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PEOPLE MOVING WITH FOOD:
Food, migration and multiculturalism

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➤ From Naples to Nässjö - how pizza came to Sweden

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The presentation builds upon a chapter in my doctoral thesis “Life and work in the pizza trade”. In this chapter I focus on three related questions: How does pizza (the dish) come to Sweden? What similarities, differences and connections are there in relation to the two “home countries” of pizza: Italy and USA? How can we account for the establishment and growth of the trade in Sweden, and what conclusions can be drawn about its development up until today? The data used to answer these questions is varied. I use previously published reports, mainly journalistic and popular scientific articles and books, but also historical records in the form of trade journals published during the 1960s-1970s. The empirical analysis shows both parallels and dissimilarities between the pizza’s history in Sweden as compared to Italy and the US. In these three countries we find, in varying degree and balance, two main forms of pizza and forms of production: 1) the traditional artisanal pizza produced within the framework of self-employment and independent small business organizations and 2) the standardized pizza produced within the framework of industrial logics of production and distribution. During the early 1970s pizza in Sweden is spread and produced under the first form. The trade is still very much a small business trade consisting of numerous independent entrepreneurs. This is one of three interesting and related characteristics of the trade in Sweden. The second one is that pizza is a dish with its own organizational form: the pizzeria. When the dish got established as part of Swedes’ eating out habits, it did so by introducing a new and more informal restaurant experience. During the 1970s numerous of locales are turned into pizzerias with a certain style and interior, creating a new kind of orientation and ambiance, difficult to follow or copy for established restaurants at the time. The third characteristic is that pizza is an immigrant niche. Because of an inflow of migrants during the second half of the 1900s (both labour migrants and refugees) there were – and still are – people with the skills and motivations to start and run pizzerias. In Sweden the traditional pizza and small scale production was – thanks to these immigrants – “first in place”, making it difficult for companies like Pizza Hut and Domino’s to establish outlets in Sweden. However, today the pizza trade in Sweden could be seen as an interesting example of how self-employment and small scale production are heavily challenged by industrial logics of production on the one hand; and showing resilience and survivability against the same forces, on the other.

➤ Using food culture and heritage in a new context - a study on immigrating food entrepreneurs

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An interest in small-scale food production has emerged in many regions of Sweden (Rytkönen, Bonow & Wramner, 2013). The products in specific regions are linked to their origin and authenticity since they stem from a site-specific tradition, e.g. terroir (van Leeuwen, Roby, Pernet and Bois, 2010) that is older than the industrialized food production (Nygård and Wramner, 2013). Related to the idea of terroir is the concept of patrimonisation that has become popular in parts of Europe with a movement of small-scale local food production, getting away from globalization, centralization and industrialization and instead focusing on food without additives and substitutes. Patrimonisation expresses the wish to preserve a rural landscape and traditional food products connected to a local heritage (Gade, 2004). Since local lay knowledge of how to grow food and local food culture have been largely lost, it is through the experience of small-scale food producers, their practical hands-on expertise and adapting expert knowledge to local conditions, that some of the knowledge can be rebuilt (Fonte, 2008). This knowledge is found in our case studies focusing on foreign food entrepreneurs moving to Sweden. The geographical region in which a person is born and raised will permanently influence that person's view of itself and this regional imprint remains when the person moves to a new location (Nygård and Wramner, 2013).

Our research interest is to understand how patrimonisation is shaping food entrepreneurs when moved to a different location.

We have studied two immigrated rural entrepreneurs interested in small-scale food production and community development; the Charcuterie farm entrepreneurs from Germany and the Goat farm entrepreneurs from Switzerland. The charcuterie products are produced by German handcrafted manufacturing methods and given German names but locally produced in Halland, Sweden. So, the locally produced charcuterie is sold with a German geographical identity i.e. terroir since the production is based on the owners self-educated knowledge of the German craftsmanship and quality standards. The regional imprint then remains even when moving to a new location (Nygård and Wramner, 2013). The reason for the owners of the Charcuterie farm to start a charcuterie in Sweden was due to weaker legislation for producing charcuterie and that the Swedish farm prices were very attractive. Attractive prices were also an important reason for the Swiss family to buy a Goat farm in Sweden. The Goat farm is primarily producing goat milk that is sold locally to a Cheese farm that they work closely with. For instance, the cheese farm is offering "genuine Swiss cheese fondue". The Swiss find it interesting that goat meat is not a delicacy in Sweden and express an interest in making use of the goat meat, instead of what is common in Sweden, discarding it or selling to dog-food producers.

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➤ **Pupils moving with food in integrated public school foodscapes – how can this contribute to integration and inclusion? Results from LOMA case study.**

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This paper presents results from research in the integrated school foodscape: ‘LOMA-local food’ project (LOMA). LOMA was conducted in 6 schools in four municipalities in Denmark from 2015-2017. LOMA applied a wholeschool approach and a local perspective on food, learning, health and well-being. The integrated school foodscape is regarded as the physical, organizational and sociocultural space in which pupils participate in meals, cooking, food related curriculum and encounter food messages - including health and sustainability messages. The research question focused on how pupils from primary and secondary school developed food- and health related action competence, when they participated in the integrated LOMA school foodscape. A special focus was directed to the question, whether LOMA promotes integration and inclusion of pupils with other ethnic background than Danish. The interdisciplinary conceptual framework included theory and methods from food-studies, children and youth studies, educational studies, health promoting schools and alternative food geography. Results from the mixed methods research design indicated that LOMA promoted inclusion and integration. Furthermore, that the positive results were related to a number of factors in the LOMA school foodscape. Especially, teachers’ facilitation of teaching processes that emphasize pupils’ democratic participation, influence, cooperation and empowerment in cooking school food. Via these processes pupils’ seemed to learn ‘through food’ in a way that promoted inclusion and integration among ethnic Danish pupils and pupils with other ethnic backgrounds. Teachers’ reported, that LOMA seem to reduce tension and promote wellbeing among all pupils and thus it contributes to an improved learning environment for all pupils. These results may have implications both for practice in Danish schools and for research in Danish School food systems.

➤ The importance of the drink for the meal – an introspective study among immigrant adolescents

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The meal is deeply embedded in culture and it carries a multitude of meanings. It is eaten in isolation or in a group, and it can be eaten around a table or while moving. One part of the meal consists of the drink. The focus in this paper will be on the importance of the drink.

The role that the drink plays for the meal has become more in focus recently (Länsstyrelsen i Jönköping, 2015). When a meal is composed the drink is equally important as the food. Several studies show that children and adolescents are influencing food choices to a higher degree than before (e.g. Bassett et al., 2008; Wilson & Wood, 2004), a phenomenon often referred to as “parental yielding” (Carlson et al., 1994). One of the fastest growing marketing segments is the child consumer (Wilson & Woods, 2004).

When adolescents choose what food to consume there are certain aspects that are of importance: taste, familiarity/habit, health, dieting and fillingness. For adolescents the meal is especially important since the food choices made will lay the ground for future health aspects. The food choice process for most adolescents seem to involve cognitive self-regulation where conflicting values for food choices are integrated and brought into alignment with desired consequences (Contento et al., 2006). This means that one healthy food choice can compensate for an unhealthy choice.

A previous study shows that adolescents rarely engage in deep discussions (Bissonnette & Contento, 2001). Therefore, the method in this study has been to instruct informants to write introspective essays. At present, the empirical data consists of 50 written introspective essays from students in urban areas. This paper will present results from these essays, with a focus on the essays written by immigrant adolescents.

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➤ Exchange students and their experience with food

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This study is a result of a one year long fieldwork among young international exchange students, living in Norway for one year. The students stayed in host families and attended secondary school. The purpose of the study was to gain better knowledge of the exchange students everyday life in a Norwegian context. Identifying central components in the exchange experiences as seen from the students' perspective is important in evaluation and design of future programmes.

During this fieldwork food emerged as a central issue in the students everyday life. As a result, I started to follow food as a methodological and analytical tool in exploring the relation between food and exchange students overall experiences in the Norwegian context.

Food and food practices are traditionally seen as a natural and trivial part of everyday life. However this study shows that food and eating practices play a very important role in dealing with the transition to a new family, a foreign country, a new school and in making new friends. Furthermore the study shows how international exchange students gain deeper insight into a complex society, its history, customs, values and language through interpretation of food and eating practices. Such practices are also negotiated in relation to individual and national identities during their stay in Norway.

The study is based on 3 different everyday life situations connected to food and eating practices: Firstly; the Norwegian packed lunch, *matpakke*, secondly; everyday and holiday meals in the host family or with friends, and finally; the international dinners where the students cook and share authentic dishes from their home countries.

Young students living as sons or daughters in a Norwegian host family and attending school in ordinary classes gain excellent access to the Norwegian sociocultural community. Their outside glance serves as an interesting window into the Norwegian society.

Keyword: Exchange student, food, sociocultural, school, family, friends, identity, language

➤ Frikadeller or phat thai? Food preferences among older people in Copenhagen

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Historical studies of cookbooks and food consumption patterns show that Danish consumers continuously had access to and integrated new types of products and cuisines in their everyday eating habits during the 20th and 21st century. (See Nyvang) Quantitative studies of the nutritional intake of the Danish population as well as the overall age- and gender- consumption of food product types (e.g. vegetables, meat etc.) has been conducted at regular intervals in the survey series which at the present is called the Danish National Survey of Dietary Habits and Physical Activity (DANSDA) since 1985. Few studies have however investigated which kinds of dishes and which kinds of foreign cuisines are eaten and preferred by different age or life stage segments.

In this presentation I investigate which kinds of foods and dishes 100 healthy home dwelling Danish elderly people age 65+ living around or in Copenhagen prefer to eat and how/if these preferences are connected to previous lifestyle changes and personal reasons for choosing and buying food (i.e. economy, organic, health, tasty). The purpose is to investigate to which degree foreign cuisines and dishes have been incorporated into the everyday eating habits and practices of older people in Denmark. The study is based on screening interviews and a quantitative questionnaire containing a range of structured and unstructured questions about food preferences, life trajectory and protein perceptions and preferences. Both interviews and questionnaires are part of the data generated by the interdisciplinary research project Counteracting Age-related Loss of skeletal Muscle mass (CALM), one of the UCPH-2016 programmes of excellence at the University of Copenhagen.

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➤ Recipes crossing frontiers - with people and in books

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How is a dish (recipe) transformed when it crosses a frontier? If it changes, what is kept, what is eliminated, what is added, what is substituted?

This paper looks at two dishes imported to Norway, the American doughnut and the Spanish bacalao, and one dish imported to Sweden, the Turkish dolma. What happened to these dishes when they were integrated in the respective countries, and why did they not become a part of the cuisine in the other Nordic countries.

Is there a difference between dishes brought to one country from another by persons (migrants) and dishes based on recipes in translated cookbooks?

Are cookbooks reliable sources to the origin and historic development of regional, national and international dishes?

And what about the influence from international fast food companies, moving across borders independently of both migrants and cookbooks?

➤ **Inheriting your ancestor's diasporic food culture—
A planned project how Swedish fourth and fifth generation emigrants in
USA relate to their ancestor's former Swedish food culture**

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Culture is both something that we create in one place but also carry with us into a new life circumstance or at new living spaces. In that case the cuisine and food culture is no different from other cultural expressions. It can be carried as a portable value and re-created at a new location or in a new situation and setting. Examples of this are how we move our childhood food culture through life, from the time when we leave home and to the situation when we form a new family and until old age.

During the late 1800s and 1900s around 1.2 million Swedes emigrated to the US to seek new opportunities in life. The group was large and covered almost 25% of the Swedish population. Today there are more than 4 million ancestors to these immigrants and who have roots to a completely different Swedish society 100-150 years ago. The research question deals with the question how fourth or fifth generation ancestors can reproduce a Swedish food culture which originated several generations ago, and when it today has to be expressed in relation to other international food culture expressions. What is repeated when it's no longer possible to buy the food stuff that was used a long time ago and how are old dishes transformed to contemporary food expression without losing its history? What does food culture as a carrier of historic values mean to people today? Another issue to explore is how Nordic food culture from the 1800s is expressed in the 2000s in the United States.

The research material to be collected will be interviews and stories with ancestors to the immigrants, combined with participant observations in events and manifestations of cultural origin on both family level and in a public context. The results will be analyzed by both cultural distinction theories (e.g Bourdieu 1984)) and with theories related to migration and membership of diasporic families (e.g Clifford 1994; Cohen 1997) and how it is to carry an ancient Scandinavian/Swedish cultural heritage (e.g. Gradén 2003).

This abstract describes a planned project and it would be interesting to get feedback on how to proceed methodologically when to ask people in the fourth to fifth generation from the occurred event. How do you ask the right questions to help them to remember and re-create both an origin and how a cultural value from a quite another zeitgeist is used today to express something different from what it probably meant more than a hundred years ago? It would be interesting to create a research group around a common research application if there are other researchers who are on similar tracks.

➤ From potato to rice and beans: memory and polish culinary tradition throughout three generations

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When people migrate, they come into contact with new and different cultures. The estrangement from usual dietary practices and the challenge that arise from encountering new foods and ways of eating in the new environment (host country/region) becomes central in the integration process. From narratives about eating we aim to identify the (re) significance of eating and its importance as a component of identity and family tradition. This is a snapshot of a larger project “Food from here and there: migration process and food”, a qualitative study that uses the method of narratives, which were obtained through in-depth open-ended interviews. Photo-elicitation (photo from childhood and photo from celebration) was used as a complementary resource in two of the interviews. In the first stage of this study three subjects from the same family were interviewed (H1, J2, T3), representing three generations. Interviews were transcribed in verbatim. We used the Trajectory Food Choices Model (Sobal et al., 2005), based on the life course perspective, and the articulation of the interviewees’ discourse to analyse the narratives, which enabled us to comprehend the continuities and changes in food choices and the role of Polish food as a part of the food culture of each generation. H1, representative of the first generation (87 years old), born in Poland, migrated to Brazil after the Second World War; J2 (55 years old), son of H1, Brazilian; and T3 (27 years old), daughter of J2, Brazilian, lived in Poland for a year. For all three generations it is in the family celebrations that the Polish traditions and cuisine are recovered and rediscovered and when “being Polish” manifests. However, the memory of recipes was lost over time, and the description of preparations consumed currently indicates that the recipes were adapted to the family's taste or due to other factors such as difficulties in finding ingredients, laborious preparation, and climate differences in the host country. The impact of substituting the potato, traditional side dish in Polish cuisine, for the rice and beans upon arrival in Brazil, and the difficulty of finding rice and beans, the most typical Brazilian dish in Poland, define turning points in the food trajectory of H1 and T3. The assimilation (Castles & Miller, 2009) process, that is, the growing adaptation to the most typical Brazilian dish is reinforced in the narrative of J2. Nevertheless, by no means does this assimilation overshadow the complexity of multiple identities within each individual, and the family as a whole. As the second and third generations go on to become migrants themselves, these identities become more diverse, and it is the negotiation between these identities that characterize their ways of eating.

➤ **Recreating Ghanaian food in private and public spheres in London: the significance of gender and meal formats**

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Research question: What is the significance of gender and meal formats in the recreation and maintenance of Ghanaian foodways in London?

Theoretical framework: Cooked food, and foodways generally, are products of culture and strongly linked with ethnic identities. People migrating to a new country strive to maintain their food habits, but dietary change is usually inevitable. Theories explaining dietary modification have emphasised food items, failing to promote a more profound understanding of the processes of change. This paper explores the significance of gender and meal formats in the maintenance and recreation of migrant foodways, and is grounded in qualitative and theoretical research on meals. The micro-level analysis of current and past food habits within Ghanaian households is set in a wider context by exploring the development of the food culture in the community as a whole.

Data and methods: I conducted ethnographic fieldwork within Ghanaian homes, social gatherings, food stores, and restaurants in London over a period of ten months. My main attention was on the food and eating practices within 18 diverse households recruited through different gate keepers and using snowball sampling, and also within five Ghanaian restaurants. My observations, conversations and in-depth interviews with the female head and other members of the households, and restaurant staff, were guided largely by the eating system framework. This depicts the various spheres that define the eating event in the centre (e.g. meal format and the social context of eating and cooking). I analysed the structure of food and eating as an integral part of everyday life, but also contextualized it historically, largely by analysing memories related to food and eating prior to migration to the UK, and in the early years after migration.

Main results: At the community level, looking at the development of Ghanaian food culture in London, the study underlines the role of gender in the establishment of small ethnic food related businesses and in the shaping of a migrant or ethnic minority food culture as a whole. Ghanaian women have been the initiators and key actors in food related businesses, including restaurants, where female chefs do all the arduous work. They produce Ghanaian meals by drawing on the basic traditional two- or three-part meal structures that also characterise meals in the homes in London and Ghana. Substitutes are used to a varying degree in the public and private spheres to preserve the characteristics and formats of traditional meals. Structural and sensory properties of food are more important for the preservation of the identity of a dish than the actual foodstuff itself

➤ **Mothers moving with food: child feeding practices among Somali and Iraqi mothers living in Norway**

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Mothers moving with food: child feeding practices among immigrant mothers living in Norway

The aim of this paper is to explore the place of tradition in child feeding practices among immigrant mothers living in Norway. The study is based on qualitative data from two previous studies (SOMAH and InnbaKost). In the SOMAH project, Participants were 21 women who had migrated from Asia, Africa and Middle East as adults. In addition, interviews based on photos of meals and eating events were conducted with a smaller sample. In the InnbaKost study, qualitative in-depth interviews and focus groups were carried out with mothers of children 6, 12 and 24 months of age. Forty-one mothers participated in the in-depth interviews and forty in ten focus groups.

The mothers' food practices were guided by ideals of maintaining and transmitting cultural identity. They spent a lot of time preparing food for their children and for the family, using fresh ingredients, reproducing food resembling those of their country of origin. They made vegetable soups to the younger children and introduced the older ones to traditional tastes and spices. At the same time, the mothers were concerned about making children feel at ease in the new food culture. As they started kindergarten or school, children played an important role in introducing mothers to *new* food and food habits to the family. Taco, pizza and sausages, together with salmon and sometimes even fish pudding, entered the menu. The possibility to carry on with traditional food habits, together with the encounter with a new food culture, increased meal alternatives for immigrant mothers. They tended to utilize a wide range of food choices depending on type of meals or eating events, social occasions, where the meals were consumed and with whom meals were shared. Food items from the country of origin, the host country, and globalized food culture were combined, reinventing traditional meals. The study of meal preparation among immigrant's families shed light on how acculturation is a multidimensional process, flexible and dynamic. These findings highlight the need to adapt existing models of acculturation in order to grasp this complexity.

Key words: acculturation, food practices, traditional food, migration

➤ **I feel Swedish when I eat Swedish” – a qualitative study of migrant children’s experiences in the meeting with a new food culture**

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The paper is from a study which aimed at exploring migrant children's experiences of meeting a new food culture in Sweden, and how they saw food as a role in creating their identity.

The study was based on a qualitative approach with semi-structured interviews, both individual and focus group, and photo elicitation- with a food diary. Audio recording was used in all the interviews and video recording was made during the focus group. Respondents consisted of seven migrants, all 11 years old. The respondents had lived in Sweden between 2-10years. I came in contact with the respondents after having contacted 15 schools in one part of Sweden whereupon one of the schools responded with interest to participate in the study. The analysis of the collected material was carried out on four theoretical assumptions, all of which emerged in the literature review and consisted of the following: (1) that the migrants' taste preferences develop and change when they meet a new foodscape, (2) that the migrant child's taste preferences control what is eaten at home in the new country, (3) that migrants retain the dialect of their homelands kitchen, (4) that food and identity interact. Analysis formed, in turn, categories which were then further analyzed into three themes that the results reported from. The photo elicitation were not included in the analysis because the photographs were of poor quality. Since the food diaries were a complement to the photo elicitation, which was excluded from the analysis, they were only examined in relation to the interviews. Because of this, the presented results is primarily based on that the respondents said in the interviews.

The results showed that the children eat food both from the Swedish cuisine and from their culture of origin and that they look favorably on it. The study also showed that they do not believe that food can affect their identity, while they still acted on the basis that the food and identity was interacted. The most important finding was that the children did not experience being between different food cultures as problematic, which can be seen as a result of that they have the ability to adapt to new situations quickly. On the whole, the study shows that children do not seem to know or reflect on the new situation more widely. The study's limitations means that the results are not generalizable but the outcome can, however, be seen as indications of the phenomenon for further research.