamental to a good life for*  
 26 *me – money or not.*

27  
 28 Again, Otaline is reinforcing the association between good mother-  
 29 ing and appropriate middle class foodways. Also, that despite a lack of  
 30 money they are committed to legitimate forms of middle class food-  
 31 ways and inculcating these within their family. It is notable therefore  
 32 that whilst Justin cooks for her, Otaline cooks all of Ethan’s food,  
 33 which reifies the dominant cultural script that defines a good mother  
 34 through her appropriate middle class maternal foodways. A middle  
 35 class approach to feeding the family is therefore a significant aspect of  
 36 high cultural capital, and the appropriate means of doing good moth-  
 37 ering. This reifies the doxic order that women engage in food work  
 38 for children and men in food play for pleasure or for their partners.  
 39

It is notable that other female respondents wrote about their partners' aptitudes as cooks and how this influenced the domestic division of labour in the home over time. Laura, for example:

*I moved in with my boyfriend (now my husband) when I left home. He's a few years older than me and had already been married, he'd also been to catering college for three years and although he hadn't finished the course and wasn't working with food he did have a good idea of how to cook. Over the next year or so he taught me some basics and we learnt together how to prepare meals ...*

Laura learned to cook from her husband and shared food work with him at this stage in their lives. This follows Kemmer (2000) who interviewed a small number of couples who were just beginning to co-habit. She found that there was a much greater sharing of food work before couples had children, although the symbolic value of eating a meal together remained unchanged. However, once Laura had their first child:

*We had our first daughter when I was 20 and this really ramped up my interest in cooking. I avidly read every baby magazine I could get my hands on and took a lot of notice of any advice given in them. I was determined that my child wouldn't eat food from a jar and that I would feed her the best, freshest food I could. This involved hours of cooking, pureeing and freezing ice cube trays full of various fruits and vegetables that were suitable ... From there my interest and pleasure in cooking continued, although I wasn't (and still am not) wildly experimental, I took great pleasure in preparing meals for my family ...*

Here, Laura is positioning herself in terms of appropriate middle class maternal foodways, taste, knowledge and participation of these carries high cultural capital and is the legitimate means of doing good mothering. The transition to motherhood therefore ensures that Laura now has all food work responsibilities in the family. There is no democracy in the kitchen (Meah and Jackson 2013); indeed hers is a restrained, considered, feminised cooking practice, an emphasised femininity in the kitchen. She is not 'wildly experimental', which is more likely to be a trait associated with male cookery for pleasure and hegemonic masculinities (Connell 2005).

AQ17

1 Kemmer's (2000) findings are pertinent when considering Nadia's  
 2 (a 40-year-old artist, living with her partner and child) account of  
 3 her partner who:

4  
 5 *Was a pretty basic cook when he moved in and he has taken such an*  
 6 *interest in it he is now much more polished than I am. He has fancy*  
 7 *recipe books (that he uses!)*  
 8

9 Again, men cooking for pleasure reinforces 'natural' distinctions  
 10 between everyday food work carried out by women and the more  
 11 exciting or expert food play men enjoy in the domestic sphere. Here,  
 12 in contrast to Laura's experience but similarly to Otaline, Nadia's  
 13 partner has become more of a gourmet engaged in epicurean food-  
 14 ways. Notably he has time outside of the domestic responsibility for  
 15 feeding the family to 'use' fancy recipe books:  
 16

17 *I am very lucky as Dan often cooks now ... I sometimes buy organic*  
 18 *mince or free range chicken so he has variation. I do enjoy the taste but*  
 19 *would be happy, and used to be, without it. I previously bought treats*  
 20 *like ice cream as he loves it but ended up eating too much so bought him*  
 21 *an ice cream maker and he prepares healthier versions.*  
 22

23 In this extract from Nadia's narrative, like other respondents  
 24 whose partners 'often cook', she positions herself as 'lucky' in this  
 25 regard. However, she compromises her vegetarianism (as men need  
 26 meat, Adams 1990) and her concerns about her weight/eating too  
 27 much sweet (unhealthy) food. Nadia is therefore still responsible for  
 28 the less visible aspects of everyday foodways, such as shopping, plan-  
 29 ning meals and as the guardian of health for the family Beagan et al.  
 30 2008, James et al. 2009b).

31 Zoe (a 44-year-old, recruiter, married with two children) also draws  
 32 on her relationship with her husband when outlining how she became  
 33 proficient in cooking and distances herself from convenience food or  
 34 ready meals:  
 35

36 *But when I met Rex in 1997 aged 30, it all changed. He is an excellent*  
 37 *cook and used to own a restaurant so I was educated pretty quickly and*  
 38 *now am a good confident cook and cook far more simply but with bet-*  
 39 *ter ingredients and flavours. I cook most days particularly since having*



children, but he will still cook 40–50% of the time ... Now we eat good interesting food every day at home and a takeaway once in a blue moon (2–3 times a year). Ready meals are unheard of here and we eat out sometimes (once a month). But food is a big social thing for us and we have friends and family over a lot to eat.

Again, like Laura, Zoe has been educated by her husband (the expert) and now cooks ‘far more simply’ (not restaurant style) most days for the family. This reifies the notion that ‘male’ cookery is far more complex than everyday maternal cooking, but as Zoe is also responsible for the family’s health the ingredients are better. Zoe also highlights how inculcating a cultural habitus that values commensality (eating together around a table) are significant markers of high cultural capital and important in the display of legitimate culinary capital (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012). It is notable that in Laura, Zoe and Otaline’s narratives, their men are good cooks. However, this has not led to a ‘democratization of the domestic sphere’ (Meah and Jackson 2013). Instead the transition to parenthood ensures an ‘increased production or display of gender’ (Baxter et al. 2008: 262) and a reinforcement of intensive mothering (Hays 1996), or ‘an all consuming project’ (Francis 2012: 374), in which a ‘good’ mother continues to put the needs of her children above her own.

### Home-baking and (in) convenient foodways

AQ18

When referring to ‘baking’, respondents may have been influenced by the BBC TV series *The Great British Bake-Off* (GBBO), first aired in the UK in 2010. Indeed by October 2011, it was argued that:

AQ19

*On the high street, the effect is visible. Marks & Spencer have reported sales increases of up to 20 per cent in baking ingredients, with spikes in specialist sugars and cake decorating equipment flying off the shelves. At John Lewis, customers buying cake tins and muffin trays have increased by 15 per cent, while vintage-style tins and stands have more than doubled*

(Jarvis 2011 un-paginated)

It is notable that the commercial outlets reporting these increased sales can be coded ‘middle class’ – these are not discount stores. Of course the impact of GBBO is impossible to discern, yet the notion

of baking or even making a cake for someone has strong emotional as well as high cultural capital. Further, cake symbolises food as a 'gift relationship' (Mauss 1990), it is not just the cake but also the act of preparing and baking it specifically for someone else which is significant. To give a cake in modern Westernised and Christian cultures is usually associated with love, caring, special occasions, birthdays, christenings, weddings as well as religious ceremonies such as Christmas and Easter. Hence Warin et al. (2008: 104) note that the:

AQ20

*Serving of food reflects Mauss's (1990) classic definition of the gift in that food creates and sustains caring relationships between people and displays an ethos of care ... [As food is prepared it] reaffirms her concept of self and sense of identity as mother and wife.*

The gift relationship implicit in baking a cake is also bound up with appropriate middle class maternal foodways. Thus Laura writes:

*As soon as my daughter was old enough we cooked things like cakes together, she would stand on a chair and later a plastic step to reach the worktop.*

It is also a means of demonstrating care/love as Ophelia notes:

*I love to cook for people and I especially love to bake, make chutneys, marmalades and jams and to give the surplus away as gifts; to me making food and giving it to people I care about is 'giving love' in some way.*

The theme of giving love through food is interwoven throughout her narrative and when reflecting upon her life before children she writes:

*I baked bread quite a lot and I was good at that so I loved doing it to surprise people.*

Again, later:

*Ah yes, cooking and baking and sharing. I do love that; it makes me feel warm inside. I love everything about it from planning the menu to making it and serving it or bottling it and giving it away. I much prefer to feed other people than to feed myself.*

Although Ophelia is referring to 'people' and not her family per se, there is a connection made between baking/cooking for others as an expression of love/care. Notably she finds it difficult to nourish or nurture herself in the same way. Similarly Connor notes:

*I love cooking for/eating with people. The more the merrier. The content usually is decided by the others food preferences (veggies, mushroom haters etc. vegans can sling their hook though). And also the bank balance, if I am feeling flush then I would happily prepare a banquet of many dishes. But also I get a bit of a kick out of making a 'free meal' where I don't buy anything extra and still get to feed a house full of hungry students.*

Hence, there is something deeply nurturing about feeding others (Lupton 1998). Bryony (a 33-year-old PhD student, living with her partner) writes:

*I much prefer baking to cooking though. I like the whole process of measuring and mixing and that there's something sweet at the end of the process. Also, my baking seems to come out better. My favourite things to bake are apple crisp, apple pie, and oatmeal chocolate chip cookies. I haven't made the last two for over a year now. Mostly because I'm afraid I'll eat them! But I've been thinking recently that I should make it for someone else, which removes the temptation to eat a whole batch while letting me create something that I love.*

Further, high cultural capital is associated with baking what are ostensibly snacks, whereas buying commercial snacks and snacking is not. For example, Fischler (1980) in his discussion on commensality draws a distinction between two basic categories of feeding 'commensalism and vagabond feeding'; during vagabond feeding 'individuals range freely [...] in loose formation each taking small items of food for himself (sic)'. Further, that the impact of 'urbanization, industrialization and their social correlates has tended to break up or erode the sets of rules, norms and meanings associated with food' (Fischler 1980: 947). This is significant for Fischler (1980) as it relates to his concept of 'gastro-anomy', a kind of normlessness related to food and feeding. Similarly, Kaufmann (2010) argues that the notion of the 'proper family meal' is eroded by a secularisation

of everyday meals, with an emphasis on pleasure, a decline or relaxation of some of the more formal rules and rituals around eating', as well as a rise in more highly individualised dietary practices. The more relaxed types of eating are what Kauffman (2010: 62) refers to as 'meals without a compass'. Indeed, the demise of commensality or the structured food event in favour of what Bahr Bugge and Almas (2006) refer to as 'one hand food' or fast food dishes that can be eaten anytime, anywhere, leads to a 'pattern of ragged and discontinuous but frequent snacks' or what food marketers have come to call 'grazing' (Caplan 1997).

However, when snacks are prepared with care this counters the symbolic violence associated with 'other' foodways that lack care and consideration. Baking a cake for example is a family event, one in which the family is made and remade over time. Indeed, respondents negotiated the stigmatising effects and 'lack' of care associated with 'vagabond' feeding or 'one hand food' by recourse to home-cooked snacks prepared from scratch. Indeed, respondents tend to anchor their meals and snacks; they were not unstructured or free-floating meal events, but significant family rituals. For example, Annie (a 50-year-old, separated life coach with five children), when asked to describe a taste of home writes:

*Well I guess it would be from my childhood so would say flapjacks and drop scones ... always a favourite my mum would make. Finding it hard to pinpoint anything that is more up to date ... I guess it would be brownies. Something that is a frequent favourite enjoyed by all in the family and demolished as quickly as it's made!!!*

Here, Annie is connecting snacks and home-made with past and present maternal foodways. That these home-made snacks were 'a favourite my mum would make', reifies the connection between home-baking and appropriate maternal foodways: baking is mothering. So Annie is clearly having her preferences catered for and of course it is 'mum' providing the care. Indeed, it is the act of sharing freshly prepared home-cooked food that is significant, rather than the distinction between meals and snacks that reformulates this crucial cultural distinction. Hence, taking time to make home-made chocolate brownies weakens the symbolic violence associated with 'snacking', 'grazing' or 'vagabond feeding' (Poulain 2002).

AQ21

AQ22

1 There is an idealisation of maternal foodways and mothers  
 2 nurturing through baking woven throughout respondent's narratives,  
 3 whether they were parents themselves or not. Thus Bryony writes:

4  
 5 *My mom also used to make her own bread (still does) and dinner rolls*  
 6 *(she also made her own granola, ketchup, mustard, and cashew nut*  
 7 *'cheese' among other things) ... The dinner rolls were a key element of*  
 8 *Sabbath lunch. A Saturday meal with out them would bring an apology*  
 9 *from my mother who, although in full time employment as a teacher,*  
 10 *saw it as her duty to provide her family with homemade food as a rule.*  
 11 *Those rolls accompanied meals also made from scratch in the old-*  
 12 *fashioned two veg and meat composition, except there was no real meat.*  
 13 *I grew up vegetarian, eating soya based meat substitutes.*

14  
 15 It is notable that Bryony's 'mom' apologises for not baking bread on  
 16 Saturdays, reifying and valorising the doxic order that 'good' moth-  
 17 ers bake and cook home-made food for the family. Jade (a 37-year-  
 18 old, single architect) on the other hand writes:

19  
 20 *My mother was usually too busy to bake and make a home; life was*  
 21 *quick and geared towards work, sports, and homework. Now she bakes*  
 22 *and likes to take time for it, because she has the time. I had a babysit-*  
 23 *ter who baked for me and friends had mothers who stayed at home and*  
 24 *made pancakes when they came home from school. I always envied*  
 25 *that! But my mother had a career and so do I, so less time for homemak-*  
 26 *ing. My father liked going out for shopping and cooking with me as well,*  
 27 *but baking and doing the traditional mother-thing, no.*

28  
 29 Hence, Jade is making clear distinctions between 'home-baking'  
 30 and making a home, also that this was what 'other' non-working  
 31 mothers did. Her mother had a working identity the same as Jade, so  
 32 there is simply no time to bake. Also, that despite her father's interest  
 33 in food, he did not engage in the highly feminised activity of baking  
 34 with his daughter. Hence the connection between shared baking  
 35 activities and 'home making' are synonymous and naturalised, it  
 36 is what mothering is and what a good (non-working) mother does.  
 37 Ophelia on the other hand notes that:

38  
 39 *As a young child I was allowed to watch but I never made a cake or*  
*anything with my Mum, although I could lick the bowl when she had*

1 *finished. She was a perfectionist and didn't like to share this particular*  
 2 *love of hers with anyone else. She hated mess. I remember tasting things*  
 3 *like a sauce for kidneys and scraping out the bowl which had contained*  
 4 *creamy puddings she had cooked for other people and finding them*  
 5 *delicious, but I never got to eat them as part of a meal.*  
 6

7 This is part of Ophelia's story, always feeling hungry and miss-  
 8 ing the maternal love associated with baking and sharing food.  
 9 In Nadia's account she notes:

10  
 11 *Mum did bake which was a blessing after her pretty average meals ...*  
 12 *biscuits and cakes, crumbles and upside-down puddings, rice pudding (my*  
 13 *favourite). Unfortunately many memories tinged with sadness, as there*  
 14 *were often arguments at dinnertime, not a particularly peaceful household.*  
 15

16 Further, in Nadia's narrative her mother provided comfort (lacking  
 17 in the home-cooked meals she prepared for them) through baking.  
 18 Nadia continues:

19  
 20 *My love for homemade cakes, biscuits and deserts is definitely linked*  
 21 *to my mum's baking. Times of comfort in an often-discordant home*  
 22 *(grumpy father!)*  
 23

24 Nadia, also discusses the distinction between food work (the  
 25 drudgery of preparing home-cooked meals every day) to the pleasure  
 26 of baking and sharing this activity and writes:

27  
 28 *Transition ... I moved out of home at 21. I would have started cooking*  
 29 *for myself then. It is not a clear memory. I did not cook much in the*  
 30 *family home, just helping with baking, licking the bowl! Now I think*  
 31 *about it, it seems strange that I did not cook before then. I suppose my*  
 32 *mother cooked because she had to, so perhaps it wasn't an environment*  
 33 *to inspire me to try.*  
 34

35 Thus, Nadia is highlighting a rigid division of labour in her child-  
 36 hood home, in which the only comfort for her and her mother  
 37 centred on baking. Again, this reifies the connections between nur-  
 38 turing, or maternal foodways and baking.

39 To summarise, in an era of heightened neo-liberal individual-  
 ism there is little evidence of a 'negotiated family model' (Beck

1 and Beck-Gernsheim 2002). The ‘symbolic violence’ (Bourdieu  
2 and Wacquant 2002: 167) afforded to mothers who transgress the  
3 boundaries of appropriate mothering by feeding their children  
4 convenience foods meant that mothers in my study only fed their  
5 children healthy home-cooked food prepared from scratch (Parsons  
6 2014a, 2014b). It would be inconceivable to admit to ‘other’ inap-  
7 propriate mothering practices. Generally, there are rigid cultural  
8 scripts regarding appropriate middle class maternal foodways, with  
9 a middle class maternal identity and intensive mothering practices  
10 (Hays 1996) associated with elite/legitimate cultural capital. Hence,  
11 despite working full-time or part-time and the blurring of boundaries  
12 between home and work (Hochschild 1997), women are commit-  
13 ted to feeding the family healthy home-cooked meals (and snacks)  
14 prepared from scratch. Dualist and absolutist approaches to food-  
15 ways means that unhealthy, convenience foodways are demonised  
16 within family discourses. These foodways are derided and considered  
17 indicative of a lack of care. They are associated with ‘other’ (working  
18 class) mothering practices, with a lack of care, indicative of a lack  
19 of education, economic and cultural capital. Thus, ‘good’ mothers  
20 engage in appropriate middle class maternal foodways whether they  
21 are working or not.

# 4

## Health Foodways

Generally, in the current foodscape, taste, participation and knowledge of 'good' food are considered indicators of high cultural capital. Further, Naccarato and LeBesco (2012) argue that 'sustainability, health and dietary restraint' are key markers of status within contemporary culinary fields. Indeed, the links between food, health and morality are not new. Brillat-Savarin [1825], for example, wrote that 'gastronomy should bring together pleasure and good health and the enjoyment of food is no longer a sin' (Drouard 2007: 266). However, despite public and media discourses purporting the importance of health foodways, a minority of respondents, (mainly gourmets), did not refer to health at all, although they did discuss 'good food'. This raises questions in terms of what constitutes 'good' food and what 'good' food is good for. It is certainly good for drawing distinctions and boundaries between legitimate high status foodways. Indeed, gender and class intersect in the performance of health foodways, because health has high cultural capital and neo-liberal aspirations towards self-care or 'health-consciousness are [an] ideal vehicle for the performance of femininity' (Moore 2010: 112).

### Food, health and morality

It is notable, following Foucault (1973, 1977, 1979, 1988), that health foodways can be considered part of a disciplinary regime that contributes to the personalisation and rationalisation of the surveillance of the self (Bordo 2003, Howson 2004, Petersen 2007). In terms of an internalised moral gaze, Warde (1997: 174) notes that all four



1 antinomies of taste used by advertisers in food marketing – ‘novelty  
 2 and tradition’, ‘health and indulgence’, ‘economy and extrava-  
 3 gance’ and ‘convenience and care’ – are potential sources of guilt  
 4 and anxiety. Thus, inappropriate or un-healthy foodways compro- **AQ1**  
 5 mise an individual’s sense of self and ‘in the field of social relations  
 6 is a sign of moral turpitude or impropriety’ (Warde 1997: 173). Thus,  
 7 ‘eating healthily is a way of constructing a moral self, of being a  
 8 good person’ (Balfe 2007: 141) and this forms part of a repertoire of  
 9 disciplinary techniques, self-surveillance medicine (Armstrong 1995)  
 10 and a Foucauldian internalisation of a medical gaze (Howson 2004,  
 11 Petersen 2007). There is a ‘duty to be well’ through highly individu-  
 12 alised practices of self-discipline (Turner 1997) with the body of the  
 13 population managed via expert forms of knowledge in relation to diet  
 14 and exercise (Armstrong 1995). This is not to assume that ‘health’ is  
 15 a fixed or stable category; as Nettleton notes (2006: 170) ‘health is  
 16 not a unitary phenomenon and is a highly elastic cultural notion’.  
 17 Similarly, Rousseau (2012: 14) argues that ‘healthy’ is one of the most  
 18 semantically unstable words in the English language’. However, some **AQ2**  
 19 respondents engage in a kind of healthism, with health identified as  
 20 feeling and ‘being’ good (Bendelow 2009: 136).

21 Indeed, in a highly individualised, neo-liberal era, health is capi-  
 22 tal (Bendelow 2009) and the performance of health foodways a key  
 23 aspect of responsible-individualism and self-care. These health food-  
 24 ways position the self within a moralising medical discourse (Foucault  
 25 1988, 1991) that reifies a Cartesian dualism and absolutism regarding  
 26 good/bad foodways (Levi-Strauss 1969). Thus, these rigid dichoto-  
 27 mous approaches have implications not only in terms of health/self  
 28 management but also for individual and social identities. Further, the  
 29 increased medicalisation of everyday life (Crawford 1980) and ‘food-  
 30 related health problems’ (Allen and Sachs 2007: 11) increases the  
 31 pressure on individuals to engage in the micro-management of the  
 32 self and everyday foodways. Hence, some respondents adopt health  
 33 foodways in order to treat underlying health issues, such as Irritable  
 34 Bowel Syndrome (IBS), *Myalgic Encephalomyelitis* (ME) or Chronic  
 35 Fatigue Syndrome, Eczema, Drug Resistant Epilepsy (DRE), Candida  
 36 and an ovarian cyst. Or in an effort to counter unexplained symptoms  
 37 such as feeling ‘sluggish’, ‘sleepy’ or ‘rotten’, or to feel ‘comfortable’.

38 When looking to treat conditions through health foodways, these  
 39 narratives are reminiscent of Frank’s (1995) four types of illness **AQ3**

1 narrative, the 'chaos' narrative that includes emotional anxiety  
2 caused by the loss of health status, the 'restitution' narrative or cop-  
3 ing with this loss, the 'quest' narrative or search for a cure/resolu-  
4 tion, and finally the 'testimony' narrative that includes reflections  
5 on what has been gained or lost by the experience (Kennedy and  
6 Kennedy 2010: 49). Similarly, respondents' narratives are redolent  
7 of Bury's (1982) conceptualisation of biographical disruption, as  
8 respondents outline how they negotiate the impact of their health  
9 foodways on the life course and everyday life. Both Bury's (1982) and  
10 Frank's (1995) typologies also have religious and moral overtones;  
11 if medicine fails, then it is the individual's tenacity in overcoming  
12 obstacles, not giving in to the 'battle' with the condition or the  
13 authority of the medical practitioner, that has moral or heroic status.  
14 Finally, these narratives, in keeping with 'illness narratives' more  
15 generally, demonstrate how respondents negotiate and/or manage a  
16 spoiled (illness/health) identity, either their own or others in social  
17 situations, with echoes of Goffman's (1963) work on stigma.

18 In this chapter, therefore, the focus is specifically on health food-  
19 ways or ways of doing health through foodways. This incorporates  
20 notions of food as treats and/or treatment, whereby treats can be a  
21 source of pleasure but can also lead to suffering and anguish. This  
22 can be a corporeal reaction or an emotional one, because of overeate-  
23 ing and feeling out of control, or just eating 'bad' foods (however  
24 comforting). It is worth noting that what might be considered good  
25 or bad, like health and illness are not fixed concepts and our under-  
26 standing of them is influenced by wider social and cultural norms and  
27 values. For example, distaste for convenience foods amongst middle  
28 class respondents, as documented in chapters 2 and 3. However, there  
29 is a level of agreement across narratives on what constitutes a treat  
30 as well as consistency amongst respondents about the types of food  
31 to be avoided in order to be well. There is a consensus that eating  
32 'healthily' is important in maintaining 'health' and feeling 'good'.  
33 The 'bad' or 'unhealthy' food categories are alcohol, dairy, meat,  
34 sugar and wheat products. These categories incorporate specific items  
35 such as beer, wine, cheese, chocolate and bread. There are degrees of  
36 avoidance or acceptance of these and it is in the context of treating  
37 other ailments that they take on particular significance, which leads  
38 to subjective monitoring/surveillance of the self and/or others. Thus,  
39 it is through these 'moral narratives' (Nettleton et al. 2010: 296) that

1 the individual gains or regains control over foodways and therefore  
2 health.

3 However, foods coded as 'bad' within hegemonic health discourses  
4 can actually be 'good' in the treatment of certain conditions. This is  
5 the case with the ketogenic diet, which relies on a high intake of fat  
6 and protein in order to send the body into ketosis. When the body is  
7 in this state, it is more likely to be free from seizures. This has impli-  
8 cations for those involved in implementing a dietary regime outside  
9 of what might be considered 'normal' and/or 'healthy'. I explain  
10 more about this later on in this chapter. Suffice to note at this point  
11 that because of the rigidity of the boundaries between good/bad  
12 foodways and the extent to which these are embedded within moral  
13 discourses, any dietary regime however beneficial for health causes  
14 problems if it utilises food items from the 'bad' category. It means  
15 a negotiation of Warde's (1997: 174) 'indulgence' versus 'health'  
16 antinomy, as noted earlier. This contributes to feelings of anxiety and  
17 guilt and these antinomies have powerful moral overtones that can  
18 compromise a persons' identity (Warde 1997: 193).

19 Throughout this chapter I consider health foodways as a form of  
20 medicine and dietary regimes as part of a repertoire of Complementary  
21 and Alternative Medicine (CAM) (Bendelow 2009, Kennedy and  
22 Kennedy 2010). It is notable that respondents did not refer to  
23 CAM directly, but nutritional approaches and herbal remedies are  
24 considered to be CAM (Bendelow 2009: 21). Hence, not only are  
25 respondents grappling with strict dietary regimes in the interests of  
26 controlling symptoms, they are managing the implications of prac-  
27 tising non-orthodox treatments. Bendelow (2009) and Kennedy and  
28 Kennedy (2010) consider the practice of CAM a potential source of  
29 stigma within Goffman's (1963) framework on the management of  
30 a spoiled identity. This means that those engaged in CAM engage  
31 in both information and impression management in social situa-  
32 tions, especially if they adhere strictly to unusual dietary regimes.  
33 It is notable that CAM is a typically female activity (Petersen 2007:  
34 119) and usually associated with higher educational attainment and  
35 socio-economic status (Bendelow 2009: 111).

### 37 **Gender and health foodways**

38  
39 Health foodways, or ways of doing food that incorporate strict dietary  
regimes in order to benefit one's health status are gendered (Connell

1995, Beagan and Saunders 2005, Gough and Conor 2006, Gough 2006, Gough 2007, Robertson 2007). Indeed, health foodways are coded as feminine. Further, if and when men 'do' health they tend to position their engagement in terms of hegemonic masculinities (Connell 2005, Gough and Conor 2005, Gough 2006, Gough 2007). Thus, Fred notes:

*My ex (who I was with for 7 years) was really into her healthy eating and didn't do carbs so it was very easy to avoid them and in fact the chances to eat them were few and far between ... She was very interested in healthy eating. I was interested to see if it made any difference. I don't feel it did although apparently I don't look as old as a lot of my friends but don't know if that is diet or genes.*

Hence, Fred is only interested in healthy eating to please his (now ex-) girlfriend. Thus, he distances himself from the potentially contaminating association with feminised health foodways and discourses of responsible individualism. Indeed, a concern with the health benefits of food, particularly dieting to lose weight is considered a feminine preoccupation (Lupton 1996, Bordo 2003, Gough 2007).

Fred also claims:

*I think I have a good idea what healthy eating looks like (and I think its quite different to a lot of people I believe who seem to think there are healthy convenience meals and that low fat options are 'healthy' irrespective of the rubbish they load them up with to give flavour etc.). Whether I always choose the healthy option is debatable ...*

Here Fred is directly criticising a diet industry that sells 'healthy convenience food' and 'low fat options' possibly because the target market for these products tends to be women. Fred also displays condescension and cultural hostility towards an imaginary subordinate group, who are ignorant of how they are duped by commercial foodways. However, Fred is also a gourmet (see Chapter 6) and 'good' food prepared from scratch has higher status than the mass-produced commercial products he is referring to here. It is notable too that despite knowing what 'healthy' eating looks like, he may choose not to eat healthily because that too has associations with femininity. Indeed, refusing to comply with dietary guidelines and wider public

health discourses can be construed as risky, 'living on the edge' or 'edgework' and is a strategy for performing dominant masculinities (Collinson 1996, Robertson 2007: 48–9).

Indeed, the turn towards 'healthy' non-commercialised foodways is common within respondent narratives and not just amongst mothers preparing healthy home-cooked meals from scratch as noted in Chapter 3. Also, despite the associations between femininity and dieting, respondents differentiated between 'the thin ideal' (Germov and Williams 2004: 355) and changing one's diet for health reasons. Nadia for example, explains the difference between a 'diet' to lose weight and eating or not eating for health reasons:

*[I have been on] a proper diet once, from a book when I was 22ish. I followed it strictly, exercised and lost heaps. It was basically a fat free diet. It taught me about low fat foods. I have also been on many wheat free, low sugar, detox type diets. These were to deal with problems like candida. I have a weakness for sugary things so have to take it in hand now and then!*

Hence, Nadia argues that a 'proper diet' was useful in terms of developing her knowledge of low fat foods, but has since followed 'other' dietary regimes to cure specific health problems such as candida. It is notable that health consciousness is a means of performing femininity (Moore 2010) and that Nadia has a weakness for sweetness, which is similarly coded as feminine (Mintz 1985, Lupton 1996). In Mark's (a 45-year-old consultant, married with three children) account, he notes:

*I still am [conscious of what I eat on a day-to-day basis], in that I only eat salads and maybe scrambled eggs for lunch. This is based on being healthy rather than trying to lose weight ... I feel guilty now if I eat a pie or pasty for lunch but never usually worry about having a 'healthy' dinner.*

Of course, the rationale for Mark's distinction can be understood in terms of hegemonic masculinities and the association of dieting with emphasised femininities (Connell 2005, Gough 2007). However, like Fred, his health consciousness has limits and he does not worry about having a healthy dinner. Again this is about distancing the self from the feminine attributes associated with health, and

engaging in slightly risky behaviour or edge work as a performance of dominant masculinities (Collinson 1996, Robertson 2007: 48–9).

### Dietary regimes and technologies of the self

In Foucault's (1973) work the *Birth of the Clinic* he highlights how medicine became a form of social control; what Turner (1987: 219) refers to as 'the regulation and management of populations and bodies, in the interests of a discourse, which identifies and controls what is normal'. There is therefore a social and individual concern with the normative, the good and the proper in both public and private life. Similarly, the development of disciplinary regimes from Foucault's (1977) work in *Discipline and Punish* and the elements of 'rationalisation embedded in the personalisation of surveillance' (Warde 1997: 173) is significant. The continued internalisation of the disciplinary gaze is exposed through the intricacies and intimacies of respondents' highly regulated, individualised eating plans. Thus, in an era of self-surveillance medicine (Armstrong 1995) tracking food and exercise and other health foodways are increasingly the means of performing a good self. Indeed:

*To be a good citizen one should play one's part in managing one's risk, promoting one's health or preventing illness, regulating one's diet, and so on.*

(Petersen 2007: 10)

Of course, 'beliefs about what constitutes health and illness are at once individual and social' (Herzlich 1973: 1). They are subject to historical and cultural change. One of the most significant changes since Parsons' (1951) research and articulation of the medical model and the sick role, has been the rise in chronic conditions of late modernity, such as:

*Diseases associated with the life course ... chronic illnesses, which require management (such as diabetes) ... and complex disorders of late modernity such as anorexia, depression, eating and anxiety disorders and including the proliferation of acronym disorders such as IBS, CFS and ADHD ... [as well as] multifactorial degenerative diseases such as cancer.*

(Bendelow 2009: 26)

1 On the one hand these conditions challenge the functionality of  
 2 the sick role and the medical model, which was developed in an era  
 3 when the purpose of medicine was curative or to get people back to  
 4 work (Parsons 1951). Now, because some of the chronic conditions  
 5 of late modernity are often difficult to medically define and/or treat  
 6 this raises problems for those with chronic conditions or who do  
 7 not fit the medical model. Is it still important for conditions to be  
 8 medically sanctioned by trained medical practitioners? What are  
 9 the consequences of blurring the boundaries between what might  
 10 be considered a chronic condition and issues associated with the life  
 11 course? Is someone with a chronic condition always ill, or is it a mat-  
 12 ter of only being ill when the management of that condition falters?

AQ5

13 Generally in matters of health and illness, orthodox medical dis-  
 14 course encourages individual responsibility, as Nettleton (2006: 42)  
 15 claims:

16  
 17 *Conceptualisations of health and illness in contemporary Western*  
 18 *societies ... reflect the values of capitalism and individualism ...*  
 19 *imbued with notions of self-discipline, self-control and will power.*

20  
 21 Thus, there are links between the individual and the political  
 22 body, with individuals charged with finding solutions to health  
 23 problems, whereby gaining control of one's everyday foodways is  
 24 part of a 'normal' life trajectory and a growth in personal autonomy  
 25 (Petersen 2007, Turner 2008). However, foodways not sanctioned  
 26 by orthodox medical experts can be considered 'alternative healing  
 27 systems [and] still regarded with suspicion and hostility' (Bendelow  
 28 2009: 22). Despite the potential benefits of alternative foodways as  
 29 useful coping mechanisms when managing chronic conditions and/  
 30 or negotiating a (spoiled) illness identity (Goffman 1963), there is  
 31 a double burden for those regulating conditions through health  
 32 foodways. Thus, the stigma associated with a change in status from  
 33 healthy to 'sick' can be further compromised if managing the condi-  
 34 tion via health foodways or CAM. This is part of what Turner (1987:  
 35 225) identifies as:

36  
 37 *... The Foucault paradox' [in that] the provision of citizenship tends to*  
 38 *require the expansion of regulation, control and surveillance from the*  
 39 *state [which leads to a] contradiction between individual rights and*

AQ6

1 *social surveillance. The medicalization of society involves a detailed*  
 2 *and minute bureaucratic regulation of bodies in the interests of an*  
 3 *abstract conception of health as a component of citizenship.*

4  
 5 Hence, the medicalisation of every day life (Crawford 1980), or  
 6 the process whereby medicine has made inroads into the domain  
 7 of 'ordinary life' previously controlled or regulated 'through moral,  
 8 religious or legal jurisdiction' (Bendelow 2009: 11), ensures that the  
 9 conceptualisation of health foodways are an appropriate means of  
 10 'doing health' (Moore 2010). Paradoxically, if the individual is prac-  
 11 tising a form of CAM, either treating conditions not sanctioned by  
 12 orthodox medicine, or practising unhealthy/unusual foodways the  
 13 individual is breaking the rules of the sick role and therefore poten-  
 14 tially liable to punishment (Parsons 1951). Or if following a dietary  
 15 regime outside of what might be considered appropriate within the  
 16 normalising discourses of health, individuals are forced to engage in  
 17 the management of a spoiled identity (Goffman 1963).

18 This is particularly pertinent for those monitoring their food  
 19 intake because of dietary intolerances or other health-related issues.  
 20 Dalia, for example, makes clear distinctions between changing one's  
 21 eating habits to treat a condition and going on a diet to lose weight:

22  
 23 *I have only been on one diet in my life! Not that I didn't need to on sev-*  
 24 *eral occasions. This one diet was brought on by avoiding light surgery in*  
 25 *favour of changing my diet to cure a small ovarian cyst. It seems to have*  
 26 *worked ... but what it has also done is made me eat more healthily.*

27  
 28 The distinction here is clear; going on a diet to lose weight is con-  
 29 nected to aesthetics rather than health and therefore not quite as  
 30 serious as following healthy foodways because of health benefits or  
 31 medical cure. Here the association between the feminised practices  
 32 of dietary restraint to lose weight and the 'curing' of a sanctioned  
 33 medical condition is significant.

34 Others documented highly regimented health foodways and ate  
 35 almost the same things on most days; Hannah is a good example,  
 36 and notes:

37  
 38 *I love food, I have to have regular meals and mid meal snacks, I always*  
 39 *have a good breakfast, what ever I am doing I have to start the day*



1       with breakfast otherwise I feel grumpy and tired. As I have got older I  
 2       have become more aware of what I eat and drink, I try to eat healthily,  
 3       when given a choice I always buy food which contain granary or whole  
 4       grain, nuts and seeds.

5  
 6       Here, Hannah illustrates knowledge of her body and its require-  
 7       ments. She discusses her potential mood, 'grumpy' and feeling 'tired'  
 8       if she doesn't eat a 'good' breakfast. Generally, respondents engaging  
 9       in health foodways are keen to explain how, when and why they  
 10      developed this approach. These are narratives about emotions and  
 11      feelings; they are embodied, corporeal rebellions to an increasingly  
 12      alienating foodscape. They are responding in part to what Fischler  
 13      (1988: 948, 2011) refers to as 'gastro-anomy' in which:

14  
 15      *Modern individuals are left without clear-cut socio-cultural clues as to*  
 16      *what their [food] choice should be, as to when, how and how much*  
 17      *they should eat. Food selection and intake are now increasingly a mat-*  
 18      *ter of individual, not social decisions. And they are no longer under*  
 19      *ecological or seasonal constraints. But individuals lack reliable criteria*  
 20      *to make these decisions and therefore they experience a growing sense*  
 21      *of anxiety.*

22  
 23      Whether this growing sense of anxiety manifests itself in a cor-  
 24      poreal sense on or within individual bodies is difficult to measure.  
 25      Certainly, respondents explain how they developed their health  
 26      foodways in response to anxiety about when, how and what to eat,  
 27      but this is an affective practice, a response to embodied experiences  
 28      (Wetherell 2012). It is a learnt health consciousness inculcated over  
 29      time. Fischler (1980: 949–50) argues that:

30  
 31      *Food fads, fad diets, food sectarianisms, new trends in culinary aesthet-*  
 32      *ics may be indicative of an aspiration to re-establish dietary regulations*  
 33      *and norms in the face of growing normlessness ...*

34  
 35      He critiques the shift towards heightened individualism with  
 36      regards to foodways and how this serves to undermine the com-  
 37      mensal aspects of sharing food. This is not lost on respondents  
 38      and some, such as Imogen, note that despite following fairly strict  
 39      health foodways, 'If I go out I'll eat whatever I'm presented with as  
 it's maybe a bit rude not to'. Fischler's (1980: 949) use of the term

1 'food fad' implies something temporal, fleeting and unimportant.  
 2 Respondents' health foodways are far from brief or short-lived crazes.  
 3 Indeed, these 'quest' narratives (Frank 1995) highlight how they are  
 4 eventually able to control difficult to treat symptoms and biographi-  
 5 cal disruption (Bury 1982) by changing their dietary habits.

### 7 Food for health

8  
 9 Of course, generally speaking a commitment to healthy eating can  
 10 be understood as a means of performing responsible individualism  
 11 and a middle class habitus. In terms of affective practices (Wetherell  
 12 2012), eating the wrong things or bad food has consequences for  
 13 the individual in both a social, moral and corporeal sense. So, whilst  
 14 the focus for respondents is on good/bad foodways in the context of  
 15 health discourses and the medicalisation of the practices of everyday  
 16 life (Crawford 1980), sometimes it is not necessarily that the food  
 17 itself is 'bad' but that certain foods cause 'bad' physical and/or emo-  
 18 tional reactions. The association of items such as bread or chocolate  
 19 or sugar (sweets) for example with pleasure, childhood innocence  
 20 and/or comfort is common. Yet, excess consumption of these is sin-  
 21 ful, reinforcing the connection between food and morality (Coveney  
 22 2006), as Nadia writes:

23  
 24 *My general rule is if healthy at home then that is a good base to then*  
 25 *have treats when out and about. If there is nothing too evil in the fridge*  
 26 *then there is less chance of me eating badly. If I have chocolate at home*  
 27 *I have little self-control, I would snack on it before an apple so it's best*  
 28 *to not buy it.*

29  
 30 Her use of the word 'evil' is notable; this is a strong word to use  
 31 when describing food, especially something that maybe an innocent  
 32 or potentially comforting treat like chocolate. This underlines the  
 33 moral contamination from association with improper foodways.  
 34 Notably these foodways are coded feminine (chocolate), with  
 35 issues of discipline and control similarly associated with femininity  
 36 (Malson 1998, Riley et al. 2007, Malson and Burns 2009).

37 In Imogen's 'quest illness narrative' (Frank 1995), she writes:

38  
 39 *I also started to listen to my body more, recognising what made me feel*  
*uncomfortable or upset my stomach and this led to my beginning to*

1        *cut out white bread and over the following five years or so most wheat*  
 2        *products. I explored food combining and gluten free diets and have tried*  
 3        *cutting out dairy but have kind of settled on a mostly wheat free diet*  
 4        *that is otherwise very varied ...*

5  
 6        It is notable that Imogen 'listens' to her body, which whilst  
 7        reminiscent of Cartesian dualism and mechanistic medical mod-  
 8        els of health, 'moves the locus of causality back towards the self'  
 9        (Lowenberg and Davis 1994: 587). Hence, although she identifies a  
 10       more 'holistic' or CAM approach towards her health foodways, this  
 11       is still framed within a medical discourse that assumes the body is a  
 12       machine that can be controlled by appropriate regimes (Turner 1982,  
 13       2008, Petersen 2007). She continues:

14  
 15       *I started cutting out wheat when I was about 25 because I found that*  
 16       *every time I ate bread my stomach and right cheek would swell! My*  
 17       *face became hot and itchy and would take days to go down. After see-*  
 18       *ing 2 different doctors they said I had an allergy to wheat so I stopped*  
 19       *eating it and probably 80 per cent of the time went gluten free. This*  
 20       *cured my stomach problems which I still have if I cant resist a pizza*  
 21       *or garlic bread once in a while but not the face swelling which after*  
 22       *seeing a specialist turned out to be a narrow parotid gland which could*  
 23       *be operated on but has a chance of facial paralysis so I've left it! The*  
 24       *reason I think I associated it with wheat for so long was because I was*  
 25       *snacking on bits of toast when I got really hungry but it was the hunger*  
 26       *and production of saliva that was triggering it not the bread! Now I*  
 27       *manage it by eating something like nuts or cheese to stop me getting too*  
 28       *hungry so it doesn't swell.*

29  
 30       Thus, in Imogen's 'quest' and 'restitution' illness narrative (Frank  
 31       1995), she discovers and then learns to deal with symptoms associ-  
 32       ated with her narrow parotid gland. Notably, though, this is not due  
 33       to changes in her diet, which instead 'cure' an altogether different  
 34       ailment. Then, she writes:

35  
 36       *I tried going dairy free for a while to see if it made any difference to the*  
 37       *skin on my arms and legs, which was getting pimply. It did help and I*  
 38       *still have soya milk on cereal and in drinks but I eat other dairy stuff.*  
 39       *I've got so used to the soya that I don't like the taste of cow's milk now.*

1 Here, Imogen notes how her 'tastes' have changed in line with  
 2 alterations to her foodways over time, which is now part of a middle  
 3 class cultural habitus; she is fully immersed in closely monitoring her  
 4 embodied responses to food and has internalised the medical gaze  
 5 (Petersen and Bunton 1997). This is also an important element in the  
 6 performance of emphasised femininities (Connell 2005). She finishes  
 7 with a testimony on what she has learned:

8  
 9 *I think probably it's taken me this long to work out what I can eat in*  
 10 *good amounts without having a detrimental effect on my health as I*  
 11 *basically love food! I love eating good quality nice things but always*  
 12 *hated the heavy full tired feeling I had after eating too much stodgy*  
 13 *food as a kid.*

14  
 15 Imogen notes that as a child her diet left her feeling 'very full quite  
 16 often', but for Imogen, like others, this is not a desirable state, it is  
 17 uncomfortable, it is not how a 'healthy' body should feel; thus, feel-  
 18 ing full is not healthy. Today she likes to eat 'good quality' things  
 19 and is therefore displaying a kind of neophilia (Lupton 1996) and  
 20 distancing herself from the inappropriate foodways of her child-  
 21 hood. She continues:

22  
 23 *I think there is a lot more information available to kids now regarding*  
 24 *a healthy lifestyle. I don't remember ever being told about healthy diets*  
 25 *at school or at home for that matter.*

26  
 27 Hence, Imogen's knowledge and expertise with regards to her  
 28 health foodways were not inculcated at school; she has had to learn  
 29 these for herself, as part of becoming a responsible neo-liberal citizen  
 30 and engaging in health foodways associated with high cultural capi-  
 31 tal. Willow (a 55-year-old senior lecturer, living on her own with a  
 32 grown-up child) on the other hand, documents a number of dietary  
 33 changes over the life course and in response to health issues:

34  
 35 *In my twenties I cut down on sugar and meat, sometimes giving both up*  
 36 *completely, and started to eat a lot more whole-grain based food. In my*  
 37 *thirties I would cut out milk products occasionally for a few weeks when*  
 38 *I had problems with asthma. In my forties I had a period of eating more*  
 39 *meat (mainly organic) in an attempt to eat less dairy produce to help my*

1        *asthma, and also because my daughter enjoyed meat. When my teen-*  
 2        *age daughter became a vegan I gave up meat again and didn't miss it.*  
 3        *When I got IBS I experimented with diet changes and cutting out wheat*  
 4        *and milk products seemed to work well and make me feel good, so I've*  
 5        *tried to stick with this since, with occasional lapses, either to be polite*  
 6        *to people I'm with, or just because I'm very tempted by something.*

8 Willow's account is similar to Imogen's in that she finds she lapses  
 9 her health foodways in order to be social (Warde 1997).

### 11 Healthy food

12  
 13 There is also a consistency in accounts around 'feeling full' or 'heavy'  
 14 or 'tired' which is associated with eating too much or consuming  
 15 'bad' foods. These are embodied notions that equate feelings with  
 16 healthiness and un-healthiness. Zoe writes:

AQ7

17  
 18        *We had a cleaning lady who used to cook for my father and leave food*  
 19        *in the fridge ... sausage rolls and vol-au-vents. Hideous lumps of pas-*  
 20        *try that needed a litre of tomato ketchup to make them palatable. He*  
 21        *[father] used to eat sandwich spread sandwiches ... My mum's cheese*  
 22        *scones were and still are great. Going out for a meal was a huge event ...*  
 23        *as a child, we always ate at home. The thought of all that pastry is*  
 24        *making me feel quite sick though!*

25  
 26 Zoe also notes:

27  
 28        *... Mum left home when I was a teenager (12/13?) so I learnt most of*  
 29        *my cooking skills and planning skills at school.*

30  
 31 This may account for the strong reaction to the food left by some-  
 32 one other than her mother and emphasises the links between food-  
 33 ways and nurturing/care (Lupton 1996). Zoe continues that now:

34  
 35        *I like salads, lots of crunchy textures and good flavours. And light food –*  
 36        *and its generally down to the way it makes me feel. My body goes into*  
 37        *sleep mode if it has to digest anything too solid and I like having energy.*

38  
 39 Hence, 'good' food is light food and this means that Zoe feels light  
 and this is important. Here, 'lightness' is associated with health and

1 healthiness (although also possibly lower body weight) and morality  
 2 (Coveney 2006). In all of the health foodways there is an emphasis  
 3 on feelings; these are embodied and emotional responses to food,  
 4 the environment and the social context in which this food has been  
 5 consumed or prepared.

6 Overall, respondents expressed an engagement with contemporary  
 7 health discourses and knowledge of the correct foodways deemed  
 8 beneficial for one's health. Thus, knowledge, taste and participation  
 9 in health foodways could be considered an aspect of elite cultural  
 10 capital (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012). Indeed, health foodways are  
 11 integral to being a responsible moral citizen and 'Coveney (2006)  
 12 reminds us, that the discipline of nutrition informs the construction  
 13 of notions such as responsibility and health' (cited in Nettleton et al.  
 14 2010: 746). Hence, Hannah's narrative is littered with references to  
 15 healthy and importantly this is controlled: AQ8

16  
 17 *The above food diary is a fairly typical day – always a healthy start ...*  
 18 *From here on the day always starts out to be controlled and healthy, but*  
 19 *at work someone always has a reason to bring in cakes/sweets, I cannot*  
 20 *resist and indulge with the rest. Always a healthy lunch, same crackers,*  
 21 *marmite and cheddar, apple and or yogurt. Supper, again, always home-*  
 22 *cooked, healthy main course with fresh fruit optional.*

23  
 24 Hannah's health foodways are disciplined, highly regular and  
 25 always home-cooked (Pollan 2013), which all have high cultural  
 26 capital. Yet she is still able to conform in social situations and, like  
 27 Imogen, she indulges in (un-healthy) 'cakes/sweets' and joins in with AQ9  
 28 'the rest'. Hannah will suspend her health foodways in order to fit in  
 29 with social norms and values around the commensal aspects of shar-  
 30 ing rituals in the workplace (Fischler 1980). Nadia writes that she has a:

31  
 32 *Strong dislike for unhealthy, overly processed food e.g.: junk with addi-*  
 33 *tives. I generally prefer vegetarian options so I am uncomfortable with*  
 34 *takeaway animal foods such as chicken or burgers. I prefer vegetables*  
 35 *and wholefoods. This developed from health issues when in my 20's*  
 36 *and learning more as a result about wheat free, low sugar, less fat etc.*  
 37 *I choose organic when I can afford it ...*

38  
 39 Again, this is indicative of how respondents distanced themselves  
 from contamination from convenience foodways. This is part of a

1 commitment to a disciplinary model of the self (Petersen 2007) and  
 2 associated with high cultural capital (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012).  
 3 Nadia's dietary concerns began because of issues to do with her  
 4 health and she describes un-healthy food as:

AQ10

5  
 6 *... Anything too 'plastic': food that has become too removed from its*  
 7 *original natural source. I stay away from meats that I feel have not been*  
 8 *humanely produced, I only eat free range and/or organic meats and in*  
 9 *small quantities. I eat soy as an alternative to meats and dairy, and*  
 10 *prefer organic dairy produce when possible. I check labels and avoid too*  
 11 *many numbers, or even too many ingredients. I am wary of too much*  
 12 *sugar so avoid lollies and soft drinks.*

13  
 14 In Nadia's narrative, unhealthy food is so alien as to be not even  
 15 'food' but plastic and indicative of an alienating contemporary food-  
 16 scape (Fischler 1980, 2011). There is also a concern raised regarding  
 17 animal welfare, which can be aligned to more sustainable approaches  
 18 to foodways but is not a wholesale engagement with democratic or sus-  
 19 tainable foodways; this is common amongst respondents and differs  
 20 to other studies such as Johnston and Baumann (2010). Later Nadia  
 21 attributes a 'complicated' relationship to food to the problems of nego-  
 22 tiating 'a Western culture of plenty' in contrast to the spirituality and  
 23 ascetic feelings she associates with her experience of other cultures:

24  
 25 *I have experienced returning home from a ten-day silent retreat where*  
 26 *I've enjoyed wonderful mindfulness choosing what to eat and slowly*  
 27 *chewing each mouthful to finding myself at a dinner party mindlessly*  
 28 *gorging myself.*

29  
 30 Nadia's account is reminiscent of the problems of negotiating the  
 31 boundaries between the 'orgy' and 'the feast' and the pleasures of  
 32 the flesh (Coveney 2006, Turner 2008). Nadia has become health-  
 33 conscious and developed health foodways because of problems with  
 34 candida, which she blames on an over consumption of sugar (hyper-  
 35 femininity). Her health foodways are also a response to Fischler's  
 36 (1980, 2011) notion of gastro-anomy, whereby her dislike of overly  
 37 processed 'plastic' junk food and health foodways are a means of  
 38 countering the impact of an alienating and highly industrialised  
 39 foodscape. Again, this is associated with the accumulation of cultural  
 capital, as processed 'junk' food is considered low status food.

## Food as CAM

Although 'good' food is conceptualised as significant for a healthy diet/lifestyle (way of life) the use of food as a treatment for certain conditions is not wholly sanctioned by orthodox medicine. Nettleton et al. (2010: 297) note that the 'avoidance of food because of food intolerances is associated with alternative and unconventional lifestyles, fashion and trends which in turn implicate the person who suffers'. The question is how do those involved in using food as a treatment negotiate these contradictions? This has significant implications for those forced to adjust their dietary habits because of health or illness. In an era of responsible individualism there is a moral imperative to be well and to be unwell can be stigmatising (Goffman 1963).

In health foodways, respondents considered certain foodstuffs as treatments for particular conditions, such as a high fat (ketogenic) diet as a treatment for DRE. However, 'treats' for some had to be excluded from the diet in order to avoid becoming ill (wheat and dairy for example). For others the avoidance of what might be considered 'treats' alleviated pain and discomfort. In all cases, respondents are forced to participate in a kind of hyper-surveillance of foodways in the interests of controlling health and/or illness, either theirs or others (children, partners, families). Again, in terms of taking responsibility for health (Petersen 2007) this has high cultural capital. Similarly, an emphasis on CAM/holistic approaches places the 'responsibility for health and illness in the hands of the individual' (Baarts et al. 2009: 727).

However, the route to health foodways as treatment tended to arise as a result of the inability of orthodox medicine to diagnose and/or treat symptoms. Although in some cases a medical opinion was not sought and the respondent had just heard that this was a possible means of treating the condition, notably those already engaged in holistic approaches to everyday health and well-being. This seemed to be particularly pertinent in cases of eczema. For example, Kevin (a 47-year-old consultant, living with his partner and two children) comments:

*[When planning meals] I have to think of their favourites and veggie options and our youngest is off dairy products due to eczema ... We never feel sure [if it works] – we have also done soya free and tomato*



1       *free – overall I think his eczema is improving but honestly couldn't say if*  
 2       *it's the dairy – occasionally bad spells have seemed linked with a lapse*  
 3       *in diet but also that hasn't always happened – not very definitive sorry.*

4  
 5       Similarly, when positioning the self in the role of a 'proper'  
 6       mother, with responsibility for the health of the family (Wills et al.  
 7       2009), Chloe notes:

8  
 9       *[I have] never been on a diet but have moderated type of ingredients in*  
 10       *family cooking for health reasons ... i.e. family health ... eczema ...*  
 11       *daughter can't eat too much dairy.*

12  
 13       On the other hand, for Nick dietary change in the interests of  
 14       health if not sanctioned by orthodox medicine is problematic. When  
 15       asked why he was avoiding bread, for example, he replies:

16  
 17       *The white bread thing is probably a bit faddish but I have read/ heard/*  
 18       *seen the odd thing which says us humans were never designed to eat*  
 19       *flour of the highly refined type we pass off as bread anyway. I like the*  
 20       *idea of nuts, meat, fish berries, root veg etc. like cavemen and not much*  
 21       *else. The Romans had bread but it was pretty much spelt I believe.*  
 22       *Tudors also had a good diet ... or at least those eating inside Hampton*  
 23       *Court with a healthy veg soup on the go all the time ... a pottage ...*  
 24       *cooking away in a giant cauldron ...*

25  
 26       He presents his rationale within a historical context and distances  
 27       himself from the feminised and faddish practices (Fischler 1980)  
 28       associated with health foodways. On the other hand Bryony writes  
 29       about bread:

30  
 31       *And then there's the bread. Ah the bread. I'm trying not to eat it at all at*  
 32       *the moment. I've had some gastric problems over the last three of years*  
 33       *and an extra sluggish metabolism. I'm convinced I've developed some*  
 34       *food intolerances, but am not sure to what. Not eating bread seems to*  
 35       *have helped so I'm going with that for the moment. Though not reli-*  
 36       *giously, I just spent a couple of weeks travelling and ate bread the whole*  
 37       *time. I don't think I have any outright allergies, but rather that stress*  
 38       *has lead to my immune system being strained and my digestive system*  
 39       *finding it hard to work over some foods.*

1 Thus, Bryony has an emotional attachment to bread, whilst Nick  
2 continues:

3  
4 *We get spelt from the cult weirdo's in the market and one slice is all*  
5 *you need for breakfast ... slow release etc.... Whereas you can eat slice*  
6 *after slice of manufactured white bread and still feel hungry/ empty/*  
7 *bloated etc.*

8  
9 This highlights how certain dietary practices if not fully sanctioned  
10 by nutritional science are difficult to legitimate. Nick's engagement  
11 with the practice of purchasing spelt bread is positioned elsewhere,  
12 on the boundaries of the intimate self. Nick is able to distance him-  
13 self from its production, whilst simultaneously making it 'other'.  
14 Nettleton et al. (2010: 297) claim the 'avoidance of food because of  
15 food intolerances is associated with alternative and unconventional  
16 lifestyles, fashion and trends which in turn implicate the person  
17 who suffers'. Thus, Nick trivialises the benefits of the bread as a 'fad'  
18 (Fischler 1980) and again as a means of distancing himself from the  
19 possible stigma of association (Goffman 1963). Further, a concern  
20 with health foodways and fads are potentially feminising. Nick's  
21 comments position him in opposition to the consumption of highly  
22 processed or mass-produced 'manufactured' white bread, which has  
23 low cultural capital due to its association with unrefined or work-  
24 ing class tastes or food for the masses. In a contemporary foodscape  
25 he is also registering his dis-taste and intolerance of the excessive  
26 industrialisation of food (Mennell 1985). Indeed, Mennell (1985)  
27 notes that it was once prestigious in medieval times to eat white  
28 bread amongst elite groups, who associated unrefined bread with the  
29 unrefined classes.

30 Generally, respondents who changed their diets for health reasons  
31 either to manage symptoms for themselves or their children, were  
32 aware that nutritional approaches to treatment were potentially  
33 illegitimate and outside of orthodox medical practice. For some,  
34 orthodox medicine was actually at the root of the problem in the  
35 first place. For example in Kelly's (a 30-year-old PhD student, living  
36 with her partner) 'quest narrative' (Frank 1995), the cause of her IBS:

37  
38 *Was certainly somehow connected to the four or five instances of*  
39 *tummy flu and food poisoning that I had had, but forgotten. Also, the*

AQ11

AQ12

AQ13

1        *tons of antibiotics I have ingested thanks to their liberal prescription*  
 2        *by Bulgarian doctors in the 1980s. Also the change of food due to my*  
 3        *immigration to the UK. And even stress (only then did I realise that*  
 4        *I was anxious in the mornings – but later I also found out that the IBS*  
 5        *actually feeds a physical feeling of anxiety, so the relation between stress*  
 6        *and IBS is more complicated). And I also started realizing that I may*  
 7        *have had a hidden food-absorption problem for years without even sus-*  
 8        *pecting. This could be one of the reasons for my strikingly bad health*  
 9        *and constant low-level inflammations I've had since I can remember*  
 10        *myself, i.e. really bad teeth ... very early arthritis ... persistent tonsil-*  
 11        *litis ... peripheral neuropathy and carpal tunnel syndrome of the arms*  
 12        *at 18 ... osteopenic bones at the age of 25 ... reproductive problems ...*  
 13        *problems with sleep and concentration ... etc. etc. etc. I also came across*  
 14        *stuff that blamed candida for many of these food related problems ...*

15  
 16        Thus, in Kelly's narrative, food is the main protagonist in the story;  
 17        following a 'military metaphor' (Lupton 2003: 65), Kelly engages in  
 18        a 'battle' with food as she asserts, 'however, my "food story" would  
 19        be incomplete, if I didn't mention the battle with that pesky thing  
 20        called IBS that I've been fighting ever since I came to the UK'. It is  
 21        notable that she refers to her condition in a familiar, light-hearted  
 22        way, this 'pesky' condition, as if it is a mere nuisance and yet uses  
 23        a military metaphor. This is an emotional narrative and following  
 24        Frank (1995: 7), the condition is not so much a 'disruption', but is  
 25        seen as 'part of life's map or journey'. Indeed, Kelly's narrative utilises  
 26        heroic, tragic, ironic and comic sub narratives in dealing with the  
 27        biographical disruption of her IBS (Bury 2001: 263). She continues:

AQ14

28  
 29        *Currently I am not the master (sic) of my own decisions. Or at least it*  
 30        *is not my tongue any more or my waistline, but I'm trying to 'listen' to*  
 31        *what my body actually 'wants' to eat, for its own good. This is a new*  
 32        *concept and a new skill I wish I had acquired earlier. Perhaps if I had,*  
 33        *I would not have 20 fillings in my teeth or thin bones, or feel tired and*  
 34        *unable to focus all the time. So, yeah. The IBS, after scaring me to death*  
 35        *and depressing me (mentally and, as it turns out, also physically!), has*  
 36        *finally turned out to be my best food teacher ... It is also kind of ironic*  
 37        *that after two decades of fighting against my mother's food regime*  
 38        *I'm now forced to build a rather similar food regime for myself! Very*  
 39

AQ15

1        *annoying. But I've gone past annoyance. Food is no longer the innocent*  
 2        *pleasure it was when I was younger, I've grown to be a bit afraid of it,*  
 3        *since it can cause me weeks of suffering if I'm not careful.*

4  
 5        Hence, Kelly highlights the impact of changes in her diet on her  
 6        sense of self, notably a feminine identity that associates food with  
 7        her 'tongue' and 'waistline'. Instead, she is 'trying to listen to what  
 8        her body actually wants to eat, for its own good'. Again, this is  
 9        reminiscent of Cartesian dualism and an alignment with the medi-  
 10       cal model, despite engaging in holistic medicine or CAM. This rep-  
 11       resents an interesting dichotomy therefore, as a focus on individual  
 12       responsibility for health and illness supports a de-medicalisation the-  
 13       sis; however, the application of a health-illness paradigm to nearly  
 14       every domain of life represents increased medicalisation (Lowenberg  
 15       and Davis 1994: 584).

16       Kelly adds that she is no longer 'master' (sic) of her own decisions  
 17       but having to radically reconsider her diet as a means of preventing  
 18       suffering. This has knock-on effects in all aspects of her life as a post-  
 19       graduate student and implications for her identity. She concludes  
 20       that:

21  
 22        *Food is no longer the innocent pleasure it was when I was younger, I've*  
 23        *grown to be a bit afraid of it, since it can cause me weeks of suffering*  
 24        *if I'm not careful.*

25  
 26        She writes that her IBS has become her 'best food teacher'. Her  
 27        narrative like others in this theme is illustrative of some of the issues  
 28        faced by individuals managing their diet for health reasons and  
 29        highlights the significance of cultural rules and rituals in the man-  
 30       agement of a spoiled (illness) identity (Goffman 1963).

31       Kelly though, has only recently developed these health foodways  
 32       and identifies contradictions in managing a student identity that  
 33       would usually entail a more carefree and convivial attitude towards  
 34       food. She claims:

35  
 36        *The two things I've not managed to eliminate from my food (for longer*  
 37        *than my heroic forced 2-month diet in April and May this year) are*  
 38        *coffee and cakes! :-)*  
 39

Although, she has strategies for alleviating any side effects if she is caught out by 'bad' food choices, in social commensal eating situations:

*I tend to not be too careful about what I eat in restaurants ... but then I carry around enzymes and charcoal and stuff just in case. My best find are good Italian restaurants in which I can eat a load of olives before the main meal, that is delicious and seems to make me feel good after, too.*

Typically for those engaged in health foodways as a means of controlling conditions or symptoms, many respondents suffered from more than one ailment. This was not a matter of having the 'high cholesterol mantra humming in the background' as Ian notes, but for someone like Edith, (a 54-year-old Arts Co-Ordinator, single and living with one of her three children), for example:

*I have many food fads as I suffer from IBS, Acid Reflux, Hypothyroidism and some allergies, all of these things can dictate what, how and when I eat ... I am very conscious of what I eat, but I do not always listen to my body and rarely pay attention to what I am supposed to eat, I go in fits and starts of being super healthy, and I mean really healthy to junk food ... reasons for this could be time, money, laziness, lack of family unity at meal times, all very informal these days.*

Edith's narrative contains a confession to not 'always' listening to her body, it signals an ambivalence and resistance to the power of dominant healthy eating discourses. She presents reasons for not complying, yet by referring to 'really healthy' dietary practices as food fads (Fischler 1980), she manages to reinforce the notion of them as temporal and fleeting and not that serious anyway. Willow on the other hand writes:

*My friend had bad eczema and I had asthma so we read a lot about allergies and intolerances and vitamins (Adele Davies) and had a period of eating a lot of liver and wheat germ and drinking a lot of goats' milk.*

Thus, not all eating for health is necessarily what might be considered healthy eating. Queenie (a 62-year-old married, and retired hairdresser) though explains how she developed her healthy foodways in

1 response to physical conditions triggered by grief at the loss of both  
 2 of her parents and the stress of dealing with their deaths. This 'lack  
 3 of appetite' is considered by Lupton (1996: 33) to be 'an emotional  
 4 response' to life events (the link between death or loss and dietary  
 5 change is another thread picked up in Chapter 5).

6 However, Queenie writes that she was already practising CAM, by  
 7 making reference to a *Retail Outlet* in her local town that specialises  
 8 in 'natural products and remedies'. She notes:

9  
 10 *Obviously I should have gone to the doctors, but didn't, by the time I*  
 11 *did eventually go I'd stopped eating wheat for quite some time and a*  
 12 *celiac test could not be done. In the meantime a visiting Iridologist in*  
 13 *Specialist Shop told me to avoid all wheat products, which I did. It was*  
 14 *like a miracle I felt so much better immediately.*

15  
 16 She continues:

17  
 18 *The memory of the unpleasant symptoms from eating wheat means that*  
 19 *I don't ever lapse, it just isn't worth it; at the very worst I'd get a stomach-*  
 20 *ache. My/our friends kindly do wheat free meals for me; I do sometimes*  
 21 *take a particular ingredient or food item if I am staying somewhere. It's*  
 22 *not that difficult, most supermarkets do a 'free from' range now and even*  
 23 *[Italian restaurant chain] have gluten free pasta on the menu!*

24  
 25 Here, by referring to a mainstream *Italian* restaurant chain, she  
 26 positions her dietary habits within popular cultural norms. Therefore,  
 27 her dietary requirements are acceptable outside of a specialist CAM  
 28 arena. She acknowledges that her strict dietary regime is potentially  
 29 problematic in social situations, but claims that most of her friends  
 30 are very accommodating of her diet. This counters Warde's (1997:  
 31 173) contention that 'because people eat in social situations even the  
 32 most self-disciplined will relax their abstemious personal regimes'.  
 33 And challenges his assertion that 'people are not generally known  
 34 for their eccentric eating habits' (Warde 1997: 182). Queenie also  
 35 explains how her intolerances may have developed:

36  
 37 *In recent years I've become very interested in the mind/body connec-*  
 38 *tions and it has occurred to me through thinking about your questions*  
 39 *how, why and when I became intolerant to wheat, that there may be a*

AQ16



31

35

36

37

38

39

when practising a dietary regime that similarly deviates from what might be considered a normal health diet.

#### Food as treatment

In Faye's account, there is a hint that her daughter's drug resistant epilepsy began shortly after her MMR vaccinations. She claims:

*Poppy first presented with seizures at the age of four and a half months, just after her immunizations.*

Hence, Faye, like Kelly explains how they began to use 'food' as a treatment due to a failure of orthodox medicine. Faye writes about the difficult and lengthy route through an alienating orthodox medical landscape for her daughter's drug resistant epilepsy. To begin with their daughter's neurologist told them that it was:

*A revolting diet that doesn't have a very good success rate" and 'you have to eat packets and packets of butter and jars and jars of mayonnaise'. I told her that I didn't care what you had to eat; we wanted to try the diet for Poppy, because it was our only hope. It took over a year to persuade her to let us try the diet, and in the end she gave in.*

AQ17

Faye continues:

*We came home with a menu plan from the hospital for mackerel floating around in olive oil, whipped cream with artificial sweetener with a few grams of kiwi fruit stirred into it. Yes, we had a very creative dietician – not! [Name] ate all her food without hesitation and I cried buckets because of what I was forced to feed her.*

Eventually, Faye and her husband devise:

*New meals for Poppy; containing, amongst other things, healthy oils (safflower, sunflower, olive and grape seed), salmon, asparagus, avocado, swede and goats cream.*

So, for Faye, whilst the introduction of the ketogenic diet alleviated all of her daughter's symptoms, it challenged the notion of what



1 it was to be a good mother in an era that values health foodways  
 2 and associates high cultural capital with home-cooked healthy food  
 3 prepared from scratch (see Chapter 3). In her narrative, Faye cannot  
 4 bring herself to describe the food as 'bad' or 'unhealthy' and in the  
 5 end it becomes a diet of 'healthy oils'. This is despite the positive and  
 6 life changing impact the diet had on her daughter's drug resistant  
 7 epilepsy. As Faye declares:

8  
 9 *We noticed a positive difference in her seizures and overall well being*  
 10 *almost immediately. It was as if a veil had been lifted ... We continued*  
 11 *weaning [her off the] medication and as the days and weeks went by*  
 12 *her seizures lessened in frequency and severity. We had won the lottery!*  
 13 *No! It was better than winning the lottery! The diet quickly became part*  
 14 *of our daily lives and it was a real blessing because we got to meet the*  
 15 *daughter we had longed for – the little girl hiding behind a huge array*  
 16 *of medication and their side effects.*

17  
 18 Similarly, the idea that Faye might compromise her daughter's diet  
 19 in the interests of social interaction due to the 'quasi-moral conflicts  
 20 between the imperatives of asceticism and conviviality tomorrow  
 21 and today, control and abandon' (Warde 1997: 182) appears highly  
 22 unlikely. To begin with the preparation of food is rigorous and  
 23 immensely time-consuming:

24  
 25 *Each meal took us 2 hours to calculate, but we soon devised a selection*  
 26 *of healthy, appetizing menus. It took over an hour a night to weigh up*  
 27 *and label Poppy's meals for the following day.*

28  
 29 Yet, as already highlighted the impact of the diet on her condition  
 30 is immediate. Faye explains her daughter's reaction to the diet:

31  
 32 *Poppy was a complete angel about it all and never once tried to eat*  
 33 *anything that wasn't Keto friendly. She would have friends around for*  
 34 *tea and she would attend birthday parties, the whole time eating only*  
 35 *her own ketogenic food we had prepared for her. I find it very difficult*  
 36 *now, knowing that she never once had a slice of her own birthday cake.*  
 37 *I don't know why I should find this so upsetting looking at the full scale*  
 38 *of things, but I do. I suppose it's because it's such a simple pleasure, and*  
 39 *one most parents take for granted.*

Hence, even though Faye is occupied in the immensely time-consuming act of mothering through the provision of such a highly specialised diet for her daughter and despite the rewards that this brings, she has the added pressure of managing her daughter's 'spoiled' illness identity (Goffman 1963). This is particularly pertinent on social occasions such as birthdays. Her daughter is excluded from the act of sharing the birthday cake that her mother made especially for her and this adds to the tragedy of the situation for Faye. It denies Faye the ultimate opportunity of being a good mother as displayed through the baking and sharing of a birthday cake. This emphasises the current cultural capital associated with the glorification of feminised domesticity (Negra 2009).

However, when considering rigid dietary management practices Balfe (2007: 138) notes that:

*Disciplinary practices are often not completely disciplined ... people might fail in their ability to articulate the practices of one discourse because they are equally committed to the practices and ideals of another.*

It is difficult to imagine how Faye would not be completely disciplined regarding their dietary regimes, given the implications of lapsing. This is about 'social' eating and the pressures to belong and fit in and in many ways this is what Faye found difficult about her daughter's diet, that it marks her out as different and unable to participate in 'normal' social activities, as unusual food regimes can be stigmatising (Goffman 1963). So, whilst a disciplined approach to eating alleviates conditions for Faye's daughter, it does have repercussions for social interaction and the management of a spoiled or stigmatised identity, even beyond the notion of the condition marking the individual out as different. In social situations the previously hidden dietary regime is made public and forces the individual to engage in the management of a 'spoiled' identity (Goffman 1963).

Hence, if everyday foodways are positioned within moral discourses it can be difficult for individuals to negotiate alternative foodways when food rules are so rigid. So that even when supposedly 'bad' foods, such as the high levels of fat needed in the ketogenic diet, have far-reaching and remarkable health benefits the identity of those entrusted with carrying out the dietary regimes can be

1 challenged by the act of feeding 'bad' foods, particularly when feed-  
 2 ing healthy food to children has such high symbolic and cultural  
 3 value. Indeed, as indicated previously feeding the family healthy  
 4 home-cooked food is part of a middle class habitus. It is a way of  
 5 displaying cultural capital; to be forced to transcend the boundaries  
 6 in this field is risky. Of course, Faye was not engaging in these dietary  
 7 practices lightly, or through lack of knowledge, but instead was  
 8 performing intensive mothering (Hays 1996) practices. Her dedica-  
 9 tion to her daughter's dietary requirements and the emotional work  
 10 involved in her care is admirable. That she should need to justify her  
 11 actions is testimony to the rigidity of the symbolic and cultural divi-  
 12 sion between what is considered good and bad food. This reifies the  
 13 power of legitimate foodways practised by a dominant group.

14 Generally, most respondents in the study demonstrate a tacit  
 15 awareness of health as capital (Bendelow 2009). This has symbolic  
 16 value; health foodways are a moral act and a responsibility (Coveney  
 17 2006, Petersen 2007). Those committed to health foodways convey  
 18 an understanding of, and a commitment to disciplinary regimes  
 19 of self-surveillance (Armstrong 1995) through the monitoring of  
 20 their own (and/or others') health foodways and by listening to the  
 21 body's responses. However, whilst health foodways, as an aspect of  
 22 responsible individualism fit with the social norms and values of a  
 23 medicalised society and a middle class habitus, the use of food as a  
 24 CAM does not. Hence, those adhering to food as CAM need to justify  
 25 their decisions to do so and are forced to manage a stigmatised or  
 26 spoiled identity, particularly in social situations (Goffman 1963). It is  
 27 notable again, that health foodways are classed and gendered. CAM  
 28 is a particularly middle class, feminised concern. Similarly, technolo-  
 29 gies of the self, including the monitoring and micro-management of  
 30 diet or health foodways are ideal vehicle[s] for the performance of  
 31 femininity' (Moore 2010: 112).

AQ18

# 5

## Embodied Foodways

The desire for a thin body has long been associated with elite cultural capital (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012). It is connected to issues of self-restraint in dietary and sexual practices, as women's bodies are considered in need of control (Inckle 2007). In Judeo-Christian ideology the duality central to Western morality focuses on the control of the body through fasting and chastity (Counihan 1999, 101–3). Hence, the links between food and sexuality have a long history of dualist and absolutist rhetoric that positions women as 'other' whose appetite for food and sex needs to be controlled.

This chapter focuses on the control of (sweet/fat) food/bodies and the problems associated with being out of control in an era of obesity, when self-restraint and self-governance are desirable (Foucault 1988, 1991) and have high cultural capital (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012). In examining respondents' embodied foodways, they learnt to read their own and other bodies as a means of doing gender over time (West and Zimmerman 1987). This draws on anthropological research on 'fat talk' (Ambjörnsson 2005) and 'lipoliteracy' or literally the reading of fat on bodies (Graham 2005), when women especially became body conscious as a means of conforming to the cultural scripts of appropriate hetero-normative femininity (Inckle 2007, Moore 2010).

These embodied foodways encompass complicated relationships with food and the body, including eating disorders or dis-ordered eating. It is evident that none of the female respondents self-reported as obese or used any 'O' words (Wann 2009: xii). Indeed, struggles with body weight are about negotiating the boundaries

of what might be considered a 'normal' body weight as well as trying to achieve a thin body shape as the cultural ideal (Germov and Williams 2004). They are also about distancing the self from associations with fat bodies due to a fear of fatness (Murray 2008, LeBesco 2009). Instead the performance of femininity centres on adjudicating a 'heroic' middle ground of acceptable embodiment. Again, this centres on the intersectionalities of gender and class, as men and women conform to rigid cultural scripts of appropriate embodied foodways.

### Sweet femininity

This theme was anticipated at the start of the study; I wanted to consider the extent to which individual food histories were related to issues of weight management if at all. I argued in my proposal that this was because of my reading of feminist literature such as Orbach's (1982) *Fat is a Feminist Issue* that explores women's complex relationship with food. This finds expression in terms of dissatisfaction with the body, a desire to please and an ongoing unwavering commitment to dietary and weight management practices (Lupton 1996, Bordo 2003). Thus, despite a 'love' of certain foods (mostly 'sweet things') these foods are avoided. Thus, respondents' narratives are embedded in wider socio-historical contexts. For example, the avoidance of 'sweetness' can be interpreted as a denial of femininity (Mintz 1985, Lupton 1996).

AQ1

Indeed, the types of food denied for weight loss are often those most strongly associated with femininity; as Lupton (1996: 105) notes, 'chocolate and sugar are traditionally coded as feminine foods'. Likewise, Barthel (1989: 431) claims those who self-identify as 'chocoholics' are predominantly women and that 'the chocoholic identity is a regressive identity celebrating weakness and surrender to temptation'. However, within embodied foodways, these 'bad' foods are not avoided or denied for health reasons but because of a commitment to a thin ideal (Germov and Williams 2004). Indeed, Counihan (1999: 4) argues that women and men both hold standards of female thinness for women that reproduce female oppression. Hence, the themes in this chapter relate specifically to embodiment and elite cultural scripts of hetero-normative femininity in a contemporary

obesogenic environment. These centre on lacking control as expressions of femininity, as Ophelia notes:

*One summer holiday she [stepmother] told me not to drink Coke even though everyone else was, because I was fat. I sat sipping water mortified whilst everyone else drank gallons of Coca Cola. Back home, now aged 15 I started to drink coffee in my bedroom with sugar in it to comfort myself and eat chocolate whenever I could ... If I ate anything she thought might be 'bad' for me she would tut and give me that 'are you stupid' raised eyebrow glare, which just made me, feel guilty and so I ate 'naughty' foods when I wasn't with her ... I would never ever eat anything like chocolate in front of her so my sweet addiction was forced to go underground!*

Thus, there is a moral imperative to control one's food intake, which for Ophelia, means control of 'naughty' foods such as chocolate or sweet drinks. However, like many embodied foodways, this early experience is she believes the source of 'a pattern of self sabotage', which she 'struggles with today' and how connections between sweetness, fatness, desire and control are established. Further, embodied foodways are articulated in terms of 'loss', such as weight loss and a loss of control over the rational masculine self, expressed as a moral failure or as giving in to uncivilised, (feminine) urges for certain foods. In Moran's (2011: 117) autobiography, *How to be a Woman*, she argues that 'over eating has come to be regarded as the lowest ranking of all the addictions'. However, Moran (2011: 116) makes it clear that she is referring to 'those for whom the whole idea of food is not one of pleasure, but one of compulsion'. In Ellen's (a 61-year-old dance teacher) narrative, thinking of chocolate as an addiction does not necessarily fully explain her 'emotional' need for it. Although she explains:

*I consider that I have an addiction to chocolate, so that I don't (or indeed can't) keep any in the house, without eating it. I have managed to give up smoking, and drinking, for the most part, but chocolate seems to be the hardest thing ... I have smoked on and off throughout my life. I have given up successfully at least three times. The last time was around ten years ago. I know I can 'give up' things. But at the moment, as much as I would like to, I cannot give up the sweet food in my life ...*

Even Hannah who is committed to health foodways claims:

*My downfall is chocolate; I love chocolate – not a lot but small nibbles  
... I feel quite annoyed if I don't eat some sort of plain chocolate in a day.*

Thus, women write about longing for foods that they deny themselves in an effort to lose weight, whether this is chocolate, crisps or bread. Ophelia comments:

*I have also always had a love / hate relationship with bread. I love it but it definitely isn't good for me and for a while between having children I gave it up entirely and found that I could keep my weight pretty static and eat whatever I liked, but in the end, I found it too hard and it crept back in to my diet, just like I find giving up sugar hard. Both of these foodstuffs puff me up but I love them, it is a battle ... I try not to eat sweet things and for me it is better if I give them up completely because once I start I just can't stop and the chocolate bar is gone! I know it's ridiculous but there you are ... My weight has always fluctuated usually because of my love of sweet things ...*

Thus, Ophelia's narrative details a common vocabulary (Mills 1959) amongst women engaged in embodied foodways, in which pleasure needs to be contained and controlled. There is a longing for foods that cannot be eaten in the pursuit of thinness coupled with a longing to be thin or thinner (not fat). This is a battle and one of the contradictions at the heart of contemporary femininity, aptly summed up by Kate Moss, a model and minor celebrity: 'nothing tastes as good as skinny feels' (Wardrop 2009: un-paginated). The implication being, you can either eat or be thin. Of course, as Ophelia notes, even when she was thin she 'never believed [that she] was thin enough'. Eventually she has learnt that she does not 'have a thin body shape and would never have been able to achieve the impossible that [she] longed for'. It is perhaps only for gourmets engaged in epicurean foodways that pleasures are unbounded (Chapter 6).

### A thin/fat binary

Women practising embodied foodways identify strongly with the thin ideal and/or distance themselves from being fat or fatness (Murray 2008). Beardsworth and Keil (1997: 178) argue that the:

- 1
- 2
- 3

4

6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17

19  
20  
21  
22

2.

2  
2  
2  
2  
2  
3  
3  
3  
3  
33  
3  
3  
3  
3



1 'thin' bodies considered an indicator of high cultural capital, health  
 2 and beauty/femininity (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012, Lupton 2013,  
 3 Saguy 2013). However, although documenting a pursuit of weight  
 4 loss, successes and failures, female respondents did not self-identify  
 5 as fat, nor did they make use of the BMI as a key measure of appropri-  
 6 ate body weight, their own or anyone else's. Only Ralph mentioned  
 7 the BMI and in the context of 'my BMI is ok'. Indeed, men did not  
 8 express angst or anxiety about weight or controlling appetites.

9 Indeed, Inckle (2007: 92) claims that 'gender is played out upon  
 10 the body, which is already marked as "other", female, through the  
 11 norms of femininity'. The anxiety and trauma expressed in some of  
 12 the women's narratives, of having to control one's femininity is not  
 13 unlike having to manage a 'spoiled identity' (Goffman 1963, Saguy  
 14 2013) in a society that values maleness. Woman is the 'deviant  
 15 category, the other from a male model of a normal subject' (Frost  
 16 2001: 31). This resonates with Frost's (2001: 31) other 'prescriptions  
 17 for womanhood'; that man *has* a body, whereas 'woman *is* her body',  
 18 she must 'be slim and beautiful' and that 'feminine sexuality is pas-  
 19 sive and defined by men'. Fatness is about femininity, it is held in  
 20 adipose tissue that marks gender and:

21  
 22 *Fat functions as a floating signifier, attaching to individuals based on*  
 23 *a power relationship, not a physical measurement. People all along the*  
 24 *weight spectrum may experience fat oppression.*

25 (Wann 2009: xv)

26  
 27 Like many respondents I learnt to talk about fat amongst my  
 28 friends as an adolescent and engaged in 'fat talk', which is not only  
 29 about fat bodies, but is a way of 'establishing friendships with some  
 30 girls and ostracizing others' (Ambjörnsson 2005: 114). Indeed, 'the  
 31 expression of dissatisfaction with one's body becomes an impor-  
 32 tant way of performing one's identity as a girl' (Ambjörnsson 2005:  
 33 117). Hence, 'this dissatisfaction becomes a normal female state, so  
 34 that talk about fat becomes talk about being a girl' (Ambjörnsson  
 35 2005: 119). Further, Ambjörnsson concludes that:

36  
 37 *Fat talk is a way of staking a claim, of making yourself visible and*  
 38 *legitimate, of showing people that you have independence, individuality*  
 39 *and style. But at the same time fat talk ironically signals the opposite: it*

1 *indicates conformity ... it is an 'absent presence'. It is present as talk only*  
 2 *to the extent that it doesn't actually materialise on people's bodies ...*  
 3 (Ambjörnsson 2005: 120)  
 4

5 I also learned to read fat bodies, my own and others. This 'lipo-  
 6 literacy' (Graham 2005: 175) refers to the act of learning about fat  
 7 by reading about it as well as reading fat on bodies, for what 'we  
 8 believe it tells us about a person in terms of their moral character  
 9 and their health' (Kulik and Meneley 2005: 7). Hence, 'the fat body  
 10 is pathologised independently of what the body actually does with  
 11 food or movement' and leads to an oversimplification of the notion  
 12 'of fatness as compulsive over-eating and average size as healthy'  
 13 (LeBesco 2009: 148). Similarly, the conflation of health and beauty  
 14 with thinness is contentious, because of the assumption that a thin  
 15 body is a healthy body and a fat body is not (Aphramor 2010). This  
 16 masks a diverse range of potentially un-healthy eating, purging and  
 17 exercise practices that are not considered problematic so long as  
 18 the individual's weight is within a normal weight range. Again, 'the  
 19 average sized body is taken to be healthy regardless of whatever det-  
 20 rimental practices' the individual may engage in (LeBesco 2009: 148).

AQ3

21 The pre-occupation with the moral value of food and the over reli-  
 22 ance on weight as the chief indicator of health (Jutel 2005) reinforces  
 23 the stigma attributed to bodies that do not conform and pathologises  
 24 fatness, as Malson (1998: 105) contends:  
 25

26 *The fat body' is constructed as ugly, unattractive, disgusting and*  
 27 *shameful. It signifies gluttony and uncontrolled sexual activity. The 'fat*  
 28 *self' is unhappy and lacking in self-control and self-confidence.*  
 29

AQ4

30 Again, the focus is on a lack of control, which is associated  
 31 with femaleness and the working class (Skeggs 1997). Indeed, the  
 32 'homogenisation of healthism and pathologisation of fatness' are  
 33 tied to notions of appropriate womanhood; this is expressed through  
 34 multiple cults and symbolic representations of thinness (Eckerman  
 35 2009: 10). This ensures that:  
 36

37 *Even those people who do not view themselves as particularly fat find*  
 38 *themselves implicated in this constant struggle over food consumption,*  
 39 *leading in some cases to anxiety, guilt, shame and self-disgust as they*

1 *attempt to conform to normative standards of health, beauty and self*  
 2 *control*

3 (Jallinoja et al. 2010: 125)  
 4

5 Indeed, respondents practising embodied foodways are uncritical  
 6 of the notion of body weight as an indicator of health. Hence, the  
 7 need to present themselves as healthy responsible citizens, even  
 8 when exploring the potential problems that this entailed in nego-  
 9 tiating food likes and dislikes. Unlike Lupton's interviewees in the  
 10 1990s, respondents in my study did not demonstrate a 'disdain for  
 11 the asceticism required of them by weight control edicts' (Lupton  
 12 2013: 99). Some catalogued highly emotional struggles with con-  
 13 trolling body weight, but did not consider this an imposition or a  
 14 problem, more a fact of life and how they had to live. It was part of  
 15 'doing gender' (West and Zimmerman 1987). A concern with dietary  
 16 restraint is associated with elite cultural capital (Naccarato and  
 17 LeBesco 2012) and by narrating this struggle respondents are claim-  
 18 ing these class aspirations for themselves.  
 19

## 20 Respondents' embodiment

21  
 22 The majority of women tended to distance themselves from any notion  
 23 of being considered fat and this word tended to be avoided, as were  
 24 'O' words, such as overweight and obese (Wann 2009: xii). This coun-  
 25 ters Lupton's (2013: 71) assertion that 'people who identify as fat or  
 26 overweight often represent their efforts as a battle with overwhelm-  
 27 ing urges to indulge in food'. The women in my study did not iden-  
 28 tify themselves as 'fat', yet still expressed a longing for certain foods  
 29 and/or body size. This was normalised, part of a hetero-normative  
 30 cultural script of femininity. Respondents want to eat food they love;  
 31 bread, chocolate, crisps, though these tend to be 'negotiated pleas-  
 32 ures' and rationalised within a 'will to live a healthy life' (Jallinoja  
 33 et al. 2010: 125) and/or part of a 'weight loss script of femininity'  
 34 (Malson 2007: 29).

35 Indeed, as discussed in Chapter 4 health and body weight are  
 36 both a means of doing gender and performing femininity. However,  
 37 women engaged in embodied foodways placed a lot more emphasis  
 38 on their bodies and their weight as significant aspirations, rather  
 39 than referring to health issues. They write about relationships with  
 food in the context of what they eat in order to manage body weight.

Food intake is something in need of control and being out of control is considered a problem, as Ophelia writes:

*I started to eat things that I normally wouldn't, e.g. almond croissants, pizzas, puddings, crisps. I suddenly didn't care about what foods I put into my body and over the next six months I continued to eat badly especially in the evening and my weight has crept up to perhaps the highest it has been for a long time. I just couldn't stop eating the wrong things and I was dealing with a new feeling of 'what's the point' now I am 53 and just one big blob of cellulite. I had to get a grip and I hated the feeling of being so out of control. It hasn't been a good year for me and my body and food and this is partly due to my age and the way the body changes after the menopause.*

Being out of control is significant, as Malson et al. (2006) attest, self-monitoring and self-control; health and well-being are constituted as matters of individual responsibility. Hence, a high value is given to practicing appropriate self-care and maintaining control is a means of securing cultural capital. Also, as Howson (2004: 114) claims:

*Feminists identify the control of food intake as part of the pursuit of slenderness, a form of tyranny that distorts the female body and creates a sense of alienation from their bodies.*

This is perhaps evident in the extent to which respondents reflected upon their past selves. In looking back they viewed their bodies with a less critical lens and without the emotional intensity of those earlier times, as Ophelia declares:

*I never felt thin and I wanted to – of course when I look back now at pictures of myself, I was really slim ... Looking back at pictures of me at this age I can see that I am holding a huge amount emotionally in my body rather than being fat and this gave the impression that I was a bit podgy ...*

Thus, Ophelia is longing for a thin ideal, yet does not position herself as 'fat'. Similarly in Ellen's narrative:

*I noticed that I was pear-shaped when I was 21, which came as a bit of a surprise – I'd always been thin, with a good (big) appetite. My sister*

1        *was heavier than me so when we shared a year at college together, I*  
 2        *was then about 25, she suggested we did a low calorie diet together.*  
 3        *I obviously believed that I was too heavy then, and so went on this*  
 4        *very successful diet. I felt sexy and attractive when I was that much*  
 5        *slimmer – I was around 7 stone (as I remember). I never liked my shape,*  
 6        *and it is only in hindsight that I look at pictures of myself from any pre-*  
 7        *vious time and see that I did not see myself clearly. (I think that that is*  
 8        *still the same now). I associated being slim/thin with being attractive ...*

9  
 10       Further, Ellen documents a development of body consciousness over  
 11       time and Bryony similarly writes:

12  
 13        *From pictures I can see that I had put on weight between 13 and 14*  
 14        *but I was by no means fat.*

15  
 16       Hence, both Ellen and Bryony are aligning themselves with a  
 17       cultural ideal that equates thinness with beauty and being sexually  
 18       attractive (Germov and Williams 2004, Lupton 2013, Saguy 2013).  
 19       This reinforces an association between fatness, low cultural capital and  
 20       a lack of femininity. These narratives are about body size and weight,  
 21       losing it and gaining it. As Ida (a 54-year-old midwife, married with  
 22       two grown up children) claims, she 'lost/gained/lost/gained, currently  
 23       losing again' and began her narrative with the following statement:

24  
 25        *I've just embarked (again) on a journey to lose 4 stone EEEEK!!! I want*  
 26        *to get married and I want a much smaller dress size to do it in*

27  
 28       Ida is thus identifying a history of weight cycling that forms part  
 29       of a hetero-normative cultural script of femininity. She wants to lose  
 30       weight because she is getting married; again this is complicit with the  
 31       cultural ideal that a woman needs to be 'attractive for her husband  
 32       by being slim and fashionably dressed' (Charles and Kerr 1988: 33).  
 33       Ellen also writes about her history of weight cycling. She embarks on  
 34       a low calorie diet with her sister and 'lost well over a stone in weight –  
 35       I was thin again. I could feel my hipbones sticking up when I lay  
 36       down. I felt fabulous'. Her weight loss though did not last and:

37  
 38        *I had put on weight and was putting on more – this bothered me. Food*  
 39        *was a source of consolation and celebration – so giving myself treats*

(sweet things) became more regular. When my mother died, I felt able to take on another diet (this is only the second time in my life that I seriously dieted) ... I lost weight, felt good, my digestive system speeded up considerably (where it had been quite sluggish) .... I lost weight, steadily and successfully. I felt more attractive, of course ...

Notably Ellen relates her weight loss at this time with the death of her mother, but again equates slimness with being sexually attractive and feminine. In Bryony's narrative, she explains how 'her mom' 'sent [her] to water aerobics class' because her mother thought she 'was getting a bit too chunky' (not fat). Notably, as in Ophelia's account, Bryony's mother is charged with monitoring Bryony's body, as part of a hetero-normative script of appropriate mothering/femininity. Bryony, also documents a struggle with 'weight', weight gain, controlling weight, maintaining a healthy weight, losing weight, fluctuating weight and weight creeping back. She writes:

The next time I gained a substantial amount of weight was during University. The first year I was ok, but the weight crept on over the next three year until the last year I was a bit hefty to say the least. That weight dropped off after graduation thanks to a bad break up. Since then my weight has fluctuated greatly, but hasn't reached anything I would call obese until this Christmas. Throughout my 20s I would periodically diet if I thought I was putting on too much weight. I tried the South Beach diet once. I couldn't handle the first two weeks of it, so didn't do it ever again, but I continue to use some the recipes from the later stages of the diet and the whole grain emphasis. I've also done shake replacements. I used to use Carnation Breakfast shakes, but as they're dairy based I haven't used them recently.

It is clear that Bryony attributes weight loss after University to a 'bad break up', underlining the interconnections between emotional turmoil, loss and weight loss (Squire 2002, Burns 2009).

In Melissa's (a 46-year-old viola player, married with two children) narrative she begins:

Food was never really an issue for me until I went to boarding school at 14. Suddenly a girl was not considered pretty unless she had a 'great body'. I'd never contemplated this notion ever before and remember

AQ5

1       *being surprised by it and noticing my own for the first time ... We were*  
 2       *always dieting in my boarding school and weighing ourselves every day.*  
 3       *I went through a phase of eating only breakfast and lunch and lost a lot*  
 4       *of weight, thus gaining a 'great body!' I particularly remember the joy*  
 5       *of weighing in at 8 stone one day when I was 16 or 17 and 5 feet 5½.*  
 6       *When we were hungry in the evenings we used to go into the tuck room*  
 7       *and smell the food, oohing and ahhing in pleasure!*

8  
 9       Thus, Melissa is participating in the cultural norms and values preva-  
 10       lent amongst her peer group at the time. These foodways are social  
 11       activities, a means of performing hetero-normative scripts of feminin-  
 12       ity. Indeed, Melissa and her friends were clearly focused on a weight  
 13       loss goal, perhaps at the expense of health (Aphramor 2010: 30). At  
 14       the end she writes:

15  
 16       *I've put on a lot of weight but feel my body is testament to my love of*  
 17       *good food (I weigh about 11 stone now) and have come to terms with*  
 18       *my bigger size and quite value it. At least I don't look haggard and*  
 19       *wrinkly! And my husband says I look 'bountiful'*

20  
 21       Melissa's use of 'good' food here is ambiguous, can 'good' food  
 22       make you put on weight? Or is she referring to what might be consid-  
 23       ered 'bad' food. This reinforces the problem of considering everyday  
 24       foodways within dualist and absolutist discourses. Earlier Melissa  
 25       writes about her commitment to organic, home-made and home-  
 26       grown produce. A concern for healthy, organic food has high cultural  
 27       capital and is part of a middle class habitus (Naccarato and LeBesco  
 28       2012). Epicurean foodways are examined more fully in Chapter 6,  
 29       but focus on 'good' food and a concern for authenticity. Notably,  
 30       gourmets in my study rarely if ever mentioned their body weight and  
 31       presented their food narratives within the context of acquiring good  
 32       taste and as a form of high cultural capital. This creates a problem  
 33       for women, as elite cultural capital is associated with a thin body  
 34       shape, whilst elite cultural capital for gourmets (men) is about fine  
 35       dining or 'good' food. Here Melissa is trying to marry a number of  
 36       conflicting aspirations. She distances her body size from those that  
 37       might be considered fat (or 'big') and thin ('haggard and wrinkly!')  
 38       and instead considers herself 'bountiful'. However, earlier on she  
 39       notes 'I was 8 stone one day when I was 16 or 17 and 5 feet 5½'.

1 This means that she would have had a BMI of 18 as an adolescent,  
 2 which would locate her body weight at that time in the underweight  
 3 category. Now at 11 stone her BMI is around 25, which is within the  
 4 healthy body weight range. She may even be taller now than she was  
 5 at 16 or 17. In other words, although she claims to be a bigger size  
 6 than she was, her BMI is not in the overweight or obese category.

7 In Ophelia's narrative on the other hand she notes that 'she wasn't  
 8 overweight'. Instead, she is 'struggling with puppy fat', 'emotional  
 9 padding' or 'all over puppy fat padding' that gave the impression  
 10 that she was 'a bit podgy', and is avoiding the 'O' words (Wann 2009:  
 11 xii). She admits that 'I have never liked my body much' but that this  
 12 'isn't about being fat'. Ophelia's concern is about thinness, as elite  
 13 cultural capital and an aspiration to be thin:

14  
 15 *I had a new friend Tania who lived in a nearby village and we became*  
 16 *close. She was at boarding school in Any Town and was completely*  
 17 *obsessed about being thin. Until I met her I hadn't really thought about*  
 18 *it much, nor really considered that being 'thin' was in my control ...*  
 19 *I started to want to be thinner although I was too lazy to really do*  
 20 *something about it ... I spend a lot of time reassuring her that she is*  
 21 *thin and vice versa, this is pretty much all we talk about in our letters*  
 22 *[at that time].*

23  
 24 Again, like Melissa and Ellen in Ophelia's narrative there is a devel-  
 25 opment of body consciousness at the time of adolescence; thus, as  
 26 individuals become sexually aware they become more preoccupied  
 27 with their bodies (Becker et al. 2002, Ambjörnsson 2005). This appears  
 28 naturalised in these accounts, part of becoming a woman. Ophelia  
 29 continues this part of the narrative by introducing another friend:

30  
 31 *I had a beautiful friend called Sophia who lived down the road and all*  
 32 *the boys flocked round her. She was thin, much more 'developed' than*  
 33 *me (i.e. she had a woman's body whilst I was still struggling with this*  
 34 *all over puppy fat padding) and I felt invisible when she was around.*  
 35 *My elder brother who I worshipped went out with her and I felt like*  
 36 *I lived on another planet.*

37  
 38 This reaffirms Ophelia's suspicion that she has not yet developed  
 39 as a woman. She is alienated from her body, whilst her friend's body



1 is womanly, sexually attractive and therefore otherworldly. Later,  
 2 Ophelia 'was very very thin' when she got married, 'under 8 stone'  
 3 because 'she had been extremely ill' and 'had to put on weight to get  
 4 pregnant'. Ophelia did not detail the specifics of her illness at this  
 5 time and this is not seen as a desirable or wanted thinness, especially  
 6 as it interferes with other normative scripts of femininity, namely  
 7 motherhood. The association between thinness and illness is similar  
 8 to Queenie's healthy narrative explored in Chapter 4, when she writes  
 9 about being thin and ill after the loss of her parents (Squire 2002, Burns  
 10 2009). However, Ophelia in a similar vein to Melissa writes about her  
 11 battle with weight, but claims to never having actually been that big:

12  
 13 *I feel that I have always battled with my weight since teenage years,*  
 14 *but in fact I have never been larger than a size 12 at my largest and*  
 15 *most of my clothes are still size 10. Having big breasts has made me*  
 16 *feel bigger than I am as my frame is really quite petite but up top I look*  
 17 *bigger and this has, I think been my biggest problem. I look bigger than*  
 18 *I really am underneath and that has been annoying. If I was rich and*  
 19 *I wasn't worried about having an unnecessary operation I would book*  
 20 *a reduction tomorrow.*

21  
 22 Ophelia identifies herself as accepting of elite cultural values and  
 23 thinness is a longed for aspiration in a narrative reminiscent of Weir's  
 24 (2010) memoir *The Real Me is Thin*.

## 25 26 **Fat pasts**

27  
 28 A couple of respondents referred to how they had been fat in the  
 29 past. Ulrika, for example:

30  
 31 *I historically have had to be very careful, as a flat footed bow legged*  
 32 *fat child I was forced to lose weight as a part of my treatment I was*  
 33 *on an 800 calorie a day diet aged 8. That was tough at that age. I*  
 34 *remember running for the first time I fell over as I was going so fast, it*  
 35 *was brilliant. I still have awareness in food choice and some (a lot less)*  
 36 *self-control, but am not obsessed but with that I am recently at least a*  
 37 *stone heavier as a consequence. Oops!*

38  
 39 Here, 'fatness' is medicalised and needs to be treated. It is not  
 part of a performance of femininity. Ulrika is not engaging in 'fat

1 talk' (Ambjörnsson 2005) or reading fat on her own or other bodies  
 2 (Graham 2005). She was a fat child and therefore put on a strict die-  
 3 tary regime in order to treat this condition. She is aware of eating too  
 4 much and has some self-control despite this, though she is a stone  
 5 heavier. However, this is trivialised somewhat with her 'oops!' refer-  
 6 ence. Henry (a 42-year-old director, married with two step-children)  
 7 was 'fat' in the past as well. He writes that he was 'fighting' with his  
 8 weight since his middle 20's, but went on to lose almost five stone  
 9 and has 'maintained' this 'weight ever since'. And his rationale for  
 10 losing weight:

11  
 12 *As you guessed, obvious answer, because I was a fat bugger. Saw a photo*  
 13 *of me and decided that I could no longer be that fat.*  
 14

15 It is interesting that Henry and Ulrika give these past selves a 'fat'  
 16 label. Monaghan (2007) argues that the use of this sort of pejorative  
 17 term is a pre-emptive strike against others deriding one's body size.  
 18 On the one hand this positions Henry and Ulrika as bodies resistant  
 19 to hegemonic healthism and embracing of the pleasures of eating  
 20 and drinking, and distances both of them from the 'feminine coding'  
 21 of 'dieting, body consciousness and obsession with one's appear-  
 22 ance, which are considered negatively and as stereotypically female'  
 23 (Lupton 2013: 64). On the other, because these fat bodies were in the  
 24 past, Henry and Ulrika are complicit in the objectification of them-  
 25 selves and other fat bodies; this is not how they are now. Henry's  
 26 weight loss is also in his control. Even when he does not comply  
 27 exactly with his diet plan, as he can not avoid alcohol, he writes: 'my  
 28 biggest downfall has always been alcohol which is packed with carbs,  
 29 but if I give up people tell me I might live longer, I think it will just  
 30 feel that way!' This is presented as not a problem; it is just a matter of  
 31 conforming to a cultural script of hegemonic masculinities (Connell  
 32 2005), such as drinking (in stark contrast to Ellen's narrative). Henry  
 33 explains that his diet is so successful he has to moderate it and there-  
 34 fore distances himself from potentially contaminating association  
 35 with feminised forms of dieting and weight cycling:

36  
 37 *I went from almost 110kgs (17st 4) to 78kgs (12st), but people were*  
 38 *asking me 'how is the treatment going?', cheeky buggers! I felt great,*  
 39 *but my wife and very long-standing female friend managed to convince*  
*me that 80's to early 90's was perhaps healthier. So I now fluctuate*

1       *between 85 (13st 5) and 90 (14st) depending on how good I am being.*  
 2       *The training remains fairly constant and my avoidance of rice, potatoes,*  
 3       *pasta and bread also remains constant. However if we are at friends*  
 4       *and they have just baked fresh bread or a rice dish then no prob. I just*  
 5       *avoid it when I can ...*

6  
 7       Henry's weight loss is pragmatic and devoid of emotion, other  
 8       than feeling 'great'. He presents himself as unconcerned with his  
 9       health and it was only the significant women in his life as the arbi-  
 10      ters of the family's health who managed to persuade him to moder-  
 11      ate his highly successful diet. In terms of comparing this account  
 12      with those of the women respondents, it is perhaps the framing of  
 13      his diet as a success and a continued success that differs. A change  
 14      in weight from 78kgs (12st) up to 90kgs (14st), for example, could  
 15      be considered a failure or a loss of control, and the notion of weight  
 16      cycling is accommodated and not problematised. His weight loss  
 17      is controlled and framed in terms of a rational choice and not a  
 18      feminised pre-occupation with longing for a thin ideal (Germov and  
 19      Williams 2004). Similarly, Larry writes:

20  
 21       *Last year I broke through the 100kg barrier (not good) peaking at 102kg*  
 22       *(16 stone) so I decided to try the 'no whites' diet and dropped, potato,*  
 23       *bread and rice for about three months. I also cut out alcohol and joined*  
 24       *the gym. I was pretty religious about going ... at least five times per*  
 25       *week. I lost more than 11 kilograms over about three months and actu-*  
 26       *ally began to feel better. Sadly it all went a bit pear shaped when we*  
 27       *came to England for three weeks ... Mum's cooking, English ale, all the*  
 28       *usual treats you enjoy when on holiday.*

29  
 30       It is notable that Larry's diet is spoiled by his mother's cooking.  
 31       However, occasional lapses can be considered 'negotiated pleasures';  
 32       or strategies used to manage a spoiled identity when mediating 'food  
 33       pleasures and the will to live a healthy life' (Jallinoja's et al. 2010:  
 34       125). In Henry's account his inability to avoid alcohol, fresh bread or  
 35       a rice dish at a friend's house is considered an 'un-healthy treat', but  
 36       'negotiated, balanced and rationalised'. Larry's negotiated pleasure  
 37       is contextualised as a holiday treat, it is also notably 'English ale' or  
 38       beer drinking, distancing him from the potentially feminising asso-  
 39       ciations with dieting (Lupton 1996, Bordo 2003). In neither account

AQ6

do they engage in an emotional struggle or battle. These 'negotiated pleasures' resemble what Coveney and Bunton (2003) term 'disciplined pleasure', Sassatelli (2001) refers to as 'tamed hedonism' and others 'pleasure in moderation' (Crawford 2000, Pajari et al. 2006). In other words, they do not fall outside of the chosen dietary regimen and are therefore not considered lapses or a loss of control and a source of guilt and anxiety.

### Masculine embodiment

Some men did write about weight loss practices. Walt, for example, writes that all his family 'watch their weight', so it is not that he is interested in the feminised practice of dieting for aesthetic reasons or the thin ideal (Germov and Williams 2004). He therefore checks the calories of food that he buys on a regular basis so that he rarely buys products with over 400kj per 100gs. James writes that '80–90 per cent of the time he loosely follows the point system developed by weight watchers'. He has followed 'weight watchers twice, but would never follow them exactly' and 'lost about 6 or 7 kilos both times, but exercise is better for keeping it off'. Again, there is no notion here of individual failure if weight loss is not sustained. The reference to six or seven kilos is dismissive as if it is an arbitrary figure, when it is around a stone in weight. His claim that he would 'never' follow the diet exactly indicates his resistance to the feminised performativity of such dietary practices (Lupton 1996, Bordo 2003). His diet is bespoke; changing an element of it gives the illusion of control and makes it different from feminised dietary practices.

Men also tend to explain weight management practices in terms of forms of hegemonic masculinities (Connell 2005), such as beer drinking. Hence, Ollie notes:

*I was always skinny and don't like the idea of getting a belly (although, this probably has more to do with beer than food ...) although I reckon I'm the least fat of my contemporaries ... I eat out much more than I used to. I always thought of it as a waste of drinking time, which for many years was the main reason for going out – but I enjoy it now.*

Notably, Ollie is also skinny, which is not usually associated with dominant forms of masculinity, however this is countered by

1 references to beer and drinking. That said, he has put on weight, but  
 2 he notes that he is the 'least fat of his contemporaries'. Similarly,  
 3 Fred writes:

4  
 5 *I've never been one to watch my weight (I'm 6 foot 8 and only just over*  
 6 *12 stone) so I'm on the skinny side. That said I drink a lot of alcohol*  
 7 *so do sometimes watch what I eat if only to balance the calories from*  
 8 *the booze.*

9  
 10 Ralph claims:

11  
 12 *There have been occasions where I've stopped drinking beer for a few*  
 13 *weeks to lose weight, but BMI is generally okay ... I never last long as I*  
 14 *want to be on a beer diet.*

15  
 16 And Sam (a 50-year-old yachtsman, married with one child) when  
 17 reflecting on what he ate as a young man says:

18  
 19 *I guess we must have eaten other stuff, as well I don't really recall much*  
 20 *more, generally speaking it was mostly a diet of beer.*

21  
 22 Thus, Fred cuts out food in order to be able to drink more and  
 23 Ralph wants to be on a beer diet. These examples exemplify the  
 24 power of cultural displays of masculinity through beer rather than  
 25 food (Gough 2006, 2007, Gough and Conor 2006). There are also  
 26 references to meat eating, as well as drinking, in men's embodied  
 27 foodways. Tom (a 37-year-old occupational therapist, married with  
 28 one child), for example, writes:

29  
 30 *I have always had to force myself to eat as I could quite happily go*  
 31 *without if I knew I would survive and maintain a good weight ... I was*  
 32 *once told in my late teens that if I wanted to put on weight, I should*  
 33 *drink Guinness and eat steak. The Guinness has done me well now for*  
 34 *nearly 20 years, but I've never been a big fan of steak ... I have to be*  
 35 *[food conscious on a day-to-day basis] as my energy levels suffer easily*  
 36 *if I don't eat well. I am constantly grazing on something.*

37  
 38 Hence, Tom like Fred and Ollie was skinny and did not comply  
 39 with hetero-normative cultural scripts of appropriate masculinities.

In Ian's account he notes that he has never really changed his eating habits in order to lose weight, although he:

*Messed with protein only deal for a week at a time Lost weight rapidly and felt odd – light headed Quite conscious because I have the high cholesterol mantra humming in the background Bacon sandwich for breakfast and a burger for supper – oops! (today) Granola bar only (its 17.20) full from last night*

Ian distances himself from notions of seriously attempting to lose weight, which has feminised connotations (Lupton 1996, Bordo 2002). Also, despite needing to pay attention to his cholesterol, he does not comply with health foodways either. Nick on the other hand writes:

*I don't like too much stodge. I hate the feeling of anything making me fat! Try to stay slimmish. Try to avoid too much white flour / white bread. Try to eat spelt bread only. We get spelt from the cult weirdo's in the market and one slice is all you need for breakfast ... slow release etc. Whereas you can eat slice after slice of manufactured white bread and still feel hungry / empty / bloated etc. Rubbish foods are pretty much for me all processed foods. An example I can give is the M&S ready-made mashed potato. It looks fab in the packaging in the shop and continues to look fab in the fridge at home. I wonder how many days ago it was made and what they've put in it to make it keep its looks etc.*

Thus, in Nick's account he is aligning himself with forms of high cultural capital, practising health and dietary restraint (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012). He is also distancing himself from low status foods such as white bread and convenience/commercial foodways, which are associated with lack. Further, he writes:

*Try to not eat if not hungry. Very impressed with Prince Charles who still fits uniforms that were made for him 35 years ago. I know he misses supper where he can. I still fit my morning suit that I got married in – even though the jacket is a bit tight across the shoulders – and I am determined not to buy another one!! Absolutely love it. It is all part of the sensual experience of life, like music, paintings, and sex.*

Hence, Nick is positioning himself as concerned with the pleasures and aesthetics of food, but again practises restraint when he can. Thus, he is engaged in a form of culinary capital that values dietary and weight control.

### Dis/Ordered eating/bodies

One of the original aims of the research was 'to consider the extent to which individual food histories were related to issues of weight management if at all'. The University Ethics Committee responded by insisting I strongly advised 'potential participants 'not to participate if they had suffered from an eating disorder' and I fully complied with this request. Despite this, notions of dis/ordered eating were always going to be part of the study, because there is not a fixed ahistorical definition of what constitutes an eating disorder, and as Malson (2009: 137) identifies:

AQ7

*... eating dis/orders are complex, heterogeneous and shifting collectivities of socio-historically located subjectivities, bodies and body management practices that are constituted within and by rather than outside of the normative discursive contexts of contemporary western cultures.*

Indeed, because a controlled thin body shape is considered culturally desirable for women in Western societies, weight management practices and dis/ordered eating tend to be highly feminised preoccupations (Lupton 1996, Bordo 2003). Hence, they can be trivialised and/or pathologised. Certainly, body weight is considered a master signifier of health and according to Malson (2009), Anorexia Nervosa (AN) enacts par excellence the masculinised, individualised, hyper-disciplined and almost revered micro-management of the body. However, the British Psychological Society and Royal College of Physicians guidelines on eating disorders in January 2004 (CG9), claim that the preoccupation with body weight, fear of fatness or pursuit of thinness are considered significant in the aetiology of Anorexia Nervosa, Bulimia and Eating Disorders Not Otherwise Specified (EDNOS). Similarly, the National Institute for Mental Health (2001) in the US defined eating disorders as 'serious disturbances in eating behaviour, such as extreme and unhealthy reductions of food intake or severe over eating, as well as feelings of

distress or extreme concerns about body shape or weight' (Giovanelli and Ostertag 2009: 294). Again, these feelings are considered a constituent element of hetero-normative femininity.

It is notable that in proposals to change the Diagnostic Statistical Manual (DSM) IV, for AN the usual measure of 'underweight' as a BMI of less than 18.5 is to be removed and 'markedly low body weight', based on the individual clinician's judgment, used instead. This indicates a shift away from the certainty of the BMI as an accurate indicator of AN. The removal of amenorrhea as a criterion is also under discussion. These changes to the DSM suggest new variations in those presenting with eating disorders and the problems of having fixed psychiatric criteria. This highlights the problems of quantifying something that is subjective, culturally specific and medicalising of feminised practices.

In terms of conceptualising eating disorders Sam writes:

*A particular memory that sticks in my head is there because it was, at the time, a bit of a watershed, I had been battling with an eating disorder of sorts where I would get very nervous around eating food in the company of others, this was awkward because I was going to college at the time and had to attend lunch in the canteen, I would often not bother as I could not face it, the symptoms would generally be a feeling of intense nausea while trying to eat. I never bothered to talk to any sort of specialist about this, just worked my way through it eventually ...*

Hence, Sam positions himself as having suffered with an eating disorder 'of sorts' which centres on his inability to eat in company. However, although this is an embodied experience, it is not related to anxiety about his body size or weight and we have no sense of this, which is reminiscent of the assertion that a 'man *has* a body' whilst 'a woman *is* her body' (Frost 2001: 31). Later, Sam notes:

*My relationship with food started out stormy, I really had very little time for food or eating, it got in the way of everything else that I was doing with my life and slowed me down. This grew into a standoff as I've already described where I could not face eating even though I was hungry, I never actually got physically sick from this disorder but felt very ill often, basically a series of panic attacks would overcome me when ever I had to deal with eating anything more than very casually ...*



I use this example from Sam to challenge the medicalisation of eating disorders and the conceptualisation of them as feminine. Sam is male; what makes his account different is the lack of rhetoric about embodiment. He was anxious about eating, but this was not about a longing or desire to be thin. Helen (a 54-year-old publisher, married with two of three children living at home), on the other hand discusses an anorexic friend; despite having had anorexia herself, which she refers to as an 'attention seeking venture', she writes:

*One of my friends had anorexia – very serious, dropped to 4 and a half stone at the age of 16. She was off school for quite a while and when she returned she put on a massive amount of weight and ended up being huge. Once she had returned to school I remember her sitting at the dining table and scooping up the rashers of bacon (still in the fat) and stuffing them in her mouth and then picking up the plate and pouring the fat into her mouth ...*

This visceral account from Helen demonstrates a real fear of and repulsion towards fat on many levels. Similarly, Ophelia writes about a couple of girls at her school:

*Olivia Huntley-Palmer had anorexia though, with her huge head and red hands but nothing was ever said. She came top of the form always, exercised endlessly always playing in every sport and every match going and was always cold and every bone showed. It scared us and we used to whisper about 'anorexia' as if it was something you could catch. On the other hand, Justine Cookson-Snell was enormously fat, smelly and allegedly snored. No one wanted to share a room with her – even at 12/13 we were discriminating against fat people in our little world.*

Again, for Ophelia there is a horror of bodies out of control on all levels and this concern feeds into other stereotypes and labels that associate unpopular characteristics with body size and the reading of bodies for what they disclose about morality and other characteristics (Petersen 2007). There is a fear of contagion and stigma associated with these extremes of female embodiment (Goffman 1963). She also comments that:

*It would have been hard to put on weight but some girls did starve themselves to be thin – interestingly no one considered them to be heroes.*

Thus, Ophelia makes an equation between heroism and starvation, reminiscent of the Middle Ages when saints and martyrs fasted for a cause (Coveney 2006, Turner 2008). However, in a contemporary milieu women are concerned to negotiate a 'heroic' middle ground of appropriate body weight. There is an added dread of being judged too thin or too fat. She also writes:

*When my mother died as I turned 12 I lost a lot of weight very quickly and my dad and various relations were very worried about it. I found them wittering on about it very very annoying, it seemed to be all they talked about but as I saw it, I didn't want to eat much and I didn't see the problem. I had just lost my appetite that was all. It took months for me to regain it. Being thin at that time didn't make me feel any differently about myself, I certainly wasn't doing it on purpose and gradually my weight returned to normal. I also had a delayed puberty because of the shock, even though I already wore a simple bra at 12 nothing else happened until I was about 15 and my periods didn't start until I was 16.*

Hence, Ophelia is clearly drawing a distinction between the weight loss/gain of others and her own experiences, which in this instance were not about longing for a thin ideal. Burns (2009: 131) argues that if we consider the meaning and experiences of these practices rather than the body image of the anorexic or the bulimic, it is possible to consider how women are articulating themselves. Thus, they can be understood as 'managing mourning, emptiness and anxiety through embodied practices' (Burns 2009: 131). Thus, in Ophelia's account, the loss of her mother is intertwined with the loss of her appetite and weight loss. This is an embodied reaction to trauma that is interpreted by those around her as a wilful act of self-starvation. Ophelia is keen to explain that she did not 'feel' better being thin at this time and why would she? If women are positioned as being obsessed with their body weight and thinness then their behaviour is interpreted within this frame. Indeed, Squire (2002: 61) argues that her experience of bulimia at the death of her mother:

*I found that bulimia was a way of managing anxiety in the absence of other forms unavailable to me. My weight gain in the early stages of my mother's illness, and subsequent weight loss prior to, and following, her death, provided a context which was unlike the tales I had read of teenage girls dieting and starving themselves in an effort to be slim. I began*

AQ8

1 *to understand my bulimia in terms of grief ... In the numbness of grief*  
 2 *bulimia was also an attempt to feel less empty through an intensely*  
 3 *embodied and physically invested space ... one of a number of practices*  
 4 *in the absence of an embodied mourning ritual ...*

5  
 6 Again, this highlights how embodied foodways can be misinter-  
 7 preted and/or understandable responses to external trauma. Indeed,  
 8 Gaby (a 51-year-old architect designer, married with two children)  
 9 writes about her anorexic and bulimic behaviour between the ages  
 10 of 11 and 16, which was a series of embodied responses to trauma,  
 11 a car accident, a hospital stay, her parents splitting up and being an  
 12 only child dealing with these significant life events. I represent her  
 13 narrative here as it was sent to me, written in just one long stream  
 14 of consciousness, with lots of short sentences, all of them not quite  
 15 finished, but quickly following on to the next, in a rush to get to the  
 16 last sentence:

17  
 18 *At 11 years old when I had a car accident and lost some weight and*  
 19 *was told I looked better (I'd always been the heaviest in my class and*  
 20 *teased for it) and then when I got out of hospital I decided to lose more*  
 21 *weight ... started to eat less and to find out how little food I could sur-*  
 22 *vive on ... almost as a scientific test. Also parents split up at this time*  
 23 *and I was an only child so maybe needed more attention ... Refused to*  
 24 *eat calorific food and ate cottage cheese, lettuce, raw carrots, apples. I*  
 25 *avoided anything with calories even if I was hungry. Drank black coffee*  
 26 *and water and took laxatives ... lost so much weight that I was taken*  
 27 *to a specialist who told me that if this pattern of eating continued, I*  
 28 *would never have children ... that comment sparked a change in my*  
 29 *eating habits I guess. Also at 16 I met a guy and fell in love and we were*  
 30 *going to pubs and I drank beer and ate crisps and embarked on more of*  
 31 *a student diet plus my self confidence started to develop, so there just*  
 32 *wasn't time to worry so much about what I was eating. Realised that*  
 33 *I could eat more and not put on masses of weight. When pregnant, I*  
 34 *enjoyed putting on weight but still controlled it ... swam every day with*  
 35 *first baby ... to stay toned I guess ... but the swelling side was good! Ate*  
 36 *whatever I wanted but ate healthy nutritious food. After that, it was a*  
 37 *case of eating with the family and enjoying everything we ate together,*  
 38 *which I had prepared ... but still controlled the content. Now eat enthu-*  
 39 *siastically and quite a large amount, considering my size!*

Gaby is keen to get to the end of her embodied narrative, in order to demonstrate that despite AN her life conforms to the usual cultural scripts of hetero-normative femininity, she 'met a guy', 'fell in love' and has children. At the beginning of the narrative she is teased for being the heaviest in her class at school, but hints that she is now small (although she eats enthusiastically and *quite* a large amount). Her account represents a 'fear of fatness' that 'is assumed to underpin the disordered eating practices that lead to exceptional thinness' (LeBesco 2009: 146). Indeed, it is argued that the fear of the imperfect, fat self is stronger than the hope of a perfect thin self, particularly for young women today (Dalley et al. 2013).

Gaby was not the only woman to refer to pregnancy; in Hannah's health foodway, she positions herself as a responsible individual practising self-care but also as a middle class woman she complies with government guidelines on healthy eating and drinking during pregnancy:

*Being pregnant with Felix at 22yrs stopped me drinking alcohol for 9 months, the take-aways and fast food purchases rapidly reduced and a sensible daily diet began ...*

Further, in her second pregnancy:

*Being pregnant with Felicity at 24yrs again stopped me drinking alcohol, again a healthier approach to food began, and I stopped eating pate, as I was advised with the 2nd pregnancy.*

Thus, health foodways and embodied foodways interconnect and are significant in the display of appropriate middle class values. Abstaining from alcohol and eating properly when pregnant have high cultural value. Indeed, these findings run counter to those of Charles and Kerr (1986) who conclude that 'virtually all women have a relationship with food that is problematic [and that] except when pregnant, it was virtually impossible to be relaxed about food' (cited in Beardsworth and Keil 1997: 179). Today, in an era of heightened awareness of responsible individualism and an internalised medical gaze (Howson 2004, Petersen 2007) as highlighted in previous chapters, the idea that women ever relax about food, especially when pregnant, appears incongruous. Indeed, Earle (2003) found that

pregnancy was not the opportunity to transgress gendered norms and values regarding one's body. Although her study focuses on women's attitudes to bodies and not food, she found that women are not changed by pregnancy. They wish to be seen by others, as they were before (Earle 2003: 251). In Ophelia's account, she also identifies how she had to put on weight in order to get pregnant and then:

*Pregnancy didn't suit my body terribly and I got a lot of cellulite, which means that I don't feel confident on the beach nor sailing or anywhere where I need to keep cool.*

Thus, post pregnancy embodiment is also problematic for women who continue to be judged on their appearance. Indeed, all of these narratives contribute to and reinforce 'weight based stigma' and discrimination (Saguy 2013: 16). There is an uncritical acceptance of the 'cultural prescriptions of feminine beauty as thinness' (Malson 2009: 139) and therefore the 'fat' body as 'other'. In none of the accounts is there any mention of double standards or inconsistencies between the sexes for example. The notion that big male bodies are associated with power, whilst female ones are not, is not problematised. Bergman (2009: 141), when passing for a 'big dude', suffers no abuse but when she is 'seen' as a fat woman:

*Packs of boys follow me mooing; women with aggressively coordinated outfits accost me in the grocery store to inform me that I can lose thirty pounds in thirty days and that they would love to help. There are pig calls ...*

She claims that 'my fat, taken together with my height and confidence in my body while I am out in public view say "man" in this culture' (Bergman 2009: 142). Indeed cultural concerns with 'individualistic competitiveness and personal display' (Malson 2009: 139) and persistent Cartesian dualisms (Levi-Strauss 1969) lead to tensions that feed directly into the condition of 'being a woman' in contemporary Western cultures. Hence, to even accept notionally that 'other' alternative body sizes are admissible undermines constructions of 'good femininity' (Day and Keys 2009: 91). Further qualities such as self-sacrifice, self-denial and restraint are written on a thin body and therefore assumed to be missing from a fat one. Indeed,

1 Burns notes (2004) that good or ideal femininity is achieved via the  
2 restraint and control of food intake. Gard (2009) also suggests that  
3 talk about food and dietary restraint is central to modern white 'girl'  
4 culture, whilst boys and men concern themselves with discourses  
5 that celebrate bigness and deflect public pressure to show dietary  
6 restraint (Gard 2009: 41).

7 I therefore argue that all female bodies regardless of their size are  
8 'marked categories'. Thinness may have high cultural capital, but as  
9 such it is no longer an unmarked category. Indeed, references to thin  
10 bodies can evoke as much fear and hostility as fat bodies. It seems  
11 that when reading the bodies of others the boundaries of acceptable  
12 or appropriate body size are subject to moral appropriations and a  
13 pathologising of all body types. Respondents in the study are there-  
14 fore concerned to negotiate a heroic middle ground of appropriate  
15 embodiment; they could not be too fat, but they could not be too  
16 thin either.

17 Thus, embodied foodways highlight how the contemporary cul-  
18 tural milieu marginalises and stigmatises individuals on the basis of  
19 a constantly shifting notion of appropriate body size. Yet, this is not  
20 just about fat or thin embodiment; because these bodies are gen-  
21 dered, it is the female body that is implicated here and a critique of  
22 fatness (or thinness) implies a critique of femininity. My female body  
23 is mutable; it can change over the course of the reproductive cycle  
24 throughout a lunar month. Indeed, the size of my body has ebbed  
25 and flowed throughout the whole of my life. However, in a civilised,  
26 dualistic and absolutist society that values masculine notions of  
27 control, management, willpower and rationality, the 'other' female  
28 body is always in need of containment. Some female respondents  
29 expressed disgust with their bodies at times, especially if they felt  
30 they were out of control. Of course, body dissatisfaction is ultimately  
31 about not having an appropriate body and this is linked to cultural  
32 norms and values, or the intersectionalities of gender and class. The  
33 body with the highest cultural capital is actually male.

## 6 Epicurean Foodways

In the previous four chapters I outline how women and men negotiate dominant discourses of responsible individualism and the contradictions inherent in hetero-normative cultural scripts of appropriate gendered and classed foodways. Mostly these foodways (family/maternal/health/embodied) are conceptualised as feminised approaches to food work carried out within the domestic sphere. This therefore raises questions when considering how men negotiate their engagement in foodways within the home. One way of avoiding contamination by association with feminised domesticity is by recourse to hegemonic forms of masculinities (Connell 2005) that centre on 'traditional' masculine attributes, such as 'meat-eating, beer drinking and womanizing' (Gough 2007: 237). Indeed, Gough (2007: 237) argues following Connell (2005) that 'all men are complicit in supporting hegemonic ideals through their practices, whether it be weight training, promiscuity or high alcohol consumption'. Further, economic success, knowledge and expertise also tend to be coded masculine within dichotomous models of thought (Oakley 1992) and the absolutist/dualist discourses that inform contemporary foodways. Indeed, men draw upon hegemonic forms throughout their narratives, whether this refers to the acquisition of high culinary capital or the pleasures of food and its associations with sex/sexuality.

Another way for men to distance themselves from emphasised femininities (Connell 2005) is through a dedication to epicurean foodways. I therefore consider how men use epicurean foodways, as a means of positioning themselves outside of the domestic sphere. Indeed, despite the high cultural capital embedded in epicurean

1 foodways, men still reference forms of hegemonic masculinities.  
 2 Thus, whilst the intersectionalities of gender and class are performed  
 3 within epicurean foodways, the predominant feature in men's  
 4 accounts is the performance of a masculine subjectivity. Thus, men  
 5 become skilled in cookery, acquainted with the best restaurants, the  
 6 latest techniques, the fashionable chefs because of a commitment to  
 7 the pleasures of food play. When food play becomes work, it is simi-  
 8 larly coded masculine, skilled, competitive and hard.

9 There are 26 men who contributed to my study. Their ages ranged  
 10 from 27 to 76, although they are mostly between the ages of 39 and  
 11 60. The most striking difference between these narratives and those  
 12 from the women is the extent to which they are located within the  
 13 public sphere and outward looking. In other words, their narratives  
 14 are less to do with the domestic sphere, body management or the  
 15 feminised practices of cooking as 'emotion' work (Hochschild 1983,  
 16 DeVault 1991) or 'love' labour (Lynch 2007) and more to do with  
 17 how they develop 'epicurean' (Scholliers 2001) or 'elite' (Bourdieu  
 18 1984) tastes over time.

AQ1

## 20 Definitions

21 I use the term 'epicurean' foodways, as opposed to gastronomic,  
 22 gourmet, foodie or gourmand, because an epicure takes particular  
 23 sensual pleasure in 'good' food and drink (Waley-Cohen 20017: 106).  
 24 Gastronomy on the other hand 'according to Brillat-Savarin [1825]  
 25 should bring together pleasure and good health' (Drouard 2007: 266).  
 26 Indeed, in terms of the history of taste, according to Waley-Cohen  
 27 (2007: 104) 'gastronomy is an intimate understanding of the properties  
 28 of food and a quest to achieve perfect balance'. When considering male  
 29 respondents' food narratives, balance and health are not significant  
 30 concerns. Further, respondents practicing epicurean foodways can be  
 31 considered 'gourmets', defined as 'a connoisseur of good food; a person  
 32 with a discerning palette', or the more informal 'foodie', defined by  
 33 Johnston and Baumann (2010) and Cairns et al. (2010) as an 'individ-  
 34 ual who is passionate about the pursuit of good food, with a long stand-  
 35 ing passion for eating and learning about food' (2010: 591). Further,  
 36 Hollows (2003) argues that men engaged in domestic cookery do so as  
 37 a creative leisure activity that distinguishes it from feminised domes-  
 38 tic labour and as such it becomes 'a domestic culinary masculinity'

AQ2



(Hollows 2003: 239). However, it is impossible to be a gourmet if this entails much more than a passing interest in 'good food' or what Warder et al. (2007) refer to as ordinary omnivorousness without committed engagement. For example, Ashley et al. (2004) illustrate how:

*In the 'Official Foodie Handbook' for example, the foodie is contrasted with the gourmet. The latter was typically a rich male amateur to whom food was a passion. Foodies are typically an aspiring professional couple to whom food is a fashion. 'The' Fashion.*

AQ3

(Barr & Levy 1984: 7 as cited in Ashley et al. 2004: 149)

Hence, it is appropriate to make use of the terms gourmet and epicurean foodways. Generally, men who responded to my request for their auto/biographical food stories negotiated their male identities, by utilising hegemonic masculinities and/or epicurean foodways both within and beyond the domestic sphere. This is not to suggest that women cannot engage in epicurean foodways, just that the pressures on women who are mothers is such that it is almost impossible to engage in appropriate middle class maternal foodways and epicurean foodways at the same time. Throughout this chapter therefore I consider epicurean foodways as significant for male identity because this stresses the importance of pleasure and food play, as opposed to the emphasised femininities identified with food work (family/ maternal foodways) and the control of food (health/embodied foodways). Indeed, again according to Brillat-Savarin [1825] 'cuisine de ménage or domestic cooking; was woman's work, done everyday in the home kitchen, [and] lacking prestige' (Drouard 2007: 266). Of course, as with family and maternal foodways, epicurean foodways are concerned with the intersectionalities of gender and class as a means of performing, displaying and accruing high cultural capital.

### Cultural omnivorousness

Freeman (2007: 7) notes in *The History of Taste* that there have been continuous shifts in gastronomic fashion associated with epicurean foodways since earliest times:

*According to Greek classical and also Chinese tradition, barbarians eat raw or crudely cooked meat rather than observing the civilised practice of cooking, and this is an essential aspect of their barbarism.*

In contemporary epicurean foodways ‘seemingly low class foods can be elevated to esteem with some tweaking ... [such as] street food and gourmet hamburgers (Freeman 2007: 14). Indeed, cultural omnivorousness (enjoying a blend of high and low cultures) is a significant symbolic marker of culinary capital for gourmets as well as a ‘desire to connect with a tradition of hearty authenticity’ (Freeman 2007: 17). There are further divisions within epicurean foodways. For example, Naccarato and LeBesco (2012) differentiate between ‘foodies’ and ‘chowhounds’, within the key domains of cultural omnivorousness; aesthetic appreciation (taste), authenticity (participation) and knowledge acquisition. Chowhounds are less elitist in their trailblazing quests for authenticity and fully embrace cultural omnivorousness. Dave notes:

AQ4

*I do not consider myself a ‘foodie snob’ in that I believe that all sorts of establishments and types of food have their place. One of my favourite restaurants is Michael Caines Abode at the Royal Clarence Hotel, Exeter, where we have enjoyed sublime Michelin starred cuisine – I was also distraught on finding out that my favourite doner-kebab shop in Exeter had closed!*

Here, Dave may be considered a ‘chowhound’ as he distinguishes himself by disavowing foodie elitism. Drew on the other hand writes:

*My true food hero though has to be Anthony Bourdain, a food rebel, but I love his philosophy re food. When he travels he eats local not in 5 star restaurants and this is the only real way to get to experience the culture. When I went to Beijing my big ask was to try Peking Duck, it wasn’t the Wall, it wasn’t shopping, it was just to try proper local food. When I go to India it is Dosas for breakfast, not full English. It is those little apprehensive moments before trying something new that get me, that moment of discovery and the thought that I could replicate it for others who have never tried it.*

Again, Drew is highlighting his quest for authentic cuisine. However, he admits to following Anthony Bourdain, his true food hero and rebel. In the culinary field, according to Naccarato and LeBesco (2012: 77), chowhounds are leaders; it is only foodies who mimic experts and follow culinary trends. Regardless of these seemingly arbitrary distinctions, both chowhound and foodie identities suppose high economic and cultural capital, ‘only those with leisure

1 time, culinary knowledge and economic resources dine out on a  
2 regular basis' and can fully engage in chowhound or foodie practices  
3 (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012: 83). These types of distinctions serve  
4 to highlight the elitism of 'culinary capital'. In the culinary field  
5 the drawing of internal boundaries between smaller groups serves to  
6 reinforce the significance of the wider field in which the actors position  
7 themselves. It is notable that Drew positions himself as a 'food  
8 adventurer' (Heldke 2003: xxiii) and a rebel, and these tend to be  
9 coded as masculine attributes.

10 Therefore, I consider epicurean foodways as part of a repertoire  
11 of hegemonic masculinities, a means of distancing the self from  
12 association with more traditional domestic or feminised foodways,  
13 as well as an elite culinary endeavour. There are only two women in  
14 the study who could be identified as gourmets, Paula, a food writer,  
15 and Dalia, who was interested in the aesthetics of food, gastronomy  
16 or the 'art of good eating' (Miriam Webster Dictionary 2014) as  
17 might be understood within gastronomic discourses (Freeman 2007,  
18 Johnston and Baumann 2010, Naccarato and LeBesco 2012, DeSolier  
19 2013). Overall, respondents engaged in epicurean foodways are  
20 concerned with the sensual pleasures of food beyond the mundane  
21 everyday associations with family foodways.

22 Gourmets therefore tend to have relationships with food free from  
23 a fear of fatness, health concerns and guilt associated with indul-  
24 gence. They differed from 'foodies' analysed in other studies and  
25 are 'hyper' gourmets not engaged in feminised aspects of caring/  
26 food work at all (Cairns et al. 2010, Johnston and Baumann 2010,  
27 Naccarato and LeBesco 2012, DeSolier 2013). Indeed, those who self-  
28 identify as gourmets are 'food adventurers' (Heldke 2003: xxiii) and  
29 use epicurean foodways as markers of elite cultural capital, focusing  
30 on elite practices, knowledge acquisition and cultural omnivorous-  
31 ness (Peterson and Kern 1996). Food shopping and cookery rather  
32 than being highly feminised domestic activities are part of a search  
33 for authentic or exotic cuisine and/or an expression of expert knowl-  
34 edge, 'taste' and distinction. This epicurean identity assumes high  
35 levels of economic, social and cultural capital and includes elements  
36 of high adventure and risk. Further, unlike gourmets identified else-  
37 where; respondents did not express concern with sustainability or  
38 ethical consumption (Cairns et al. 2010, Johnston and Baumann  
39 2010, Naccarato and LeBesco 2012, DeSolier 2013). There was some

AQ5

reference to the humane treatment of animals and organic produce generally, but this did not extend to concern with the democratisation of food production or the human costs of this.

What is significant is that epicurean foodways continue to be associated with legitimate cultural capital and coded masculine. More generally the dualistic gendering of everyday foodways means that men are forced to negotiate traditionally feminised culinary fields by resorting to hegemonic masculinities. What emerges is that notions of masculinity are connected to issues of taste, status, distinction, as well as notions of pleasure. It is the emphasis on foodways as pleasurable that marks them as distinct from feminised approaches to everyday foodways. Thus, epicurean foodways are about asserting class status and a gender identity associated with hegemonic masculinities. Indeed, female and male gourmet narratives are classed and narrated from a privileged white middle class perspective.

### Epicurean educations

The route to adopting epicurean foodways is narrated in terms of acquiring a taste for high status foodways and neophilia (Falk 1991, Lupton 1996) or the distancing of the self from family foodways of the past in preference for all things new or exotic. Thus, appearing adventurous in seeking out new tastes is connected to the desire to reject foods from one's youth and/or family background as well as a means of marking cultural boundaries (Bourdieu 1984). Indeed, respondents are keen to demonstrate their status as gourmets and how this developed over the life course.

In the men's narratives epicurean foodways are heavily coded as masculine by reference to a range of hegemonic masculinities. In the women's, they chart a development of epicurean foodways due to relationships with men. This reinforces a dichotomous approach to foodways that naturalises a gendered division of labour, one that associates women with the mundane, low-skilled work of feeding the family (DeVault 1991), whilst men work and play in an exciting culinary field that centres on pleasure and success. Thus, there are intersectionalities of gender and class within epicurean foodways, which chart a development of food consciousness from a taste of necessity to a taste of luxury, from low to high status with regards to food and cultural distinctions (Bourdieu 1984). This includes outside

or 'foreign' influences, as highlighted in Chapter 2; for example Ed, Simon and Charlie's epicurean tastes are influenced by childhood experiences living abroad. Indeed, these external influences are significant and include references to school, university, work, as well as significant 'others' who act as mentors or tutors in the culinary arts. Gerry (a 47-year-old solicitor, living with his partner) begins his epicurean narrative with a reference to his mother sieving his mushroom soup and boarding school. He notes:

*I was a very fussy child. I didn't really like things, which had much in the way of texture. I made my Mum sieve tinned mushroom soup to get rid of the little black bits of mushroom'. What next? – Boarding school. bleeeurgh. Tough meat. Custard. Limp salad. Over cooked veg. Only fish fingers and chips redeemed this dismal fare. Two good food memories of that time which I remember: firstly overcoming my aversion to the texture of mushrooms – along with the young matron who gave me the nickname of Billy – which then stuck with me until I was 18 – we went mushroom picking in the big field next to school. Not magic mushrooms I should add – they came later! Big fat field mushrooms. And then she chopped them up, cooked them in butter and made us all mushrooms on toast. I didn't want to, but I did and oh boy! How good did that taste?! I think this was a quantum taste leap for me – I guess I would have been about 11.*

AQ6

School dinner references have been commented upon already (Chapter 2). However, Gerry distances himself from contamination from feminised associations with 'fussiness' by reference to 'magic mushrooms'. Indeed, drug taking is the kind of risky activity that is usually coded as male and Robertson (2007: 47) argues that men are 'risk takers' and 'at risk' due to having to conform to notions of hegemonic masculinities. Hence, taking drugs is a kind of edgework and a means of 'transcending the banality of every day existence' or 'living on the edge as a means of performing dominant masculinity' (Collinson 1996, Robertson 2007: 48–9). In Dalia's account of her development of epicurean foodways, she cites a *French* exchange trip as significant in her acquisition of gourmet 'tastes':

AQ7

*When I was thirteen years old I spent six weeks in France as part of a foreign exchange. This had the first profound effect on my culinary*

1 appreciation. My French exchange family was of the opinion that all  
 2 English people ate roast beef and peas. My experience on a rural farm in  
 3 the Loire Valley, was of eating baby birds fresh out of a nest, chicken's  
 4 heads (brains and tongue), pieces of chocolate with bread for break-  
 5 fast, baguettes (which seemed strange at the time), vegetables eaten  
 6 separately to meat or fish and dessert eaten on the flip side of the plate  
 7 having mopped up your main with bread. I drank Pastis diluted with  
 8 water and wine.

9  
 10 Indeed, for all respondents actively engaged in epicurean food-  
 11 ways, an important aspect of elite culinary capital refers to the incul-  
 12 cation of legitimate tastes, along with knowledge and participation;  
 13 here Dalia is learning traditions associated with *French* foodways, AQ8  
 14 which have long been associated with high cultural capital and cul-  
 15 tural omnivorousness (Peterson and Kern 1996, Warde et al. 2007).  
 16 Indeed, many professional chefs are usually trained in the arts of  
 17 *French* cookery (Freeman 2007). Thus, Dalia is positioning herself as  
 18 aware of *French* culinary traditions as well as appreciating a cultural  
 19 omnivorousness that values authentic cuisine. Indeed, Gerry simi-  
 20 larly writes about a *French* exchange:

21  
 22 *But the thing, which happened at that time which was far more sig-*  
 23 *nificant, was a French exchange and a seismic shift in the area of my*  
 24 *taste buds. I went with my mate Fred to stay with a Parisian family*  
 25 *who had a place in Brittany. They were a single Mum and three kids. I*  
 26 *can see now the first dinner. A huge bowl filled with nothing more than*  
 27 *tomatoes – heavily dressed in vinaigrette. I hated tomatoes. Bread (fine)*  
 28 *and huge slabs of coarse pate (Pate!!!). That was it. So I ate it – and*  
 29 *was an instant convert. For two weeks we lived on that – plus huge*  
 30 *bowls of lettuce and dressing, black pudding, moules, curds and whey*  
 31 *for breakfast, crepes, hot chocolate with croissants and jam. My life*  
 32 *was changed forever. I loved it all. I think that since then I have been*  
 33 *up for eating anything (with the exception of my veggie intermission at*  
 34 *college).*

35  
 36 Thus, Gerry's cultural omnivorousness and new found 'tastes' are  
 37 inculcated outside of his family in 1970s *France*, not only a differ-  
 38 ent country, with a distinct food culture but within what would  
 39 have been at that time a non-traditional family environment. He

continues his epicurean adventure and writes (emoticon and confidential comments in original text):

*So – yes – college. Going to college meant having to ‘cook’ for ourselves and/or live off takeaways – I think this phase really lasted ten years ... There was also a short right-on phase of vegetarianism. AKA living off Bulgarian red wine, chips, bean stews and buckwheat bakes. This suited an agenda of direct-action, peace protesting activism. And the chips and red wine (and some speed too) suited parties, discos, club-nights in town, and occasional forays to London. The other food discovery of this time was hash-cakes :) (Assume this is confidential) ... Then I moved to London to work on the [organization], and into a shared house where they ate bacon and sausages. My politics were already getting more flexible. My vegetarianism lasted about two weeks.*

It is notable that Gerry associates his vegetarianism with politics and the public sphere; it is not a domestic (feminised) concern. It is part of a lifestyle that incorporates more risky behaviour, such as drug taking and partying and activities usually associated with what Collinson (1996) refers to as edgework, or ‘living on the edge as a means of performing dominant masculinity’ (Robertson 2007: 48–9). In Gerry’s account this is a phase and something he grows out of. This reinforces the association of femininity with vegetarianism and meat eating with masculinity that is well documented (Adams 1990, Fiddes 1991). Indeed, Bourdieu (2005: 75) argues that meat is ‘the nourishing food par excellence, strong and strong-making, giving vigour, blood and health’. Certainly, men identify with this. For example, Lex (a 42-year-old managing director, married with four children) writes:

*... one of my favourite meals is steak and I think this is perhaps because I associate it with Dad as it was his special thing that he cooked. It still feels special to me now and I take charge of cooking it in our house.*

In this account, meat is not just about its significance in terms of consumption, but its preparation requires special treatment and this is an important household role that he has learned from his father. Tom, as well has a strong ‘need’ for meat: ‘I very rarely order or cook vegetarian. I tend to feel I need meat on my plate’. Adams (1990: 36–7) argues that there is a:

AQ9

1 *Kind of symmetrical symbolism between meat and vegetable, mascu-*  
 2 *line and feminine ... men are active and consume foods imbued with*  
 3 *power ... women are passive and consume foods derived from inactive,*  
 4 *immobile forms of life.*

5  
 6 Of course this is an over simplified symmetry here, but meat is  
 7 expensive to produce and has long associations with high cultural  
 8 capital and elite status. The relationship between meat and mascu-  
 9 linity raises issues for men who are vegetarians 'as men who refrain  
 10 from meat eating may be regarded as repudiating or undermining  
 11 conventional conceptions of masculinity' (Beardsworth and Keil  
 12 1997: 213). Indeed, in Nath's (2011: 276) Australian study, 'meals  
 13 without meat are still widely considered by non-vegetarian men to  
 14 be feminine dietary choices, while meat and animal products are the  
 15 superior food for a "real" man'. She argues that vegetarian men are  
 16 engaged in negotiating their masculine identities within a context  
 17 in which meat is associated with sexuality and strength. Ian notes:

18  
 19 *Not keen on vegetarian food because it's a tad insipid unless it's Indian*  
 20 *and there I find a whole range of aromatic spicy tasty dishes. One of*  
 21 *the best was lentils, thick brown and juicy. Had those in Bombay with*  
 22 *fresh cooked coriander nan – fantastic!*

23  
 24 Ian is therefore explaining that if he doesn't have masculine food  
 25 (meat) then he has chunky fish (not food that requires picking) or  
 26 strong and spicy Indian food. It is notable that vegetarian food is  
 27 palatable if it is Indian. It demonstrates cultural omnivorousness, as  
 28 vegetarianism is common in Indian culture. The fact that Ian ate this  
 29 in Bombay contributes to his cultural capital and potential gourmet  
 30 identity. This is about authentic cuisine and 'gourmet' globetrotting,  
 31 key elements of epicurean foodways. In Drew's account, he writes  
 32 about how he learnt to cook:

33  
 34 *Moved away from home at 19 – that's when cooking became a neces-*  
 35 *sity, moving in with lads, cooking in was the cheapest option and the*  
 36 *deal was if you cooked you did not clean up – so this I think was what*  
 37 *swayed me. Moving to London opened my mind to a number of new*  
 38 *ingredients; Indian friends explained the herbs and that became my first*  
 39 *endeavour into enjoying cooking. People liked my food, so I would cook*



1 *more, and then it became expected, the boys would wait for me to come*  
 2 *home to eat, even if I was home late.*  
 3

4 Thus, Drew positions himself as one of the lads (not feminine) and  
 5 acquires additional status from his peers because of his cookery skills.  
 6 Indeed, he was so good that the boys would wait for him to come  
 7 home to taste his food. Simon on the other hand notes:

8  
 9 *I found myself working in Dublin. It seems an odd place to have an*  
 10 *epiphany about cooking, but the combination of the City (it was expen-*  
 11 *sive), my salary as the junior working for an art dealer (meager) and*  
 12 *the daughter of one of his clients (yummy), seemed to do the trick. She*  
 13 *was pretty and posh; I was skint, but eager. So with a menu from a*  
 14 *borrowed cookbook, I queued at the butcher and fishmonger looking for*  
 15 *ingredients and advice...*  
 16

17 Hence, Simon's route to culinary expertise began in an effort to  
 18 impress a woman. Connor too notes:

19  
 20 *When I was 17 and I left home. I had a girlfriend coming round for*  
 21 *dinner and I wanted to do something. So I rang my Aunty and she*  
 22 *told me to buy pasta, tinned tomatoes, onions, garlic and some Italian*  
 23 *herbs and taught me to make a tomato sauce. I think I have only just*  
 24 *understood how to make this sauce good (11 years later) but it was a*  
 25 *great starting point as it showed me that you don't need to have magical*  
 26 *hands for the kitchen. You just need to be able to follow instructions.*  
 27

28 Indeed, Connor, Simon, and Drew position themselves as skilled,  
 29 experimental experts. Their routes into cookery are almost accidental  
 30 or contingent, they did not set out to become interested in cookery,  
 31 it sort of happened, for Simon in order to impress a woman and for  
 32 Drew he only became interested in a feminised domestic activity  
 33 (cookery) so he didn't have to participate in another inferior domes-  
 34 tic activity (washing up), as if it was a decision between the lesser of  
 35 two evils. Simon continues:

36  
 37 *But I enjoyed the company of chefs, not the provincial journeyman who*  
 38 *did it because he couldn't do anything else, but the ones with swagger*  
 39 *and a knowing braggadocio, who were in it because no other industry*

1        *could put up with them, who rated a person for their sauces, their sour-*  
 2        *dough or skills under pressure. And all the time I ate well, I picked up*  
 3        *knowledge about marbling in meat and rigor mortis in fish, about 'top*  
 4        *heat' and 'bottom lift'.*

5  
 6        In Simon's narrative he suggests that although he took up cookery to  
 7        impress a woman, he enjoys the company of real 'chefs', or by impli-  
 8        cation real men, with manly traits such as fearlessness, confidence  
 9        and arrogance. Again these men (chefs like himself) are highly skilled,  
 10       knowledgeable experts and he is aligning himself with them. He also  
 11       ate well, or accrued the culinary capital associated with 'good' food.  
 12       His reference to 'bottom lift' also has sexual connotations, reaffirm-  
 13       ing his interest in the opposite sex. Henry equally draws on forms of  
 14       hegemonic masculinities (Connell 2005), but takes a slightly different  
 15       approach when writing about the origins of his epicurean foodways:

16  
 17       *My mother used to encourage me to help with cooking. Early successes*  
 18       *at school cooking what I realise now were possibly pretty crappy cakes*  
 19       *but were not only enjoyed but I was given praise for even long after they*  
 20       *had been eaten. That encouraged me to take an interest in what was*  
 21       *being cooked and how it all fitted together. I was not much interested in*  
 22       *day-to-day food more the Nasi Goreng (Malay fried rice) and Singapore*  
 23       *curries. My parents had been based in Singapore during the middle*  
 24       *1960s. They had a Muslim Amah who taught my mother how to mix,*  
 25       *grind, choose and use spices.*

26  
 27       Henry highlights how he enjoyed being praised for his cookery but  
 28       was not interested in feminine domestic practices; instead he dem-  
 29       onstrates an early appreciation of the skills his mother acquired from  
 30       a Muslim Amah in Singapore. He is therefore indifferent to ordinary  
 31       (feminised) everyday foodways, but excited by authentic spices and  
 32       he continues:

33  
 34       *But I did not really start to cook until I owned my own home and started*  
 35       *entertaining, so [I was] early 20's. Also the feeling of competitive macho*  
 36       *eating at curry houses possibly helped the use of chili. Rather like trying*  
 37       *stronger alcohol like putting Carlsberg extra strong larger in the freezer*  
 38       *so the water freezes and only leaves the alcohol. Why would anyone do*  
 39       *this? Yuk!! But we did.*

1 Again, Henry positions himself as a male 'macho' cook, he draws  
 2 on hegemonic forms of masculinities associated with beer drink-  
 3 ing and hot spicy food (Connell 2005, Gough 2007). Then, when  
 4 explaining why he started cooking, he adds:

5  
 6 *Again possibly [my] competitive urge to produce something people not*  
 7 *only liked but would also rave about. I think cookery books helped*  
 8 *enormously. One of my earliest complicated dinner parties was wild*  
 9 *boar stew with peaches poached in Masala wine, served with sweet*  
 10 *chestnuts. This was in the late 1980's when Wild Boar was virtually*  
 11 *unheard of and Masala wine almost had to be mail ordered. But it was*  
 12 *a great evening and delicious food. All thanks to Keith Floyd. So perhaps*  
 13 *TV helped first time cooks feel that they could do it?*

14  
 15 There are several forms of hegemonic masculinities at work in  
 16 Henry's narrative, his references to competition, success, and exper-  
 17 tise. These intersect with markers of high cultural capital, such as  
 18 access to unusual or hard to source ingredients. Henry also makes ref-  
 19 erence to Keith Floyd, a 'pioneer of modern food television' (Rousseau  
 20 2012: xvi) who was 'famous for his eccentricity and 'because he did  
 21 what he liked' (Rousseau 2012: xvii). Thus, Henry like Simon aligns  
 22 himself with the type of approach adopted by 'eccentric' and arro-  
 23 gant chefs. Indeed, working outside of the mainstream, challenging  
 24 culinary boundaries and not complying with dietary guidelines are  
 25 ways in which male cooks distance themselves from domestic food-  
 26 ways. Drew also makes reference to a celebrity chef and writes:

27  
 28 *Then as I got older got my own place, Jamie became famous and food*  
 29 *and cooking became trendy – I would say I was ahead of the curve*  
 30 *though already experimenting.*

31  
 32 However, whilst Drew aligns himself with *Jamie Oliver* whose first  
 33 TV series aired in 1999 (Rousseau 2012), he also positions himself  
 34 'ahead' of the game; in the culinary field Drew is an expert and  
 35 already engaged in appropriate epicurean foodways. Also, in both  
 36 Drew and Henry's accounts, there is an association made between  
 37 buying a home or 'getting my own place' and marking this transition  
 38 by engaging in epicurean foodways. Of course, these are not domes-  
 39 tic home-cooked family meals prepared from scratch (Parsons 2014a,

AQ10

AQ11  
AQ12

2014b), but experimental and complicated high-end cookery. Hence, for men engaged in epicurean foodways gender and class intersect, this consolidates boundaries and marks their foodways as distinct from everyday domestic and/or feminised foodways. It is notable that in Dave's account of his epicurean foodways, he intersects his education in cookery with his progress in the public sphere. Hence, he writes:

*I left home at 18 and went to work and live in London. My first bedsit was in Any Town. I enjoyed food, but couldn't cook – other than fried eggs and beans on toast. After six months of this tedious diet I was rescued by a couple of recently graduated students moved into the bedsit next door. Pam took me under her wing and taught me how to cook – I was hooked and I have loved cooking ever since.*

Therefore, Dave like other male gourmets did not necessarily set out to become interested in epicurean foodways, but did so in order to differentiate his cookery from associations with feminised domestic everyday foodways. Thus, Dave continues:

*Leap forward to the early 80s I am working for a fashion company based in Any City and gaining a reputation for being a pretty good cook – I was the one at communal barbeques who would take the chicken breast marinated in yoghurt, garlic and lemon juice instead of the usual bangers and burgers (not that there is anything wrong with a good burger or sausage!)*

Hence, Dave now has a reputation for being a good cook and fearlessly turning up with non-traditional food at barbeques. His comment about 'good' burgers and sausages is a nod to his cultural omnivorousness and lack of food snobbery. Later, Dave recalls:

*A few more years see me working as a senior buyer with the Retail Company in London. This job involved extensive travel particularly to the Far East. I discovered authentic regional Chinese food in Hong Kong, was introduced to the delights of Japanese cuisine and bemused by the delightful presentation yet totally alien flavours of Korean food. However my most astonishing discovery was that of Thai food in Bangkok. I must point out that Thai food was unheard of in early to*

1 *mid 80's Britain. My first taste was of a chicken, chilli, lemongrass and*  
 2 *coconut milk soup garnished with pea aubergines and fresh coriander*  
 3 *leaves (I had absolutely never seen or tasted this herb before). It was*  
 4 *glorious. It took some time for me to track down a good Thai cookbook*  
 5 *in order to delight friends back at home.*

6  
 7 Again, Dave like Drew positions himself ahead of the game in terms  
 8 of epicurean foodways. He is expanding his knowledge and culinary  
 9 repertoire, travelling the world and developing his tastes. This is not  
 10 about healthy home-cooked food, but an exploration of the exotic  
 11 and unusual (Heldke 2003). It is also like all gourmets about the pres-  
 12 entation of the self as an accomplished expert cook, well travelled  
 13 and skilled. In none of these accounts or any of the other men's  
 14 narratives are they interested in the obligations or responsibilities for  
 15 feeding the family healthy home-cooked meals from scratch (Parsons  
 16 2014a, 2014b). Instead it is about taste, knowledge and participation  
 17 (Warde et al. 2007), and epicurean foodways as leisure and pleasure  
 18 and symbols of high cultural capital (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012).  
 19 Connor similarly writes about his cookery skills and expertise:

20  
 21 *Ever since I started cooking my family have been as excited as me. I*  
 22 *have got several boxes full of cookbooks some good and some crap.*  
 23 *I have developed a little hobby of searching second hand shops for retro*  
 24 *cook books, some good, some crap ... but always good as a reference*  
 25 *point. I'm sure lard and dripping does have its place (especially for*  
 26 *Yorkshire puddings!). So, as I have grown up my cooking skills have*  
 27 *developed. I have broadened my repertoire of recipes and recipes from*  
 28 *different countries. My basics have improved, my béchamel sauce, how*  
 29 *to get pasta al dente, getting the perfect amount of water for basmati*  
 30 *rice to cook with the right texture without taking the lid off the pan (if*  
 31 *I am honest I am still perfecting that), how to peel tomatoes, the most*  
 32 *efficient way to chop garlic and how to pretend that cutting onions*  
 33 *doesn't make me cry. (I'm getting better at that)*

34  
 35 It is notable that whilst male gourmets are distinguishing their  
 36 foodways from associations with feminised domesticity, the two  
 37 women gourmets are inculcated into epicurean foodways through  
 38 relationships with men, as Dalia notes:  
 39

1 *I lived with my future husband on leaving University. He was the cook;*  
 2 *I was usually working and would get home late. He introduced me to*  
 3 *pasta Tagliatelle with a béchamel sauce, mushrooms and bacon with*  
 4 *a breadcrumb topping. I loved his cooking. I began to eat out at restau-*  
 5 *rants (a very rare occasion when growing up). I remember eating mus-*  
 6 *cles and drinking Chardonnay at about age 22, it felt very grown up.*

8 Dalia makes a connection here between ‘growing up’ and learn-  
 9 ing appropriate epicurean foodways. This is also similar to Simon’s  
 10 account in the connections between the sensual pleasures of food  
 11 and seduction. She continues:

13 *The next big relationship in my life brought about my love affair with*  
 14 *food. Again, it was not me who was the cook. My partner introduced/*  
 15 *seduced me with beef fillet cooked medium rare and encrusted with black*  
 16 *pepper. We ate lobster and all kinds of fish that I had never tasted –*  
 17 *skate, scallops, whitebait, red mullet, hake, and squid. I overdosed on*  
 18 *snails and chips and mayo one afternoon and it took me a year to revisit*  
 19 *them. My role was KP in the kitchen. I learnt how to make homemade*  
 20 *mayonnaise and to make a tomato pasta sauce using my hands (the*  
 21 *Italian way) My partner’s four children lived with us and they grew up*  
 22 *asking ‘what is this Dad?’ on tasting an oyster and steak pie.*

24 Hence, Dalia positions herself as a pupil in the arts of gastronomy,  
 25 her junior (inferior) status compared to that of Kitchen Porter (KP) in  
 26 professional kitchens. Indeed, Dalia is laying the groundwork for her  
 27 current epicurean status by reference to her rigorous training in the  
 28 gastronomic arts by the men in her life. This reifies the doxic order  
 29 that it is men who are experts and skilled in epicurean foodways.  
 30 Similarly, Paula writes:

32 *I met a gorgeous guy 6 years older, half French and obsessed with*  
 33 *food. Started to eat out on regular basis in very good French bistros,*  
 34 *would drive into Soho every Sunday morning just to buy pastries and*  
 35 *croissants from Maison Bertaux. Started to shop on Berwick St market*  
 36 *where even cultivated dandelion available for salads, bought coffee only*  
 37 *from Algerian Coffee Stores, and pasta, parma, parmesan, etc. etc. from*  
 38 *Fratelli Camisa. TOTAL TRANSFORMATION!!*

1 It is notable that Paula also identifies the necessary *French* aspects  
 2 of epicurean tutelage. This includes inculcation into the art of din-  
 3 ing out and learning about authentic *French* and *Italian* cuisine. She  
 4 continues:

5  
 6 *Within the 6 years we were together I watched him cook, and loved the*  
 7 *eating out. I swear that once you know what good food tastes like there*  
 8 *is no going back. Now I was into red wine, Gitanes, Langan's Brasserie,*  
 9 *Le Chef, La Poule au Pot, Café des Amis ... and a series of articles pub-*  
 10 *lished by the Observer from Anne Willan's book 'La Varenne' started*  
 11 *me off on pastry/yeast dough cookery that has caused me to make my*  
 12 *own brioche ever since (and for the last 8 years or so, all my own bread).*  
 13 *After splitting up with Tom I felt less self-conscious in the kitchen and*  
 14 *started to cook in earnest, buying books, eating my way through the*  
 15 *Good Food Guide. So by 28 I had gone from embarrassingly bad food*  
 16 *habits/diet to ridiculously good ...*

17  
 18 Thus, Paula is thoroughly inculcated into epicurean foodways, from  
 19 being tutored by her boyfriend to reading appropriate sources and  
 20 cooking herself. She has developed a taste for fine dining, *French* and  
 21 *Italian* cuisine and these are now part of her cultural habitus, natural-  
 22 ised (Bourdieu 1984). What is clear from Paula's and Dalia's accounts is  
 23 that they became interested in epicurean foodways and high culinary  
 24 capital because of their association with men engaged in epicurean  
 25 foodways or men with access to high cultural capital. This reinforces a  
 26 doxic order that codes high cultural capital and elite foodways as mas-  
 27 culine and therefore domestic everyday foodways as feminine/inferior.

## 28 29 **Pleasure and leisure**

30  
 31 One of the biggest distinctions between epicurean and family/  
 32 maternal foodways is the emphasis the gourmet places on leisure  
 33 and pleasure. Indeed, 'feeding the family' (DeVault 1991) is not a  
 34 key issue for gourmets in my study. This does not mean they are not  
 35 interested in cooking for their loved ones, but this is not a domestic  
 36 responsibility, as Dave claims:

37  
 38 *Cooking continues to be a passion. It is my way of unwinding at the end*  
 39 *of the working day. I almost always cook the evening meal for Ali (my*

1 partner) and myself. I love cooking for her, particularly her favourite,  
2 Moules Marinières.

3  
4 Simon too, explains that his everyday cooking decisions are based  
5 on 'which food fad is currently being toyed with in our house'.  
6 This implies that whilst he has a more measured and professional  
7 approach to everyday foodways, his wife is more susceptible to fads  
8 and fashions (Fischler 1980), which he accommodates under duress.  
9 Again, this is about clearly defined gender differences in the home,  
10 even though he is the cook. Drew writes:

11  
12 *Cooking is relaxing to me – if I am cooking for family, small group*  
13 *or myself from my home kitchen ... I always cook to the audience –*  
14 *nothing worse than food not being eaten, so if my parents are in town,*  
15 *I tone down the food, for Angus (friend) no seafood, kids then I like to*  
16 *have food they can play with dig into and enjoy.*

17  
18 In Ed's narrative his cooking is relaxed and exciting, but not eve-  
19 ryday domestic cooking:

20  
21 *I enjoy cooking, but not to the extent that it is an ordeal and a worry.*  
22 *The whole buzz for me is serving up something that's tasty, and a good*  
23 *enough reason to get a bunch of my favourite people around the table.*

24  
25 So, for Ed, food is a social event and not a routinised everyday  
26 activity. Generally, for gourmets, domestic, everyday cooking and  
27 shopping is not their primary concern. Larry's response is typical, the  
28 'routine shopping is handled by my wife', whilst he cooks:

29  
30 *Mostly for friends and family. I like to entertain and although Sunday*  
31 *roast is a favourite, I try to challenge myself from time to time ... I have*  
32 *recently bought a new full width range/oven and it is definitely getting*  
33 *used. If I want to do something different, I cast my mind back to the*  
34 *places I used to work and try to remember menu items.*

35  
36 Later Larry writes:

37  
38 *If I am cooking a dinner party then important choices for me are what*  
39 *vegetables to serve to complement the main course. I like to include the*



1        *less commonly used such as parsnips or asparagus ... I always make*  
 2        *my own stock – it's absolutely essential to being able to create a good*  
 3        *sauce to go with the meat ... typically I use chicken backs roasted first*  
 4        *and then boiled with onions and any vegetables you can no longer use.*  
 5        *Often I boil it, cool it and reheat it several times over a couple of days*  
 6        *before straining and storing it in jars in the freezer ...*

7  
 8        Thus, Larry is detailing his expertise on how to make a good stock;  
 9        both Simon and Ed notably sent recipes with their narratives, Simon  
 10       a recipe for 'pumpkin, coconut and cardamom soup' and Ed a recipe  
 11       for '*pasta con arrabiatta*', adding that 'every student, or indeed any-  
 12       one on a tight budget should know this one'. It is notable that Larry  
 13       refers to his recent purchase of a 'full width range/oven'; this is a  
 14       high status domestic item. Hence, because cultural omnivorousness  
 15       focuses on male activities and values outside of the domestic sphere,  
 16       when gourmets bring their culinary practices into the home they are  
 17       framed within different parameters that change the domestic space.  
 18       Drew writes, for example:

19  
 20       *In doing up my first house in Scotland there was only one concern – I*  
 21       *wanted to have a say in the kitchen design – the cooker etc etc – the rest*  
 22       *of the house could be bright pink, I did not care as long as the kitchen*  
 23       *looked good. Then the final move to a house with a big kitchen such*  
 24       *bliss ...*

25  
 26       Hence, Drew is making his mark on the domestic space, it is his  
 27       and not a feminine 'bright pink' space. Indeed, Gough (2006: 387)  
 28       argues that 'cooking and enjoying diverse cuisine [are] no longer  
 29       regarded as exclusively women's business', also that 'it is feasible  
 30       that shopping, cooking and enjoying a greater range of foods have  
 31       been absorbed into current definitions of masculinity' (Gough 2007:  
 32       2481). Thus, in Dave's epicurean narrative journey, he notes:

33  
 34       *I proved to be a dab hand in the kitchen and was soon cooking the even-*  
 35       *ing meal a couple of times a week. I not only enjoyed the preparation*  
 36       *and cooking but also, much to the astonishment of male friends in the*  
 37       *pub football team, the sourcing and buying of ingredients – food shop-*  
 38       *ping in other words!*  
 39

Hence, although food shopping is usually coded as highly feminised, he counters the potential contamination of this attribute by reference to 'sourcing and buying ingredients', which implies expertise and skill. He was also employed as a 'buyer'. This experience is also framed within the context of the pub and football, which are similarly coded masculine leisure pursuits.

Other gourmets whilst clearly interested in 'good food', did not, like Nick, engage in cooking much at all:

*Sally is pretty much in charge of the kitchen so she plans what we eat really. When she's not around she tends to leave food / meal suggestions for me to do for the children. When I am here on my own I tend to revert to bachelordom ... cereal, or toast or fried eggs. Don't really cook for me.*

Thus, Nick is reaffirming the cultural norm that divides domestic responsibilities in the home along gender lines. Similarly, Sam writes:

*My wife Amelia generally decides what we are going to eat and this is governed by budget and time ... I like to cook but seldom do and I love fresh ingredients ... I am a great fan of fresh veg and my homemade hot chilli sauce is to die for. Nowadays I love to explore the tastes and textures of different foods and find myself very animated while cooking 'Potjiekos' on the fire. Potjiekos is a South African style of cooking in large cast iron pots over an open fire, very slow, all day stews, fabulous! As I have become more at one with food my cooking skills have got better and better, I still don't cook much but enjoy it when I do.*

It is notable that Sam, like Henry previously refers to 'hot' chilli sauce; indeed, spicy foods tend to be coded as masculine. Also, cooking outside of the kitchen on an open fire or a barbeque liberates men from association with domestic feminised cooking practices. Indeed, 'the barbecue seems to quarantine masculinity from conjecture and ridicule about men doing 'women's work' (Nath 2011: 269). Lex, for example, writes:

*I love BBQs and again I think this is associated with being at the cottage and being happy there.*

AQ13

AQ14

AQ15

Hence, Tom declares: 'when I decide to cook, I'm quite a good cook, but my repertoire is limited. They haven't changed much. Fry-ups and BBQs are my other specialties'. Tom's food references are noticeably fatty and meaty and not healthy or feminine. Cooking is clearly his decision and something he chooses to do outside of the domestic sphere. Walt (a 57-year-old manager, married with three grown up children) is a gourmet, who not only cooks on a BBQ but also claims that:

*BBQs for 15 is normal for me, I enjoy the artistry of food, the planning, preparation, the balance the mix, colour, tastes, the variety of ingredients. I don't just do it for those who come, but also for the pleasure of the creation.*

So for Walt, the BBQ is an arena for demonstrating culinary skills and expertise, cooking in this way is an art and a performance. It is certainly not everyday domestic cooking. In Ian's account he writes:

*Not much I won't eat really. Bit more on the meat than fish side. Find vegetarian (if not Indian a little dull). I am more meat than veg and the fish I prefer is white and chunky I also enjoy smoked fish ... Some times I like to cook, this could be a roast lunch, casserole, curry but that generally take the edge my appetite. I didn't find (learning to cook) it too hard. I could follow a cookbook; ring my mum or a pal (generally female). It was Ok to make mistakes. Yes family and relations, friends but not every day ... I would say not. But I find myself buying coriander, balsamic vinegar and virgin olive oil ...*

Ian therefore includes several references to traditionally coded masculine foodways such as preferences for spicy, meaty food. He has also experienced authentic global cuisines and is engaged in contemporary epicurean foodways with his reference to coriander, balsamic vinegar and olive oil. He can cook if he wants to and make mistakes. In Drew's narrative, he is similarly not engaged in everyday domestic foodways. He notes:

*Some of my favourite food moments have been shared with another foodie friend in Any Village, marinating bits of pig and roasting them, in fact spending all day cooking them and then devouring it with a good*

1        *bottle of wine. Then waking up and realizing you have left overs for*  
 2        *breakfast – that has to be some of the best food moments. I love food*  
 3        *and the best way to get to try this used to be cooking it. My wife laughs*  
 4        *about me sneaking off to the summerhouse with a bottle of wine and*  
 5        *my ‘porn collection’, which actually consists of one of my many, many,*  
 6        *cookbooks – working out what to cook next and how to cook it. I miss*  
 7        *that about Home country and having the facilities to do that. Guess I*  
 8        *shouldn’t complain about being cooked for, but cooking was my relaxa-*  
 9        *tion, my Saturday night in, my Sunday afternoon.*

11        Thus, Drew’s gourmet identity encompasses hegemonic masculini-  
 12        ties, as well as sensual experiences that are part of an elite cultural  
 13        habitus (Bourdieu 1984). It is about pleasure and sex, as evidenced  
 14        in Simon’s narrative when he claims he learned to cook in order to  
 15        ‘schmooze the ladies’ and in Drew’s with his reference to his cookery  
 16        books as his ‘porn collection’. That Drew feels compelled to describe  
 17        his interest in cookery books in such a highly sexualised and macho  
 18        way demonstrates the power of hetero-normative cultural scripts  
 19        around everyday foodways. The reference to a ‘porn collection’ isn’t  
 20        ‘food porn’ (which is something else), but a collection of books about  
 21        cookery. Instead of ‘sneaking off’ to look at pornography, which is  
 22        articulated as almost acceptable within the boundaries of hetero-  
 23        normative masculinity (his wife knows about it so its okay) he is tak-  
 24        ing a bottle of wine with him (which adds to the sense of this being  
 25        a sexual or sensual encounter) to his shed to read his cookery books.  
 26        So, Drew cannot admit to reading about food unless it is presented  
 27        in terms of a highly sexualised male activity (Connell 2005). Indeed,  
 28        gourmet narratives can be read in direct contrast to traditional femi-  
 29        nised foodways examined in earlier research (Charles and Kerr 1988,  
 30        DeVault 1991). It is difficult to imagine a woman discussing the  
 31        week’s family food menu in this way. The male gourmets in Cairn  
 32        et al.’s (2010) study, as in mine did not engage in food work as care  
 33        work, and the women in their study who self identified as foodies  
 34        tended to engage in both.

### 36        **External influences and eating out**

37        High cultural capital is associated with a gourmet identity; thus,  
 38        a feel for the game and playing in a culinary field is important  
 39

(Bourdieu 1984). This means engaging in debates and discussions or ‘talk’ about food, through blogs, specialised magazines, cookbooks and TV programmes. Hence, Dave notes:

AQ16

*Nigel Slater is number one for me. As well as wearing glasses he has a very unpretentious way about him, his recipes work and he likes simple everyday food as well as the more exotic. He is an advocate of good fresh ingredients without shoving the organic mantra down your throat! His recipe for a sausage sandwich can't be beat ... Jamie Oliver – good variety of recipes – everyone tried has worked – some have become staples in our house e.g. Sticky Chicken. Doesn't mess about too much with classic recipes (why change proven recipes?) ... Ainsley Harriot – exceptionally good barbecue recipe book – his pork spare ribs with maple syrup is THE default recipe! Nigella Lawson – Don't particularly like her TV shows, but her book on baking is fab. Hugh Fernley Fernley – some good recipes, however far too up his own backside with the organic mantra – who in their right mind would pay £22 (yes twenty two of your English pounds) for a medium sized organic chicken from his shop in Axminster? Delia – Hmmm ... Not a favourite. Messes about far too much with classic recipes in an attempt to make them her own (see Jamie Oliver above) and another thing! How can you trust a chef who doesn't taste their food as they go along to ensure flavour and seasonings are correct? Delia has never tasted the food prepared on her shows; in fact she completely disagrees with doing so.*

Hence, Dave is keen to demonstrate his acquaintance with a range of popular TV chefs in keeping with his position as cultural omnivore. He expresses cultural hostility towards organic food and the chef that appeals to this sector; in keeping with a ‘chowhound’ identity he is asserting his breadth of knowledge and unwillingness to follow food trends (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012). Dalia on the other hand identifies herself with more of the high-end chefs/food writers:

AQ17

*It was my discovery of chef, David Everitt Matthius that really took me a stage further in my cooking and gave me a taste for wild food and foraging. I have had some favourite chefs – and some who I didn't get on with at all. Margarite Patten was my worst enemy. I blamed her recipes. Everything I cooked from one of her books was a disaster. This was at the beginning of my cooking, so I can't be sure that it was her fault.*

*I hated her none the less. Keith Floyd, Jamie Oliver, Rick Stein, Gordon Ramsey have been favourites. Now I covet my books by Pierre Gagnaire, Vineet Bhatia, Anthony Bourdain, David Everitt Matthius and Noma.*

It is notable that men/experts in epicurean foodways have written the majority of the tomes that Dalia covets. Drew, as a cultural omnivore discusses his familiarity with both high-end restaurants and popular TV chefs:

*Favorites to date are Roux at the Landau and Wishart at Cameron House ... But food is not just about the food it is about the experience, and if I could pick one restaurant to go back to it would be Monachly Mhor with chef Tom Lewis (small country farmhouse middle of nowhere, own grown veg's and raised animals) it is a all encompassing, relaxing food experience ... Other chefs I like but for different reasons, Glynn Purnell as he is in my home town of Birmingham not known for its food and putting it on the map (he is what I maybe could have been if I knew I enjoyed food at an earlier age) ... Jamie – as it was his simple recipes that really got me cooking although I have no real desire to eat at one of his restaurants ... Heston is a legend, I have a number of old cook books 1890s through to 1930s and what I see is that many recipes today are cyclical, reappearing and becoming fashionable, these are the classics and many chefs are good at preparing them or even adding a twist. But Heston has revolutionised how I think about food and challenged psychology around eating food – sadly I have never eaten at his restaurant but he does fascinate me.*

Notably, Drew aligns himself with the Michelin starred chef Glynn Purnell, but distinguishes between popular TV chefs like Jamie Oliver with his mass appeal and Heston Blumenthal, who has revolutionised how he thinks about food. There are clearly further divisions and distinctions within culinary fields (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012, DeSolier 2013). Indeed, specialised knowledge and understanding is significant in building a gourmet identity.

Therefore, epicurean foodways includes 'gourmet globetrotting, as finding new and exciting cuisines earns a kind of social status' (Johnston and Baumann's 2010: 98–100). This underlines the extent to which a gourmet identity is linked to elite status and cultural capital. It is about confirming one's belonging to a group that is

able to travel the world and to experience exotic cuisines first hand. Thus, 'cultural capital is required to appreciate foodie discourse and discern which features of exoticism are worth pursuing' (Johnston and Baumann 2010: 104). Hence, Fred writes:

*I love Thai and Japanese and Indian and that modern English vibe. I love sashimi. I don't really eat potatoes or much pasta (or indeed carbs). Totally favourite specific food items would be soft shell crab tempura, a rib of beef for two (the best one ever is sold at the Anchor & Hope in Waterloo). I love almost all vegetables (especially raw). Some of the best food I've had at shacks (I remember salt cod fritters in Mexico and hawker food in Singapore). My two best restaurants in the world would be Gordon Ramsay, Hospital Road, Brompton and Tetsuya, Sydney, Australia. With both its as much about the experience as the exquisite food.*

Indeed, as noted earlier, the gourmets in my study have a lot in common with Heldke's (2003) 'foodie adventurers'. However, she claims that 'we like our exoticism somewhat familiar, recognizable, controllable' Heldke (2003: 19). Similarly, gourmets in Johnston and Baumann's (2010) study 'avoided norm breaking exotic food', so they 'concluded that the assumptions about gourmets interest in global cuisine is overstated and that whilst ... norm breaking foods generated foodie cachet, most of the gourmets ... are generally not interested in adhering to that standard' (Johnston and Baumann's 2010: 120–1). Of course, this may have been because of the number of female gourmets that they had in their sample who are also engaged in family foodways. The gourmets in my study are interested in the exotic. Perhaps the addition of hegemonic masculinities to the foodie mix increases the desire to impress in terms of strange and exotic food consumption. For example, Ed writes:

*Whilst cruising down through the Windward Island chain in the Caribbean towards Trinidad, we stopped off on the French island of Martinique. It was a Sunday, and we decided we'd have a day ashore and a lunch ... After wandering around looking for an interesting place to eat that wasn't on the tourist track, we stopped at a slightly run down, though brightly painted looking place. There was no menu; just*

1        *what was being served that day – salad, chicken curry, and a selection*  
 2        *of tropical fruit. The salad appeared, a large plate laden with colourful*  
 3        *ingredients including avocado and shrimp, and what appeared to be*  
 4        *diced beetroot. Feeling pleased with the results of our determined search*  
 5        *for somewhere that didn't serve burgers, we toasted our good luck with*  
 6        *chilled beer. After a while we started talking about the odd taste of the*  
 7        *beetroot, and how it didn't taste cooked or pickled. Finally, it dawned on*  
 8        *[one of our companions] that she had heard of this dish years previously*  
 9        *when she was a student doing her year out in France. The 'beetroot' was*  
 10       *neither cooked nor pickled; it was finely diced cow's nose.*

11  
 12       Indeed, it is within the realm of eating offal that the test of a  
 13       true gourmet or food adventurer comes in to play, as 'when food  
 14       flagrantly violates social or culinary conventions, it creates a bold  
 15       spectacle of norm breaking exoticism and this is especially evident  
 16       in the gourmet focus on eating offal' (Johnston and Baumann 2010:  
 17       120). Offal is the foodstuff that elicited disgust for the majority of  
 18       respondents, as Henry comments:

19  
 20       *I never liked insides, so heart, liver, kidneys etc. I have always loathed. I*  
 21       *did try lamb hearts recently and realised why steak is so popular! I was*  
 22       *also once confused by a foreign menu and ordered calf's brain, sorry I*  
 23       *just had to go and be sick, and pride forced me to eat the lot. Not as*  
 24       *bad tasting, as you would think just a friable texture ... sorry had to be*  
 25       *sick again, which stuck in my mind.*

26  
 27       Henry's narrative is a gourmet journey of training, exploring his  
 28       palate and developing epicurean foodways, yet even for Henry some  
 29       foods are off limits and his distaste is so strong that he has to rush off  
 30       to be sick. Beyond the physiology of taste, this cultural and almost  
 31       universal 'distaste' is related to the concept of eating food associated  
 32       with 'insides' and 'waste' or what Douglas (1966) referred to as 'pol-  
 33       lutants'. These pollutants are associated with feminine, 'unclean'  
 34       bodily fluids/parts, menstruation and so on (Fiddes 1991, Douglas  
 35       1966). The 'distaste' for offal also arises due to its use as a cheap  
 36       substitute for more expensive parts of the animal and a distancing  
 37       from foodways that used a lot of offal in the past. However, there  
 38       are 'gourmets' for whom eating offal is a sign of a true gourmet and  
 39



1 this intersects with notions of 'bravery' as a marker of hegemonic  
2 masculinity, as Drew writes:

3  
4 *Talking of Beijing – let me share my favourite restaurant story – I was*  
5 *in Beijing with an Australian and American colleague. Having found*  
6 *a good local restaurant and persuaded them to eat there. We sat and*  
7 *perused the menu. Peking duck was a must and we selected some other*  
8 *dishes. Then I saw Devilled Duck Hearts as side dish and asked the*  
9 *waiter for a small bowl, as I was fascinated. They appeared small pur-*  
10 *ple and plump covered in chilli oil and I started to eat them. I was asked*  
11 *by my colleagues what I was eating and advised – 'duck hearts', 'no*  
12 *your not' was the response 'they are olives' – 'no they are duck hearts' I*  
13 *advised, although they did look like big olives. 'Shut up and give me an*  
14 *olive' was the response. Handing the bowl over they carefully selected*  
15 *an 'olive' each. And synchronised placed them in their mouths. Instant*  
16 *reaction, one swallowed and swore the other nearly threw up in a nap-*  
17 *kin. 'They are duck hearts – why didn't you tell me' – this was probably*  
18 *the first time I have been reprimanded for telling the truth. Gladly I*  
19 *finished the bowl myself'.*

AQ18

20  
21 It is hardly surprising therefore when considering high levels of  
22 cultural capital amongst gourmets, that not only are they often from  
23 a high status elite group, but that they would engage in hegemonic  
24 masculinities.

25 Overall, a gourmet identity is not coded as feminine and gourmets  
26 are 'doing' epicurean foodways by reference to masculine cultural  
27 codes. These are not family or maternal foodways that centre on  
28 notions of obligation and responsibility. Gourmets are not preparing  
29 endless routinised meals for their families and they are not nurturing  
30 or feeding the family in De Vault's (1991) sense of the term. Neither  
31 do they express any interest in the 'healthiness' or otherwise of their  
32 foodways. Instead, they are building upon and adding to knowledge,  
33 status and expertise regarding all aspects of epicurean foodways.

34 Hence, male respondents engage in hegemonic masculinities and  
35 distance themselves from association with feminised activities such  
36 as vegetarianism, healthy eating or weight loss, with references to sex  
37 or alcohol or drugs or other risk-taking activities. Everyday masculine  
38 foodways are leisure activities freely chosen and not part of a hetero-  
39 normative feminised approach. Further, men who participate in

1 epicurean foodways and develop a gourmet identity also draw upon  
2 forms of hegemonic masculinities. The high cultural capital, elite  
3 status, cultural omnivorousness, knowledge and expertise associated  
4 with a gourmet identity though coded masculine is not far enough  
5 away from contemporary feminised domestic foodways. Hence,  
6 shopping and cooking rather than being highly feminised domestic  
7 activities are also re-contextualised as part of a search for authentic  
8 or exotic cuisine, as well as an expression of expert knowledge, 'taste'  
9 and distinction. Thus, I argue a gourmet identity is a masculine  
10 one, and that it assumes high levels of economic, social, symbolic  
11 and cultural capital that includes elements of high adventure and  
12 risk-taking.

# 7

## Reflections

This book clearly demonstrates the extent to which everyday foodways are infused with the intersectionalities of gender and class. The focus has been on the intimacies and intricacies of relations within the domestic sphere. Respondent narratives highlight the interconnectedness of the self with 'other' as well as with wider socio-cultural and structural norms and values. When articulating one's identity it is difficult to avoid 'common vocabularies' (Mills 1959). In the telling of the self it is necessary to connect with recognisable cultural scripts. What it means to be a middle class woman or man in twenty-first century neo-liberal consumer capitalist societies is embedded in discourses of responsible individualism. However, despite a commitment to this ideology, identities are difficult to define beyond the meta-narratives of modernity and without recourse to dichotomous thinking (Oakley 1992) or the binary oppositions that help create/re-create gender and class. These Cartesian dualisms continue to draw and re-draw the boundaries between/within social groups, not least on the basis of gender and class. In contemporary neo-liberal Westernised societies the atomised individual free from social obligations is coded male (Lewis 2007), as women continue to be judged in terms of selflessness, a seemingly 'natural' feminine disposition. Thus, living one's own life, whilst being there for others is part of a contradictory, yet enduring cultural script of 'appropriate' middle class femininity.

AQ1

Hence the symbolic violence (Bourdieu and Wacquant 2002) afforded to women, especially mothers who transgress the boundaries of 'appropriate' middle class mothering norms. This is most

1 evident in the abiding symbol of the 'working class Mum' who feeds  
 2 her 'kid' 'cheese and chips out of a Styrofoam container' (Parsons  
 3 2014a). Indeed, when considering the power of everyday foodways  
 4 in contributing to a sense of self and belonging this imagery 'works'  
 5 on several levels. Firstly, it positions women as primarily responsible  
 6 for the nourishment and nurturing of children and therefore society,  
 7 as part of a natural doxic order. Secondly, it suggests that there are  
 8 identifiable cultural codes, rules and rituals around everyday food-  
 9 ways. Thirdly, that 'proper' foodways can be located in diametric  
 10 opposition to the quick, cheap, mass-produced, instant gratification  
 11 implied here. Thus, those that 'lack' access to cultural resources or  
 12 fail to abide by public policy discourses on 'healthy' foodways are  
 13 subject to moral approbation and stigma. This is not to assume  
 14 that health or healthiness are easily definable, just that there is a  
 15 persistent absolutist approach to 'good'/'bad' foodways and in a  
 16 contemporary foodscape 'good' is associated with what is beneficial  
 17 for health.

18 Of course, 'good' foodways as evidenced throughout this book  
 19 are about health, yet for a small number of respondents references  
 20 to health were noticeably absent. Instead for epicureans, everyday  
 21 foodways are connected to the display of elite cultural practices  
 22 that emphasise sensual pleasure (Waley-Cohen 2007) and leisure.  
 23 Indeed, in the gendering of everyday foodways there are unrelenting  
 24 distinctions between food work and food play within the domestic  
 25 sphere, with the former coded as feminine and the latter masculine.  
 26 For example, feeding the family (DeVault 1991) is emotional work  
 27 carried out in the home for the benefit of family members and a per-  
 28 sistently feminised activity. Epicurean foodways on the other hand  
 29 are highly individualised performances of elite cultural or culinary  
 30 capital (Nacaratto and LeBesco 2012) in the pursuit of taste, knowl-  
 31 edge and participation. Hence, there is a persistent gendered division  
 32 of labour within the domestic sphere that ensures women are wholly  
 33 responsible for food work, which has low cultural capital, whilst men  
 34 play in a culinary field, which has higher cultural capital.

35 However, in a contemporary foodscape high cultural capital is  
 36 also expressed through appropriate family foodways, a dis-taste  
 37 of convenience/commercial foodways, preferences for healthy  
 38 home-cooked food, authentic cuisine and cultural omnivorousness.  
 39 Hence, respondents articulate a strong cultural hostility towards

AQ2

1 convenience/commercial foodways in favour of healthy home-  
 2 cooked food prepared from scratch, home-baking (cakes and snacks)  
 3 and home-grown produce. This represents a distinct shift away from  
 4 the excessive industrialisation of food production (Mennell 1985) in  
 5 favour of a glorification of feminine domesticity (Negra 2009) and a  
 6 kind of 'nostalgia' (Becket et al. 2002). There is also cultural hostil-  
 7 ity expressed towards what might be considered bodies out of con-  
 8 trol, that is those deemed to be too fat or too thin. Similarly, when  
 9 negotiating boundaries around health foodways, respondents often  
 10 (though not always) lapsed strict dietary regimes for the purposes of  
 11 commensality or sociability, therefore recognising the importance of  
 12 legitimate cultural capital and playing by the rules of the game in a  
 13 culinary field. Thus, everyday foodways centre on distancing the self  
 14 from association with commercial/convenience foodways, displaying  
 15 responsible individualism, negotiating a middle ground (not being  
 16 too thin or too fat) and/or participating in epicurean pleasures.

17 Indeed respondents' everyday foodways reflect current UK political  
 18 concerns and public policies with regards to the role of the family,  
 19 healthy eating, eating for health, eating disorders, 'fat' bodies and  
 20 elite foodways. Hence, whilst individuals are supposedly free to  
 21 make rational choices, it is apparent in respondents' narratives that  
 22 gender and class bind them. An auto/biographical approach to food-  
 23 ways is therefore significant in highlighting the interconnectedness  
 24 of the individual and the social (Morgan 1998), the micro and the  
 25 macro, the private and the public. Generally, both men and women  
 26 displayed cultural hostility towards convenience/commercial food-  
 27 ways, which are simultaneously lacking, in terms of a lack of care  
 28 (time, money), and excessive, as mass-produced food for the masses.  
 29 Thus, feeding the family healthy home-cooked food prepared from  
 30 scratch is a means of performing, displaying and reproducing a  
 31 middle class habitus and drawing distinctions within culinary fields  
 32 (Parsons 2014a, 2014b). Further, having time for taste, participation  
 33 and knowledge of contemporary family, maternal, health, embodied  
 34 and/or epicurean foodways demonstrates a cultural omnivorousness,  
 35 which is a significant aspect of high cultural capital.

36 The original aim of the research on which this book is based cen-  
 37 tred on a misplaced notion that individuals make food choices free  
 38 from wider structural constraints. This was set against a background  
 39 of public policy debates in the UK tasked with educating families to

1 make appropriate healthy food choices (DOH 2010, 2011). However,  
2 there is a lack of fit between public policy initiatives that emphasise  
3 individual choice and the lived reality in which there is often no  
4 choice. Indeed, 'choice' is part of an individual affective practice  
5 (Wetherell 2012) that sediments over time rather than a rational  
6 and deliberate act. It is bound by a middle class cultural habitus that  
7 values neo-liberal politics and responsible individualism. Indeed,  
8 individuals articulate everyday foodways with a 'common vocabu-  
9 lary' (Mills 1959), they utilise specific forms of social, symbolic and  
10 cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984) further embedded in cultural scripts  
11 of hetero-normative femininities and masculinities, particularly in  
12 terms of cultural practices and values in the fields of mothering and  
13 gastronomy.

14 Thus, notions of 'choice' continue to be influenced by the inter-  
15 sectionalities of gender and class. In effect they are hardly choices at  
16 all. For example, in the field of culinary arts an epicurean represents  
17 a particular gendered habitus in which femininity rarely operates as  
18 symbolic capital. Also, when feeding the family, aspects associated  
19 with intensive mothering (Hays 1996) are significant and respond-  
20 ents adhere to traditional gender roles in pursuit of a glorified femin-  
21 ised domesticity (Negra 2009). There is little evidence of a negotiated  
22 family model (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002). Hence, whilst  
23 women make inroads into the public sphere and despite the blurring  
24 of boundaries between work/home (Hochschild 1997, Hochschild  
25 and Machung 2003), most women are excluded from cultural fields  
26 of play where 'foodies' and 'chowhounds' roam (Naccarato and  
27 LeBesco 2012), particularly if they have responsibility for feeding the  
28 family (DeVault 1991). Today in an era of 'yummy mummies' (Allen  
29 and Osgood 2009, Littler 2013) and public health discourses, there is  
30 the added pressure of feeding the family healthy home-cooked meals  
31 from scratch (Pollan 2013), which functions as a symbolic reification  
32 and valorisation of a middle class maternal identity. When women  
33 engage in intensive mothering (Hays 1996) how can they have time  
34 to be epicureans? Similarly, a concern with health and weight coun-  
35 ters the unbounded pleasures of sensual eating (epicurean foodways).

36 Further, when considering maternal identities, what it means to  
37 be a mother is not answered internally, but is addressed by a reflex-  
38 ive awareness of what other 'good' mothers do (Dawson 2012).  
39 Neo-liberal policies and discourses conceptualise 'good' mothering

1 as a consumer choice that requires economic capital. In effect, mid-  
 2 dle class mothering practices are presented as the norm and oth-  
 3 ers pathologised. Hence, the intersectionalities of gender and class  
 4 determine access to resources – education, employment, health – and  
 5 these remain significant in providing a sense of ontological security  
 6 (Dawson 2012: 311).

7 Indeed, respondents' everyday foodways are embedded in family  
 8 and kinship relations, with family practices (Morgan 1996) consid-  
 9 ered a source of social, symbolic and cultural capital. Certainly, whilst  
 10 respondents are indignant at not being treated as individuals within  
 11 the families of their childhoods, there are limits to the 'right to a life  
 12 of one's own' (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002: xxii). Women espe-  
 13 cially, found negotiating an individualist agenda when responsible  
 14 for others health and welfare, problematic. Hence, the gendered divi-  
 15 sion of labour persists and continues to marginalise and exclude those  
 16 engaged in family food work from the field of culinary cultural capital.

17 The epicurean field is elitist and geared towards those with time  
 18 and/or money. Indeed in 'foodie' studies (Cairns et al. 2010, Johnston  
 19 and Baumann 2010), taste is contextualised as an essential element  
 20 of a consumer activity that centres on leisure time or time for leisure.  
 21 This supposes a clear distinction between work and leisure, which  
 22 is not the case for many women (Hochschild 1997, Hochschild and  
 23 Machung 2003). It is pertinent that in this study an epicurean iden-  
 24 tity is predominantly male. Indeed, many markers of cultural capital  
 25 are associated with what might be considered traditionally male  
 26 leisure activities. It is men who have time to play.

27 Hence, as noted throughout the book, the 'micro-politics of food  
 28 revolve around gender' (Morgan 1996: 158) and exploring gender is  
 29 therefore vital when looking to understand relationships with food  
 30 over the life course. Women conform to cultural scripts of hetero-  
 31 normative femininity when examining their attitudes to food,  
 32 the body, health, emotion, mothering and relationships. Women  
 33 develop a sense of 'lipoliteracy' (reading bodies, from Graham 2005)  
 34 and engage in 'fat talk' (Ambjörnsson 2005) as a means of doing  
 35 gender (West and Zimmerman 1987). Men resort to forms of hegem-  
 36 onic masculinities (Connell 2005) when distancing themselves from  
 37 traditionally feminised practices, such as healthy eating and diet-  
 38 ing. Even when espousing an epicurean identity, men differentiate  
 39 their interest in foodways, such as food shopping and cooking from

the feminised domestic practices associated with feeding the family (DeVault 1991). These gendered identities are classed and associated with social, symbolic and cultural capital. Hence, an epicurean identity is predominantly (though not exclusively) male and associated with elite cultural status. Maternal identity is similarly associated with distinction. Feeding the family healthy home-cooked food from scratch is an element of intensive mothering (Hays 1996) and as such, is used to demonstrate engagement with middle class cultural norms and values.

It was anticipated that health discourses would impact on foodways and that weight loss and dietary management would be a concern for women. Indeed, the impact of health discourses on foodways is strongest within the women's narratives. The public and media discourses regarding a perceived obesity epidemic (Gard 2009) fed directly into the role of women as the guardians of health, both their own and other people's. Indeed, women's narratives are infused with concerns regarding health and healthiness. This is occasionally related to weight management. However, health is not a major consideration in men's narratives. If health is mentioned it tends to be couched in terms of a 'hum' in the background or because a girlfriend was interested to see if eating healthily made any difference. It did not. The feminisation of health and the notion that being concerned about one's health is feminine has implications in terms of health policy. The problem of hegemonic masculinities in relation to health behaviour has been well documented in research elsewhere (Gough 2006, 2007, 2009). The continued government focus on families to change their behaviour belies the fact that it is women who are charged with this task within families/society. Yet, unless health foodways are considered masculine or coded elite, they are likely to continue to be marginalised as feminine concerns and/or associated with 'other' foodways.

When dietary regimes are used as CAM, men and women use food as a means of treating certain conditions, the avoidance of dairy, for example, as a route to treating childhood eczema. However, as already noted, being concerned with health is part of a cultural script of femininity. Hence, it is mainly women who practice CAM. Thus, specific dietary management practices were used to treat conditions, notably IBS, food intolerances and drug resistant epilepsy in childhood. Some food culture scholars argue that strict dietary regimes



1 represent a means of imposing restraint in the face of increased nor-  
 2 mlessness around eating. Fischler (1980, 1988, 2011), for example,  
 3 has long insisted on a kind of gastro-anomy at work, with a decline  
 4 in the social rules and rituals associated with commensality (eating  
 5 together). Respondents practising health foodways highlight some  
 6 of the problems associated with negotiating social aspects of every-  
 7 day foodways, and this valorises its continued significance. Hence,  
 8 in terms of public policy a focus on individual choice neglects the  
 9 myriad ways in which individuals negotiate their social identities  
 10 and these are important.

11 Overall, the intersectionalities of gender and class remain signifi-  
 12 cant when documenting relationships with food over the life course.  
 13 These gendered identities are classed and respondents are concerned  
 14 to position themselves with high cultural capital, whether they  
 15 are epicureans, or engaged in aspirational mothering practices or  
 16 health conscious. The extent to which class and gender continue  
 17 to influence everyday foodways is important. This has implica-  
 18 tions for implementing and developing policies that look to change  
 19 individual eating/lifestyle behaviours, especially those policy initia-  
 20 tives that focus on individual choice without acknowledging wider  
 21 structural inequalities. Of course, this persistence of gender and class  
 22 might be related to the ages of respondents in my study – there were  
 23 none between the ages of 18–25. This may be worth considering in  
 24 terms of future research. Further, those with negative working class  
 25 experiences as children were keen to distance themselves from the  
 26 food of their childhoods, a form of neophilia (Lupton 1996) and mat-  
 27 rophobia (Rich 1986). This is also part of displaying a middle class  
 28 habitus, as cultural hostility is an expression of disgust towards poor  
 29 nutrition, poor food and therefore poverty itself. Yet, not everyone  
 30 escapes a poor background. This has consequences for those trapped  
 31 in poverty and reinforces the extent to which everyday foodways  
 32 are embedded in class identities. It reifies distinctions between those  
 33 who lack on many levels, including lack of access to resources, taste  
 34 and cultural capital.

35 Indeed, taste on many levels is associated with social stratifica-  
 36 tion and respondents engage in positioning themselves within a  
 37 hierarchy of middle class values. Thus, the impact of individualist  
 38 discourses on foodways is limited by the intersectionalities of gender  
 39 and class. Far from a cacophony of individual tastes and experiences,

1 individuals are constrained by desire. This manifests itself in a long-  
2 ing to belong. Thus, respondents comply with a gendered middle  
3 class habitus that values health and self-care or responsible individu-  
4 alism. For epicureans, this is expressed through cultural omnivorous-  
5 ness and food adventurism. Indeed, the individual is embedded in a  
6 particular social and cultural milieu and this impacts upon identity.  
7 In the current foodscape everyday foodways can be used as a means  
8 of demonstrating elite status and power. Cultural hostility persists  
9 and reinforces boundaries between social groups around what might  
10 be considered appropriate food and foodways. Generally, respond-  
11 ents did not express an interest in ethical concerns regarding eve-  
12 ryday foodways. Instead, they provided everyday glimpses into the  
13 intimacies of domestic life.

14 In the final analysis, an auto/biographical approach makes a  
15 unique contribution in the field of food studies, as it provides in-  
16 depth, rich data on individual foodways over the life course. These  
17 include common vocabularies and are relational. In this book the  
18 focus is on foodways from women *and* men. This is deliberate in  
19 order to counter the recent upsurge of interest in men/masculinities  
20 in the domestic sphere, whether this is a focus on the male role in  
21 'families' (Jackson et al. 2009) or in the kitchen (Cairns et al. 2010)  
22 or as 'food adventurers' (Heldke 2003). Notably, despite differences  
23 in how these interests are framed, men/masculine identities are not  
24 tasked with the responsibility for feeding the family as part of a  
25 cultural script of what it means to be a 'good' middle class mother.  
26 Hence, the emphasis on men in the domestic sphere negates the  
27 impact of responsible individualism and middle class cultural norms  
28 on the performance of femininity; it is women who are considered  
29 wholly 'responsible' for feeding (socialising) the family and there-  
30 fore inculcating appropriate cultural norms and values. This reifies  
31 a doxic order that it is natural/normal and therefore unworthy of  
32 comment for women to work at feeding the family or indeed any  
33 other selfless care work activity. Thus, women are written out of the  
34 domestic foodscape, their contributions so naturalised, so taken for  
35 granted that they no longer need to be mentioned or researched.  
36 This has implications beyond everyday domestic foodways, as men  
37 and women negotiate their positions infused with the intersection-  
38 alities of gender and class. This book therefore goes some way to  
39 redressing this imbalance.

## Appendix: Respondent demographics

AQ1

Name	A	Occupation	Quals	Living arrangements	N
Female respondents					
Alison	49	Teacher	Degree	Co-habiting	GB
Annie	50	Life Coach	A' level	Divorced +2 +3 G/U	GB
Beth	57	Housewife	P/G Dip	Married +2 children	GB
Bryony	33	PhD Student	P/G	Co-habiting	BM
Carly	46	Consultant	Degree	Co-habiting	GB
Celia	85	Retired farmer's wife	SRN	Married +4 G/U	GB
Chloe	46	Occ. Health Advisor	Degree	Co-habiting +2 +1 G/U	GB
Daisy	73	Social Worker	Degree	Married +3 G/U	GB
Dalia	50	Painter	Degree	Co-habiting	GB
Edith	54	Arts Coordinator	Degree	Divorced +1 +2 G/U	GB
Ellen	61	Dance Teacher	A 'level	Divorced	GB
Faith	30	TA	P/G	Married +2 children	ZB
Faye	46	Secretary	GCSE*	Married +1 child	GB
Gaby	51	Architect Designer	Degree	Married +2 G/U	GB
Harriet	64	Housewife	Life/SRN	Married +3 G/U	GB
Hannah	43	Secretary	GCSE*	Married +2 G/U	GB
Helen	54	Publisher	Diploma	Married +2 + 1 G/U	GB
Ida	54	Midwife	Degree	Married +2 G/U	GB
Imogen	36	Housekeeper	NVQ	Married +4 children	GB
Jade	37	Architect	P/G	Single	NL
Jocelyn	44	Shop Manager	GCSE*	Married +3 children	GB
Katrina	43	Pre-School teacher	Degree	Married +2 +1 G/U	GB
Kelly	30	PhD Student	P/G	Single	BG
Laura	35	Teaching Assistant	A 'level	Married +2 children	GB
Linda	67	Housewife	Diploma	Divorced +3 G/U	GB
Lola	40	PhD Student	P/G	Married +3 children	GB
Magenta	38	Academic	PhD	Single	GB
Melissa	46	Viola Player	GCSE*	Married +2 children	GB
Molly	45	Housewife	GCSE*	Co-habiting +4 children	GB
Nadia	40	Artist	Degree	Co-habiting +1 child	AU
Noreen	40	Housewife	GCSE*	Co-Habiting +2 children	GB
Olivia	37	PR Manager	Degree	Co-habiting	GB

AQ2

(continued)

## Appendix: continued

Name	A	Occupation	Quals	Living arrangements	N
Ophelia	53	Author	GCSE*	Married + 2 children	GB
Otaline	32	PhD Student	P/G	Co-habiting +1 child	GB
Paloma	47	Lecturer	P/G	Married +1 +1 G/U	GB
Paula	55	Food Writer	Degree	Married +2 G/U	GB
Queenie	62	Retired Hairdresser	GCSE*	Married	GB
Regan	48	Housewife	GCSE*	Married +2 children	GB
Ruth	47	MD	Degree	Married +2 children	GB
Sasha	50	Academic	PhD	Single	US
Steph	39	Housewife	Degree	Co-habiting +2 children	GB
Tammy	63	Guest House Owner	GCSE*	Married	GB
Tilda	53	Nurse	Degree	Single	GB
Ulrika	46	Property Developer	Degree	Single	GB
Ursula	52	Housewife	A' level	Married +2 +1 G/U	GB
Valerie	46	Website Manager	A' level	Single +1 child	GB
Vera	59	Shop Assistant	Degree	Divorced +2 G/U	GB
Willow	55	Senior Lecturer	Degree	Single +1 G/U	GB
Zoe	44	Recruiter	Degree	Married +2 children	GB

## Male respondents

Charlie	49	Consultant	GCSE*	Co-habiting	GB
Connor	27	Musician	BTEC	Single	GB
Dave	59	Consultant	GCSE*	Co-habiting	GB
Drew	42	Senior Manager	P/G	Married +1 child	GB
Ed	55	Carpenter	GCSE*	Co-habiting +1 S/C	GB
Fred	39	Solicitor	P/G	Single	GB
Gerry	47	Solicitor	P/G	Co-habiting	GB
Henry	42	Director	GCSE*	Married +2 S/C	GB
Ian	64	Management Trainer	GCSE*	Married +3 children	GB
Jake	48	MD	P/G	Married +1 +1 G/U	GB
James	68	PLC Director	Degree	Married +3 G/U	GB
Kevin	47	Consultant	Degree	Co-habiting + 2 children	GB
Larry	48	MD	GCSE*	Married +2 children	GB
Lex	42	MD	GCSE*	Married +4 children	GB
Mark	45	Consultant	Degree	Married +3 children	GB
Nick	51	Consultant	Degree	Married +2 children	GB
Ollie	44	Teacher	Degree	Married +2 children	GB
Paul	67	Guest House Owner	GCSE*	Married +3 G/U	GB
Quentin	60	Sales Rep	A' level	Married	GB
Richard	76	Retired Academic	P/G	Married +3 G/U	GB

(continued)

## Appendix: continued

Name	A	Occupation	Quals	Living arrangements	N
<b>Male respondents</b>					
Roger	55	Writer	HND	Single	GB
Sam	50	Yachtsman	HND	Married +1 child	GB
Simon	55	Private Cook	GCSE*	Married +1 child	GB
Stephen	53	General Practitioner	Degree	Married +2 G/U	GB
Tom	37	Occupational Therapist	Degree	Married +1 child	GB
Walt	57	Management	Diploma	Married +3 G/U	IT

## Key:

A = Age

TA = Teaching Assistant

SRN = State Registered Nurse

MD = Managing Director

Quals = Highest Qualification

P/G = Post Graduate

P/G Dip = Post Graduate Diploma

GCSE\* = GCSE Equivalent

+1/2/3 = Number of children currently living in the family home

G/U = Grown up children, no longer living in the family home

S/C = step children

N = Nationality

## References

AQ1

- Adams, C. (1990) *The Sexual Politics of Meat: A Feminist Vegetarian Critical Theory*, New York: Continuum.
- Adkins, L. (2004) Introduction: Feminism, Bourdieu and After, in Adkins, L. and Skeggs, B. (eds) *Feminism After Bourdieu*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Adkins, L. (2011) Practice as Temporalisation: Bourdieu and Economic Crisis, in Susen, S. and Turner, B. (eds) *The Legacy of Pierre Bourdieu: Critical Essays*, London: Anthem Press.
- Adkins, L. and Jokinen, E. (2008) Introduction: Gender, living and the fourth shift, *Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, 16: 3, 138–149.
- Adkins, L. and Lury, C. (1999) The labour of identity: Performing identities, performing economies, *Economy and Society*, 28, 598–614.
- Adkins, L. and Skeggs, B. (2004) *Feminism After Bourdieu*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Allen, K. and Osgood, J. (2009) Young women negotiating maternal subjectivities: The significance of social class, *Studies in the Maternal*, 1: 2, unpaginated. <http://www.mamsie.bbk.ac.uk/documents/allen-osgood.pdf>.
- Allen, P. and Sachs, C. (2007) Women and food chains: The gendered politics of food, *International Journal of Sociology of Food and Agriculture*, 15: 1, 1–23.
- Ambjörnsson, F. (2005) Talk, in Kulick, D. and Meneley, A. (eds), *Fat the Anthropology of an Obsession*, New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher/Penguin.
- Andreou, A. (2013) Jamie Oliver, you haven't tasted real poverty, Cut out the tutting, *The Guardian*, Tuesday 27th August, accessed 28/ August/2013 <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/aug/27/jamie-oliver-poverty-ready-meals-tv>.
- Aphramor, L. (2010) Validity of claims in weight management: A review of dietetic literature, *Nutrition Journal*, 9: 30, 1–9, <http://www.nutritionj.com/content/pdf/1475-2891-9-30.pdf>.
- Arendt, H. ([1929] 1996) *Love and Saint Augustine*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Armstrong, D. (1995) The rise of surveillance medicine, *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 17, 393–404.
- Ashley, B., Hollows, J., Jones, S. and Taylor, B. (2004) *Food and Cultural Studies*, London: Routledge.
- Baarts, C. and Kryger Pedersen, I. (2009) Derivative benefits: Exploring the body through complementary and alternative medicine, *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 31: 5, 719–733.
- Bahr Buge, A. and Almas, R. (2006) Domestic dinner representations and practices of a proper meal among young suburban mothers, *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 6, 203.
- Balfe, M (2007) Diets and discipline: The narratives of practice of university students with type 1 diabetes, *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 29: 1, 136–153.

AQ2

AQ3

AQ4

AQ5

## 174 References

- 1 Barthel, D. (1989) Modernism and marketing: The chocolate box revisited,  
2 *Theory, Culture and Society*, 6: 3, 429–438.
- 3 Baxter, J., Hewitt, B. and Haynes M. (2008) Life course transitions and house-  
4 work: Marriage, parenthood, and time on housework, *Journal of Marriage*  
5 *and Family*, 70, 259–272.
- 6 Beagan, B. and Saunders, S. (2005) Occupations of masculinity: Producing  
7 gender through what men do and don't do, *Journal of Occupational Science*,  
8 12: 3, 161–169.
- 9 Beagan, B., Chapman, G. E., D'Sylva, A. and Bassett, B. R. (2008) 'It's just  
10 easier for me to do It': Rationalizing the family division of foodwork,  
11 *Sociology*, 42: 4, 653–671.
- 12 Beardsworth, A. and Keil, T (1997) *Sociology on the Menu. An Invitation to the*  
13 *Study of Food and Society*, London: Routledge.
- 14 Beck, U. (1992) *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*, London: Sage.
- 15 Beck, U. (2002) The cosmopolitan society and its enemies, *Theory Culture*  
16 *Society*, 19: 1–2, 17–44.
- 17 Beck, U. and Beck-Gernsheim, E. (2002) *Individualization, Institutionalized*  
18 *Individualism and its Social and Political Consequences*, London: Sage.
- 19 Becker, A. E., Burwell, R. A., Gilman, S. E., Herzog, D. B. and Hamburg, P.  
20 (2002) Eating behaviours and attitudes following prolonged exposure to  
21 television among ethnic Fijian adolescent girls, *British Journal of Psychiatry*,  
22 180, 509–514.
- 23 Becker A. E., Fay, K., Gilman, S. and Stiegel-Moore, R. (2007) Facets of  
24 acculturation and their diverse relations to body shape concern in Fiji,  
25 *International Journal of Eating Disorders*, 40: 1, 42–50.
- 26 Beckett, F., Blythman, J., Ehrlich, R., Fort, M., Gluck, M., and Protz, R. (2002)  
27 Nostalgia, *The Guardian*, 29th June 2002, accessed 5/February/2015 [http://](http://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2002/jun/29/foodanddrink.shopping1)  
28 [www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2002/jun/29/foodanddrink.shopping1](http://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2002/jun/29/foodanddrink.shopping1).
- 29 Bendelow, G. (2009) *Health, Emotion and the Body*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- 30 Bennett, T., Savage, M., Silva, E., Warde, A., Gayo-Cal, Modesto, and Wright,  
31 D. (2009) *Culture, Class, Distinction*, London: Routledge.
- 32 Belasco, W. (2008) *Food, the Key Concepts*, Oxford: Berg.
- 33 Bergman, S. (2009) Part-Time Fatso. Sometimes I'm Fat and Sometimes I'm  
34 Not, in Rothblum, W. and Solovay, S. (eds) *The Fat Studies Reader*, New York:  
35 New York University Press.
- 36 Billig, M. (1995) *Banal Nationalism*, London: Sage.
- 37 Bordo, S. (2003) *Reading the Slender Body, Body Politics: Women and the*  
38 *Discourses of Science*, (2nd Ed), London: Routledge.
- 39 Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction, A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*,  
London: Routledge.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986) The Forms of Capital, in J. (ed) *Handbook of Theory and*  
*Research for the Sociology of Education*, New York: Greenwood, pp. 241–258.
- Bourdieu, P. (1996 [1992]) *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary*  
*Field*, Cambridge: Polity.
- Bourdieu, P. (2005) Taste of Luxury, Taste of Necessity, in Korsmyer, C. (ed)  
*The Taste Culture Reader: Experiencing Food and Drink*, New York: Berg.

AQ6

AQ7

- 1 Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. (2002 [1992]) *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*,  
2 Cambridge: Polity.
- 3 Bradley, H. (1996) *Fractured Identities: Changing Patterns of Inequality*,  
4 Cambridge: Polity Press.
- 5 Bradley, H. (2007) *Gender*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- 6 Bradley, H. (2014) Class descriptors or class relations? Thoughts towards a  
7 critique of Savage et al. *Sociology*, June 2014, 48: 3, 429–436.
- 8 Brillat-Savarin, J. A. (1970 [1825]) *The Physiology of Taste*, London: Penguin.
- 9 Budgeon, S. (2014) The dynamics of gender hegemony: Femininities, mascu-  
10 linities and social change, *Sociology*, 48: 2, 317–334.
- 11 Burns, M. (2009) Bodies as (Im)material? Bulimia and Body Image Discourse,  
12 in Malson, H. and Burns, M. (eds) *Critical Feminist Approaches to Eating Dis-  
13 Orders*, London and New York: Routledge.
- 14 Bury, M. R. (1982) Chronic illness as biographical disruption, *Sociology of  
15 Health and Illness*, 4: 2, 167–182.
- 16 Bury, M. R. (2001) Illness narratives: Fact or fiction?, *Sociology of Health and  
17 Illness*, 23: 3, 263–285.
- 18 Butler, J. (1999) *Gender Trouble*, New York: Routledge.
- 19 Cairns, K., Johnston, J. and Baumann, S. (2010) Caring about food: Doing  
20 gender in the foodie kitchen, *Gender and Society*, 24: 5, 591–615.
- 21 Cairns, K. and Johnston, J. (in press) *Food and Femininities*, London:  
22 Bloomsbury.
- 23 Calhoun, C. and Sennett, R. (2007) *Practicing Cultures*, New York: Routledge.
- 24 Caplan, P. (ed) (1997) *Food, Health and Identity*, London: Routledge.
- 25 Carolan, M. (2011) *Embodied Food Politics*, Farnham: Ashgate.
- 26 Carrigan, M., Szmigin, I. and Leek, S. (2006) Managing routine food choices  
27 in UK families: The role of convenience consumption, *Appetite*, 47,  
28 372–383.
- 29 Celnik, D., Gillespie, L. and Lean M. E. J. (2012) Time-scarcity, ready-meals,  
30 ill-health and the obesity epidemic, *Trends in Food Science and Technology*,  
31 27, 4–11.
- 32 Charles, N. and Kerr, M. (1988) *Women, Food and Families*, Manchester:  
33 Manchester University Press.
- 34 Charmaz, K. (2006) *Constructing Grounded Theory*, London: Sage.
- 35 Chernin, K. (1981) *Womanize: The Tyranny of Slenderness*, London: Women's  
36 Press.
- 37 Christakis, N. A. and Fowler, J. H. (2007) The spread of obesity in a large scale  
38 network over 32 years, *The New England Journal of Medicine*, 357: 4, 370–379.
- 39 Clough, P. T. (ed) (2007) *The Affective Turn: Theorizing the Social*, Durham, NC:  
Duke University Press.
- Cohen, S. ([1972] (2011) *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods  
and the Rockers*, Abingdon: Routledge Classics.
- Collinson, M. (1996) In search of the high life: Drugs, crime, masculinities  
and consumption, *British Journal of Criminology*, 36: 3, 428–444.
- Connell, R. W. (1995) *Masculinities*, Oxford: Polity Press.
- Connell, R. W. (2005) *Masculinities* (2nd Ed), Cambridge: Polity Press.



- 1 Counihan, M. (1999) *The Anthropology of Food and Body, Gender, Meaning and*
- 2 *Power*, London: Routledge.
- 3 Coveney, J. (2006) *Food, Morals and Meaning* (2nd Ed), London: Routledge.
- 4 Coveney, J. (2014) *Food*, London and New York: Routledge.
- 5 Coveney, J. and Bunton, R. (2003) In pursuit of the study of pleasure:
- 6 Implications for health research and practice, *Health*, 7: 2, 161–179.
- 7 Crawford, R. (1980) Healthism and the medicalisation of everyday life,
- 8 *International Journal of Health Services*, 10, 365–388.
- 9 Crawford, R. (2000) The ritual of health promotion, in Williams, S., Gabe  
AQ9  
J. and Calnan, M. (eds) *Health, Medicine and Society. Key Theories, Future*  
*Agendas*, London: Routledge.
- 10 Dalley, S. E., Pollet, T. V. and Vidal, J. (2013), Body size and body esteem in
- 11 women: The mediating role of possible self expectancy, *Body Image*, 10: 3,
- 12 411–414.
- 13 Davis, K. (2008) Intersectionality as buzzword: A sociology of science perspec-
- 14 tive on what make a feminist theory successful, *Feminist Theory*, 9: 1, 67–85.
- 15 Dawson, M. (2012) Reviewing the critique of individualization: The disem-
- 16 bedded and embedded theses, *Acta Sociologica*, 55: 4, 305–319.
- 17 Deans, J. (2013) Jamie Oliver bemoans chips, cheese and giant TVs of modern-
- 18 day poverty, *The Guardian*, Tuesday 27th August 2013, Page 3.
- 19 Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F. (1998) *A Thousand Plateaus*, London: Athlone  
Press.
- 20 DeSolier, I. (2013) *Food and the Self: Consumption, Production and material*  
*Culture*, London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- 21 DeVault, M. I. (1991) *Feeding the Family*, London: University of Chicago Press.
- 22 Dixon, J. and Banwell, C. (2004) Heading the table: Parenting and the junior
- 23 consumer, *British Food Journal*, 105: 3, 182–193.
- 24 DOH, (2010) Healthy lives, healthy people: Our strategy for public health
- 25 in England, *HM Government White Paper*, accessed 03/August/2013 [https://](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/216096/dh_127424.pdf)  
26 [www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/216096/dh_127424.pdf)  
[file/216096/dh\\_127424.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/216096/dh_127424.pdf).
- 27 DOH, (2011) Healthy lives, healthy people: A call to action on obesity
- 28 in England, *HM Government*, accessed 03/August/2013 [https://www.gov.](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/213720/dh_130487.pdf)  
29 [uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/213720/](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/213720/dh_130487.pdf)  
[dh\\_130487.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/213720/dh_130487.pdf).
- 30 Doucet, A. (2009) Can men mother – or is mothering essentially female? The
- 31 Vanier institute of the family, *Transitions*, spring, accessed 06/June/2013,  
32 [http://www.andreadoucet.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/Gender-](http://www.andreadoucet.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/Gender-Equality-and-Gender-Differences.pdf)  
33 [Equality-and-Gender-Differences.pdf](http://www.andreadoucet.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/Gender-Equality-and-Gender-Differences.pdf).
- 34 Douglas, M. (1966) *Purity and Danger, An Analysis of Pollution and Taboo*,
- 35 London: Routledge.
- 36 Douglas, M. and Nicod, M. (1974) Taking the biscuit, the structure of British
- 37 meals, *New Sociology*, 19, 744–747.
- 38 Douglas, S. J. and Michaels, M. (2004) *The Mommy Myth: The Idealisation of*  
39 *Motherhood and How it has Undermined All Women*, New York: Free Press.
- Drouard, A. (2007) Chefs, Gourmets and Gourmands, in Freeman, P (eds)  
*Food: The History of Taste*, London: Thames & Hudson, pp. 263–301.

- 1 Duncan, S. and Edwards, R. (1999) *Lone Mothers, Paid Work and Gendered Moral*  
2 *Rationalities*. London: MacMillan.
- 3 Earle, S.E. (2003) Bums and boobs: Fatness and women's experiences of preg-  
4 nancy, *Women's' Studies International Forum*, 26: 3, 245–252.
- 5 Eckerman, L. (2009) Theorising Self-Starvation. Beyond Risk, Governmentality  
6 and the Normalizing Gaze, in Malson, H. and Burns, M. (eds) *Critical*  
7 *Feminist Approaches to Eating Dis/Orders*, London and New York: Routledge.
- 8 Elias, N. (1978) *The History of Manners. The Civilising Process: Volume 1*,  
9 New York: Pantheon Books.
- 10 Erickson, R. J. (2005) Why emotion work matters: Sex, gender and the divi-  
11 sion of household labour, *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 67: 2, 337–351.
- 12 Falk, P. (1991), The Sweetness of Forbidden Fruit, Towards an Anthropology  
13 of Taste, in Fürst, E. L., Prättälä, R., Ekström, M., Holm, L. and Kjaernes, U.  
14 (eds), *Palatable Worlds: Sociocultural Food Studies*, Oslo: Solum Forlag.
- 15 Fawcett Society (2010), [http://www.fawcettsociety.org.uk/index.asp?PageID=](http://www.fawcettsociety.org.uk/index.asp?PageID=37)  
16 [37](http://www.fawcettsociety.org.uk/index.asp?PageID=37), accessed 03/December/2010).
- 17 Fiddes, N. (1991) *Meat a Natural Symbol*, London: Routledge.
- 18 Finch, J. (1984) It's Good to have Someone to Talk to: The Ethics and The  
19 Politics of Interviewing Women, in Bell, C. and Roberts, H. (eds) *Social*  
20 *Researching*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- 21 Finch, J. (2007) Displaying families, *Sociology*, 41: 1, 65–81.
- 22 Fischler, C. (1980) Commensality, food habits, social change and the nature/  
23 culture dilemma, *Social Science Information*, 19: 6, 937–953.
- 24 Fischler, C. (1988) Food, self and identity, *Social Science Information*, 27: 2,  
25 275–292.
- 26 Fischler, C. (2011) Commensality, society and culture, *Social Science*  
27 *Information*, 50: 3–4, 528–548.
- 28 Foucault, M. (1973) *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*,  
29 London: Tavistock.
- 30 Foucault, M. (1977) *Discipline and Punish, The Birth of The Prison*, London:  
31 Penguin.
- 32 Foucault, M. (1979) *The History of Sexuality: Volume 1, An Introduction*, London:  
33 Penguin.
- 34 Foucault, M. (1988) Technologies of the Self, in Martin, L. H., Gutman, H. and  
35 Hutton, P.H. (eds) *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michael Foucault*,  
36 London: Tavistock.
- 37 Foucault, M. (1991) Governmentality, in Burchell, G., Gordon, C. and Miller,  
38 P. (eds) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, Hemel Hempstead:  
39 Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Francis, A. A. (2012) The dynamics of family trouble: Middle-class parents whose  
children have problems, *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 41: 4, 371–401.
- Frank, A. W. (1995) *The Wounded Storyteller: Body, Illness and Ethics*, Chicago:  
Chicago University Press.
- Freeman, P (eds) (2007) *Food: The History of Taste*, London: Thames & Hudson.
- Friedman, S. (2011) The cultural currency of a 'good' sense of humour: British  
comedy and new forms of distinction, *British Journal of Sociology*, 62: 2,  
347–370.

AQ10

AQ11

AQ12

AQ13

- 1 Frost, L. (2001) *Young Women and the Body, A Feminist Sociology*, Basingstoke:  
2 Palgrave MacMillan.
- 3 Gard, M. (2009) Understanding Obesity by Understanding Desire, in Malson,  
4 H. and Burns, M. (eds) *Critical Feminist Approaches to Eating Dis/Orders*,  
5 London and New York: Routledge.
- 6 Geertz, C. (1973) *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Perseus Books.
- 7 Germov, J. and Williams, L. (2004) *Sociology of Food and Nutrition: The Social*  
8 *Appetite* (2nd Ed), Oxford: OUP.
- 9 Gerson, K. (2002) Moral dilemmas, moral strategies, and the transformation  
10 of gender: Lessons from two generations of work and family change. *Gender*  
11 *and Society*, 16, 8–28.
- 12 Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and Self Identity, Self and Society in the Late Modern*  
13 *Age*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- 14 Giddens, A. (1992) *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism*  
15 *in Modern Societies*, Cambridge: Polity.
- 16 Gillis, J. (1997) *A World of Their Own Making, Myth, Ritual and the Quest for*  
17 *Family Values*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- 18 Giovanelli, D. and Ostertag, S. (2009) Controlling the Body, Media  
19 Representations, Body Size and Self Discipline, in Rothblum, E. and Solovay,  
20 S. (eds) *The Fat Studies Reader*, New York: New York University Press.
- 21 Goffman, E. (1959) *The Presentation of the Self in Every Day Life*, London: Penguin.
- 22 Goffman, E. (1963) *Stigma, Notes on the Management of a Spoiled Identity*,  
23 London: Penguin.
- 24 Gough, B. and Conor, M. T. (2006) Barriers to healthy eating amongst men: A  
25 qualitative analysis, *Social Science and Medicine*, 62: 2, 387–395.
- 26 Gough, B. (2006) Try to be healthy, but don't forgo your masculinity:  
27 Deconstructing men's health discourse in the media, *Social Science and*  
28 *Medicine* 63: 9, 2476–2488.
- 29 Gough, B. (2007) Real Men don't diet: An analysis of contemporary newspa-  
30 per representations of men, food and health, *Social Science and Medicine*, 64:  
31 2, 326–337.
- 32 Graham, M. (2005) Chaos, in Kulik, D. and Meneley, A. (eds), *Fat: The*  
33 *Anthropology of an Obsession* New York: London: Tarcher; Penguin.
- 34 Grignon, C. (2001) Commensality and Social Morphology: An Essay, in  
35 Typology, from Scholliers, P. (ed), *Food, Drink & Identity, Cooking, Eating &*  
36 *Drinking in Europe since the Middle Ages*, Oxford: Berg, pp. 23–36.
- 37 Hays, S. (1996) *The Cultural Contradictions of Motherhood*, New Haven, CT: Yale  
38 University Press.
- 39 Heldke, L. (2003) *Exotic Appetites, Ruminations of a Food Adventurer*, London:  
Routledge.
- Herzlich, C. (1973) *Health and Illness*, London: Academic Press.
- Hey, V. and Bradford, S. (2006) Re-engineering motherhood? Surestart in the  
community, *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, 7: 1, 53–67.
- Hickman, M. (2012) End to calorie confusion as standardised food labelling  
system is announced for supermarkets, *The Independent*, 24/October/  
2012, accessed 31/October/2013 <http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/>

AQ14

- 1 food-and-drink/news/end-to-calorie-confusion-as-standardised-food-label-
- 2 ling-system-is-announced-for-supermarkets-8223798.html.
- 3 Hochschild, A. R. (1979) Emotion work, feeling rules and social structure,
- 4 *American Journal of Sociology*, 85: 3, 551–575.
- 5 Hochschild, A. R. (1983) *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human*
- 6 *Feeling*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 7 Hochschild, A. (1997) *The Time Bind. When Work Becomes Home and Home*
- 8 *Becomes Work*, New York: Metropolitan.
- 9 Hochschild, A. R. and Machung, A. (2003) *The Second Shift*, (2nd Ed) London:
- 10 Penguin Books.
- 11 Hollows, J. (2003) Oliver's twist, leisure, labour and domestic masculinity in
- 12 The Naked Chef, *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 6: 2, 229–248.
- 13 Hollows, J. and Jones, S. (2010) At least he's doing something: Moral entre-
- 14 preneurship and individual; responsibility in Jamie's Ministry of Food,
- 15 *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 13, 307–322.
- 16 Howson, A. (2004) *The Body in Society: An Introduction*, Cambridge: Polity
- 17 Press.
- 18 Huppatz, K. (2009) Reworking Bourdieu's 'Capital': Feminine and female capi-
- 19 tals in the field of paid caring work, *Sociology*, 43: 1, 45–66.
- 20 Inckle, K. (2007) *Writing on the Body? Thinking through Gendered Embodiment of*
- 21 *the Marked Flesh*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- 22 Jabs, J. and Devine, C. (2006) Time-scarcity and food-choices: An overview,
- 23 *Appetite*, 47: 2, 196–204.
- 24 Jackson, P. (eds) (2009) *Changing Families, Changing Food*, London: Palgrave
- 25 MacMillan.
- 26 Jallinoja, P., Pajari, P. and Absetz, P. (2010) Negotiated pleasures in health-
- 27 seeking lifestyles of participants of a health promoting intervention, *Health*
- 28 *(London)*, 14: 2, 115–130.
- 29 Jallinoja, R. and Widmer, E. D. (eds) (2011) *Families and Kinship in Contemporary*
- 30 *Europe: Rules and Practices of Relatedness*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- 31 James, A. (2010) Children's Food: Reflections on Politics, Policy and Practices,
- 32 BSA Food Studies Conference, London, accessed 3/December/2013. [http://](http://www.britsoc.co.uk/media/24962/AllisonJames.ppt)
- 33 [www.britsoc.co.uk/media/24962/AllisonJames.ppt](http://www.britsoc.co.uk/media/24962/AllisonJames.ppt).
- 34 James, A., Curtis, P. and Ellis, K. (2009a) Negotiating Family, Negotiating
- 35 Food: Children as Family Participants?, in James, A., Trine Kjørholt, A.
- 36 and Tingstad, V. (eds) *Children, Food and Identity in Everyday Life*, London:
- 37 Palgrave MacMillan, pp. 35–52.
- 38 James, A. Trine Kjørholt, and A. Tingstad, V. (eds) (2009b) *Children, Food and*
- 39 *Identity in Everyday Life*, London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- 40 Jarvis, A-A. (2011), How Britain Fell Back in Love with Baking, Independent4/
- 41 October/2011, accessed 23/January/14 [http://www.independent.co.uk/](http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/food-and-drink/features/how-britain-fell-back-in-love-with-baking-2365082.html)
- 42 [life-style/food-and-drink/features/how-britain-fell-back-in-love-with-bak-](http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/food-and-drink/features/how-britain-fell-back-in-love-with-baking-2365082.html)
- 43 [ing-2365082.html](http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/food-and-drink/features/how-britain-fell-back-in-love-with-baking-2365082.html).
- 44 Johansson, B, Ossiansson, E., Dreas, J. A. and Märlid, S, (2013) Proper food
- 45 and a tight budget, German and Swedish parents reflecting on children,
- 46 *Food and Health, Food, Culture and Society*, 16: 3, 457–477.

- 1 Johnston, J. and Baumann, S. (2010) *Foodies, Democracy and Distinction in the*
- 2 *Gourmet Kitchen*, London: Routledge.
- 3 Jutel, A. (2005) Weighing health: The moral burden of obesity, *Social Semiotics*,
- 4 15: 2, 113–125.
- 5 Kauffman, J. C. (2010) *The Meaning of Cooking*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- 6 Kemmer, D. (2000) Tradition and change in domestic roles and food prepara-
- 7 tion, *Sociology*, 34: 2, 323–333.
- 8 Kennedy, P. and Kennedy, C.A. (2010) *Using Theory to Explore Health, Medicine*
- 9 *and Society*, Bristol: Polity Press.
- 10 Kolata, G. (2007) *Rethinking Thin. The New Science of Weight Loss – and the*
- 11 *Myths and Realities of Dieting*, New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux.
- 12 Kozinets, R. V. (2010) *Netnography, Doing Ethnographic Research Online*,
- 13 London: Sage.
- 14 Kulick, D. and Meneley, A. (2005) *Fat The Anthropology of an Obsession*, New
- 15 York: Jeremy P. Tarcher/Penguin.
- 16 Lareau, A. (2003) *Unequal Childhoods: Class, Race and Family Life*, Berkeley, CA:
- 17 University of California Press.
- 18 Lawler, S. (2008) *Identity: Sociological Perspectives*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- 19 LeBesco, K. (2001) Queering Fat Bodies/Politics, in Braziel, J. E. and LeBesco,
- 20 K. (eds) *Bodies Out Of Bounds, Fatness and Transgression*, London: University
- 21 of California Press.
- 22 LeBesco, K. (2009) Weight Management, Good Health and the Will to
- 23 Normality, in Malson, H. and Burns, M. (eds) *Critical Feminist Approaches to*
- 24 *Eating Dis/Orders*, London and New York: Routledge.
- 25 Letherby, G. (2003) *Feminist Research in Theory and Practice*, Buckingham:
- 26 Open University Press.
- 27 Letherby, G. and Zdrodowski, D. (1995) 'Dear researcher', the use of cor-
- 28 respondence as a method within feminist qualitative research, *Gender and*
- 29 *Society*, 9: 5, 576–593.
- 30 Levi-Strauss, C. (1969) *The Raw and the Cooked*, London: Jonathan Cape.
- 31 Lewis, J. (2007) Gender ageing and the 'new social settlement': The impor-
- 32 tance of developing a holistic approach to care politics, *Current Sociology*,
- 33 55: 2, 271–286.
- 34 Little, J., Llbery, B. and Watts, D. (2009) Gender, consumption and the re-
- 35 localisation of food: A research agenda, *Sociologia Ruralis*, 49: 3, 201–217.
- 36 Littler, J. (2013) The rise of the 'Yummy Mummy': Popular conservatism and
- 37 the neoliberal maternal in contemporary British culture, *Communication,*
- 38 *Culture & Critique*, 6: 2, 227–243.
- 39 Lowenberg, J. and Davis, F. (1994) Beyond medicalisation-demmedicalisation:
- The case of holistic health, *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 16: 5, 579–599.
- Luke ([1611], 2013) King James Bible, 'Authorized Version', Cambridge
- Edition, accessed 03/11/2013, <http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/Luke-12-19/>.
- Lupton, D. (1996) *Food, the Body and the Self*, London: Sage.
- Lupton, D. (1998) *The Emotional Self*, London: Sage.
- Lupton, D. (2000) The heart of the meal: Food preferences amongst rural
- Australian couples, *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 22:1, 94–109.

AQ15

AQ16

- 1 Lupton, D. (2005) Lay Discourses and beliefs related to food risks: An  
2 Australian perspective, *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 27: 4, 448–467.
- 3 Lupton, D. (2013) *Fat*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- 4 Lynch, K. (2007) Love labour as a distinct form of non-comodifiable form of  
5 labour care, *The Sociological Review*, 55: 3, 550–570.
- 6 Malson, H. (1998) *The Thin Woman: Feminism, Post-Structuralism and the Social*  
7 *Psychology of Anorexia Nervosa*, London: Routledge.
- 8 Malson, H. (2007) Deconstructing Un/Healthy Body-Weight and Weight  
9 Management, in Riley, S. Burns, M., Frith, H., Wiggins, S. and Markula,  
10 P. (eds) *Critical Bodies: Representations, Identities and Practices of Weight*  
11 *Management*, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- 12 Malson, H. and Burns, M. (eds) (2009) *Critical Feminist Approaches to Eating*  
13 *Dis/Orders*, London and New York: Routledge.
- 14 Malson, H., Schmidt, U. and Humfress, S. (2006) Between paternalism and  
15 neo-liberalism regulation: Producing motivated clients of psychotherapy,  
16 *International Journal of Critical Psychology*, 18: 4, 107–135. MarketLine (2013)  
17 United Kingdom, Ready Meals, The Grocer, accessed 06/August/2013,  
18 [http://www.thegrocer.co.uk/reports/third-party-reports/united-kingdom-](http://www.thegrocer.co.uk/reports/third-party-reports/united-kingdom-ready-meals/348106.article)  
19 [ready-meals/348106.article](http://www.thegrocer.co.uk/reports/third-party-reports/united-kingdom-ready-meals/348106.article).
- 20 Marmot, M. and Bell, R. (2012) Fair society, healthy lives, *Public Health* 126,  
21 S4–S10.
- 22 Mauss, M. ([1922]1990) *The Gift: Forms And Functions Of Exchange in Archaic*  
23 *Societies*, London: Routledge.
- 24 Meadow, M. and Weiss, L. (1992) *Women's Conflicts about Eating and Sexuality:*  
25 *The Relationship between Food and Sex*, New York: The Haworth Press.
- 26 McKie, L., Gregory, S. and Bowlby, S. (2002) Shadow times: The temporal and  
27 spatial frameworks and experiences of caring and working, *Sociology*, 36: 4,  
28 897–924.
- 29 McIntosh, W. A. and Zey, M. (1989) Women as gatekeepers of food consump-  
30 tion: A sociological critique, *Food and Foodways*, 3: 4, 317–332.
- 31 McRobbie, A. (2008) *Gender Culture and Social Change: In the Aftermath of*  
32 *Feminism*. London: Sage.
- 33 Meah, A. and Jackson, P. (2013) Crowded kitchens: The 'democratisation' of  
34 domesticity?, *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 20:  
35 3, 578–596.
- 36 Meah, A. and Watson, W. (2011) Saints and slackers: Challenging discourses  
37 about the decline of domestic cooking, *Sociological Research Online*, 16: 2,  
38 unpaginated, <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/16/2/6.html>.
- 39 Meah, A. and Watson, W. (2013) Cooking up consumer anxieties about  
'Provenance' and 'Ethics' in *Food, Culture and Society*, 16: 3, 495–513.
- Mennell, S. (1985) *All Manners of Food*, Blackwell: Oxford.
- Michelin, (2014) *Michelin Guide Great Britain and Ireland, Hotels and Restaurants*,  
London: Michelin Travel Publications
- Mills, C. W. (1959) *The Sociological Imagination*, London: Penguin.
- Mintz, S. (1985) *Sweetness and Power*, United States: Viking Penguin.
- Miriam Webster Dictionary (2014) Miriam Webster Dictionary online, accessed  
10/November/2014) <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/gastronomy>.



- 1 Moore, S. E. H. (2010) Is the healthy body gendered? Toward a feminist cri-  
2 tique of the new paradigm of health, *Body and Society*, 16: 2, 95–118.
- 3 Monaghan, L. F. (2007) McDonaldizing men's bodies? Slimming, associated  
4 (ir)rationalities and resistances, *Body and Society*, 7: 13, 67–93.
- 5 Moran, C. (2011) *How to be a Woman*, Croydon: Ebury Press, Random House.
- 6 Morgan, D. (1996) *An Introduction to Family Studies*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- 7 Morgan, D. (1998) Sociological Imaginations and imagining sociologies:  
8 Bodies, auto/biographies and other mysteries, *Sociology*, 32: 4, 647–663.
- 9 Morgan, D. (2011) *Rethinking Family Practices*, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- 10 Mosio, R., Arnould, E. and Price, L. (2004) Between mothers and markets,  
11 constructing family identity through homemade food, *Journal of Consumer*  
12 *Culture*, 4: 2, 361–384.
- 13 Murcott, A. (1982) On the social significance of the cooked dinner in South  
14 Wales, *Social Science Information*, 21: 4, 677–696.
- 15 Murcott, A. (1983) It's a Pleasure to Cook for Him...: Food, Mealtimes and  
16 Gender in some South Wales Households, in Gamarnikow, E., Morgan,  
17 D., Purvis, J. and Taylorson, D. (eds) *The Public and the Private*, London:  
18 Heineman.
- 19 Murcott, A. (1995) Raw, Cooked and Proper Meals at Home, in Marshall, D.  
20 (ed) *Food Choice And The Consumer*, Glasgow: Blackie Academic Publications.
- 21 Murcott, A. (1997) Family Meals, a Thing of the Past, in Caplan, P. (ed) *Food,*  
22 *Health and Identity*, London: Routledge.
- 23 Murcott, A. (eds) (1998), *The Nation's Diet, the Social Science of Food Choice*,  
24 Harlow: Longman.
- 25 Murcott, A. (2000) Is it still a pleasure to cook for him? Social changes in the  
26 household and the family, *Journal of Consumer Studies and Home Economics*,  
27 24: 2, 78–84.
- 28 Murray, S. (2008) *The 'Fat' Female Body*, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- 29 Naccarato, P. and LeBesco, K. (2012) *Culinary Capital*, London: Berg.
- 30 Nash, J. C. (2008) Re-thinking intersectionality, *Feminist Review*, 89, 1–15.
- 31 Nath, J. (2011) Gendered fare?: A qualitative investigation of alternative food  
32 and masculinities, *Journal of Sociology*, 47: 3, 261–278.
- 33 Negra, D. (2009). *What a Girl Wants? Reclamation of the Self in Post-Feminism*,  
34 London, England: Routledge.
- 35 Nettleton, S. (2006) *The Sociology of Health And Illness* (2nd Edition),  
36 Cambridge: Polity Press.
- 37 Nettleton, S., Woods, B., Burrows, R. and Kerr, A. (2010) Experiencing food  
38 allergy and food intolerance, an analysis of lay accounts, *Sociology*, 44: 2,  
39 289–305.
- 40 Oakley, A. (1981) Interviewing Women: A Contradiction in Terms, in Roberts,  
41 H. (ed) *Doing Feminist Research*, London: Routledge.
- 42 Oakley, A. (1992) *Social Support and Motherhood*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- 43 O'Brien Hallstein, L. (2010) *White Feminists and Contemporary Maternity:*  
44 *Purging Matrophobia*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- 45 O'Reilly, A. (2004) *Mother Outlaws: Theories and Practices of Empowered*  
46 *Mothering*, Toronto: Canada Women's Press.
- 47 Orbach, (1982) *Fat is a Feminist Issue II*, London: Arrow Books.

AQ17

AQ18

AQ19

AQ20

- 1 Pajari, P., Jallinoja P. and Absetz, P. (2006) Negotiating over self-control and  
2 activity: An analysis of balancing in the repertoires of Finnish healthy life-  
3 style. *Social Science and Medicine*, 62: 10, 2601–2611.
- 4 Parsons, J. M. (2014a) Cheese and chips out of styrofoam containers: An  
5 exploration of taste and cultural symbols of appropriate family foodways,  
6 *A Journal of Media and Culture*, 17 – ‘taste’, [http://journal.media-culture.org.  
au/index.php/mcjournal/article/viewArticle/766](http://journal.media-culture.org.au/index.php/mcjournal/article/viewArticle/766).
- 7 Parsons, J. M. (2014b) When convenience is inconvenient, ‘healthy’ family  
8 foodways and the persistent intersectionalities of gender and class, *Journal  
9 of Gender Studies*, published online 20 December, pp. 1–16, [http://dx.doi.org  
/10.1080/09589236.2014.987656](http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2014.987656).
- 10 Parsons, T. ([1951], 1991) *The Social System*, London: Routledge.
- 11 Petersen, A. (2007) *The Body in Question, A Socio-Cultural Approach*, London:  
12 Routledge.
- 13 Petersen, A. and Bunton, R. (1997) *Foucault, Health and Medicine*, Abingdon:  
14 Routledge.
- 15 Peterson, R. A. and Kern, R. M. (1996) Changing highbrow taste: From snob  
16 to omnivore, *American Sociological Review*, 61: 5, 900–909.
- 17 Pollan, M. (2013) *Cooked, a Natural History of Transformation*, New York:  
18 Penguin.
- 19 Poulain J-P (2002) The contemporary diet in France: ‘De-structuration’ or  
20 from commensalism to ‘vagabond feeding’, *Appetite*, 39: 1, 43–55.
- 21 Puwar, N. (2004) *Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place*, Oxford  
22 and NewYork: Berg.
- 23 Ratna, A. (2013) ‘Intersectional plays of identity: The experiences of British  
24 Asian female footballers, *Sociological Research Online*, 18: 1, 13.
- 25 Reay, D. (2004) Gendering Bourdieu’s Concept of Capitals? Emotional Capital,  
26 Women and Social Class, in Adkins, L. and Skeggs, B. (eds) *Feminism After  
27 Bourdieu*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- 28 Reckwitz, A. (2002) The status of the ‘Material’ in theories of culture: From  
29 ‘Social Structure’ to ‘Artefacts’, *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 32:  
30 2, 195–217.
- 31 Rich, A. (1986) *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution*, (2nd  
32 Edition), New York: Norton.
- 33 Richardson, L. (1997) *Fields of Play, Constructing an Academic Life*, New  
34 Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- 35 Riley, S., Burns, M., Frith, H., Wiggins, S. and Markula, P. (2007) (eds)  
36 *Critical Bodies: Representations, Identities and Practices of Weight Management*,  
37 Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- 38 Ringrose, J. and Walkerdine. V. (2008) Regulating the abject, *Feminist Media  
39 Studies*, 8: 3, 227–246.
- Risman, B. J. (2004). Gender as social structure: Theory wrestling with activ-  
ism, *Gender and Society*, 18, 429–450.
- Robertson, S. (2007) *Understanding Men and Health*, OUP: Maidenhead.
- Robinson, B. K. and Hunter, E. (2008), Is mom still doing it II? Re-examining  
Depictions of Family Work in Popular dvertising, *Journal of Family Issues*,  
29: 4, 465–486.

AQ21

AQ22



- 1 Rothblum, E. D. and Solovay, S. (eds) (2009) *The Fat Studies Reader*, New York:  
2 New York University Press.
- 3 Rousseau, S. (2012) *Food Media, Celebrity Chefs and the Politics of Everyday*  
4 *Interference*, London: Berg.
- 5 Ruppel-Shell, E. (2002) *Fatwars: The Inside Story of the Obesity Industry*,  
6 London, Atlantic Books.
- 7 Saguy, A. C. (2013) *What's Wrong with Fat?*, New York: Oxford University  
8 Press.
- 9 Sassatelli, R. (2001) Tamed Hedonism: Choice, Desires and Deviant Pleasure,  
10 in Gronow, J. and Warde, A. (eds) *Ordinary Consumption*. London: Routledge.
- 11 Savage, M. and Silva, E.B. (2013) Field analysis in cultural sociology, *Cultural*  
12 *Sociology*, 7: 2, 111–126.
- 13 Savage, M., Devine, F., Cunningham, N., Taylor, M., Li, Y., Hjellbrekke, J., Le  
14 Roux, B., Friedman, S. and Miles, A. (2013) A New Model of Social Class?  
15 Findings from the BBC's Great British Class Survey Experiment. *Sociology*,  
16 47: 2, 219–250.
- 17 Schippers, M. (2007) Recovering the feminine other; Masculinity, femininity  
18 and gender hegemony, *Theoretical Sociology*, 36: 1, 85–102.
- 19 Scott, S. (2009) *Making Sense of Everyday Life*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- 20 Senn, M. and Elhardt, C. (2014) Bourdieu and the bomb: Power, language  
21 and the doxic battle over the value of nuclear weapons, *European Journal of*  
22 *International Relations*, 20: 2, 316–340.
- 23 Seymour, R. (2013) 'Austerity cooking' has been hijacked by the moralis-  
24 ers, *The Guardian.com*, published online 28th August 2013, accessed 28/  
25 August/2013 [http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/aug/28/](http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/aug/28/austerity-cooking-jack-monroe-hijacked-moralisers)  
26 [austerity-cooking-jack-monroe-hijacked-moralisers](http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/aug/28/austerity-cooking-jack-monroe-hijacked-moralisers).
- 27 Shirani, F., Henwood, K. and Coltart C. (2012) Meeting the challenges of  
28 intensive parenting culture: Gender, risk, management and the moral  
29 parent, *Sociology*, 46: 1, 25–40.
- 30 Short, F. (2006) *Kitchen Secrets: The Meaning of Cooking in Everyday Life*, Oxford:  
31 Berg.
- 32 Singh-Manoux, A. Marmot, M. (2005) Role of socialization in explaining  
33 social inequalities in health, *Social Science and Medicine*, 60: 9, 2129–2133.
- 34 Skeggs, B. (1997) *Formations of Class and Gender*, London: Sage.
- 35 Skeggs, B. (2004a) *Class, Self and Culture*, London: Routledge.
- 36 Skeggs, B. (2004b) Introducing Pierre Bourdieu's Analysis of Class, Gender  
37 and Sexuality, in Adkins, L. and Skeggs, B. (eds) *Feminism after Bourdieu*,  
38 Oxford: Blackwell.
- 39 Skeggs, B. (2005) The Making of class and gender through visualizing moral  
subject formation, *Sociology*, 39: 5, 965–982.
- Slater, D. and Ritzer, G. (2001) Interview with Ulrich Beck, *Journal of Consumer*  
*Culture*, 1: 2, 261–277.
- Squire, S. (2002) The personal and the political: Writing the theorist's body,  
*Australian Journal of Feminist Studies*, 17: 37, 55–64.
- Stanley, L. (2004) The epistolarium: On theorising letters and correspond-  
ences', *Auto/Biography*, 12: 1, 216–250.

AQ23

AQ24

- Stanley, L. and Morgan, D. (1993) On auto/biography in sociology, *Sociology*, 27: 1, 41–52.
- Sutton, D. (2001) *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory*, Oxford: Berg.
- Szabo, M. (2013) Foodwork or foodplay? Men's domestic cooking, privilege and leisure, *Sociology*, 47: 4, 623–638.
- Tamboukou, M. (2010a) *In the Fold between Power and Desire: Women Artists' Narratives*, Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Tamboukou, M. (2010b) *Nomadic Narratives, Visual Forces, Gwen John's Letters and Paintings*, New York: Peter Lang Publishing.
- Taylor, Y. (2012) *Fitting into Place? Class and Gender Geographies and Temporalities*, Farnham: Ashgate.
- Turner, B. S. (1987) *Medical Power and Social Knowledge*, London: Sage.
- Turner, B. S. (2008) *The Body and Society*, (3rd Edition), London: Sage.
- Tyler, I. (2008) 'Chav mum, Chav scum': Class disgust in contemporary Britain, *Feminist Media Studies*, 8: 2, 17–34.
- Vincent C. and Ball, S. J. (2007) 'Making up' the middle-class child: Families, activities and class dispositions, *Sociology*, 41: 6, 1061–1077.
- Visser, M. (1991) *The Rituals of Dinner*, New York: Penguin.
- Walby, S. (1990) *Theorising Patriarchy*, Oxford: Blackwell Press.
- Waley-Cohen, J. (2007) The Quest for Perfect Balance, in Freeman, P (eds) *Food: The History of Taste*, London: Thames & Hudson, pp. 99–135.
- Wann, M. (2009) Foreword, Fat Studies: An Invitation to Revolution, in Rothblum, W. and Solovay, S. (eds) *The Fat Studies Reader*, New York: New York University Press.
- Warde, A. (1997) *Consumption, Food and Taste*, London: Sage.
- Warde, A. (2011) Cultural hostility re-considered, *Cultural Sociology*, 5: 3, 341–366.
- Warde, A., Cheng S., Olsen W. and Southerton, D. (2007b) Changes in the practice of eating: A comparative analysis of time-use, *Acta Sociologica*, 50: 4, 363–385.
- Warde, A., Wright, D. and Gayo-Cal, M. (2007), Understanding cultural omnivorousness: Or the myth of the cultural omnivore, *Cultural Sociology*, 1: 2, 143–164.
- Wardrop, M. (2009) 'Kate moss: Nothing tastes as good as skinny feels', *Telegraph*, 19/November/2009, accessed 23/January/2013 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/celebritynews/6602430/Kate-Moss-Nothing-tastes-as-good-as-skinny-feels.html>.
- Warin, M., Turner, K., Moore, V. and Davies, M. (2008) Bodies, mothers and identities: Rethinking obesity and the BMI, *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 30: 1, 97–111.
- Weir, A. (2010) *The Real Me is Thin*, London, Fourth Estate.
- West, C. and Zimmerman D. H. (1987) Doing gender, *Gender and Society*, 1: 2, 125–151.
- West, C. and Zimmerman, D. H. (2009) Accounting for doing gender, *Gender and Society* 23: 1: 112–122.

AQ25

- 1 Wetherell, M. (2012) *Affect And Emotion, A New Social Science Understanding*,  
2 London: Sage.  
3 Whitehead, S. (2002) *Men and Masculinities*, Cambridge: Polity.  
4 Wills, W., Backett-Milburn, K., Lawton, J. and Roberts M. L. (2009) Consuming  
5 Fast Food: The Perceptions and Practices of Middle Class Teenagers, in  
6 James, A., Trine Kjørholt, A. and Tingstad, V. (eds) *Children, Food and Identity*  
7 *in Everyday Life*, London, Palgrave MacMillan.  
8 Winterman, D. (2013) The Rise of the Ready Meal, *BBC News Magazine*,  
9 16/February/2013, accessed 23/January/2015 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-21443166>.

AQ26