

Norwegian Cookbooks for Children

Why write them and why read them?

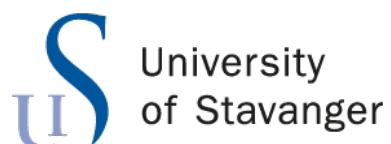
An historical document analysis of children's cookbooks published in Norway
from 1846 until the Present

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Abstract

Cookbooks for children are not only instructional manuals for the culinary arts and repositories for traditional dishes; they also reflect food habits of a population and their values on children. Evidence of this was gathered from Norwegian cookbooks, published between 1833 and 2013, found from secondary sources and in the libraries in the Stavanger region. Textual analysis of these cookbooks for children included an examination of their authors, audience, and contents. The results validated the claim that a cookbook can be regarded as a socio-historic and cultural document that is worthy of additional academic attention than presently exists.

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FORWARD

Although I have no “loving children” to thank for inspiring me to write this thesis, I do have many friends and teachers who have contributed to the process of thesis-writing, and of course Elido, my *samboer*, who managed to stay calm even when the apartment resembled a kindergarten. And I would like to thank Edouard Cointreau, Rozanne Gold, Andreas Viestad, Margit Veia, Ann A. Hertzler, and Kira Dietz, for providing me firsthand knowledge and resources that without, would have caused me tremendous difficulty. And to Oliver J. Scott, for the timely assistance in salvaging my tortured prose.

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I dedicate this to Anna and Alexander

Who, I hope, will give a practical use to this thesis one day.

Introduction

The first treatise ever written in Western Europe on the moral and practical education of children was *De civilitate morum puerilium (On the civility of children)* in 1530 in Rotterdam by the famous pedagogical classical scholar Desiderius Erasmus (Borrowman, Brown & Miller, p.219). The work included an entire chapter dedicated to table manners, stating 'It's just as rude to lick greasy fingers as it is to wipe them on your clothing, use a cloth or napkin instead' and 'Some people, no sooner than they've sat down, immediately stick their hands into the dishes of food. This is the manner of wolves' and 'to fidget around in your seat, and to settle first on one buttock and then the next, gives the impression that you are repeatedly farting, or trying to fart' (Preface Publishing, 2008) The book became a contemporary massive bestseller - indeed the biggest-selling book of the sixteenth century - going into 130 editions over 300 years and being translated into 22 languages within ten years of its first publication (Preface Publishing, 2008).

It seems little has changed in almost 500 year span of adults' fascination with instructing children on what to eat and how to eat. Children's cookbooks have become a growing trend and there has been an exponentially growing number of titles of food and drinks cookbooks for children worldwide (Angers, 2009) While all other sales of published cookbooks are decreasing, Amazon.com Inc. reported in February 2013 that its percentage of all children's cookbook sales nearly doubled in 2012 from 18% to 36% (Rotella, 2013).

Children's cookbooks in recent years have become a designated category in the world's top three cookbook awards given out annually; the International Association of Culinary Professionals, the James Beard Award (US) and the most international, the Gourmand World Cookbook Awards. This trend is not unique to the United States alone. The best Norwegian cookbook of 2012 was a children's cookbook by renowned Norwegian celebrity chef Eyvind Hellstrøm cutely entitled, *Hellstrøm Jr.* (2012) ahead of 33 other books (Jacobsen & Aase, 2013). The book was written alongside Elise Jacobsen Frigstad who "convinced the celebrity chef" (Hellstrøm, p.13) there should be a book to "encourage young people to make good food because there is a need in Norway for children and young people to eat better" (Jacobsen et al., 2012). Children's cookbooks have come into their own, and can not only be found in most new and used book shops, but are often treated to a special place on the shelf-if not having an entire shelf for themselves (Harris, p.14). The wide range of literature available includes themes such as snacking, nutrition, technological in food preparation to health concerns (Harris, p.14).

At the onset, children's cookbooks seem to follow a trend at primarily promoting health

eating habits. American First Lady Michelle Obama recently launched the *Let's Move* campaign following a publication of a cookbook for children entitled "American Grown" filled with advice for parents, schools, teachers, cities and states on how they can get children to enjoy healthy foods. (Burros, 2012) Jessica Seinfeld, (wife of comedian Jerry Seinfeld), also published a children's cookbook *Deceptively Delicious* (2007) that became a New York Times Bestseller, enticing children with healthy food hidden so they receive the nutritional value without even knowing it (Seinfeld, 2012); which include pureed cauliflower in mac and cheese and pureed broccoli mixed in brownie batter (Seinfeld, 2012)

This thesis will examine children's cookbooks, this paper will show how they reflect the changes of society and how children have been valued in Norway and today. However, before illustrating more the significance of writing this thesis, one must develop a concrete definition of what a cookbook is and what a children's cookbook is.

WHAT IS A COOKBOOK?

For the first time in 350 B.C, gastronomic activities were written down by a Sicilian Greek named Atheneus in a humorous didactic poem *Hedypatheia* ("Life of Luxury"), advising any gastronomic reader on where to find the best food in the Mediterranean world (Adamson). Although this is the first documented piece, it is by no means the first ever as Atheneus had indicated in the masterpiece (*ibid.*). However, academics assign the first actual cookbook as *Apicus*, a collection of Roman cooking recipes compiled in the 4th and 5th century which listed ingredients not found in Rome and contained instructions such as how to pluck a flamingo as well as instructions on how to beat slaves (*ibid.*). While the first book is not considered a cookbook while the latter is, what is truly the difference between them? How does one define a cookbook apart from a book relating to food?

Defining a cookbook is rather difficult (E. Cointreau, personal communication, March 8, 2013). A cookbook as defined by the Oxford English dictionary is "a cookery book." (Oxford) Furthermore, the word *cookery* then can be divided in two parts. The first definition is defined as "the art or practice of preparing food" and secondly, "a place for cooking." (Oxford) According to Encyclopedia Britannica a cookbook is a "collection of recipes, instructions, and information about the preparation and serving of food" (Britannica). The *culinary arts* is defined as the art of preparing and cooking foods and the word *culinary* is defined as something related to or connected with cooking. Other words related to cookbooks are *gastronomy*, defined as the art or science of good eating, and the *gastronome* is a person well versed in *gastronomy* while the *gastronomist* is one who uses theory and practice in the study of gastronomy. The *epicurist* is an individual completely enslaved by basic instincts, devoting their whole life to refined sensuous enjoyment of food and drink. Lastly, the *connoisseur* is one who has studied in a methodological way the essence and refinement of taste and one who possesses a great amount of knowledge about cuisine, not based on intuition but of time invested. Then there are *food critics*, *food writers*, and *restaurant critics*, *food columnist* terms used interchangeably for a person who analyzes food or restaurants and then publishes the results of their findings with information based on a rating system (World Critique). Yet, despite all of the definitions of skills or mentioned pertaining to the knowledge, preparation, analysis, and enjoyment of food, there exists no academic study or grounded theory pertaining to cookbooks, their content, their publication, their significance, from an academic perspective.

The three largest and most prestigious cookbook award foundations awarding prizes for cookbooks from all over the world are the Gourmand Cookbook Awards, the IACP Cookbook Awards and the James Beard Cookbook awards. All three foundations require that cookbooks entered in the competitions must contain recipes which are defined by the Merriam Webster Dictionary as "a set of

instructions for making something from various ingredients or a formula for a formula or procedure for doing or attaining something” (Merriam Webster). Prominent Norwegian food historian Henry Notaker in his epic history about cookbooks *Kokken og Skriveren* (2012) *Chefs and Writer*, defined a cookbook as “a book where at least two thirds are dedicated to food and where the recipes fill at least half the book” (Notaker, p.31). However, some culinary experts such as food writer Nigel Slater believe that cookbooks containing too many recipes limit the true culinary experience. (Economist, 2009) For all intents and purposes of this study, cookbooks included in this thesis are books which contain at least one recipe.

What a Cookbook is not

There are many other books about food which are not considered neither cookbooks nor cookery books yet are very important in the development of gastronomic or culinary knowledge. Considered the *grand-pere* of French cuisine, *Larousse Gastronomique*, first published in 1938 (Dalzell, 2008) and contains recipes and instructions; yet it is still classified by experts as an encyclopedia of gastronomy or at best a hybrid- part encyclopedia part cookbook (*ibid*). The recipes are also so vague that the reader is assumed to have implicit knowledge about what otherwise might seem to be a minor detail to a professional chef, becomes a major obstacle to the amateur (*ibid*.) The Anglophone encyclopedia about food called *Oxford Companion to Food* (1999) written by Alan Davidson contains over 2600 entries on thousands of foods, culinary customs, cooking techniques, food science, personalities and trivia (Fabricant, 1999). It is considered by academics as a food reference guide, as it does not contain recipes and all entries are arranged alphabetically as in a dictionary.

Then there is the profession of food writers whose work is substantially different than cookbook authors, chefs, or the like. Perhaps the most famous American example is M.F.K. Fisher's *The Art of Eating* (1956) which received the International Association of Culinary Professionals Award (IACP) for the "Culinary Classics Book Award", and is considered a culinary masterpiece in spite of the absence of a single recipe (Fisher) and is, according to Alice Waters (a chef, restaurateur, activist and author), "a comprehensive volume should be required reading for every cook. It defines in a sensual and beautiful way the vital relationship between food and culture." (Knopf) Jeffrey Steingarten, food critic for *Vogue Magazine* and one of the most prominent contemporary food writers in the United States who wrote his critically acclaimed work *The Man who ate Everything* (1996), is neither *entirely* a cookbook nor a piece of culinary nonfiction, yet was awarded the Julia Child Book Award, awarded to any author(s) who has never previously authored or co-authored a food or beverage related book. (IACP) Numerous historical books have been written from a culinary perspective about social change, political organization, geopolitical competition, industrial development, military conflict and economic expansion, such as Mark Kurlansky's *Salt: A World History* (analysis of entire spice trade in the medieval times (Kurlansky). This paper will now define what a children's cookbook is so that the reader may proceed to know the significance of this research paper.

It is concluded therefore, that this thesis will look at cookbooks which contain recipes and can be included in cookbook competitions worldwide.

What is a children's cookbook?

We loved Mother too, completely, but we were finding out, as Father was too, that it is good for parents and for children to be alone now and then with one another...the man alone or the woman, to sound new notes in the mysterious music of parenthood and childhood.

– M.F.K. Fisher, *The Gastronomical Me* (1943)

Before analysing various dimensions one can when reading a cookbook for children, a definition “children’s cookbook” must be made because the target audience is not always clear (Longone, 104). Likewise, Andreas Viestad said “I think the trend is that the authors are still not certain whether the book is for the adult or for the kids” (Viestad) It is precisely this question that arises and one which is, like any cookbook, difficult to define. The definition becomes more difficult because there is no universal definition of children’s literature at large either. The problem lies in the following:

It is a category of books the existence of which absolutely depends on supposed relationships with a particular reading audience: Children. The definition of children’s literature therefore is not underpinned by its purpose: it wants to be something in particular, because this is supposed to connect it with that reading audience – ‘children’ with which it declares itself to be overtly and purposefully concerned (Lesnik- Oberstein, 1996).

Since cookbooks are considered literature, or at least a reference publication, following the same logic one might ask, what is the difference then between a cookbook for children and a cookbook for adults? is a children’s cookbook written by children, or for children? (Lesnik-Oberstein, 1996) Crucially, what does it mean to write a book for ‘children’ if it is a book written ‘for’ children, then is it still a children’s book if it is (only) read by adults? What of ‘adult’ books read by children – are they considered children’s books? (Lesnik-Oberstein, 1996) We see here that the children’s cookbook comes into existence as long as it relies on the relationship between the adult and the child.

This is the same philosophical question when it comes to cookbooks for children especially, as children’s cookbooks do not usually contain language that is very complicated, and can generally be understood with basic language knowledge. The question arises as to whether or not a children’s cookbook teaches adults how to teach children to cook, or only recipe books addressed directly for children to use by themselves (Longone, p.104). There are books on how to feed children, primarily intended for adults and books for children on the history and preparation of food, but which have no recipes and there are also etiquette books that instruct children how to behave at table or in company (*ibid.*). Children’s cookbook collectors and researchers define the boundaries of children’s cookbooks in different ways (*ibid.*). Some exclude books about food and etiquette that have no recipes and others exclude books that teach adults how to teach children to cook, or manuals on how to feed children. In order to fully address the question, of how our culinary heritage is

transmitted, all the different categories of books that deal with children and food must be considered (*ibid.*).

According to leading Norwegian food columnist known as “Norway’s Culinary Ambassador” (Schonheyder), Andreas Viestad (A. Viestad, personal communication, April 24th 2013) believes that “the authors are still not certain whether the book is for the adult or for the kids.” According to Margit Veia, a local children’s cookbook author and nutritionist from Rennesøy, Norway a children’s cookbook “should be easy to follow, spread the enjoyment and enthusiasm - excite curiosity. It is important to and contain images that captivate, with simple language and uncluttered layout” (*ibid.*).

The Gourmand Cookbook awards have been held every year since 1995, receiving entries from all over the world in many different languages with the objective of rewarding and honouring those who “cook with words” (Gourmand), and to help readers find the best out of the 26000 food and wine books produced and placed into 20 categories, one of which is dedicated the “Best Children & Family Cookbook” (Gourmand). Likewise, the International Association of Culinary Professionals and books placed into the category “Children, Youth, and Family” must meet the following requirements:

Cookbooks that focus on young home cooks and/or family cooking. These every day or special occasion cookbooks should inspire children and young people to prepare new dishes, present ways to teach basic nutrition concepts, or provide fundamental knowledge of the origin of food. This category requires recipe testing/evaluation by the judges. Books entered in this category must contain recipes (IACP).

Cookbooks for children, therefore, hint to the characteristic that children must be involved in the process, or at least serve as an “inspiration”. According to book collectors and historians, the first children’s cookbook designed specifically to appeal to children and to teach them how to cook was 130 years ago in the United States of America entitled *Six Little Cooks* (1877) written by Elizabeth S. Kirkland who chose to write her cookbook as a story of six little girls being taught to cook by a kindly Aunt Jane, who takes them step by step through many recipes. (Harris, p.14) *Pretend Soup* (1994) written by Mollie Katzen and Ann Henderson is today considered to be the “gold standard” (Severson) of children’s cookbooks, a monumental work that completely changed people’s perspectives about what a children’s cookbook is. For the first time, small children aged 4 years were encouraged to make a mess, make a masterpiece, and above all have fun while cooking. (Severson) The description on Amazon reads:

That is because they are designed as do-together projects--with the child as chef and the adult as assistant--these kitchen adventures will give children confidence in their

cooking skills and inspire a life-long healthy relationship with food. With *Salad People* and a little time in the kitchen, budding chefs will cheer: “I like it because I made it myself!” (Random House).

Another reason why defining a children’s cookbook is challenging is because children develop differently at different ages and children develop differently even at the same age, and there is no clear age when a cookbook transforms itself into an adult cookbook. American cookbooks seemed to hint that children were also invalids (Lindgren) When Andreas Viestad was asked “at what age is a cookbook classified as an adult cookbook?” he responded that, “the age of the cookbook is irrelevant but I can see what you are getting at. I think that most kids probably need something tailored for them to start off their interest but at one point, at 13 for some, 19 for some, they will start to orient themselves more to general audience cookbooks.” (personal communication, April 24th 2013) but ultimately concluded it is “any cookbook a child can use”. (Personal communication, April 24th 2013) In a similar way, Margit Vea when asked the same question replied, “That I really do not know, but I think that after they have turned 16 years old, after middle school” (personal communication, April 23rd 2013).

For all intents and purposes, the cookbooks for children included for analysis for this thesis are cookbooks that are written for adults to cook for children and by children and for children to cook by themselves. The last section on Child Development however, focuses more on children’s cookbooks written by adults that encourage children to cook by themselves but is not directly comparable to *Pretend Soup* (1994).

What is The Significance of Studying Cookbooks?

“Raise your children using bans and restrictions, and you will find peace and blessing in them when they grow up. If you love your son, don’t give him total freedom and authority when he is young, but bruise his ribs while he is growing, or else he will become wayward and disobedient to you, and you will have sorrow in your soul, ruination and loss in your property, and reproach from your neighbours; you will be the laughing stock to your enemies, and the authorities will penalize you and give you grief.”

- Russian Cookbook and of Household Management, Domostroi, 16th Century

There is great significance in studying cookbooks, as explained by Nicola Humble, in *Culinary Pleasure: Cookbooks and the Transformation of British Food* (2007):

Cookbooks are largely unexamined part of our everyday lives. Even the most straightforward is a veritable salmagundi of history, culture and science, enticingly jumbled together. They are read to learn or recover skills that society today is rapidly losing. They are read so that readers salivate, explore culinary horizons, to feel comforted and mothered. They tell us what we fear and what we desire, about our bodies and our appetites, our domestic politics, our economic circumstances, and our fantasies. They tell who we are and who we want to be (Humble, 2007).

They allow you to have insight into a culture and a timeframe that you otherwise would not understand. The Roger Smith Cookbook Conference was hosted in New York City in February 2013 and served as a gathering of the top cookbook authors and food writers (Roger Smith Cookbook 2013). A panel discussion was dedicated to the research of cookbooks, trying to uncover how cookbooks are researched, as stated in its description;

It’s not for their recipes, at least not primarily. Cookbooks are one of the most important compasses of culture. From ethnicity and religion to gender and fashion, cookbooks are an excellent barometer of who we are and what we think we are in any given period. That said, doing research with them isn’t that easy. Indexing sources are unreliable. Reviews are often sloppy and misleading. And finding the books that really address your topic is made difficult by how libraries organize the books on the shelf (Panel Discussions, Roger Smith Conference, 2013)

Today, there are Lutheran cookbooks, Wiccan cookbooks, feminist vegetarian cookbooks (*The Political Palate* by Betsy Beavan, [1980]) and satirical cookbooks (The Economist 2011). There are instructions on cooking the food that Jane Austen, Sherlock Holmes and Thomas Jefferson might have eaten. Cookbooks have been written by French prisoners, the pop singer Tom Jones, the astrologer Nostradamus and the winners of the Miss America competition; the art of writing cookbooks has created household names from celebrities like Nigella Lawson, Julia Child, and Delia Smith who all had very limited cooking experience before they became famous for their work (The Economist). In Norway there are cookbooks such as *Jødiske mat på norsk fat* or *Jewish food on the Norwegian Barrel* (London, L. 2009) written for preserving the culinary heritage of the Norwegian

Jewish population and *Kokebok for Gutta (2006)* or *Cookbook for Guys* for single-men on learning how to cook a Sunday dinner for their parents to a proper breakfast after a one-night stand.

Although the recipes of one book are often similar to those in another, their presentation varies tremendously. Not only do ingredients vary significantly in different parts of the world, so are the units of measurement; and they can range from precise grams, to cups, to descriptions (*What is the difference between a dash, splash, pinch, dap, dollop, etc.?*)(Lund, 2011)

The same year Norway passed establishment of the Ombudsman for Gender Equality in 1978 (Cappelens Forlag), a cookbook in India sponsored by Dahlia oil stated in the introduction, “Once you are married you are faced with the prospect of being cook, companion, and wife to your husband – and competing with memories of his mothers’ home cooking” (The Economist). For that reason, cookbooks for children are much more than recipes and are considered useful tools for learning about the social, political, and economic times of their writing as this thesis attempts to show.

What is The Significance of Studying Children's Cookbooks?

If children's cookbooks worked, we would not need adult cookbooks.

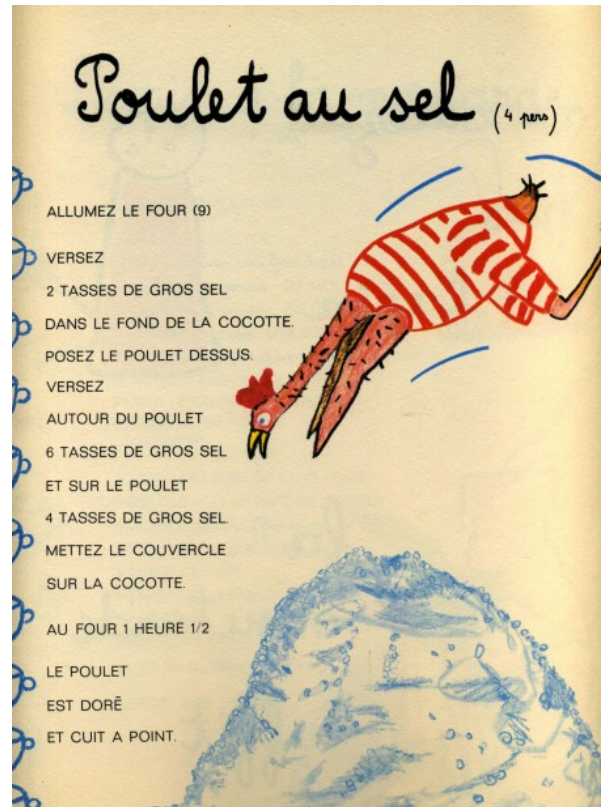
- Anne Mendelson, food writer

The chief mystery of children's cookbooks is why on earth do we produce them? (Shapiro, 2013) Do they do any good? (Shapiro, 2013) Have the children's cookbooks that have been produced since the 19th century regularly and in abundance all over the world in for 150 years produce generation after generation of good cooks? (Longone,)

Questions arise as to: how do adults teach children? (Hertzler, 17) What do children actually learn from cookbooks? (Hertzler, 17) Because of the diversity of people writing cookbooks, different aims or objectives develop for the children based on the author's viewpoint. (Hertzler, p.17) Probably most abstract of all is what were children doing in the kitchen before children's cookbooks were in circulation? (Lindgren, 2013) They were doing many things in the kitchen, but it was not in the form of cookbooks. (Lindgren)

Cookbooks aimed at children have been circulating busily since the late 19th century, and they're still going strong. Yet there's little evidence that early exposure to printed recipes has any relation to adult cooking habits. (Roger Smith Cookbook Conference, 2013)

Children's cookbooks are not unique to Britain or the U.S and have been written all over the world in all cultures throughout the decades, but they all illustrate insight into the past and reflect the present showing many different aspects of childrearing and an insight into the assumptions adults make about children. (Roger Smith Conference) *La cuisine est un jeu D'Enfants*, or *Cooking is Child's Play* (1963) published in France makes this notion ever more obvious (Beeman, 2009); written by Michel Oliver later becoming an international bestseller in 1963 and translated in to English in 1966 by Charlotte Turgeon and includes an introduction by legendary poet and playwright Jean Cocteau. (Gold, 2013) There are recipes for children to "buy frozen rabbit if fresh rabbit is not



available.” (Beeman, 2009)

Similarly, *Lathith Jiddan (It Is So Yummy)* (2012) written by Rania Sanyoura published by the Kalimat Publishing House in Sharjah, the UAE won the best cookbook award in the “Best Translation Category at the Gourmand cookbooks awards” (Gulf Today), illustrating the universality of this global trend in publishing.



The significance of studying children’s cookbooks is precisely due to the fact that there has been little research directed towards the topic of children’s cookbooks in general. (Hersh p.3) There exists very little relevant literature with regards to children’s cookbooks and a limited number of studies or classifications have been made (Hertzler, p.17). Much more than practical cookery lies within the covers of children’s cookbooks, and especially what adults assume children can do (Longone, p.110) The fact that there has not been an in depth study of children’s cookbooks is curious because logic would dictate that these books would give a clear insight into the daily lives of the children for whom they were written. (Hersh, p.3) If studied in more detail, children’s cookbooks could potentially be a rich source of information of the social norms for children throughout various stages of history.

This thesis attempts to uncover some of these queries surrounding cookbooks for children, not in an attempt to critique the values of the authors, publishing companies, and adults who buy them inasmuch as to define and illustrate that these values and tendencies exist at all.

The Method

The purpose of this survey analysis is to uncover historical trends children's cookbooks printed in Norway from the mid-1800's until 2013. Before analysis, this paper must begin with a conceptual definition of "cookbook" and "children's cookbook".

The document analysis begins with a measurement process of conceptualization and operationalization. Firstly, a careful systematic definition of each dimension has been explicitly written down. (Neumann, 2011, p.201) The dimensions used to explore children's cookbook are health and nutrition, gender, national identity and ethnic cuisine, and child development and expectations of the child.

The Design

This is a qualitative descriptive study of children's cookbook analysed over a time series. The nature of this study and the data may appear to be soft, intangible and elusive but that does not mean that attempts have been made to capture the meaning of this data found in the cookbooks. (Neuman, p.175) The data I have found is compiled in cookbooks but gathered from various times in history and therefore it is historical comparative research. This is an analysis of the data and the author of this project is not an author of a cookbook, the study is a second-order interpretation study (*ibid.*,p.177) .

The Dimensions

Conceptually, the dimensions are first defined and explained in detail. There is also a brief introduction as to how I will illustrate the information common to that time. For example, when I explain the chapter on "child development", I want to explain various skills a "child is developing" that the author wishes to convey when they read a cookbook themselves. I am by no means trying to suggest what authors *ought* to writing about when they choose to write children's cookbooks, nor *critique* them on a moral or ethical basis. What this thesis concerns is by and large an explanatory study, not cause and effect experiment.

The dimensions are not entirely new and I have not thought of them up entirely by myself. The first and, by far the most influential to this study, was an M.A. Thesis in Gastronomy from the University of Boston written in 1997 by Stephanie Hersh, entitled "Children's Cookery Books – Windows into Social and Economic Change." (Contois, 2013) I endlessly tried to obtain a copy

through emails with Ann Hertzler, a prominent children's nutrition expert, I finally was able to purchase a scanned copy directly from the Schlesinger Library at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard University. What I later found out was that Stephanie Hersh would later become the personal assistant to one of America's favourite chefs, the late Julia Child (Contois, 2012). Hersh analysed various dimensions similar to the ones mentioned in this thesis such as chapters on "gender and expectations of the child", "nutrition", and "foreign recipes." (Hersh)

The dimension with regards to Child Development in this thesis came from a panel discussion in February 2013 at the Roger Smith Cookbook Conference (RSCC) in New York City called "*Night in the Kitchen: Why write a cookbook for kids?*" where the panel discussed the following :

This panel will consider the possibility that what has always inspired writer to produce these (children's cookbooks), and parents to buy them, goes well beyond ideas for snacktime. Grown-ups bring all sorts of agendas and assumptions to the kitchen, and never more so than when we're cooking for children (RSCC, 2013).

After reading this excerpt, I wrote an email to each one of the panelists. Rozanne Gold was one of the panelist and is an internationally renowned chef, food consultant, journalist, four-time winner of the James Beard Award, and personal chef to the former mayor of New York City Ed Koch (Gold, 2013). She responded immediately (personal communication, March 18th 2013) to my email requesting information and kindly sent me an audio recording in the form of a mixcloud cast weblink of the panel discussion that was otherwise would not have been possible to listen to (R.Gold, personal communication, March 3rd). This discussion focused on one main argument, and that was "what do children learn from reading them?" This gave me the idea for making a new dimension in this project strictly dedicated solely on topic of child development, and included only books that were meant for children to be ultimately responsible for all the cooking. If there was a text directed towards adults, it was where, as Mollie Katzen (another panelist of the conference) stated, "adults would be talked down" (Katzen, 2013).

It is important to note that the cookbooks throughout the first three chapters about nutrition, gender, and foreign recipes can be children's cookbooks both for children to cook themselves and for adults to cook with children. I tried my best to obtain as many children's cookbooks where the child is encouraged to cook on their own but this type of cookbook in Norway is still in its infancy.

1. Nutrition

During the last decade there has been an unprecedented demand in healthy eating for kids. The purpose of the review of nutrition is to review recipes in children's cookbooks from the

beginning into contemporary times in order to identify trends in nutritional messages, their cultural meanings, and their themes and topics (Hertzler, 2005, p.347). The review of this dimension is divided into the same four time periods according to the research design outlined in the previous section. Nutrition messages are based on two types of information: one is on the mention of nutritional value as a whole and the other will be the inclusion of other factors related to health such as allergies and food intolerances.

It is important to note here that the purpose of this thesis is to conduct a study using survey methodology of children's cookbooks in the Norwegian context from the late 1800's until the present year 2013. Although important, it was not the purpose of this review to explore kitchen safety techniques, nor to study recommended children's nutritional intake. Rather, the focus of this review was to look at the trends in the nutrition messages, cultural meaning, and themes and topics occurring over time (*Ibid.*347) Further, eating behaviors established during childhood track into adulthood and contribute to long-term health and chronic disease risk (Story & French, 2004).

2. Gender Identity for Children

The impact of gender role stereotyping in children's literature has been examined in numerous studies over the past two decades (Kortenhaus & Demarest, 1993). The purpose of this dimension is to determine whether the sex bias portrayed in children's cookbooks is still as prevalent as in the past. In particular, it is interesting to note whether the frequency of males and females in pictures and their characterizations had changed. It is also extremely important to note any obvious indication as to whether or not the cookbook was written for a female or male audience. In modern history, women have traditionally cooked in the home while men were expected to provide financially for the family.

Children's cookbooks reveal a very clear message for the gender roles of that time. Sigmund Freud explained in his work, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, that children do not differentiate between sexes. It is also theorized that prior to school age, a few children rigidly maintain that they are in fact members of the opposite sex (Zucker & Bradley, 1995).

3. National cuisine and foreign recipes

- 4.** This dimension will look at children's cookbooks by observing "foreign" recipes, meaning recipes that are not traditionally found in Norwegian regional cuisine. This dimension will be analysed in two ways; by the sheer amount of foreign recipes existing in the cookbooks and

the types of foreign recipes to see if there are any trends of any particular foreign recipe, to know if “pizza” is more popular than “guacamole” or vice versa.

Food culture arises out of the place of a people’s origin, whether they still live there or not, but is shaped by resources (climate, land, soil, water, and fuel), by belief and information (religion, education and literacy, communication), by ethnicity (indigenous or immigrant), technology (hunting, gathering, agricultural, horticultural, aquacultural, fishing; food processing and storage, transport, cooking); colonisation; and by health status and health care (Wahlqvist and Lee, 2007,p.3) It is also important to note that throughout human history, people have been making adjustments to their food intake, by trial and error, and through necessity or opportunity so that to say that introduction of new ingredients or dishes in the Norwegian kitchen is not a completely new phenomenon (*Ibid.*).

Firstly, it is important to define what is meant by authentic Norwegian cuisine or the regional cuisine as no one has given unambiguous definition of a national dish. As Notaker indicated It can be on the one hand what people eat on a daily basis in a country...but it can also be mean something that is perceived to be characteristic or special of the country...an example is gulash in Hungary, haggis in Scotland, pizza in Italy or moussaka in Greece. (Notaker, p.180-181) In Norway, rømmegrøt or “sour cream porridge” was considered a national dish in 1858 from Olaus Løvens cookbook in 1897 (*Ibid.*).

For all intents and purposes of this research paper, a “foreign” recipe will be any recipe which was not found in cookbooks for the first time period from 1880 and which is common knowledge to have its origins in a foreign country outside Scandinavia. Just like Mediterranean food is now considered an Intangible Cultural Heritage by UN because it is a food pattern, so will we use the same categorization of Scandinavian cooking, in that the dishes in Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Iceland would follow similar food patterns. It would be very difficult to dissect various ingredients such as cinnamon (a tree bark originally from Ceylon)(World’s Healthiest Foods, 2011) and then consider *Skillingsbolle* or cinnamon roll a foreign recipe that has been commonly eaten Northern Europe and North America for many generations.

4. Child Development

Final dimension to be explored is how Child Development is included in the cookbook. However, child development must first be defined and identification of which will need to be will be evaluated when illustrating child development in cookbooks and how children's cookbooks reveal these pedagogical values in each time period.

Child development refers to the biological, psychological, social, and emotional change or growth that occurs from birth through to young adulthood, the World Health Organisation, states that "While nutrition and physical growth are basic, young children also need to spend time in caring, responsive environments that protect them from inappropriate disapproval and punishment. They need opportunities to explore their world, to play, and learn how to speak and listen to others" (WHO). Similarly, further research has suggested that children's reading and writing activities through play has important implications for their literacy development (Andersen & Stokes, 1991). Studies have also pointed out that the act of cooking can significantly assist in the development of children's motor and language skills as it is a natural laboratory for helping children to develop and learn, while learning how to prepare food they develop patterns that last a lifetime and by age 3 most children find cooking activities appealing (Colker, 2005). Children naturally explore books, toys, sand, and other materials by using all of their senses, and they initially explore cooking opportunities in the same way (Colker, 2005). This research does not suggest scientific evidence that cookbooks do in fact help children as an experimentally proven fact or how they impact children in the long-term with their development. The focus of this section is to see if child development is evident at all in children's cookbooks, if there is a trend, and the message adults send to assume what children can or cannot do.

OPERATIONALISATION

The operationalisation of the concepts are observed or lacking in each of the reviewed cookbooks. The operational definition of these terms is such that it is able to be measured in the empirical world (Neuman, 2011, p.203). In this project, like many other qualitative studies, operationalization precedes conceptualization, (*Ibid.*, p.205-6) and gives deductive measurement. The observations and thoughts about the information in the cookbooks and similarities among them have contributed to working ideas that the basis of the conceptual definitions (*Ibid.*).

Sampling and Data Analysis

My initial intention was to analyse Norwegian children's cookbooks from the very beginning of Norwegian cookbooks in history. However, there is little known that any of the 32 cookbooks written during the first fifteen years of Norwegian cookbook history from 1831-1846, (Notaker, 2001,p.8) were published for children specifically. Interestingly, between 1846 and 1886 the cookbook publishing rates nearly collapsed and for those 35 years, nearly an entire generation, only 3-4 new cookbooks were published that contained general information and household chores (*Ibid.*). It was then the idea that cookbooks would be taken from 1880 until the onset of the Second World War. One of the most important and provoking methodological challenges of this survey included making decisions on how to find, and identify the samples and their relevance during the research. The sampling used in this research was quote sampling, being a nonrandom sample in which the two time frames were identified after the children's cookbooks had been selected

All samples taken had to meet two criteria:

1. Norwegian author for a Norwegian audience
2. A cookbook designed so that adults cook for children *or* that children may cook by themselves.

The initial idea was to analyse strictly cookbooks in which children were portrayed as cooking by themselves, independently of adult supervision. Cookbooks were collected from local sources, such as the Stavanger University Library, the Norwegian Cookbook Museum, and Stavanger Public Library. As well, I had 1 hour in Kristiansand and decided to go to the public library there to see if they had some children's cookbooks and they had many more. I was in a hurry but managed to photograph some samples included in this project with my iPhone before taking the train back to Stavanger. There were also some challenges here as some libraries considered cookbooks for children (either with children or for children) to be in the adult section of cookbooks and some placed them in the

children's section of books. Some cookbooks were found among other books for children, like learning how to sew and woodwork. Therefore, this also is important because it shows there is no concrete manner in which children's cookbooks are classified. Some samples that were known to exist from reading Norwegian cookbook bibliographies but I was unable to obtain because of the cost of buying the book myself.

Missing Samples 1950 – 1970

Interestingly, there were rarely cookbooks for children found from 1950 until late 1980's. The reason for this can be explained in the gender values and economic situation of Norwegian society throughout much of the 20th century. During that period, the ideal of the housewife was strong in the 1950s and early 1960's and that time period has been characterised as the "golden age of the housewife" in Norway (Hagemann and Roll-Hansen, 2005; Knudsen and Wærness, 2001).

1970 to Present

Because of the difficulty of locating cookbooks and determining their use with or by children, over 50 children's new or used cookbooks with at least one recipe in word or pictures were reviewed. The limited number of cookbooks in earlier periods of history resulted in the most examples being published since the 1970's and even more so since the year 2000 (Hertzler, p.347). From 1980's onwards, due to increased affluence and per capita disposal income, children cooking is now something fun, a pastime and there is little focus on 'wasting' of ingredients if recipes do not turn out the first time. The point of economics is a very interesting one, and could be an interesting topic for an entire thesis; however is out of scope for this one.

Reliability and Validity

One of the biggest challenges here of the entire research paper was how to assure the quality and trustworthiness of my research (Finlay, 2003, p.2). The nature of this research was qualitative and for that reason it had to be argued against and justified against established criteria. Without this, I would have been open to criticism from those of the positivist persuasion who regard qualitative research as "'merely' subjective assertion supported by unscientific method" (Ballinger, 2006, p.235).

Unfortunately, as of today, little research has been conducted with regards to children's cookbooks at all nor a multidimensional interpretation of them, thus resulting in a lack of grounded theory. For this reason, I had to develop my own general and basic validity and reliability test to use

which compared my interpretation against two other opinions. Consequentially, I used a document study which is the technique used to record observations that test the reliability of the observations over time. For this reason, the concepts were read by other persons and asked if they had understood the definitions of the concepts as well as the interpretations of the dimensions (Neuman,p. 214).

To test it, I developed a series of questions of the dimensions that can be used for any of the cookbooks in the available sample. I was curious to see if the interpretation of the author’s message and recipe content I had was congruent with other interpretations. I made a series of questions that listed the dimensions in a chart exactly like the one below. Then I asked two persons, one aged 44 and another aged 33, one male and one female, in different professions unrelated to food or children, for their interpretation. I asked that they would give me a general opinion about the purpose or motivation of the book.

I made one simple questionnaire with different dimensions. Each dimension was listed in a column with other columns that described three different categories: “Completely agree – Indifferent – Disagree.” Candidates were asked to interpret either the entire book, based on the introduction and one recipe of their choice.

Dimensions	1 Agree	2 Indifferent	3 Disagree
Gender – The cookbook is explicitly written for girls and not boys.			
Health and Nutrition – Nutrition is a major theme discussed throughout the cookbook and serves as a purpose for writing the cookbook.			
National Identity – Does the cookbook contains many national Norwegian recipes and little, if any, foreign recipes.			
Child Development – The cookbook encourages children to cook for themselves, by themselves with little adult supervision.			

Table 1. Likert scale – The questionnaire used for testing Validity.

Because of the qualitative nature of this project, its purpose is to achieve a high level of authenticity rather than realizing a single version of the “truth” , meaning a fair, honest, and balanced account of social life from the viewpoint of the people who live it everyday (Neuman, 2011, p.214). To test the

validity of the interpretations of the children's cookbooks selected, different cookbooks were given to different individuals and asked to record the same measures.

To test the validity of the observations of the primary researcher, measures were obtained in a procedure to assess the risk of bias included in this study to ensure that interpretations did not only reflect the view of the researcher. In the end, 2 individuals were given a book each that, according to the researcher, scored very differently according to the measures of the researcher did previously. Those two individuals have very different educational and professional backgrounds. The results showed that indeed the researcher had very similar results as the other two researchers. This process of the same individuals interpreting two highly differentiating texts in the same manner as the researcher, added significantly to the validity of the measures. Below in figure __ is the chart with the dimensions.

The truth claims in this project are considered to be plausible, and therefore adhere to the validity of this research. That is because the data and statements in this research project about children's cookbooks, authors or readers, are not exclusive and they are not the only possible claims, nor are they exact accounts of the one truth in the world (Neuman p.216).

Each chapter is divided according to each dimension separately. Each chapter is analysed from different perspectives and methods. The chapter on nutrition is analysed through an analysis of public policy throughout the 1800's and into today. Each chapter is different as we will see below but all the information has been taken from highly regarded sources. The validity in this project has increased as I have searched continuously in diverse data and considered the connection among them (Neuman p. 216). Questionnaires were sent to prolific children's cookbook authors in Norway such as Andreas Viestad, and Margit Veia for their opinions and expertise in writing children's cookbooks to obtain an author's perspective. Thus, the validity arises from the cumulative impact of small, diverse details that only together create a heavy weight of evidence (*Ibid.*)

Results

Among three interpretations, the results of two interpretations for *Klare Sjøl* were identical. For the third interpretation, there was one difference for "economic situation." In the end of this project, economic situation was decided to be removed as a dimension due to the discretion of the author. For the other book that was put under two interpretations was *Fryd for Ganen* (2007) for which two interpretations were identical. This high level of consistency has created an assumption that my interpretations of the children's cookbooks here are valid.

Chapter 1 : Health and Nutrition

*Med salat
Blir du ikke særlig lat*

*Hvis du spiller data
Da blir du lat da*

Norwegian poem Diktet om Trening or The Poem about Exercising. *Author unknown.*

Of the multitude of factors that influence children's food choices, cookbooks for children are a source of nutrition information that has received little attention (Hertzler, 2005, p.347). This chapter tries to gain some insight into this topic. The first part of this section will explain in detail Norwegian public policy reforms surrounding children's nutrition during two time periods from 1890 to 1940 and from 1980 until the present year. The primary focus of this section will chronologically detail the progression of state initiatives and what state policies generally encouraged children to eat. There will be two areas of focus here. Firstly, the motives for the public policy and who was and is responsible for ensuring children's adequate nutritional intake. Secondly, to describe what was the focus on nutritional intake important at that time. It is illustrated in this section that the Norwegian government has changed from government-forced programs creating initiatives aimed at equality and adequate nutritional intake for everyone to more protective measures, focusing on food allergies and intolerances. Before, it was very scientific with nutrition being equated with complex explanation about vitamins and proteins. In today's cookbooks for children, we see that nutrition is very protective against allergies and assumes that many children are susceptible to allergic reactions or other food intolerances. However, nutrition is not solely a government concern but also a parental one. Yet, it is also interesting to note here that author's today are writing about nutrition as expertise when in the past the cookbooks were written for children. The review is divided as the other dimensions into two primary different time periods. The first period, from 1880-1940 took on the role that nutrition was the most important aspect and that taste was secondary (Notaker, 2001, p.45). That time period contained the introduction of vitamins, nutrients, and proteins as science and technology were gaining respect and recognition (Hersh, p.25).

The period from 1940-1980 nutrition was mentioned in cookbooks but it was the homemaker who was solely responsible for obtaining that knowledge and cooking it for the family, with little reference of children learning about nutrition.

The last period from 1980 until today there is an increase in the number of recipes focusing

on vitamins, nutrients and fat content. Primarily obesity and allergies are the points concerned with combatting disease. There is hardly any mention of allergies before and yet in almost every child's cookbook today recipes for lactose intolerant and gluten free recipes are in abundance. Children are now heavily being "protected" from the dangers of fatty foods containing high sodium being marketed towards them.

1880-1945 – The Scientific Era

Before the late 1800's, little is mentioned about children's nutrition at all in Norwegian cookbooks. This approach and lack of concern for healthy foods was then ridiculed by Peter Christen Asbjørnsen, a famous Norwegian folklorist who wrote in 1864 a cookbook called *Fornuftig Madstel En tidsmæssig Koge- og Husholdningsbog* or, *Rational Cooking: A modern cookbook and book of household management*, under the pseudonym Celemens Bonifacius (Notaker pp.100-101). In the introduction he heavily criticized traditional cookery described by the predominantly female homemakers for their lack of scientific knowledge and inclusion of any nutritional value in the recipes (Bakken, 2001) This led to the *Grøtstriden* or *Porridge feud* (1884-1886) numerous debate between the poor population on the farm who traditionally cooked whatever was economically available and the bourgeoisie who could afford refined flours (Bakken, 2001). While Asbjørnsen's studies were later falsified and proven untrue, the controversy sparked a nation-wide debate about the importance of taking into consideration nutritional value from a scientific perspective in relation to cookbook publication.

In the 1870's onwards there was an explosion in the popular science and new discoveries (Lindgren, 2013) were overwhelming societies in Europe and America as almost every topic was being discussed and talked about, and it was an era when cooking in general was exploding as a topic. Within just a first few years, the first food magazines and cookbooks were being published in abundance (*ibid.*). Many cookbooks focused on selecting balanced diets with attention given to the nutritional value of various foods. Rather than enticements for the pleasures of dining, most of the children's cookery books from the late 1800's through the 1930's extolled the virtues of eating properly in order to keep the machinery of the body healthy (Hersh, p.24).

Starting in 1880, poor children in Norway received access to hot meals at school (Frukt.no). The programme was organized by the 'Committee for poor schoolchildren's dining', initiated by Hanna Bergh, who organized the project and the meal consisted of gruel with milk (Frukt.no). The municipality of Oslo took over the programme in 1895, and in 1897 the municipality decided that "a

hot meal every school day during the period from October 15th to May 1st" Other schoolchildren who were not part of the free food scheme could come under this scheme and could buy the same food for 10 øre per serving (Frukt.no). This is never more evident than in the children's cookbooks and adult cookbooks written in Norway during that time. Henriette Schønberg Erken's cookbook for adults to cook for children entitled *Kogebok for skole og hjem* (1895) had an introduction by doctor and nutritionist Caroline Steen.

From 1890 came a new trend for the establishment of school kitchens all over Norway and that created a need for new types of cookbooks. A number of books came from the market, the first and foremost pioneers in this institutional nutritional movement were Helga Helgesen and Dorothea Christensen (Notaker, 2001,p.64).

This was the beginning of what was to become a growing trend in children's cookbooks at the turn of the century, where cookery books suggested ways to prepare the right foods in the proper methods (Hersh, p.26). There was a strong emphasis on the falsification scientific methods throughout the first two decades of the 20th century (Hersh, p.26). It was not long after in 1909, when the *Husstellærskolen* (loosely translated as "House Tending School") established in Bærum, outside Oslo by the Norwegian Women's National Advisory Board (Store Leksikon). Other schools establishing all over Norway took these school kitchen books of "school kitchen subjects subjects" seriously and put the general guidance in relation to the new diet theories (Notaker, p.248).

New revelations about science behind food was emerging at a time when technology was able manipulate ingredients into completely different end products. Margarine replaced butter, and coffee was consumed instead of milk. Small children were encouraged, first and foremost, to drink coffee with skimmed milk (Laupsa-Borge, 2009). Author Asbjørnsen recommended that children should drink coffee instead of eating meat because it contained just as much nitrogen which contains elements of proteins (*Ibid.*).

Matlære or Food Knowledge (1916) by Inga Høst and Ingeborg Milberg dominated the Norwegian cookbook market until after the First World War and was focused on instructing teachers how to instruct their young pupils on domestic science with illustrations focusing primarily on hygiene and digestibility (Notaker pp.64-65).

Concern for child's nutrition was further exemplified in 1926 Dr. Carl Schiøtz, physician and professor of hygiene and bacteriology at the University of Oslo, who began the programme called *Oslofrokosten* or *The Oslo Breakfast*. The purpose of this initiative was a type of uncooked school meal designed by professor Schiøtz himself to be as healthy as possible, with widely reported studies suggesting it delivered excellent results for the children's long term health. Oslo breakfast was introduced in the 1929-1930 school year at some schools and in 1932 it was introduced in all schools and from 1935, all students who wanted breakfast (Alsvik, 1996). During the 1930s the *Oslo breakfast* became famous and was copied



by programs in Scandinavia, Europe, and the wider world. When Schiøtz attacked the hot school meal in the mid-1920s, he wanted a scientifically based meal, and an important part of such a meal would be to teach everybody, via the children, about healthy food. (Andresen & Elvbakken, 2007). His recommendation called for milk, bread or crackers with cheese, spreads and vegetables and fruit (Alsvik, 1996).

Vitamins took a very important central theme between the two world wars all over the world as science and technology revealed nutritional benefits and diseases. In 1935 the League of Nations, (precursor to the U.N), established a committee to assess the problems of nutrition for the public and children specifically (Eliot & Heseltine, 1937) According to the report the purpose was to point out the essential importance of adequate nutrition to the health and well-being of workers and their families and to offer convincing evidence in a widespread recognition of the fact that nutrition is a factor of primary importance to public health and to the economic and social welfare of nations (*Ibid.*, p. 331).

In that committee representing Norway was Carl Schiøtz who was primarily concerned with helping children with deficiency symptoms (Notaker, 2001, p.248). We see during this time that many new ideas were presented in cookbooks, with contributions and prefaces written by doctors and biochemists (*Ibid.*, p.248). Carl Schiøtz later provided the introduction to *Dietkost og barnernæring or Dietary intake and Children's Nutrition* (1932) with Henriette Schønberg Erken (*Ibid.*). Erken wrote the recipes while Schiøtz provided the expertise and wrote the introduction. Cookbooks for children at this period contained the highest scientific knowledge possible and of the highest quality. Just as science and technology were gaining respect and recognition, the study of gastronomy should not be considered an undignified or improper pursuit and the nuances of the "cultivated stomach" were worthy of study just as science or art and music (Hersh,1997, p.25). *Trygg kost for norske hjem or Healthy diet for the Norwegian home* (1939) was written again by Henriette Schønberg Erken with Schiøtz again having written the long introduction about nutrition (Harby)

Matlære : Kokebok for Barneskolen (1916) or *Food teacher: Cookbook for School* cookbooks for children dominated the cookbook market entirely up until after the Second World War (Notaker p.64). The illustrations in the books are full of importance of hygiene and "one can almost get the impression that food is first and foremost dangerous" (*Ibid.*, p.65) where the taste is relevant, however it is not central to the point of cooking (Notaker, 2001,p. 65) . The trend to take care of children's nutrition continued on after World War II in *Kokebok for Grunnskolen or Cookbook for the Elementary School* (1949). Many editions printed afterwards. In addition to these moral duties, the young girl must learn lessons of frugality and how to help those less fortunate (Longone, 106). In all of the books in this category, there is not very much in the way of taste, pleasure, and appreciation of food (Longone, 109).

During the same period, the national health scheme was being institutionalized, as later to be Norwegian Health Director, Karl Evang, together with doctor Otto Galtrung, wrote a scientific survey of *An inquiry into the diet of 301 poorly situated families in Norway* (Notaker, 2001, p.76) illustrating the importance of children's nutrition on the political agenda at the time. Food was not something to be enjoyed, rather to be served as a means of fueling the body (Hersh,p.24). Books at this time were written in such a fashion that implied there were *right ways* and *wrong ways* of doing things and books were always of a pedagogical by nature and the book, as is today, was the tool used for teaching. Its purpose was to provide a methodology that "Food teachers tell about nutrition and how it should be prepared so that it is healthy, nutritious, tasty and easily digestible food and drink" (Notaker p.65) Cookery books written for children in the first part of the twentieth century mainly focused on the mechanics of cookery and menu planning. (*Ibid.* 27)

This knowledge about vitamins was popularized in magazines and journals, and emphasized that the new knowledge led to many new twists and some failures. Among other things, food and health connected together in new ways. The knowledge of vitamins created a new nutritional imperative, an imperative that put the child and not as previously adults at the center of attention (Lyngø, 2007). Enlisted in the campaign to promote healthful eating, children needed to understand the reasoning behind these cooking methods and vitamin balancing procedures (Hersh, 1997. p. 28). Books around this era, just like we see in society in general, was full of adult supervision and these books assume that there will be careful, attentive adult supervision and they stress the need for healthy minds and healthy bodies so that children will grow strong and be productive adults (*Ibid.*,28).



1940 -1980 Golden Age of the Housewife

By the late 1950s the provision of *Oslo Breakfasts* by schools had largely ceased and so did governmentally institutionalized influence on children's health in general; sometimes they were replaced by more popular hot meal provision, or sometimes just dropped altogether as rising prosperity meant the provision of free school meals was seen as less necessary and publicly provided school meals stopped entirely in the early 1950's (Andresen, Elvbakken).

The changing structure of the economy has perhaps the strongest influence; after WWII the economy was growing and prosperous women were encouraged to stay at home and be responsible for all household chores, including cooking for the entire family. The 1950's were the heyday of the full-time housewife, who was presumed to be an expert in domestic sciences, including food and nutrition. (Andresen, Elvbakken) The homes should, in this period, be the arena for nutritional education and a variety of educational measures were directed towards the housewives (Haavet, 2006, p.206) and children were

encouraged to enjoy life. Milk glasses, tomatoes, cheese, and carrots came to life.

The contrasting developments demonstrate that the school meal in Norway was prompted and sustained by socio-economic need and not the promotion of civility. In Norway the school as a totality was the main arena for instilling civility, not the canteen and the dining table. It was the family who was responsible, if economic conditions allowed, for feeding children. Thus, the politicians in the post-war period obviously trusted the country's full-time housewives to provide school children with the recommended packed lunch such as the "Oslo breakfast". The housewives heeded the call, and parents have continued to do so, even if many children tend to bring the lunches back home uneaten (Andresen, Elv)



Drømmen om null hull - Sunn tegneserie for femtittårsbarna.

Above: Illustration from *Journey to Health Land* (translation, 1952). Children only had to dream about healthy food like milk and carrots readily available to them. Cooking was not necessary.

Reisen til Helse-land (1952) or *Journey to Health Land* written by Kari Tove Elvbakken with illustrations by Dag Stenvoll was a paperback book published by the government distributed to school children from 1952 until 1974 (Tegneserie). This book was an introduction to healthy eating for children in the 3rd grade but cannot be considered a cookbook, nor one that indicates that children had any domestic responsibilities at all and focuses on the visually pleasing – not on technique or efficiency or productivity (Hersh, p.15)

The limitations of scientifically condoned food guidelines were no longer at the forefront, and expectations of the children were bright (Hersh, p.31). However, strict instruction of what children should or should not eat was solely the responsibility of the mother.

This does not mean that the Norwegian school-meal program did not have a socializing intention. When Schiøtz attacked the hot school meal in the mid-1920s, he wanted a scientifically based meal, and an important part of such a meal would be to teach everybody, via the children,

about healthy food. The abolition of the school meal in Norway, however, points to the strong ideological connotations of “the meal” as well as to the position of women in this phase of the welfare state; to prepare the meals was among the first duties of welfare state mothers, and they were trusted to do so according to the scientific recommendations they were provided with. For a long time this policy seemed to work; today, however, the packed lunch bag competes poorly with other, less healthy, options (Andresen, Elvbakken).

1980 – 2000

From the 1970’s onwards, children were once again invited into the kitchen as mothers went to work outside the home. The first example of children’s cookbooks is by Britt Kåsin entitled *Glad ungdomsmat – Enkel kokebok for unge Kokker (1983)* or *Happy Food for Youth – easy cookbook for young cooks*. But did not mention nutritional value at all, and children were supposed to enjoy sweet food as a reward to cooking. Another cookbook, by Aase Strømstad, called *Kokebok – for deg som synes mat er gøy* or *Cookbook – for you who think food is fun (1993)* contained a section on candy at the end and yet no mention of its nutritional value at all and only writes about the technique of melting chocolate (Strømstad, p. 129). However, little, if any, nutritional value is found or encouraged at all. If children were going to be encouraged to partake in the preparation of food, it meant they needed a reward; and that came in the final product of what they made; snacks, sweets and pizza. Nutrition is mentioned again this year in another cookbook is *Godt Måltid! Kokebok for hjem og skole (1993)* or *Happy Mealtime, Cookbook for home and school (1993)* written by Marianne Alstrøm Rykke, which is also the first cookbook that questions “What is the point of writing a new when there are so many cookbooks in circulation?” (Elverum, p.5) *Godt Måltid!* as the author tries to explain, is meant to “serve as a learning tool about nutrition, health and environment....Most people in Norway are workers and wish to have recipes on the plate that take very short amount of time” (Elverum p.5).

2000 – Present

Because the sample of cookbooks written since 2003 is very large, this last section can be categorized into three sub-categories; preoccupation with allergies, adults assume children do not like eating healthy food, and who is ultimately responsible for children’s nutrition?

During recent years, there has been a growing emphasis on the significance of the food that is served to children (Vea, 2013, p.5). That is because statistics indicate that as in many other European countries, children in Norway are increasingly becoming overweight and obese (WHO,

2013 Regional Office for Europe). According to the Child Growth Study, which provides data to the WHO Childhood Obesity Surveillance Initiative, 19% of children in Norway aged 8–9 years old were already overweight or obese in 2010 and the numbers are increasing (*ibid.*).

The problem is not now adequate society's responsibility to provide adequate food, rather trying to educate young children about their own personal food choices. The Action Plan in 2007 from the Health Directorate issued was called "Recipe for a Healthier Norway" and its purpose is "to improve the diet in the entire population, with particular focus on children...Facilitating a healthy and varied diet and physical activity for children and young people is important for preventing illness in the population in the future." (Helse Direktoratet [HD], p.5) Starting in 2007, The Norwegian School of Science and Technology issued a statement during a conference, that:

Food and nutrition have become topics both in academic discourse and in an increasingly number of debates and political discourses the recent years. Global production and distribution of cheap and fat food and sugar drinks influence not only what people eat across the world, but also how food consumption is practiced as a cultural phenomenon... Consumption practices and strategies may also be associated with variations in trust and distrust, health and well-being...Questions are asked, how children's health and nutrition are influenced by both changes in the access to new food and how food consumption apparently is undergoing fundamental changes. (Norwegian School of Science and Technology [NTNU], 2007)

It states, "The plan contains specific measures that will help promote health and prevent disease through changing eating habits in line with current recommendations...The measures, among other things, emphasized to help make it easier to choose healthy, facilitate healthy meals in kindergartens, schools and the elderly, and increase knowledge about food, diet and nutrition" (HD).

Parents *and* Kindergartens share responsibility

In children's cookbooks today, kindergartens are mentioned with substantial frequency, meaning that children's nutrition is a societal issue, not just the responsibility of stay at home mothers. Kindergartens share the responsibility and according to the Action Plan:

Food and drink consumed in the kindergarten is a significant part of children's overall diet. This is true whether it is brought or served. Home and family has the primary responsibility for the child's diet, but because so many meals consumed at the nursery, kindergarten has a great influence on children's eating habits, diet and health. Work on food and meals in the nursery should be done in close cooperation with the homes. Kindergarten is an educational and health institution. Kindergarten's work on health, meals, nutrition and hygiene laid down in the Children Act, curriculum for the Content and Tasks and regulations for environmental health in kindergartens and schools. The guidelines are based on current nutrition

recommendations. The knowledge base is provided at the back of the booklet. Health authorities' guidelines should be based on the work of food and meals in the nursery...Measure group guidelines daycare owner, daycare staff, parents and others interested in or working with food and health in kindergartens. By following the guidelines for food and meals in the nursery, the children in daycare get a food and meal deals that promote health, well-being, development and learning (HD, 2007).

This is similar to the Action Plan where it states: "The basis for child and adolescent nutrition is established at home, while kindergartens and schools also play an important role with respect to the eating habits of children and young people. Since many children eat several of their daily meals while they are in day-care or at school these meals represent a considerable part of their overall diet" (HD p.16).

The shared responsibility is very clearly evident in many children's cookbook written in the last decade. *Fryd for Ganen* or *Delight for the Palate* (2008) it is written in the introduction that "Mealtimes are an important element of daily life in the kindergarten and through food and mealtimes; children gain knowledge, social competency, and establish the basis for healthy eating habits. Children learn about different food and tastes and they also learn about healthy eating and a diverse nutritional diet (Høines, p.10). As parents, we obviously want to give children the best start in life they can receive and therefore a part of the daily care is shared between both home and in the kindergarten (Høines p.10).

Many cookbooks for children are now written by kindergarten students and teachers, such as *Godt! Kokebok for Barnehagen* or *Good! Cookbook for Barnehagen* (2010) the authors stated that "Parents are responsible for their children's nutrition...After many mealtimes they eat outside the home, both kindergartens and schools are very important agencies for establishing children's nutrition." (Ulvedal, Otterdal, Såhem) Like *Godt!* there is also the cookbook called *Ufattelig Godt! or Unbelievably Good!* (2010) written by the ninth grade Teinå Skole (Teinå School) in Stavanger (2007).

Furthermore, healthy eating in the kindergarten, "with respect to meals in primary and secondary schools, the trend since the early 1990s has in many ways taken a positive direction. Nevertheless, many challenges remain concerning the school food habits of children and young people," (HD, 16) and ultimately the Action Plan stated that "society has a responsibility for facilitating good dietary habits" (HD).

Allergies

Mention of allergies as a theme in contemporary children's cookbooks is perhaps the most prevalent topic in today's cookbooks for children. The first recipe for a children's cookbook is found as far back as 1993 in *Godt Måltid* by Rykke, with an entire chapter dedicated to gluten and lactose intolerances. Gluten intolerances and lactose as shown in this section are the two most common (Rykke pp.23-25).

Allergies are mentioned in the cookbook *Godt! Kokebok for Barnehagen* (2010) or *Good! Cookbook for kindergarten* mentions that "increasingly both adults and children are getting ascertained allergies" (Borgen, Haaland, Midtøy, and Kristoffersen, p.11) claiming that "it is actually easier to make food for allergic people....a better selection of these products can be searched in large supermarkets or ordered directly from wholesale" (Borgen, Haaland, Midtøy, and Kristoffersen, pg. 11) There is also an entire chapter dedicated to gluten-free and lactose free recipes.

Similarly, in *Fryd for Ganen* (2008) "in both the house and in the kindergarten it is a benefit to make the most similar food for everyone. It is not only easier, but it is important for the (allergenic child) that they are not standing out all the time" (Høines, p.140). On the cover of *Nam! Barnas Favoritter* (2008) *Children's Favourites* there is a sticker saying "Super good! Easy and healthy. Tips for gluten free and lactose free recipes." Late in the section "Like food!" the author writes:

Many are allergic to one or many foods. Unfortunately I have not enough knowledge to write about all types of food allergies – and this is not meant to be an allergy cookbook. But I understand that more and more children are becoming allergic or intolerant to gluten and milk. I also understand that it can be disappointing to have an allergic



Above: All recipes in this cookbook translated as *Yummy! Children's Favourites* (2008), contain two sections at the end of each recipe for solutions to accommodate for children with both coeliac disease and who are lactose intolerant.

person over for dinner....I also thought that the first time the neighbor boy Jonas came over for dinner. But Jonas himself, as a four year old, had full control over what he could or could not eat” (Finkenhagen, p.12).

Once again, there is a suggestion that the others should accommodate to the child with the allergy, by saying “no one will become ill eating gluten free or milk free products for one day.” (*Ibid.*, p.12) At the end of every recipe, there are two categories written showing whether or not the recipe is glucose free or lactose free and if so, how the recipe can be modified to accommodate to the intolerance (See illustration nr.)

For example, when cooking “Mamma Mias Meatballs” (*Ibid.*, p.19) the main recipe suggests adding 2 slices of bread. Under the lactose-free section it states:

“Check if the loaf of bread is milk free or replace the bread with 2 tablespoons of potato flour. Replace milk with water and parmesan with milk free cheddar cheese. The meatballs can be made fantastically without cheese at all. Use the milk free margarine or oil when frying” (*Ibid.*).

Children’s cookery books primarily target allergies. Although the common is fat and sugar, surprisingly allergies take a precedent. Although the attitudes towards these aspects change over time, they maintain the common notion that allergies are very common.

Interestingly, we see from the cookbook by Gunn Helene Arsky, *Maten Barna Elsker å Hate* (2010) or *Food Children Love to Hate* (2010) describes various intolerances in an encyclopedic-like format at the back of the cookbook describing food intolerances as “a reaction against food that is not an allergy, meaning that it does not include immunoglobulin E” (Arsky, p.198). However, Arsky does not explain what immunoglobulin is but an example is lactose intolerance, which only affects 2% of the population (*Ibid.* p. 197). Similarly, in Reidun Høines’ book she mentions periodically throughout the book about intolerances and allergies, yet states that “around six percent of small children are negatively affected by food” (Høines, p. 140)



Above: Cookbook translated as *Happy with Gluten-free* (2012) an entire children’s cookbook targeting children suffering from coeliac disease.

Similarly, Monica Lien in her cookbook *Søtt og Sunt* or *Sweet and Healthy* (2012) asks the question “Do you suffer from allergies or intolerances?...Many with gluten allergies or other types of food intolerances find it difficult to find good recipes for cakes and desserts...all the recipes in this book are therefore with both sugar and gluten...every easy recipe can be made without milk ingredients either” (Lien, p.7).

However, the guarantee that these cookbooks are written by experts is unknown and subjective. Some authors do not have any scientific background but are writing about highly influential health concerns. This argument is never more evident than in the book *Gøy med Glutenfritt – bakeskole for nybegynnere* (2012) *Happy with Gluten Free – baking school for new beginners* writ by Lene Simonsen. In the introduction she writes:

To write a book is fun. To bake is fun. To be together with children is fun. To have written this book has therefore been a tremendous pleasure....When I was young little was known about eating gluten-free. Coeliac disease was for many an undiagnosed illness. Luckily I had a mother who managed to convince me that I was lucky to often get food that was just for me. In addition she showed me how to bake bread, and cakes, so that after a while I learn to bake them myself (*Ibid.*, p.6).

Her experience with the gluten-free is simply because she is a sufferer, not an expert in the field of child nutrition. “With my own experience I know of the many questions surrounding eating gluten-free.” (*Ibid.* p. 8) We see the element of preventing exclusion of the child from the group, excluding children “The parents will soon enough see that the teacher and other parents wish that the child shall be truly included during mealtimes and social gatherings. Stringent rules and hard feelings rarely work on children” (*Ibid.* p. 15).

Adults Assume Healthy Food is Something Children Innately Dislike

Høines makes the assumption that “Children need time to become accustomed to a new taste. Children are naturally skeptical to new things. It is therefore important to be patient and respect this” (Høines p.30). Similarly, *Maten barna elsker å hate* (2012) written by Gunn Helen Arsky is very similar to that idea that children do not like healthy foods. The introduction states that:

Many parents are uncomfortable because their children eat how they want, not enough vegetables, not enough fish and too happy to drink soft drinks and eat pasta...This often

leads parents to feel guilty and bad habits for children...It has been exciting to have combined the practical advice with the newest research in health and nutrition when it comes to children's preferences for taste, food choices, eating habits and views for a healthy adult life...The main focus of this book is to present exciting new solutions that will tempt children to think differently. The key words here are enjoyment of the food, curiosity, healthiness, and inspiration (Arsky p.6)

Likewise, Reidun Høines made a consideration for children when she wrote "food that is served to children shall not only be healthy, but they should also be tasteful...The recipes contain a lot of fresh ingredients and little use of frozen or canned foods. Perhaps it takes a bit longer to plan but the lasting result is fabulous" (p.7) and once again reiterating that point, "the recipes in this book are for children and take into account both taste and nutrition" (*Ibid.* p.30). In the current decade we see that nutrition elements are joined with concern for taste a pleasure of the food. Parents and teachers should be vigilant if their children like the food they are eating, and that healthy food does not necessarily mean that it must taste bad. And in *Hellstrøm Jr. (2012)* "And so I have noticed that more and more youth today are focused on both good and healthy food, which they are then able to cook on his or her own. I always think it's fun to cook ... because I learned about good ingredients. The raw materials are the key to making good food" (Hellstrøm, p.9).

Nutrition Experts

Nutrition information in children's cookbooks is guided by the professionals who design the cookbooks, the food choices in the marketplace, and the parents and teachers who select the recipes (Hertzler, p. 351). This is interesting for cookbooks because cookbooks with regards to nutrition are not solely guided by experts, rather anyone who has interest or, as seen before, first-hand experience suffices.

Godt! written by cooks from Barnehagengruppen AS, a private kindergarten in Oslo and Bærum, is written by cooks at the kindergarten and are not nutritional experts themselves however say that "emphasis on healthy and varied diet is already important from when the children are 1 year olds, it is critical for them to develop good eating habits." (Borgen, Haaland, Midtøy, Kristoffersen, pg.6) Monica Lien, for example, mentions in her book *Søtt og Sunt (2012) (Sweet and Healthy)* that "the starting point of this book is that the recipes are so nutritious that they can be used for both everyday meals and for parties...the nutrition experts recommend to eat something sweet and healthy after dinner every day so that one does not crave sugar...it is important to choose healthy alternatives like berries or fruit, and preferably something with protein" (Lien p.7).

Hellstrøm writes “Machines have overtaken. The food industry makes food for everyone who does not make food or who are incapable of making food themselves. The food factories think about money and profit. Profitability is everything. So that they produce food for people who do not have time nor interest to make food at home themselves. Economy – best possible ingredients, regardless of the cost of the products. That is the most important (Hellstrøm, p9.) Reidun states “This book is the result of many years of working with children and nutrition, especially nutritional intake for children in kindergarten. I have held courses and presentations for parents of children and employees in kindergartens. The kindergartens wish to get advice about healthy and good food or recipes with cake with less sugar,” (Reidun p.7) and that she used the new nutrition requirements for food and meals for kindergartens in the 2007 Social and Health Directorate (Høines p.7).

Aase Strømstad makes a drastic claim when she states in a side note that, “Did you know that if you eat traditional Norwegian food such as wholegrain bread, potatoes, vegetables, fish and meat that you do not need to take extra vitamins? The only thing you need to take is a spoon or pill of cod liver oil during the wintertime when the days are short and the nights are long” (Strømstad, p. 54).

As we see here in the examples, almost any person can write a children’s cookbook and present important nutritional information through a medium that is not heavily restricted. This finding could potentially raise concern about publishing such highly influential nutritional information so nonchalantly. Also, it could be argued that the nutritional information published in these books is very basic and rhetoric, and advancements of science are not included as they once were.

Summary

This chapter outlined that cookbooks have changed from nutrition being difficult because there was simply not enough food, to a society where most people have enough to eat, but the challenge remains in achieving the diet that gives a basis so that one can be in good health with little illness throughout their entire life (Blomhoff & Andersen p. 7).

During the first half of the 20th century we see that nutrition was regimented, with heavily standardized recipes and cooking methods encouraged through the institutionalization of home economic schools. Government backed scientific research lead to cookbooks containing detailed and highly scientifically proven nutritional information and recipes, with emphasis on the importance of vitamins, and the importance of preparing for one’s long-term. (Hesh p.39)

Whether or not allergies and food intolerances is actually such a predominant symptom as these cookbooks written during the last decade seem to suggest, is beyond the scope of this research paper. However, it is interesting to have illustrated that children’s nutrition, while becoming a trend

in children's cookbooks today, is written by authors who are writing about serious nutritional information without the governmental, or scientific background at all times. We see that in fact the cookbooks from the 1880's until the Second World War were written by highly specialized doctors and nutritionists who truly had the knowledge to write about the material concerning adequate nutrition.

Questions remaining are how will cookbooks continue to evolve in enhancing the growth and development of future generations and averting the obesity epidemic, and what will be the role of nutrition in this paradigm? (Hertzler, p.351) Questions also remain as to who has the right or authority to publish children's cookbooks as in the case with food product advertising. Children and young people are in a phase of life where fundamental knowledge, skills and attitudes are established, and the potential for promoting good health and preventing future illness is great. (Health Directorate, p.5) Whatever the case may be, the similarity between all of the time periods is that that children will reach beyond their parent's limitations and continue a forward movement of nutritional progress (Hersh,p.24).

CHAPTER 2: Gender in Children's Cookbooks

And you have always been so kind to me. But our home has been nothing but a playroom. I have been your doll-wife, just as at home I was papa's doll-child; and here the children have been my dolls. I thought it great fun when you played with me, just as they thought it great fun when I played with them. That is what our marriage has been, Torvald.
- Nora in *A Doll's House* by Henrik Ibsen, 1879

This section will explain how gender roles have changed in Norway during the last 150 years from traditional gender roles, meaning when men were responsible for providing economically for the family while women were primarily responsible for maintaining order in the household. In contemporary Norwegian society there are many more elements of gender equality however there exists some minor gender difference even today. Information used to support the evidence found in cookbooks for children are public governmental information gathered via governmental statistics from SSB (Statens Statistikkbyrå), historical events, and other academic sources.

This section has been divided into two sections. The first section concerns gender of the author. The second section will analyse the gender of the targeted audience and development to a more gender equalized society. Cookbooks written in Norway during the last ten years express a sincere desire to make the gender roles non-existent.

Gender of the Author

From 1880 books published in local communities around the country were generally modest leaflets, written by housewives or teachers (Notaker, p. 33). Hanna Winsnes was already 56 years old when she wrote *Lærebog i de forskjellige Grene af Husholdningen* (Textbook in Various Areas of the Household) in 1846 (*ibid*). Winsnes had previously been in a prolific children's book author under the pseudonym Hugo Swartz but had used her real name for this cookbook. Before Winsnes published her book, women were primarily responsible for the exchange of knowledge of cooking.

In Norway women have played a central role in oral storytelling traditions...In the course of helping and assisting each other, and either out of necessity or desire, women exchanged both small tales and important stories about which they knew far more than men. Some of these stories were often just pure tales. Stories one had heard and were to be passed on to others. In this way the women passed along the traditions, legends and myths from one village to another. When these folk tales and legends were collected and recorded there occurred a break in the oral tradition. Those who travelled around and collected the folk tales were men, although this can be understood: women were at that time more bound to their own localities. Norwegian folk tales and legends are today associated with the names Asbjørnsen and Moe, while the earlier storytelling tradition was unsigned, collective and oral. (Norwegian Nat'l Commission, p. 4)

Cookbooks published in the mid to late 1800s followed this trend. On the one hand cooking was an oral tradition passed down from mother to daughter. However, publishing instead of orally transmitting information, was used for the first time with Winsnes. It still seemed to be an embarrassment in that Winsnes was a prolific novelist who used a pseudonym when writing her other publications but used her real name for the publication of this cookbook. Asbjørnsen, however, wrote his cookbook twenty years later also under a pseudonym. That was because cookery books from the mid to late 1800's often included the social message that young girls needed to learn about preparing meals in order to maintain "proper" homes since they would soon be responsible for maintaining orderly households (Hersh, p.5). The fact when Winsnes was writing fiction using a man's name and Asbjørnsen wrote a cookbook using a pseudonym reveals something about what permissible for women to write. At that time, there were few female writers, and even less having the need to write cookbooks. As we have already seen, poor women on farms did not have so many resources to buy books, and the middle and upper class women did not need to know how to cook. In 1913, Norwegian women gained the right to vote and Norway became the first independent country in the world to introduce universal suffrage (Norwegian Embassy, 2013). It is hard to say whether all the cookbooks were written by only men or women, and many were written by both.

1940- 1970

After World War II, the middle class woman, which made up the largest part of Norwegian society, (National Commission) usually held a house-bound role during these early decades of the twentieth century (Hersh, 9). In addition to Household Management, women were also responsible for assisting with the education of their children. (Hersh, p.10) Information about them indicates that the authors are from a slightly higher social level than the majority of the authors of the first printed cookbooks, and they are housewives (ladies) rather than household managers (*Ibid*.32).

Kokebok for Mannfolk or *Cookbook for Men* (1945), was published in Bergen written by Oskar Redin, but "for security reasons" (unspecified) used the synonym Mons Matsen (Notaker, 2001, p. 81) The cover depicts a man hovering over a sheep with a knife as if ready to kill the animal with his bare hands, showing a traditionally very masculine image. Although Notaker does not say, and which makes it ever more interesting, is why the book was written under a pseudonym for "security reasons." After the World War II, women were entirely responsible for their own cooking and mothers taught their daughters and was kept within the nuclear family which limited the market considerably. (*Ibid*, p.48) This is why in all sections in this thesis, not much can be written about as cookbooks for children were nonexistent because mothers had taken over this responsibility entirely

and cookbooks were written mostly by women for other women. (*Ibid*, p.48)

1970- Present

Starting in the 1970's, feminism took extremes forms in Norway, and Norway became the first country in the world to have an ombudsman responsible for enforcing the law on gender equality along with a complaints committee which was passed in 1978 (Barneombudet, 2013).

As a result of such initiatives where the entire social welfare system is designed in such a way that permits women to become equal members of society, the same is shown in Children's cookbooks and simply the quantity of an emergent male authorship. Presently more males are taking responsibility to write cookbooks for children, and this could be because Norway is continuously changing their attitudes about children which are indicative of its socio-economic situation (Hersh,p. 23). Norway enjoys high economic stability with a strong social benefit scheme which contributes to a social economic structure whereby males and females work and share responsibilities in the home. Along with female participation in the workforce, the wealth distribution allows that each adult is capable to live on their own and be economically independent, which has resulted in higher divorce rates, and the Norwegian divorce ratio being 44% (Euro Statistics) . Gender is one dimension which truly shows not only the gender differences, but also the socio economic structure as a whole. There are books now for single fathers to cook for their children such as *Verdens Beste Papa The World's Best Dad* (Rinsnes, 2011) and *Papa Chef Chef Dad* (2010) written for fathers by fathers who want to learn to cook for their children (*ibid*. p.3) This reveals a shift in Norway for men to learn traditionally responsibilities in the home as mothers had once dominated.

Therefore, we see here in children's cookbooks that responsibility of those in charge is becoming both male and female and it is no longer a female dominated. It is also interesting because while regulations show that there is initiative from public policy perspective, publication of children cookbooks in the private sector written by men and sometimes even for men, reveal that there is a market for this type of publication and unforced display of a growing trend in the quest for equality among the genders and fathers today take greater part in children's everyday lives, experiences and activities (Regjeringen, p.16).

Gender of the Audience

Since the mid-1800s, Norwegian women have endured a rollercoaster of liberty and repression ultimately ending up with gender equality in the early 1980s (Norwegian Natl. Commission p.9). This section will explain how young women were in fact the target audience for the very first cookbooks in publication in Norway. At that time young women were expected to carry on adult responsibilities (Lindgren, 2013). By contemporary standards, these women would still have been living in the home but were responsible for learning adult responsibilities at a very early age. Children at this time in history were labour in the past for parents, however unlikely it may seem today (*ibid.*). Tradition held that children, or girls, learned to cook at their mother's side as she prepared the family meal since they were the future homemakers (Harris, p.14).

1880-1940

Women's culture went through "a great change" in Norway in the middle of the 1800's, as industrialization changed households from a unit of production to a unit of consumption, as many people began to move into cities away from the traditional rural areas (Norwegian Natl. Commission p.6).

The household and the family have had a central role in Norwegian culture. According to the Norwegian National Commission UNESCO report;

For this reason women have assumed a central role in the development of our (Norwegian) own distinctive culture. Even though women have not had equal rights nor have participated in society as equally as men, they have, however, fulfilled a role which has been more or less indispensable for that sense of fellowship and equality which is seen to be so typically Norwegian. Women have been the keystone in the local communities in a sparsely populated and spacious country. On the basis of the same reasoning, the question can be raised as to whether women have been the caretakers of that pressure for conformity and conventionality that are seen as more negative features of the nation's culture and religion (Norwegian National Commission, pg. 6).

Industrialization in Norway during that time period resulted in the formation of the middle class and a shift to a consumer culture and meant that women no longer had as many household responsibilities and were eventually left only with producing children (*ibid.*,p.3). Upper class women concerned themselves less and less with the management and administration of their households as the housewives on the large farms had done previously. On the other hand it was completely "unacceptable among the higher strata of society for women to work outside the home" (*ibid.*), as we see in Nora's quote from above. Women from poorer classes, on the other hand, were in a different situation and many in rural areas and farming communities in Norway became household maids and worked as independent women (Ågren and Erickson, p.28). Upper class women often married

around 20, whereas small-scale farmers, crofters, and labourers women's average marriage age was close to 30 (*ibid.*). They worked for board, lodging and clothing, and they perhaps earned very little money but this was also seen as the learning period where they learned how to run a household (Ryste, 2009; Lindgren, 2013).

Since the household and the family played a central role in Norwegian culture, so too have women developed that sense of responsibility. At this time, young women were expected to learn the mechanic of cookery in order to prepare foods in a standardized way (Hersh, p.24) so that they could obtain a job, and therefore independence. It was hardly evident that young boys did any cooking at all. According to book collector Don Lindgren,

The key here is for the women to understand expanding world and the many things she should come to embrace and still to hold on to the habits of usefulness. It was this balance that was very tenuous...between the cultivation of talents and the habits of usefulness. (Lindgren,2013)

Without that skill of cooking, they would be less useful as household maids (Lindgren) and therefore be unable to find work. When concerning the gender audience, it is no wonder that they were women, but to understand the details behind are also important. Cooking, and the audience of these cookbooks, placed cooking and its activity in a moral and social context. (Lindgren)

This is evident in the first Norwegian cookbook ever written, by Hans Allum, in 1833 Entitled *Norsk Huusholdningsbok*. Julia Child of Norway, Ingrid Espelid Hovig wrote the preface to the cookbook version printed in 1980 and it stated it was for "the Norwegian maid in her kitchen and pantry," This is never more obvious than in one of the first cookbooks in Norway, and the first female author, Hanna Winsnes who wrote *Lærebog i de forskjellige Grene af Husholdningen* (Textbook in the various branches of the household) Textbook, as we see here, is a sort of instruction manual, not hinting to pleasure, rather a necessary instruction similar to mathematics and sciences, as cooking was a necessity for women to in this new economic structure. In the introduction, Winsnes clearly indicates in her description of a young lady who had yet to learn the ways of cooking and maintaining a household.

In my youth, when all written guides in cookery confined to a few incomplete and informal understandable cookbook I have often felt the want of a simple and clear educational book in stewardship, and unchanged me that there is no existence of such a book for the female audience, while the gentlemen were so well equipped with their manuals...well, I know written communication can never replace practical teaching...I am convinced that it is every young wife and betrothed maiden continue to manage their stewardship...but the newer

upbringing methods removes most young ladies from the household duties, and the uncertainty of the unknown...may cause her to lose courage (Winsnes, *Preface*, 1846)

Young women, as well, were heavily encouraged to learn about preparing meals and keep proper homes since they would, like their mothers, be soon responsible for maintaining orderly households. (Hersh, 3-4) The long introduction, Winsnes also mentions that she needed a book like



that in her youth to “assist a young woman in everyday life when the mother became ill”

(Winsnes, Forord). Young women at that time were expected to learn a multitude of things. Judging by the except that the young girl had to take care of the household when the mother became ill is a clear message that mother and daughters are responsible for keeping the family unit together.

(Hersh)

The next major cookbook in print in Norway was in 1864 by Clemens Bonifacius, called *Fornuftigt Madstel. En tidsmæssig Koge- og Husholdningsbog*, (*Sensible Food. A timely cooking and household book*) also written for young women. (the true identity of the author was Per Christian Asbjørnsen.)

Establishment of the Husmorskolen

Changes in Norwegian society during the last half of the 19th with industrialization, urbanization, school reforms and democratization had created the basis for a broader market for cookbooks, and cookbook publishing after 1876 exploded (Lindgren, 2013). Publishers realizing the potential market and beginning to aim at people, “in plain and simple conditions” or “the poor and economical housewife” (Notaker, p.34).

This market came an institutionalized form in 1865 with the first domestic college in Norway being established by Minna Wetlesen in Østre Aker called *Husmodreskolen*, or *Maid School*, being the first country housewife school in Europe (Store Leksikon) Its purpose was to teach young women, particularly in rural areas, about the basics of running a household. Majority of the lessons however, were in cooking as we see from photo. From 1880 through to 1916 home economics schools were

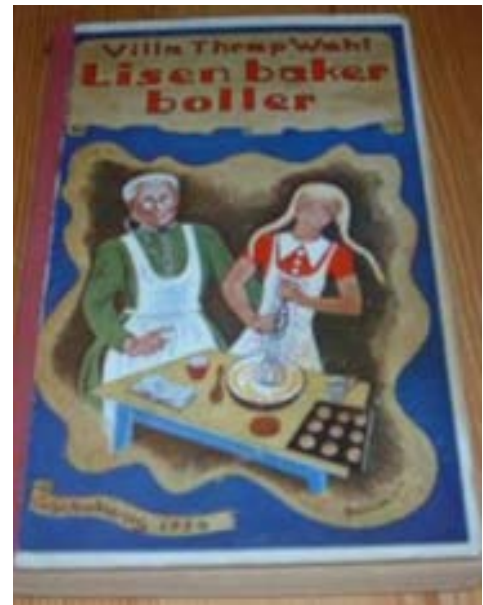
established across Norway. What Hanna Winsnes started in 1845 was now being institutionalized by experts in the field and it became a respected educational institution for women.

1900's brought about the establishment of government supported public schooling, and children were encouraged to learn and grow quickly. (Hersh p.5) Similarly, in 1897 on Norwegian Society for Development started a course at Berger Household School in Asker education of home economics teachers. The former housewife schools were placed under the Upper Secondary Education in 1974. (Wikipedia) In 1909, the State Teachers' College in economics in Bærum created. That same year, In 1897, *Selskapet for Norges Vel* «*The Royal Association for Norwegian Society for Development*” merged with Berger Domestic Science School in Asker for establishing education for young women to teach other women about domestic science. In 1909 national teachers school of Stabekk School of Home Economics was established in Bærum. This showed a strong government support of public schooling for young women and children at the same time they were encouraged to learn and grow quickly so that they country could learn and grow as well (Hersh, 5).

The style in the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century encouraged hard work in order to facilitate a happy life at home and it was the cooking skills of the woman that could bring this to the family and society as a whole (Hersh, p.5).

Training in economics took place on the subject Food and Health (formerly home economics) in primary schools. At the college and university level are a variety of educational programs in nutrition, health and environmental studies that qualify for teachers working in schools and for work in adult education, consultancy and information services, social work education, research, research and development.

While Norwegian schools for women were being institutionalized by the government, in 1910 universal suffrage was adopted for all municipal elections and in 1913 for national elections in Norway (Royal Norwegian Embassy). However, despite political engagement, education for young children still strongly encourages traditional gender differences. For example, in the introduction to *Smaapikernes Kokebok*, *indeholdende forskjellige retter til dukkelskaper og leker* (*Cookbook for girls, with gvarious dishes for*



doll's parties.) published in 1913 in Fredrikstad where it is learned that the author is actually a “loving mother and child” (Notaker p.63) This is actually a translation for the Copenhagen published version called *Alle smaapigers kokebok* written in 1855 (Notaker p.66). In the introduction, the purpose was to be a “Fun pastime for teaching small girls from ages 6-12, In Norwegian with Tante Maja” (Notaker, p.242). It was the duty of women and little girls to obey their husbands, fathers, and brothers, to cheerfully do all the chores required, and to do them well (ibis. Longone, p.106). Recipes for the teaching of domestic science in the elementary school first published in 1912, 1920 and gain in 1924 (Notaker, 2001, p.157).

The trend would stay the same for the next 20 years. With Villa Thrap Wahl writing in 1936 the children’s cookbook called *Lisen baker boller, En kokebok for små piker* or *Lisen baking rolls or A small cookbook for small girls*, with stories and recipes. A second edition in the series called *Lisen steker pannekaker : En liten kokebok for litt større småpiker* (1938) or *Lisen makes pancakes : A small bookbook for a little bigger small girl (ibid.)* also containing stories and recipes. That same year, Anne-Grethe Brochmann published *Vesla’s kokebok, Vesla’s cookbook* (1938) containing simple recipes for children. Once again, there is a gender bias here for the audience in that “Vesla” is a common pet name of a small girl (Notaker,p. 116).

Even though the books themselves were unavailable to be analysed, it is evident from the titles that these children’s cookbooks encouraged young girls to imitate their mothers and encourage them to carry on the “housewife” role. *Den Lille Konditor: Bakebok av Onkel Rolf* (1946) was a cookbook for children in colourprint including recipes for baking and designing cake houses for smaller children; printed in Oslo and Stavanger. From the cover it appears to be targeting young girls.



Left: Covers of children’s cookbooks *Smaapikernes Kokebok* (1913) and *Den Lille Konditor!* (1939). Printed within twenty six years of each other, little had changed with little girls being the target audience.

The original idea of this movement was that domestic work is not innate in women, but rather it is learned. It became "more professional" through schools of home economics, that trained women in the maintenance of the house. They were taught the basics of cooking and even managing the household money. This movement would even have an economic impact, with the "Buy Norwegian!" slogan. Its influence enabled it to hold conferences and events even during periods of restriction in the 1920s.

1970 - Present

According to the Gender Inequality Index (GII) is an index within the Human Development Report in published in 2013 by the United Nations Development Programme, Norway ranks fifth of 148 countries in the world as the country having least gender-based inequalities (UN, 2013). This illustrates that Norway is today one of the most gender-equalized countries in the world.

The number of full-time housewives has now dramatically declined, and women usually have paid work during larger parts of their adult life. Norway comes close to what Lewis (2001) has termed "the adult worker model family", where all adults are assumed to provide for themselves via the labour market. Work and labour market participation are emphasized as the preconditions for welfare (Royal Norwegian Ministry of Labour and Social Inclusion 2006-2007). However, since the beginning of the 1970s, the labour participation rate has risen from 44% to 76% for women between the ages of 15 and 64 (Johnsen, 2012). Norwegian Ministry of Children, Women and Equality has made "Action Plan 2014" because, "the Government wants to combat a commercial market that targets children and young people and reinforces gender stereotypes" (Regjeringen, p. 15). After 1970 when Norway embarked on becoming an oil exporting nation, labour trends changed dramatically and thereafter women were needed to enter the workforce, not only in traditional professions but in other areas of the economy.

This created a new wave of feminism that eventually led to many reforms that shape Norwegian society today. For example, in 1977 a new law passed that permitted extended pregnancy leave and access to parental leave. In the 1980s, there was a desire to better coordinate work and family life. In 1987, parental leave was extended considerably, but above all, fathers became equally entitled, and do not hesitate to use it. For this reason, it is evident that the feminism in Norway meant that there would be a balance in work and home life and there would still be a strong

focus on the child and family than in the traditional feminist view where a woman would be focusing on career and equal pay only. Norwegian feminism has always been shaped by the ability for women to pursue respective careers as well as being guaranteed the time to dedicate to family and children.

For example there still exists a clear expectation that the mother has more responsibility for the care of small children (*Ibid.*, 16). Dialogue: The government wants to enter into dialogue with the clothing and toy industries in order to break with traditional gender stereotypes aimed at children. (BLD) (*Ibid.*, pg. 17) Traditional gender stereotypes are shown in cookbooks for children, even Norwegian cookbooks today. According to Margit Veia, "I also see that there are separate books for boys and girls of their own" (M.Veia, personal communication, April 8th 2013).

Some gender differences are still evident in the children's cookbooks today. In *Nam! Barnas Favoritter Children's favourites* (Finckenhagen, 2012) there are recipes like "Prinsessefisk" (*Princess Fish*) decorated with pink colours and a tiara meant for a young girl to cook (*Ibid.*, p.46). Later, the recipe "Lynrask Ertesuppe" meaning "Blazing Pea Soup" (*Ibid.*, p. 28) shows a racecar and trophy very evidently being directed towards a young male audience. There is nothing to suggest in the recipes that they are different, however the presentation reveals that there is a gender difference still. There is still an implicit difference made between girls and boys, even though both genders are encouraged to learn how to cook.

Likewise, on the cover of the book *Mat Barna Elsker å Hate* (Arsky, 2011) there is a young girl who has tomatoes dangling from her ears suggesting it is a cookbook meant for girls only. Schakendas writes in his cookbook to show how times have changed "I remember well the times I was helping with the baking and preparing food when I was young...Together with my grandmother and mother" (Schakendas, 2012, p.15). On the cover of the book there is a boy on the front holding a bowl full of risen dough, a stark difference to the Lisen's and Vesla's cooking.



Above: illustrations from the children's cookbooks *Maten barna elsker å hate* (*Food Children Love to Hate*) (2012) and *Schakendas Bakeskole*. (*Baking School*)(2010). Traditional (left) and progressgive (right) trends simultaneously.

Summary

Cooking food with children, as we see, continues to be an important part of the Norwegian household. Cooking itself no longer is regarded as a woman's responsibility, and young boys as we see are encouraged to learn how to cook, from their mothers and from other male adults. This follows the Norwegian Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion that states "In Norway it is common for dads to push a stroller while mum is in a company board meeting. The political will to

see the connections between working life, family, and welfare and gender equality has been crucial for us to get where we are today... An equal society is just, profitable and in the best interest of boys and girls, women and men. Efforts must be made in all areas of society" (Regjeringen, 2007).



Chapter 3: Foreign Recipes included in Children's Cookbooks

Acceptance and rejection of “ethnic foods” and multinational menus is evident in children’s cookery books. Norwegian food culture has not so much been a case of wanting newcomers to adapt and conform into Norwegian foodways as it has been more of a protective measure to resist change and maintain Norwegian culinary traditions (Hersh, p.41). This section will explain the various ways in which Norwegian food culture and Norwegian food identity has progressed from being a diet based on similar recipes with little change over time to a society with many foreign influences. This section will show the resurgence in New Nordic cuisine in Norway through various private and public initiatives. In recent years, there have been conferences, congresses, foundations, institutions, and nationwide events with motives strictly dedicated to enhancing knowledge about Norwegian food to the Norwegian population and securing a strong Norwegian culinary identity.

Background

Norwegian cuisine until recently has had little foreign influence. Food historian Henry Notaker outlines this historical development:

Most cookbooks in the 19th and 20th century reflected the mainstream of Norwegian cookery, the solid diet of the Norwegian housewife: meatballs, potatoes, fish pudding, sausage, fricassee of chicken and veal, among other things. Everything was eaten with potatoes...Only after 1950, actually as late as the 1970’s. Norway discovered the modern French cuisine, American fast food and so-called ‘ethnic’ dishes from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. From about the same time a new generation of excellent chefs made themselves known, not only in Norway but also in international competitions. All these tendencies are represented in the period of Norwegian cookbook history after 1950 (Notaker, 2001, p.48).

The same impression is found in early children’s cookery books that contained few, if any, “foreign” recipes (Hersh,p.41). Children’s cookbooks would tend to show that cookbooks are continuously containing more international recipes with time. In Norway, people did not even import or translate other cookbooks as there was not one international cookbook of importance before the 1930’s (Notaker, 2001, p.33).

1880 -1940

Despite not having any foreign foods, there was a fierce national movement with regards to preservation of the Norwegian “traditional food”. Only four years after independence from Sweden in 1905, *Stabekk Husstellærerhøgskole (Stabekk Home Economics School)* was established in 1909 and placed heavy focus on protecting what was termed “traditional food” (Laupsa-Borge, 2009). While cookbooks containing the word *Norwegian* in title were not collections of traditional dishes, but were used as a marketing device to avoid Danish influence in the book industry, little is known if there were cookbooks for children during this period at all (Notaker, 2001, p.44).

1970- 2000 : The search for foreign and Norwegian authenticity

“Because people are travelling outside Norway, the taste for food is changing. For example, we use much more rice, pasta, pita bread, pizza, chicken, tomatoes, and herbs. That is why many of the recipes are included in our “imported” section.” (Elverum, p. 6) Recipes in this book include more than pizza however, with dishes such as “Tomatsuppe Madeira” (p.155), (Gazpacho (p. 153) and Paella. (Elverum p.101) “Pizza” (p.133) and Lasagna (p.134) were also considered “foreign.” Many of the recipes included in the international section were from Spain, Portugal or Italy, and little if any, recipes are found coming from outside Europe. The 1990’s showed an increase in Norwegian curiosity for foreign foods.

For the older children who can physically cook but perhaps do not know what to do, and can read and obtain ingredients by themselves without any supervision at all, there is a tremendous interest in the cookbooks with very sophisticated foreign recipes, as mentioned in *Hellstrøm Jr. (2010) “Croque Monsieur”, “Ponzusaus”, “Sushibuffet”, “Pannacotta with Passionfruit.”* Many of the recipes require quite a lot of skill many of the steps are implicit. This is a very far cry from the traditional and simpler Norwegian recipes only twenty years ago. Instructions are not numbered and are written in paragraph form with only photo of the final product. Techniques included are *blanching* (p.16), which is defined as “to cook vegetables in boiling water for thirty seconds and then immediately immerse into ice cold water so as to take the strong taste away” (Scattergood, 2006). This follows Notaker’s observation that those *few excellent chefs that learned*



haute-cuisine abroad are now trying to teach the younger generation those advancements and this illustrates the level of sophistication used in these recipes and this technique has French cuisine origins.

Most of the recipes mentioned in the previous chapter were considered foreign, however in today's children's cookbooks these same recipes are considered foods and dishes to be eaten everyday, with comments such as "Spaghetti is something children easily get a relationship to, and something they never tire of" (Borgen, et.al., p.42) Spaghetti as a foreign food is no longer of any importance.

2000 – Present "Tradisjonsmat" – Traditional Food

A new found interest in Nordic cuisine and Norwegian cuisine in Norway or so-called *Tradisjonsmat* has been gaining popularity in recent years, and this is never more evident than in cookbooks for young children in Norway. The Gladmat Festival in Stavanger began in 2000 and is arranged every year. For four days, "the festival is an exhibition for food production, gastronomy and food culture" (Mykletun & Einarsen, 2009). In 2008, the Stavanger Chamber of Commerce initiated a competition amongst all food producers in Norway for the first time to gather together once a year to celebrate Norwegian culinary traditions at *De Norske Måltid (The Norwegian Meal)*. The project was put into action by the Chamber's director Jostein Soland and by 2011 the competition became a live television show broadcasted on TV2 (the largest commercial television in Norway) weekly before the competition evening. Its purpose was to "highlight local and regional produce, and thereby strengthen the primary industry and processing companies in the Norwegian food production. Cooperation with Stiftelsen Norsk Måtkultur or *The Foundation for Norwegian Food Culture* cooperates with the initiative and its purpose of the television show is to provide enjoyment and knowledge of Norwegian food for the entire Norwegian population. *New Scandinavian Cooking* is another TV show broadcasting various topics related to Swedish, Danish and Norwegian food. Its manifest states that it hopes to improve:

State-owned company Innovasjon Norge (Innovation Norway), assists in innovation projects to promote nationwide industrial development with focus on both business economy and Norway national economy, and there is an annual prize called *Ny Norsk Mat og Kultur Pris* (New Norwegian Food and Culture Prize). The winner is chosen who has “highlighted a combination of culture and local food and the relationship between them” (Innovasjon Norge, 2013).

This is similar to the establishment of *Måltidets Hus* (Mealtime House), a national competency centre established in Ullandhaug Stavanger, Norway. One of the permanent projects is the *Nasjonalt mobiliserings- og skaleringskjøkken, forprosjekt* or *National Mobilization and Mounting kitchen*, its purpose is the following:

Manufacturers of food specialties using unnecessary resources and a long time to find the appropriate environment and establish a network into the research communities that can help in various phases of the product life cycle...and to help develop manufacturers to scale up to industrial production. The purpose is to establish an infrastructure that allows knowledge and skills visible and available to manufacturers of food specialties, and to identify and help further food specialties (Wiig, 2013).

This need to preserve and be proud of Norwegian food identity is ever so evident in children’s cookbooks today for smaller children. Rune Blomhoff wrote an introduction to children’s cookbook *Mathjelpen for foreldre* or *Food help for the parents* (2012) entitled “What is healthy, and why do we eat well?” (Blomhoff & Andersen, 2012,p. 6). As a professor of nutrition, one would assume that vitamins or daily fat intake would be the priority but stated instead,

Food and food culture is an important part of daily life. Grocery shopping is more than just covering the basic necessities like energy and nutrition. Food forms an important cultural identity in every society, and what a person eats can affect his religion or ideological mentality.” (*Ibid.*, p.7)

Matmerk Foundation is an independent publicly supported foundation established in Norway founded by the Ministry of Agriculture in 2007 (Matmerk, 2013) and is managed by a board with representatives from farmers, producers, retailers, and brand users. In addition,

Matmerk Foundation aims to create preference for Norwegian produced food. This will be achieved through working with quality management, expertise and visibility of Norwegian competitive edge and origin to food producers, retailers and consumers. (Matmerk, 2013)

This further illustrates the governmental and private initiatives to preserve Norwegian products and food traditions. The desire to keep the traditional Norwegian diet intact is shown among even the best nutritionists in Norway. The new fad diet in Norway is the “low carbohydrate” or *lavkarbo* diet.

According to renowned biochemist Wenche Frølich:

All these hysterical fad diets will destroy our food culture. That is truly a pity....I see positive signs, even though these diets receive a lot of coverage in the media. We have begun to focus on our food culture, on our meals with the Norwegian diet. Many miss the traditions we have. I believe that we have had a very bad development period now where we have not put in the time to develop and nourish different food cultures and raw ingredients. That comes a bit from the world we live in (Larsen, 2011),

Likewise, the children's book *Jeg kunne spise en ku (I could eat a cow)* (2012) by Gro Dahle, Kaia Linnea, and Dahle Nyhus illustrate this trend with foreign recipes in a poetic prose poem called "Strange food has strange names" (i.e. foreign) illustrating the desire to have simpler Norwegian food.

*There are so many horrible names for food
sushi, sashimi, wasabi,
shawarma, fajitas, pesto og salsa,
cannelloni, tortellini, ravioli og fusilli
and nasi goring and bami goring
and scampi and korma and kosher
and taco and tikka tandoori and tikka and tikka
and tikka and takk
and tikka masala for you as well
I say
and I take a slice of bread
with jam
for because I do not need things
to be so difficult
(Strange food have strange names, Dahle, p. 20)*



Above: Illustration from Margit Veia's children's cookbook, *Fiskefamilien* (2013). This photo depicts (what assumes to be) Grandfather serving his grandson traditional Norwegian potatoes.

Although not a cookbook, it is a book about food and children.

This is similar to the introduction by Margit Veia in *Fiske Familien, or Fish Family* (2012), when she stated "Even though we have excellent access to fish right outside our doorstep, fish traditions and colourful cookbooks, we continuously eat less seafood than before, and children and youth even less than adults. That does not need to be the case. Fish is still an important part of our culinary heritage. It is important to continue with Norwegian culinary [fish] traditions to the next generation" (Veia,

2013, p.6) Similarly, in *Klare Sjøl, Do it Yourself* (2003) it states that “The recipes have been chosen to represent a mixture of the old food traditions, for both parties and for healthy everyday living (Klare Sjøl p.4). In *Hellstrøm Jr.*(2012) the introduction states “Because it is exactly the young who will decide how food culture in Norway will look like in the future – and he (Hellstrøm) has already done a lot of work over the years to educate the adults” (Hellstrøm, p. 9). Many of the recipes in this book contain exotic ingredients and methods, yet do not imply that they are even foreign.

Rejection to traditional food is common among the teenagers, as illustrated in Mattis Gulbrandset’s “*Helt Chef!*” (2004) *Complete Chef!* (2004), written by a teenager, writes in the introduction “I have never liked to make traditional food and as a rule I never make it. That is something that everyone has tasted before, and when you serve it no one is surprised at all. Therefore I have included more exciting recipes here that you can try!” (Gulbrandsen, p.5) This seems to be almost a teenage rebellion against what the younger children were taught. The reader gets the impression that “traditional food” is quite boring. Another book for teenagers is *Ung & Sulten* (2004) but most of the recipes are Paella, Pizza, with only one traditional food being “Fårikål” (*Ibid.*, p.69).

Summary

Today, Norwegians are travelling more than ever before and Norway has also become a more diverse multicultural society than before with 12% being foreigners (SSB, 2013). These curiosities that were once categorized as foreign have now made their place in Norwegian cookbooks. Many recipes that were once considered “foreign” such as lasagna, are now considered normal dishes for everyday meals. Children today learn to make guacamole from advocados and interpret these foods as normally foods. We see in these children’s cookbooks, identification is now place more on protecting *Norwegian cuisine*, than it is in highlighting *foreign cuisine*.

I note that there are many more today than 10-15 years ago when I started writing cookbooks. And today translates it increasingly cookbooks for kids. In Norway there are many translations from the United States and England. I see many European countries have their own cookbooks for kids. The publishers feel that the market has increased. –Vea

Chapter 4: Child Development

"Young bodies are like tender plants, which grow and become hardened to whatever shape you've trained them".

– Desiderius Erasmus – *De civilitate peritium*

Child development as outlined in cookbooks has been very little academically researched (Hertzler, 2005, p.347). This section child development aims to analyse the ways in which adults had assumed and still do today, children's development processes; what adults assumed children ought to learn (Shapiro); and what type of skills they supposed to obtain if they read the children's cookbook themselves. There is a chronology, motor skills, (Katzen) Cookie dough is almost impossible for small children to use and make. (Katzen)

In Norway, new evidence reveals that flint knapping tools were made by children, suggesting that children were involved in food preparation going way back to the Stone Age (Lillehammer, 2011) Children throughout history were always a source of labour, which today in Western societies often overlook (Lindgren, 2013). Hence, children were also always in the kitchen. As we have seen in the previous chapter on gender, child development was adult development. The question here in this section tries to shed some light on the topic of when and why children became a separate category and what cookbooks today are really expecting from children

Period 1880-1940

The first literature directed towards children is evident since the 1400's and were mostly tales containing moral or religious messages (Townsend, 1996, p.4). Prior to the late 1800's there were very few cookbooks published, and ever fewer that focused on teaching children how to cook. (*Ibid.*, p.6) However, the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century has become known as the Golden Age of Children's literature and, interestingly, this is the same era when cookbooks for children emerged for the first time (Hersh, p.4). Educational books were often written in rhyme or song to assist children in memorizing the information contained within them (Hersh, 3). Most children's books in the mid-19th century told folk tales, legends, and myths with magic and supernatural beings. (*Ibid* p.3) Educational books were often written in rhyme or song to assist children in memorizing the information contained within them. (Willard, 1886) This was especially useful in time when one could not expect everybody to have a copy of the book (*Ibid.*, p.3).

The first Norwegian cookbook ever written by Hans Allum entitled *Norsk Husholdningssbok* also written in verse, first published in 1833 (Notaker 97) and is the most original audiovisual Norwegian cookbook of the previous century. "All the recipes are written in verse, and the point was to" facilitate the worthy Norwegian Home maker and young ladies who would have formed there (Hovig, 1983). Although not a children's cookbook, it did intend to cater to a young female audience.

Illiteracy in Norway has generally always been limited, as training in reading was made compulsory for all children as early as 1736 (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, p.4). However, this is not mean that rhymes and stories were not used as fun ways of engaging children to learn. This was also especially useful in time when one could not expect everybody to have a copy of the book (Hersh, p.3)

Parents and teachers of many children in the late 1800's and early 1900's viewed them as in need of amusements and entertainment as well as nurturing and education, and they used poems and songs to help accomplish this task (Hersh, p.3). Likewise, the first cookbook written in Norway was written in a similar fashion, written by Hans Allum as a social commentary for that time as a handbook appropriate for newly rich, patrons, property owners, and large farm owners. (Notaker, 56)

At the beginning of the 20th century there was strong emphasis in engaging children in adult activities, to teach them how to grow very quickly into adults. This can be shown in the large amount of cookbooks written for adults to instruct children how to grow vegetable gardens at school, then called *skolehagene*. These books proved to be hugely successful during the 1930's especially. Anton Langballe wrote three versions of the same book *Grønnsaker, frukt og bær alle hjem. Veiledning til bruk ved grønnsakkerkursene og skolehagene. Or Vegetables, fruits, and berries in all homes. Instructions for vegetable courses and school garden* written in 1934, 1935, and 1937 (Notaker, 2001, p.188) Another book was *Hjemmeskolehavens og skolehavens kokebok* (1937) was *Cookbook for the school garden*. (p.165) These school garden cookbooks all contained recipes written by domestic science teachers. Just like today in the description School gardens are, according to the Oslo Municipality website:

School garden is a learning arena that can give impetus to students to love nature, to respect

all living things and gain insight into the ecological relationships. In the school garden, students have the opportunity to learn by doing. Here they cultivate the land, growing vegetables and fruit harvest. Curricula in Knowledge covers more subjects and areas where the school garden can be used (Skolehagen i dag)

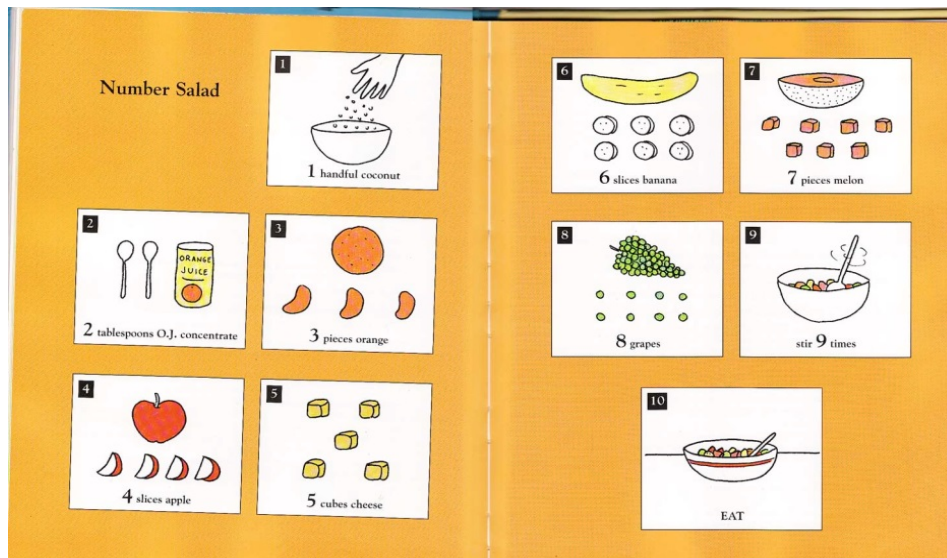
We see that just at the same time as the health concerns for children previously mentioned in Chapter 1, so was their skills for becoming adults. Unfortunately, once again, originals were unable to be obtained, but we see the interest in adults teaching children cultivation and gardening. This shows there was an interest to teach children about food and the process of growing food from a very early history in Norway. Although these books were meant for adults, they can also be considered children's cookbooks in their infancy because the children attending these gardens would have benefitted greatly from them.

1980 – Present

Modern day cookbooks have never looked so closely at the effects of cooking on children ever before. Today, however, there is a vast array of attitudes about children of that late 20th century and adult expectations of them vary from playful and inquisitive innocents needing protection and many of the cookbooks of this era tend to focus on the need for quality time and parental attention (Hersh, 1997, p.21). Recent studies have shown that the early years of life are crucial in influencing a range of health and social outcomes across the life course and research now shows that many challenges in adult society – mental health problems, obesity/stunting, heart disease, criminality, competence in literacy and numeracy – have their roots in early childhood. (WHO) During early childhood, from the prenatal period to eight years of age, children undergo rapid growth that is highly influenced by their environment (WHO, 2013). It is now discovered that cooking teaching children much more than nutrition. Cooking promotes language development, cooperation, following instructions, sequencing and many other skills, both social and academic (Jones, 2009).

Below are listed a few subsections that will describe how Norwegian cookbook authors view children and the values society puts on children.

“Children are represented as someone who can actually cook”



In Norwegian children’s cookbook, children are increasingly represented as someone who actually cooks. (Viestad, A. Personal Communication,) and becoming much more evident with years. While the cookbooks are not of the standard of Mollie Katzen, cookbooks in Norway for children are slowly becoming more refined and thought about.

In *Bakeskole Baking School* (2012), celebrity chef Schekendas writes “all the food will be tasty and delicious, and so easy that anyone who wants can do it...but I want to reiterate that the summary of the baking school here...this is not a cookbook *for* children, this is a cookbook *with* children.” (p. 15) Even though this is a book with children, Schakendas does not exactly write a book that suggests that the book is written so that parents may read it with their children. There is a section called “Be exact!” (See illustration ___) that is written in huge paragraphs using elevated language and humour such as “Hvis du baker scones uten bakepulver, da blir det stones!” (p.25) (if you bake scones without baking powder then they become stones!) Similarly, he writes “this is a baking book for children. For children in any age...I have of course explained how the recipes shall be completed, but all the children have baked themselves...I try to explain and you (the child) tries to bake.” (Schakendas, p.11) In the cookbook *Maten Barna Elsker å Hate*, Arsky writes “I would like to also give you as parents a good insight into how your children can be satisfied with the food in the home. This is from the start a ‘do it yourself’ book to convert the discerning children” (Arsky p.6).

The assumption is interesting and highly evident in the literature by Margit Vea. On each recipe Margit Vea writes in a column different ages of children and what they are able to do.

“Everyone : Can participate and find the ingredients and experiment with other tastes. 2 Year olds : Can wash fruit and heave the berries and cut fruit into the blender. 3 year olds can help find the ingredients and cut up soft fruit like bananas and mangoes with a butterknife. They can also then heave ingredients into the blender. 5 year olds can cut fruit with a potato peeler and measure the ingredients and 6 year old can cut hard fruit in small pieces with a knife.” (Vea p.41)

Vea shows photos with children covered in cake batter and making a mess. This is completely different from before, as now parents are supposed to learn how to be patient and accept that children will make a mess. (Katzen) In *Fryd for Ganen* (2012) it is written “The thought behind this book is that children can also make the food alongside adults. I have made it a point that the dishes should be easy to make” (Høines p.30).



ALLE: Kan være med og finne frem ingrediensene og eksperimentere med ulike smakkombinasjoner.

2 ÅR: Kan vaske frukt og ha bær og oppskåret frukt i blenderen.

3 ÅR: Kan hjelpe til med å finne frem ingredienser og skjære opp myk frukt som bananer og mango med en smørekniv. Kan med litt hjelp skru på blenderen.

5 ÅR: Kan skrelle frukt med en potetskreller og måle opp ingredienser.

6 ÅR: Kan skjære opp hard frukt i mindre biter med en kniv.

Smoothie

I Norge bugner det av bær i sesongen, så smoothien bør ha gode forutsetninger for å bli enda mer populær. Smoothie består for det meste av frukt, bær og grønnsaker. De moses ofte sammen med juice, saft, yoghurt, melk, soyamelk eller kokosmelk. En smoothie gir kroppen et stort spekter av vitaminer og mineraler og er super mat for småspiste barn.

En fiberrik smoothie om morgenen gir barna jevnt blodsukker utover formiddagen. Drikken er også fin å lage som et mellommåltid på ettermiddagen når barna er sultne og må vente på middag. Større barn vil etter hvert klare å lage smoothien helt på egen hånd.

EVENTYRLIG BÆRSMOOTHIE

En god smoothie trenger ikke å inneholde annet enn bananer og bær. Har dere yoghurt i smoothien, blir den enda mer mettende. Bringebær kan byttes ut med så å si alle typer bær eller frukt dere liker. Bruk Cultura med samme smak som det andre innholdet i smoothien. Hvis bærene og frukten ikke er frosne, kan dere ha noen isbiter i hurtigmikseren hvis den er sterk nok til å knuse is. Finhakkede mandler eller valnøtter smaker også i smoothie, særlig sammen med bær.

2-4 porsjoner

2 dl yoghurt
1 dl Cultura med bringebær eller vanlig melk
2 dl frosne bringebær eller andre bær eller frukt
ev. finhakkede mandler eller valnøtter

Fremgangsmåte: Ha yoghurt og Cultura eller melk i en blender eller matprosessor. Dere kan også bruke stavmikser. Ha deretter i bær eller frukt og eventuelt finhakkede mandler eller nøtter. Kjør til blandingen er jevn og fylldig. Ønsker dere mer sødme i smoothien, kan dere tilsette banan eller honning etter smak. Vil dere ha isbiter i smoothien, kan dere ha dem i glasset til slutt hvis maskinen ikke har kapasitet til å knuse is.

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Above : From Margit Veas *Kjøkken Patruljen* (2010). It is evident that parents have much to learn as well when concerning the levels of child development.

Left : Child is seen taking control of the cooking entirely. Making a mess in the kitchen is encouraged.

In the book *Slikk'pott* or *Spatula* (2003) by Gerd Alfsen written “for 8-12 year olds” (p.4) there are pictured symbols before every recipe to show the different utensils needed. Although the instructions are complicated and similar to adult recipes, there are photos and some pictures (Alfsen, 47). Whether or not these books actually prove that children can complete these tasks is once again beyond the scope of the paper but it does highlight an interesting point that sometimes adults have the best intentions to educate but they are not speaking that same language.



Little children pretty much never see cooking happening because it is happening above their eye level. “It’s (the food) is up there on the counter and they are down there being little kids. And so if you can bring it down to where they can see it, and reach it and where the instructions are not mostly watch out! Be careful but you set it up so that it is implicitly and inherently safe and you have done the safe check before hand (Katzen) “Take a firm stool over to the kitchen counter and let children get involved!” (Finkenhagen, 13)

Likewise, in Nam! Finckenhagen states «Let the children use their senses. Let them see, feel, touch, and taste. (*Ibid* p.11) and “They should not only stir the stew in the pan: they shall weigh, and what shall be measured.” (*Ibid*, p.13) According to Jennifer Griffin, a former book editor who is now a literary agent, said the field is not as promising as some think. She sees plenty of proposals for children’s cookbooks (it seems every chef with a child wants to write one, she says), but very few that she thinks can succeed. Children, she said, don’t want a dumbed-down version of an adult book. They want to do what the adults in their lives are doing in the kitchen (Seversen).

“Peeling potatoes, cutting salad, cutting carrots and other vegetables, mixing ingredients in the salad, stirring the stew, measuring rice and water, boil and egg, cut the chives, put things in the frying pan...there are many things that children can help with when the food is being cooked...If you

let children be a part of food preparation, it is more likely they will eat it when it comes on their plate.” (Blomhoff & Andersen p.26)

Similarly, in *Slikkpot for children and little adults* (2003) written by Gerd Alfsen and Liv Gregerson Kongsten is only book that has written a precise age for which the children’s cookbooks is targeting, from 8-12 years and if for children who “want to learn how to cook”(Alfsen, p.6)

It is not all about the food (Process vs. Product and other skills)

Process vs. Product

Another important element of child development in cookbooks is the orientation is towards the process and not the product. (Katzen) One skill that shows that the final dish is actually secondary to cooking with children, is becoming more and more evident in the introductions. “Try to have everyone at the table at the same time.” (Vea, 2012, p.5) “Margit Vea has taken us a step ahead. This book is so inspiring because it deals with how food can be made together.” (*Ibid.*, p 5) and,

there are many reasons not to avoid having children in the kitchen. Children spill. Children are often not concentrated and so accidents happen. And at times they are not the most clever. One tablespoon of soya sauce can become the entire bottle, over the entire table, and there are plenty of other dangers that threaten. But the benefits are greater than what we invest” (*Ibid.*, p. 5).

When one makes food for children, it is wise to think creatively and untraditional. Can the food be made in another way, can it be served in another way or can we give it an interesting name? (Høines, p.31) If you make food fun, and when children can then put cut up vegetables on the bread they will eat food that they normally would not. Then they would eat another one...simply because they wanted to make another face (Katzen, 2013). Similarly,

“if you want to keep your kids away from the TV just give them a bagel and some cream cheese and that will keep them busy for close to an hour. They are just spreading and spreading...It takes a 3 year old 45 minutes to spread cream cheese on a bagel. You can clean the whole house and come back to see that they are still just spreading...”

This book explains very easily the four different elements precisely such as mathematics, explaining that “1 dl of flour = 60 grams” and suggesting the problem solving skills by saying that it is

important to “read over the recipes, plan, find all the ingredients, and wash hands.” (p. 5)
After kids cook they want to feed it to you and then they feel really effective and proud. (Katzen)

Creativity

Another message that adults attempt to encourage is a child’s creativity. In *Fryd for Ganen*,(2008)
“Children learn many new concepts, gain a greater understanding of measurements and stimulates written language skills. By trying to use different kitchen utensils and appliances, they get an insight into technical knowledge and they learn a lot about cooperation when making food together. (8) This is valuable knowledge that gives the basis for lifelong learning. (Høines, p.8) And Hellstrøm, “Do not be afraid to mess up without experience. Instead, try to create new and exciting dishes instead of ready-made things, when you are actually better - for life!” (Hellstrøm, p. 9) and Veia “Adults should let the children explore the ingredients and utensils and that they do most of the work themselves. Make sure they wash hands and that they tidy up afterwards which is also an important element. Children love to be helpful.” (Veia p8) Gulbrandsen mentions as well, in *Helt Chef!* That “try to have a good time when cooking, it is always easier to get new ideas...find your own recipes and play with them with ingredients you have handy.” (Gulbrandsen, p.3) This creativity also ties in with patience skills “try to make the recipe many times until the recipe is exactly how you want it” (Gulbrandsen, 2008). It is obvious that the author is not worried about the price of ingredients.

Here it is heavily weighed that every dish will be easy to make, at the same time it will impress all your friends! Do not be afraid to make mistakes (your own experience). Try to make new and exciting dishes...then you will be actually more clever!” (Hellstrøm, 2012, p. 9) and In *Mathjelpen* (2012) “To make food together can be an opportunity for family bonding, and you can talk to the children. Perhaps you can bring in a little practical training and perhaps include little English teaching to teach the children what



ingredients are in English” (Blomhoff & Andersen, 2012, p.26). Likewise, in *Ung og Sulten* (2004) “You do not need to follow all the recipes exactly. Make your own variation and write it down when you have found that twist” (Ung, 2004, p.5).

Cookbooks teach kids where food comes from

Today, it is an adult assumption that children will want to eat food if they know its origins. According to Mollie Katzen, “Children can cut zucchini with a plastic picnic knife...the results were even better when they picked it from the garden and then they will eat it” (Katzen, 2013). Likewise, in *Fiskefamilien* (2012) by Margit Veia, is that “children will learn something about where food comes from, what it is made out of, and learn to taste some new tastes.” (Veia p.8) According to Veia, “Activities, excursions and food groups, we have the opportunity to influence a child’s attitude towards food and nutrition, at the same time giving children knowledge about where food comes from. Children are curious about new dishes and ingredients and want to taste them!” (*Ibid.*, p.6)

Also in the cookbook *Mat or Food* (2012) by Dagny Holm, children learn everything about food and recipes and where the food comes from in a story-like tale: “Here you can read about what the food we eat really is, where it comes from, and why you need different types of food. You also meet Mathilde, who is so hungry that she can hardly walk” (Dagny, p.12). In this book there is a page This page called “food’s long trip” going in detail with anatomical detail the passage of the food from the mouth to the rectum.

Finckenhagen mentions a lot about the importance of children knowing where their food comes from “A whole chicken is exciting...it looks so naked and strange poor thing, but it also smells a little bit...different...where is the heart? Why do hens have wings when they cannot fly?” (Finckenhagen, p. 13) Then the author explains the story of her son and how he cooked a chicken in the oven and wondered about its anatomy. (*Ibid.*, p. 13) This is similar to when Andreas Viestad explains how hens are killed and that one chicken ran without a head for two minutes and that “it says something about how important the head is for a chicken” (p.33) According to Camilla Andersen in *Mathjelpen for foreldre*, (2012) the message encourages parents to “take the children with you grocery shopping and let them choose what they want to eat...it is also easier for children to accept food that is on their plate; they have been the ones to choose that!” (Andersen, p. 25).

In 2010, Margit Veia wrote the first guide illustrating child development to teach adults the

child development stages when cooking. The introduction is called "Children want to and can" it states this concern for children :

"'Aunt fun' said my niece when she was two when was with me to decorate her own cake when she came to visit. As most children, she loves to cook...the kitchen is the heart of the home where children can be creative. Children get a lot of the satisfaction and excitement when they have the opportunity to come in contact with rich colours and fresh ingredients in the kitchen. Making food give them valuable knowledge about where food comes from and what is good for them to eat. It is a grateful experience to cook with children. They are interested, positive, enthusiastic, curious, and grateful assistants. Heightened responsibility and engagement strengthens children's coping mechanism" (Vea, 7).

The trend to explain to children what food is and where it comes from is evident also in a book, although not considered children's cookbook, but is considered a children's culinary book called *Klara kan* (2009) It is in the tenth chapter when Klara asks her grandmother :

"why is knekkebrød (crackers so hard?"

"There is yeast in rolls and bread because it is yeast that makes them rise. We do not use yeast in crackers" grandmother replies,

"What is it in yeast that makes the dough rise?"

"When yeast is mixed in with warm water and flour, it makes a gas that makes the dough blow up. But the dough must not be too warm, because then the yeast is killed" (Grøtan, p.39).

In support of this concept in teaching children to know where ingredients come from are books such as *Fisk! Boka om fiskeri og havbruk* (2004) by Elisabeth Johansen and John Roald Pettersen. In the part of the book the whole process of fishing is explained that "It is a long way from where fish swim along the Norwegian Coast to what is on the table and is a well tasting meal." (p.7) with a caption "Mmmmm fish sticks...but where do they come from?" (p.8) Later, the book explains to children the food chain, food systems and human food consumption in the grocery store. The book also describes in detail the different types of fish, how they are cultivated and caught in different regions in Norway (Johansen & Petterson, 2004).

In Margit Vea's *Fiskefamilien* , the author writes:

Many people believe that it is a lot of hassle to include children in the food-preparing process. But try – they will surprise you. In a while perhaps there will be other results – that the grown generation is concerned with traditional food, health and nutrition. And remember that it is the followers into the blueberry forest who will carry that to the next generation (*Ibid.*, p.8)

Now cooking for children has taken on a much more holistic approach. Children are not simply reference guide, but they are learning skills and information about food chains and systems that will assist them in understanding the ingredients more.

Summary

There were attempts to introduce children to the knowledge of food cultivation with the school garden cookbooks for children printed in the 1930's. The mid-1900s cookbooks, show that cooking should simply be fun, like a game and nothing more serious than that. However, cooking as was previously stated, was mostly reserved for the competent housewife. Contemporary children's cookbooks illustrate that parents focus their attention entirely at the child, almost like looking under the microscope to notice the smallest changes in their child's development. The result, if turned badly, is actually encouraged, rather than discouraged, as it shows that the child is independent and self-confident. In many children's cookbooks today, there are nutritional elements joined with an emphasis on creativity and pleasure (Hersh, p.39).

Today, child development shown in cookbooks illustrates a society in which is not so focused that children are labour or responsible for adult, as they are supposed to be nurtured by the adult for them to develop separately into their own personalities. Cookbooks today stress the importance of child development for them to grow, and not as a means of conforming them or preparing them for a predefined adulthood. Today, it is the creation of the best possible atmosphere in the home has become more important and the culture has become more associated to the emotional side of work and social life.

To begin with it can be great to get some help from an adult, but after a while you will have more training and you are aware of the recipes in the book so can you prepare most of these recipes yourself. It is fun to make food. No food tastes as good as the food you make yourself...we (the authors) have chosen recipes that are appropriate for both children, youth, and adults...this is a cookbook that is easy to use, good symbols for every tool you need and not in the least nice pictures....we hope this will be inspiring and curiosity provoking. (p.4)

Howeever, cookbooks for children in Norway are still designed for parents to be in control and there is little evidence that the recipes for small children can read and complete themselves. The recipes are still indicating that they are of interest to the adults (Katzen, 2013). However, it is illustrated that there is a shift in the focus and perhaps purpose of writing children's cookbooks today.

We see the shift that the whole purpose of writing a children's cookbook in the past was so that children would become adults quickly and they would be able to imitate the parents early, and

that their development was measured upon the result they produced (Hersh, p.34) We see a shift in recent years that the cookbook written for the child so that the child can cook themselves is more about a practice encouraging development of the child and a focus on the process. If ingredients are wasted that is unimportant in an affluent society. If the food is inedible is secondary. The primary focus of the new cookbooks for children where the child cooks is to engage the child in the act of participating whereby the whole purpose is for the growth of the child and food is secondary.

According to Andreas Viestad “The biggest difference between children’s cookbooks and adult cookbooks is that adults use many colours in the illustrations. Many authors are afraid that kids are not really interested so they make food with stupid decorations, such as painting faces with mayonnaise” (A. Viestad, Personal Communication, April 14, 2013)

Before, as we saw when children’s cookbooks were written when there was a scarcity of labour and food, today cooking a hobby where the abundance of ingredients and resources cannot limit the child to use cooking as an activity to be creative, like using paint on a canvas.

Discussion

This brief survey of almost two centuries of Norwegian children's cookbooks shows how they contain vital information reflecting society's attitudes towards gender, nutrition, foreign recipes, and child development throughout the centuries. For over 150 years Norwegian publications have provided one pathway for the transmission of its culinary heritage. The topic of children and food is of vital interest to all. (Longone, pg. 110) This thesis has illustrated that the topics of children's cookbooks is a literature that is multifaceted, often charming, varied in scope and deserving of more attention.

In Chapter One concerning Nutrition, children's cookbooks developed from being state-run government backed works written by the best nutritional experts of the time. The latest scientific knowledge was used to assist teachers and schools with implementation of these highly scientific influences. Today, as we saw almost anyone gains access. Also, we learned that children in Norway, not even 100 years ago had issues with adequate nutrition; a small window into that seems impossible for children in Norway to experience today. Children in Norway must now understand food and what is good for them; from the multiple of food marketing advertisements directed towards them and all the food made available to them in every grocery store. We gain an understanding that affluence combined with globalization in this modern world is not always the most beneficial. Children in the past were simply given food, and (seemed) to have to be content with whatever they were given. Children today have to learn about the science of food as well, even at such a young age. Children's cookbooks realize that today we are in a crisis that previous generations did not face; the power of the food industry is bigger and more insidious than ever." (Shapiro) There is almost not one cookbook that does not touch on that subject. This shows how parents are nervous on the one hand and becoming more detailed with every aspect of the children's life, while it shows that children are becoming very independent at a much younger age in terms of having to make their own food choices.

In Chapter Two concerning Gender, children's cookbooks heavily reflect this changing labour divide. However, as we have seen, children's cookbooks still encourage some young chefs to maintain femininity. As stated in the Gender Action Plan that society is not perfect, but is striving to be, this is never more evident than in the children's cookbooks written during the last ten years. No longer are girls solely responsible for maintaining the household and there no longer exists a right or a wrong way of doing things such as in the past. Today, not only in practice, but Norway is continuously struggling to eliminate gender issues.

Chapter Three discussed foreign foods and the raised interest in Norwegian traditional food. This chapter has shown that Norway had little foreign influence before 1970 in children's cookbooks and even in the 1990's foreign foods mostly still came from Europe. Ethnic foods, or foods from Asia, Latin America, have increase so much in the last decade that now many recipes, from Europe and elsewhere, that were once considered in the foreign section, are not classified as such and are classified as an appetizer, main course, dessert, etc. This reveals something about the acceptance of these foreign foods into mainstream Norwegian culinary habits. However, this chapter also discusses a renewed interest in Norwegian traditional food. Norwegians often enjoy travelling to far distant locations, thus tastes change and Norway is in the process of becoming a more multicultural society with the influx of foreign labour in a growing economy. As seen in children's cookbooks, the relatively small and young population of Norway is therefore trying to preserve its national culinary identity as with other programmes. Children's cookbooks in this regard reflect a larger social consciousness and the desire to maintain a strong national and cultural identity.

Lastly, almost all cookbooks today written for children are becoming more and more like manuals for children to use themselves. Child development was always an existent element in cookbooks for children and perhaps even more demanding, as children were expected to take on adult responsibilities at a much younger age. These books are transforming into books where the final product of the food is secondary to the process. Where in the past, children were given cookbooks so they learn adult responsibilities at an early age, and as early as possible, children today enjoy their childhood and cooking is fun. The major findings in this thesis have suggested that the act of writing cookbooks for children is to enhance children's life, not adults. While before it was meant to serve as a tool to make children grow quickly into adults, today cooking is seen as something to be enjoyed and encouraged like learning to play piano once was. Overall this chapter shows that child development and cooking is becoming extremely detailed with the abundance of new types of developmental skills a child apparently learns. The development of the child, while perhaps always there, is becoming simply much more explicit, perhaps due to a grow market for this type of book

The weakness of this thesis shows in the lack of sampling of the original books such as *Lisen Steker Pannekaker* and others. The results and findings could have been much more precise than relying solely on the evidence presented in publications by other authors, such as Henry Notaker, however useful. The weakness of this paper is also that the topic is so little researched about that trying to find appropriate perspectives from which to compare the cookbooks to be perhaps somewhat oblique. It is with the best intentions that this thesis was written and completed in a better.

Overall, we see some trends that are consistent with the findings as changes that reflected the times and lifestyles in which they were written (Harris, p.16). When comparing the development of children's cookbooks over time, there are some overlapping trends between the dimensions, and they go well beyond gender, nutrition, foreign foods, and child development.

Children's cookbooks in this thesis show how Norway values its children and what society expects from them. Before, the socialist state was responsible for taking care of children and then children were solely under the responsibility of their mothers. Today, children are the responsibility of both state and private home. We also see in this thesis that the purpose of the cookbook has shifted from being primarily a manual to help adults to a manual to assist children. Children are now the focus of this society and not simply tools to use or cute dolls to have in possession. Children today are given responsibility and treated as a distinct category. Cookbooks for children today do not focus on their present skills but the underlying message is that the food children receive today determines what kind of people they become (Viestad & Veia, 2010, p.5). Perhaps the parents of today were not satisfied with their parents and their parents. There seems reason to suggest amidst all the comparisons of the data over time and dimensions that cookbooks for children reflect the growing concern for the future of humanity, from one of the very basic human instincts; to eat. We do not require a manual for getting fed from the breast of our mothers, but do need assistance from the moment we start to become more independent beings. Cookbooks for children show a reflecting concern among adults for the future of society in a world where the needs of child are being the focus point and children do not need to fulfill the needs of the parent.

Conclusion

The future is in our children, and the future of cookbook publishing is with children books.
- Gourmand Cookbook Awards

In conclusion, this thesis has attempted to uncover some questions as to why adults write cookbooks and why children read them and what do cookbooks mean for them. The topic of children and food is of vital interest to all and the intent of this thesis is not so much to answer the questions posed in its first paragraphs as to raise them. (Longone, 110) They offer us insight into how we decide to feed our children and how we have taught them about cooking, food, and the pleasures of the table. (ibid 110) But much more than practical cookery lies within the covers of children's cookbooks. (ibid.110) writers have gone into the business of children's cookbooks for all kinds of reasons, and some more laudible than others (Shapiro, 2013).

Children are now the focus and we can all only wait in anticipation for these children to grow up and write their own cookbooks as adults or repeat the cycle once again. Positive signs are that children are taking their books and putting them on their shelves. Many more studies with regards to children's cookbooks can be researched in more detail through an ethical, moral, and economic perspective; more than the evidence presented here. Themes such as the motivations of adults to publish cookbooks are extremely important in a society where marketing is ever-abundant and confusing; and when children's cookbooks have become such a profitable business in the publishing world. Do they [the authors] have a genuine wish to change the way children eat or are authors sometimes bored; do they hope to make money? (A.Viestad, personal communication) Regardless of the inspirations, both buyers and authors realize there is a responsibility to fix, what Laura Shapiro said, "a broken world" (Shapiro). And we continue fix it, or at least attempt to, because it is the reason there are generations after generations of children who read those books.

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