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A Content Analysis of Norwegian Cookbooks from 1920 to 2012

AUTHORS:

ADVISOR:

Professor Torvald Øgaard

Student number:

Name:

214512

Saman Hassibi

214500

Amir Sayadabdi

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Author (s):

Student number.	Name:
214512	Saman Hassibi
214500	Amir Sayadabdi

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Abstract

Cookbooks not only are instructional manuals for culinary arts but also representatives of the food culture of the society that has produced them. Apart from their gastronomic value, they reflect food habits, record developments including technological, social, and economical ups and downs, and simultaneously express the historical information about the society. For this study, evidence of such claims has been gathered from Norwegian cookbooks published between 1920 and 2012. These cookbooks are located in the database of the Norwegian Cookbook Museum at the University of Stavanger. Content analysis was the main method used which included thorough examination of contents of the sampled cookbooks. The analysis included an examination of audience, authors' occupations and gender, ingredients, recipe presentation and arrangement, measurement, pictures, recipes' originality, used facilities and technologies, and nutrition matters. We aimed to explore if they can reflect the real phenomena that occurred in our particular timeframe. The results validated the claim that Norwegian cookbooks can be regarded as social, historical, and cultural documents.

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Introduction

Everybody knows what cookbooks are. They are only simple manuals telling us how to cook. But are they really as simple as they look? Probably not.

Cookbooks have been around since Middle Ages. Such abiding manuals should give us tremendous information about the times and the societies they were produced in. Changes in recipes, ingredients, pictures, cooking methods and utensils, language, etc. can all be reflections of broader changes in a society. In this sense, cookbooks can be viewed as historical documents helping us understand changes and developments occurring in the real world.

Cookbooks, whether instructional or indicative, are not only concerned about the process of preparing a meal or throwing a party, but are also concerned about the elaborate scene of home and family values; about cultural debates around health and purity; about lifestyle and individualism; and into national past, present and future (Floyd and Forster, 2003).

Since the time the first cookbook was published, cookbook authors have had bigger goals than just reflecting on their personal lives and teaching people how to behave as proper citizens. Rather they leaned towards advertising their perception of 'ideal life'. In doing so, they have tried to put their talents into words by means of writing books, matching the needs of a generation and audience they were writing for. For example, in times when the audience was facing economic difficulties, they were teaching efficiency and frugality, or when a relevant technological breakthrough was becoming fashionable or common, they tried to include that novel technology and tool to match the time they were living in and the audience they were writing for. As a result, a cookbook captures a snapshot of the society at the time the book was

written. Although this may have been the unintentional and secondary aspect of cookbooks, it exists nonetheless, and is attracting the attention of sociologists and historians recently.

However, just like every other aspect of societies, cookbooks have changed as well, especially in recent years. The themes that exist today in cookbooks were not present in older times, and the issues that old cookbooks were dealing with, may not be of any concern today. So what can be explored in cookbooks of hundred years ago may not be valid for the modern world, and vice versa. To answer the question of how cookbooks can reflect different aspects of the world and its concerns, scholars look deeper into these manuals. Since such information is hidden in the text, the authors were not probably even intending to caption them. So scholars pass the layer of instructions and go further into the text to capture the messages that need interpretation. As claimed by Hörandner (1981), Driver (1989), Thoms (1995) and Mitchell (2001), analysis of cookbooks can provide credible information which correlate to social and socio-historical events in a society.

In order to examine whether cookbooks reflect the ground reality of the times they were published in, we have undertaken a historical review of a sample of printed (published) cookbooks in Norway for the last nine decades (from 1920 to 2012). We aim to explore if Norwegian cookbooks have sociological and historical values rather than just culinary ones, and if they do, we intend describe what kind of information they include and how that information can be interpreted.

In this spirit, this thesis undertakes an investigation in a sample of published general cookbooks¹ which were originally written by Norwegian authors in Norwegian language for the

¹ Cookbooks without any specific theme

Norwegian audience. This study aims to capture the socio-historical context of the *Norwegian* society. Therefore, we exclude cookbooks translated to Norwegian from another language. We believe that such books are not too accurate to capture the socio-historical essence of the *Norwegian* society, since they are written for a different audience and in a different social background.

Content analysis is used to study the sampled cookbooks in detail. We take advantage of both qualitative and quantitative methods of such analysis. The quantitative methods were mostly used at the first stages of gathering data since numeric outcomes can be structured and organized more efficiently (Berg, 2007). This was followed by qualitative approaches to interpret the data and to achieve results for answering the main question of the study.

The sampled books examined in this study belong to *Norsk kokebokmuseum*² in The University of Stavanger (Norway). Our frame of reference to go through the Norwegian culinary history is mainly based on the scholarly works of Henry Notaker, who has done remarkable studies in the history and food culture of Norway.

Research questions and thesis outline

This study aims to answer;

- Are cookbooks more than just cooking manuals?
- Can cookbooks be valid sources of information about social and historical events in a society?

² The Norwegian Cookbook Museum

And if the answer is positive;

- Can Norwegian cookbooks have such hidden information about the society and history of the country?
- How can we interpret such information in the Norwegian context and what will be the outcomes of those interpretations?

This study starts with the review of previous scholarly work, including theories regarding cookbooks as sources of social and historic information.

We have to note that most of the indicators have been borrowed from previous scholarly works. However, there are a few cases where we have used our own indicators. We go through different visible informative aspects of cookbooks, including audience, authors' occupations and gender, ingredients, recipe presentation and arrangement, measurement, pictures, recipes originality, used facilities, and nutrition matters. This allows us to explore, examine and describe the deeper socio-historical information hidden in the layers of pages of a cookbook such as gender role, technology developments, economy, nutrition, eating habits, and national identity. We intend to link them to sociology and history of the time that these cookbooks were written. This will help us to find out if there is more to a cookbook rather than just being a culinary manual.

Before going through the study itself, we felt a need to write an introduction about the cookbook publication itself. It is not necessary to go through such matter as a part of the study itself. However, this small chapter would be helpful for the reader to see the differences between the types of cookbooks with regards to their publication. This will help us defend why we chose certain type of published cookbooks and our sampling criteria.

Cookbook Publications and Distribution

Wheaton (1998), notes that cookbooks are “the exceptional written records of what is largely an oral tradition” (p.3). They are published either as printed books or manuscripts with a fundamental difference in their relationship to the public and private domain. Manuscripts are valuable resources for historians, especially in studying the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries (Mac Con Iomaire and Cashman, 2011). As argued by Mitchell (2001) and Gold (2007), printed cookbooks are also valid socio-historical and cultural documents since they “draw oxygen from the very fact of being public”, while manuscript cookbooks are “of their very essence intimate, relatively unedited, and written with an eye to private circulation” (Mac Con Iomaire and Cashman, 2011, p. 88). Because of this, only the ‘published domain’ has been considered as the basis of this project.

According to Boles (2006), published cookbooks generally fall into three broad categories; commercial ventures, corporate publications, and fundraising (charitable) volumes.

Commercial cookbooks were the first to appear, and are still quite common. Their goal is to sell, and they are, as their name shows, published by commercial publishers. In Norway, from the second part of the 20th century, modern cuisine of France, America, Africa, Latin America, and ‘ethnic’ cuisines of Asia were included in Norwegian cookbooks by new generation of chefs (Notaker, 2001). This led to the publication of many different commercial cookbooks, including both foreign recipes and invented ones by the excellent talent of the author. This trend continues till the present.

Corporate cookbooks or *enterprise cookbooks* are published by corporations with the marketing goals of introducing or promoting a product. They are usually distributed free or at a

minimal cost to consumers. This is because they advertise other products, and they are hoped to influence the sales of those particular products. These types of cookbooks can be considered relatively new, in Norway. They were born in Norway – as they were in other parts of the world – in the first part of the 20th century (Boles, 2006; Mitchel, 2001; Notaker, 2001) with the aim of promoting a new product. Cookbooks with specific topics were also published with the same goal. They were promoting products which already were known to the market. Other advertising cookbooks were published by the government in order to increase the consumption of a special product (e.g. fish, vegetables) for health concerns or in the time of crisis (e.g. war). Other types of cookbooks that were published in these times included cookery manuals for schools which were published by pioneers in culinary education (Notaker, 2001).

Fundraising cookbooks were quite popular during war time and are also used with charitable goals. As a result, they aim to be profitable, with the fund to be spent on noble causes rather than commercial benefits for the writer or publisher. Fundraising cookbooks are also known as community and regional cookbooks. They were generally written by women, presenting their values (Bower, 1997). Usually, there were two methods of distributing such cookbook. The first one was by circulating the manuscript to a specific group of readers separately, and the second one was by selling the copies of the handwritten text (Theophano, 2002). However, these kinds of cookbooks were mostly popular in America, rather than Norway or other European countries (H. Notaker, personal communication, June 6, 2013).

As argued by Boles (2006), the general expectation of an ordinary cookbook is to include a wide range of recipes from the whole country, if not the world. If a cookbook specializes in a single culinary tradition, it advertises itself as a “guide to a practical specialty” (p.34). In past decades, this was not always an issue or a demand. Therefore as mentioned earlier, older

cookbooks can be our guide to find specific culinary habits of the time, place and community that produced them. By looking through what is preserved in cookbooks, we can make educated guesses about the social, nutritional, and cultural lives of families and communities in those eras. However, as Notaker (2012) notes, these aspects and functions of cookbooks could be better understood by taking *all* different aspects of the book into consideration. In other words, the book should be viewed as a material object.

Publication of cookbooks in Norway as an independent country (separated from the Danish or Swedish kingdom) goes back to 1831, when the book named *Huusholdings-bog*³ by Maren Elisabet Bang was published. However, publications about food including recipes, goes further back to the 17th century. It should be noted that not all of these books were cookbooks. Some of them were books about gastronomy. Naturally manuscript cookbooks have an older history. The first known handwritten ones are from the 16th century though they are mostly copies or adaptations from foreign books. In 1772, the need to have a Norwegian cookbook increased, since the cookbooks at that time were translations from English, Spanish, or Italian. Because of this, recipes in the cookbooks could not be easily adapted to Norway's special conditions and be used by ordinary families (Notaker, 2001).

With the help of technological developments in the publication industry in Norway, the number of published cookbooks started growing in a way that in only 15 years (1831-1846), 32 different cookbooks were published. With more innovation breakthroughs in publication industry, more professional cookbooks became available. Naturally, the general and more important books were published in the capital city of Oslo (called Christiania/Kristiana before

³ Household's Book

1925) or Bergen. Other publishers in local communities were busy printing more modest versions of culinary books.

Literature Review

Cookbooks tell stories – through dedications, prefaces, introductions, titles and recipes (Gold, 2007; Theophano, 2002). They can be looked at as “literature rather than instructional guides” (Theophano, 2002, p. 272). As the famous critic, Anthony Lane (1995) said “cookbooks are more like novels than like home-improvement manuals”. What these culinary bibles tell you to do is far less beguiling than the thought of a world in which such things might be done. Theophano (2002) even made up a new term called ‘tabletop tourism’ to refer to reading through a cookbook as a nourishing act like traveling through another culture’s kitchens and foods.

Cookbooks were and are beneficial to various individuals and groups; to churches and communities for raising funds; to kitchen and food processing companies for promoting their products; to health advocate for instructing readers on nutritional matters; to celebrities and famous chefs to increase their popularity; and to traditionalists for protecting and preserving cultural, ethnic, or family heritage (Neuhaus, 2012). Some of these benefits can be generalized to other societies and population, while some others relate to only a few. For example, writing and publishing cookbooks with the purpose of raising funds for charities or during war-time, was not an ongoing trend in Norway, but in America.

“Cookbooks are documents of desires, fears, and hopes” (Humble, 1996, p.15), they also tell us about the tastes, aspirations, fantasies, paranoia and the change of social roles (Humble, 2005). Though essentially categorized under manuals, they are now coming into a genre of their

own (Katz and Weaver, 2003). According to Wheaton (1998) cookbooks metaphorically are similar to ‘magician hats’. They have the ability of revealing much more than they seem to contain. They are not only about the foods of a given period, but also about the people who cooked and consumed them.

Theophano (2002) suggests that “Cookbooks, as they are used in daily life, are work-in-progress” (p.187). They have changed and altered in a way that they could suit the different and unique characteristics of each household. However, whether these recipes in cookbooks are original or changed to suit specific tastes, they serve as a memento of the past and lifestyles that may no longer exist. There are occasions where the time and space have erased almost all, but this record of people’s lives. Sometimes a cookbook becomes the only evidence that a person existed. In this document, authors may construct an image of themselves with the way they present and imply their opinions in the book. They comprise what Goldman (1996) calls ‘opportunistic autobiographies’.

Cookbooks are snapshots of lives we led (Dent, 2001, cited in Black, 2010) and “evoke an emotional response across generations and genders, freighted with cultural and historical meaning” (Driver, 2008, p. xvii). Therefore, scholars are now turning to cookbooks to find evidence of cultural and social values. According to Katz and Weaver (2003), “the authoritative voices in them can support the status quo by reinforcing current social values or they can dissent from conventional thinking” (p. 452).

Goody (1982) has argued that cookbooks are most likely to appear in literate civilizations with ‘high’ and ‘low’ stratifications both culturally and politically. As they are not just instruction manuals for the culinary arts or repositories for traditional dishes, they reflect food

habits, mark major historical events, and record advancements of technology of the population that produced them (Mitchell, 2001). However, it should be noted that these captions of the society in cookbooks, were sometimes done unintentionally by the authors. They were mostly interested in spreading the culinary knowledge and gaining profit, rather than working as historians. But when they tried to include a brand new technology, or when they wrote recipes for households with low income in certain times, they have in fact captured and ‘frozen’ a significant part of the history. Such a view can lead us to compare and parallel these information with the historical and social conditions of the society at those particular times (H. Notaker, personal communication, June 6, 2013).

Historians have often recognized cookbooks to be of limited value as sources of history of food habits because their main priority was to “spread the knowledge about how culinary preparations could be accomplished” and not to “document if and how these preparations were actually followed by cooks and housewives” (Notaker, 2012, p. 132). Yet, they still have values as historical documents that can provide us with insights into people or groups by examining their relationship to food. As a result, any culture that has a tradition of cookbook writing can be similarly approached.

“Despite their profound practical and symbolic importance in the life and growth of Western capitalist society” (Black, 2010, p. 3), cookbooks have always suffered from the lack of proper academic attentions. Studies of culinary texts or cookbooks have not been taken seriously since these texts have been considered as “too humble of a literary form to be deserving of attention from historians” (Higman, 1998, p.78). As explained by Higman (1998) and Notaker (2012) there might be a few reasons for this.

First of all, cookbooks generally have not been considered as a high-status literature, therefore these humble texts were not worth much of, if any, academic attention. Despite the fact that they were important commercial products for centuries, they were never treated with the same respect and esteem as other literary genres. Their low-standing position in the literary hierarchy has resulted in many copies disappearing before they were found interesting or recognized of any value.

Secondly, collecting and preserving of cookbooks were not actively undertaken by libraries until recently. This limits the accessibility to this kind of literature. Additionally, cookbooks also suffered an extreme daily use mostly in kitchen. Exposure to steam, smoke, and dripping sauces destroyed many of them. Furthermore, the oral transmission of recipes, rather than written form of it, resulted in a narrower source of study today (H. Notaker, personal communication, June 6, 2013).

Finally, very few scholars are cooks and even fewer cooks are scholars.

However, scholars have recently shown interest in going through cookbooks with the purpose of understanding some parts of social history of the society – that has been the producer of these books – which were difficult to capture otherwise (Boles, 2006). Researchers have overlooked or trivialized cookbooks, yet now these books are beginning to be recognized as valuable records of the past, filled with information waiting to be interpreted. Although cookbooks might not record historical events as hard facts or directly record social factors that caused change, their contents often reflect these phenomena. In so doing, they become a reflection of the culture and a complementary document for its study (Mitchell, 2001). They are,

more or less consciously, a work of social history (Storace, 1986) –everything from discovering vitamins to technological development can be traced in their pages.

Every book of recipes is a partial reflection of people's image of themselves and the world (Symons, 1998). Modern phenomena such as environmental issues, global economies, hunger and food shortages, etc. can all be seen in today's cooking and culinary literatures. For instance, when a cookbook author encourages the readers to use ecological products, or suggests ways to diminish conspicuous consumption by following or changing a routine, he/she is reflecting his/her own views of what he/she considers as an important issue.

“The simple or complex fact of publication [in this case cookbook publication] is significant in itself, indicating a codification of culinary rules and a notion that there exists a market for such information or an audience to be influenced” (Higman, 1998, p.77) and a market to gain commercial profit from. It can be argued that the emergence of the cookbook marks a critical point in the development of any cuisine and that the specialization and ramification of texts has much to tell about the character of national, regional and ethnic identities (H. Notaker, personal communication, June 6, 2013).

If we take a general look at the published cookbooks in the recent years, we can see different categories. Some books have placed emphases in “their exploration through food of history, of region, of memory, of self, and of different lifestyles” (Theophano, 2002, p. 270), while others entice people with famous restaurant settings or celebrity chefs exposing their secret recipes. Some encourage the national cuisine while the others practice the recent fashions of fusion cuisine to combine different culinary traditions. Some try to promote fine cuisine while some others advocate the meal preparation in ten minutes in a microwave (Theophano, 2002).

Cookbooks could make dishes infinitely repeatable and common as they demystify and concretize those (Gold, 2007). And once they are published, they do not continue to change (Theophano, 2002). Only small changes by their practitioners (e.g. editors) may be applied. Thus, they freeze a particular moment in time and reflect the characteristics of *that* time for good. Although many recipes in the cookbooks could remain almost unchanged through the years, each cookbook author may have applied some changes to recipes and invented new dishes. Change is constant. People move from one locale to another; periods of crisis and scarcity such as war and natural disaster occurs; fashions ebb and flow, and culinary identity changes due to all these kinds of phenomena. A dish that was once considered as stylish or healthy at one time could become old fashioned or unhealthful in another era; or an ingredient that could be found easily in the market – for instance, prior to a war or an economic boom – may become scarce. These modifications may act as an icon to display social and cultural dynamics in an ever-changing society (Theophano, 2002).

Therefore, if we assume that the changes which occurred in cookbooks parallel the changes that we know took place in the social and political world, we have tacitly accepted that the indicators for such social changes are changes in dishes, recipes, ingredients, or menus (Gold, 2007). So, for example, when the recipes for ice-cream began to show up in Norwegian cookbooks (when previously there had been almost none), or when the term ‘housewife’ began to disappear from Norwegian cookbook titles, one could easily assume that something had changed in the society. This change could be as tangible as a new technology development (which simplifies the process of ice-cream making at home), or it may reflect some dramatic changes in social constructs such as changes in gender’s role (Gold, 2007).

Today, we expect cookbooks to have a wide range of recipes from around the nation or perhaps the world. On the other hand, single tradition books are generally guides to particular specialties. Thus, cookbooks from the past serve as guides to specific culinary habits in the time, place and community that published them or for which they were published. They reveal much about the society that they were written in. They show how food preparation, gender, class, or kitchen labor has changed in that society (Neuhaus, 2012, p. 1). By looking at what we find in cookbooks, we can often infer a great deal about the social, nutritional, and cultural lives of families and communities in the past (Boles, 2006). We can also gain information about availability of certain food items, the introduction of new technologies and techniques in the kitchen, health and nutritional matters, and the predominant theories of cooking held by the culinary actors in between. Additionally, they can also be a source to document different aspects of “current mentalities, moral attitudes, ideology, national identity, and gender roles” (Notaker, 2012).

In any case, all of these cookbooks have one thing in common: each one is presenting its author’s definition of the ‘good life’ (Theophano, 2002) applicable to the era that they wrote these books for.

Based on all these characteristics, we can assume that cookbooks include more information in them than just cooking guidance. Literacy level, household size, availability of ingredients and the knowledge level of various ingredients existed at the time are examples of such information (Gold, 2007). Therefore, socio-historians including Driver (1989) argue that not only food and culinary trends in a society can be observed in the cookbooks, but also historic events, social values and health concerns. Such information is obtainable from the dates, titles, authors, introductions, tables of contents and recipes themselves. Hörandner (1981) suggests that

recipe books are valuable as cultural and socio-historical documents and analyses of them can provide credible information which correlate to socio-historical events that occurred in a society. With the same viewpoint, Thoms (1995) argues that qualitative examination of cookbooks in historic dimension – especially in fields of nutritional science and food consumption – is relatively a credible source of information for historians.

Methodology

Cookbooks are of value as cultural and socio-historical documents (Hörandner, 1981) and examining them qualitatively in historic dimensions can be considered as sources of historical reality (Thoms, 1995). One of the most acceptable methods to go through such documents as print media, both quantitatively and qualitatively, is content analysis (Gillespie and Toynebee, 2006) which happens to be our main method used in this project.

Content Analysis

“Content analysis can be fruitfully employed to examine virtually any type of communication” (Abrahamson, 1983, p. 286). Therefore, it can focus on either qualitative or quantitative aspect of any recorded humanistic message. This technique, as expressed by Holsti (1968), involves systematic and objective inferring by identifying special characteristics of messages, including manifest and latent contents. From this perspective, any text or any item that can be made into text, including photographs, are amenable to content analysis. The process of this analysis and its objectives are accomplished by means of explicit rules called criteria of selection, which must be formally established before the actual analysis of data (Berg, 2007).

Reliability of the measures can be achieved when the criteria of selection used in the content analysis is exhaustive enough for each variation of message content and must be rigidly and consistently applied so that other researchers or readers, looking at the same messages, would obtain the same or comparable results (Selltiz et al, 1967, cited in Berg, 2007). Therefore, the criteria should reflect all aspects of the message, to the possible degree use the exact original wording of the statements and should not consider arbitrary or superficial applications of irrelevant categories. In other words, “in a systematic analysis the inclusion and exclusion of content or categories is done according to consistently applied criteria of selection; this requirement eliminates analyses in which only materials supporting the investigators' hypotheses are examined” (Holsti, 1968, p. 598).

The contents of all messages are categorized into manifest and latent contents. Manifest content reside on the surface of communication and are therefore easily observable which at least in theory, as stated by Hagelin (1999 cited in Rourke et al, 2001), can be coded and recognized by machines. Going through both manifest and latent contents of the cookbooks, we tried to pay attention equally to each individual necessary coding for both of these contents to achieve reliability and validity (Babble, 1998). The code categories that were used in this project were achieved both deductively and inductively (Strauss, 1987). However not all the meaning of any message is in the surface; therefore, latent contents must be analyzed as well which are deeper structures of meaning (Berg, 2007).

In case of this project, cookbooks are the main media used in communication. So the recipes that they include can be considered as the manifest content. However, if we dig deeper into the content of these books, we may corroborate the latent messages included, such as socio-historical gist hidden between the layers of food instructions. As suggested by Berg (2007), we

tried to include at least three independent examples for interpretation of each indicator in order to achieve higher degree of reliability.

Qualitative or Quantitative Approach

There is usually a debate whether content analysis should be quantitative or qualitative. For example, Berelson (1952) or Silverman (1993) state that content analysis is undoubtedly a quantitative method. But we agree with those who believe that sometimes blending quantitative and qualitative analysis is required to reach the desired results. This is because “qualitative analysis deals with the forms and antecedent-consequent patterns of form, while quantitative analysis deals with duration and frequency of form” (Smith, 1975, p. 218). Using only one type of quantitative or qualitative analysis in our thesis, could have resulted in excluding all the information and communication accounts which were not in the form of numbers, or could have led to losing the meaning and credibility if reduced to a numeric form (e.g. definitions, pictures, etc.) as Berg (2007) and Selltiz et al. (1959 cited in Berg, 2007) also approve. So although the gathered information was actually qualitative, we used quantitative methods to organize the information and see if the gathered data actually shows the anticipated results. Appendix B shows the spread sheet that we used to give quantitative dimensions to our data.

In this project, we consider that communications have three components – the message, the sender, and the audience (Carney, 1972; Holsti, 1968). As our main goal, we tried to go through the message exclusively. However, at some points, we tried to link the messages to their sender and his/hers attributes. This, according to Chadwick and Bahr (1984), is only slightly possible. In addition, we aimed to use some of the sociological constructs in our interpretations

in order to achieve social scientific meaning and to add 'depth and breadth' to our observations (Strauss, 1987).

Message Interpretation

Seven major elements in written messages can be counted in content analysis: words or terms, themes, characters, paragraphs, items, concepts, and semantics (Berelson, 1952; Berg, 1983; Merton, 1968; Selltiz et al., 1959 cited in Berg, 2007). Words or terms, themes, items and concepts are the ones concerned this project. Of course, one of the limitations of content analysis is that codes can overlap in some cases. As a result some of them may be interpreted for more than one construct. For instance, when an author emphasizes on using a specific ingredient, it may be because of its low price in that time (economic reason), or because of its nutritional value (health issues), or because of its importance as a national icon which needs to be promoted and placed in the diet of a nation (national identity and food culture). Less time spent on preparing a food, as another example, could be an indicator of advanced technologies, as well as a change in lifestyles of people. On the other hand, a concept such as gender role does not exist in cookbooks, but can be learned from indicators such as pictures, audience, etc. Because of this, a huge overlap occurs between indicators and concepts. So, instead of having some main constructs and introducing indicators for them, we decided to go through each of these observed indicators and concepts individually and deliberate on them one by one, since they are of limited value on their own. In other words, our findings are a combination of concepts and indicators. We then linked them to real world phenomena.

According to Clarke (2000), concepts are only useful in providing a system of classification. In this regard, we have tried to classify and typify the concepts in a way that are understandable, comprehensive and explanatory. Our findings and discussions are twined together: we discuss them as we introduce them.

Methods of This Dissertation

Below, the steps of content analysis which were introduced by Berg (2007) have been borrowed and altered to fit our goals. They were used as guidelines in the methodology of this project:

1. Data are collected, if necessary made into text (e.g. in case of photographs and illustrations).
2. Codes are inductively identified or in some cases analytically developed in the data and affixed to sets of notes or transcript pages.
3. Codes are transformed into categorical labels or themes and approached both quantitatively as well as qualitatively.
4. Materials are sorted by categories, identifying similar phrases, patterns, relationships and commonalties or disparities in comparison to sociological constructs.
5. Sorted materials are examined to isolate meaningful patterns and processes with regards to socio-history of Norway.
6. Identified patterns are considered in light of previous research and theories and a small set of generalization is established.

As a result, in this project, first we went through the sample with both quantitative and qualitative perspectives. The books were categorized by the year of publication and were examined contextually with regards to the indicators that could have included messages about socio-history of Norway. These indicators examined in this study, are the ones that apply uniquely to the socio-economic history and publication conditions of Norway. These indicators were borrowed mainly from the works of Notaker (1987, 1995, 2001, 2009, 2012), and the commonly shared concepts in works of other social historians including Driver (1989), Wheaton (2006) Mitchel (2001), Innes (2001), Theophano (2003) and Boles (2006). In addition, because we first did a literature review of scholarly works and immersed ourselves in cookbooks, we have been able to identify themes and dimensions which were not introduced in others' works. In these cases, there was no other way but to introduce the indicators ourselves (e.g. the distinction of time, cover photos).

Boles (2006) introduces the concepts of gender, ethnicity, nutrition, class and taste, while Driver (1989) goes through the date of publication, title, author, introduction, list of contents and the recipes. Wheaton (1998) on the other hand, discusses physical appearance, pictures, titles, audience and agenda, education, measurements and Gold (2007) deliberates over ingredients, equipment and facilities, the meal, the book and finally the world view. Innes (2001) takes a look at how food and cooking manuals represented the racial and gendered attitude while Theophano (2003) focuses on gender roles and introduces cookbooks as a 'food provider of the mind and the soul'. She shows how women have used cookbooks to assert their individuality, develop their minds, and structure their lives. Higman (2011) discusses the role of cookbooks in relation to the changing patterns of food consumption and production that have formed economic and social life in a society. Floyd and Forster (2003) go through recipes taking their traditional and cultural

contexts into consideration. Henry Notaker, as the main influence of this project, investigates physical appearance of the books, authors' intention and ideology, nutrition, national identity, language, economy, gender of the audience, measurements, in his works (1989, 1995, 2001, 2012). Of course his works apply to most of this study since he went through the actual *Norwegian* cookbooks in other historical period.

It should be noted that the dates in this project are rather approximate, since there are for sure some temporal overlaps from place to place. For instance, if it is said that pictures begin to appear from a certain decade, it does not always mean that *no picture* can be found *at all* prior to that. It simply means that they were observed with a relatively high frequency after that certain decade in our sample. Since our sample does not include *all* the cookbooks in a period, we do not make such claims with absolute certainty. We are only trying to display the mere fact of the changes around the edges of the years, indicating that changes have occurred in some way.

Sample

Many changes have occurred to cookbooks from the day they were published. These changes ranged from superficial (e.g. binding, size, printing type) to contextual (e.g. author's ideology, topic, language). Elizabeth Driver (1989) believes that it was around 1875 that "the form of the modern cookery book was set and its contents roughly drawn out" (p. 18). Other bibliographers and food historians, including Henry Notaker confirm this and argue that between 1875 and the end of the century, the format of cookbooks changed and was stably shaped. It was then that publishers came to realize the value of such books. From this time on, this form of print commodity gained popularity – a position that it still holds at the beginning of the third millennium (Floyd and Forster, 2003; Notaker, 2012).

This project considers ‘recipe books’ and ‘cookery books’ as “cookbooks”. Any book about food or gastronomy was considered to be a cookbook if at least two-thirds of it was dedicated to recipes. The sample was chosen among the books originally written in Norwegian, between 1920 and 2012. The books with specific topics are excluded. The complete list of the criteria that identifies our cookbook definition can be found on Appendix A.

Although we have included publications of a vast part of the 20th century and the early decade of the 21st, the outcome population did not include more than 62 books. This is because our sample was taken from around 5000 volumes of books that existed in the database of the Norwegian Cookbook Museum by that time that this project was under development. Many of books at the museum did not meet our criteria for a cookbook and were therefore excluded from our sample. In addition, multiple editions of many of the books were not included in our sample.

The cookbooks that have been included in this project, categorized by the time of publication, can be seen in table 1.

Table 1.
Sample of cookbooks categorized by the date of publication

Decade	Number of qualified books available in the cookbook (sample)
1920 – 1929	3
1930 – 1939	8
1940 – 1949	8
1950 – 1959	5
1960 – 1969	4
1970 – 1979	2
1980 – 1989	10
1990 – 1999	11
2000 – 2012	10
Total	62

Findings

In this chapter, we will report the results of this study. The gathered data was planned to be categorized in relevance to the anticipated constructs. In some cases, however, we had to present our findings based on the *indicators* rather than *constructs*, because those indicators represented more than one construct. We believe that doing this could avoid the problem of losing solidarity of the results. We also present the data chronologically –from 1920 to present– within each category to show how our data applies to socio-historical flow of the times that we anticipated.

Audience

The audience of Norwegian cookbooks in the sampled period could be observed mostly within the preface, as well as the pages and texts. The targeted audience or the market that cookbooks have been written for, were not always directly pointed out. Therefore, it may not be accurate enough; however, it paints a general picture.

We believe that a group of audiences that cookbooks in the 1920s targeted were servers and cooks, either in restaurants or in households. This trend had started in the beginning of the 19th century. Perhaps, the most famous of this kind is *Lærebog i de forskjellige grene af husholdningen*⁴ (1845) of Hanna Winsnes, the pioneer of the modern Norwegian kitchen (Innli, 1993; Notaker, 2001). Henriette Schønberg Erken – the Mrs. Beeton of Norway (Garton, 1993) – was one of Winsnes' followers and maybe the most influential with her 1914th *Stor kokebok for*

⁴ Teaching Book for Different Branches of Housekeeping

større og mindre husholdninger.⁵ This period was the heyday of the bourgeoisie and almost all middle class members had servants in their households (Innli, 1993). This was reflected in the cookbooks of the 1920s. Wentzel and Frich's 1925 *Bordets glæder*,⁶ usually referred to the people whom the food was being made for and served to, as 'customers'. Also, in *God mat*⁷ (Sinding, 1926), the author admitted that all dishes in the book were tasted and admired by 'customers'. Cookbook authors also specified the jobs that should be left to the servants and the ones which should not. Additionally, the party menus with multiple courses in these cookbooks were in a notable contrast with customs of farm kitchens and the workers class.

The presumed audience of cookbooks published in these years can be also recognized through instructions that these books generally provided their readers with (Gold, 2007). In her book *Heimestell*,⁸ Garborg (1922) told her audience not to be afraid of using soap and water. She indicates:

There are two kinds of people: ten percent of them will throw cold water on themselves as soon as they have the time, and even familiarize their children with cold water from the moment they are born into this unfair world. But those other ninety percent have even no idea what cold water is good for; and many are quite simply afraid of water (p. 15)

Other basic instructions in cookbooks during the 1920s such as washing hands before eating (Garborg, 1922; Sinding, 1926) or introducing omelet as "not an easy job to do" (Wentzer and Frich, 1925, p. 59) or "as a pure art as making a good beef steak" (Garborg, 1922, p. 152), and leading the audience carefully through the paths of making it, reflected the unfamiliarity of

⁵ The Big Cookbook for Larger and Smaller Households

⁶ Joys of the Table

⁷ Good Food

⁸ Housekeeping

readers with cooking process. This is in contrast with our assumption about the professionalism and knowledge of the presumed audience in this decade (cooks and servers). This contrast could be explained by the structure of Norwegian society, which was class-based, especially in the 18th century. In the mid-19th century, the middle class emerged. As a result, cookbooks that were written for professional male chefs of the privileged classes, gradually turned to manuals for special use of female servants or kitchen maids of the middle classes. However, from 1831, with the publication of the first Norwegian cookbook, the perspective began to change towards an audience of ‘more as well as less prosperous Norwegian household’, ‘the young and the inexperienced’, ‘all classes’, and ‘everybody’, until the 20th century when almost all references to social groups disappeared from the titles or the prefaces and only the size and price of the book were indicators of different income groups (Notaker, 2001).

It seems that the authors of Norwegian cookbooks in these years assumed that their audience could actually read and write. We think that blank pages left at the end of cookbooks for ‘writing notes’ could be evidence for that. A further indication could be the high level of numeracy in the recipes. For instance, cookbooks in the 1920s commonly used fractions ($\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $2\frac{1}{2}$, etc.) in the recipes and even percentages (17% fat and 40% water, etc.). As Gold (2007) explains, if the readers had the functional numeracy to use the recipes, they certainly not only had the literacy to read them, but also had a basic understanding of how to weigh and measure.

With the gradual fading of the bourgeois kitchen and the necessity of having servants to cook in the middle of 1930s, cookbooks started to refer to another group – housewives and students of domestic science schools. This can be observed, in the most obvious way, from the

titles or the introduction. For instance, *En menneskealder som husmor*⁹ (1943) clearly defined its audience in the title. *Kokebok*¹⁰ (1934) explicitly stated that the book “has been written for the students of *Statens lærerinneskole i husstell*,¹¹ but could be also used by others, especially young housewives” (p. 11). Books by Sveen, Ytreberg and Rasmussen (1934) Landmark (1934), Christensen (1937), Knudsen (1938), Thrap (1943), Gleditsch et al. (1945), Thaulow (1948), and Klamerholm (1957) followed the similar approach.

Most cookbooks in these years were overwhelmingly written by and for women. Many books were specifically targeting women due to their feminine address in the title (Gold, 2007, p.20). The term “housewife” was commonly used in the cookbooks title during these years.¹² This reflects a parallel shift in the presumed audience and in gender role (Gold, 2007).

This trend continued till the 1960s. It was also around this time that gender roles were being questioned and changed.¹³ The audience had, by these years, become so general that it is hard to recognize specifically to whom – or even to which gender – cookbooks were referring. This was the new group of audience which could be obviously recognized from the 1980s – the inexperienced and the beginner.

From the late 1980s, – still having a non-gendered general audience – an emphasis can be observed on ‘basic cooking skills’ (Thommessen, 1998) for ‘amateurs’ (Linstad and Kringleboth,

⁹ A Generation of a Housewife

¹⁰ Cookbook

¹¹ National Teachers’ College for Housework

¹² Some examples are: *Den norske husmor* (The Norwegian Housewife; Hartmann, 1933); *Den praktiske husmor: råd for uråd* (The Practical Housewife: Hints and Advice; Meyer and Löwenberg, 1937); *En menneskealder som husmor* (A Generation of a Housewife; Thrap, 1943); *Husmorboken* (Housewife’s Book; Gleditsch et al., 1945); *Sleiven er mitt scepter* (Ladle Is My Scepter, Mell, 1953); *Mat for mons: 2500 lekre oppskrifter for den moderne husmor* (Favorite Dishes: 2500 Gorgeous Recipes for the Modern Housewife; Kiste, Solbraa-Bay, Ambjørnrud and Øksnevad, 1955); *Husmorens store kokebok* (General Cookbook of housewives; Nilsen and Walvig, 1964)

¹³ Discussed in *Gender Role* section

1990), ‘those who do not know how to cook’ (Holm and Holm, 1989) and ‘anyone who wants to cook’ (Levin, 1995; Strømstad, 1998; Hellstrøm, 2002; Hovig, 2004; Hovig, 2011). This is sometimes mentioned directly in the text (e.g. “the book is supposed to be useful for inexperienced” in Strømstad’s 1998 *Norsk kokebok*¹⁴) and sometimes can be observed from very basic cooking instructions which were absent in the cookbooks of previous decades such as pictorial step-by-step guides and recipes in majority of the sampled cookbooks in the 1990s and 2000s.

The division of recipes into categories of ‘easy, medium, and difficult’ regarding the cooking-skill levels of the audience (Hagen, 1992), can also be seen as evidence of the fact that such cookbooks consider amateurs as well as semi-experienced individuals as their audience. Furthermore, they try to re-image cooking as a ‘hobby’ rather than a chore. In this new style “one should never be afraid of adding his/her own taste” (Holm and Holm, 1989, p. 10) or “use desired spices and vegetables the way he/she wants” as Ingrid Espelid Hovig (2004, p. 5) recommends. In her recent cookbooks, she gives absolute freedom to readers to choose their desired substitute if they do not like or do not have a specific ingredient. Cookbooks of this period frequently mention the idea that ‘nobody is a natural born cook’ (Hellestrøm, 2002) or ‘everybody *can* cook if only they *will*’ (Hovig, 1994). The 2002 *Enkelt og perfekt*¹⁵ (Hellstrøm, p. 3) notes that ‘a good cookbook’ and ‘a little inspiration’ is all one needs in order to cook, and shares a ‘secret recipe’ to make one proud of their own unique style of cooking:

¹⁴ Norwegian Cookbook

¹⁵ Simple and Perfect

In order to make that, you will need:

1 volume	cookbook
6 parts	determination
2 glasses	inspiration
4 teaspoons	urge
Some	time

Authors' Occupation and Gender

There are many cookbook authors all over the world who are actually authors of other kinds of literatures such as non-fiction, novels, short stories, and poems. Alexander Dumas (France), Pellegrino Artusi (Italy), William Kitchiner (England), Emilio Pardo Bazán (Spain), Dobromila Retikowa (Bohemia), Anne Marie Mangor (Denmark), Henriette Davidis (Germany), and Lydia Maria Child (USA) are only a few examples (Notaker, 2012). Norway is not an exception in this regard. Hulda Garborg, Peter Christen Asbjørnsen, or Øvre Richter Frich all have written notable work(s) in culinary contexts.

Cookbook writers in Norway, as in all other parts of the world, have made an eclectic group from women's activist (Olaug Løken), churchwarden (Hans Allum), novelist (Hulda Garborg), nutritionist (Carl Schiøtz) to journalists in the press (Mona Levin). Notaker (2001) believes that the author's occupation was reflected in the kind of cookbooks he or she wrote. For example, schoolbooks were written by teachers while diet books by nutritionists.

In the 1920's and the 1930's, international cuisines were introduced via restaurants and hotels, though there were not many star chefs with desirable significant dishes. As a result, these decades lack culinary works written by professionals, and cookbooks were mostly based on the

mainstream of Norwegian cuisine. Sampled cookbooks of the 1920s are mostly written by professionals in other fields, especially novelists. Hulda Garborg (1922) and Wentzel and Frich (1925) are two of the most important cases in point. From the 1930s, the presence of teachers of domestic schools is obvious within the cookbook publication industry. Out of seven books sampled in the 1930s, six of them and out of eight books sampled in the 1940s, five of them were written by professional domestic school teachers or school principals. This trend was at its peak during these two decades; but from the 1950s to the 1970s it faded out. Some general cookbooks were published by organizations and institutes rather than having a single author, and footprints of journalists or writers are visible as well as that of professional chef.

From 1960 to 1980, international cuisine was lionized by a new generation of excellent chefs who became internationally well known (Notaker, 2001). From 1980s to present, with its peak in the 2000s, celebrity chefs not only have their shows on TV channels, but also publish variety of cookbooks from their favorite selections of already known recipes, to recipes that they use in their restaurants. In the 1980s and the 1990s, the number of famous chef authors slightly outnumbered the writers/journalists. However, it is notable that out of eight books written by a famous chef in these two decades, five of them were written by the same author, Ingrid Espelid Hovig. In the 2000s, all the cookbooks in the sample have been written by celebrity chefs who are well known to public for their television programs or fine dining restaurants. Eyvind Hellstrøm, Lars Barmen, Arne Brimi, and once again, Ingrid Espelid Hovig are among the most frequent appeared ones in the decade.

Authors' gender also contributed to the content of the cookbooks we studied. Up to the 1960s almost all of the sampled cookbooks have been written by women. There were occasions when a man was also involved in the writing, but there is no case of a male writer who did the

writing all by himself. The first cookbook of this kind is the 1964 *Mat for venner*¹⁶ by Hroar Dege. It is not until the 2000s when the dramatic change in the authors' gender takes place. In this decade, male authors form the majority of cookbook writers. Three out of ten sampled general cookbooks have been written by a woman; but the author of all these three cookbooks is the same, leaving only one female writer in the sample during the 2000s.

Gender Role

Over centuries activities related to cooking have been the women's domain. These activities could give us a general view of their status, both socially and culturally, in the society they inhabited (Theophano, 2002). Because cooking is one of the most important tasks in a society, the person responsible for the task should naturally be accorded a high prestige. But this is not always true, especially when it comes to households. The unpaid work of women in the kitchen has always suffered from a lower status compared to paid cooking in restaurants or cafes where cooking is mostly done by men (Notaker, 2009).

Cookbooks have been "a form of daily writing centered on a woman's work" (Theophano, 2002, p. 122). It could be simultaneously viewed as a way of inscribing their lives and writing themselves into being. In the texts of a cookbook, the woman has celebrated her success and longed for new and different experiences. The cookery literature has acted as a tool for women to construct, defend and transgress cultural and social borders and has helped them reflect their identity (Theophano, 2002).

¹⁶ Food for Friends

In this section we look at gender roles and how they are reflected within pages of cookbooks. We can see the developments that have occurred in the Norwegian society all these years, reflected in the cookbooks. We have divided our sampled timeframe into two periods, before and after the 1960s, because that is the time that significant turns in gender roles occur in Norwegian society.

The 1920s – The 1960s

There are two main concepts observed in works from the 1920s to the late 1960s which needs to be cleared: (1) cookbooks as a prescriptive literature for women, and (2) the idea of domesticity.

In any attempt to understand the culture and history of food, prescriptive texts hold an important place (Higman, 1998). Some cookbooks were more than just cookbooks. They were “a venue for the exploration of domestic life, women’s role, education, and demeanor” (Theophano, 2002, p. 191). Each book tried to attain that purpose in its own idiosyncratic style. Many printed household or cooking books in the early 20th century specified the audience as women¹⁷ and tried to teach them not only how to cook, but also how to behave (Theophano, 2002). They were not ‘just follow the recipe’ kinds of books anymore. For instance, Erken (1937) in her *Kjøkkenalmanakk*,¹⁸ addressed the way that women should dress at home “as if they are always expecting a guest” (p. 113) and criticized the ones who do not follow these kinds of principles at home; or Hanna Thrap in her cookbook of 1943 notes that if one wants to become a ‘good housewife’, she should read her book and learn from it.

¹⁷ Mostly middle classed

¹⁸ Kitchen Almanac

The prescriptive ‘genre’ was intended to influence the readers by applying different methods, highlighting the social and cultural forces that shape women’s lives, and promoting versions of true and ideal ‘womanhood’ that were often diametrically opposed to reality (Peterson, 2003). They talk about how women should behave and how they are expected to acquire virtues of ‘gentility, sobriety, passivity, and humility’. It seems that authors in their works of this nature are presenting a model which is expected to be followed by readers in order to reach perfection. However, perfection of this kind, given daily life struggles, was hard to attain. It is almost impossible to know if the changes in society inspired authors to address such issues or if it was the authors’ attitudes which in fact encouraged a new trend in the society (Gold, 2007). Consequently, it can only offer partial and sometimes even misleading views of the society (Luddy, 1995; Neuhaus, 2012; Theophano, 2002).

If we accept cookbooks as a member of this ‘genre’, we should also accept the fact that prescriptive literature cannot always ‘prescribe’ in the same way. It must differ from place to place and from time to time, since change in a society is constant – what is appropriate today could have been inappropriate ten years ago, or what is considered normal in one culture could be a taboo in another. In *our* case and in *our* particular timeframe, what Norwegian cookbooks – as prescriptive literature – were mostly encouraging and ‘prescribing’, was a concept seen in the works of the first five decades of the period: domesticity.

Welter (1966) in his article, *The Cult of True Womanhood*, believes that ‘domesticity’ was one of the four cardinal virtues that characterized a true woman in the late 19th and the early 20th century. Before the beginning of the 1970s, many Norwegian cookbooks promoted this idea. Introductions are an important source for historians for gaining useful information and a general idea about authors and audience (Gold, 2007). Most cookbooks of this time explicitly expressed

in their introductions and prefaces that the kitchen belongs to the housewife and maintaining an economically efficient household was a woman's responsibility. They are didactic books which not only tell their audience how to prepare dishes, but also tell them how to keep the house and generally maintain a positive domestic environment. They are mainly written by women and address themselves to 'housewives' and 'households'. In the authors' opinion, "the woman is either a housewife or a future housewife" (Notaker, 2001, p. 43) as there is no other role except these two considered for women of domesticity era. All of these are mirroring the growth of the idea of domesticity for women, reflected in cookbooks of those times.

We can observe in these cookery manuals that women are expected to remain in their domestic sphere looking after their husbands and children (Luddy, 1995). For instance, *Kjøkkenalmanakk* (1936, 1939) is filled with illustrations in which women are doing 'household duties' such as ironing, cleaning up, or washing clothes, etc. accompanied with 'how to do' instructions while providing food recipes. Klamerholm writes in her 1957 *Kokebok*¹⁹ that not having enough knowledge on house caring and food preparation could lead to deficiency diseases, economic problems, and other sorts of difficulties at home. Cara Mell²⁰ seems to feel that the title of her book is not clear enough in specifying the audience gender and begins her 1953 *Sleiven er mitt scepter*²¹ with the illustration of a woman in apron, claimed to be the author herself, who has a ladle in her hand and is chanting "the kitchen ladle in my hand, is just like a scepter in the King's hand".²² The book's illustrations show the woman cooking while his husband is asleep, serving food to the husband and children who are impatiently waiting to be served by her, and so on. There is also one picture in which the man looks disappointed by the

¹⁹ Cookbook

²⁰ *Cara Mell* is in fact the pen name that the famous writer *Annik Saxegaard* has used in writing her cookbook.

²¹ The Ladle Is My Scepter

²² Hva er scepteret er for kongen, det er kjøkkensleiven for meg.

food she has provided, and the woman is sadly thinking: 'he does not love me anymore'. *Matlære*²³ (Høst and Milberg, 1968) in its section named 'washing and cleaning' goes into details on how to wash dishes. It gives advice on what should be done before, while, and after washing the dishes, what should be washed first, how to wash and polish different types of kitchen cutlery and utensils, etc. It also tells the presumably female reader how to clean up the kitchen, wash the floors and curtains, and generally how to run the kitchen as a place that she is responsible for.

It is assumed that during these years, cookbook authors were affected by all these changes in the women's role and expectations of the society from them. General observation shows that recipes were relatively specific and they were addressing women more directly which makes them more prescriptive. This, in turn, "reflects changing assumption of women and housewives" (Gold, 2007, p. 40) meaning that they are now expected to take over their 'space' and 'territory'. The books introduce them as 'responsible' for generally whatever happens 'in the household' (Erken, 1936; Erken, 1939; Gleditsch et al. 1945; Knudsen, 1938; Thrap, 1943). This of course, reflected that the housewife's province has been extended beyond the kitchen and its prime activity and reaches the general household management, and economy and domesticity development (Gold, 2007). She is now responsible not only for preparing the meal, but also for planning and shopping as well; establishing what is available for how long; knowing what sorts of leftovers could be finished; checking what was served the days before to avoid any repetitions; or what family members like or dislike, etc. (Notaker, 2009). In other words, as *Ekström* (cited in Kjærnes, 2001, p. 217) says, they had to "have the cupboard in their heads".

²³ Food Knowledge

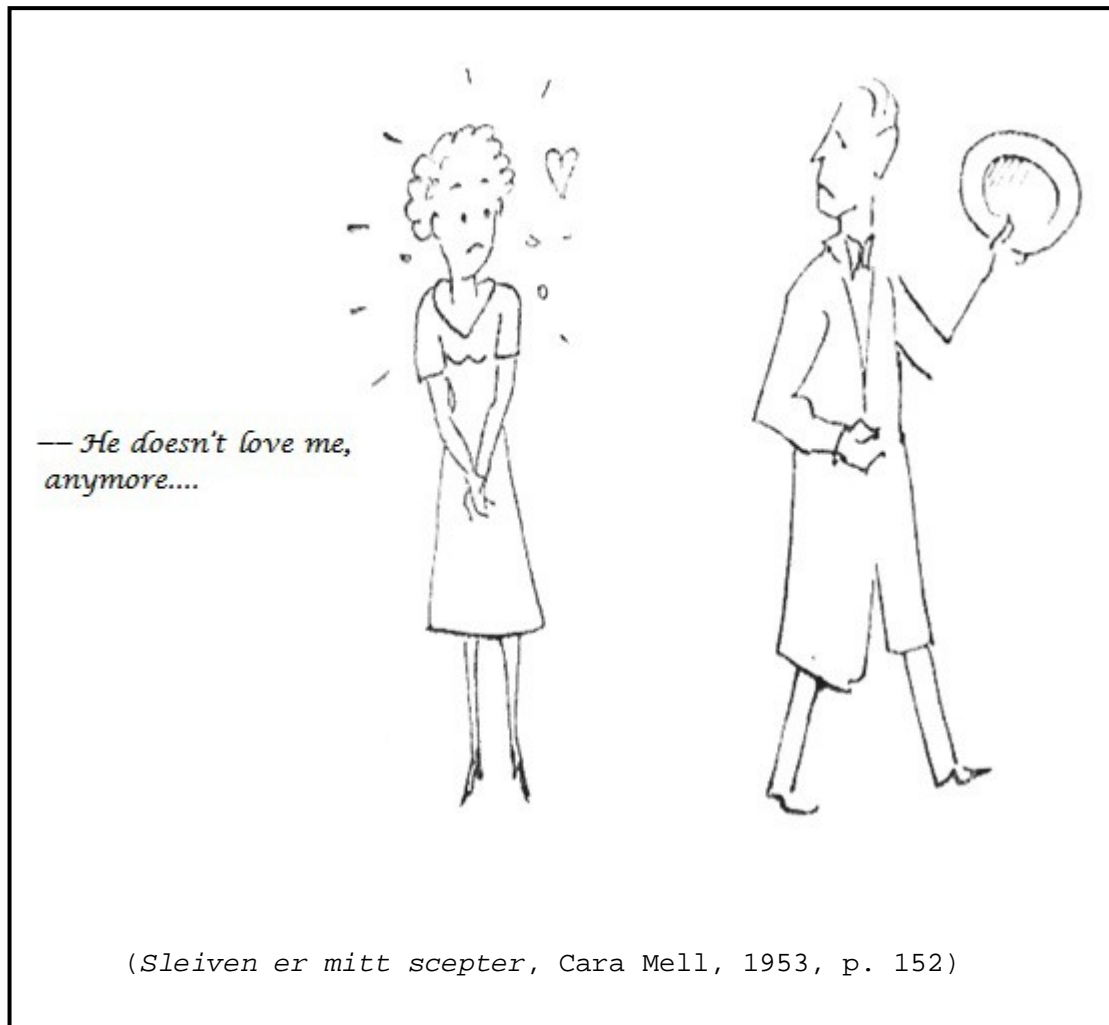


Figure 1. The growth of domesticity for women - The growth of the idea of *domesticity* for women was reflected through Norwegian cookbooks from the 1940s and the 1950s. The household, especially the kitchen, belonged to the woman, and it was her responsibility to maintain a positive domestic environment. She was expected to remain in her 'domestic sphere' looking after her husband and children. The woman who failed to do so, was considered a 'bad housewife', and even did not deserve 'to be loved, anymore'.

Erken (1936, 1939), while sympathizing with women, mentions in her *Kjøkkenalmanakk(s)*:

It's not easy to be a woman. She has to do everything *in* the household. [...] She is responsible for the nutrition of the whole family and feeding them well. Also the national economy is in her hands (1936, p. 32-33), [...] since the household economy is *her* responsibility (1939, p. 19). [...] Women are the most important 'purchasing managers' of the country. Three fourth of men's salary go to them to shop household necessities (p. 32-33). [...] So if a woman wants to be taken seriously by her husband, she should spend his money in the best way (p. 20).

This is harmonic with what Anders Nicolai Kiær, the first director of the statistical bureau, noted that "a wife is a source of income" (Langeland, 1937 cited in Hagemann and Roll-Handen, 2005, p. 245) and identified the work of mothers and housewives as reproductive.

Since women and housewives were, by this time, responsible for the economic aspects of the household, it can also be understood that they became more of equal partners with the 'right' to know about their husbands' income and be consulted about the way that it should be spent (Gold, 2007). However, simultaneously, this attention could also imply a lower evaluation of the role of the woman. As Notaker (2001) believes, the woman's role was definitely superior to the children and the servants, but was subordinate to the role of husband as it was limited to a position in the home.

Nonetheless, all these trends are neither strange nor unexpected. In fact they can reflect the social mechanism in that time which pushed women back into their 'private space' of the home.

In the years after 1913, Norwegian women's movement lowered its activity due to exhaustion after a long struggle. The early 1930s and the economic recession, followed by the Second World War, could be considered a setback as far as women were concerned. As unemployment surged, women, especially married ones, were the first to be made redundant and it became politically and socially expedient to see 'the home' as the place for a woman (Garton, 1993). This has been noted by the Norwegian Joint Committee on International Social Policy in 1953 (Hagemann and Roll-Hansen, 2003):

The outbreak of the war gave women of the unoccupied countries new opportunities. There was a great demand for female labor ... However, in Norway which was occupied by the Germans for five years, just the opposite happened. Employment decreased and especially women withdrew from the labor market.

During the occupation the housewives had their hands full. to procure and prepare food and to repair and remake clothes became much heavier tasks than in peace time ... As the basic needs for food and clothing became more desperate, the other members of the family were more absorbed in the task of maintaining the home than before, and the work of housewife came to be valued more highly (p. 173).

Jessamyn Neuhaus (2012) also writes:

When World War II began, cookery instruction became increasingly the province of food corporations; [...] it also became even more pointedly concerned about the role of women in the home and in the kitchen. The widespread rhetoric about a woman's job as the provider of home meals during the war played into long-standing notions about patriotism and the home, but it also built the foundation laid by the cookbooks of the

previous [...] years. It helped cement the idea [...] that the preparation of the daily meals should fall to the mistress of the home (p. 97).

In these years, the roles and relations between husbands and wives changed. The husband had more of an economic/productive role while the wife took a social/reproductive role. This type of change in a society caused women's role to become closer to be identified with household, kitchen and, by extension, domesticity (Clark, 1992). However, as Gro Hagemann (cited in Sæther, 2006), the history professor and the leader of the research project *Husarbeid som ideology og praksis*²⁴ (2002-2007), puts it:

The housewife politics did not imply [in] of itself, a drive to get women to return to the kitchen sink. It was an attempt to resolve one of history's greatest dilemmas: after the war there was an enormous baby boom and great obstacles to overcome in the form of a shortage of housing and housing that was no longer viable. Many families had neither running water nor electricity, and someone had to do the housework. Housewife politics was both a recognition of this work and an important part of social democracy's modernization project.

It was not new that women were responsible for food preparation, and generally the kitchen; what was new was the expectation that "the domestic sphere was the only place for women where they took their identity from their roles" (Gold, 2007, p. 82).

The 1950s can be called "the heyday of the full-time housewife" (Andresen and Elvbakken, 2007) or "the golden age of the housewife" (Sæther, 2006) when she was presumed to be an expert on household jobs, including cooking and basic knowledge of nutrition. In other words, it was a period that "the homes should be the arena for nutritional education" and "a

²⁴ Housework as Ideology and Practice

variety of educational measures were directed towards the housewives” (Haavet, Botten and Elvbakken, 1996, p. 97-98). This is absolutely different from the previous views presuming that women were not experienced enough to run the kitchen or household, and therefore, needed to be *trained* as housewives and housekeepers.²⁵

The term housewife and addressing women as the main audience can still be observed in the cookbooks of the 1960s. The 1965 *Norsk mat*²⁶ (Ambjørnrud et al.) was written with the cooperation of *Bondekvinnelag*^{27 28}, a local women’s supportive independent organization, to collect different recipes from housewives all over Norway. This book seems to be one of those mentioned in Garton (1993) which has tried to improve the status of a woman as a housewife, rather than ‘just’ a woman. *Matlære* (1986) also targets housewives and portrays a few uniformed young ladies who are changing the diaper of baby dolls in a workshop, probably during a course in a housewife school.

²⁵ The concept of ‘housework as an area of expertise’ had been institutionalized from the middle of 19th century. The first housewife schools were established in the 1860s and were expanded, especially after the Second World War. The domestic science became compulsory in the Norwegian Labor Party’s public school legislation at the end of the 1930s. There was broad consensus that housework should be ‘part of a general education, in the form of domestic science’. for example organizations such as *Hjemmenes Vel* (Well Being of the Homes) or *Husmorforbundet* (The Housewife Association) believed that the housework skills should be the basis of a vocational education and a professionalized form of housewifery, as a career. However, the situation changed completely in the 1970 when institutions and organizations changed both their subjects and their names. *Husmorforbundet* (The Housewife Association) changed its name to *Norges Kvinne- og Familieforbund* (Norwegian Women’s and Family Association) and domestic science schools were closed or changed function one after the other (Sæther, 2006).

²⁶ Norwegian Food

²⁷ The Association of Rural Women

²⁸ Later changed the name to *Bygdekvinnelag*

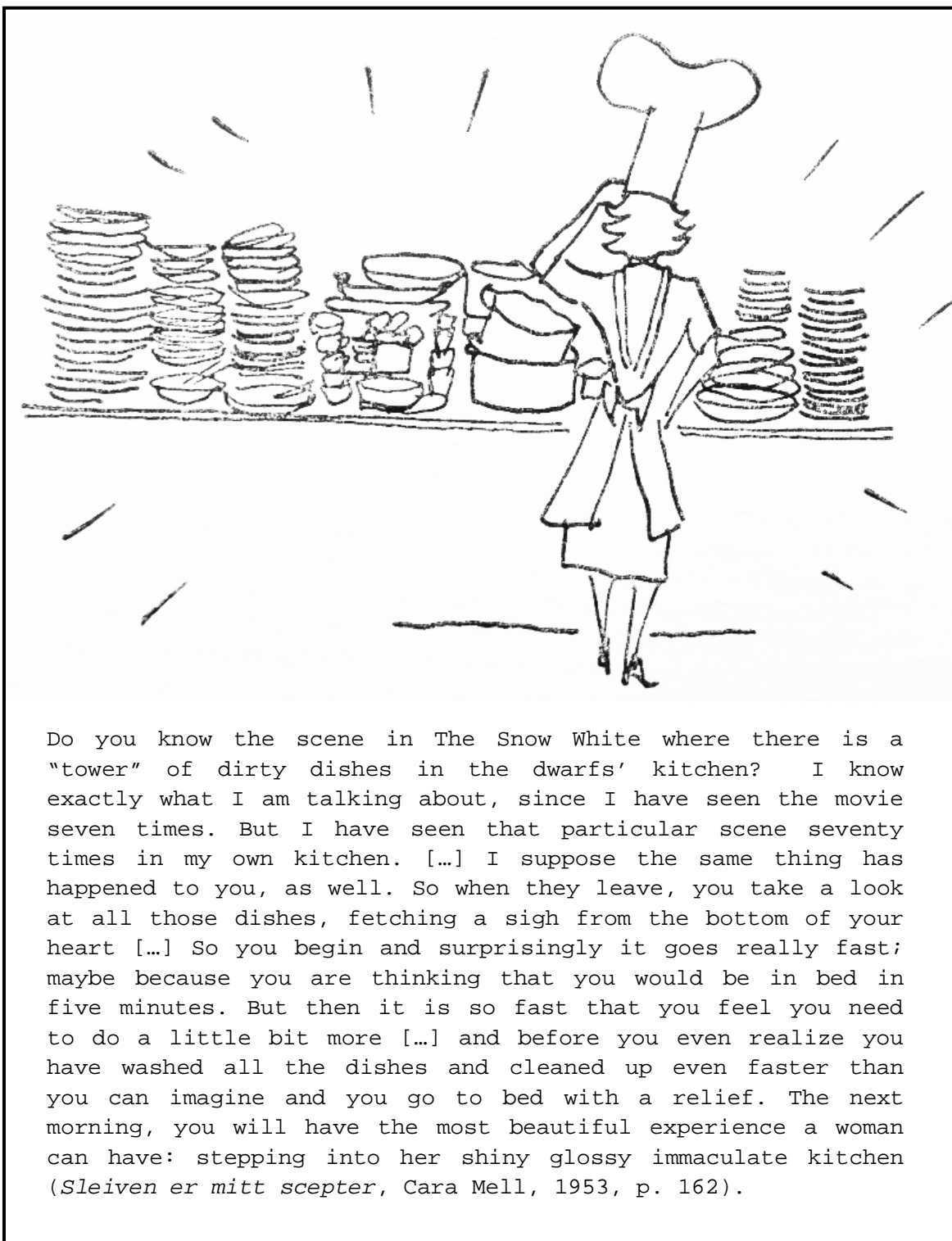


Figure 2. Cleanliness and orderliness in the cookbooks of the 1940s – 1950s - *Cleanliness and orderliness* besides helping with various recipes are emphasized during the 1940 to the 1950s in Norwegian cookbooks. The reader is told to have a place for everything and to do the clean up constantly and continuously.

The 1970s - Present

General cookbooks up to 1970s represented cooking as an important and joyful part of the woman's domestic duties. But since then the gender division was abolished and boys and girls began to be treated equally in various aspects of the social life. The new teaching methods in home economics shaped a new focus preparing future housewives to a broader understanding of food and food culture. Basic practical skills, nutrition, health and hygiene, economic values, nature and ecology, and environment sustainability have all become a part of the education intending to raise and develop the awareness and consciousness in children and youth at early stages (Notaker, 2009).

The term housewife started disappearing by the 1970s in cookbooks; the woman is no longer mentioned as a person responsible for all the cleaning, washing, shopping, or cooking while her husband and children are not at home. By this time, there were a growing number of women working outside the home and returning about the same time that their husbands did. The concept of 'gender equality' can be seen with a more emphasis in cookbooks from this period on. For instance, Leif Borthen (1981) quotes his wife:

I do not believe that a man who is not interested in food making can be a good lover either (p. 14).

Granneman in her 1989 *God gammeldags mat*²⁹ uses similar approach and elevates the position of a woman by quoting Ernst Rolfs:³⁰

A woman stands behind all [great] things (p. 7).

²⁹ Good Old-Fashioned Food

³⁰ Swedish actor

Ingrid Espelig Hovig expressed a relatively high degree of gender equality in *Velkommen til mitt kjøkken*³¹ (1985) when she quotes Hans Vatne:³²

Men should not wear aprons only when a grill is involved. Equality, first of all, begins in the kitchen. Food-making by men, must be as normal as it is by women. (p. 350)

Inni-Carine Holm (1989) in her cookbook *Til bords*,³³ which was co-written by her son, criticizes the ongoing trend:

The situation of the kitchen has completely changed from our grandmothers' time. These days, having the year 2000 ahead of us, only a few wives can be found in the kitchen. Having servants is no longer desirable; men have neither time nor urge to do any food making or shopping; and young generations have usually had their 'kind mothers' who always had their meal ready, and they were never encouraged to take any role in the kitchen, accordingly. [...] Just guess how shocked would be the grandma if she was alive and could see this much change (p. 11).

However, it is interesting to note that the concept of gender equality in cookbooks was not new to this period. We could find traces of such principle even in the works of the 1920s and the 1930. For instance, *Bordets glæder* (Wentzel and Frich, 1925) suggests:

The woman has the responsibility for choosing the dish while the man should help and take care of wine and its serving (p. 112).

Or as Erken writes in her 1937 *Kjøkkenalmanakk*:

³¹ Welcome to My Kitchen

³² Norwegian Journalist

³³ Dining

If you have daughters or sons (*Yes! Sons as well*) ask them to help in the household works and teach them how to serve [a dish] as soon as they get to a certain age (p. 168-169). [Emphasis in the original]

A similar approach is taken by Knudsen (1938) who believed that boys and girls should help in the kitchen and have their own duties. In her other cookbook, Erken (1939) mentions that there must be cooperation between husbands and wives. Emphases of these kinds reflect the importance of males' participation in the housework, or at least it is what the authors wanted to encourage and promote, even from those years. So it is not much of a surprise when we see Norwegian and Swedish men on the top of the list of participation in housework (Harmonised European Time Use Survey, 2000).

The *Equal Status Act* was confirmed as a law in 1979 intending "to promote equality between the sexes and giving equal opportunities for education, work, cultural, and intellectual development to women and men" (Garton, 1993). It was supposed to put an end to all gender role stereotypes, and cookbooks in this regard continuously tried to promote such a principle. The reason might be that the equality concept was enshrined in Norwegian law, but not necessarily in the Norwegian society.

However, equality in housework has not become a reality, even nowadays. According to National Statistical Office in 2000, Norwegian women spent five hours and fifty minutes on cooking while men spent two hours and twenty minutes, in the year 2000. This does not mean that men are not participating in cooking at all, but the degree of their activeness is hugely different. Certain groups such as young partners with middle and higher occupational status contribute more than others (Notaker, 2009). We should also note that cooking is evaluated differently from other housework such as cleaning as they are usually considered burdensome

chores. In a survey performed by National Institute for Consumer Research (SIFO) in 1985, Norwegian women chose ‘baking and cooking’ as the most interesting housework due to its more creative nature. After all, in modern days, the kitchen may not be the place that women want to spend all their invaluable time. Even the ones who enjoy cooking and creating culinary ideas may sometimes find it a burdensome job (Theophano, 2002).

Ingredients

Cookbooks can tell us about the availability of ingredients and can inform readers about the existence of new, previously unknown ingredients (Gold, 2007). For instance, several exotic spices and herbs that Norwegian frequently use in the present, were taken for granted or were simply not known to earlier generations and their ancestors (Innli, 1993). Some of them were rarely used (Skogseth, 1987) and some others were not easily available in the market, and were accessible only to those who were either able to travel abroad or afford to import such luxury items (Notaker, 2009). Salt for instance was used primarily for preserving rather than intensifying the flavor of the food. Wild herbs such as juniper or thyme were not highly used in the cooking until the increase in trade with Eastern Europe while sugar was rarely used because of its high price (Innli, 1993). Other herbs and vegetables such as pleurotus,³⁴ parsnip, or chicory were rarely known or used as well since they had to be imported from Italy (Skogseth, 1987). It seems in recent years, globalization, as the processes of promoting global exchanges of national and cultural resources (Guyford Stever, 1972), has played a major role in introducing variation of cuisine, flavors and ingredients in Norway, at lower prices.

³⁴ aka oyster mushroom

The lack of easy access to ingredients, we argue, had a deep impact on Norwegian cuisine and flavors. For example, although sugar is no longer a luxury ingredient in Norway, the high price of sugar in the past made Norwegian cakes and desserts “less sweet than those of other European kitchens” (Innli, 1993, p. 8). Similarly, the scarcity of veal meat in Norway in the past for many years (Hovig, 1985) has resulted in less original veal dishes and made it a prestigious meat (Notaker, 2009), although it can be found in shelves of many stores nowadays.

While ingredients have come and gone out of fashion, one factor that has heavily affected Norwegian – and generally Scandinavian – cuisine and played an important role in shaping and evolving the Norwegian culinary traditions over generations has been *the climate*.

According to the Research Council of Norway (2001), Norway is one of the most northerly and mountainous countries in the world. It is situated on the same latitude as Greenland, northern Canada and northern Siberia, but enjoys a more temperate climate due to the Gulf Stream. Despite this, a large portion of Norwegian land mass is not conducive to growing and cultivating crops, due to the dramatic changes in each season, humidity percentage, thin soils, or high winter frosts. Few countries in the world have as little farmland – relative to total area – as Norway. According to Knutsen (2007), the arable farmland in Norway accounts for less than three percent of the total area. It is true that nowadays importing all varieties of foods in a vast range takes place in Norway, and the modern preservation methods make one able to keep foodstuffs all year round, but the role of climate cannot be ignored in forming the Norwegian cuisine, as it can be observed in the cookbooks.

Seasonal recipes have had a special place in Norwegian cookbooks. Depending on when the cookbook was published, this could be attributed to two possible reasons. In the first half of

the sampled period (1920 – 1960), the seasonal recipes, as well as weekly and monthly plans were centered around budgetary factors. While availability was a concern, the central idea was that ‘particular ingredients were cheaper in particular times of the year.’ Recipes were designed to take advantage of ingredients when they were available at their cheapest price. In the second half of the period (1960 – present) the emphasis shifted to the concept of ‘enjoying *fresh* fruits, vegetables, and ingredients’ since they have higher nutritional value, taste better and have not been kept in artificial conditions.

It was interestingly noted that despite the unlike goals of providing seasonal menus (cheap ingredients vs. fresh ingredients) in the Norwegian cookbooks in both the former and the latter half of the studied periods, similarity in choosing the alike ingredients and dishes was observed when comparing different menus from both periods.

While previously the climatic and geographical position of Norway may have been seen as a weakness, today these limitations are seen as strengths and opportunities, differentiating the Norwegian cuisine in taste and style from cuisines of other lands. This concept is best seen in the *Manifest for det nye nordiske kjøkken*³⁵ brought in the 2011 *Kokeboka*³⁶ of Wenche Andersen. This book outlines the following aims of Norwegian cooking:

To express the purity, freshness, simplicity and ethics we wish to associate with our region:

1. To reflect the changing of the seasons in the meals we make;
2. To base our cooking on ingredients and produce whose characteristics are particularly excellent in our climates, landscapes and waters;

³⁵ Manifesto for the New Nordic Cuisine

³⁶ The Cookbook

3. To combine the demand for good taste with modern knowledge of health and well-being;
4. To promote Nordic products and the variety of Nordic producers – and to spread the word about their underlying cultures;
5. To promote animal welfare and a sound production process in our seas, on our farmland and in the wild;
6. To develop potentially new applications of traditional Nordic food products;
7. To combine the best in Nordic cookery and culinary traditions with impulses from abroad;
8. To combine local self-sufficiency with regional sharing of high-quality products;
9. To join forces with consumer representatives, other cooking craftsmen, agriculture, the fishing, food , retail and wholesale industries, researchers, teachers, politicians and authorities on this project for the benefit and advantage of everyone in the Nordic countries.³⁷

As is clear from this list, the manifesto aims to make clear two main goals of contemporary Norwegian cooking. First is to take advantage of the available ingredients in the region, and second to introduce a competitive edge using those local ingredients. In the process, the manifesto aims to also build and promote a cultural identity for Nordic food. As Notaker (2009) notes, simplicity, purity, freshness, and ethical standards are central to the manifesto. It is not a description of what the Scandinavian cuisine actually is; rather it is a vision of what one wants it to be, or as the Danish Gastronomic Academy puts it, it is a ‘utopia’.

³⁷ English translation is quoted from the official site of Nordic Council of Ministers

One can conclude that Norway's peculiar climate and its unique nature have resulted in such an idea in the first place. As Bergflødt, Amilien, and Skuland (2012) suggest, the idea and concept of 'nature' based on 'natural' aspects of Nordic people, food products/production, climate, and landscapes is relevant to understand the development of the New Nordic Cuisine.

Looking through cookbooks, we examined information about the most used ingredients. In some cases the authors themselves have described the main ingredients. For instance, Anny Bjerkebæk (1977) summarized Norwegian ingredients in her cookbook *Norske matretter for dagligbordet*.³⁸ She notes that Norwegians are very conservative when it comes to their food, and adds:

The most important ingredients the Norwegian cuisine is based on are fish and herring, beef, mutton, pork, and game. [...] chives, parsley, chervil, and thyme are among the most used herbs while rosemary, basil, and oregano are used quite frequently as well. [...] vegetables and spices are very useful. We have also managed to survive on potatoes in the last couple of years, alongside cabbage, rutabaga, and carrot. [...] These (potato, vegetables, and legumes) should remain in diet of everyone, especially growing children and people with hard physical jobs (p. 10).

The ingredients and contents of a common meal were also observed from the cookbooks which have provided weekly or monthly food plans. These plans helped readers to get a general idea of what they were going to cook during the week/month, since sometimes choosing a dish is more difficult than cooking it. Another advantage was that these plans were mostly designed in a way to benefit both health and economic situations. Cookbooks of this kind were mostly published during the 1930s and 1940s. The meal plans in these cookbooks tended to be diverse

³⁸ Everyday Norwegian Food

and never used a dish with a same base in one day or in one meal. For instance, if the suggested soup, as a starter, was made of fish, the main dish was made with meat or vegetables; or if the main dish was served with a type of sweet sauce, the dessert had a sour or salty flavor.

Meat and fish appeared in the meal plans for every other day, at least in one of the courses. A typical meal menu contained either fish or meat with or without sauce, with a sort of staple such as potato or pulses (and rice or pasta in later years) accompanied with a side dish of vegetables (mostly carrot) and bread.

Another way to understand the importance of common ingredients in Norwegian cuisine is to study the independent sections assigned to them. The majority of independent chapters in the sampled cookbooks were devoted to bread, potatoes, milk, margarine, pasta and rice, fruits and vegetables, pork, chicken, and fish (usually named as macaroni in the first half of the period).

Bread, and bread-making, has received notable attention in Norwegian cookbooks, especially before the 1960s. *Kokebok* by Sveen, Ytreberg and Rasmussen (1934) provided many tables and a lot of information on baking bread at home. They emphasized the advantages of having homemade bread and tried to persuade people to use electric stoves to bake bread. *Hjemmets kokebok til daglig bruk*³⁹ of Dekke (1943) as well as *Økonomisk kokebok*⁴⁰ (Wathne, Olsen, Steensland and Anda, 1944) had an independent chapter on making bread (not bakery in general; only bread). While bread has been a staple of the Norwegian diet, the emphasis on

³⁹ The Home's Cookbook for Daily Use (Not to be confused with the Norwegian weekly magazine, *Hjemmet*)

⁴⁰ Economic Cookbook

baking it at home may have been economic. *Kokebok*⁴¹ (Rachlew, 1948) recommended housewives to make the bread themselves because “they have the time and it will be cheaper” (p. 193). *Kokebok* (1957) also mentioned bread-making at home as “a way to save money” (p. 163) and promoted bread as a source of nutrition if consumed besides other essential foods such as fruits and vegetables.

The type of the bread that cookbooks gave recipe for could also be a reflection of changes in people’s consumption and choices. For instance, in cookbooks published before the 1950s, *flatbrød*⁴² or *lefse*⁴³ were the most appeared bread recipes. In the latter half of the century, these bread recipes were replaced by *Kneippbrød*⁴⁴ and *Grahambrød*,⁴⁵ both of which are made with coarse whole meal. Nowadays the variation is tremendous as many foreign types of bread are imported, or baked by locals based on foreign recipes. Additionally, even though bread recipes are found in present day cookbooks, most people prefer to bring them home baked or half baked (Notaker, 2009). Moreover, bread is losing its position as a main staple for Norwegians. This decline of bread’s importance in Norwegian cuisine can be partly explained by the growing popularity of other staples such as rice or pasta, as well as newer bread types such as tacos, pizza, or pita. In addition, staples are becoming less important to Norwegian food and have been replaced by meat, fish and vegetables (Notaker, 2009).

Potato is another significant ingredient in Norway. Introduced to Norway at the end of the 18th century, the humble potato has become the centerpiece of Norwegian eating habits (Wandel, 1995; Wandel, Bugge and Skoglund Ramm, 1995; Wandel, Fagerli and Kjærnes,

⁴¹ Cookbook

⁴² *Flat Bread*, traditionally from barely or oats flour

⁴³ Thin Soft Bread

⁴⁴ Kneipp Bread, named after the German priest and doctor Sebastian Kneipp

⁴⁵ Graham Bread, named after the American dietitian Sylvester Graham

2001). The popularity of the potato within Norwegian food grew in the first half of the 19th century. At first, it represented an image of ‘the food for poor people’, but this image soon began to change. Ingrid Espelig Hovig in her 1985 book, *Velkommen til mitt kjøkken*, notes that “we should let potatoes play the main dish role. Take it easy! They are not crisis food [anymore]” (p. 30). Cookbooks soon started including recipes for soups, stews and puddings featuring potatoes. However, there was still a difference: the wealthy had potatoes as only *one of the many dishes* in their diet, while the poor had them as the *centerpiece of their meal* (Notaker, 2009). The importance of potato in the Norwegian food culture is underscored by many cookbooks that recommended consuming potatoes “as much as possible every day” (Knudsen, 1938, p. 8) and gave them a nutritional value as “one of the most important sources of vitamin C” (p. 172).

While older cookbooks instructed their readers to cook potatoes by boiling them in water (peeled or in jackets), newer cookbooks provide a wide variety of cooking methods for potatoes, including roasting, baking, frying, mashing, grilling, steaming and microwaving them. Today, a large amount of potato consumption is in the form of French fries, chips, or other processed potato products. Most of these dishes include high amounts of high saturated fat. As a result, Norwegian health authorities have been encouraging the population to revert back to healthier ways to cooking potatoes including baking and boiling them (Notaker, 2009); however, this health concern has not yet found its way to contemporary cookbooks. Potatoes, after all, are still popular, although their consumption has been notably decrease during recent years.

Milk has been consistently featured as a key ingredient in Norwegian cookbooks. This is probably because of Norway’s rich summer in the mountains (Notaker, 2009). It gained even a more important position in cookbooks from the 1940s on, as it was promoted by the authorities for its nutritional value in the 1930s. In fact after the Second World War, in 1947, the Oslo

Consumer Co-operative society, officially called milk the most essential of all staples, in the newspaper *Morgenposten*.⁴⁶ It has also had a notable role in one of the important cooking methods in some regions in Norway where dairy products are used as the key ingredient to enhance many dishes and sauces. A case in point is *Bergensk fiskesuppe*⁴⁷ which has been appeared in many Norwegian cookbooks, even now.

Margarine was a commonly used ingredient in cookbooks of the early decades of the studied period. In these years, margarine was seen as a popular alternative for other kinds of fat such as lard, goose fat, tallow, suet, and most importantly for the expensive butter. Even farmers sold butter and bought margarine in exchange as a way of making profit (Notaker, 2009). In recent years, however, the price of butter or margarine no longer plays an important role in a rich welfare society like Norway. Health considerations are more important these days and cookbooks, especially the ones published from the 1990s on, reflect this. Many of them suggest consuming products with less saturated fat and cholesterol content, as a result of health propaganda.

Pasta and rice gained popularity in Norwegian cookbooks in the latter half of the century. In the first edition of *Gyldendals store kokebok*⁴⁸ (Askevold, 1955), there were only 9 recipes for pasta. This number increased fourfold to 36 pasta based recipes in the 2004 (Hovig) version. Similarly, rice is much more widely used these days, even replacing potatoes as the key staple of the Norwegian diet (Notaker, 2009).

Pork seemed to be a popular and accessible ingredient in dishes. In the weekly/monthly food plans in some cookbooks which have been provided by some cookbooks, especially in the

⁴⁶ The Morning Post

⁴⁷ Bergen Fish Soup

⁴⁸ Gyldendal's Big Cookbook

1930s and 1940s (Erken, 1949; Gleditsch et al., 1945; Knudsen, 1938; Mollø-Christensen, 1937; Thrap, 1943), pork was mentioned at least once a week. This increase in the popularity of pork can be attributed to the fall in pork prices in the early years of 20th century (Notaker, 2009).

Chicken did not appear much before the 1960s. This could be because before this time, hens were mostly kept for producing eggs and only old and unproductive hens were butchered and used for food, mainly in soups and stews (Notaker, 2009). Because of this, chicken had a prestigious position on menus and frequently appeared in ‘party menus’ or ‘menus for special occasions’ until less than sixty years ago.⁴⁹ By the starting of confinement operations, a special broiler breed was developed via scientific feeding and controlled environment which led to lower prices and a constant supply during the whole year. This made chicken more available to the average consumer (Notaker, 2009).

Vegetables and fruits were also commonly common (or at least were encouraged to be used due to the long and strong campaigns by the authorities). But not all of them were consumed fresh. Several cookbooks provided instructions on how to preserve vegetables and fruits, often in strong vinegar as pickles. Independent sections on preserving can be found in cookbooks from the 1940s onwards.

Fish, in general, is a quite popular ingredient, and considering Norway’s comparative advantage in fishing industry, its popularity seems inevitable. In 1930s, many cookbooks focused on fish recipes, mostly using cheap fish – such as herring and mackerel – as the main ingredient (Notaker, 2001). Emphasis on consuming fish could be seen from the very early books of the

⁴⁹ Today, chicken is widely available in the market with reasonable price and its affordability has decreased its scale from a ‘luxury’ item to an ordinary ingredient. However, on the contrary to today’s situation, there were times when veal was cheaper than chicken. As a result, the recipes that were originally written for chicken, changed toward using veal instead (H. Notaker, personal communication, June 6, 2013).

period which used to promote the product by using famous sayings such as *spis fisk så blir du frisk*.⁵⁰

The biggest fish imports to the European Union countries come from The north Atlantic, an area between Norway and Iceland where the warm Gulf Stream and cold nutrient currents from the Arctic meet, and provide a desirable condition for marine life. Norway is one of the most important fish producers in this area due to its “biggest fleet, highest amount of vessels and fishermen, engine power, volume of catches, and economic value” (Notaker, 2009, p. 56). Cod seems to be one of the most popular varieties of fish since recipes based on it continued to appear in almost all cookbooks in our sampled period.⁵¹ The importance of cod, especially to the people of northern Norway – can be seen in a poem by Petter Dass in the cookbook of Kjell E. Innli, *Vårt norske kjøkken*⁵² (1993):

If the cod should fail us
 what would we have?
 What would we bring to
 Bergen from here?
 No, the fish is the sea;
 is our daily bread; and
 if we lose it,
 then we are destitute.⁵³
 (p.12)

⁵⁰ Eat fish to be fresh!

⁵¹ Cod is the most important fish caught for human consumption by Scandinavian countries, more importantly Norway (Notaker, 2009).

⁵² Our Norwegian Kitchen

⁵³ Skull Torsken os feile
 hvad hvade vi da,
 Hvad skulle vi føre til
 Bergen herfra?
 Ney, Fisken i Vandet, det
 er vored Brød,
 og mister vi hannem,
 da lider vi nød.

Sunday:
Tomato soup
Beef or veal roast with brown sauce, sliced beans and pickles
Canned fruit with dry cakes
Monday
Low-salt cod, smoked haddock, or redfish with melted butter and cooked carrots
Raw jam or fruit compote with milk
Tuesday
Buttermilk soup or rice porridge
Brown stew with roots
Wednesday
Vegetables soup
Fish gratin with melted butter
Thursday
Meat and bean cakes with raw carrot or apple salad
Cranberries with oats and with milk
Friday
Fried fish - herring or Pollock with boiled vegetables
Rose hip soup
Saturday
Porridge with juice or water
A small portion of the meat or fish
All dishes to be served with large amount of potatoes.

Figure 3. A weekly menu from *Matstell* (Knudsen, 1938) -
Meat and fish appeared in meal plans at least once every other day. A typical meal menu contained either fish or meat with or without sauce, with a sort of staple such as potato or pulses (and rice or pasta in later years) accompanied with a side dish of vegetables (mostly carrot) and bread.

Presentation

Presentation in this project means the way that Norwegian cookbooks are generally presented textually and visually. This includes not only how the cookbooks have arranged or presented recipes and measurements, but also their use of pictures, frontispieces and back covers. In addition, we include originality and plagiarism in cookbooks and their included recipes.

Arrangement and Presentation of Recipes

In the early years of our sampled period, arrangement of recipes in Norwegian cookbooks follows a temporal pattern. Cookbook authors usually organized recipes in a common style: soups, fish, meat, desserts, baking, conserving, etc. Not least, are the chapters dedicated to parties and occasions in which recipes require larger quantity of ingredients and are designed for a ‘more-than-usual-number’ of people. These chapters were, and still are, placed in late sections of cookbooks. When health issues gained importance and the general population became more health conscious, nutrition became a central focus of many cookbooks. This, consequently, affected their arrangement of subjects and their general theme. For instance, several cookbooks were co-authored by a chef/cook and a nutritionist, with the nutritionist penning the introduction about health and nutritional issues, and the cook or chef providing the recipes. The 1938 *Matstell*⁵⁴ by Ragna Knudsen and Doctor Erling Rustung, the 1939 *Trygg kost for norske hjem*⁵⁵ by Henriette Schønberg Erken and Doctor Carl Schiøtz, and the 1984 *God mat - god ernæring*⁵⁶ by Ingrid Espelid Hovig and Doctor Kaare Reidar Norum are representatives of this style.

⁵⁴ Cooking

⁵⁵ Safe Diet for Norwegian Homes

⁵⁶ Good Food, Good Nutrition

Another way of arranging the material was to address food items individually. General commentaries presenting nutritional value and the cooking or preserving method of a product or an ingredient were followed by the recipes in which the product played the leading role. As Notaker (2001) mentions, the pedagogical progress of recipes can be also observed in some cookbooks. This is best seen in the 1968 work of Høst and Milberg, *Matlære*. In this book, recipes progressed from simplest use of the ingredients to the most complicated.

Arrangement by themes, rather than ingredients, were also observed in the general cookbooks from the 1990s on: children's foods, traditional food, international food, foods for microwaves, family food, food for singles, morning/evening foods, etc. are only a few examples.

Almost all cookbooks we looked at during the sample time period listed their contents in an alphabetical order. This practice of alphabetizing content is not new – cookbooks in the 14th century used such a system (Notaker, 2012). In Norway, however, alphabetizing contents in cookbooks is a more recent phenomenon, dating back to the late 19th century.

A majority of sampled cookbooks in the 1990s were found to have an extensive glossary of foreign or unfamiliar culinary terms or hard-to find ingredients. Perhaps easy access to the internet and the ability to check a term or a word in just a few seconds diminishes the importance of such tables and glossaries nowadays.

Recipes in the majority of the books in the sampled period included a list of ingredients and their quantities before describing how to prepare the dish. This, as Notaker (2012) observes, is not a new trend either. Foreign cookbooks in the 19th century were known to structure their recipes in three distinct sections: (1) title of the recipes, (2) ingredients and their quantities, and (3) preparation instruction. Norwegian cookbooks from as early as 1890s used such a form.

The language and the linguistic style that the instructions presented in cookbooks and culinary preparation are typically imperative and authoritative; sometimes, however, passive instruction is also used. A few early cookbooks in our sample used narrative prose. This style did not last for long and soon gave way to separated ingredients and to the format we are familiar with today. Cookbooks before the 1950s used passive instructions more frequently than the ones after the mid 1950s, which were mostly written in an imperative mood. From the 1970s only three books were found written in passive form. This, as Notaker (2012) explains, can reflect the fact that the recipe is a form of a command or an order and cookbooks consequently are examples of normative texts just like codes of law, contracts, constitutions, regulations and prescriptions.

Measurement

No significant difference was observed in the way of presenting measures. As Notaker (2012) notes, the use of exact measures varies considerably from country to country and from author to author. Cookbooks considered in this study used the metric system which was introduced to Norway in 1882. Due to slow adaptation of the new system, cookbooks of this era often included a conversion table. Although in the beginning of the 1890s metric system became universal, these tables continued appearing in cookbooks of some years later (Notaker, 2001). However, they phased out of fashion by the 1920s, with only a handful of cookbooks, mostly pertaining to baking and confectionary, including them.⁵⁷ One can argue that this was because

⁵⁷ This was because the precise nature of baking. The notion was that even the most skilled cooks and housewives required detailed recipes for baking (H. Notaker, personal communication, June 6, 2013), since even a small change in the ingredients would alter the outcome in a way that cannot be fixed, as if they are chemistry formulas. In other words, baking was seen as having little room for creativity, unlike cooking, where creativity could abound.

of the assumption regarding skilled housewives who did not need any detail in the amounts of ingredients. This view is opposed by Olaug Løken who in her 1901 second edition of *Madstel og husstel for almindelige husholdninger*⁵⁸ noted “there is now much more need for the accurate quantities and measurements in the recipes than four or five years ago” (p.3). The lack of such vital information on ingredients was mostly seen in the works of authors whom their main profession involved a different field rather than cooking or domestic science (e.g. Øvre Richter Frich). We think that the lack of precise measurements in the works of such authors reflected their lack of knowledge in the field.

In the 1930s and following decades, precision in measurements became the norm. While conversion tables often appeared in the beginning or at the end of the cookbooks they were no longer for converting imperial units to metric ones. Instead, they were a tool allowing the reader to convert deciliters to grams, since different ingredients with the same volume do not hold the same weight. For instance, one deciliter of fine salt weighs 120 grams while the same volume of rolled oats weighs only 40 grams (Knudsen, 1938). Interestingly, there were wide discrepancies across cookbooks – for example, one deciliter of flour could be equivalent to 50 (Knudsen, 1938), 55 (Thrap, 1943) or 60 (Dekke, 1943) grams. However, cookbooks in the past five decades have become much more uniform in their conversions, thanks to the technological and scientific methods of standardization of such concepts.

Another common method of measurement for the volume of ingredients in the sampled period is the use of kitchen utensils. Units such as teaspoon, tablespoon and cup can be found in all of these cookbooks. Today, these measurements are standardized, and a person only needs to buy a set of measuring spoons and cups or use the metric equivalent which is usually provided in

⁵⁸ Cooking and House-Caring for Ordinary Households

a conversion table in most cookbooks. However, this method was not always standard in older days, when utensils even from the same manufacturer could have different dimensions. It is unclear to us when measuring utensils became standardized in Norway. We can only assume that these volume measurements are used due to their practicality even though metric system is much more accurate.

Another kind of measuring table in the cookbooks of the 1930s and the decades later, are those showing how much ingredients should be used for each person. This made it easier for the reader to calculate and alter the amount of ingredients matching their desired quantity. Sarah Dekke's table in her in her 1943 *Hjemmets kokebok til daglig bruk* is a case in point:

Amount per person

Raw packaged fish	½ kg
Raw salmon	¼ kg
Lutefisk or Stockfish	¼ kg

Pictures

Cookbooks of the recent years, especially after the 1980s, tend to give design a very high priority. High quality photos, usually taken by professional photographers, take more room than the recipes themselves. They are read and looked with joy and pleasure, even if the reader does not intend to try them out. As Barthes (1972) mentions, they are to nourish dreams and alibis. Floyd and Forster (2003) believe that one can consider today's cookbooks as rivaling to art books and landscape photography.

Pictures are rarely found in cookbooks published prior to the 1930s. Use of pictures in cookbooks began in the late 1930s. They usually pictured a place or kitchen settings showing how to set a table for different occasion as well as cooking utensils. In this period, the potential of illustrations as a great pedagogical tool was generally ignored and various preparation steps of a dish were never or seldom shown. Diagrams showing preparation, like the ones with pictures on how to cut meat (mostly pork, veal, and calf) or how to debone fish, began to appear sometime in the early 1940s. But it was not until mid 1940s when pictures of finished dishes appeared in a few selected cookbooks. As Gold (2007) puts it, the emphasis on pictures in cookbooks is largely due to cheaper printing process and better technology for photography.

The cover photos and frontispieces were similarly informative. According to Gold (2007) changes in time and in the presumed audience can be observed clearly in an analysis of the changing frontispieces of cookbooks. For example, the front cover of the 1929 *Matlære* (Høst and Milberg) illustrates a family of five (wife and husband with three children) all dining together in a fairly small household.⁵⁹ A poem by Bjørnsen accompanies the picture:

Whoever does not have love for little things, cannot
receive that of the multitude, or the memory.

Whoever cannot build his own house,
whatever great he builds will also crumble.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ The same picture appeared on the cover of seven editions published from 1916 to 1935.

⁶⁰ Hvem er har kjærlighet I det små,
han kan ei mengdens, ei minnets få.
Hvem ei kan bygge sitt eget hus,
hvad stort han bygger går og i grus.

A later edition in 1938 still illustrates the family, this time with four members.⁶¹ In fact, this simple change in the picture of a simple cookbook is reflecting the change in household size and family structure over time.⁶² Moreover, the wife who was sitting at the table and was eating with the other members of the family in the previous edition is now serving the food to her family *waiting to be served by her*. This reflects the growing emphasis on the domestic role of women as those ‘in charge’ of the household (Gold, 2007).⁶³ By the 1950s, healthy living and eating was gaining importance in society which necessitated the need to highlight important nutrients essential for good health. As a result, the 1958 edition abandoned the familial aspects and shifted the attention to a nutritional perspective by picturing different vitamin groups on the cover. The vitamins (A, B, C, and D) contained in each set of ingredients were highlighted in the picture.⁶⁴ In later editions,⁶⁵ a different picture is used to illustrate the same [nutritional] context. However the emphasis on essential vitamins is absent, as if the reader is now familiar with the concept and does not need to be educated or reminded of such ‘basic knowledge’. Such changes were also reflected in other cookbooks of this era.

Any illustrations and photos in cookbooks published during 1920s to 1950s usually highlighted femininity, though unintentionally. The 1922 cookbook, *Heimestell* by Hulda Garborg, portrays a woman, most probably a servant, peeling fruits while having a basket full of raw ingredients in front of her and a fish waiting to be prepared behind her. The 1928 *Kokebok for hvermand*⁶⁶ written by ‘a housewife’, shows a picture of a woman cooking over an oven in a

⁶¹ The picture was first used in the eighth edition in 1938 and continued appearing on seven editions published from 1938 to 1956.

⁶² According to the web portal of the Norwegian government (1998) the household size reduced from five in the 1910s and 1920s to four in the 1930s – the 1950s.

⁶³ Read more in *Gender Role* section

⁶⁴ The picture was used in two editions of 1958 and 1961

⁶⁵ From 1962 to 1979

⁶⁶ Cookbook for Everyone

kitchen. *Kokebok for land og by*⁶⁷ (Landmark, 1938) depicts a woman adding the final touches to a cake which has clearly been made by her while *Mat- og kjøkenstell*⁶⁸ (Grude, 1945) shows two women cooking over an oven.

Cookbook cover photos became less gender focused in later years, with the focus shifting to the finished dish, rather than the female cook. In some cases pictures of the woman and the finished product were shown together, but it is notable that she is no longer *cooking*, but *presenting* the finished dish –which still is implying that the dish has been prepared on her own. This may reflect a sense that the finished dish is of more importance than how and by whom it was prepared. It was only in the 1980s that pictures of the authors began to appear on the cover. This was probably a way for them to promote and promulgate themselves. This trend still continues today.

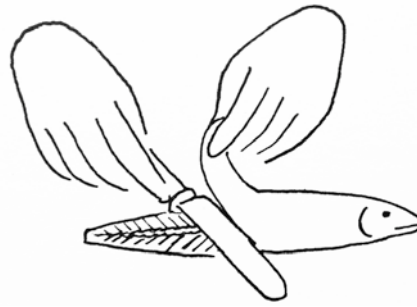
It is important for many authors to underline how professional they are in their craft (Notaker, 2001). This was usually done in the introduction or preface, and the trend continues even in cookbooks today. From the 1960s on, blurbs were added to Norwegian cookbooks due to a more advanced printing technology of that time. The blurbs allowed authors to give readers a quick overview not only of the book, but also the authors' authority in his/ her field. The first blurb observed in our sample belonged to the back cover of *Mat for venner* (Dege, 1964). It provided a short biography of the author and other works and books from him. From the 1970s, blurbs were observed on the back of almost all cookbooks in our sample. However, in recent years with many cookbooks written by celebrity and well-known chefs, the necessity of giving information about the author has been replaced by giving information about the book and the concept that it was written with.

⁶⁷ Cookbook for Country and City

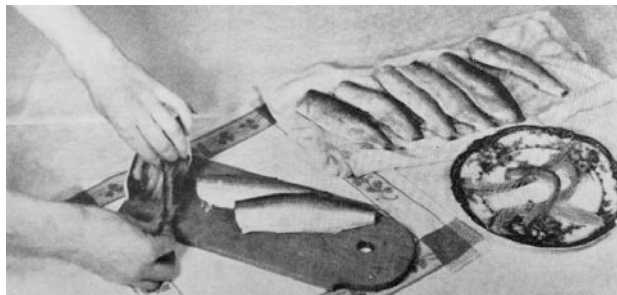
⁶⁸ Cooking and Kitchen-Care



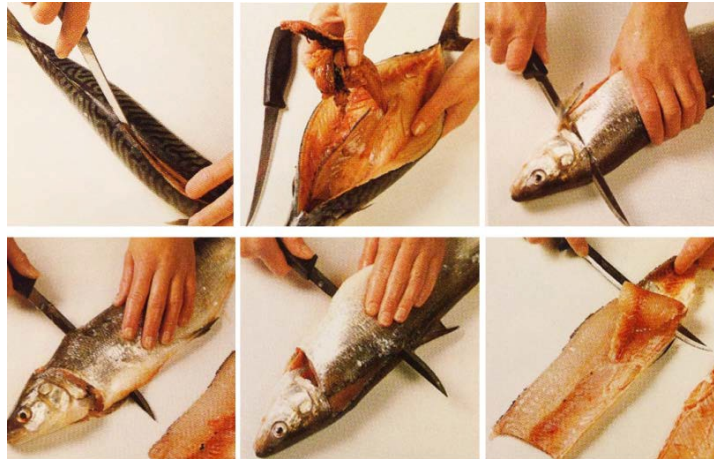
Figure 4. An analysis of book covers - An analysis of changing Norwegian cookbook covers and frontispieces was informative, as they could quite clearly reflect the changes in a society. The change in the household size; the rise and the fall of domestic roles for women; nutrition issues and the novelty of concepts such as healthy eating; development of printing technology; and the presumed audience were the ones that we explored by examining pictures and book covers. *Matlære* (Høst and Milberg) is a case in point.



Hjemmets kokebok til daglig bruk (Sarah Dekke, 1938, p. 31)



Tidens kokebok (Lillemor Erken, 1949, p. 54)



Gyldendals kokebok (Ingrid Espelid Hovig, 2004, p. 221)

Figure 5. Appearance of diagrams and pictures - Diagrams and pictures showing preparation of dishes and ingredients, began to appear sometime in the early 1940s. Since then, use of pictures has remarkably increased by cookbooks, to the degree that sometimes pictures take more room than recipes themselves. Using pictures in cookbooks is largely due to cheaper printing process and better technology for photography.

Plagiarism or originality

Originality does not necessarily mean inventing something completely new. One can borrow a theme from others' works and still present something new with their own style – as many great artists have done and their work became legendary. Cookbooks, in Norway and elsewhere in the world are no different (Notaker, 2001). Several dishes, considered as national dishes today in Norway, have their origins elsewhere. *Fårikål*,⁶⁹ now considered a national dish, existed in German cookbooks of the 18th century, spread to Denmark, showed up in the elite Norwegian cookbooks of the 19th century, and less than a hundred years ago became one of Norway's national dishes (Notaker, 1995). Another such example is *kjøttkaker*⁷⁰ thought of as a 'typical Norwegian' dish, but also a traditional dish in Sweden and Finland,⁷¹ Denmark,⁷² and to greater extents in Spain,⁷³ and Turkey⁷⁴ (Notaker, 2000).

Cookbook authors from Norway – and elsewhere in the world – occasionally 'borrow' recipes from each others. According to Notaker (2001), even well-known figures such as the famous folklorist Peter Christen Asbjørnsen (1864) borrowed a lot from Hanna Winsnes (1845), who herself included several recipes from other cookbooks, particularly from Danish cookbooks. These two cases are different in the sense that while the former tried to hide his tracks by making small changes (e.g. change in quantity) to Winsnes' recipes, the latter created her own version of the recipe.

⁶⁹ Mutton stew

⁷⁰ Meatballs

⁷¹ Köttbullar

⁷² Frikadeller

⁷³ Albondigas

⁷⁴ Köfte

In the sampled period, there are cases where some authors gave credit to the original sources of their recipe. Hanna Thrap (1943) in her book, *En menneskealder som husmor*, marks some of her recipes with the letter *F* referring to the recipes she got from her ‘family, friends and well-known’, although she never mentions their names. Cara Mell in her cookbook *Sleiven er mitt sceptor* (1953) openly confesses that “recipes in the book are partly borrowed, partly stolen and partly invented” (p. 11). Hesthaug (1971) following the ongoing trend in other cookbooks in that time, introduces health and nutrition as one of the main factors that she had in mind while writing her cookbook, however there are no signs of such ideas in the book; or when she imperiously talks about benefits of making bread by self at home, it seems that she had neglected to include any recipes for that. It seems that she is just conforming to other cookbooks in the market and complying with her counterparts in writing hers, which seems to be more of a copied version of others’ works.

Such examples of copying were less frequently observed when the cookbook author was a professional cook or a housekeeping teacher. Copying was more blatantly observed when the author was a journalist, writer, nutritionist, etc. where they have little knowledge of cooking. John and Karen Hess (1972) state that many recipe writers are involved in plagiarism, especially the “snitchers [...], slovenly thinkers, and poor craftsmen [...] do not understand the construction of a dish [...] and destroy its balance and harmony because they are intent on disguising the fact that it is stolen property” (p. 138-139). In the 2000s, with the rise of celebrity chefs, not much can be seen of this nature. Authors of cookbooks are now well recognized professional chefs who try to build up a reputation and a unique style for themselves. They are knowledgeable and talented enough to be able to create their own signature dishes and stealing others’ work does not seem to be an option for them.

Technology

Cooking is in many ways dependent on the available technology (Notaker, 2009). New technological products have always impacted culinary trends in significant ways. Refrigerators, ovens, and microwaves alongside with new sources of energy such as gas or electricity have led to remarkable changes in eating habits, food preparation process, etc. (Neuhaus, 2012). Novel technologies and new tools have been and are being introduced constantly to the market. Cookbook authors, naturally, had to take all these technological changes and innovations into account. Technological advances, therefore, can be traced within the pages of cookbooks – from the very first stoves in old cookbooks to the most advanced meat thermometer, super-sensitive digital scales, or fondue sets in newly published ones.

Due to technological advances, cooking significantly evolved during the 20th century. Technologies such as espresso machines, waffle irons, etc. are less used in everyday cooking, while others such as stoves and fridges are constantly used in the kitchen. Consequently, the latter are mentioned more frequently in cookbooks than the former. Due to the significant roles that technological advances play in the kitchen, we have divided this section into two subcategories of ‘cooking technology’ and ‘preserving technology’, since these two seem to be the most influential ones, at least according to cookbooks.

To be clear, all of these technologies have been, and still are dependent on electricity, whose discovery had made an enormous impact on the use and preparation of food in Norwegian households. The fact that cookbook authors referred to very basic instructions and information on electricity and electrical appliances in the early years of the studied period, reflect the relative newness of the technology and people’s unawareness about it (Gold, 2007). A case in point is the

1929 *Matlære* (Høst and Milberg) which had basic tips on how to prevent electric shock or how to use different electric devices such as oven, iron, vacuum cleaner, etc. This was parallel to the times that electricity was going to be used in other household dimensions other than its main use as lighting (Central Bureau of Statistics of Norway, 2000).

Cooking Technology

As electric open stoves replaced normal cooking stoves, cookbook authors included instructions on how to use them. In order to give instruction on oven's temperature, Sinding (1926) used expressions such as 'not too warm', 'slightly warm', or 'very warm' in her book, *God mat*. Going through a few oven-involved-recipes, we realized that an average of two to three hours was needed for ovens to warm up. To find out if they are warm enough or not, *Kokebok* (Sveen, Ytreberg and Rasmussen, 1934) suggests readers to:

Put a crumpled white paper in the oven. If it immediately turns brown, the oven is too warm; if it takes a long time to turn brown, it is too cold; but if it turns brown within almost two minutes, then the warmth is suitable (p. 336).

By mid 1930s, it is assumed that everybody had an oven at home, as Guldberg (1935) states:

I assume here, that you have an oven. But if not, you will get one sooner or later (p. 61).

Ovens were introduced to the market in the late 19th century. Their fuel was usually wood as well as coal, coke, and peat in later years, with an enclosed oven and a top plate with rooms for pots and pans. These ovens made it possible to cook several dishes at the same time, making food preparation much easier. For instance, breads or cakes, which prior to 20th century were not

easily made in old ovens, started appearing frequently in the cookbooks, which probably reflect the simplicity of cooking such recipes for the general public. Prior to this, baking was an elite activity, since only the very rich could afford to have an oven and the money to purchase the expensive ingredients (Notaker, 2009).

The rise of a new kind of kitchen stove called *magasinkomfyr*⁷⁵ can be traced back to the mid 1930s. It paralleled the time that electricity was going to be used in the household beyond its very basic function of lighting. Basic instructions on utilizing electricity and how it applies to ‘the new generation’ of ovens could reflect the novelty of both of these technologies. These ovens were sometimes accompanied with gas burners for better preparation of certain dishes. In the late 1930s and the early 1940s cookbooks mentioned a new kind of oven called *kombinasjonskomfyr*.⁷⁶ This new oven was “designed for housewives who desired an elegant combination of electric plate and a fuel stove” (Erken, 1939, p.15) can be found in cookbooks.

The mention of a microwave in Norwegian cookbooks can be traced to the 1970s, with several cookbooks including independent sections for microwave cooking. However, microwaves were, and still are, mostly used to *defrost* frozen foods and *heat up* leftovers or ready-to-heat products rather than for *cooking* itself. A very significant change that microwave ovens have caused, is the time spent on preparing meals – they remarkably reduce the time needed for a piece of frozen product to be ready for cooking.

⁷⁵ Heat-Storage Stove

⁷⁶ Combination Oven

Preserving Technology

The rise of various sorts of fridges and freezer changed the storage facilities dramatically. This was of much importance especially in Norway due to its short growing season and long, cold, dark winters resulting in poor harvests. This made the introduction of fridges and freezers key to the evolution of Norwegian cuisine. The increasing availability of such preserving technologies was reflected through most of cookbooks.

Refrigerators are mentioned in Norwegian cookbooks of the 1930s. Early sampled cookbooks explained the function of and how to use non-mechanical refrigerators. These refrigerators, also known as iceboxes were initially only available to a selected few as mentioned in *Mat for to*⁷⁷ (1935):

If one has a storage box (icebox), [...] he can shop for a few days in advance (p. 5 - 13).

[Emphasis added]

In making *Gelé*⁷⁸ she recommended to put the bowl in a “cool place” (p. 71), not necessarily a fridge. Erken notes in her 1936 cookbook, *Kjøkkenalmanakk*, that “refrigerator is not a luxury anymore, and is the wisest and most economic choice that every kitchen could have” (p. 96). Yet, whenever a recipe demands a chilling or freezing process, *two methods* were outlined in cookbooks. The first one was for people who possessed a refrigerator. This was the ‘more convenient’ (Rachlew, 1948) and ‘less expensive’ (Dekke, 1943) way. The second method was intended to be used by people who did not have refrigerator. The latter was mostly seen in ice cream recipes where freezing was an absolute necessity. A so-called *kuldeblanding*⁷⁹ was

⁷⁷ Food for Two

⁷⁸ Gelatin Dessert

⁷⁹ Freezing Mixture

used consisting of salt and ice, and on some occasions, saltpeter. The ice cream mixture was put in a container (usually made from metal or any other conductors of heat) and placed in the freezing mixture for a few hours until the ice cream was ready.⁸⁰ With a proper mixture of these three, one could lower the temperature up to minus twenty one degrees centigrade. A ‘proper’ mixture, according to Erken (1949, p. 209) is “three parts ice, one part salt, and two parts saltpeter”.

While a few cookbook authors still suggested putting food in larders, basements and even in the deep snow to preserve it for longer periods, most cookbooks from the mid-1940s considered the refrigerator as a ‘normal’ product. Most of these authors assumed that readers by that time owned a refrigerator despite the fact that only less than one percent of Norwegian households possessed fridges before 1950 (Lange, 2005). Mell (1953) writes in her cookbook that “there is no need to worry if one does not have a fridge at home” and sympathetically adds:

If I did not live in an apartment which had the fridge by itself in the first place, I would have not had a fridge, either (p.85).

⁸⁰ The chemistry was quite simple. Saltpeter is highly soluble in water. When mixed with water (or ice, which makes the whole process much faster since the starting point is lower) it has a distinctive cooling effect. In chemical terms is called an ‘endothermic’ reaction- a reaction which uses more heat than it creates. This reaction needs energy and this energy is provided through the heat in the water, which as a result, decreases the water temperature to zero point and below that. This method seemed to be very popular in Norway because of the easy access to the ice from fjords and snow.

In a similar method, they used only salt and [preferably crushed] ice, which surrounded the ice cream mixture. They added salt to the ice and the ice immediately starts to melt. In order to melt, ice gets the heat from its surroundings which, as a result, decrease the temperature of the container and cool down the ice cream mixture to below the freezing point. On some occasions, both salt and saltpeter were added to the ice to accelerate the process. With a proper mixture of these three, one could lower the temperature up to minus twenty one degrees centigrade. A ‘proper’ mixture, according to Erken (1949, p. 209) is “three parts ice, one part salt, and two parts saltpeter.”

The concept of deep frozen products can be found in cookbooks from late 1940s. Authors start writing in their books about this new phenomenon. Lillemor Erken, marking a wave of the future, writes in her 1949 *Tidens kokebok*:⁸¹

We are in the childhood of deep freezing. It is relatively new in Norway and there is no doubt that it will start to appear more and more in the future. [...] The nutrient content in these frozen products are remarkably unchanged compared to the fresh ones [...] if they would be bought from 'they who own freezers'. [...] However, I think they must come at a price range that all people can afford to buy them (p. 215 - 216).

From her text, we can assume a few points. (1) Frozen food products were expensive and not available to everyone. (2) They were relatively new to the market and to the public. (3) Not everyone had a freezer at home at the time of the book's publication, and only those with access to cold storage facilities were able to keep and sell such products.

By the 1970s, freezers were considered to be 'modern warehouses' (Hesthaug, 1971) and it was claimed that Norwegians in possession of freezers had access to all kind of produce throughout the year (Bjerkbæk, 1977; Hesthaug, 1971). Only a decade earlier or two, in the 1950s and the 1960s, winter recipes used only a handful of vegetables- carrot, rutabaga, turnip, onion, and cabbage. Due to modern preservation methods and technology such as deep freezing and freezers along with easier importation, and improvement in transportation and communication, this pattern changed in the 1970s (Innli, 1993). However, from the instructions on the use of such appliances, it is evident that they were not as advanced as the ones we use today. For example, to freeze ice cream, *Matlære* (1968) advises the reader to put ice in the

⁸¹ The Cookbook of the Time

fridge and set the temperature to the lowest, ‘an hour in advance’. *Kokebok*⁸² (1989) also mentions that the freezer temperature is never too low to freeze the ice cream completely. By the beginning of the 1990s, almost all cookbooks stopped mentioning fridges, since they had now become commonly used appliances and a ‘must have’ in every kitchen. So there was no need to mention something which has already been vastly recruited by people.

Technological developments in cooking and preserving helped save people another vital factor: time. Not only was cooking faster (thanks to cooking technologies), shopping also took less time (thanks to preserving technologies). People could shop and keep the ingredients for a longer time. Consequently everyday shopping seems unnecessary, unless it is a personal preference. Moreover, the increasing availability of the ingredients in the market is a subject that has benefited majorly from technological advancement and resulted in a faster process of preparing food in the households. Dishes which took the majority of time of the cook or the housewife to be prepared can be done in less than an hour, nowadays.

For instance, some recipes in the 1922 *Heimstell* took an average of six days to be prepared, while the majority of those in *Kokeboka* (Andersen, 2011) take a maximum of twenty five minutes. Most cookbooks published in the 2000s give priority to time, most specifically by mentioning the cooking time prior to each recipe. This trend was first observed on the 1980s. *Kokebok* (1989) noted that recipes in the book were supposed to take less time to be prepared than before. The concern with time was also reflected by several cookbooks adding independent sections for dishes that could be prepared quickly. Other cookbooks marked their recipes with a special sign to indicate the fact that they could be prepared in a very short time. Others explicitly address the issue of time, by making their recipes more time friendly. Thommessen (1998,

⁸² Cookbook

outside back cover) notes that her cookbook was written for “modern busy people.” Barmen in his 2009 cookbook notes that his book has been designed for the modern lifestyle, where less physical activities and little time consumption on making food is desired. Ingrid Espelid Hovig (2011) gives her partial attention to the modern appliances (such as electric mixers, blenders, microwave, etc.) as important elements in the modern kitchen. She suggests that this is because “time is becoming more and more crucial for many, these days.” She acknowledges the importance of such appliances in her previous cookbooks as well, as in *Gyldendals kokebok*⁸³ (1994) she devoted a section to practical appliances and kitchen tools.

Economy

Economy has been an important concern in Norwegian cookbooks. An economical attitude towards food came from the 19th century and continued into the 20th. The concept of ‘economy in cookbooks’ could be characterized as “preparing good food without spending too much money and making the most effective use of ingredients” (Notaker, 2009, p. 39). Simply put, the idea was to save as much as possible, where possible.

This emphasis on economy seems to be at its peak during the 1930s and the 1940s, in which two huge conflicts of the Great Depression and the Second World War occurred.

The Second World War and occupation of Norway by Nazi Germany in April 1940 was followed by severe economic consequences. Soon, Norwegians were confronted with scarcity of basic goods including food, and they had to resort to substituting goods on many occasions⁸⁴ (Klemann and Kudryashov, 2011). Cooking with an empty pantry or with such altered

⁸³ Gyldendal’s Cookbook

⁸⁴ For example using *peas* instead of *coffee*

ingredients was not an easy task. As a result, crisis cookbooks were introduced to the market and became popular during war time. The use of wild herbs, plants, mushrooms and producing jam ‘without sugar’ was among the most seen instructions in these books. Cookbook authors in this period were mostly teachers in schools of domestic science who shared a similar concern about economy just as the previous group of cookbook writers⁸⁵ did.

In this period, cookbooks targeted people who wanted their food in an easy and cheap way; those who wanted to cook economically, but without compromising on the taste (Notaker, 2001). ‘Good and delicious foods at low costs’ were generally offered by the books. Lillemor Erken (1949) wrote as a ‘general rule’ that *living cheaply does not necessarily mean living badly*.

The 1925 *Bordet glæder* by Wentzel and Frich claims to be “a book for people who want their food and drink in the best and most inexpensive way” (p. 7). The focus of Mollø-Christensen (1937) in *Maten vi må ha*⁸⁶ was on economic food. Knudsen (1938) wrote *Matstell* with an economic perspective. She advised readers to shop for ingredients in their own seasons to get cheaper deals. She also gave tips on how to make ‘budget soups’ with low-cost ingredients such as kohlrabi, white cabbage, or carrot. She, as well, presented ‘expensive’ and ‘inexpensive’ party menus. The book *Kjøkkenalmanakk* by Henriette Schønberg Erken which was published four times from 1935 to 1938 (once a year) under the same name, changed its title to *Kriseårets kjøkkenalmanakk*⁸⁷ in its fifth edition in 1939. It mentions the years ahead as “severe and difficult” (p. 4). As a result, she encouraged the readers to be frugal and to always choose the most economic way to cook. For example, she suggests the readers to make sugar themselves at home, since it is expensive to purchase.

⁸⁵ Housekeepers or professional cooks in restaurants or royal kitchens (Notaker, 2009)

⁸⁶ The Food We Need

⁸⁷ The Kitchen Almanac for the Crisis Year

The appearance of books bearing titles such as *Økonomisk kokebok* (1944) and having ‘*kriseoppskrifter*’⁸⁸ took place during this period. Their aim was to promote the value of frugal dishes. Many recipes in the *Hjemmets kokebok til daglig bruk* of Sarah Dekke (1943) have the word ‘cheap’ in their original names or titles. *Cheap Berlin Wreath*, *Cheap Bread Pudding*, *Cheap Egg Cream*, *Cheap Honey Cake*, *Cheap Pork Liver*, *Cheap Vegetables Salad*, *Cheap Donuts* are only a few examples. Sometimes the same dish has two different versions of recipes which are marked as either ‘expensive’ or ‘inexpensive’. Independent sections pointing directly to times of crisis are available in the book, namely *Bakery in Times of Crisis*, *Butter in Times of Crisis*, and *Tea and Coffee in Times of Crisis*. Generally, if we go through the so-called ‘crisis recipes’ we realize that they focused on using inexpensive foodstuffs such as potatoes or flour and avoided using expensive ones such as sugar, oil, or butter. For instance, Dekke in her cookbook states in the recipe of *Gelé* that “it would be an expensive choice, since it requires lots of sugar” (p. 230). Even vegetables were mentioned as being expensive. She believed that the reason that the Norwegians did not include vegetables in their everyday diet was because of the high price. She wrote:

People think that vegetables are expensive. But the fact is that even in southern countries, they are not much cheaper but people still are using them almost every day. The difference is in the way they consume them. For example, we throw away the rootstalks while in other countries they use it in stews or soups. Even the water that the potato has been made in, must not be thrown away, since it is a very good agent against rheumatism (p. 108).

⁸⁸ Crisis recipes

Such texts could be interpreted in a nutritional context as well. However, it seems that the economic concerns were considered more important rather than nutritional values; the concept of ‘frugality’ seems to be the main goal especially during the war years.⁸⁹ The 1948 *Kokebok* of Rachlew suggested that readers make bread at home, mainly because it would be cheaper and more economic that way. The same argument was made by Klamerholm (1957) in his book, *Kokebok*.

The end of the war was not necessarily the end of the shortage of food. Everything was tightly rationed, including meat, fish, milk, bread and other foodstuffs (Hagemann and Roll-Hansen, 2005; Notaker, 1995). By the end of 1947, the pre-war standard of living had been restored and it continued to improve during the 1950s (Garton, 1993). In 1952 sugar and coffee again became available in the market and the period of shortage and rationing was over. Norway took a big step of building a welfare society in which there is always food for every member of the society and no sign of hunger can be seen (Notaker, 1995). However, the concept of frugality can still be seen in cookbooks of the 1960s and some years after. This concept was not only centered around ingredients, but also energy, fuel, and time. For instance, in the 1968 *Matlære*, the concept of *sparekoking*⁹⁰ was introduced as a result of such perspectives in which several methods including using pressure cooker or cooking in the oven is encouraged.^{91 92}

⁸⁹ Notaker (2001) approves that one of the reasons of much emphasis on consuming vegetables in those years derived from an economical point of view rather than nutritional (simply because they cost less than meat.)

⁹⁰ frugal cooking

⁹¹ In the 1990s, there were also a few books, such as *Matlyst* (Lindstad and Kringlebotn, 1990) in which there were tips on how to create a new and appealing food out of leftovers and generally how to practice the concept of frugality.

⁹² This widespread habit of frugality among Norwegians –especially regarding food– could have been instilled as a persistent fear of scarcity as one of the profound effects that the war and occupation left on the collective psyche of the Norwegian population. We think this needs to and could be discussed in depth in a later study as a sociopsychological phenomenon.

Economic concerns continued through the 1970s, as well. Hesthaug (1971) mentioned “everybody talks about high prices and insufficient products” (p. 7), and compared Norway with other countries where people were really poor, but still got along with what they have. She gave the example of Italy and China where people made the most out of spaghetti (in Italy) and rice (in China) in a way that dishes made from them never get monotonous. She also gave some tips on shopping:

Always consider sales. There is always a sale somewhere. Buy what you need during the sales and keep them. [...] Self-service grocery stores are a huge temptation to do over-shopping. So before you go there, make sure that you are not hungry, since you will shop more when you are hungry. Another thing you can do is to estimate how much money you are going to spend on what you need, and to not take more than that, so you could be sure that you will not buy anything unnecessary (p. 8).

However, economic concerns started fading as Norway benefited from a more stable economic position, after discovery of oil, and people gained access to enough and better foodstuffs. This was confirmed in *Kokebok for Matleie*⁹³ (Gjelsvik and Omdahl, 1989):

In the late 50’s, the essential and basic ingredients became available to the free market after a long period of rationing and austerity. [...] We had a time when one held himself only with crisp bread, sausage, and a thin onion ring. A strange mixture, but that was exactly one could have. Those days are gone now (p. 25-27).

In the 1990s and 2000s, cookbooks were less concerned with budgets since economy was no longer a concern in a rich welfare country such as Norway. Although Norway suffered from a financial crisis in the early 1990s along with other western countries, it escaped unscathed

⁹³ Cookbook for Loss of Appetite

without any devastating long-term effects due to the government policies, an international economic boom, and high prices of petroleum (Grytten, 2010). Not significant economy-related issues were found in cookbooks of these eras, accordingly.

Health and Nutrition Issues

Health and nutrition issues can be seen as another aspect in cookbooks which seemed to be equally important as economy. These two were usually mentioned in the context of each others.

Notaker (2009, p. 40) states “new development and discoveries in medical science and chemistry bring forth a greater understanding of the dietary functions” and channeling such knowledge into the Norwegian cookbooks seem to reflect this. From the late 19th century, nutrition became more important in cookbooks to the degree that some books were based on scientific articles or included introductions by scientists or doctors (Notaker, 2001). It was notable that health and economy were often mentioned together in a way to persuade people that a dish can be economic and healthy simultaneously. This can also be seen in cookbooks of the 1990s, although economy matters were not that much of a concern anymore.

In the 1920s, the knowledge of nutrition went further than ‘what must be used in porridge to prevent stomach problems’. The main attention was energy requirement and the amount of calories that the body needs to function well. As Notaker (1995) mentions, this had begun in the last ten years of the 18th century when a broader understanding of essential elements for the body took place as biology, chemistry, and medicine had developed. Garborg (1922) assigned an important chapter of her book to ‘health’. She gave advice on basic health issues such as using

fresh air, using water and soap to wash hands and body, wearing warm clothes in cold weather. She also emphasized on how healthy food is necessary for the human body. In addition, she talked about diseases such as coryza, sore throat, gastritis, influenza, glands, brucellosis, gastroparesis, diarrhea, otitis, etc. Wentzel and Frich claimed that one of their main motivations of writing the 1925 *Bordets glæder* was because there was a lack of sufficient cookbooks talking about vitamins. This seems logical, since it was not until 1906, after the discovery of vitamins, when counties and communities began to hold courses on the concept and promoted consuming fruits and vegetables on a regular basis.⁹⁴ The view on health and nutrition in this cookbook seems quite advanced and researched for those times:

Some say that cooking is a science rather than an art. [...] The human body contains a suitable mixture of sugar, fat and albumin, and one should try to keep this balance via a healthy food and a proper diet. [...] Just after Americans, North Germanic people have the weakest eating habits in the world. Americans mistreat themselves by eating fast and drinking too much ice water while we hurt ourselves by having hard-to-digest foods and drinks (p. 9).

In *Mat for to* (Guldberg, 1935) readers were provided with information on sources of fat, calories and carbohydrates as necessary nutrients for a healthy life. Some soups were introduced for dealing with/preventing diarrhea. Erken (1937) promoted fish as a healthy food as well as milk and dairy. Emphasizing on vitamins and minerals, she suggested:

[Many think that they have to take care of children when they are born. But] taking care of them begins *before* their birth. To have healthy children, you have to eat well and be

⁹⁴ A research in 1896 showed that Parisians consumed twelve times more vegetables and five times more fruits than Norwegians, but in return their potato consumption was only one seventh of Norwegians (Notaker, 1995).

healthy yourself. If you are healthy, your children will be, as well (p. 22). [Emphasis added]

Mollø-Christensen (1937) wrote her cookbook by a look at *Den nasjonale kostholdplan*⁹⁵, and all the recipes and menus she presented were intended to cover all essential vitamins and minerals as well as the required calories for the body. This was the year that a National Nutrition Council (NNC) established a mandate to give advice regarding nutrition to the government via their nutrition and food policies (Norum et al., 1997) and nutrition was on the agenda in the League of Nations (Notaker, 2001).⁹⁶ Besides health and nutritional issues, she stated that the aim of the book was to introduce healthy and economic foods.

In a similar view, Knudsen (1938) highlighted that a low-cost meal is not necessarily an unhealthy one and it could be beneficial to individuals' health and economy. He gave the example of milk as one such food item. He listed nutrients everyone should have in their daily diet. A theoretical part on nutrition "as an important concept to follow" (p. 5-6) was written by Doctor Erling Rustung. It could mirror the degree of emphasis on nutrition intended to be placed in this cookbook. *Kjøkkenalmanakk* (Erken, 1939) introduced a complete list of food items showing what type of vitamins they contain. They were ranked from 1 to 5 where 1 denoted the least nutritious and 5 is the most nutritious. Pictures of the main sources of vitamins B, C, and D accompanied this table.

The most influential cookbook that had nutritional values as the central theme was written by Erken in the same year, with cooperation of Professor Carl Schiøtz who composed the

⁹⁵ The National Health Plan

⁹⁶ However, nutrition theories started excluding from general cookbooks by this time, since it became a part of the curriculum in schools (Notaker, 2001).

so-called *Oslofrokosten*.⁹⁷ Sarah Dekke in *Hjemmets kokebok til daglig bruk* (1943) raised the importance of consuming vegetables and noted that salads play a vital role in the kitchen and should be consumed at least once a day. Her book has a health chapter following a brochure published by *Medesinaldirektøren*.⁹⁸ *Matlære* (1968) presented a similar table with information on various food items and their contents of carbohydrates, calcite, starch, water, and calories as well as some new items such as Niacin.⁹⁹ The general agenda of this period could also be seen in the 1957 *Kokebok* by Klamerholm, where she summarizes the important concepts of that time, in her book's preface. The following highlights all the characteristics mentioned above that usually appeared in the cookbooks before the 1970s:

The book is not designed for those who just want to learn how to cook; it is more of a support to help those who desire to use *rich ingredients* with *reasonable price* to make something *healthy* and *delicious* (p. 11). [Emphasis added]

By the beginning of the 1970s, nutritional information in cookbooks do not appear as highlighted and as frequent as it used to. Even if they did, they now had a different perspective. A characteristic of nutritional information by this time was that the cookbooks tried to follow the national nutritional plans and actions which were introduced by the government and health directorate. This is especially the case after 1963 when an official Norwegian report on the relationship between dietary fat and cardiovascular disease was published, resulting from a substantial increase in mortality from Coronary Heart Disease (CHDs) associated with changes in food habits and lifestyle (Norum et al., 1997).¹⁰⁰ By 1984, it was claimed in Hovig and Norum's cookbook that "around fifty elements and compounds that made the human body able

⁹⁷ The Oslo Breakfast

⁹⁸ The Medicinal Directorate

⁹⁹ Niacin's beneficial effect was discovered in 1955.

¹⁰⁰ Norway was one of the first nations in the world with an official nutrition policy in 1975 (Notaker, 2009).

to function normally were known to date” (p. 9). The authors approve the Norwegian diet as one ‘rich of protein’. In *Mat for alle*¹⁰¹ (Bjerkås, Ravneberg and Thomassen, 1985) the concept of *Matpyramyden*¹⁰² was mentioned, accompanied by “six tips to be in a better health” (p.7):

- Eat less fat
- Eat less sugar
- Eat more fiber
- Have a varied diet
- Do not eat after you are full
- Use less salt

It seems that by this time, Norwegians had a general idea and knowledge on what their diet should consist of, but were probably not aware of what it should not. Kirste and Strømstad in *Kokebok* (1989) which was claimed to be in the same direction with *Ernæringsmeldingen*¹⁰³, explain:

Our nutrition, nowadays, has become better than before. There are more variations with better affordability and as a result, *deficiency diseases* occur less frequently. However, *overnutrition* is replacing it. Heart problems, obesity, having high sugar or high fat and tooth problems are only some examples. [...] Try to keep the balance between consuming saturated fats and unsaturated fats, since the latter could be healthier than the former. Use milk and dairy on a daily basis, [...] eat less butter and margarine, [...] consume bread, potatoes and vegetables [...] and eat more fish and fish products (p. 9-10). [Emphasis added]

¹⁰¹ Food for Everyone

¹⁰² The Food Pyramid

¹⁰³ The Nutrition Report

This book refers to the White Paper which was presented to the Norwegian Parliament through report No. 32 (1975-1976) on *Norwegian Nutrition and Food Policy*.¹⁰⁴ The author suggested a special diet and recommended to follow it in order to “keep oneself in shape” and “make oneself slimmer”¹⁰⁵ (p. 463-464). Some special diets for an easier digestion, or preventing flatulence were presented along with a ‘gluten-free’ section. Instructions of this nature-addressing allergies, diseases, and special diets were observed more frequently in the cookbooks published during this period. Hovig and Norum (1984) laid the same emphasis and criticized wrong eating habits among Norwegians:

[Although] Norwegian nutrition is rich of protein, we do not eat the right nutritious items. For example, we eat ten times more salt than the amount our body needs (p. 11-14).

The 1989 *Kokebok for matleie* by Inger Gjelsvik and Mimi Omdahl warns about the consequences of two common wrong ongoing patterns: ‘eating too much, and not taking good care of teeth’. Fast food products, in the author’s opinion, are cause of both. She indicates that “it may seem easier and faster to consume them, but one should try to make the food oneself at home” (p.8).

Another common issue, especially during the 1990s, was the emphasis on consuming fruits and vegetables on a daily basis which can be seen in almost every cookbook. This was in line with what the Norwegian health authorities and dietary guidelines recommended.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ “This policy in essence encouraged healthy dietary habits, proposed nutrition and food policy in accordance with the recommendations of the World Food Conference, as well as new schemes for a rapid increase in Norwegian food self-sufficiency, and assigned priority to food products from economically disadvantaged areas of Norway” (Norum et al., 1997).

¹⁰⁵ According to *Social and Health Directorate*, from 2000 to 2003, 14-22 percent of men and 13-20 percent of women between 40-45 years, were suffering from obesity in Norway.

¹⁰⁶ 750 grams fruits and vegetables per day (FAO and WHO recommend intake of 400 grams per day).

However, Hovig (2011) went further than these standards and suggested that “one can have as much as vegetables he/she wants besides fish and meat, since there is no harm in it” (p. 11). Linstad and Kringleboth in the 1990 *Matlyst*¹⁰⁷ “translate the nutritional recommendations of the government into practical cooking” (p. 8) and applied the latest version of the six groups of dietary circle to all recipes alongside with special recipes for older people, people with allergies, and conditions such as diabetes. In their book *Hverdagsmat*¹⁰⁸ (1996), Hovig, Blaker and Halvorsen once again followed the national nutrition program and briefly addressed the concept of healthy food and lifestyle. The 1998 *Liv og helse*¹⁰⁹ was also written with the same goal and gives recipes from a healthy perspective.

In the 2000s, *Tallerkenmodellen*¹¹⁰ replaced *Matpyramyden* in *Den rutete kokeboken*¹¹¹ (Hovig, 2011) and the concept of *Nøkkelhullet*¹¹² was mentioned. Although *Nøkkelhullet* had existed and been used in Sweden from 1989, it was not until 2009 when it found its way into the Norwegian markets and products (*Nøkkelhullet* official website). The fact that Hovig mentioned it before its practical existence in the Norway’s market could tell much about the importance of such a concept. Other novel nutritional concepts such as *Matvaretabellen*¹¹³ were provided in the book, as well as eight food circles with their exact amount of calories for each one.

Nutritional information still appears in cookbooks of the 2000s in spite of many other academic and scientific sources on this subject. The reason may be that although people have relatively more information on such issues, they may still have different perceptions about what

¹⁰⁷ Food Appetite

¹⁰⁸ Everyday Food

¹⁰⁹ Life and Health

¹¹⁰ The Plate Model

¹¹¹ The Checkered Cookbook

¹¹² The Keyhole

¹¹³ The Food Composition Table

is healthy and what is not. Cookbooks in this regard are probably good sources to inform people in all segments of a society. A survey conducted by *Landbrukssamvirket*¹¹⁴ in 2007 showed that nine out of ten Norwegians considered their diet as 'healthy' or 'very healthy', which is in contrast to the numbers collected by the Norwegian Directorate of Health. Different people consider the nutrition value of a food item differently: some think it is healthy when it contains low fat; or when it is organic, or when it is made at home; and some simply believe it is healthy when one enjoys and appreciates what he/she eats (Notaker, 2009).

Eating Habits

Norwegian diet and food traditions differ from place to place within the country. This could be partly because of the availability of ingredients in different regions and partly because of the cultural division between the towns and the countryside which began in the 19th century. On one hand there was the [popular] diet among farmers, peasants and fishermen consisting of local products such as milk, cheese, unleavened bread and gruel, salted and dried fish and meat. On the other hand, many copied the food traditions and eating patterns of the bourgeoisie in Denmark and other European countries, especially France (Notaker, 1991). However, some dietary habits cut across most of Norway. They included a small portion of fat or protein and bread for the breakfast, while having meat or fish during the day. They also started and ended the day with porridge (Notaker, 2009). Porridge, especially for breakfast, was highlighted in cookbooks for it was cheap, easy to prepare and nourishing (Innli, 1993). Ingird Espelid Hovig names porridge as the 'oldest warm dish that one knows in Norway' in her *Velkommen til mitt kjøkken* (1985). Today porridge has lost its former remarkable position and is substituted by

¹¹⁴ The Federation of Norwegian Agricultural Co-operatives

modern breakfast cereals often mixed with too much sugar which reduces their total nutrition value (Notaker, 2009).

Many factors have changed eating habits in Norway. Nowadays, all ingredients are available year round thanks to modern preservation methods, such as freezing, and the importing of foodstuff from all over the world. Furthermore, travelling and being inspired by other cultures while being conscious of own cultures and traditions have changed Norwegian's eating habits, as well as gaining knowledge about health and nutritional matters (Strømstad, 1999).

As Notaker (2009) mentions, many aspects comprise a society's eating habits: contents of a meal, ingredients, time taken to cook, taste, nutrition, people who eat together, social aspects of a meal, and many other items. He believes that these patterns are constantly changing through the time:

A hundred –or even fifty– years ago, the family dinner was a place where children were taught socialization, how to behave toward their parents, to ask politely for the salt, not talk too loudly, not to leave food on the plate, not to drink too noisily, and so on (p. 85).

Meal structures, meal times and eating habits have been constantly changing. For instance, people who worked in fields, forests, or factories had to take their meal with them and have it on their breaks but people who worked in the farm, which was usually near their homes, could choose their meal time.

Today, vast ranges of products offered by multinational corporations as well as ethnic products introduced by immigrants have changed the eating structure. Age, sex, education, and income are all relevant factors affecting these changes.

Norwegian cookbooks have considered eating habits to varying extents. These could be seen from the cookbooks in the 1920s in which they usually gave instruction on basic issues such as washing hands before eating, setting the table in a proper way and using a flowers on the table, or well-presenting the dish. In fact, in *Bordets glæder* (Wentzel and Frich, 1925) there is a section on meal etiquette with such advice. But generally, the emphasis was mostly on the number of meals that everyone should have each day as well as the meal time. Mollø-Christensen (1937) strongly expressed his opinion in his cookbook:

Look at the stable! Even animals get their food in a precise time. Aren't we as important as them? We should put an end to the mess in timing of our meal (p. 49).

Knudsen (1938) had the same opinion and suggests that a fixed meal time should always be maintained. He also divided people into 'office workers' and 'factory workers' and gives a meal-time-plan for each group, in which the former has 'breakfast, lunch, dinner, coffee, supper' and the latter has 'breakfast, first lunch, second lunch, dinner and coffee'.

Breakfast was given special attention. Dinner time was suggested to not be later than two to three hours prior going to bed. Dekke in *Hjemmets kokebok til daglig bruk* (1943) writes:

Youngsters these days say that "we don't need to eat lunch. We're fine with a couple of bread slices." But this is not right [and should be corrected] (p. 259).

Emphases of these kinds make their way even through cookbooks of the 1970s and later on. Bjerkebak (1977) wrote in *Norske matretter for daglig bordet*:

Lack of time has led us to serve ourselves by only one meal for lunch as the main meal. This can cause nutritional impoverishment in a long run. [...] We should consider

supper in our daily diet. A sandwich or two must be placed between main meals. Lunch pack should not be neglected either (p. 10).

Ingrid Espelig Hovig, in her 2004 *Gyldendals store kokebok*¹¹⁵ revived this concept again and noted that “four meals are necessary in a day: breakfast, lunch package, supper, and vegetables [...] There should not be more than three to four hours between each of them” (p. 5). Some cookbooks have even mentioned having six meals a day. However, we should note that a co-called open sandwich is considered a meal in Norway (Notaker, 2009) and by having five or six meals a day, it is mostly meant to have breakfast, lunch, and dinner as the main meals while having two or three snack-kind of food between (such as a sweet pastry, peanuts, fruits, smørbrød,¹¹⁶ etc.).

Considering the mealtime as a special occasion in everyday life is another aspect that Norwegian cookbooks have paid attention to. Hesthaug (1971) suggests readers to look at the mealtime as a feast: a time one should look forward to every day. Gjelsvik and Omdahl (1989) expressed themselves in the same way and added:

We have not been taught to look at the meal time as a special occasion. This has led to many problems such as loss of appetite. [...] In a world of hunger, it may seem indecent to look at “loss of appetite” as a *problem*. But that is not just about it. Many illnesses which are related to food have deeper psychological reasons and are actually *mental* disorders. So we need to *prevent* “loss of appetite” from *becoming* a problem (p. 7).

[Emphasis added]

¹¹⁵ Gyldendal’s Big Cookbooke

¹¹⁶ It can be literally translated to ‘Butter Bread’ or ‘Bread and Butter’ is a well-known combination of a piece of buttered bread topped with different spreads such as slices of beef or pork sausages, paste or mousse of pork liver, ham, cheese, mackerel in tomato sauce, etc. These open sandwiches became of great importance when such various spreads were used beside the butter (Notaker, 2009).

This trend of having ‘daily meal as a social event’ could be seen throughout our sampled period- from works of the 1920s when Augusta Sinding (1926) recommended people not eating alone, to cookbooks of today where Ingrid Espelid Hovig (2004, p. 7) says that “meal time is not only about feeding oneself, but is one of the best ways that one can socialize and get in touch with others.” It seems that eating together has, most of the time, held the social position in families, since only ten percent of Norwegians in 1988 did not have their midday meal at home. However, this amount was only four percent ten years before, in 1978 (Notaker, 1995). Today, the busy life, different working hours, youth activities in the afternoon, and many other reasons changed this trend in a great extent.

Many cookbooks emphasized the breakfast. Even if it has not been specifically mentioned, there are recipes in general cookbook for breakfast dishes that can reflect the importance of this morning meal. It is especially highlighted in the cookbooks of the 1930s, when the so-called ‘Oslo breakfast’ had been just introduced to some schools (and in 1932 to all of the schools). It contained milk, coarse dark bread (usually topped with brown cheese, margarine, liver paste, sausages, etc.), a slice of fruit (usually half of an apple/orange) or vegetable (usually a carrot or rutabaga). This breakfast was composed by Carl Schiøtz, a professor of hygiene and bacteriology at the University of Oslo, to cover the most necessary vitamins and minerals – which were known and discovered by that time – for the body. He was skeptical of the hot meal that was being served prior to this for he found it valueless; it consisted of pea soup or cliff fish or something similar over-boiled in the water (Notaker, 1995). Soon it went under attack by medical experts for its lack of vegetables and being heavy and fat-laden which made it inappropriate and even detrimental to the health and well-being of school children (Andresen and Elvbakken, 2007). Additionally, apart from having not enough nutritional values,

one of its main problems in Schiøtz's opinion was that it was served at the end of school time which was meaningless, noting that many students had sat hungry behind their benches and starved since morning. So he suggested a breakfast instead, considering calories and essential vitamins that body needs (Notaker, 1995). The main aim of providing children with this breakfast was to teach them to eat according to the latest nutritional knowledge, as well as teaching them good manners; but the former was more important than the latter (Andresen and Elvbakken, 2007). For example, many children at that time used to drink coffee instead of milk and they had to be taught to change that habit (Lyngø, 2003). Although this breakfast was composed for the school children, many cookbooks recommended adults enjoying such a beneficial and nutritious breakfast each morning. Oatmeal, followed by wheat, rye, and barley, seems to be the most recommended item in breakfasts since it was both cheap and nutritious, as well as milk. Breakfast continued to be mentioned in the cookbooks of later years with less emphasis as Norwegians by now had perceived how important having breakfast was, and did not need to be reminded of it.

National Identity

Cookbooks can be an opportunity to bring up nostalgia or nationalism- a way to mark the insider and the outsider in social and cultural status. In other words, they are about exclusion and inclusion (Theophano, 2002). National identity was observed as one of the most interesting aspects in Norwegian cookbooks. But before presenting our findings in this case, we will go briefly through the concept of food culture in general and in the Norwegian context, as a prerequisite.

Cultural values can be transmitted via culinary experiences. Immigrants, make a notable contribution to a cuisine in this way. Acculturation occurs in and through food habits, and the way that this adaption and adoption takes place has always been of great interest. This is not a one-way relation, as both culinary cultures of the host and the guest society affect and modify each others. Immigrants prompt or enforce 'new' eating habits to the host nation, while at the same time consequences that the host nation would cause in the food of immigrants through this culinary exchange cannot be denied (Heck, 1998 in Floyd and Forster, 2003). For instance, immigrants who show a strong desire to the originality of their culinary culture, have to adapt to the new food culture sooner or later; but since there is a strong resistance regarding a complete food acculturation, this process happens in a modified form, which in turn, create a mixed cuisine and a new taste, and even sometimes results to a 'more authentic' taste than the one that could be found in its country of origin. This is, as Floyd and Forster (2003) explain, because of the strong desire of immigrants to maintain their traditional identity within a foreign country and present their country through tastes and odors. A dish which was considered as 'regional' back home would represent a 'national' cuisine in the new country and that leads to even more desire to maintain the identity. On the other hand, a raised interest in the so-called 'ethnic food', particularly in our case Norway, is becoming more and more visible (Notaker, 2009). These changes in the eating habits of immigrants, and vice versa, could be defined through sociological, cultural, psychological, or many other aspects. We will not be going through them since they are outside the purview of the project. We are just going to explore these changes in the sampled cookbooks and see how they are reflected.

During the 19th and early 20th century, profound changes occurred in the demography, economy, political system, social and cultural relations, and manners, and diet of Scandinavia, and consequently Norway. A large population growth which led to emigration and urbanization caused an increase in the number of inhabitants in Oslo ¹¹⁷ by 240,000. This growth largely affected food culture in Norway (Notaker, 2009).

The concept of food culture in a Norwegian context has been defined and structured by several scholars such as Fürst (1985), Lien (1995), Notaker (1985, 1995, 2000), and Amilien and Krogh (2007). But it was firstly introduced in 1985 when the Norwegian National Institute for Consumer Research (SIFO) published a series of reports concerning work and culture by Elisabeth Fürst (1985):

“Food culture is therefore something we are introduced to from the beginning of childhood, primarily through our mothers. It comprises a set of attitudes, habits, knowledge, and skills in relation to food” (p. 37). It can be defined as distinct habits and consumer patterns in relation to food, which have established themselves over generations, such that they compose an entire tradition which is often different from region to region, from village to city” (p. 43).

The concept of food culture in Norway has become more popular and prominent over the course of the last generation, in which it has changed immensely. Food has always existed and progressively developed and evolved with time, but the cultural aspects of it have become more visible in recent years. The reason is perhaps the fact that existence of it (food culture) has been

¹¹⁷ Oslo was called Christiania / Kristiania in that time.

actually questioned by some experts, such as Henry Notaker in 2000 who raised a debate asking whether Norwegians *have* a food culture¹¹⁸ (Bergflødt, Amilien and Skuland, 2012).

After dissolution of the union between Norway and Sweden in 1905, Norway gained full independence and entered a golden age of culture. National sentiment started growing even more than before among Norwegians. Food culture and traditions were not an exception in this regard (Notaker, 1991).

The concept of ‘national diet’ has existed since the late 19th century. However it did not mean boycotting learning from other cuisines; rather it meant learning from foreigners while using local and domestic ingredients (Notaker, 2001). The influence of foreign cuisines is more notable in the 1920s compared to the rest of the studied decades. During this decade more favorable references have been made to foreigners from whom, in authors’ views, Norwegians could actually learn something useful. But even on these occasions, they have tried to link it somehow to Norwegian identity. For example, some flavors are mentioned as ‘foreign to Norwegian taste’ such as garlic, strong spices and oil. Hulda Garborg as one of the believers in building national basis on everything, including food, exemplified France as a nation with a sense for its own products – particularly cheese – and proud of them. She then compared French attitudes with Norwegians’ who were (at the time) not proud of their national cuisine or their various types of cheese (Notaker, 2001). She continually refers to foreign dishes and links them to Norwegian identity. She writes in her book on the instruction of Bacalao:

¹¹⁸ The debate was launched by Henry Notaker asking whether Norwegian food culture existed. It got replied by G.B. Nilsson in the *New Norwegian Journal* 1/2001, 96-100, and another response from Henry Notaker in the same publication 2/2001, 205.

This dish is an excellent Spanish dish, but an expensive one for us; because a high amount of *fine* oil needs to be used. However, less fat will create a *better taste for Norwegians*. But at the same time, a fishing country like ours, benefits from a very fine Klippfisk¹¹⁹ that makes the taste of this dish unique (p.99). [Emphasis added]

During this decade, cuisine of ‘the others’ – especially French – is admitted as being superior to the Norwegian one. Wentzel and Frich (1925) in their book *Bordet glæder* mention that “French cuisine is the best in the world: it’s not only the healthiest, but also the most economic” (p. 8). They also have a section on ‘History of French Cuisine’ in which they explain its history and philosophy. ‘Longer time of preparation’ and ‘being made with love’ were other elements for which French cuisine has been admired by Norwegian cookbook authors. French cooking terms can also be seen frequently. Notaker (1991) believes that this was partly because of acknowledged international terminology, as well as the sensation of a more distinguished meal. The use of original French names for recipe titles was a trend that had begun by Charles Emil Hagdahl, the Swedish physician and botanist, in his book *Kokkonsten som vetenskap och konst*¹²⁰ (1879). It was adopted by other Scandinavian writers later on (Notaker, 2012)

Cookbooks in this period are filled with foreign recipes carrying their original foreign names. Even Augusta Sinding, the author of the 1926 *God mat* herself, mentions that some of ingredients included in these dishes are ‘hard to find’ or ‘expensive for us’. Even in some cases she is not exactly sure what these ingredients are:

I have noticed Tutankhamun having ‘artichokes’ on his table. It must have existed even in those old Egyptian days. I think it is a kind of cactus (p. 41).

¹¹⁹ Cliff fish (also known as *morue* in France, *bacalao* in Spain, and *bacalhao* in Portugal) has been an important fish since around 1700, and nowadays, is an important export item of Norway (Notaker, personal communication, 6. June. 2013).

¹²⁰ *Cookery as Science and Art*

A list of recipes which appeared by their foreign names in her book are:

- Asian cucumber
- Bisque (French soup)
- Borsch (Russian soup)
- Bouillon mayonnaise
- English cake
- Hard Cream Sauce (appeared in English in the book)
- Hollandaise sauce
- Mixed Pickles (appeared in English in the book)
- Petite Marmite
- Piccalilli (Indian Pickles)
- Pus Pas (Filipino Soup)
- Russian compote
- Turkish coffee

Notaker (1991, p. 191) names these recipes as “part of the *décor*” [emphasis in original] which is essential to all festivity. Some of these recipes seem very difficult to make by what an average Norwegian kitchen in those days could provide. They may fall into ‘exotic recipes’ as Gold (2007) explains. They perhaps have been included in the book to let people think of their exotic foreign dream places. Whether or not these ingredients were accessible or dishes were used, the fact that they are listed in cookbooks highlights the fact that they were not Norwegians’ own, which in turn as Gold states made the reality of separate identities obvious (2007):

One way of signaling one’s identity is through the use of names and titles. When we give people or food dishes foreign names, we are labeling them as the “other”, as not of or from us; it distinguishes “us” from “them” (p. 101).

One can argue that foreign names are frequently used in today's cookbook as well and this cannot be a sign of any strong influence. But if we compare the amount of foreign recipes to total recipes, we realize that there are not many as there previously had been.

Positioning against and in favor of foreign and local ingredients and food culture has ebbed and flowed during these years. Sometimes the emphasis is only around using specific Norwegian products for specific purposes. For example, Erken (1936) encouraged 'Norwegian housewives' to use 'the Norwegian fine oatmeal' to strengthen public health and help sustain the economy to its subsistence. But her emphasis is different from the one that Garborg (1922) made. Erken (1939) is actually pointing to the importance of the national economy, as it is quite dependant on the economic status of families and individuals— rather than talking about Norwegian soil. As Notaker (2001) notes, emphasis of this kind was in the same direction with government agencies who were trying to increase the consumption of national products helping the balance of payment. By the time of the Second World War, consumption of national products became a necessity. But interestingly, the word 'national' acquired a bad name through the Norwegian Nazi party as the propaganda of the governing. Therefore, wherever 'national' food is recommended, it is from a pragmatic and not a patriotic point of view.

By 1940s, the footprint of national identity became visible in cookbooks. It seems that in these years, authors felt a necessity to remind readers about the importance of Norwegian food and its link to their culture. This link is sometimes tacitly and sometimes radically mentioned. Thaulow (1948) writes in *Utsøkte retter*.¹²¹

¹²¹ Exquisite Dishes

We have the best traditions in this vast country. Valuable Norwegian culture lies within the recipes that are passed down between generations and some of them have never been published (p. 5).

From the mid 1960s a wave emphasizing Norwegian food and food culture began to sweep in cookbooks. This seems to parallel to the strong tendency on local and regional culture in the 1970s, which was seen not only in food traditions, but in traditional crafts, old buildings, or collecting older people's memories as a source of local history (Notaker, 2009). There is more local reference in this period which continues today.¹²²

From this decade on, a rise of a collective modern nostalgia for the traditional food can be observed in cookbooks with its peak in the 1990s and the 2000s. Cookbooks in this period have tried to revive the forgotten dishes and traditions, but have also applied new cooking technology and tools and exotic ingredients from other lands to make them more 'modern' and 'appealing'. The frequent appearance of foods such as *rakfisk* or *pinnekjøtt* in cookbooks of this period could be evidence to this fact, as these traditional dishes were absent for a few decades prior to this.

¹²² This is also true about the language, especially after the 1960s when Norwegian television began broadcasting and the influence of other cultures and languages – especially English – spread rapidly, which in turn, as mentioned by Garton, raised a concern in preservation of Norwegian language in decades after (1993). In case of culinary and cooking, French is undoubtedly the influential language (Notaker, 1991). Norwegian cookbooks have frequently used the original French terms within their recipes and titles. This was observed more in the cookbooks of the beginning of the studied period, as previously discussed. However, today with all the efforts of building a national culinary identity, words and terms are being reconsidered just as other aspects of Norwegian food culture. As Bergflødt, Amilien and Skuland (2012) state, words and language that we discuss and describe foods with, are formative to the role and place of the food in a cultural context. *Nordisk menyspråk* (Nordic Menu Language) is an example of an effort to build such identity. This project is conducted by the famous Norwegian chef, Harald Osa, in 2007 with the idea of replacing advanced French culinary terminology by a more familiar everyday vocabulary which makes it much easier and comprehensible for all Norwegians to be better informed about the quality, origin, and taste of a product or a dish. This viewpoint could be linked to the Manifesto of New Nordic Cuisine (discussed earlier in the *Ingredient* section) which is trying to build and promote a unique identity for Nordic food culture at the beginning of the 21st century.

Another piece of evidence can be found in the title, such as *Everyday Norwegian Food* (1977), *Good Old-fashioned Food* (1989), *Traditional Recipes from Diary and Kitchenette* (1992), *Our Norwegian Kitchen* (1993), *Norwegian Food for All Occasions* (1996), *Norwegian Cookbook* (1998), *Norwegian Food* (2005), *Norwegian Food with a Twist* (2009), *Good Norwegian Food* (2009), etc. in all which the idea of sticking to the traditions and ‘Norwegianness’ has been maintained. [Emphasis added]

In her cookbook Ambjørnrud et al. (1965) tried to “give a general picture of traditional Norwegian food culture which now is about to fade in history” (p. 5). Bjerkebak (1977) felt that there were dishes in Norwegian cuisine which could easily compete with other international cuisines. She goes further and further states “we do not let foreign dishes suppress our Norwegian fine foods” (p. 10). *Kokebok* (Ledsaak and Teigen, 1984) mentioned:

Daily menus look different than the ones just a few years ago. Today, more foreign-inspired dishes [...] are used in our country. [...] The duty of a cookbook, in this time, is to keep valuable food traditions while making them nicer, easier, and faster to be useful for both experienced and inexperienced cooks (p. 7).

Skogseth (1987) states “good food as a part of our [Norwegian] culture” (p. 7) and wrote that his cookbook was based on Norwegian natural products, especially raw ingredients. In their book *Kokebok for matleie* (1989), Gjelsvik and Omdahl appreciated foreign ingredients and spices for enriching the Norwegian cuisine, but prioritized Norwegian ingredients – especially Norwegian vegetables – whenever possible and available. They suggested that:

Spices are neither new nor exotic in our country. We have had them; we only have learned from foreign countries how to use them more creatively in our food. For

example we had curry for many years, but we only used it in the white sauce for our *fiskeboller*¹²³ (p. 19). [Emphasis added]

Arvid Skogseth (1987) also lays the same emphasis in his cookbook and notes that “we prioritize Norwegian vegetables in summers and foreign ones in winters” and bases his cookbook on “natural products, especially Norwegian raw ingredients” (p. 7). Cookbook of Lindstad and Kringleboth (1990), Innli (1993), Hagen (1992), Bjerås and Thomassen (1996), and Strømstad (1998) all include traditional Norwegian cuisine and food culture, in a way to incorporate the modern kitchen and utensils as well as new ingredients. Innli (1993) claimed that his cookbook was written in a “time when there is an increasing interest for our national food heritage” (p. 4). Aase Strømstad in her 1998 *Norsk kokebok* pointed to a “new food culture” (back cover) that had been recently built recently on traditional backgrounds mixed with modern concepts. Ingrid Espelig Hovig also approved the fact that knowledge about Norwegian traditional food should be always maintained (2011). In her other book, *Den rutete kokeboken* (2006), she had given ‘old traditional foods’ a special place to ‘make it unique.’ She provided the reader with various menus and foods, but all of them were directed towards Norwegian cuisine standards. For instance, she encouraged readers to use spices, for they can “make traditional Norwegian foods tasty” (p. 11), as if she had accepted that they are not tasty enough or, even if they are, their image does not support such a fact. Therefore, it seems like she felt the necessity to improve that image by applying others’ methods or ingredients, while having Norwegian values at the center of most of her recipes.

¹²³ Fish Ball

Barmen (2009) in his cookbook explains the reason why Norwegian cuisine has been taken for granted even by its own people. He believes that all Norwegians are responsible for maintaining the Norwegian food culture and transferring it to the next generation:

We are no longer proud of our Norwegian ingredients and dishes as we used to be. Some dishes have disappeared from our kitchens. This can have a few reasons. [...] First, Norwegian food has not been considered as 'fine enough' to be served at restaurants and second, ready products and fast foods are taking over the market. [...] We have actually many good and tasty recipes and dishes, but they do not look nice to our perspective. [...] But it is possible to make traditional 'gray' dishes more appealing than they have traditionally been portrayed to us. [...] We just have to present them differently.

After the war, we got a strange policy here in Norway where making demands for food was seen as the opposite of greed and we should be happy with what we get and what we have: one type onion, one type bread, one type milk, two kinds of cheeses, one kind of meat, etc. But at the same time we got fridges and freezers. Norway is a country where harvest season is quite short and this has led to a wide development of preserving techniques here. By the appearance of fridges and freeze-boxes those techniques began to disappear. The thing we missed here was actually the concept of quality. But in recent years, we have set ourselves on feet again.

[...] Norwegians travel more these days and gain experiences and knowledge. When they come back home, they compare themselves to others and start seeing differences between their own [and the others'] food culture and ingredients. Why don't we have the same quality ham as Spain and Italy? Why don't we have the same cheese as France? But if we think it through, we will surely find unique ingredients and dishes but

in Norway [...] We have a lot to be proud of: from ingredients and products to traditions [and culture] (p. 9-10).

Expressions such as ‘our country’, ‘our cuisine’, or ‘our people’ are quite commonly used which can be a sign of nationalism consciousness (Gold, 2007). It does not seem that referring to ‘Norway’ or ‘Norwegian’ would be a simple state of a place or a nationality. It seems that the authors are making emphasis on ‘Norwegianness’.

Conclusion

In the modern days, our steadfast enthusiasm about cooking and food still remains at least the same, if it is not growing (Theophano, 2002). Cookbooks in this sense are one of the fundamental factors among all cooking-related materials. Interesting is the huge publication of cookery books and manuals and their high-selling rates, despite of tons of free recipes on the internet, food channels on satellites and TVs, and cooking shows. These all tell about the continuous popularity of such books and growing appetite for recipes. However, cookbooks have been generally considered as only ‘how-to-cook manuals’ by readers and only a few go through them as sources of information about the society, culture, and civilization that produced them.

We, based this study on a few existing relevant theories and discussed that cookbooks can be more than just culinary manuals. They can be one of the information sources about social and historical events in a society. They may not be always accurate or completely valid since the author’s own sense of how things are or ought to be can sometimes differ from what the reality itself is, but they can paint a general picture of the time and the society that they were written in.

So even though they may not document events that occurred in a society as historical facts, their contents reflect and often are in response to those historical peak points.

Norwegian cookbooks are not different from the others in this sense; they, as well, reflect the socio-historical events and phenomena in the Norwegian society during all these years. We went through the ones published from 1920 to 2012 and were able to explore some aspects and link them to the changes happened during this period in the Norwegian society.

The presumed audience of cookbooks has differed from the ones at early years of the sampled period. They are not only housewives and women; rather they are non-gendered audience regardless of how much knowledge and experience they have about food and cooking. Simultaneously, a significant change has been observed in the authors' gender; in the beginning the authors were mostly women teaching other women the tricks of domesticity and cooking, but little by little, men entered this area. Since they did not have much experience in other aspects of housekeeping, but they were still successful chefs and restaurant owners. So they started writing recipe books.

The role of the gender and how it changed during these years was one of the most important aspects observed within the pages of cookbooks. Cooking was considered as a 'duty' for women, in cookbooks prior to the 1960s. This has never been the case for men and they were not 'responsible' when it came to cooking. Although this trend changed after the 1960s and an extreme equality between males and females could be observed, but the traditional role of 'cooking for women' still remains in the air. This could be because of social expectations about paid employment, as Neuhaus (2012) discusses. 'Home making' – including the daily cooking – has been considered the most important job for women, while the job of the wage earner (the

male) ends when he returns home from work. It is true that cookbooks after the 1960s encourage men to participate in the cooking as well as women, but their tones are set in a way that is introducing this participation as an occasional ‘just for fun’ work and not a ‘duty’ or a ‘responsibility’. It seemed to us that cookbooks ‘teach’ females how to cook, while they have assumed males as ‘already aware’ of such fact, and portray a different image of *men’s* cooking from the day to day cooking ‘job’ done by *women*. After the World War II, with women getting more jobs outside the household, authors were demanding and teaching men to take part in the domestic chores and gender equality became an issue in the Norwegian society so even in writing, the authors have not been limiting their targeted audience to one gender even by using gender specific pronouns.

However, we think that an image of ‘masculine superiority in the kitchen’ has been created – or strengthened – over these years and hit its peak in the 2000s and continues until today.¹²⁴ This image seems to be accepted by the society: the ‘cooking as an art’ seems to have been assured as a suitable masculine activity, while ‘cooking as a duty’ still bounds women to the home kitchen. We are not saying that *cookbooks* have formed these roles and assumptions; but they are, after all, a reflection of the society that they have been written in, as we discussed in the beginning of our thesis. Authors and editors, consequently, take all these ongoing social trends into consideration, and that could be the reason that a dramatic rise of male chefs has taken place during the last decades.

¹²⁴ We think that this could be better observed by going through cookbooks which are particularly written for males. ‘Manly meals’ or ‘manly way of cooking’ can be simply observed in such books.

Ingredients, were even more notable factor indicating economy condition, climatic and geographical situation, eating habits, nutritional and health views, and in a deeper layer national values. Particular ingredients were suggested to be consumed more/less depending on the time that the cookbooks were written: if cheap foodstuffs were recommended, it can most probably be assumed that the cookbook was written during an economic crisis – such as the great depression and World War II – if the emphasize was on nutritional values, one can conclude that health concerns have gained importance in the society; and so on. We also observed that availability or unavailability of particular ingredients have formed a food culture and food identity for the Norwegian cuisine. This was reflected in cookbooks, especially in recent years followed by the *New Nordic Cuisine* movement.

Arrangement and presentation of recipes was found to be almost unchanged in our sampled period – the Norwegian audience of the sampled books were considered literate enough and familiar with simple math by the authors and publicists – but in a longer timeframe the differences may be striking. Further research can be done on ‘language within cookbooks’ to show how it was affected and developed through culinary texts.

Measurement was another aspect that seemed to remain the same during the last nine decades. Norwegian society is quite familiar with using accurate metric system even in cooking from the decades before and once again, if we go through cookbooks published prior to our sampled period, especially the ones before 20th century, differences and changes can be clearly observed.

Pictures of cookbooks whether as a front or back cover or as inserted photos or illustration within the book pages, were found as important indicators making us able to observe

changes occurred in technological developments, gender role, household size, and presumed audience.

The technological developments were probably one of the most obvious observations within the pages of cookbooks. They can be simply traced within recipes and pictures. Cooking and preservation, as well, tell us what types of technologies were or were not available at the time, or which kitchen equipments were just being introduced to the market or were going to be out of fashion and off the market. Electric stoves and fridges were the most-mentioned technological advancement observed in Norwegian cookbooks, followed by microwaves and freezers. The years that these technologies were mentioned most in the cookbooks were parallel to the years that they started being used in Norway.

Nutrition values and economy were two close concepts which were observable through the sampled cookbooks. They were usually mentioned together to persuade people that a healthy and nutritious food or ingredient can be economic as well, and a cheap food does not necessarily mean an unhealthy one. The thin line between health and economy in Norwegian cookbooks – especially before the 1960s– made it hard to recognize the real intention of authors. For instance, when an author –during a period of economic crisis– talked about prioritizing the purchase of vegetables over meat, it is hard to say if he/she was talking from a healthy perspective (because vegetables are healthier than meat?) or from an economic view (because vegetables are cheaper than meat?). This line started fading after the discovery of oil and the government policies in the 1960s and years after, which made Norway a wealthy and welfare state in the world. Economic concerns became less and less important while nutritious ones gained an added value in cookbooks as well as the society.

Eating habits and common pattern of eating among Norwegians was also possible to observe by going through cookbooks. Seasonal, monthly, or weekly plans in which a regular fixed food plan were provided, helped us to get a general view of the dishes and eating patterns recommended by cookbooks. Healthy and structured lifestyle was emphasized and mealtimes were noted as important social events in most of cookbooks, and the importance of having meals at homes were quite mentioned. However, as Henry Notaker (2009) also mentioned, the line between “homemade food” and “convenient food” is somehow unclear. For instance, recipes of chicken pasta with tomato sauce can be found in Norwegian cookbooks as a popular dish. But when people buy a package of pasta (instead of making it in the pasta machine), a pre-cooked chicken (instead of cooking it in the oven), and a bottle of tomato sauce (instead of making it in a pot from fresh tomatoes) from the store, they are still ‘making food at home’. But are they really? This can be found out in a further research.

National identity was also observed within the pages of Norwegian cookbooks. Emphasize on consuming Norwegian products and ingredients was observed especially after the 1960s.¹²⁵ These emphases seemed not to be a simple state of a place or a nationality; rather they seemed to emphasize on ‘Norwegianness’. National food culture gained importance and forgotten Norwegian dishes and traditional foods started to be revived and promoted by cookbooks. Food became one of the main aspects of Norwegian culture, and some dishes began to be recognized as ‘national dishes’. In some case these ‘national’ dishes, were not even Norwegians’ own, and were previously found and consumed in other countries and cultures. They were only ‘borrowed’ from others. Our argument is about how a single recipe can be

¹²⁵ Until the mid 20th century Norway was a country of *emigration* rather than a country of *immigration*. But after the 1960 immigration mostly in form of refugees from the Third World countries increased rapidly and affected the country socially and politically (Garton, 1993).

borrowed, adopted to new products and techniques available in that region, and transformed to something new and even authentic and national. Societies such as Norway, taking their accessible materials into consideration, have applied their own experiences and knowledge, and put their own artistic cookery stamp on food in a respectable way.

Going through cookbooks, we realized that a good taste and an esthetic presentation of the dish have been often valued. The missing was the acknowledgement of the value in cooking and eating. In recent years the pleasure in these two neglected values has been practiced in cookbooks, as celebrity chefs are putting the ‘art’ of cooking in a prestigious position. As Notaker (2009) states:

Today cooking is seen as an adventure, and a consequence is the search for new tastes, either by going back to old local and national traditions or by exploring exotic cuisines in immigrant communities or in the other countries [...] when on holidays (p. 85).

On the other hand, we should again note that the author’s own sense of how things are and ought to be is sometimes different from what the reality actually is. However, one thing is still obvious; “people only begin to write about how to behave when behavior patterns are changing” (Gold, 2007, p. 53). There is no need to explain what everybody knows and accepts. So when Norwegian cookbooks were emphasizing on issues including domesticity and household duties, it can be an indicator of a society in transition. For instance, instructions on cleanliness and orderliness of the kitchen do not necessarily mean that only at those years these concepts became important, but something else was going on in a broader view, which in this case is specialization of new roles for the keepers of the kitchen who were all women.

However, we concluded that the fact that a recipe shows up in a cookbook does not necessarily mean that people eat that dish. Conversely, it is not true that people do not eat a dish for which it has not appeared in a cookbook. Recipes in cookbooks with a nationalistic tone are either the ones which authors think Norwegians *should* eat or what they want others *think* Norwegians eat. So *if* it is true that ‘people are what they eat’, and *if Norwegian people* eat *Norwegian dishes* made of *Norwegian products*, then they *are* Norwegian.

This study aimed to demonstrate that since cookbooks are products of a society with its special and unique culture; their contents reflect historical events and social factors that caused significant changes, to a limited degree. They may not record hard facts of such phenomena but, their contents have such value to be looked at from a socio-historical angle rather than just as cooking manuals. However, we should note that this is only a sampling of each decade, but we hope it paints the general picture.

Problems and Limitations

Since this project was written mainly for the Cookbook Museum of Norway, the database was naturally the books owned by this organization. However, despite the fact that they have the largest number of cookbooks in the country – 5000 cookbooks, recipe books and culinary material – at the time (Kokebokmuseet.no), a large portion of these books are in other languages. This made our sample smaller than what we anticipated.

Based on the criteria that we defined for our sample, there were not many cookbooks left in the Norwegian language sector of the database. This matter led to a modest sample of 62 different books which were analyzed and studied for this thesis. Another difficulty in this matter

was the unevenly distributed books in the decades that we examined. For example, we have 10 books from the 2000s, 3 books from the 1920s and only 2 cookbooks from the 1970s. This was inevitable in some cases (e.g. less publication during war years), but is surprising in some other decades such as the 1970s when the publication industry and its technology was more advanced compared to the decades before. However, this could also be because the books published in the 1970s were targeted towards specific style of cooking rather than general cookbooks. For example, many books were about the specific cuisines, specific methods of cooking or newly introduced technologies or regimens. Therefore, a number of cookbooks published in this period were eliminated from our sample.

The electronic database of the Cookbook Museum is still under progress of completion as this organization is still very young, therefore by the time that our sampling was undertaken; it consisted of only around 400 registered books. This matter affected our project deeply as we had to go through the database manually, examine each shelf of books carefully and make a registry of our own which slowed down our progress in gathering data.

As mentioned earlier, the study of cookbooks with the aim of gathering sociological and historical information is relatively new. Because of this, the literature background and theoretical works in this particular field is limited. While we tried to take advantage of previous scholarly work as much as possible, and use indicators and concepts introduced by earlier workers, there were a few times that we had no other option but to introduce the indicators for concepts (such as the concept of time and household size in cookbooks). Because of this, certain questions regarding the reliability and validity of these special constructs and the information and the conclusion means can raise.

As Notaker (2012, p. 140) mentions, “incorrect conclusions may easily be drawn without solid knowledge about all aspects of a book and about the context in which it is written, edited and printed.” Because, we, the writers of the project, are not Norwegians and this project is the first experience of us in a scientific Norwegian context, there may possibly be lack of knowledge in some areas which could lead us to misinterpret some ‘Norwegian concepts’. We have tried at all stages of the project to consult knowledgeable and expert Norwegians in the field to minimize such errors to the lowest degree possible. Additionally, studying and reading deeply to inform and educate ourselves around the topic and concepts was one of our highest priorities.

Another notable difficulty for many scholars in analyzing texts is the language barrier. Languages used in old texts are usually different with new ones and one needs to be able to rephrase and replace the old terms with modern ones to conduct a broader comparative study of cookbooks (Notaker, 2012). In our work, this was the case mostly about Hulda Garborg’s cookbook which was written in the New Norwegian language and was filled with many old terms and expressions that were not easy to understand, even for native Norwegians. In this way we constantly had the consultation of a New Norwegian teacher on our project to address this problem.

A word-to-word or a phrase-by-phrase translation has not always been maintained in the project, since sometimes using such method can give strange results or meaningless concepts and even betray the author’s intentions. As Riley (in Notaker, 2012) suggests, we sometimes have to take apart a sentence, shake it by the scruff of the neck, and put it together differently “to get the flow and tone of voice of the author” (p. 153). For this, we consulted experts who mastered both languages of English and Norwegian.

Regarding the methods of content analysis, we faced the single most important weakness of “locating unobtrusive messages relevant to the particular research questions” (Berg, 2007, p. 259). In other words, content analysis is mainly limited to examine the messages that have already been recorded. However, when it is undertaken as an analysis tool rather than a complete research strategy, like in the case of this project, such a weakness is minimal. Another limitation or weakness of this method is that it is ineffective for testing causal relationships between variables which again does not concern this project since our main designs are exploratory and descriptive. Overlapping themes is another inevitable issue which can be seen in this project as some themes can be used as indicators of more than one construct which has given some complicity to this study as well as other scholarly works with the same method (Berg, 2007).

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Appendices

Appendix A: Excluded books from the sample have one or a few of these characteristics:

- Originally written in another language than Norwegian (e.g. Travaux Pratiques de Cuisine)
- Translated from another language to Norwegian (Gjør som Jamie Oliver)
- Subjected to a certain cooking method (e.g. Grill til hverdag)
- Subjected to a certain cuisine (e.g. Helt gresk; Japansk mat)
- Subjected to a certain occasion (e.g. Julefest)
- Subjected to a certain type of diet (e.g. Vegetarisk kokebok; Allergi kokebok)
- Subjected to a certain type of ingredients (e.g. Torsk på norsk; Den store potetboka)
- Subjected to a certain type of cooking technology or facility (e.g. Kokebok for mikrobølgeovn, Fristende wok; en samling med mer enn 100 grunnleggende oppskrifter)
- Subjected to a certain food type (e.g. Fingermat)
- Subjected to a certain gender (e.g. Kokebok for gutter)
- Subjected to a certain group of age (e.g. Barnas kokebok)
- Subjected to a certain target group (e.g. Verdens beste pappa)
- Subjected to a certain type of meal (e.g. Frokost)
- Subjected to a certain timing (e.g. Best om vinteren)
- Cannot accomplish the role of a recipe book (e.g. Norsk mat gjennom tidene).
- Subjected to a certain region (e.g. Norsk mat fra Vestlandet)
- Published as a product, brand or facility promotion (e.g. Tango Kjøkken, Laga mat med ICA)

