Master Thesis

Tasting the difference

Understanding immigrants' consumption
and sense-making of foodstuffs in Scotland

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Abstract

On the background of markets and products becoming globalized and a progressively growth of immigrant numbers, this study explores the behaviours and meanings attached by expats to their consumption of foodstuffs available to them in a new country: Scotland. The relevance of this qualitative study comes from what the researcher found to be very limited studies on food acculturation of individuals living in Scotland, as most previous research seems to focus on England, and as Scotland is reported to have a strong and separate national identity.

To investigate immigrants' food consumption, the study has employed a mixed methods approach, with data being collected through netnography, participant observation and qualitative interviews. A panel of thirteen subjects originating from eleven different countries have been consulted in both individual and paired interviews. The participants are aged 23 to 60 and had been living in Scotland for varying lengths of time, from 6 months to 15 years. Respondents were selected using a mix of convenience and purpose sampling methods to meet a large degree of qualitative diversification. This, is argued, affords the generalisation of this study's findings to similar individuals and can constitute a good starting point in understanding immigrants' food consumption behaviours in Scotland. By offering a thick description of the context of this research, the study's findings may also be extended or used as base line for investigating food consumption in similar context and settings.

The major findings of this research are of descriptive and explanatory type. The consumption of home foodstuffs continued to play an important role for immigrants, yet the importance and effort put into keeping old food ways varies across the interviewees. The immigrants use different strategies to obtain or recreate home foods: shipping produce, finding substitutes, researching online, eating out and learning to cook. The home foodstuffs were revealed to play an important role in assessing one's cultural identity to the diverse others, and have often been used to entertain guests of different nationalities.

Immigrants perceive Scotland as lacking a strong food culture and foodstuffs from other international cuisines are consumed predominantly, as these are reported to be widely available in the participants' surroundings. This behaviour is motivated by the expats' curiosity and desire to find "ones' own way" in terms of cooking and food consumption. Moreover, the Scottish cuisine is regarded as unhealthy, unvaried and misrepresented / mismarketed to the consumers. However, the 'hidden' goodness of traditional Scottish dishes is also revealed – albeit difficult to find and experience, suggesting more research may be beneficial to understand if and how the Scottish food identity and healthy eating habits can be enhanced and gain a stronger position in the market. Scotland's food identity is seen as weak and this doubles as both a trick description to assess the transferability of findings to similar contexts and as an important opportunity for future research and improvements in the marketing and advertising of traditional Scottish foodstuffs. This particular point has implications to be considered by both heath and dietary organisations looking to understand and improve the nation's consumption of foodstuffs, and for tourist organisations who can help improve Scotland's food identity both in and outside of the country, through targeted and focused marketing.

Contents

For the reader's convenience, important tables, models and other imagery are available at the end of this paper, on unnumbered, detachable pages

"The way to a man's heart is through his stomach"
- English proverb

Introduction

From Homo sapiens, to consumers of fois gras and beyond

It could be said that the oldest object of human consumption has been food. And while one can confidently assume that in the early beginnings of human history, food consumption was very much dependent of nearby available resources (consumed in their raw and later, cooked, form). Here we are, 200.000 years after the divergence of Homo sapiens from his ancestors, talking about various cuisines, each distinguishable from another by far more than just availability of ingredients (Mintz, 2008). Nowadays, food is an important part of one's culture and identity (Fischler, Food, self and identity, 1988) and everyday life, with the "sociology of food and eating becoming a legitimate sub-discipline" (Lupton, 1996, p. 6).

Despite fulfilling a basic human survival need, food consumption represents a collection of "contextual and social practices", thus becoming a symbolic consumption, a way of relating to other people, in terms of social and cultural norms (Oosterveer, 2006). One's preferences in terms of cuisine are guided by both genetic predispositions and culturally structured preferences (Fischler, 1980; Lupton, 1996).

But before stating the focus of this thesis, two main issues need to be addressed, in order to describe the context of this thesis.

Globalization

As a phenomenon, globalisation has been going on for centuries, but it has increased significantly after the early '90s (Yücel, 2010). It refers to the process of "increased density, speed and reach of transnational connections" (Hylland Eriksen, 2011, p. 671). At the same time, globalization is closely connected to consumption, as it involves the "worldwide proliferation of consumer goods, settings, practices and, most generally, consumer culture" (Ritzer & Slater, 2001, p. 7), including a globalization of food availability. In fact, with the technology advancements allowing fast transportation of goods, we are no longer restrained by our nearby resources per se. In the words of Sir Harold Evans "everything is everywhere these days" (Evans). As a result, today, living in almost any city of the modern world, a trip to the nearest supermarket is all most of us need to do, to get a hold of Indian spices, halloumi cheese, tagliatelle, Danish blue or foie gras. This is the result of foodstuffs travelling extensive distances between where they were produced and where we consume them (Oosterveer, 2006; Mintz, 2008). Moreover, Lane (2011) states that culture is also undergoing a process of globalization, which means an intensification of the movement of "symbols, style and practices over an ever extended space" (p. 697), and this holds true for food culture as well.

Immigration

On top of living in an increasingly globalized world, the past decades have also seen a rapid rise of immigration, with an estimated number of worldwide migrants of 231 million people in 2013, a 50% increase from the 154 million migrants registered in 1990 (OECD-UNDESA, 2013; United Nations, 2013). In academic literature, immigration is broadly defined as "the movement of people across borders whose intention is to settle for a set amount of time in a different country than their country of origin" (Straehle, 2011). According to this definition, one may be inclined to think that immigration is a one-time, simple act, of relocating from place A, to place B. Yet a large body of research highlights that immigration is a complex process, during which individuals negotiate many aspects of their day to day lives.

Two central aspects that immigrants come into contact with from day one of their relocation are the **language** and **food** of the adoptive country, so that food consumption in the new setting becomes an instant reality. While immigrants might relate to home foods as a "framework of

memory" (Raman, 2011), at the same time they are encountering new dishes, ingredients and food ways, and may start building a new 'culinary' identity through the consumption of these, from enthusiastic curiosity to active resistance and anywhere in between. In the words of Raman, "migration transforms the self but only partly tames it" (Roman, 2011, p. 179) as meanings attributed to food may never be fully defined once and for all, but may be constantly negotiated by immigrants (Parasecoli, 2014, p. 416). In this context, it becomes of interest to find out how these individuals negotiate and mediate in the midst of this duality, how they consume foodstuffs, and how they make sense of their food consumption.

Putting the pieces together, it can be said that today we live in a truly multicultural world, with cities that host people of dozens of diverse cultural backgrounds and nationalities, consuming food products and emerging themselves in food cultures that originate from all corners of the globe. A true clash of cultures, I might add.

The interest in food consumption is nothing new, and there is an extensive body of consumer research on foodstuffs, both in one's own country, or across borders. For example, numerous scholars have analysed food consumption in relation to immigration (Mintz, 2008; Chytkova, 2011; Lane, 2011; Mak, Lumbers, & Eves, 2012; Hodges & Wiggins, 2013; Jamal, 1998), an equally significant number of researchers looking at cultural identity in relation to the same phenomenon (Oswald, 1999; Padilla & Perez, 2003), and a number of academic papers have analysed food consumption in relation to the individual's identity building (Fischler, 1980; Murcott, 1982; Fischler, 1988; Ritzer & Slater, 2001; Blichfeldt, Mikkelsen, & Andersen, 2012; Mak, Lumbers, & Eves, 2012).

One particular study has highlighted that, when international tourists go through a process of assigning symbolic dimensions to their consumption of food, which can take two different forms: either as a marker of social distinction, setting them apart from the culturally 'other' (Parasecoli, 2014; Mak, Lumbers, & Eves, 2012), or quite the contrary, as a way to experience a new cuisine, a new culture, a new way of consuming food (Verbeke & López, 2005; Mak, Lumbers, & Eves, 2012). Although this divide offers some understanding of the process tourists go through when encountering new cuisines, reality may be more complex. This may be particularly more evident in the case of immigrants who, unlike tourists, relocate with the intention of actually settling into the new country (Straehle, 2011). Does this make their exposure to the dilemmas of food consumption a more complex process than in the case of tourists?

Cultural identity

Another dominant concept that emerges when scholars discuss immigration is that of cultural identity, defined as the identification with a group that shares a similar system of symbols, norms and meanings (Chandler & Munday, 2011; Labeș, 2014; Jandt, 2015). Scholars claim it plays an important role in the understanding of food consumption as well, as foodstuffs and cooking traditions are cultural markers that set communities apart from other communities. At the same time, cultures act as connectors by uniting individuals that belong to one community in particular, confirming both their individual and collective identities, setting 'us' apart from 'them' (Lozada, 2012; Parasecoli, 2014).

But how closely connected are a country's cultural and national identity to its traditional foods? One advertising agency has attempted to capture this idea visually by recreating the flags of 18 nations using foods and ingredients each country is associated with (WHYBIN\TBWA). Here are a few examples:

Fig. 1 - National flags made from each country's traditional food

While these 'food flags' may seem as stereotypical representations and not accurately reflecting the 'food realities' of these nations, it does raise the question of how strong of a connection there is between national identity and foodstuffs, and more interestingly, how immigrants deal with these when moving, for example, from the land of pasta-basil-tomato to the land of hot dogs-ketchup-mustard.

In fact, it was stated a few decades ago that ethnicity and cultural identity only become relevant when one finds oneself next to individuals who are culturally different (Vincent, 1974). In this case, the question of how immigrants' food identities may be challenged or influenced when they cross borders and go through the process of settling into a new culture becomes of interest.

Maintaining a sense of connection to home foods and traditions might play an important role in mediating between the present self and the pre-migrant self (Raman, 2011). Some scholars even argue that ethnical restaurants are transformed into 'living rooms for the homesick' and 'archives of culinary memory' (Ferrero, 2002; Crowther, 2013), which may help to preserve one's home cultural identity. Yet on the other hand, Parasecoli claims that imported cuisines may not be so authentic and may still seem foreign or even counterfeit to the immigrant (Parasecoli, 2014). Can this play any role in the cultural identity of immigrants? How do these individuals make sense of all these changes and new experiences?

What are the changes encountered by immigrants and how do they adapt to the flavours of the new culture? Will they long for the taste of home? Will they splurge in the specific dishes of their adoptive country, throwing themselves into the new culture (Mak, Lumbers, & Eves, 2012)? What kind of dilemmas may they be facing in trying to mediate between their past selves - an identity expressed through food ingredients and recipes from back home - and a potential new identity, the new self, that may emerge in relation to the new dishes and food ways encountered in the new setting?

As it may by now be evident from the works referenced above, there is a thick body of studies on immigrants' food consumption. So why write yet another one, you may ask?

Firstly, many of the reviewed studies have analysed the phenomena by looking at grocery shopping and cooking / consuming food at home (Murcott, 1982; Peñaloza, 1994; Oswald, 1999; Chytkova, 2011; Blichfeldt, Mikkelsen, & Andersen, 2012; Hodges & Wiggins, 2013). But could there be any differences in how immigrants consume food in the privacy of their homes versus more public settings? One author suggests so, stating that "new migrants ate foods 'from

the old country' privately, and rarely in public" (Mintz, 2008, p. 519). However, it seems significantly fewer studies have analysed food consumption in both private and public spaces, such as a restaurants or religious social gatherings (see Jamal, 1998; Verbeke & López, 2005). For this reason, the present research project aims to add to the academic knowledge of immigrant food consumption, by looking at food consumption in both types of contexts.

Furthermore, while there are many interesting studies (quoted above) that claim to have looked at immigrants' food consumption in the UK, the majority have in fact focused on England (see (Jamal, 1998), (White & Kokotsaki, 2004), (Panayi, 2008)). This is not to say an all-inclusive study would be 'better', as there are significant cultural differences between the four different nations that make up the Kingdom, and it may not be advisable to treat them as one.

Instead, this thesis will focus on another space with the UK: Scotland. The country has its own cultural identity, separate from that of the other members of the United Kingdom. In the words of Jamie Grant: "when you travel up from London on the train to Edinburgh or Glasgow, you don't need signposts to tell you that you have arrived in a different environment" (2010, p. 2). The country also has its own culinary preferences and food culture, with its traditional *tattie* and *haggis* (Grant, 2010; Food in United Kingdom, 2010) and even a few bread specialties of its own (Lerche, 2011). Given that at the time of writing this paper there seems to be a lack of studies analysing food consumption by expats in Scotland, it is considered an academically worthwhile endeavour for the present thesis to focus on filling this gap.

Taking all these aspects into consideration, this thesis researches how immigrants in Scotland consume foodstuffs in the context of these diverse new dishes being laid on a plate in front of them, and how they 'negotiate' their cultural identities and consumption in various social contexts. This includes studying the symbolic consumption of food, its social dimensions, if or how immigrants' culinary consumption changes as they cross borders, and how they make sense of these changes. For this purpose, the following research question is formulated:

How and why do immigrants in Scotland make sense of foods and food consumption in relation to their cultural identities?

The purpose of this thesis is to paint a picture on how immigrants living in Scotland consume food, what influence the new food culture may play on their cultural identities, how they cope with the ingredients and food ways around them.

Previous studies have recounted how second generation immigrants (individuals who have limited first-hand experience of their home culture) manifest culinary traditions from their inherited culture; yet despite their best intentions, these immigrants' manifestations of home culture culinary habits may in fact not be an authentic representation of the home culture and may incorporate strong influences from the host culture (Parasecoli, 2014). Second-generation immigrants are claimed to be faster to adopt local traditions and to experience less pressure to adapt to the local customs, as they may already be identifying themselves as part of the host cuisine (Jamal, 1998).

Through this project, my intention is to analyse potential clashes of culinary and cultural identities and, for this reason, I have chosen to turn my attention to individuals with a stronger attachment to the home culture, who may have a stronger recollection and attachment to their home food culture: fist-generation immigrants. At the same time, my intention is to capture how food consumption in the foreign setting may look substantially different across immigrants from diverse backgrounds, in relation to the length of their experience in the new country, and whether they plan to stay.

It is particularly fruitful to analyse the food consumption of immigrants located in or around the capital city of Scotland, as the city holds the second highest immigrant rate, compared to the rest of the country (National Records of Scotland, 2013). At the same time, this may imply that informants in this study may find themselves interacting with more than one 'foreign' food culture. This may render them into an even more complicated process of defining and refining their culinary identities through their consumption of foodstuffs.

"Well begun is half done"
- Aristotle

Methodology

Paradigm considerations

According to academics, a research paradigm is the basic set of beliefs that guide the researcher's actions (Guba E. G., 1990; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). This then plays a determinant role in how the research process is conducted, from data collection to analysis and, implicitly, the results it returns. It is thus important to start this discussion by explaining how I, as the researcher, understand and make sense of the world. Here, I explain and justify the paradigm on which this thesis is based, in order to help the reader understand how I position myself in relation to understanding and researching the processes of immigrant's food consumption, to answer the research question of this thesis.

Guba notes that "there are many paradigms we use in guiding our actions" (Guba E. G., 1990, p. 17), and there are major differences between these, in terms of how the social reality is seen and researched (objectively or subjectively) and whether it should stand subject to interpretation or not (Guba E. G., 1990; Bryman, 2012; Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Yet it is not a matter of

preferentially choosing one or the other, but rather of following the guidelines of the paradigm that is best suited to answer my particular research question (ibid.). As I'm looking to understand the processes that guide immigrants' food choices, understanding experiences and sense-making around these behaviours is essential. The intention is to provide more than a description of the processes these individuals go through, by exploring how these are perceived and understood by the informants (Walliman, 2006), in order to draw knowledge on the meanings they associate to their consumption of foodstuffs. How these processes are understood is essentially highly contextual, a function of the individual's own understanding of his reality (Guba E. G., 1990).

As such, this thesis is conducted under the constructivist paradigm - also referred to as 'interpretive-constructivist' (Franklin, 2013) or 'constructionism' (Bryman, 2012), as I try to get as close as possible to the multiple, individual and contextual realities of immigrants, to enquire about and attempt to understand the meanings behind their food consumption (Rist, 1977; Candy, 1989). As a constructivist, I believe "reality exists only in the context of a mental framework (construct) for thinking about it" (Guba E. G., 1990, p. 25) and this reflects the nature of this project, as my research intends to assess the subjects' mental frameworks, to understanding how they, themselves, perceive and make sense of their consumption of foodstuffs in the particular context under which this study is taking place.

According to Guba & Lincoln (1990), the paradigm on which research is based dictates the answers the following three major questions, about how one understands the world and research problems. I try to answer these below, in relation to the subject of my thesis.

The ontological question

What is the form and nature of reality? Guba notes that "realities exist in the form of multiple mental constructions socially and experientially based" (Guba E. G., 1990, p. 27). As such I do not believe there is one true reality of how immigrants make sense of their food experiences while living in Scotland. Instead, I acknowledge that there may be as many realities as there are immigrants: "change the individuals and you change the reality" (Lincoln & Guba, 2013, p. 39). As such, this research is conducted from a relativist ontological stance as each individual may report different experiences and interpretations. Even if similarities are identified in individuals' accounts of their food consumption, these may still be vastly different if they were placed in a different setting. The immigrants' narratives may have differed greatly had they relocated to France, Japan or India, instead of Scotland. In this thesis, I try to explore the potentially different realities and meanings that immigrants create around food consumption in Scotland.

The epistemological question

What is the nature of the relationship between researcher and the world he/she wants to research? As I interact with immigrants in questioning and trying to understand their experiences of food consumption in a foreign land, my findings are essentially "the creation of the process of interaction" (Guba E. G., 1990) between myself as researcher and the processes I set out to investigate. "One can have knowledge of things of which one is not aware at a given moment"; through the very act of asking questions in interviews, I may tap into "dispositional knowledge" by prompting the informants to reflect on issues they may not have otherwise considered, or to explain processes they hadn't previously given conscious consideration to (Martinich, 2014). As such, the understandings of food consumption derived from this thesis will be the result of subjective interaction and interpretation, by both the informants and the researcher. The epistemological stance of this thesis is therefore subjectivist (Franklin, 2013), or interpretivism (Walliman, 2006; Bryman, 2012). This subjective approach becomes a tool of understanding how these individuals make sense of their own realities (Bryman, 2012; Guba E. G., 1990) by exploring what guides their choices of food consumption, and how they make sense of these choices.

At the same time, context weighs heavily in understanding the food consumption, on two levels: one has to do with the individuals, and the other with the circumstances. At this point, one might ask, what is the purpose of conducting such elaborate research, if it may only be relevant to the specific group of people I'm analysing, and their particular setting? The generalization of qualitative research is heavily debated (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Larsson, 2009; Polit & Beck, 2010) and many academics agree that it carries little statistical relevance (Williams, 2004; Moriceau, 2010), being based on a limited number of qualitative inquiries (Larsson, 2009). However, more scholars argue that generalisation of a different kind is possible, for example when a sufficient diversity of cases is covered (maximising variation), or when a new, similar context is identified, to which the findings of the study may apply (Kennedy, 1979; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Larsson, 2009).

At the individuals' level, generalisation becomes possible through maximising variation, a logic that is in almost complete opposition to the statistical generalisation (Larsson, 2009). Instead of using a large, random sample that is representative of the population, the researcher tries to cover 'a variation of qualitatively different cases'. As my research question is rooted on cultural constructs, I purposely seek out immigrants of diverse cultural backgrounds or who have lived in Scotland for varying amounts of time (ibid.). In doing so, I seek out what (if anything) may be

'common' in the experiences of these individuals, particularly in how they see and understand the foods of the adoptive country, and how they manage possible dilemmas in maintaining their diverse cuisine habits from back home. I consider it possible to generalize these findings to some extent, to other individuals in the same contexts (i.e. other immigrants living in Scotland).

The second kind of generalizability is related to the setting in which the study takes place, or what Lincoln & Guba call 'transferability' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). It refers to the possibility of 'transferring' knowledge from one context into a similar one. It differs from the first type of generalizability as its purpose is to assess if the findings can be expected to repeat in similar contexts. This can be achieved if the context of the present research is described properly, it terms of offering a detailed description of the food culture of Scotland, and the backgrounds of immigrants, as discussed in the previous paragraph. Further on, if the reader assesses other contexts for 'fittingness' and renders them similar enough to the context of this thesis, then the findings may be generalizable in the new setting (ibid.).

The methodological question

How can the researcher gain knowledge into the subject being analysed (Guba E. G., 1990)? What are "the best means of gaining knowledge about the world" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 157) in general, or about the topic of my thesis - food consumption of immigrants, in particular? As interpretation and sense-making are a central part of this research, I use a hermeneutical approach as this "is concerned with the theory and method of the interpretation of human action" (Bryman, 2012, p. 712). The use of hermeneutics implies a thorough understanding of the context in which the analysed process takes place, or what is called "thick descriptions" (Geertz, 1973; Bryman, 2012; Petzschmann, 2013). Geertz first used the term "thick description" to explain how the researcher collects data which, when analysed, is a "construction of other people's constructions" (Geertz, 1973, p. 9). By providing these thick descriptions, I also try to help the reader assess the 'transferability' of these findings to new contexts, as discussed earlier.

Immigrants' consumption of foodstuffs is not a simple act of consumption that happens in isolation, so the cultural and social contexts are very important. In order to grasp the complexity of these processes, I make use of different methods (detailed in subsection "Research design" below) to analyse the process under various context. As I move forward with my fieldwork, I try to incorporate knowledge that I acquired during the previous stages. I use the initial findings revealed in the exploratory phase of my fieldwork (for example, how immigrants search for familiar ingredients in the foreign country; or the compromises they make in trying to establish

their own eating habits, etc.) to further explore the salient themes through more in depth interviews. Following the same rationale, throughout my fieldwork, I turn back to previous academic writings to get further theoretical perspectives on the processes that emerge from my data (such as redefining one's cultural identity through food consumption and developing hybrid food identities), which allow me to better understand and interpret what my respondents are relating.

Research design

A research design represents the plan on how a researcher aims to conduct the study, "it is a manner of thinking about, imagining, and visualizing how the research study will be undertaken" (Berg, 2009, p. 41). It is crucial for me, as researcher, to create a robust research design in order to identify and prevent possible difficulties that may arise during the collection and analysis of data. These foreseeable roadblocks (for example, access to informants) can be addressed beforehand, thus hopefully ensuring a smoother progression through the different research stages (ibid.). Inevitably, unforeseen difficulties will arise during data collection and analysis, and I will discuss these shortcomings in the "Reflections" subsection at the end of this thesis.

In creating my research design, I start by answering two questions (ibid.):

1. **What type of information will be collected?**

Considering the constructivist paradigm and my interest in understanding complex behaviours, the informants' views and sense-making in regard to the consumption of foodstuffs while residing in Scotland, I choose methods that allow me to drill deep into these issues. Therefore, a qualitative research design is used, which allows for more in depth understanding on how food consumption is understood by immigrants, and what internal dilemmas, questions or motivations play a role in these individuals' decisions relating the consumption of particular foods.

2. **What data collection methods will be used?**

Using only one particular research method would limit the perspective of the realities I set out to analyse, and data triangulation is considered to add richness and complexity to the analysed phenomenon (Bryman, 2003; Berg, 2009; Hussein, 2009; Bryman, 2011; Loseke, 2013; Franklin, 2013). As such, I use multiple research methods in order to try and gain a thorough understanding on the food consumption, in different contexts and at different levels. Using multiple data collection methods will help to uncover new perspectives or aspects on how

immigrants view their consumption of food, how they make sense of it, and what factors influence it. Through data triangulation, I look to obtain a richer picture of the realities and meanings the subject of my thesis construct (Berg, 2009).

I try to cover multiple contexts in which immigrants consume food by employing different field methods – some overt and some covert. I analyse data which is readily made available, without a specific enquiry for it (through netnography) and also purposely getting immigrants to recollect and reflect on their food experiences in Scotland (through interviews). I use this type of data triangulation to "check a claim or strengthen the findings" as I intend to "consciously combine data-gathering methods in order to gain a more rounded picture of the object of study" (Franklin, 2013). By using several data collection techniques I try to "counteract the threats of validity" entailed by each individual method, when used as stand-alone (Berg, 2009, p. 6).

The present study uses four different types of data collection, which have been grouped in two phases. In doing so, I intend to get closer and closer to the meanings of food consumption that immigrants express. Each distinct data collection method helps to add layers of understanding to the consumption of food in the context of immigration, as I move back and forth during my fieldwork and analysis phases. By doing this, the intention is to continuously sharpen the tools (i.e. interview guides) and to analyse the process on the basis of previously collected and analysed fieldwork, thus employing a hermeneutical circle approach through an 'iterative spiral of understanding' (Arnold & Fischer, 1994). The methods used and expected outcomes for each are visually presented in the Fig. 2 below (large scale model available at the back of this thesis):

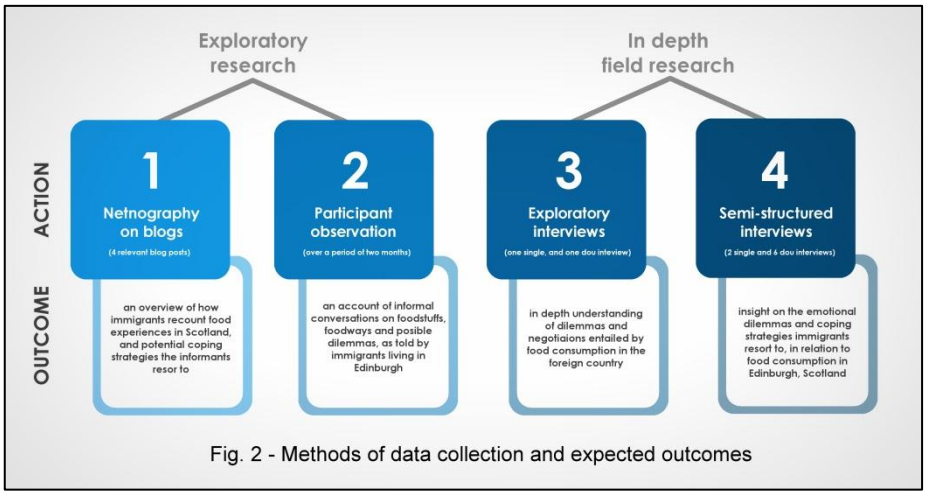

Fig. 2 - Methods of data collection and expected outcomes

In reality, these phases were not followed in strict consecutive order as data collection methods overlap due to the iterative nature of the study. Following, I give a critical account on each method and how it adds to the understanding of immigrants' food consumption in Scotland.

Exploratory research

The role of the exploratory research phase of this thesis is to 'test the waters' in regards to the food consumption of immigrants in Scotland. At the same time, they are a means for me to test and sharpen my fieldwork tools as I collect data (for example, the interview guide and my actual conduct or performance during the interviews). I have included two methods in this phase, both conducted on a small-scale; I discuss each of these bellow.

Netnography

I use small-scale, exploratory netnography as the first data collection method, in order to gain initial understanding into the dilemmas and challenges immigrants in Scotland might encounter in relation to food consumption and how they negotiate and navigate their realities. This method is considered a good "entry point" into qualitative research (Bowler, 2010, p. 1270) as it "allows the researcher to gain access to consumer discussions by observing and/or participating in communications on publicly available online forums" (Nelson & Otnes, 2005, p. 90). Moreover, this method of data gathering is inconspicuous and allows me to observe the "opinions, motives, worries and concerns" of subjects (Langer & Beckman, 2005, p. 200) without interfering with their thought process or prompting them with specific questions. As I do not actively interact with these informants, their recounts are mainly based on their own, intrinsic thoughts and reflections on which they may have pondered extensively before voicing their opinions in the online media.

Another reason why I choose to use this method in the beginning of my study is to alleviate the potential bias I might bring into the research, through a-priori knowledge on the topic (Kutz, 1983; Fine, 2001), as I myself am an immigrant living in Scotland. Had I not done this before conducting my interviews, for example, I might have created an interview guide that reflected too much of my own personal experiences with the Scottish food ways, and my own dilemmas and negotiations in consumption of foodstuffs. By first looking at how bloggers narrate around food consumption without me interfering with their thought process, I am able to get a more balanced input into how others make sense of their experiences, and incorporate this knowledge in the subsequent phases of my fieldwork. To give just one example, I have personally not been in a Polish grocery shop prior to conducting this thesis, so I may not have thought to ask my informants about these; however, they have been mentioned a few times both in the blogs I've analysed, and in the exploratory interviews I conducted, which led me to introduce this as a question to my interviewees.

The content of eight blog posts written by four different immigrant bloggers of various nationalities living in Scotland are analysed, in order to understand how the subjects talk about the Scottish cuisine, if and how they modify their food habits after moving into the country. The authors are of Mexican, Canadian, American and mixed American-Polish origins. I have chosen these blogs in particular as they were narrated in English, and were depicting opinion of diverse expats living in Scotland. Below are a few screenshots of the blog posts analysed:

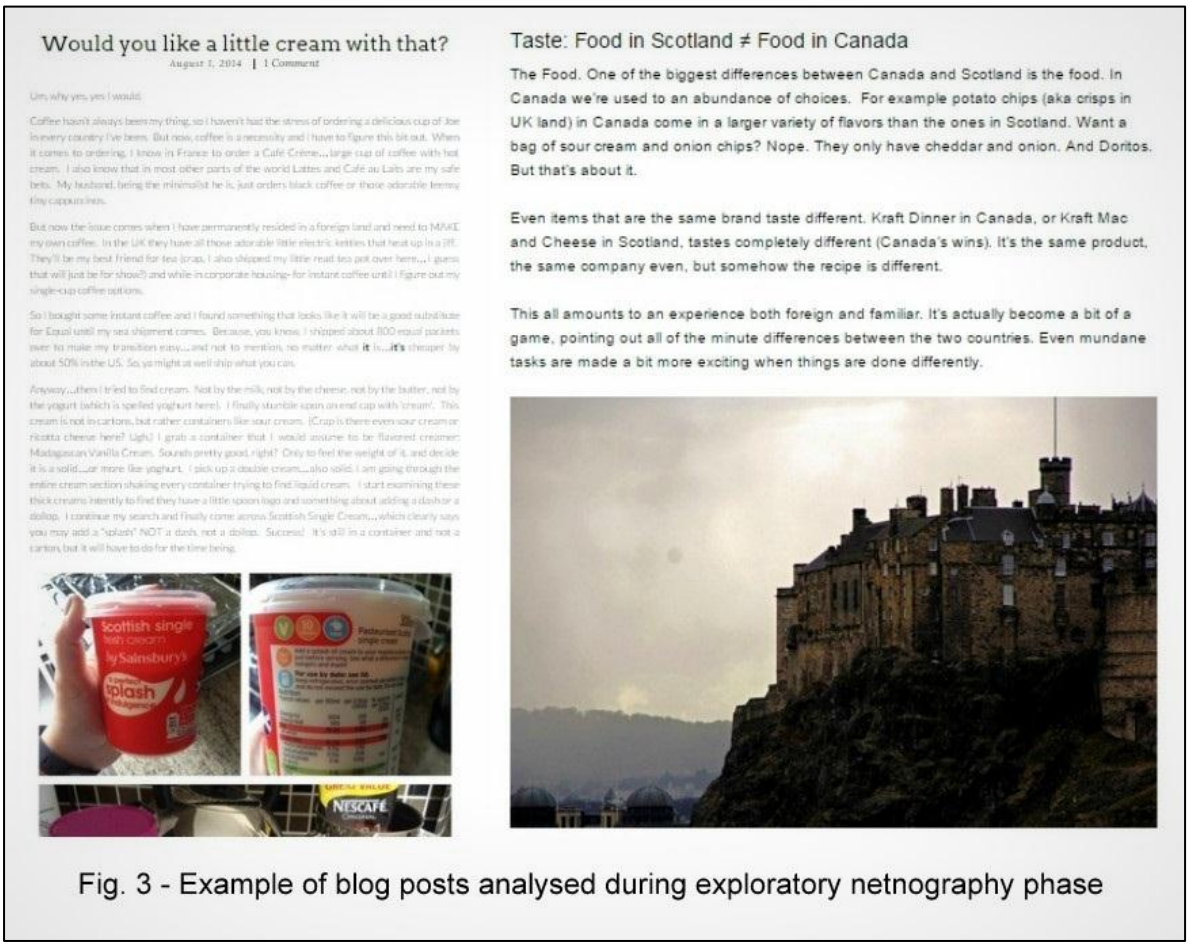

Fig. 3 - Example of blog posts analysed during exploratory netnography phase

In addition, I have also reviewed and analysed the content of another twelve webpages, from ten different websites discussing the Scottish cuisine from multiple stakeholder perspectives. Two websites were owned by official organisations (the Scottish Government and the National Tourist Board), two articles from British news websites (BBC and The Guardian), two food blogs, two travel blogs and two community websites (toptehthingsto.com and buzzfeed.com). The table in Fig. 4 below gives an overview of all fourteen websites and twenty webpages consulted using the method of netnography, as part of my exploratory research phase (the full table, including relevant quotes and short descriptions of the content on each source is available in Appendix 4 on the CD attached to this thesis):

Page type	Blog / Website name	Post / page name and link	Short description of content
Expat blog	Mexian in Scotland	Because There Won't be Mocha	The blogger tells of her experience
Expat blog	My life in Scotland by Mary Debastos	Products abroad	Author is an American woman living
		10 things to love and dislike livir	Blogger talks about some of her pos
Expat blog	Hot dogs to haggis by Lauren	Can a Pole get at a paczki here	American living in Scotland. The bl
		Pretty Damn Good Thanksgiving	The blogger tells her story of attemp
		Would you like a little cream wi	The blogger recount her grovery sho
		The lack of kitchen comforts	The blog post in mainly about the blo
Expat blog	Endlessly Changing Horizon	Impressions of Edinburgh: 3 Mon	Canadian living in Scotland. The blo
Official website by the National Tourist Board	Visit Scotland	Scottish food and drink	The page presents some Scottish di
		Scottish produce	The page shows images of what is c
		Traditional Scottish food	The page describes the main eating
Official website by the Scottish Government	Scotland - the official gateway to Scotland	Scotland - tastes as good as it l	The page describes Scotland as b
Online travel community	Top 10 Thing To	Top 10 Things to Eat in Scotland	The blog post is written by a New
Community news website	BuzzFeed	25 Things Everyone Must Eat In S	The Scottish blogger paints a pic
Food publication	Muchies by Vice.com	Scotland's Deep-Fried Culture Is	The author discusses two opposite e
Food blog	Cook's Info	Scottish Food	The page contents discusses the ste
Travel blog	Blog by Hostelbookers.com	8 Foods to Try in Scotland	The post compiles a list of 25 dishes,
Travel blog	Rockin Vans	Top 10 Scottish Foods for Tourist	The blog post claims that, while Scor
News publication	The Guardian	Scotland fights its corner	The new article discusses the lack of ,
News publication	BBC News	Deep-fried culture is 'no joke'	The article, authored by systems analy.

Fig. 4 - Table of blogs and websites analysed during exploratory netnography

As this is an exploratory method, the findings resulting from this data could not have a standing on their own, but instead are used mainly to guide my research during subsequent phases.

Participant observation

While this method was not initially included in my fieldwork mix, I have decided to use it, becoming aware of the multitude of relevant conversations I was involved in. It seemed I was 'missing out' on a large volume of relevant data, as these conversations were not recorded verbatim. Moreover, as these conversations happened naturally, they often included genuine thoughts and depicted the eating behaviour of informants as these happen (Fine, 2001). Participant observation is suited for studies looking to understand the meaning of human behaviour and scholars claim it is particularly suited for situations in which an inside approach is crucial (Jorgensen, 1989; McKechnie, 2008), as it involves the participation in people's day to day lives (Kutz, 1983; Jorgensen, 1989; Schoene, 2011). As an international myself, I am surrounded by immigrants and, inevitably, some of our conversations are dominated by food practices. As such, I consider the behaviours and conversations I am able to observe to be day to day type of experiences. While these have accounted for my initial interest in researching this topic, they have also given me exposure to a meaningful volume of discourses voiced by immigrants living in Scotland, on the topic of food consumption. This method is used prior to more formalised data methods presented below, as a means to help refine and define the details of immigrants' food consumption in this particular setting, through observing their existence in everyday life

situations (Kutz, 1983; Jorgensen, 1989) and in a variety of contexts. My notes from participant observations stem from casual lunches with my colleagues or shared meals with friends, to observations that overlap with the interviews, in which I make notes on the unrecorded data that stems during conducting the interviews.

I use both covert and overt participant observation, allowing me to gain insight on different levels (Jorgensen, 1989). In the case of covert observation, I take the role of complete participant (Gold, 1958; Kutz, 1983) and rely on casual conversations by taking notes on foodstuffs, ingredients and food ways in Scotland, as presented by the immigrants I interact with in my daily life, without me mentioning the work I am conducting for this research. In the case overt observation, I get involved in informal and unstructured conversations, after informing my interlocutors that I am conducting research on the topic of internationals' food consumption (Fine, 2001). My interlocutors start telling stories, without me asking particular questions. However, as these events unfold in settings that have not been prearranged, I fully participate and the subjects have no reason to change their behaviour in my presence (Kutz, 1983). At the same time, to counteract with possible biases, I refraining myself from discussing previous findings or previous material I have gathered during fieldwork, as not to influence the respondents' narratives. Instead, I resort only to recounting my own experiences of food consumption as an immigrant in this country. As these conversations happen in impromptu settings, the interactions are not recoded. In order to maintain a nonintrusive interaction, notes are written up or recorded from memory, in a private space, as soon as possible after a relevant encounter takes place (McKechnie, 2008) and form the main means of collecting data using this method (Kutz, 1983). Scholars argue that participant observation may be subject to human limitations, especially inability to remember and recount events as they happened (Fine, 2001). In this thesis, I try to counteract this limitation to the best of my ability, by taking clear notes on relevant aspects of the context of interaction, actions, statements and feelings of informants (ibid.).

In total 11 observations are logged over the course of six weeks. For each entry, I record the relevant context and try to reproduce the informants' words as close as possible. All observations are noted in a logbook, exemplified in Fig. 5 below:

Date	Informant	Context	Observation and relevant notes
March 31, 2015	Eliza, Indonesian	Sharing lunch break at work	Eliza remembers living in London a few years ago, with 3-4 Italian flatmates, and amusingly tells the story: 'they had parmesan
April 1, 2015	Eliza, Indonesian	Sharing lunch break at work	Taking my lunch breaks with Eliza, an Indonesian-born who has been living in Scotland for over 15 years, I have observed she always brings a particular sauce to add in her foods. Without asking, she explains it is a particular chilli sauce, very popular with Indonesia people, and she cannot go without it. Over several other occasions, I notice the same sauce brought to the table, added to various foods (soups, salads, etc.). Today, the informant has forgotten this particular sauce in another room, and leaves the lunch table to retrieve it. Upon her
April 3, 2015	Kim, Half-Chinese	A work appointment at the researcher's home	During a work assignment, I interact with Kim, a second generation Chinese immigrant, born in Scotland. Upon me mentioning my academic interest in researching food
April 1[illegible]	A[illegible]'a (Polish)& [illegible]k)	Interview ap[illegible]ointment, in the in[illegible]	I arrive for an exploratory interview with a couple. The interview takes place in their home, where I am invited into the living room. There is a small coffee table in the middle of the room, with various appetisers and drinks, of which I'm invited to serve. During the interview (See Interview 2), I am encouraged to taste a special cheese that's on the small table. Upon noticing the very distinct look and taste of this cheese, I ask my informants where this is procured from, to be told that V. has just returned from a trip[illegible] Slovaki[illegible] and bro[illegible] this spe[illegible]

Fig. 5 - Preview of participant observation logbook

As I try to maintain a casual, non-intrusive context for these conversations and observations, I am able to observe mostly the immigrants' behaviour and consumption of foodstuffs with little inference into the motivations and potential dilemmas that justify these behaviours. While I do make notes on my own interpretations on the meanings of the events and behaviours I observe, the ability to gain knowledge on people's own understanding of their food consumption is limited with this method. For this reason, I use participant observations predominantly to support and complement the methods used in the in-depth phase of my fieldwork.

Many academics consider it a challenge for the researcher to gain access into the groups or communities he wants to analyse (Kutz, 1983; Fine, 2001). In the case of this project, as I myself am an immigrant living in Scotland, I am constantly surrounded by peers who share the experiences I am looking to understand and discussions of food and food ways are natural in our interactions. The entry point into the analysed community has therefore not posed a problem in the present case. One limitation that may arise is that of having only limited access to the informants' food consumption. As these interactions happen naturally, I do not experience the entire range of their consumption process (for example, making a shopping list, going into the groceries shop, buying ingredients, cooking, and eating several times a day). In most cases, I am only able to observe the immigrants' behaviour in semi-private settings (lunch in a work cafeteria or house parties) and this allows me to get only a glimpse into their food consumption. As such, it must be said that these observations may not render a complete depiction of the informants' food consumption and, for this reason, I use more in-depth methods further on. In many cases, I was able to interview and observe the same informants, thus allowing me to add a few more

pieces to the puzzle of their consumption of foodstuffs, through in depth explorations of meaning. A table on which methods are used for each informant is presented in the "Who, where, how long, how many?" subsection, towards the end of this Methodology chapter.

In depth research

The interview

Interviews are one of the most elementary forms of data collection in qualitative research (Marvasti, 2004; Cook, 2008; Persaud, 2010; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Brinkmann, 2013). Qualitative interviewing is more flexible, responding to the direction in which the narrative is taken by the interviewees and adjusting the research to the importance of significant issues that emerge during the interview (Bryman, 2012). This is considered particularly fruitful in the case of this thesis, as each informant's food consumption may vary significantly, and may be strongly rooted in each person's culture, making it impossible for me, as researcher, to fully anticipate the best questions to ask. As such, a semi-structured interview guide is used, whereby the direction of the discussion is guided towards food consumption in the context of immigration, but without being too strict with the questions, or the order in which these are asked (Walliman, 2006), (Berg, 2009; Bryman, 2012).

Interviews are 'formal' and somewhat artificial, as the interviewer approaches the participants in an artificially created context, resulting from a formal interview invitation, and most of the questions are asked in accordance to the interview guide (Franklin, 2013). While this method is in contrast to the casual nature of the participant observation method discussed previously, it also allows for a more focused and in depth discussion on the topic of foodstuffs. While the informants are allowed to freely answer questions, my role as interviewer is to steer the conversation in the direction of food consumption and meanings thereof, in order to collect relevant data that will help answer my research question (ibid.). This allows me to go beyond the observable and see the world through the respondent's eyes (Marvasti, 2004), by attempting to understand the dilemmas, negotiation and symbols that lie behind their consumption of foodstuffs in the foreign land. As the thesis is seeking to investigate how immigrants negotiate their food ways, the semi-structured interviews are considered a suited tool that will help generate relevant information. The interview guide (available in Appendix 1) uses "open-format questions" (Walliman, 2006) rooted in the theoretical framework of this thesis. The respondents are free to voice their own opinions and views on their consumption of food, in relation to the new culture they've encountered.

So far, I have discussed the in depth interview as one field work method; however, in practice, I used this type of interview under three distinct forms - exploratory, in-depth and pair interviews.

The exploratory interviews

I have conducted a number of exploratory interviews (both individual and paired), which helped to refine the semi-structured interview guide for the following informants. Although in Fig. 2 at the beginning of this chapter I've included these interviews into the in-depth phase of my fieldwork, I consider them exploratory in the sense that the interview guide and my own conduct as interviewer are subject to more changes and refinement, in order to identify the best way of approaching this method for the research of food consumption.

In these interviews, questions are less specific and I, as interviewer, have tried to distance myself from the narratives, allowing the subjects to lead the discussion, and only intervening if their narrative would strain too much from the topic of my research. Although a draft interview guide was used as well, some questions were asked 'on the spot', and later added into the semi-structured interview guide for use further on. After the first few exploratory interviews, I became aware that respondents found it difficult to answer some questions that appealed to their memories, in a vacuum, a limitation I have tried to address by modifying my own conduct in the subsequent interviews - for example by sharing some personal observations and experiences.

As this thesis is conducted in an iterative manner, the guide and my own conduct in the interviews are subject to improvement and changes throughout the entire length of my fieldwork. During the exploratory interviews, I try to refine the guide for future interviews, by identifying interesting themes to pursue, or fruitless questions to be left out. Most changes have occurred during these exploratory interviews and have allowed for a more focused interview process thereafter. I did not look to conduct a specific number of exploratory interviews, but I considered this phase over as soon as I felt I reached a balanced interview guide and interviewing technique: a participatory yet minimally biased approach (detailed in "The individual in-depth interviews" section below), namely after two individual, and one paired interview. However, as this is a learning process for me as well, I have continued to make smaller adjustments throughout the interviewing phase. The final interview guide is available in Appendix 2.

The individual in-depth interviews

Taking into account the learnings from the exploratory research experience, in the subsequent in-depth interviews I conducted I have decided to take a more participatory approach, by sharing

some personal experiences of consuming food in Scotland, in order to stir up the memories of my interviewees. This change has also stemmed from my reflection on the initial participant observations during which I noticed subjects were more prone to share their experiences once a starting point has been introduced to them. While this can be seen as a bias on the side of the researcher, I propose it acts as a catalyser in the data collection phase, taking into consideration that I do not look to prove or disprove specific hypothesis. Instead, I consider the interviews to be fluid narratives resembling organic conversations immigrants might carry normally. Moreover, in order to minimise any potential biasing of the respondents, I try to restrain from sharing information from previous interviews and only share my own personal experiences as an immigrant in Scotland. As such, I considered these interviews to represent authentic discourses on food consumption, similar to how these may take place in the day to day lives of immigrants.

In total, I have conducted a number of seven individual interviews (two exploratory and five in-depth) with participants aged 23 to 60, originating from seven different countries. The interviews were between 19:53 minutes and 56:31 minutes, with an average of 39:40 minutes per interview.

The paired in-depth interviews

There is still limited academic discussion on the paired (or joint) interview, and this method appears to be mostly used in studies with children or adolescent respondents - see (Highet, 2003; Houssart & Evens, 2011; Mason & Tipper, 2014) or studies focusing on relationships, ill health or caring amongst married or live-in couples (Riley, 2014). For this thesis, the paired interviews were conducted with couples living in the same household (Arksey & Knight, 1999) who share the same kitchen, and presumably many meals and food practices. The pairs were interviewed together following the same guide as the individual interviews (see Appendix 1). I make use of this particular form of interviewing for its potential of generating richer data, as participants are able to stimulate each other's recall (Berryman, 2008) and confidence between the informants and the interviewer is established more easily (Arksey & Knight, 1999). One's responses trigger the other's thoughts and memories of similar experiences similar to a focus group interview (Phillips & Stawarski, 2008), yet keeping the intimacy of the conversation (Riley, 2014) by promoting confidence and discussion (Watson, 1999). At the same time, another advantage of this form of interviewing is minimising the researcher's bias (Berryman, 2008) as the conversation flows between three people, rather than being a one-to-one dialog.

The paired interview was chosen over the focus group for two reasons. Firstly, to create a natural setting for the participants as the interviews are conducted in the live-in couples' homes. And

secondly, as I assume couples to share many meals together; interviewing them as pairs offered the opportunity to tap into the shared experiences to see how each person makes sense of them.

A total of three paired interviews have been conducted (one exploratory and two in-depth), with all couples being of mixed cultural background, of six different nationalities in total. The interviews lasted between 1:14:41 and 1:24:50 hours, with an average of 1:21:26 hours.

As with any other method, paired interviews have drawbacks as well, some similar to the focus group method: one informant may dominate the conversation, though to a lesser extent than in focus groups (Berryman, 2008) and interviewing a couple can lead to some degree of acquaintance bias (Riley, 2014). I try to minimize this by encouraging both participants to answer each question and to share divergent opinions, where these may be present. This has been the case on several accounts, as the majority of couples interviewed are of different cultural backgrounds and these differences occurred naturally.

Who, where, how long, how many?

By answering these questions, I wish to give an overview of how and why the interviewing process took place, in all of the forms describe previously.

Respondents were selected following a mix of convenience (Saumure & Given, 2008) and purposive sampling method (Palys, 2008; Morgan, 2008). As noted in the epistemological section, I seek to cover 'a variation of qualitatively different cases' (Larsson, 2009) in terms of age, cultural background and length of stay in Scotland. These two objectives guide my choice of interviewees, as I purposely approach immigrants originating from various countries. In total, thirteen immigrants from eleven different countries of origin were interviewed. The following table in Fig. 6 provides an overview of the informants who participated in this thesis, and what data collection method they each took part in (full scale table available in Appendix 3):

#	Name	Demographic information	Immigration information	Food consumption 'profile'	Subject of participant obs.	Interview type
1	Teo	Italian, 32 years old. Works as a software engineer in a large multinational company based in Edinburgh, Scotland	Moved to Edinburgh 2 year ago. Before this, he spend approximately 6 months living in England's capital city, London, which was his first immigrant experience.	He lives on his own and mostly cooks his meals at home. Italian cuisine is a strong part of his identity. Authenticity of ingredients and food quaility plays a crucial role in his decisions of food consumption	yes	exploratory, individual
2	Agnieszka	Polish, 27 years old. Works as a sofware engineer in a large multinational company based in Edinburgh, Scotland	Moved to Edinburgh 7.5 years ago, for her studies, and continued to live here after graduation. Before moving to Scotland, she lived in Spain for one year	She lives with her Slovak partner (Vladimir), and....	yes	exploratory, paired (1)
	Vladimir	Slovak, 25 years old. Currently a Postgraduate student at the Institute for Particle and Nuclear Physics at the University of Edinburgh, in Edinburgh, Scotland	Moved to Edinburgh 7 years ago for his studies. As a teenager, he lived in Czech Republic for 2 years with his family, before relocating to Scotland	He lives together with his Polish partner (Agnieszka), and eats food preponderently cooked at home. He brings foodstuffs form home when travelling back, but also enjoys a few of the local dished he'd encountered in Scotland	yes	
3	Cristina	Romanian, 23 years old. Works as a freelance front end developer, while remotely finalizing her Masters degree in Public Administration, with the Bucharest University of Economic	Moved to Edinburgh 1.5 months ago, after her boyfriend accepted a position in a Edinburgh-based company. She has not previously lived in another foreigh	She lives together with her Romanian boyfriend, and most of her meals are cooked and consumed at home. She has experiences very little of the Scottish cuisine, firstly because she workd from home, and secondly as her boyfriend is less	no	exploratory, individual

Fig. 6 - Preview of participants table and methods used for each individual

Considering the advantages of holding the interviews in the informants' homes, I used a convenience sampling technique by approaching people with whom I had previously been acquainted; I assumed they would be more inclined to allow me into their homes and the majority of my respondents agreed to this location. My choice of interviewing people whom already know me might have prevented them from sharing certain sensible aspects of their food consumption, being aware that we'd continue to interact socially after the interview. However, I considered this to not pose a major limitation, as I assume the topic to not be particularly prone to sensible information, as other more personal topics would be (such as medical or psychological topics). Another drawback of employing convenience sampling is that the informants may be a homogenous group in terms of age and lifecycle, which can be tied in with consumption behaviours (Wells & Gubar, 1966; Coughenour, 1972; Lupton, 1996). Most of my respondents are young professionals with no children, with the exception of one participant who has an adult son. Yet this thesis does not look to analyse food consumption in relation to lifecycle, and therefore I consider them as not being a major limitation for my research. However, researchers and readers interested in assessing the transferability of findings from this thesis are advised to keep these particularities in mind when assessing the fittingness of another context to the one of this research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Whenever possible, the preferred location for the interviews was the respondents' homes, for several reasons: to ensure the informants are in a comfortable setting; to facilitate their talk about potential foodstuffs and ingredients they may have from their home countries – on most occasions, I was also allowed to take pictures of these (exemplified below); to ensure a quiet and private location for the interview, making it easier for informants and myself to communicate openly, without worrying about possibly being overheard. This was the case for eight of the thirteen interviewees; the other five informants were reluctant to having the interview in their homes or did now show availability for this. Respecting their privacy, I chose alternative locations that would meet the requirements for a quiet and relaxed atmosphere, and these interviews were conducted public areas: lunch area in an office building, cafés or a park. Towards the end of the interview, I asked the informants to take pictures of the foods they mention during the conversation and send them to me by email, in order to keep these interviews as close as possible to the initial intent of getting a verbal and visual description of their home foodstuffs.

Some images of immigrants' foodstuffs are shown in Fig. 7 below:

Vladimir (Slovak) and Agnieszka (Polish) holding packs of ingredients from their respective countries

Pumpkin seed oil and special pepper received by Iva (Croatian) by parcel delivery

Home made tomato sauce received in a parcel by Teo (Italian)

Fig. 7 - Pictures of participants' home foodstuffs taken during interviews

While admitting the need for 'enough' interviews to be performed in order to permit pertinent analysis and conclusions, it is difficult to put a number on how much is 'enough'. Academics' opinions differ as well, from 12 to 50 interviews being viewed as the recommended number, depending on the type of thesis one writes (Baker & Edwards, 2012), and some claim that saturation must be reached, when no more new themes are emerging from the interviews (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006), without giving to a specific number of interviews that this entails (Kvale, 2007; Mason, 2010). With these considerations in mind, I have decided to not set out with a specific number of interviews in mind, but instead try to access as many respondents as possible, within the timeframe of conducting this thesis. The sample size is less relevant than the quality of data gathered, which can also be enhanced by using mixed methods (Mason, 2010) – a methodological approach that this thesis is entailing. In terms of quality of data, I try to maximize this by allowing interviewees to go beyond the questions asked, and allow plenty of time before turning off the recorder and considering the interview closed (Bryman, 2012). As a result, interviews last between 19 minutes and 1 hour 25 minutes, with the paired interviews being the longest. On average, the individual interviews have a length of 38:33 minutes per interview, while the paired ones, of 1:24:07 hours. The shortest interview (19 minutes) was conducted with a participant who had recently moved to the country, and her narratives of food consumption in Scotland were very limited. While I reflected on whether or not to include this interview in the analysis, I have decided for it, as the interviewee briefly touched upon themes that had emerged from other, longer interviews, and it also gives a contrasting account to the participants who have lived in Scotland for longer.

Ethical considerations

Taking into consideration the varied methods used to collect rich data about the foodstuffs consumed by immigrants and the varying degrees of overtness in each of these methods, a few

considerations on the ethics of my fieldwork approach are in order.

Firstly, in the case of netnography, the approach is considered "both legitimate and ethical" (Langer & Beckman, 2005, p. 200) as I only turn to content that is already publically available online and prior explicit consent for these is not a necessity (Murphy & Dingwall, 2007). The content has been made publically available, whether I choose to analyse it or not, so in that sense, drawing knowledge from these narratives without seeking further consent from the authors is considered both ethical and valid.

Gathering data through participant observation, especially of the covert nature, is often debated in methodology literature (Fine, 2001; Miller & Boulton, 2007; Murphy & Dingwall, 2007; Oliver & Eales, 2008). Some argue explicit, written consent is critical in the case of participant observation where the subjects are regarded as vulnerable (Frankel, 1982; Oeye, Bjelland, & Skorpen, 2007; Miller & Boulton, 2007; Fine, 2001) and the observer may be exposed to confidential information. As this thesis goes, the disclosure of information regarding food consumption is not regarded as potentially putting the informants in vulnerability spotlights. In fact, it's often the focus of small talk, which is how I came across some of the participant observations I have recorded. As such, the notes resulting from these observations are considered an ethical research method, as the conversations took place openly and with virtually no sensitive data being shared. The notes are my own recounts of the facts and discussions I witness. Both in the case of overt and covert observations, the exchanges are occurring naturally, and at no point am I actively deceiving the informants (Fine, 2001). The knowledge was obtained in a manner that is respectful of the respondents (Oliver & Eales, 2008) and confidentiality matters are attended to, by not using the full names of respondents, in the present report (Fine, 2001).

And finally, in the case of in depth individual and dual interviews, the ethic discussion is simplified by the fact that all participants are informed about the topic and purpose of the conversations. They are all voluntarily taking part in the research and are well aware of the need to record, transcribe and analyse the contents and meanings of their narratives.

Analytical design

In the present research I employ several layers of data collection and, as already mentioned, I'm using a sequential analysis approach - "an intentional iteration of adding data collection and reanalysis to ensure a more robust set of findings" (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014, p. 157).

This process is visually explained in the image bellow:

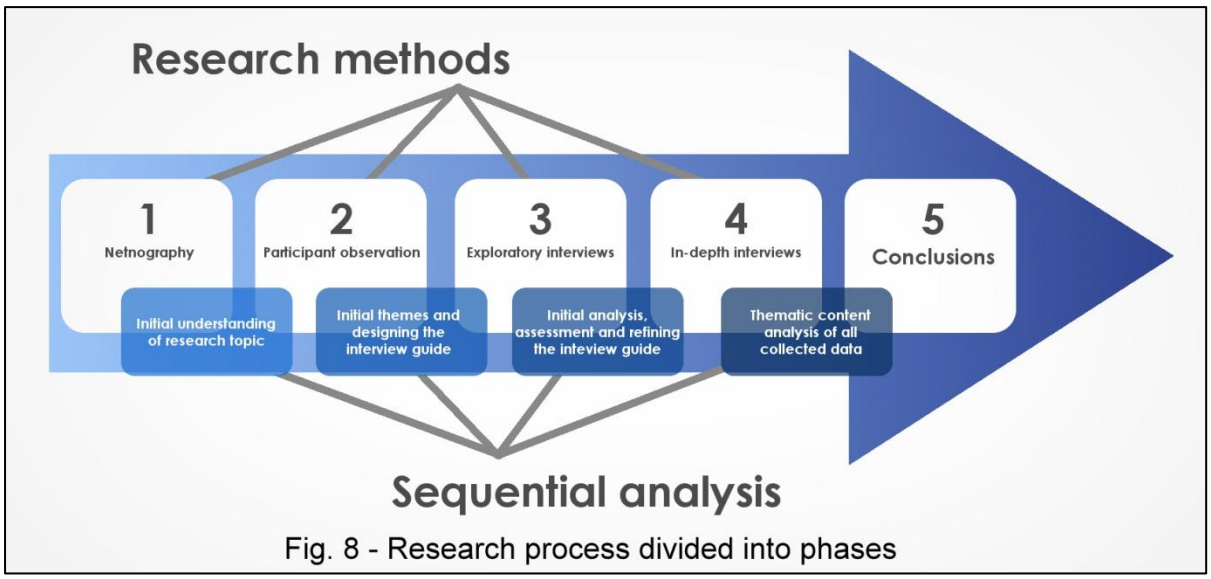

Fig. 8 - Research process divided into phases

Although this image depicts a process that flows smoothly from one phase into the other, in reality the steps overlap as in practice, my analysis starts after the first few interviews, when themes are beginning to emerge, and I focus on these moving forward. I move back and forth in the analysis process as I look at each data unit (interview, or fragment of an interview, for example), as part of the whole, not as a detached piece of data. As such, I ascribe to the belief that the meaning of the whole informs the meaning of the parts and, at the same time, the meaning of the parts sheds light onto the meaning of the whole (Rennie, 2012). Following this logic, I analyse each piece of narrative on its own to infer knowledge which I use to guide subsequent fieldwork.

Once I have gathered all my data after step 4 in the image above, I engage in analysing the entire body of data, in a strategic and orderly manner.

Of the many different analytical strategies a researcher can use for qualitative data (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Bryman, 2012), I employ content analysis, as my purpose is to gain understanding on how and why the immigrants' food consumption unfolds. Following the constructivist paradigm of this thesis, I analyse content in an interpretivist way, as I first try to understand what my data 'says' and secondly, to interpret this data within the theoretical framework of this thesis in order to provide the reader with meaningful conclusions (LeCompte, 2000).

To make the data more comprehensible, I try to reduce it "in order to uncover patterns of human activity, action, and meaning" (Berg, 2009) by making use of a 5-step process, detailed below:

1. **Preparing data for analysis:** while the data resulting from my exploratory fieldwork phase comes in a written format, the interviews do not, and so I have to ponder on the issues of transcribing these narratives. It seems to be a general consensus of the lengthy and tedious process this work entails, yet its advantages are plentiful: closeness to data, ability to synthesise and analyse large amounts of data, etc. (Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999; Kvale, 2007; Davidson, 2010; Bryman, 2012). Oftentimes however, the transcribing of all words spoken in a qualitative interview may be too time consuming, and a compromise may be preferable; I thus chose to summarise and selectively transcribe relevant passages of the interviews, for a meaningful, reliable understanding of the data (Tilley, 2003; Oliver, Serovich, & Mason, 2005). By doing this, I diminish the amount of time spent on transcribing, allowing me to do more actual fieldwork. At the same time, I chose to stay close to the data by transcribing the interviews myself, which weighs heavily in the outcome of the research, as I enact my own theoretical framework (Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999) and the process doubles as an interpretative task (Davidson, 2010). For me, this has constituted an initial insightful step into the analysis process (Tilley, 2003; Oliver, Serovich, & Mason, 2005).
2. **Organizing the data:** I start this process by dividing data into themes, coding and labelling the relevant pieces across my entire data set, based on concepts and constructs from the theoretical framework on which my thesis stands. This implies going through my data set several time, listening to the interviews in full, and developing a systematically coded representation of my data, a process is usually referred to as 'data reduction' or 'data condensation' (Walliman, 2006; Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014).
3. **Sorting the data:** using the labels and themes I've identified, I sort my data into a meta-matrix, for easier visualisation and access. The meta-matrix is available in Appendix 4 on he CD included with this thesis; the columns represent the themes I've indentified as relevant in the narratives.
4. **Interpretation of the data:** the now sorted data is analysed and interpreted in accordance to the theories presented in the following chapter, "Theoretical framework". In doing so, I attempt and answer the research question of how immigrants consume food in Scotland, what meanings they assign to their consumption, and what possible dilemmas might they encounter along the way.
5. **Presenting the conclusions:** following the interpretation of my data, I present the conclusions of my analysis, also assessing the validity and limitations of these, and suggesting future research directions.

Although these stages are presented as individual, sequential steps, in practice the process is a recursive and iterative one (Yin, 2011), as I move back and forth between these steps. During the analysis process, I go back and look at the same narratives over and over again, and try to analyse these in the larger context of the whole that they are part of, thus employing a hermeneutical approach in my analysis process (Arnold & Fischer, 1994; Petzschmann, 2013). This is synthetized in the image below:

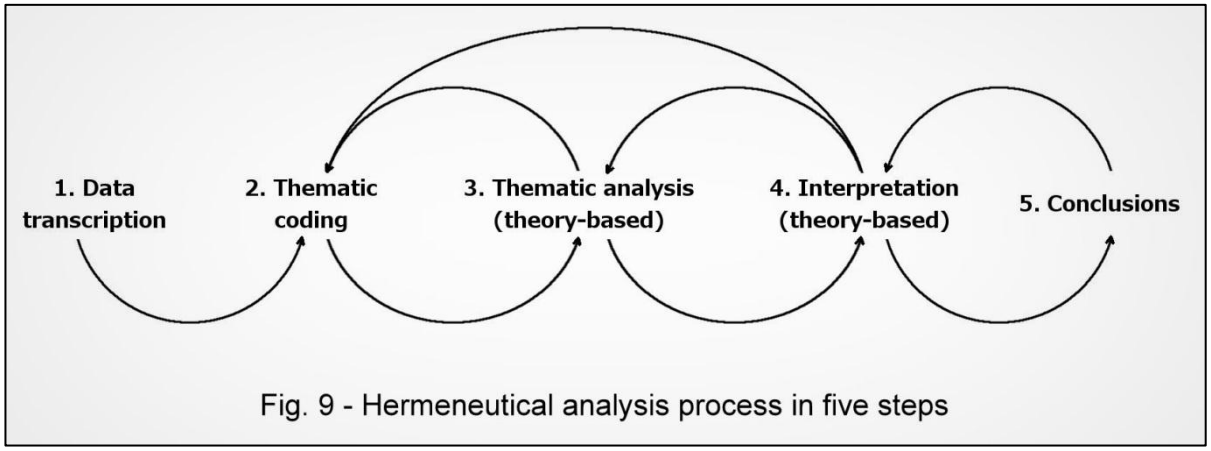

Fig. 9 - Hermeneutical analysis process in five steps

"What is food to one man is bitter poison to others"
- Lucretius

Theoretical framework

This section is aimed at presenting and critically discussing relevant studies and theories, in order to identify the ones best suited to guide my research on food consumption by immigrants living in Scotland. The term *theory* is defined as "a model or set of concepts and propositions that pertains to some actual phenomena" (Maxwell & Mittapalli, 2008, p. 877), a set of concepts that guide the thinking and research process (Powers & Knapp, 2010, p. 185). The theoretical choices carry a heavy importance, as they will be used both to guide the research process in terms of data collection and to provide understanding of the phenomena of food consumption in the context of immigration, though analysis of field data (Maxwell & Mittapalli, 2008).

In the first stage, the theoretical framework is used to gain initial understanding on food consumption in the context of immigration: what have previous researchers analysed and identified as relevant influencers in the process of immigration and food consumption? How can this previous knowledge relate to immigrants living in Scotland? This mainly guided the methodology and field research phases of my thesis, by providing a starting point into exploratory research and in formulating the questions for the in depth interview guide. Secondly, theories are the basis of my analysis of the rich field data, as I rely on them to help understand

and draw academic knowledge on how immigrants in Scotland consume food, what influences their consumption and how they make sense of these processes.

Essentially, the choice of theories acts like the lens through which I look at and analyse the consumption of foods in this particular setting. It is therefore important to discuss and justify which theories have been chosen, implicitly accepting that, had other 'lens' been chosen, the process and results of the present research may have rendered a different picture altogether.

As my thesis focuses around two major processes – food consumption and immigration – theories from these fields are included and presented further in this section. However, to help narrow down my search of relevant theories and concepts within these two fields, I have conducted preliminary data collection in the form of netnography and exploratory interviews, in order to identity some of the factors that mediate the process of food consumption of immigrants living in Scotland.

From this initial research phase, a few themes have emerged, which I've used to further guide my search of relevant theories and theoretical concepts by turning back to theoretical writings and previous academic papers that discussed similar issues. A brief overview of these works is presented in the following paragraphs and each theme is discussed in more depth in the corresponding subsections of this chapter.

Drawing on the exploratory interviewees, it emerged that participants were unable to find specific products and only then become aware these were 'specific' to their own country, thus raising the question of cultural and food identities. As such, I look at theoretical aspects of identities in the subsection **national, cultural and food identities**. Many academics have emphasized how this identification becomes predominantly visible when one moves abroad: "the question of identity only arises when identity is disturbed" (Fischler, 1988, p. 288). For this reason, I include theories on identity creation in an attempt to see how the immigrants' past and potentially new identities are acknowledge and perhaps also modified, by their consumption of foodstuffs in the new setting.

The exploratory research phase has also yielded themes which have lit my interest in understanding the differences between consuming foods in varying social contexts. The diverse symbols that are assigned to foods consumed in different circumstances have been brought forth by immigrants using words such as 'proper' or 'real food' and making distinctions between 'eating at home' vs. 'eating out'; this has led me to include theories on food symbolism and

meaning in the subsection "**It's a brand new world"**, with the intent to gain theoretical knowledge on how immigrants may be making sense of consuming food stuffs in these varying contexts.

Many of the immigrants talk about the processes they go through in adjusting to the new food ways and ingredients. The stories found through exploratory netnography and interviews stem around the processes immigrants go through when moving abroad and the differences they seem to encounter between the two cultures. Therefore, in the sub-section "**Managing with change"** I include theoretical aspects relating to the process of moving into a new culture, in order to better understand the underlying factors that may influence immigrants' food consumption in the new setting. These aspects have emerged during the exploratory phase in the form of discourses circling around 'us vs. them'. As such, I look to understand theoretical perspectives on the dilemmas and anxieties immigrants might encounter in the new culture from a food-culture perspective and how they make sense of these.

In the exploratory interviews, immigrants talked about the compromises they try to reach, by looking to reproduce foodstuffs of their home culture by using local resources and ingredients available, or in other more 'creative ways' (discussed at length in the "Analysis" chapter of this thesis). I look at theoretical aspects on consumption behaviour and decision making in relation to food, which I elaborate in subsection "**Food as an act of consumption"**. I later use these theoretical perspectives to guide my analysis of immigrants' food consumption behaviour in the context of living in Scotland. Where do they shop, what products do they look for, how and why do they choose between the varieties laid in front of them - which may be different from the options they had 'back home'? I also try to establish a theoretical standpoint for approaching the availability and authenticity of ingredients, and what role this plays in the immigrants' anxieties and dilemmas in deciding which foods to purchase and consume.

A brief overview of the theories I use for my thesis is presented in Fig. 10 below:

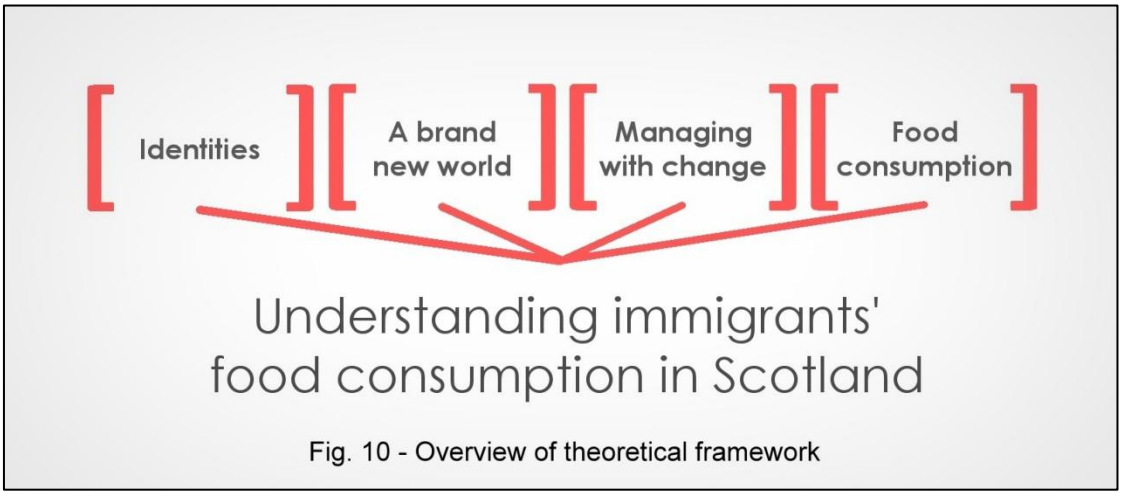

Fig. 10 - Overview of theoretical framework

In the following pages, I give a critical account on the theoretical perspectives I have chosen to represent to 'lend' through which I look at the food consumption by immigrants living in Scotland.

National, cultural and food identities

Scotland and Britain: it's complicated

Prior to looking at theories on the immigrants' food consumption, it is important to understand the context within which this research takes place, for at least two reasons: firstly, to provide a thick description (Geertz, 1973) that will help the reader make an assessment of the transferability of my findings in a similar context (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). And secondly, as academics claim there is a critical need of assessing the context of research when the process of acculturation is analysed (Berry, 2005), which is the case of the present thesis. These two reasons justify my interest in discussing the issue of identities in Scotland in the following few paragraphs, as a means of assessing the context.

According to Asp, food consumption is a culturally rooted behaviour (1999) and Brown suggests that immigrants may be faced with stronger adversities in regards to the new foods especially when the two cultures (home and host) are very dissimilar in terms of available foods and food ways (Brown, Edwards, & Hartwell, 2010). But in order to understand the dissimilarities, it is important first to discuss the local cuisine, in order to see what immigrants may be faced with, when moving into the new country.

Rogers claims that "after language, food is the most important bearer of national identity" (Rogers, 2003, p. 3) and several other academics suggest there is a strong connection between national, cultural and food identities (Vincent, 1974; Chandler & Munday, 2011; Lozada, 2012). Therefore, I wish to discuss the 'complicated' relationship of what scholars claim is "a relatively autonomous civil society" nested within the British state (McCrone, 2005, p. 68), and the issues of national identities in Scotland.

The British state was formed in 1707 as a 'marriage of convenience' between England and Scotland, with the latter continuing to maintain much of its institutional organizations independent from the governing state (McCrone, 2005) and an overall sense of independence and identity. Recent census data and academic research suggests that Scots' national identity continues to be strongly perceived as different from that of the English or of the unified British union, as Scots describe themselves primarily as 'Scottish' rather than 'British', a trend that has

increasingly grown in the past few decades (McCrone, 2005). According to previous studies, 62% of Scotland's residents identified themselves as solely Scottish, 8% as solely British, and 17% as both Scottish and British (Simpson & Smith, 2014). The fact that recently (September 2014) Scotland held an independence referendum also seems to suggest the nation has a strong and independent sense of identity, separate from that of the rest of UK. Weber further discusses of multiple identities, a tendency to move away from simple bounded exclusiveness and she claims that residents living in the UK nowadays often consider themselves both British and Scottish; or English and British (Weber, 2015). If indeed the picture of multiple identities in Scotland is so tangled, it becomes of interest to understand how this is perceived by the immigrants, if and how it may affect their perception of the locals' cuisine and food ways. It may be the case that the overlapping identity of Britain and Scotland may cause a similar effect in the food identity of the Scottish cuisines as well and this may impact immigrants' understanding of the locals' cuisine.

However, one obstacle is posed at this point: at the time of writing this thesis, there seems to be a lack of academic literature on the Scots' food identity, and as such, I see myself forced to steer my literature review towards more available topics, such as writings about the English / British cuisine. The intention is to follow similar themes or concepts in my research and analysis, applied to Scotland's food landscape. Although this is not the ideal manner of establishing the food context of the location of my research, I argue that some issues may be similar and can be transferred from the British / English context into the Scottish one. For example, due to Scotland and England being part of the UK, both nations have experienced identical timelines in terms of adherence to the EU and access of immigrants and the impact these two phenomena may have on the food identities in the two nations may be similar. As such, I look at academic literature that discusses these issues in the English and British context with the intent of applying and assessing them in relation to the Scottish food landscape, as seen by immigrants. Of the relevant issues that have stemmed for the speciality literature, two are discussed below and included in the theoretical framework of my thesis.

The 'cool' food of Britain

Spiering makes an argument that national diet is different from national food symbolism and the portrayed food identity (2006), suggesting that there may be differences in what is promoted in the media as being the national symbols of England, and what the Englishmen's diet consists of. Further, the author suggests that England has, to some extent, lost its sense of identity – and implicitly, food identity; the main reasons identified by the author are the increased ethnic immigration, Americanisation, globalisation, and European integration, which have all had an

influence over the locals' diet (ibid.); Spiering claims that many 'foreign' dishes are being consumed by the English on a daily basis (2006, p. 40) and several other authors have discussed the increasing number of ethnic restaurants and foods being consumed in Britain (Jamal, 1998; White & Kokotsaki, 2004; Panayi, 2008; Brown, Edwards, & Hartwell, 2010; Raman, 2011). This may be the result of migrants who, according to some scholars, have their own shops with specially imported items of food, which eventually influence the local's consumption as well, to the point of these goods and symbols being partially adopted into the host culture (Panayi, 2008; Eriksen, 2011; Berry, Acculturation, 2012).

Should this be the case, one possible implication for the immigrants' consumption of foods in the foreign country may be a large availability of 'foreign' dishes, which to some may be dishes of their homeland. As such, my thesis sets out to explore to what extent immigrants are able to find and consume these dishes, and how they make sense of them.

According to academics, the British Council has had several attempts at rebranding the country's food culture, in an effort to reflect the new modern world and, in doing so, it has tried to promote 'cool' and multicultural foods as a projection of being a modern nation (Spiering, 2006); one poster part of a BBC campaign meant to rebrand the image of Britain to the world is depicting traditional English food – beef – replaced by dishes considered more modern and contemporary, such as pizza and stir fried vegetables (BBC, 1998). This comes to further emphasize the infusion of foreign cuisines which may have caused England to become confused about its food identity. These campaigns may represent attempts to put a positive spin on the matter, but Spiering further claims that they may also be the marker of a nation that has 'lost past certainties and not yet found a new identity' (Spiering, 2006, p. 46). With this context in mind, it becomes of interest for my thesis to understand if similar food identity confusion is experienced by immigrants in Scotland and, if so, how this is perceived, why, and how it may influence the immigrants' food consumption.

Identities as seen by the 'outsiders'

According to Spiering, the matter of identity is strongly related to the predisposition of the observer, with possible differences between the self-perception and the perception of an outsider (Spiering, 2006). This thesis is not aimed at analysing the national, cultural, and food identities of Scots living in Scotland, but I am rather interested in understanding how the 'outsiders' - the immigrants - perceive the Scottish identity through food, whether and how this is perceived as different from the British cuisine and how this may potentially affect their food consumption

during their relocation. The word 'outsider' in the previous sentence has been purposely placed in between quote marks as I propose that there is a difference in how an outsider living somewhere elsewhere in the world may perceive the Scottish cuisine (through media, blogs, travel experiences, etc.) and how the 'outsider' living in the country (the immigrant) perceives it, given an assumed stronger connection and interaction with the food ways of the host country.

Immigrants' multiple and hybrid identities

Academics report that the identities immigrants have from their home culture and the ones they develop in the context of the new host culture influence their social cognition ("the manner in which we interpret, analyse and remember information about the social world" (Baron & Byrne, 1997, p. 12), "which in turn guide their behaviour" (Padilla & Perez, 2003, p. 50). Scholars further suggest that food consumption allows immigrants to both adapt to the new culture, while also continuing to honour their home traditions in the process of developing and maintaining overlapping identities (Oswald, 1999). In a study on Romanian women immigrants in Italy, Chytkova (2011) claims the interviewees did not simply replace cultural consumption models from their home country with those from the host culture, but they practiced one or the other depending on circumstances, which sometimes changed as often as a few times a day. Chytkova claims this had placed the individuals in a constant process of negotiation between old and new food ways. This could mean that, once placed into the new context and culture, immigrants may find themselves trying to negotiate between these multiple identities. In relation to my research, I wish to explore if expats are creating new 'hybrid' identities and to understand how and when these are manifested by immigrants.

It may be the case that consumers start to use new goods in order to develop new consumer identities or to associate themselves with particular groups, such as the locals (Fitzmaurice & Comegys, 2006). However, food identity "is not a badge to be taken on and off, as if it were a given. Rather, each person makes sense and use of the identity elements they find in their social settings to define who they are and wish to be, depending on context" (McCrone, 2005, p. 79). If immigrants find themselves in lack of specific food or ingredients, they may resort to combining the food ways of both cultures. As such, I also wish to explore the possibility of these 'hybrid' dishes emerging as a potential result of mixing these multiple food identities (of home and host cultures).

According to Bisogni et al., these multiple identities are both stable and fluid over time and as such, individuals may have past and current identities (2002) from their home and host countries.

This may also mean that individuals will adopt or develop new identities – possibly as a function of time, by become more 'local' as they spend more time in Scotland – or of social context, by enhancing certain identities considered most suited within a particular context (Bisogni, Connors, Devine, & Sobal, 2002), such as social events, religious meals, etc.

Going one step even further, it may be that this process is not just a question of home vs. host food cultures; immigrants might be coming into contact with more culturally diverse people and their eating habits. Mc. Pherson *et al.* (2001) discuss the issues of hemophily – the human's natural tendency to form social ties with those similar to themselves in terms of gender, culture, values, experiences, etc., in a large variety of contexts. This could mean connecting with other immigrants but not necessarily of the same cultural background. In a previous study, myself and two fellow colleagues have highlighted this to be the case for international students in Denmark, who have told stories of consuming social activities mainly in the company of other international students of diverse cultural and national backgrounds, rather than in the company of host nationals. This has essentially placed them in the middle of a multicultural experience, rather than a bi-cultural one (Haret, Ebba, & Juraite, 2014). As I discuss below in sub-section "Motives for moving abroad", this may also happen as a result of an entirely different motivation, with immigrants actively seeking more culturally diverse experiences (Ju-Yu Ho, 2012). It thus makes sense for the present research to explore if immigrants' food consumption is influenced by the possible exposure to a multitude of new cuisines. What anxieties or dilemmas may these individuals be experiencing and how could these be reflected in their consumption of foodstuffs?

With this thesis, I try to explore the possibility of multiple and hybrid food identities both as a necessity - due to lack of ingredients - and as a positive outcome of being exposed to new foodstuffs, in an attempt to see how each of these processes may influence the expats' food consumption.

It's a brand new world

As discussed in the introduction, migration is a growing phenomenon. And while the aim of my thesis is not to discuss the motives and reasons of immigration, I have pondered on whether these motivations can in any way influence the food consumption of immigrants. I discuss this in the subsection 'Motive for moving abroad' on the next page. In the following subsections I consider other changes that the immigrants may encounter in terms of food ways and foodstuffs, following their relocation to Scotland, and how these may influence their food consumption.

Motives for moving abroad

According to Winter-Ebmer, academics have long stated economic or political reasons as being the main cause of population migration (Winter-Ebmer, 1994). Others argue that some other, more personal motivations might be at play as well (Ju-Yu Ho, 2012): the features of the new country or culture (Borjas, 1988; Furnham, 1990; Burda, 1993), with immigrants being expected to be more adaptable than other individuals (ibid.). Yet another researcher claims that immigrants are curiosity-driven and open-minded, share a desire to learn and experience new cultures and are keen on learning the local culture (Ju-Yu Ho, 2012). This could be the case of immigrants who are not subject to economic constraints and who relocate willingly, not as a consequence of national crises. This is the case of interviewees in my research. While my thesis will not investigate the motivations of the immigration of these interviewees, I have looked briefly into the topic, as I wish to explore whether the individual's motives for experiencing (or not) new local dishes can be a vector of experiencing the local culture, by also expressing an openness to new culinary experiences. From this perspective then, I consider it relevant to investigate if and how immigrants' food consumption might reflect such cultural curiosities.

In the words of Smith & Khawaja, "the increase in migration over the past century has prompted researchers to explore the processes that immigrants go through when settling in a foreign country, leading to the development of acculturation." (2011, pp. 700-701). Making the transition from one culture to another can be an exciting and enriching experience, but oftentimes involves processes that are not as easily observed and have made the object of extensive academic research in various fields: cultural studies, consumption, psychology, anthropology, sociology, politics, etc. In academic literature, immigration is seen as a process the individual goes through over an extended period of time after moving into a foreign country with the intention of settling. Food consumption is a culturally rooted behaviour (Asp, 1999) and so immigrants might be found to experience challenges and anxieties when coming into contact with the new, foreign, cuisine - from their very first day in the new setting. Although culture and food have been considered static, according to Asp these are now understood as continuously changing and adaptive processes that can fall under the influence of moving into a new geographical setting (ibid.). In relation to this thesis and the aim of understanding immigrants' food consumption, it is therefore important to regard this sense-making as a lengthy and complicated process, and not a static result at which the individual arrives soon after he or she arrives in the new country. In direct relation to food acculturation, a few themes which scholars suggest are closely related to food identities will be discussed further: what is considered edible,

food preferences (likes and dislikes), cooking habits and ways of processing food (Bisogni, Connors, Devine, & Sobal, 2002).

Ingredients and cooking

Scholars argue that the foods one likes tend to be those that are familiar and individuals also tend to consume these predominantly, hence food preferences influence food consumption (Asp, 1999; Martins & Pliner, 2005). To explain this, Fischler claims that, as humans, we are all subject to the omnivore paradox: we experience neophilia as we need diversity and diversification of foods in order to get all necessary nutrients; yet at the same time, we experience neophobia, as any new, unfamiliar ingredient represents a potential danger (Fischler, 1988). According to the author, this duality accounts for a fundamental anxiety man has with his foods and this is resolved to some extent by individuals who share a geographical space by developing food practices and rules that essentially dictate what is 'safe' to consume (ibid.). However, when immigrants move into a new culture, it may be the case that they are not able to find the familiar foods or ingredients in the new setting. How will they manage the neophilia – neophobia paradox they may experience when faced with potentially new dishes, ingredients and food ways? In my research, I attempt to uncover how the immigrants make sense of the brand new world they encounter and its associated new dishes and ingredients.

Eating: when, where, how

More than just ingredients, Asp claims cultures also differ by how many meals one should serve in the day, how these are arranged throughout the day and what constitutes proper food for each meal (Asp, 1999). Other scholars claim there are also different eating habits for different occasions: festive meals, hospitality, etc. (Fischler, 1988). In terms of how food is eaten, Asp discusses the importance some cultures place on sharing meals in order to develop friendships and strengthen family ties (Asp, 1999). While some customs may be normal in one country, they may be entirely foreign in others and so immigrants moving into Scotland may find differences in when and how the locals take their meals (Mintz, 2008). For example, Marshal discusses the difficulties Scottish families encounter when trying to please everyone by catering for individual likes and dislikes (Marshall, Anderson, Lean, & Foster, 1995), but in other cultures this may not be the case. Through this thesis, I set out to investigate how immigrants might 'digest' these trends, if they perceive them to be different from their home culture, and how they navigate food consumption in relation to special occasions such as religious holidays and other festive occasions.

Pre-cooked vs. raw

Going further than ingredients and meals, scholars argue that the agro-industry and industrialised food production make food identification problematic (Fischler, 1988) and in the context of a foreign country, this may pose an additional challenge, especially if foods are processed to different degrees, or prepared in significantly different ways than home (Bisogni, Connors, Devine, & Sobal, 2002). For example, if one individual moves from a country where cheese is not a widely consumed produce and is thus available in limited variations, one might regard with very distrustful eyes the likings of mouldy blue cheese, camembert and so on, and maybe even question these as unhealthy, un-natural foodstuffs. After all, mould is commonly associated with foods gone bad, not with delicacies. Can a potential variation in pre-cooked foods also be problematic to immigrants moving into the new culture, if they cannot tell what the food contains? I set to analyse these issues in my thesis in order to learn how expats living in Scotland make sense of potentially different ways and levels of processed foods available for purchase and consumption.

Managing with change

One of the most common by-products of immigration is acculturation (Berry, 2012) and it is claimed individuals have been experiencing the process for thousands of years (Berry, 2005), yet it continues to make the focus of many cultural studies, due to the very complexity of this process. As defined by scholars, acculturation is a process of cultural and psychological change triggered by the first-hand prolonged contact between individuals of diverse cultural backgrounds (Salkind, 2008; Dennis & Dennis, 2011; Berry, 2005; Berry, 2012; Johnstone Schiro, 2012).

The outcome of acculturation, according to Berry (2005), consists of two different components: behavioural changes, as the individuals start to modify their activities, and acculturative stress (widely known and used in non-academic discourse as 'cultural shock') which refers to being under accumulative stress as a result of using a different language, experiencing possible cultural incompatibilities (Salkind, 2008). In this thesis, I look primarily at the consumption behaviour changes that immigrants may undergo relating to the foods they buy, cook and consume, as the purpose of my thesis is to understand these potential consumption changes and the motives behind them. According to Parasecoli, these reactions may vary enormously from one individual to another in terms of participation in foreign culinary practices, "from enthusiastic embrace to participative negotiation to active resistance, all the way to total refusal" (2014, p. 418).

Acculturative stress is not associated to any acculturative strategy in particular (Berry, 2005), which means immigrants might be experiencing it whether they fully embrace the local cuisine, or stick to their own. This marks the secondary interest of my research, as I try to explore if immigrants in Scotland experience such anxieties in relation to food consumption (for example, due to lack of specific ingredients) and how they manage to cope with these anxieties.

Berry claims that how acculturation is experienced by each individual is usually determined by two components: attitudes - how one chooses to undertake his or her acculturation process; and behaviours – how the individual conducts him-/herself in day-to-day intercultural encounters (Berry, 2005). In relation to food consumption, this translates to the individual's openness to experience new food ways versus maintaining old food habits; and his/her willingness to share meals with the culturally different as opposed to consuming food only with the culturally similar. Of course, in reality this is not a case of 'either, or' – as immigrants will find themselves somewhere on the spectrum between these two extremes. Depending on how the immigrant is positioned in relation to the "relative preference for maintaining one's heritage culture and identity and a relative preference for having contact with, and participating in the larger society along with other ethnocultural groups" (Berry, 2012, p. 17), an immigrant may find him-/herself in one of the four strategies of acculturation described below:

Assimilation

The individual fully adopts and identifies him-/herself to the host culture, while experiencing an extinction of his or her home culture. This strategy is also called 'cultural shift' (Kagan & Cohen, 1990) as the subjects often replace behaviours from their home culture with new ones, from their 'adoptive' or host culture. In the case of food consumption, this means that an immigrant would change his/her dietary preferences radically, by enjoying local dishes and ingredients to the extent that these begin to feel his/her own. The immigrant would be distanced from the home cuisine and experiencing minimal anxiety about the lack of old food ways, as the new foods feel almost as if they'd been his or her since the beginning.

Separation

Also termed cultural resistance (Salkind, 2008; Kagan & Cohen, 1990)), separation is characterised by either passive or active resistance to the symbols of the host culture, whereby an individual places high value on the symbols of his or her home culture and at the same time avoiding or minimizing interaction with individuals or groups from other cultures. In other

words, the immigrant would set a clear line between his/her food ways and the locals' by trying to reproduce dishes from the homeland and rejecting ingredients and dishes that are specific to the local cuisine. Within my thesis, I set out to learn how immigrants in this acculturation model cope with a possible lack of ingredients needed to recreate homeland dishes and what motives lie behind their choices.

Integration

This model, also known as cultural incorporation (Kagan & Cohen, 1990) or biculturalism (Salkind, 2008)), is considered to take place when subjects manifest both a desire of maintaining their pre-existing cultural symbols and an interest in day-to-day participation in activities alongside culturally diverse groups surrounding them. The individual combines food ways of both cultures and exhibits a level of pleasure in consuming dishes from both cultural cuisines. Lindridge et al. (2007) talk about 'accommodation' (as an added acculturation strategy to Berry's model), postulating a dual existence experienced by immigrants. While individuals would be successful in adopting the culinary habits and tastes of the host culture, they would also try to keep those of their home culture and, depending on circumstances, they may choose to manifest one or the other. It is thus of interest to explore if immigrants make different choices in consuming food related to the social setting they find themselves in (eating home or eating out, for example) and how they make sense of these differentiations.

Marginalization

This acculturation model is characterised by the individuals' rejection of behaviours, symbols, attitudes and customs of both the host culture and the home culture. This would be the case of immigrants who abandon their home culinary habits, while at the same time keeping away from the host culture's dishes. These individuals may find themselves consuming new foods in new ways and, in my research, I try to uncover if and how immigrants may came to adopt this type of consumption, what motivates them, and how they make sense of these changes.

Cultural transmutation

In addition to Barry's four acculturation models presented above, other researchers have conceptualized different models: an earlier one has been theorized by Mendoza and Martinez (1981) and further discussed by Kagan & Cohen (1990), which includes an additional acculturation mode called 'cultural transmutation'. This mode is characterized by the alternation of elements of both cultures to the point of building new subcultural identities, or otherwise

called hybrid identities, which I discuss in more detail in the sub-section 'Food identities' a few pages below. I have decided to use a modified version of Berry's acculturation model to include cultural transmutations as well, mainly due to the plethora of research on food consumption that discusses these new hybrid identities developed by immigrants - see (Peñaloza, 1994; Eriksen, 2011; Chytkova, 2011; Sankaran & Demangeot, 2011).

One interesting point brought forward by academics is that the acculturation strategies presented here can appear with delays in various aspects of an immigrant's experience; this is referred to as selective acculturation and states that immigrants might be more inclined to adopt the host culture's language, while at the same time being slower to acculturate in matters of values and traditions (Keefe & Padilla, 1987). To the extent to which food customs can be considered as rooted on cultural values and traditions (Mead, 1943; Jordana, 2000; Guerrero, et al., 2009), it could be the case that immigrants are quicker or more open to adopt local food habits and dishes in the company of others (possibly as a result of the pressure to 'integrate'), while at the same time retaining their 'normal', home-culture food ways when eating in the privacy of their own homes, even many years after having moved into Scotland. This, in turn, links back to the theoretical discussion I have presented previously on how consumption may differ under varying contexts (see subsection "Eating: when, where and how").

When considering acculturation under the context of consumerism, academics claim it is not entirely different to the norm acquisition process in nonconsumer contexts (Dennis & Dennis, 2011). According to Peñaloza, consumer acculturation is "the general process of movement and adaptation to the consumer cultural environment in one country by persons from another country" (1994, p. 33). Moreover, consumption acculturation in not a linear process, but can lead to what has previously been presented as hybrid identities. Peñaloza (ibid.) outlined this in a study on Mexican immigrants living in the US who were forging new, hybrid consumer identities in the midst of two different cultural consumption patterns. To some extent, acculturation can be compared to socialization: while the latter is a process through which individuals learn the norms of the culture they're born into (Cleveland, Laroche, Pons, & Kastoun, 2009), in acculturation this process involves not only the learning of a (new) culture, but also a constant negotiation between what to keep from the old and what to internalize and adopt from the new. This may be strongly reflected in the immigrants' consumption of food, suggesting that acculturation – specifically in terms of food consumption – is not a clear-cut, linear process, but one that is highly dependent on the day-to-day context.

In this thesis, I look at the theory of acculturation modes to analyse if and how immigrants try to

recreate the taste of home, what – if any – elements of the local cuisine they incorporate into their own consumption of food and how they make sense of these choices.

Food consumption

It has been long established by scholars that consumption is a culturally dependent behaviour (McCracken, 1986; Peñaloza & Gilly, 1999; Askegaard, Arnould, & Kjeldgaard, 2005; Sankaran & Demangeot, 2011) and acculturation plays an important role in how the consumption patterns change for individuals moving into new cultures (Hodges & Wiggins, 2013). Scholars claim that consumption behaviour becomes a means of understanding the expectations of the host culture and achieving social acceptance (Conway Dato-on, 2000) and that immigrants use products and consumption practices to negotiate their shifting, constantly transforming identities, in the midst of two cultures (Thompson & Tambyah, 1999). When it comes to the consumption of food in the new setting, a few particular issues are discusses below, in relation to existing theoretical and empirical work.

The food of home

McCracken claims that the individual consumers become more aware of the cultural meaning carried by consumer goods when these become suddenly unavailable, and he gives the example of burglaries (McCracken, 1986) - a sudden and unexpected event that causes the consumer to become estranged of some of his beloved possessions. But could this, to some extent, be the case of foodstuffs when one moves abroad? According to more academics, goods acquire different meanings as individuals move between various cultural and ethnic contexts (Askegaard, Arnould, & Kjeldgaard, 2005) and immigrants may start to view food ways in a new light, becoming aware of things they took for granted in their home land, if these become unavailable into the new setting. Certainly, at least in normal circumstances, the act of immigrations does not come as a surprise to the immigrant; yet as already noted in the introduction of this paper, cultural differences often become apparent only in the context of cultural diversity (Vincent, 1974). Following McCracken's trail of thought, could the same apply for food consumption? As food is a very trivial act of consumption in ordinary circumstances, is it be possible that immigrants are not aware of differences and potential challenges they may encounter in the new country? Could it be that once relocated, they are faced with the abrupt and unanticipated separation from their food ways as if being 'robbed' of their old ways and foods? In this thesis, I try to investigate if or how these issues have an impact on the immigrants' food consumption in order to analyse what meanings the immigrants assign to home foods.

Ethnic foods – adopted or adapted?

In the context of an increasingly international setting, it could be that Scotland, like the entire UK as previously discussed in subsection "Scotland and Britain: it's complicated", may foster plenty ethnic restaurant and ingredients to cater to the varying tastes of immigrants. If this is the case, then it becomes of interest to understand how immigrants perceive these opportunities, if and how they benefit from these establishments that may serve their home dishes, and how this may affect their consumption of foodstuffs in Scotland.

Several researchers have tackled similar issues, and most of them claim that (un)authenticity is often pointed out by immigrants, as they soon discover that ethnic foods are not as much *adopted*, but they are rather *adapted* into the locals' culinary landscape (Smart, Huang, Pang, Kuah, & Smart, 1999; Parasecoli, 2014). For example, Smart et al. talk about the menus of Chinese restaurants in London that include local (British) foods and even Westernized Chinese dishes that are modified to meet the demands of the local customers as well, not just the immigrants' (1999). While this may lead to ethnical dishes becoming common in a large number of countries, these seem to transcend local distinctions and enter the 'world cuisine', as is the case of hamburgers, pizza and Chinese foods (Eriksen, 2011). This raises the question whether the ethnic dishes remain authentic representations of their originating cultures, or whether they are becoming localized version of the traditional recipes. And in this context, while they may be served as delicious, exotic foods stuffs for the locals, it becomes of interest to investigate how immigrants view and experience these home dishes in the new setting. As such, within the present research, I look to understand the immigrants' sense-making around the availability and authenticity of foods from their own home cuisines, if and how these play a role in their consumption of foodstuffs while living in Scotland.

Means-end theory of consumption

As already discussed, food is consumed both for its nutritional and cultural values. Particular foods may be preferred due to certain attributes or roles it accomplishes, which may be culturally determined. For decades, academics have conceptualized and used means-end theory in order to explain the role of product attributes in the consumers' choice of products (Gutman, 1982; Baker, Thompson, & Engelken, 2004). According to Gutman, the model stands on two fundamental assumptions about consumer behaviour: firstly, that values - understood as desirable end-results - play a determinant role in guiding consumer choices; and secondly, that individuals navigate through the plethora of available products by grouping these into classes, in

order to reduce the complexity of their choice making processes (Gutman, 1982, p. 60). In other words, in the case of food consumption, immigrants may have some values (either culturally born or otherwise acquired during their lifetime) and these values may be used firstly to categorise the foodstuffs and ingredients around them, and secondly, to determine which ones to choose, in order to reach the goals dictated by their values. Gutman further claims that these consequences (some desirable, some undesirable) are evaluated by consumers on an on-going basis, through means of trial and error, as they start to associate particular choices with particular actions (ibid.); in the case of food experienced by immigrants, this may be done by trying and testing varying ingredients or dishes, until the 'right' ones are identified. On the other hand, Hornbrook & Mirschman claim that human behaviour – and consumption behaviour alike, cannot be reduced and explained through the use of a simplistic model, due to the complexity of the interactions between individuals and their environment or context (Holbrook & Hirschman, 1982). As a constructivist researcher, I cannot and do not wish to claim otherwise. As such, for the purpose of this research, the means-end theory of consumption will be used as one of many other possible options of making sense of the food choices immigrants undertake, while living in Scotland. As Gutman claims, this model can offer a guide in addressing the "linkages connecting values that are important to the consumer to specific attributes of products" (Gutman, 1982, p. 70). I consider it a good lens through which to analyse the food consumption of immigrants, as this particular type of consumption is assumed to be heavily driven by cultural preferences and values, as discussed in this theoretical section thus far.

Moreover, a few further notes are needed in order to explain why and how this model is applicable for my research. Firstly, according to academics, laddering interviews and repertory grid techniques are considered to be the recommended approach when conducting research within the means-end consumption theory (Gutman, 1982; Baker, Thompson, & Engelken, 2004). Yet for this particular thesis this methodology was not followed, mainly due to the hermeneutical approach employed by my research: the means-end theory was included in my theoretical framework after most of the data had already been collected without the use of laddering interviews. Instead, I used a thematic clustering approach based on the data resulting from the qualitative interviews, by identifying salient value-based themes used by interviewees in dividing food attributes and consequences resulted from the consumption of each.

To make use of this model for this particular research the interviewees discourses are processed and interpreted in order to identify two layers of meaning in the individuals' discourses on foodstuffs: firstly, the product attributes must be identified - understood as observable or

perceived characteristics of the foodstuffs that interviewees use to categorize and discriminate between various foodstuffs available. Secondly, the values - translated into desirable and non-desirable consequences of consuming particular foodstuffs (for example healthy – unhealthy; tastes good – bad; is proper food or not, etc.) are identifies from the data. Essentially, this model is used following the idea that products have certain characteristics and generate certain consequences which are sought by consumers to satisfy values that drive their consumption behaviour and decisions (Baker, Thompson, & Engelken, 2004).

Considering all aspects of identities, food meanings, acculturation and consumption that have been discussed above, it is time to bring together the theoretical framework on which this thesis stands, both in terms of guiding my data collection and to help analyse and investigate immigrants' consumption of food in Scotland and their sense-making around these processes.

To summarize briefly, theoretical aspects of national, cultural and food identities will be used to understand immigrants' perceptions of foods from both home and host cultures and how these may potentially change during their relocation in Scotland.

Secondly, several dimensions of food and food consumption will be used to explore how immigrants make sense of potentially new ingredients and food ways they encounter in the new country.

Thirdly, acculturation theory will be used to explore possible food consumption challenges encountered by immigrants living in Scotland, how these are dealt with and how immigrants make sense of these processes. The thesis will draw on a modified version of Berry's acculturation model including the four basic strategies proposed by the author plus a fifth one of cultural transmutation (Mendoza & Martinez, 1981).

Fourthly, consumption theories and the means-end model of consumption will be used in order to afford understanding of how cultural values may influence immigrants' consumption decisions and behaviour, when consuming foods in Scotland.

The detailed theoretical framework is synthesized and presented in Fig. 11 below, marking the main concepts and theories that I have discusses in the chapter and on which the analysis presented in the following chapter is based (full scale mode available at the end of this thesis):

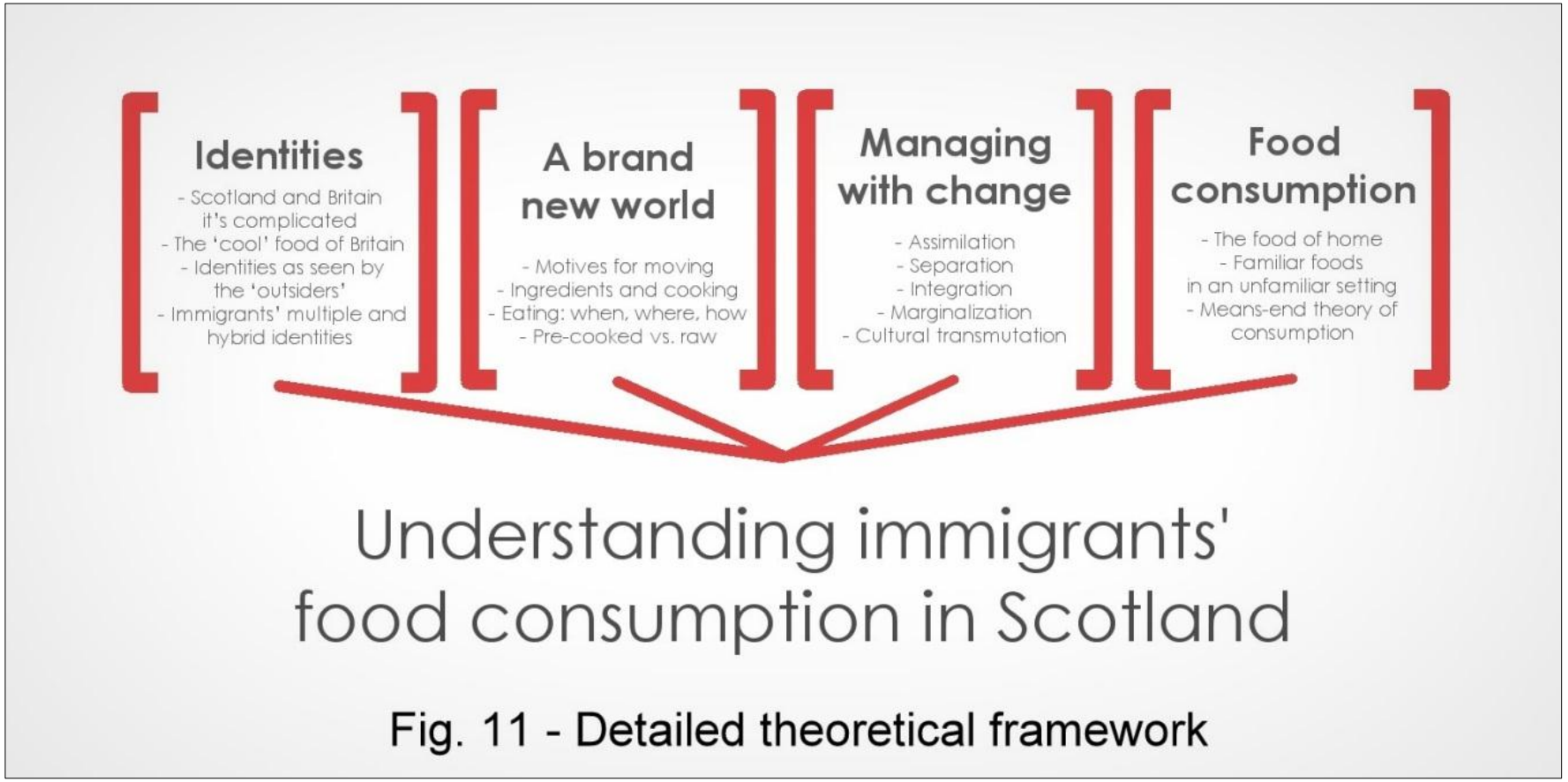

Fig. 11 - Detailed theoretical framework

"The secret of change is to focus all of your energy not on fighting the old, but on building the new"
- Socrates

Analysis

In this section, I look at the main themes that have emerged from my data, and analyse the findings that have stemmed from all levels of data collection (netnography, observations, exploratory and in-depth interviews), in relation to the theoretical framework of my thesis. Throughout the interviews, many local dishes with specific names are mentioned; in order to help the reader in processing these, I have included a visual food index (available detached, at the end of this paper), providing visual aid and brief descriptions of the foods mentioned, taken off Wikipedia. This is not part of the actual analysis, but rather a means of offering insight into the dishes of Scotland and of the home countries my interviewees originate from.

In the following pages, the analysis is structured under 8 main themes that have emerged from the data, each considered relevant in answering the research question formulated at the beginning of this thesis. Each of these themes are discussed below.

The two layers of confusion

The lack of a Scottish culinary identity has emerged from the data and this was encountered both in the exploratory netnographthy and throughout the vast majority of interviewees. All

participants have named haggis and fish & chips as two of the most common and specific foods of Scotland. However, some interviewees reflected further on the provenience of the second dish only to conclude that it is not 100% Scottish, but rather a British dish. For most interviewees, this has opened the gate to a wave of confusion over several other foods. On many occasions, the interviewees were unable to clearly set apart the Scottish from the British. In the words of Agnieszka and Jorge: "I don't know what's properly Scottish or what's British […] If you ask me for a few Scottish dishes, I would have a problem to name many" (Agnieszka); "The chowder – but I don't know if it's particularly Scottish though. Many of these things are kind of UK […] There seems to be food from all over the world, but it seems to be a lack of food from the place itself" (Jorge).

Although coming from diverse backgrounds and cultures, most interviewees shared similar perceptions of the Scottish foodstuffs, perceiving the locals' cuisine as almost inexistent. It becomes apparent that most interviewees are confused as to what is British and what is Scottish and many of them have used the terms British and Scottish, sometimes as synonyms, throughout the interviewing process when referring to foodstuffs. It is even more evident in some interviewees' accounts, as are these quotes from Jorge and Mike who say: "I've never actually separated the Scottish from the rest of the UK, apart from some specific things, like the haggis." (Jorge, Spanish); "In terms of what's available here, it's almost the same [as in England] except for the few Scottish things: haggis, Lorne sausage. […] National identity, Scotland definitely has it, whereas in England, you tend to hear more about British. So it's essentially the same beef or meat, except here you say it's Scottish, if you go down South you say it's British, but it's essentially the same." (Mike, English).

In other words, the immigrants perceive Scotland as lacking a strong food identity; the foodstuffs often overlap those of the English and British cuisines, despite academic literature claiming Scotland to have a strong national identity, separate from the rest of the UK (McCrone, 2005; Simpson & Smith, 2014) - something even Mike notes in the above quote. Contrary to what other scholars claim (Simpson & Smith, 2014), a strong connection between national and food identities is missing here. The majority of immigrants partaking in this study did not find a strong Scottish food culture, and regarded the English, British and Scottish cuisines as almost identical, contrary to previous scholars claiming Scotland has a very distinctive cuisine (Grant, 2010; Lerche, 2011). This lack of a strong food identity caused confusion when trying to identify Scottish cuisine from the neighbouring nations, and the finding comes to replicate previous similar claims of the English cuisine which has lost its identity (Spiering, 2006). The finding

further complements research that claims Brits manifest multiple identities (Weber, 2015) as this is reflected by the immigrants' difficulties in setting apart the English and British cuisines.

The inability to properly separate the British and Scottish cuisines is only one layer of confusion for the interviewees. For many of them, the British cuisine overall is inexistent or problematic to define. Vladimir and Agnieszka's words are particularly powerful in representing this: "I haven't seen any concept of British cuisines, or anything that defines it. As opposed to Spanish, French, Italian. There's nothing that you would really... pin as British" (Vladimir); "There is no British cuisine… when I was in Spain for my Erasmus, we had a cooking night; when the British had to cook something, what do they do? Curry! It's so common here, but is it really from here?" (Agnieszka).

Drawing on these accounts, a second layer of confusion emerges in relation to the British cuisine itself which is described as lacking substance and an identity of its own. This particular finding echoes previous studies which found immigrants have difficulties in defining the food landscape of Britain and explained this by the multiculturalism present in Britain, which is strongly reflected in the UK food landscape (Panayi, 2008).

Accordingly, this research found similar accounts noted by informants living in Scotland, and Erika's words portray this vividly: "I asked the taxi driver where was a good Scottish place that I could eat typical Scottish food? He replied to me that I should try a curry place, and Indian place. I insisted, I want to try Scottish food. 'Oh, that Indian food is fantastic!' He was Scottish, bred and born."

Erika's experience indicates that the locals themselves are confused as to what is proper Scottish food, which contributes to the immigrants' challenge in identifying what is Scottish cuisine. As literature suggests, this may be the result of a highly multi-cultural environment (Jamal, 1998; Panayi, 2008; Brown, Edwards, & Hartwell, 2010; Raman, 2011) and Indian food in particular has been documented as becoming a growingly integrant part of the British cuisine (White & Kokotsaki, 2004). Yet this is creating confusing for immigrants, who do not regard Indian food as part of the British food landscape. The availability of various other ethnic foods has emerged from my data as well, and I analyse this theme in a separate subsection below, entitled "Foods of the world – unite!"

The Scottish cuisine - a Loch Ness monster?

Overall, the initial recounts of the most interviewees focus around the scarcity of traditionally Scottish food, echoing similar findings in the English food landscape (Spiering, 2006). Only one dish has been identified by all respondents as being 100% Scottish - the haggis (with neeps and tatties). However, interviewees who had been in Scotland for a longer time reveal more of the 'hidden' Scottish cuisine and recount how they have begun to experience more local dishes or specific food ways with the passing of time. One relevant example is brought by Jorge, who has been living in Scotland for ten years: "It's only after [a while] I discovered there's quite a lot of things going on, but they don't seem to be wide spread. […] It seems like not all Scottish people are aware of their own cuisine, it has been lost somewhere along the line. […] But the ones that have kept it, they really eat a variety of things, and it's really impressive. *You have to look for it, it's like it's hidden in a way.*"

According to this, one who is new to Scotland may have trouble experiencing the local cuisine, unless one goes through extensive efforts to find this hidden cuisine. Throughout the interview, Jorge names plenty of dishes he regards as Scottish (kedgeree, cullen broth [or cullen skink], chowder), emphasizing it has taken him a long time to discover these. Similar to Jorge, other interviewees who had lived in Scotland for several years talk about the changes they have experienced as they uncover particularities of the Scottish cuisine that have only been revealed to them with the passing of time.

Reflecting on these experiences, the Scottish cuisine resembles the Loch Ness monster, in a metaphorical way: a mysterious phenomenon that only a selected few claim to have actually encountered. However, unlike the legendary monster, the participants in this research present hard evidence to the existence of a traditional Scottish cuisine through a vast number of dishes they enumerate, albeit difficult to uncover.

The immigrants' perception and understanding on the local cuisine has changed over time, which signals an on-going process of food acculturation, as respondents move from one mode to another. Not only do immigrants become more knowledgeable in the locals' food ways, but they also begin to appreciate dishes they initially disliked. This is the case with several participants. In Vladimir's words: "At the beginning, there's stuff you don't like, you think 'this is horrible', and somehow you start to like it. A lot! […]You get used to it, and you start liking it. […] I quite like these sweet sauces with meat, cranberry sauce, mint sauces with lamb. I didn't know it before, and I thought it was a sacrilege, mixing sweet with salty, until I tried it and I thought: 'well this is

actually quite nice, it's something new!' […] The British cuisine is not interesting in terms of dishes, because there are none; but there are some interesting concepts that are not quite conventional."

Vladimir talks about tastes and food combos that once seemed unnatural, and unpleasant to try. Yet with the passing of time, as the immigrants move from separation – where Vladimir for example considered it 'a sacrilege' to mix sweets and sour - to assimilation, the immigrants begin to enjoy the new way of mixing foods, and actively and deliberately consume these new food stuffs. By challenging the culturally defined rules of association and exclusion (sugar excludes salt; Fischler, Food, self and identity, 1988), the long terms process immigrants go through and how things change over the course of time is highlighted, thus emphasizing that food acculturation is not a static phenomenon, but a series of on-going processes (Peñaloza, 1994; Berry, 2005) and constant changes.

However, not all respondents have reported similar experiences. Of the thirteen interviewees only two indicate reluctance in incorporating the local foods: "At first, I eat a lot of sandwiches, in order to minimise the risk of eating something I might not like. And after that, I continued to cook the same foods we made in Romania, rice food, pumpkin foods, cheese and sour cream and polenta. […] I haven't really tried foods from here, as my boyfriend is not a really big fan of trying new foods, so we're probably not gonna try the local food any time soon." (Cristina); "After two years, my culture of food increased, as I tried a lot of things. […] But my habits in terms of cooking every day or eating at home, have not changed; only a bit due to the lack of right ingredients. I keep the same habits as I don't find it difficult to cook" (Teo)

While Cristina is purposely avoiding unknown foods (mostly, as she says, because her partner does not like to try new ones) which may be interpreted as manifesting neophobia (Fischler, 1988), Teo seems to prefer his home dishes, as he perceives these easy to cook, and thee dishes give him a sense of familiarity. He still consumes some local foods - mostly when eating out ("I only eat fish & chips when I go out, I never cook the Scottish dishes. I prefer to eat that in restaurants") – but when cooking for himself, he prefers the Italian cuisine, which he regards as a strong part of his culture. As such, in Teo's case, it may be less a sign of neophobia, and more an indicative of the separation mode of acculturation, as the respondent places a higher symbol on the home food culture, and minimises the interaction with locals' food ways (Kagan & Cohen, 1990; Salkind, 2008; Berry, Acculturation, 2012), which are seen as improper, and less good. In both cases, the immigrants are coping with the changes brought about by relocation, through recreating a sense of familiarity around food preparation and consumption (Parasecoli, 2014).

These divergent accounts come to emphasize the subjectivist nature of how a foreign cuisine is perceived and assumed by immigrants. Food acculturation is an individual and personal process (Berry, 2005) and not all immigrants experience it in the same manner. When it comes to food acculturation, there no such thing as a 'one size fits all'.

Another finding emerged from almost all interviews, in terms of experiencing the Scottish dishes with visiting guests: "we always go for fish and chips at the pub, have some Ale, whiskey; have a British breakfast, or go somewhere for it […] that's generally what they want to try" (Agnieszka); "All my visitors, the only thing they want to eat is Scottish food. We take them for a Sunday morning breakfast, for haggis, black pudding, scones, Laurne sausage, fish" (Trina). This suggests that immigrants often experience the Scottish cuisine with their guests, in order to 'present' Scotland to these individuals, as part of their new selves and new realities. Yet even in these cases, many participants note the scarcity of available foods: "I can't really think of anything else that's properly Scottish, besides these deep fried stuffs, which I try to give to them as well" (Alex).

The good, the bad and the new

Google searches using terms 'food in Scotland' and 'eating in Scotland' returned fruitful and at times contrasting results during the exploratory netnography phase. These websites discuss the most common dishes, some 'must tries' when visiting Scotland, restaurant recommendations, etc. A few examples are provided in the Fig. 12 below:

Fig. 12 - Visual representations of Scottish food on various websites and blogs

1. “Scotland - tastes as good as it looks” (Scotland.org, 2015)
2. “In the Year of Food & Drink 2015, find out why Scotland is renowned for its unique produce from Stornoway Black Pudding to Arbroath Smokies. Scotland's food and drink comes from unspoilt habitats and varied weather, which are perfect for producing a wide variety of high quality fresh fruit and vegetables, fish, meat and much more.” (VisitScotland.com)
3. “The quality of Scotland's produce is unrivalled, from succulent, freshly-caught seafood, to award-winning meat and seasonal fruit and vegetables.” (VisitScotland.com)
4. “[The deep fried Mast bar represents] just about everything that is wrong with the traditionally unhealthy Scottish diet” (Rockinvans.co.uk)

And yet other quotes found during the netnography phase include: “Scotland has never been particularly well-known for its cuisine” (Rockinvans.co.uk); “In general, Scottish food is seen as being very heavy. There are many jokes of it all being "artery clogging."” (Cooksinfo.com); “Deep-fried culture is 'no joke'” (BBC News, 2005).

What initially stands out from these is a discrepancy between the narratives and imagery of the official websites – such as (VisitScotland.com) and (Scotland.org, 2015) - and the narratives from blog or independent writings – such as (Rockinvans.co.uk) and (Cooksinfo.com). Although not in complete opposition, the pictures they paint are significantly different. For example, the two official sources have focused their narratives around the uniqueness and freshness of Scottish cuisine and produce using words such as *good, unique produce, unspoilt, wide variety, high quality, fresh, succulent* and *award-winning* to depict the food scenery of Scotland. At an almost opposing end of the spectrum, the unofficial narratives discuss the un-healthiness of some of the popular Scottish dishes using words such as: *deep-fried, not particularly well known, very heavy, artery clogging* when describing the food particularities of the same cuisine. These discrepancies in online discourses fall in line Spiering’s argument of possible differences between what media reports to be the traditional food, and what the population actually consumes (Spiering, 2006).

Quantitative and qualitative studies that have researched the food ways of Scots seem to reinforce the unofficial accounts quoted above, claiming that Scotland is battling with unhealthy eating habits and a lack of availability of fresh vegetable and fruit (Marshall, Anderson, Lean, & Foster, 1995; Shelton, 2009) with significant but small improvements being recorded in more recent years (Wrieden, Armstrong, Sherrif, Anderson, & Barton, 2013). However, as I analyse

this data from a constructivist stance, it is without foundation to say that either the official or unofficial narratives are *the* correct representation of the locals' cuisine, as these opinions are subject to individual's interpretations. As such, I used this knowledge in guiding my research process further, by including questions about the Scottish cuisine in my interview guide. This allowed me to get a glimpse into the immigrants' sense making on the locals' foodstuffs, which I discuss below.

The participants' responses are elaborated and give vivid and similar accounts on the perceived low quality of the food. Alex's are representative for all immigrants interviewed, as he says: "[Scotland] seems more fast food oriented, on the go. You fill up quickly and then you keep going until you're hungry again and eat some quick dinner and go to bed". Added to this, a few immigrants also see the Scottish cuisine as boring, bland, and unhealthy: "There's nothing very light, or salady or innovative. It's good solid fish & chips" (Trina, New Zealand).

Two participants have also described the Scottish cuisine as being old-fashioned and not all innovative: "The food in Scotland I found like a step back 20 years, old fashioned and not very innovative. But it was solid and interesting […]. As you travel around Scotland, you find everybody does exactly the same. Mostly it was pretty good, alright but heavy duty food. But I find it not that innovative or interesting" (Trina, New Zealander); "A lot of people born and raised in Scotland seem to have what I would consider old fashioned diet. Meat and two veg, not to adventurous, they like things deep fried. A colleague of mine, for lunch every single day, he has cheese and brown sauce, which sounds hideous and not healthy at all." (Mike, English).

Similar concern of healthiness and lack of diversity are expressed by all immigrants, echoing previous finding of immigrants living in England (Jamal, 1998; Brown, Edwards, & Hartwell, 2010), and explains the reluctance of many immigrants in consuming the local foods too often, thus placing them in a separation mode of acculturation (Berry, 2012), where the home food ways are seen as 'good', in opposition to the 'bad' food ways of the locals.

Another negative opinion emerging from most participants' accounts is the wide availability and popularity of readymade meals, something they see as unhealthy. Teo and Iva's words reflect this: "Small supermarkets are supposed to sell all ingredients in small quantity, but they actually sell for 3/4 of the space, food already made. [In Italy] food already made takes 3% of the supermarket space […] If a country doesn't have a strong culture of food, you find foods already made, because they don't care" (Teo); "The amount of readymade foods was shocking to me, we don't have that at home […]. I would go to a shop, and a whole aisle would be just readymade

meals, half-cooked chicken, microwave packages, pot noodles, and that was really kind of... 'why do people eat that?!' And it was the busiest isle in the shop, everyone would be there, it was shocking to me." (Iva).

For the immigrants, this is an indicative of a lack of food culture, as Teo further explains in his interview: "if a country doesn't have a strong culture of food, you find food readymade, because they don't care". This further emphasized the importance how much food is processed and how it is prepared (Bisogni, Connors, Devine, & Sobal, 2002) and how these difference pose as challenge for the immigrants in adapting to the locals food ways. Readymade foods are seen as dehumanized and undesired (Eriksen, 2011). This places the internationals in a separation mode of acculturation (Salkind, 2008; Berry, 2012) as they avoid the local ways of consuming readymade foods and to some extent, stick to their food habits of preparing their own food, in accordance to their home food culture: "I haven't had one readymade meal since I move to the UK" (Iva).

Despite interviewees originating from eleven different countries, almost all of them describe the Scottish cuisine in opposition to the home one, and many similarities arise. The following recounts are representative: "In Denmark, we'd just wait for a proper meal, rather than fill out with quick stuff" (Alex, Danish); "I miss having proper food during the day [lunch], cooked food" (Agnieszka, Polish).

This was the opinion shared by all interviewees and their use of the word 'proper' is often associated to home food ways, even when these differ greatly from one interviewee to another, due to different cultural backgrounds. Individuals' understandings of food ways are rooted in the childhood years when they learn from family and surrounding community members what is proper, accepted, and what is not (Jamal, 1998), under the views of their own culture. As such, the similar interpretations of immigrants that come from essentially different food cultures stem from the cultural heritage they inherit from their respective home countries. Not in strikingly differentiating way, but more in terms of familiarity, the immigrants reveal what the home cultures have 'taught' them to consider right and wrong in terms of eating. They regard the food of Scotland as something improper, to be avoided, in line with similar results of British-Pakistani immigrants in Jamal's study (1998) whereas the home cuisines are generally described as 'proper' and good. The participants in this study have said: "Here they buy sandwiches or go to Subway. Mostly cold foods and not proper lunch food. […] At my university, there's only one place, it's expensive, you queue for 25 minutes, and at the end you get a piece of potato with cheese in the middle... That's not what I call proper food." (Vladimir, Slovak); "When I lived in Poland, I had

it (bread) every single day, bought fresh in the morning. When I came here I realized the bread is very bad, so I miss Polish bread." (Agnieszka); "They treat food the same as putting fuel in the car, they need it only for the sake of living and moving […] We enjoy cooking, not only eating. The preparation and making is important as well, the taste is a consequence of cooking, not only buying your food." (Teo).

Through these opposing narratives of home vs. Scottish cuisines, is becomes apparent that the interviewees are emphasizing differences in food habits between their home and host cultures, thus positioning themselves in a separation mode of acculturation (Berry, 2012) in terms of food consumption. Scholars claim that foodstuffs are an expression of culture as well and not just a means of sustenance (Peñaloza, 1994), yet Teo's remark suggests that in Scotland food is consumed mostly for its functional value, rather than as a form of entertainment as in his home country. This discrepancy causes him to regard is as improper, a sign of lack of food culture on the host country. Significant differences in these behaviours cause the immigrant to step into the separation acculturation mode (Berry, 2005), whereby the locals' food ways are seen as 'bad' and the home culture is preferred and seen as 'good'. On the other hand, it can be argued that the immigrants are only partly acquainted to this culture and they may not (yet) fully understand the host country's cuisine, which is causing them to regard it as bad, for being different. This is reinforced by the contrasting accounts discussed in the previous subsection, when immigrants learn and appreciate the hidden cuisine of Scotland only after many years of living in the country.

Moreover, acculturation is not a straight-lined process and there is no black and white when it comes to such complex processes (Berry, 2012). As such, these same individuals admit that it's not *all* bad in the Scottish cuisine. Some of the immigrants outlined this talking about getting used to some of the locals' food ways, and becoming appreciative of some aspects of the local cuisine: "Hamburgers and fish and chips were a nice surprise, the quality of fish and chips is better here than the idea I had in Italy. It's delicious" (Teo, Italian); "I quite like these sweet sauces with meat, cranberry sauce, mint sauces with lamb. I didn't know it before, and I thought it was a sacrilege (mixing sweet with salty), until I tried it and I thought: well this is actually quite nice, it's something new!" (Vladimir, Slovak); "Sometimes I'm invited over a friend's house and their mom makes haggis neeps and tatties, and it's delicious […] Seafood is quite big here, and quite good as well" (Alex, Danish).

Although the majority of initial thoughts vis-à-vis the local cuisine were negative, when the matter is explored further and as we moved more in depth in the interviewing process, participants start to recount that some particular dishes are in fact of high quality, even better

than back home. They begin to develop a relationship with the new cuisine (Verbeke & López, 2005; Mak, Lumbers, & Eves, 2012) even to the point of admitting they would miss some of these foods, should they move to a new country where these were no longer available. At the same time, home cuisine is not *all* good either: "Indonesian food takes ages to make, it's complex." (Eliza, Indonesian); "I wouldn't go for Polish food [to cook], it takes forever to make; people may not like it, very strong tastes" (Agnieszka, Poland).

All of the mixed thoughts and attributes of the home and host cuisines are organized into a semiotic square, to allow for easier understanding and analysis of the oppositions between how the different cuisines are perceived and described by the informants:

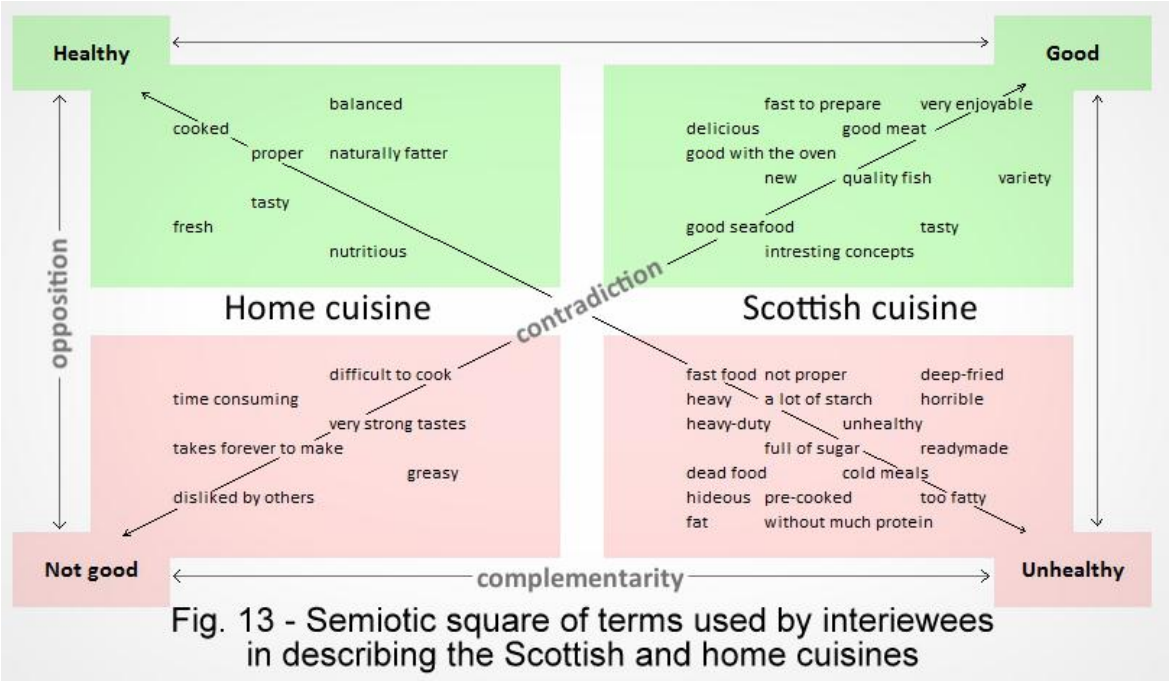

Fig. 13 - Semiotic square of terms used by interiewees in describing the Scottish and home cuisines

The semiotic square above shows how immigrants attach good / bad or healthy / unhealthy attributes to cuisines of both home and host culture, thus confirming precious findings that taste or sensory pleasure and healthfulness are amongst the most important dimensions which influence one's choice of foods (Asp, 1999; Martins & Pliner, 2005). Furthermore, the fact that both cuisines are in turn good and bad, healthy and unhealthy, is indicative of the complex processes of consumption negotiation they go through in trying to mediate between their past and current food identities (Raman, 2011). The food of home is seen as both proper and greasy; nutritious and difficult to cook. The Scottish foods are seen as delicious, yet full of sugar; heavy-duty and at the same time interesting. What this duality points to is an intermittent embrace of new and old food ways: the immigrants integrate elements of both cuisines into their food

consumption. This can be explained through the means-end theory of consumption, as immigrants chose to consume one food or the other in relation to the end-results they want to reach (Gutman, 1982): taste or healthiness; ease of cooking, or properness; fresh or greasy; boring or new. These attributes and categories are used by immigrants to assess foods and decide which to consume in order to produce the desired consequences and minimize the undesired consequences (Gutman, 1982). However, while some scholars have found that healthiness often prevails over pleasure (Fischler, Food, self and identity, 1988), in this study, these attributes appear not to be static. The immigrants' consumption goals are not static and the desired / undesired changes very often between tasty, fresh, healthy, proper, etc.

Foods of the world - unite!

Despite Scottish cuisine being seen as lacking variety (at least at first glance) and the general confusion of delimiting it from the English and the British cuisine, there are some positive aspects that all interviewees have pointed out: the large availability of international foods. As an example, Iva and Erika said: "Where I first lived in Edinburgh, there were more local [ethnic] shops, a French bakery, a Polish bakery, Mexican food spice shop, we didn't have that in Lancaster. More exotic type shops, where you can buy more different products, that reflects the Edinburgh population, because there's a mix of a lot of different nationalities, so it makes sense that the shops offer a variety of products." (Iva); "On the same street, you could have Indian, Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Italian, Spanish and the old pubs." (Erika).

According to the interviewees quotes presented above, they have found a large variety of ethnic foods available in Edinburgh which, in their opinion, reflects the multicultural demographic of the city. The interviewees see this as a positive thing but two participants also reflect on this being the reason why the Scottish cuisine is almost inexistent in their locations. Jorge and Iva explain: "I discovered all sorts of food. Scottish is not main one, it's mostly food from all over the worlds, it's the cosmopolitan part that has been most interesting to me, rather than the Scottish one." (Jorge); "Edinburgh is too international, it doesn't seem too Scottish. It caters for so many different nationalities." (Iva).

Although there was no further elaboration on the topic, this narratives account for the apparent 'lack' of Scottish cuisine, as also claimed by several previous studies (Jamal, 1998; White & Kokotsaki, 2004; Panayi, 2008; Brown, Edwards, & Hartwell, 2010; Raman, 2011). Most immigrants view this as a positive experience, as they report being keen on the possibility to experience diverse cuisines. This emphasizes their tendency to try new experiences, echoing

previous studies that have discussed the immigrants' openness to new cultures and their intentions of trying new experiences (Ju-Yu Ho, 2012). Many of the immigrants, when reflecting on the 'internationality' of their current food ways, admit these would probably not have come about, should they have continued to live their home countries; this is exemplified by Ilya and Jorge as they says: "You can try different cuisines, I never thought I would eat food from Morocco, for example […] I've become more open, more global, open to new experiences." (Ilya); "[talking about the ethnically diverse dishes he now cooks]: I never would have done that in Spain, never, never, it's just not in the cards." (Jorge).

While the local cuisine is generally described by all but one interviewees as not healthy, this does not seem to indicate that the immigrants are experiencing neophobia (Fischler, 1988) – or at least it is not the case for the majority of the participants. Most interviewees enjoy the diversity of ethnic foods available and seek to consume foodstuffs and ingredients from other cuisines they find available in Edinburgh – though not Scottish - as noted by Iva: "Back home, we didn't really eat Chinee food, Japanese food, sushi, Indian, I never even had any of those foods until I came to England for the first time. First time I eat Indian, Chinese, sushi, everything[…]. Ginger for example, avocado, these things I never ate home because you couldn't really find them in the supermarkets, or even if you did, you wouldn't know what to make with them. Here it's such a common thing to find mangos, papaya, all kinds of fruits, so you buy it, you try it, you Google it, and start including it in your cooking." Iva, is not only content with the availability of diverse foods she can find in Edinburgh, but she goes through extensive efforts to try and consume these; she buys new foods despite not knowing how to use these, and researches how to incorporate these into her diet, indicating a tendency to try new and unknown foods, or otherwise what literature calls neophillia (Fischler, 1988).

A trip down memory lane

All but one of the participants reported continuing to consume foods from their home after they have moved to Scotland. These foods, as detailed above in subsection "The good, the bad and the new", are considered proper, real foods, which sometimes come in opposition to the local food ways. From the participants narratives, five different ways have been identified, which the immigrants use to keep in touch with the foods of home. These are detailed and interpreted below.

Eating out

Many participants, as discussed above, have emphasized a wide availability of international foods, and to some, this also means they find plenty of restaurants serving their home foods. Yet are these foods authentic? Teo's narrative, an Italian immigrant living in Scotland for two years may help explain this, as he speaks of his experience in trying the Italian restaurants he visited in Edinburgh: "The idea of Italian food people have here is not the same of us, Italians. You can find pizza, pasta, traditional Italian foods. Pizza is good, pasta as well, but they changed the recipes in order to satisfy the taste of people here. When they talk about Italian recipes, they use ingredients in our famous recipes in different ways, and you realize they sometimes have no idea about the original recipe […] The famous dish 'spaghetti Bolognese' is something that doesn't exist in Italy […]. Sometimes you find an original Italian restaurant owned by Italians, with an Italian chef. And there, food is good and very similar [to back home]. The majority of the times though you find place pretending to serve Italian food" (Teo).

On the one hand, there are some restaurants that replicate home foods accurately and these become little islands of familiarity (Ferrero, 2002; Crowther, 2013). On the other hand, in the other restaurants, the dishes are becoming integrant parts of the world cuisine (Eriksen, 2011), the authenticity is not kept. What Teo is experiencing is the Italian dishes being adapted and not adopter in the Scottish restaurants, in order to meet the locals' tastes and eating habits. These restaurants become indicators of the lack of authenticity of the home culture dishes (Smart, Huang, Pang, Kuah, & Smart, 1999; Parasecoli, 2014), the 'domestication' of ethnic foods into the local market (Smart, Huang, Pang, Kuah, & Smart, 1999). This finding echoes previous studies which claim that the receiving society often misunderstands and modifies the foods it has received (Mintz, 2008), by changing them to become similar to meals consumed by the local (Panayi, 2008).

Even when it comes to getting the ingredients to cook one's own home foods, immigrants encounter difficulties. This has firstly emerged as a dominant theme during the exploratory netnography, when immigrants from US and Canada relate about their own difficulties about finding the 'right' products in the new country: "Anyway…then I tried to find cream. Not by the milk, not by the cheese, not by the butter, not by the yogurt (which is spelled yoghurt here). I finally stumble upon an end cap with 'cream'. This cream is not in cartons, but rather containers like sour cream […]. I grab a container that I would assume to be flavoured creamer: Madagascan Vanilla Cream […] only to feel the weight of it, and decide it is a solid […]. I am going through the entire cream section shaking every container trying to find liquid cream. I […]

finally come across Scottish Single Cream which clearly says you may add a "splash" NOT a dash, not a dollop. Success!" (Lauren, 2014); "For example potato chips (aka crisps in UK land) in Canada come in a larger variety of flavours than the ones in Scotland. Want a bag of sour cream and onion chips? Nope. They only have cheddar and onion" (Miranda, 2013).

The same was experienced by all immigrants I interviewed, although each participant reports different foods that they miss, and immigrants put different amounts of effort into getting these ingredients. To give only a few representative examples, here is what Iva, Alex and Eliza say when relating about the missing, or difficult to find, ingredients: "We have corn flour bread in Croatia, but it doesn't exist here, they just don't have the concept of it. It's delicious; I've never seen anything like it. I did a lot of research to find out how to make it but here I can't, when they say corn flour, they mean something completely different. I can't find it, the closest I can get to, is polenta."(Iva); "I can't find dill anywhere, nor minced pork... I can't find it in the shops. I just go without it, because I can't find it" (Alex); "You don't have candlenuts. It's a spice that you get freely in Indonesia, but you cannot see it anywhere here" (Eliza).

As more and more immigrants list the ingredients they miss, it begins to emerge that sometimes they miss some of the very basic things, needed to recreate their dishes. And even when similar products are found, they are 'not the same', as Cristina and Teo explain: "I also can't find the fresh cow cheese that I'm used to, I can get cottage cheese, but it's different" (Cristina); "You can find good eggs, but they are different in colour and taste; when I cook stuff with eggs, I know the taste will be different" (Teo)

This puts the immigrants in a constant state of searching, adapting and looking for alternatives as previous studies have found (Brown, Edwards, & Hartwell, 2010). In order to overcome these challenges, the immigrants use different coping mechanisms, which I discuss below:

Cheating and bluffing

Immigrants often talk about how they manage with this lack of their favourite foods and ingredients. And one way, as Vladimir and Lubi explain, is by cheating or bluffing: "I cheat. There's this dish, dumplings with potato boiled in water, and eaten with sheep milk. You can only get the cow milk version in Polish shops, [which is] a bit lighter. So you cheat, you substitute." (Vladimir); "You can bluff it. […]. If you buy the goat cheese and the cottage cheese, and mix them, you can kind of get away with it. It's not quite it. The dish you make with this is called Halusky. It's a bit like gnocchi in a way, some dumplings you boil in water." (Lubi)

Jorge reports a similar experience, as he substitutes ingredients for the closest match: "In Spain, we have this sausage called morcilla, that's made with blood of the pig. The black pudding is similar concept, it doesn't taste the same, but you can substitute it. In some dishes you can put the black pudding instead of the morcilla". And as Teo relates, this is not always a straight forward process, and it often involves a lot of testing until the 'best' substitute is identified: "You make a compromise, you find these products from brands you don't know, and you experiment until you find the right one to satisfy you."

Immigrants further report that dishes they manage to recreate in this way are still not authentic, ingredients they manage to find are expensive or simply do not taste the same, similar to the findings of previous studies (Smart, Huang, Pang, Kuah, & Smart, 1999; Brown, Edwards, & Hartwell, 2010). Interestingly, ten of the thirteen interviewees reported buying some of their home ingredients in the Polish grocery shops. The participants were able to get foodstuffs originating from plenty of countries, not just Poland: Italian biscuits (savoiardi and Mulino Bianco), Croatian spices, Czech sour cabbage, Romanian corn meal, fresh vegetables and various Spanish products as well. As such, it seems that the Polish shops become supply hubs for internationals of many different nationalities, as the shops seem to cater to all that are not provided by the local Scottish supermarkets.

Moreover, playing the experimentalist as described by the participants quoted above renders positive results in some cases, but it's not always possible to substitute one thing for another. Some ingredients are simply impossible to replace and in these cases, the immigrants resort to another method explained below.

Bag it, box it, bring it over

According to many participants in this research, some foods simply cannot be replaced and, even when the best quality products are bought, they still do not measure up to the expectations they have from back home. In Erika's words: "What I really miss is the nice tomatoes, nectarines, the fruit I really liked. Even if you go to Waitrose here and spend hundreds of pounds they're still not the same. […] Nothing compares to a nice sun dried peach. I really miss that."

Fig. 14 - Alex (Danish) holding products brought from his home country

So how do immigrants in Scotland deal with this challenge?

Fig. 15 - Chilli sauce Eliza (Indonesian) brings from her home country

Thankfully, transport is an option for many of them and shipping or bringing foodstuffs over was found to be an emerging theme in the expat blog posts I've analysed as well: "I shipped about 800 Equal packets over to make my transition easy…and not to mention, no matter what it is…it's cheaper by about 50% in the US" (Lauren, 2014)

Many of the interviewees reported doing the same, by either having parcels sent over or filling their suitcases with precious foods, when traveling back from the home country. The images below depict some of the foods immigrants never leave the home country without:

"I always bring the proper liquorice and chocolate. I never leave Denmark without the liquorice. It's amazing! […] Sometimes, rarely, I do get a small goody box from friends and family, with some pate and liquorice and so on" (Alex). As he had run out of some of the products he mentioned, Alex showed me some of the Danish products he had in his kitchen at the time of the interview: the Aalborg akvavit and some pate (Fig. 14 above).

Fig. 16 - Biscuits that Teo (Italian) brought from his home country

"It was a major change, but thankfully I did bring some stuff from Indonesia: chilli sauce. I brought some much nicer than this one [you can find in Scotland]; some sauces available here are pretty generic [Indonesian] ones, but still much nicer than the British ones, but still not as nice as the ones I bring back." (Eliza).

"I found a lack of biscuits and all the snacks we have in Italy, specially the Mulino Bianco brand, which is part of our breakfast or snacks in the office. So we bring from Italy food we like more, which is impossible to find here. You can get it in some of deli's, but they cost a fortune, so we bring these when we travel, or pay for a parcel to be delivered. For example, I bring olive oil, [homemade] tomato sauce, meat and products like salami" (Teo, Italian).

This particular finding resonates with similar studies in the UK (Brown, Edwards, & Hartwell,

2010): student sojourners in Cambridge resorted to similar means of having their foods in the foreign country. What motivates the immigrants to bring these products from their home countries (which, naturally incurs costs and efforts for packing, handling, etc.) is the perceived higher quality and authenticity of these foods. Immigrants associate particular attributes to these products, which are linked to important values they hold from their home food cultures (Gutman, 1982; Baker, Thompson, & Engelken, 2004): tastefulness and freshness of foods, quality, etc. Their effort in acquiring these goods is explained by their desire to consume the type of foods they value, an exemplification of the mean-end theory of consumption (ibid.).

Learning to cook

The desire to recreate some home foods is fulfilled by a few interviewees as they learn to cook dishes that are no longer readily available. A few representative examples come from Eliza and Iva: "I have to cook my own stuff, you start modifying things, you search on the internet other expats or immigrants, who settle elsewhere, and how do they deal with it. It doesn't taste the same but hey, it's better than nothing" (Eliza); "I had to learn how to bake and how to cook when I moved away from home. I had to cook all the Croatian foods I like, as there was no one to cook it for me, nowhere to buy it. I had to learn how […] to make doughs, cakes. There was a lot of talking to my mum over the phone: how do you do that? What do you put then? I go to Croatia and I record my mom making something or I take notes, and I have a bunch of notes on my computer that are mom's ways of doing things" (Iva).

Even though the immigrants presumably grew up on these foods in their home countries, making them is an entirely different story and moving away from home and their home country has often represented the opportunity and challenge to learn to cooking their way back to the familiarity of home foods as previous studies have also found (Brown, Edwards, & Hartwell, 2010). Iva in particular, gives a very rich account on the effort she is putting into recreating these dishes, as she almost turns into a 'food ethnographer' when she travels to her home country, recording and taking notes on how to cook her favourite dishes. By searching online on how to incorporate foreign ingredients into their diet, immigrants are looking for 'safe' ways to incorporate these 'new' and unknown ingredients into their own died, much the same way they have learned the basic rules in their own home countries (Fischler, 1988).

Letting it go

For other immigrants though, shipping produce or bringing it over when they travel back from

the home country is not an option, but the reasons differ. For some, the consumption of local products is an important part of living abroad, while for others shipping is not a feasible option. Examples of these different perspectives are related by both expat bloggers and participants in interviews. What these immigrants have in common is that they do not receive foods from home, but the motivations and sense making behind this differ. For example, here is a bloggers account: "Scotland doesn't have most of my favourite American products or foods. That's OK. I moved to try new things. I moved to expand my horizon not hang on to the past. […] I actually know people who had food/products shipped to them {in obscene amounts} because they didn't want to be without their favourites. As if Scotland didn't have food or something. This is fine, but are you really living the life of an expat if you are afraid to eat like the locals? Or are you hanging on to your previous life?" (Mary, 2012).

In the case of Mary her motivation to immigrate is rooted on her desire to experience something new (Borjas, 1988; Furnham, 1990; Burda, 1993) and this is reflected in her food experience. Similar experiences are noted by scholars in tourist consumers, when the consumption of local foodstuffs has been closely connected to the travel experience (Mak, Lumbers, & Eves, 2012). Similarly, Mary sees consuming the foodstuffs of Scotland as part of experiencing the local culture and one of the main motives of having moved abroad in the first place (Ju-Yu Ho, 2012), which justifies her reluctance to bringing foods over from the home country. Consumption of Scottish foodstuffs becomes a vector of experiencing the local culture and Mary's view is a good example of assimilation (Berry, 2005; Salkind, 2008) into the new food culture.

Eliza (Indonesian) has a different approach and justification for not bringing over ingredients: "No, I don't have it shipped; you just have to admit it and just deal with it, to accept this. […] Obviously, I can't crave Indonesian food because I wouldn't get it. I could still crave it, but I wouldn't get it. […] I have to appreciate what's here, and it's quite nice, just different." In this case, not having the food shipped over represents a journey of acceptance and learning to appreciate the local cuisine, rather than embracing it with open arms. In fact, she even recounts that at the beginning of her relocation, things were quite different: "For the first couple of years, I was in denial. I thought I could recreate it, but no; you just need to accept things for what they are. I tried to recreate it, and it's just not happening" (Eliza). The participant moved into the assimilation mode of acculturation (Kagan & Cohen, 1990; Berry, 2012) as a result of not being able to reproduce her home foods.

In a contrasting narrative, Ilya (Russian) simply does not feel so strongly attached to these foods to justify his effort in bringing them to Scotland, nor does he feel particularly attached to the

local cuisine: "I'm not a foodie, I can live without caviar, I don't miss it a lot. I go to Russia, and I just eat the foods there. […] Sometimes I take fish & chips, but not very often; when I don't have time to cook, it's easier to grab a couple of slices of pizza, haggis with chips or fish & chips". Based on his own account, Ilya is not strongly attached to the Scottish cuisine nor to the Russian one, but what he really enjoys, is trying a variety of cuisines, particularly Chinese, Indian, Turkish and German. He speaks fondly of both the local and the home cuisines, but these do not seem to be the main part of his culinary consumption, and as such, he is experiencing the marginalization mode of acculturation (Berry, 2012). Of the thirteen participants in my research, he seems to be the only one experiencing this mode, as all other respondents use one method or another to maintain their consumption of some foods from home. As such, this comes to further emphasize that ones' way of managing cultural change, and experiencing food ways is an individualistic experience. And this is despite some individuals naturally assuming that 'we are all the same'; ironically, this is the case of Ilya, as towards the end of our interview, he makes the following remark: "I think we, human beings, get used quickly to things. So if I moved to Russia I think in a month I would forget the Scottish experience. It took me about half a year to switch from my old style of consumption [to this one]."

In some other forms, this tendency of moving away from the foods of home has been expressed by a multitude of participants, particularly in relation to having spent more time in the new culture and as an expression of their transit from one acculturation mode to another and learning to 'live successfully in two culture' (Berry, 2005), to the point of developing their own hybrid identities. I discuss these in a separate theme below, entitled "Stories of becoming".

It's the little things

An interesting subtly that emerged from the entire data set is that it's not these elaborate foods and dishes that immigrants miss the most, unlike the findings of some previous researchers (Brown, Edwards, & Hartwell, 2010; Raman, 2011). The majority of participants in this study did not seem to miss their traditional dishes per se, as they often described the foods of their home county as difficult to cook, time consuming, and besides 'that's why you move away', as emphasized by one expat in her blog (Mary, 2012).

Instead, for many participants, it's the little things that they long the most: a specific type of flour, fresh bread, one particular kind of sugar, the 'authentic' honey, a lack of fresh and tasty vegetables or herbs, a particular type of biscuits, etc., replicating previous researchers who found the basic products to be considered traditional foods (Guerrero, et al., 2009). As Agnieszka

explains, you become aware of these differences once you move away: "You realize what is really Polish when you leave. You have to know what is missing in another place, to really know what is Polish[…] When I came here I realized the bread is very bad, so I miss Polish bread. When I lived in Poland, I had it every single day, bought fresh in the morning. You don't miss only the sophisticated dishes, but also these small things, like bread."

This resonates with Vladimir as well, and he describes a recent event he experienced when traveling back to his home country (Slovakia) for the holidays: "When I went home now for Easter, you have this warm, crispy bread, and you have it just with the butter... and the inside is so soft, and the outside if nice and crunchy and it's like... aaaahhhh... yes, yes, the proper, normal bread, I miss that!".

Agnieszka and Vladimir's stories are not by far exceptional and what they emphasize is that it's only in the context of cultural differences that an immigrant begins to understand the culture and customs of his or her own country (Vincent, 1974; Askegaard, Arnould, & Kjeldgaard, 2005), when the old and ordinary ingredients are suddenly unavailable (McCracken, 1986). It can be argued that, given the perceived triviality of these foodstuffs in the immigrants' own countries, they did not anticipate that these would become unavailable in the new country, a fact that was inly revealed to them once relocated.

Even as immigrants get more acculturated to the locals' food stuffs, it is still some basic ingredients that they miss and continue to bring over, as a way of anchoring their home identity, even if it's only on a sporadic basis. Here is how Erika and Jorge describe it: "I used to get some sweet biscuits. There's a specific brand of biscuits and pasta, that is very popular and very nice, good quality: Mulino Bianco. I really liked it. When I went home, I used to get some packets of biscuits to have it here. I used to get those. But now I don't do that anymore. I always bring the cheese, I use it for cooking a lot. […] Coffee, the specific brand of Lavazza coffee that my mom always has, I'm kind of used to it, I cannot find it here, and when I go home, I get a few packs and when it runs out, it runs out, but at least for a while I can have that one." (Erika, Italian); "Once a year, I get a parcel from home. But with the time, it has evolved. In the beginning, all the treats from home, the jamon, the tocino. But now it's different things, I ask for simple things that I think are better quality: beans, lentils. You can get them here, but they are much better there, or they are the ones I'm used to, a variety that doesn't exist here" (Jorge, Spanish).

These behaviours are justified by the higher quality of home produce in comparison to the host country. As such, it is another exemplification of means-end theory of food consumption: the

participants hold specific quality standards in mind, and their choice of bringing over ingredients from home is justified by their desire to meet these standards.

Even though the immigrants approach the issue of recreating home foods in diverse ways and make sense of it in different manners, what becomes apparent is that for all of them, these foods remain a part of their cultural heritage (Crowther, 2013), whether it is consumed privately in the intimacy of their own home, or as part of a social event, for example hosting a party or having guests over, which I discuss in the following subsection.

Entertaining guests

Many participants say they often don't go through extensive troubles of preparing home country dishes often, as these are time consuming and laborious to prepare (similar to findings by (Chytkova, 2011)) or they are fine with consuming these when they go back home. However, there are particular instances when the effort of making them is considered worthwhile. Many interviewees talked about using home foods when entertaining guest. In the words of Erika: "When I have people around, we always make pizza, which is what my mom taught me to do." (Erika, Italian).

During the interview held in Agnieszka and Vladimir's flat, the couple served Slovak a special type of braided smoked cheese and sausages that Vladimir brought during his recent trip to Slovakia. Similarly, during one of my participant observations, a Romanian couple hosted an Easter lunch during which they served traditional Romanian Easter dishes (shown in Fig. 18).

Fig. 17 - Slovak treats served during the interview by Vladimir and Agnieszka

There is a consensus in most participants' accounts on the use these foods when entertaining guests and some receive / bring these from home, for this particular purpose: "When I come here, I bring vodka, because people get excited about Poland vodka here, especially the specialities: fruit or hazelnut; it depends how much space I have." (Agnieszka, Polish); "My mom sends me insane quantities of sweets and biscuits, because she wants to treat all my office [colleagues]. I think now Croatians are very proud of their stuff, and they want

everybody to try it and love it, and to say that it's delicious and the best." (Iva, Croatian).

Dimo, one of the subjects of my participant observations, hosts a house pastry during which he serves a traditional alcoholic drink he received from home, and also serves his guest with a home-cooked, traditional Bulgarian pie, displayed in the image on the right. The host is presenting the dish to his guests, as a display of his original culinary identity. This becomes his 'identity card' and also an occasion to communicate an important aspect of his cultural origin to his peers (Brown, Edwards, & Hartwell, 2010; Lozada, 2012).

Fig. 18 - Pie prepared and served by Dimo (Bulgarian) when hosting a house party

What seems to be even more used for identifying ones unique identity when entertaining guests, is the use of products that are home made by the participant's kin. Oana, a Romanian immigrant hosting a traditional Easter lunch, offers to serve her guests with wine home produced by her father in Romania. When noticing all her guests wanted to try the beverage, she insists on taking a group picture with all guests holding up their glasses, and says she will send it to her father, who will be very proud to know so many people are enjoying his produce. She continues to recount how, every time she travel back home, she is constantly reminded by her father to 'not forget to pack a bottle of wine in her bags!'

Unlike previous studies that found immigrants to consume the home foodstuffs more in the privacy of their private space and less in social circumstances (Verbeke & López, 2005; Mintz, 2008), participants use their home cuisine in social situation, in a desire to emphasize their roots and heritage by communicating their cultural distinctiveness (Fischler, 1988; Brown, Edwards, & Hartwell, 2010; Lozada, 2012; Parasecoli, 2014). Moreover, food consumption is highlighter as a predominantly social process (Coughenour, 1972; Oosterveer, 2006) and is particularly infused with social and symbolic meanings (Holbrook & Hirschman, 1982) when it is shared with guests (Blichfeldt, Mikkelsen, & Andersen, 2012). The foodstuffs become a mark of the immigrants' proudness of pertaining to a specific cultural identity (Salkind, 2008). Thus, the preparation and

serving of home foodstuffs in these social gatherings becomes an 'identity card' used by immigrants when presenting themselves to the culturally diverse others.

Stories of becoming

The five modes of dealing with missing foods and ingredients presented previously sum up the experiences expressed by all immigrants in this study. In addition to describing and making sense of these 'coping mechanisms', some of the expats have also reflected on the changes they encounter with the passing of time and these are exemplified by the words of Iva, Jorge and Eliza below: "When you live here for a while and you get over the nostalgia, it's easier to let go of these things. But then you wanna go home, and you wanna have the proper thing when you go home and it's not the same. When I try to make it here even if I use the identical recipe, it's different ingredients, different surroundings, smells and noises, it's not the same. As I'm getting older, I'm bringing less and less things back with me, as I've accepted this is where they live, and that's ok, and I'll have it while I'm there and I'm gonna eat the things that I can get here, when I'm here." (Iva, Croatian); "[moving here] opened the world for me, I discovered food from all over the world. Before, my palette was only Spanish, and only from my area. After moving out, I discovered in Spain there is all this variety, I didn't know, in my region, we eat like we eat in my region" (Jorge, Spanish); "I'm more accepting these days with not getting it, and learn to work with more local cuisine, than be miserable craving for things that are simply not there. Just appreciate what's there. Appreciate it for what it is. […] And after a while, you say well actually, it's not too bad, it's quite enjoyable" (Eliza).

These participants are experiencing a distancing from the foods of home, even though they still say they crave them and they continue to like them mostly as a nostalgic manifestation (Askegaard & Madsen, 1998; Brown, Edwards, & Hartwell, 2010). Instead of recreating these dishes here, the immigrants start to embrace and enjoy the local foods and attribute a different mental (and geographical) space to the foods of home. As such, these foods are 'returned' to their place of origin and instead, the expats begin to consume what is available here. As this change takes place, immigrants start to find a new appreciation for the local food culture, as time mediates the immigrants' transition from one acculturation mode into another (Berry, 2005). In the case of Iva and Eliza, they have moved past the integration mode (Berry, 2012). They begin to slowly let go of home foods while not quite fully adopting the locals' food way either, which would be an exemplification of assimilation (ibid.). New identities are born that do not quote fit here, nor there. Eliza for example, tells the story of her tolerance to spicy foods being altered to the point that now, when she returns to Indonesia, her sister teases her: "My stomach can't

handle too spicy stuff now, even though my buds still crave it, my stomach doesn't agree. My sister would just say 'Yeah, you're a tourist now, you're not really Indonesian anymore!'"

And Iva's husband notes a similar trend in Iva's food consumption and preferences: "When you have Croatian friends vising and we take them out, that's when we realize how much you've changed. We took them to a Chinese restaurant, and they said 'I can't eat this, it's too powerful, too much flavour; it's good but I just can't eat it.' Me and Iva were like: 'It's delicious, what are you talking about? It's fantastic!'" (Mike, English & Iva, Croatian).

What these two stories actually reveal is that these changes leave a mark on the immigrants and they end up being not quite Scottish, but not quite of their own cultural food identity. While not fully embracing the local food ways but neither moving away from the home cuisine, the immigrants are developing new food consumption patterns that they themselves cannot define in one particular style, a hybrid combination of two or more cultures (Peñaloza, 1994). Jorge's words describe this best, as he says: "I cook tortilla from time to time, but really not as frequent as I used to. Everything else has taken over, because there's always something new to discover. The funny thing is I don't miss these things any longer. I used to miss chorizo, jamon. But now I can live very well without them. Perhaps it's that *you discover your own way*; because you try different things, you pick what you like more, you get used to a variety so you don't have to hold back to jamon." (Jorge, Spanish).

The idea of 'discovering your own way', or in other words, creating new hybrid food identities is highlighted appears in previous food consumption studies as well - see (Peñaloza, 1994; Eriksen, 2011; Chytkova, 2011; Sankaran & Demangeot, 2011). This is something that many immigrants experience as an outcome of their changing food ways in Scotland, as they begin to creatively mix ingredients from multiple cuisines into their dishes and diets (Eriksen, 2011). The development of these new identities is, amongst others, rooted on two causes: the high cost and low availability of authentic products from their home culture (Verbeke & López, 2005) creates a space to be filled by other foods. And secondly, the immigrants develop a desire to create their own authentic and individualistic cooking and eater profiles (Eriksen, 2011) that incorporate a mix of values from their old and new cultures (tastiness, freshness, lightness, etc.).

It is both an exciting and enriching experience but also a challenge to their old identities, to the point that they can no longer clearly say 'this is me'. One powerful example comes from the same interviewee, Jorge: "Before, it would be easy for me to tell you what my favourite food was, but now it's impossible, because there are so many things and they are all so good".

Scholars argue that food preferences are strongly influenced by familiarity (Asp, 1999; Martins & Pliner, 2005) and cultural norms (Fischler, 1980; Lupton, 1996), yet in the case of Jorge and a few others of the interviewed immigrants, the unfamiliar becomes the preference. What used to be clearly defined and understood as 'good' and favourite food, now becomes subject to exploration and experimentation. The old and new food identities that immigrants are experiencing and enacting become confusing (Samli, 2013).

One could argue these changes are rooted in one's personal preferences – and to some extent, one would not be wrong in doing so – but it also appears that acculturation plays an important role, as some of the interviewees realize that these changes would not have happened, if they continued to live in their home countries. In the words of Erika: "We are changing all the time. We're trying new things all the time, and it's so nice! Combinations we never would have tried: vinegar with a bit of sugar, and cucumber and tangerine, and we were: 'Oh, my God!' I promise you, it was good! […] I'm trying to do different things. I would try something in a restaurant and try to repeat it, my mom would never do this".

In the end, despite manifesting different degrees of keeping the old and adopting the new Scottish cuisine, for most participants in this study the new, hybrid food identities stand more on incorporating foods of the international cuisines they meet in Scotland. This tendency can be explained by the reported lack and scarcity of Scottish foods available to the immigrants. Moreover, immigrants assume different identities in different contexts (Bisogni, Connors, Devine, & Sobal, 2002): for some, hybrid dishes are consumed in private, traditional home dishes are served to guests, and local food is consumed when eating out.

Tying it together & suggestions for further research

In this subsection, I wish to tie together the findings on my analysis thus far and make suggestions and recommendation for future research on the food consumption and identities in Scotland.

So far, the analysis process has followed two distinct interpretation tracks (Yin, 2011): a descriptive one – portraying the food consumption patterns of immigrants living in Scotland - and an explanatory one – discussing the meanings and sense-making behind these consumption behaviours. Accordingly, these tracks have rendered insight and knowledge on immigrants' food consumption, which I sum up in the following model:

Consumption behaviour	Descriptive findings	Explanatory findings
Consumption of Scottish dishes	Rare	Lacking opportunities, limited availability of Scottish dishes - 'invisible cuisines', lacking in variety
	Undesired Almost exclusively when going out	Seen as unhealthy, fast-food
	With visiting guests	To 'present' the Scottish food culture to guests
Consumption of home dishes	When entertaining guests	Used as an 'identity card' for the immigrant's cultural background, when presenting themselves to the 'others'
	Shipping or bringing over specific ingredients	Unavailability, inauthenticity or low quality of available ingredients; home ingredients are seen as better, tastier, and of higher quality
	Procurement of ingredients in Polish shops	Polish shops hold foodstuffs of various countries, thus becoming 'immigrant shopping hubs'
	Research on getting ingredients and cooking home dishes	Coping with lack of home foodstuffs, immigrants turn to fellow immigrants for advice
	Learning to cook	Home dishes are no longer available on large scale, so immigrants must learn to cook for themselves.
	Bluffing / substituting ingredients not found	Lack of proper ingredients and desire to cook home dishes, making the most of what's available
Consuming international cuisine	cooking	Exposure to new cuisines and cooking styles (both from eating out and interacting with other immigrants)
	going out	Desire for new experiences
	research on and consuming new ingredients	Large availability; desire to incorporate new foodstuffs into the diet; health reasons as well
Hybrid food consumption	Combining new ingredients	Influences from other international peers, curiosity
	Using new cooking styles	Desire to develop one's own culinary style and identity
	Dominating for most interviewees	Health reasons, and desire to do something new
	Becoming 'unrecognised' by home peers	Result of exposure to new food ways and changing one's food behaviours

Fig. 19 - Descriptive and explanatory findings of immigrants' food consumption in Sclotland

The three verticals are further used for presenting the conclusions of this research and to suggest further research and changes in the Scottish food landscape and its presentation to potential consumers.

Following the first vertical, this study has found some similarities between participants' food

consumption and most immigrants incorporate two or more of the analysed cuisines and food ways into their diet, which results into the creation of three food consumer profile of immigrants living in Scotland. These are presented below. Some similarities have been noted

The food stubborn

This type of consumer prefers to keep the food ways of their originating cuisine culture either as a manifestation of food neophillia, or simply because the food of home is preferred above all else. Occasionally, this consumer will try new / local dishes, but this is seen as an exceptional behaviour which can happen either in the form of consuming foods in a public space, in the company of others, or when no other alternatives are available. From the interviewees partaking in this study, Teo and Cristina belong to this profile.

The mixers

Moving into Scotland has definitely left an imprint on the Mixer. Found at the crossroads of old a new food ways, this type of immigrant combines both cuisines in creating new dishes. Their food preferences change as well, as they become more appreciative of the local cuisine, yet there's no clear preference for the Scottish foodstuffs. The home food ways continue to play an important role, and the Scottish foodstuffs are consumed as well, albeit sometimes being regarded as unhealthy. The local dishes and produce are consumed either for convenience, or simply because they are seen as delicious and a way of 'living the Scottish life'. Example of 'Mixers' in this study are: Alex, Vladimir, Agnieszka, Mike, Iva and Eliza.

The explorer

The explorer is a consumer of world cuisines. The foodstuffs of home become almost abandoned (but not entirely) and dishes of a multitude of international cuisines take their place. Amongst these, the Scottish dishes as well, but these are consumed, at best, with equal frequency as any of the other cuisines that the Explorer likes to taste. The local cuisine is by no means a dominant component of the Explorer's diet. Examples of food Explorers from this study include: Jorge, Trina, Ilya, Lubi, Erika.

While no one immigrant can be represented with 100% accuracy by these profiles, it can be

claimed that each belongs mostly to one profile, and these profiles may become useful in assessing the consumption patterns of other immigrants, in similar contexts. As realities change with time and circumstance, and especially with acculturation being a fluid and ever-changing process that immigrants go through, any of the participants of this study may sooner or later find themselves in a new consumer profile. On this note, it is worthy to highlight that the two immigrants pertaining to the 'Food stubborn' profile also happen to be the ones who've spent the least amount of time in Scotland, compared to the rest of the participants in this study. While time alone is no guarantee or indicator of ones' progress through the process of food consumption changes as a result of living in a new country, it was revealed to play an important role in many of the other participants' consumption.

The second, descriptive, vertical brings forth at least one interesting finding which may inspire further research: the participant immigrants have adopted the Scottish cuisine to a very low degree, as they experience confusion in relation to defining the locals' cuisine which appears 'invisible' and largely unavailable. As at the moment of writing this thesis there is very limited academic research on Scotland's food identity, it may be a worthwhile endeavour for fellow researches to investigate this further, in order to afford more meaningful descriptions and understanding of the Scottish cuisine – both from the point of immigrants and locals. Although it was not the aim of this research to assess the Scottish food identity as perceived by Scots themselves, these descriptive findings may inspire further research into these matters, on which little material is currently available. Another interesting finding rising form the same vertical is the wide use of Polish grocery stores by immigrants of various nationalities: as such, these shops become a hub for the procurement of ethnic foods and ingredients. As this subject was only briefly touched within this research, further studies may be useful in understanding the prevalence and use of these shops by immigrants in Scotland.

From the third vertical, the explanatory findings of immigrants food consumption in Scotland have revealed that the Scottish cuisine is generally regarded as unhealthy, improper and old fashioned. This reflects statistics which report the Scots' diet as being unhealthy (Marshall, Anderson, Lean, & Foster, 1995; Shelton, 2009; Wrieden, Armstrong, Sherrif, Anderson, & Barton, 2013). Findings from this third vertical also suggest that some changes could be made to improve the Scottish cuisine both in terms of food quality and healthiness, and in terms of reinforcing its culinary identity, how it is made available and advertised to the general public – locals, tourists and immigrants alike. As emphasized by previous studies, more visible measures need to be taken to encourage the consumption of healthier foods and granting access to the

larger population to high-quality fruit and vegetable (Marshall, Anderson, Lean, & Foster, 1995). The immigrants in this study described the locals' foodstuffs as unhealthy, and lacking in variety. However, a number of immigrants who have lived in Scotland for longer have reported consuming tasty and healthy traditional Scottish dishes. According to the expats, these are currently difficult to find and the landscape is dominated by the deep fried fish & chips and haggis. As such, one recommendation to improve the Scottish food landscape and to revitalize its traditional, history-rich dishes is by making these 'rare' foodstuffs more easily available to the general public, in restaurants. It is believed that this could improve both the immigrants' and the tourists' perception of the Scottish cuisine are reinforce the food identity of the nation itself – something that this research has found is missing.

"Every new beginning comes from some other beginning's end"
- Seneca

Reflections and conclusion

Reflections on conducting this research

Reflecting on the entire process of this research certain limitations arise. While the restrictions imposed by the use of my chosen research methods have already been discussed under "Methodology", I will now focus on the process of analysis and interpretation. According to scholars, this discussion must address the issues of credibility – if data was analysed and interpreted in an accurate and reasonable manner; and applicability – whether or not these findings can be applied to similar individuals or in similar contexts (LeCompte, 2000).

As the thematic coding and analysis of data was performed by only one researcher, this may imply some personal biases. I believe that, should more researchers be involved in one research project, these biases are reduced as multiple researchers collaborate on this process, and ambiguous data can be discusses and the 'true or intended meanings' are understood better: two minds think better than one. On the other hand, I believe that being involved in all stages and all levels of the process as a sole researcher has given me a better overview and understanding of the analysed data and underlying theories and concepts.

As I myself am an immigrant in Scotland and have my own experience of foodstuffs in the country, this may have had some influence on how the research was approached and how the data was analysed and interpreted. However, I believe that this 'cuts both ways': while it allowed me to better understand 'where the participants are coming from', my biased opinions and experiences might have influenced the interpretation of narratives, despite my efforts in keeping these personal interferences to a minimum.

Thirteen immigrants were interviewed for this research, varying in nationality, age and length of time since their relocation to Scotland. This limits the present thesis in claiming generalizability to the entire population of immigrants living in Scotland. However, as debated in the "Methodology" section, a very diverse panel of participants was sought in order to capture a large cultural spectrum. Due to this, it is argued that the findings of this paper can offer good starting points for future similar research on the food ways of immigrants in Scotland. At the time of writing this thesis, little is known about the food identity and culture of Scotland, and even less about immigrants' consumptions in this setting, and as such, further research would be beneficial. Furthermore, the findings of this paper can constitute a relevant initial input for researchers looking to analyse immigrants' food consumption in similar contexts, as described in the first two subsections of the analysis chapter: a nation with a perceived weak food identity, unhealthy eating habits and a large availability of international foodstuffs. Additionally, these findings are limited by my theoretical choices, and as such, future researchers may choose to adopt different theoretical models. Amongst others, front and back stage theories (Goffman, 1959) may render fruitful findings as well, as I realized upon further reflection on my data analysis and interpretation process; this is but one suggestion that researchers may wish to follow in order to investigate when and why the immigrants consume the home, Scottish and international cuisines, as this study has only partly touched upon the subject.

Conclusions

In this final section of the thesis, I look to draw on the research performed, in order to provide an answer to the research question this paper begins with. Towards the end of this chapter I also include reflections on the research process itself.

The aim of my thesis was to investigate the food consumption of immigrants living in Scotland, from a culturally based perspective. The research questions put forth was:

How and why do immigrants in Scotland make sense of foods and food consumption in relation to their cultural identities?

This research opens a window of knowledge into the understanding of food consumption and meaning-making around it, as experienced by thirteen immigrants from eleven countries, living in Scotland. The participants in this study have shown that food consumption carries strong personal and cultural meanings, as the thirteen interviewed participants have expressed different consumption patterns. These have been simplified and synthesized in the three consumer profiles presented towards the end of my analysis chapter: the food stubborn, the mixer and the explorer. However, no one immigrant can be represented 100% by only one of these profiles, as reality is more complex, and simplistic explanations and model cannot be afforded (Holbrook & Hirschman, 1982). As such, the three profiles are to be understood as extreme representations of consumption traits that immigrants exhibit in terms of food consumption.

In the context of a lack of strong food culture from the place itself, the immigrants are developing hybrid food identities preponderantly by incorporating foodstuffs from their home and other international cuisines. Scotland, and Edinburgh in particular, are seen as highly cosmopolitan in terms of availability of ethnic foods, and most immigrants enjoy this. The preparation and serving of home foodstuffs is reserved by most immigrants to entertaining guests, when home dishes become the immigrants' 'identity card', used to presenting themselves to the culturally diverse others. In most cases, the reason of not preparing the home foods very often is the perceived difficulty of cooking these. Interestingly, the only participants who continued to cook their home foods on a regular basis have also reported these to be fast and easy to prepare.

In dealing with a lack of ingredients and foods from the home country, the immigrants use different coping mechanisms: eating out in restaurant serving their home country dishes (although concerns of authenticity are raised); improvising and substituting ingredients as an attempt to recreate home dishes; learning to cook; shipping or bringing produce over from the home country; or giving up the dishes and mentally assigning them back to the home country, in which case the immigrants consume these preponderantly when they travel back home.

To conclude: this research has shown that, following the acculturation process encountered when one relocated to a new country, the immigrants' food consumption and preferences are subject to continuous change and redefinition, as are their food identities. What stands out most from this research, is that this happens even if the host culture is perceived to have a weak and poor eating culture. In this case, the immigrants begin to incorporate foodstuffs from many other cuisines they come to encounter, thus leading to new and hybrid consumptions of food, that many have difficulty describing as pertaining to one particular cuisine. The immigrants

experience dilemmas on making consumer choices every day, and anxieties when home or desired foodstuffs are not available. Their consumption decisions are highly contextual and dominated by the immigrant's desired results – to experience new tastes, to consume healthy foods or to emphasize their cultural roots. While all immigrants have underwent changes in their consumption of food stuffs, none of them have completely given up their home food cultures. In the end, this is best emphasized by Raman (2011):

"Migration transforms the self but only partly tames it"

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Appendix 1 - Exploratory Interview Guide

Thank you for agreeing to this interview.

1. First of all, can you please tell me how long ago you've moved to Scotland?
2. And where are you originally from?

3. Thinking back of the first few weeks after you moved here, can you please tell me your experience of eating here? Think about food available in supermarkets, dining out in restaurants, etc.
4. Has anything changed in the meantime, how do you feel about the food and food culture here, now?

5. Are there any foods or ingredients you are having difficulty finding here? How do you manage?
6. Some people receive packages with food or ingredients form home, can you tell me if this has ever been your case as well? What products? Why?

7. Have you spent any holidays (like Christmas, Easter) here? And how did you find the eating culture to be, in comparison to your memories from home?
8. Have you had friends from your home country visiting you here? What did you experience, in terms of food culture, when you were showing them around the city?

9. Any new dishes, eating habits, not related to Scottish cuisine, nor to your home cuisine?
10. If you were to move to another place in the future, (what) would you miss (out of) the cuisine, food, ingredients, flavours you've experienced in Scotland?

Appendix 2 - In-depth Interview Guide

Thank you for agreeing to this interview.

1. First of all, can you please tell me how long ago you've moved to Scotland?
2. And where are you originally from? Have you lived in other places before relocating to Scotland?

3. Thinking back of the first few weeks after you moved here, can you please tell me your experience of eating here? Think about food available in supermarkets, dining out in restaurants, etc.
4. Has anything changed in the meantime, how do you feel about the food and food culture here, now?
5. In your experience, how does the structure of the meals in the day – breakfast, lunch, dinner, look like here, and is it different form back home?

6. Are there any foods or ingredients you are having difficulty finding here? How do you manage?
7. Some people receive packages with food or ingredients form home, can you tell me if this has ever been your case as well? What products? Why?
8. Have you ever went into the Polish shops? What do you get there?

9. Have you spent any holidays (like Christmas, Easter) here? And how did you find the eating culture to be, in comparison to your memories from home?
10. Have you had friends from your home country visiting you here? What did you experience, in terms of food culture, when you were showing them around the city?
11. If you were to move to another place in the future, (what) would you miss (out of) the cuisine, food, ingredients, flavours you've experienced in Scotland?

12. Any new dishes, eating habits, not related to Scottish cuisine, nor to your home cuisine?

Appendix 3 – Participants table

#	Name	Demographic information	Immigration information	Food consumption 'profile'	Subject of participant obs.	Interview type	Length
1	Teo	Italian, 32 years old. Works as a software engineer in a large multinational company based in Edinburgh, Scotland	Moved to Edinburgh 2 year ago. Before this, he spend approximately 6 months living in England's capital city, London, which was his first immigrant experience.	He lives on his own and mostly cooks his meals at home. Italian cuisine is a strong part of his identity. Authenticity of ingredients and food quality plays a crucial role in his decisions of food consumption	yes	exploratory, individual	00:31:56
2	Agnieszka	Polish, 27 years old. Works as a sofware engineer in a large multinational company based in Edinburgh, Scotland	Moved to Edinburgh 7.5 years ago, for her studies, and continued to live here after graduation. Before moving to Scotland, she lived in Spain for one year	She lives with her Slovak partner (Vladimir), and....	yes	exploratory, paired (1)	01:14:41
	Vladimir	Slovak, 25 years old. Currently a Postgraduate student at the Institute for Particle and Nuclear Physics at the University of Edinburgh, in Edinburgh, Scotland	Moved to Edinburgh 7 years ago for his studies. As a teenager, he lived in Czech Republic for 2 years with his family, before relocating to Scotland	He lives together with his Polish partner (Agnieszka), and eats food preponderently cooked at home. He brings foodstuffs form home when travelling back, but also enjoys a few of the local dished he'd encountered in Scotland	yes		
3	Cristina	Romanian, 23 years old. Works as a freelance front end developer, while remotely finalizing her Masters degree in Public Administration, with the Bucharest University of Economic Studies, Romania	Moved to Edinburgh 1.5 months ago, after her boyfriend accepted a position in a Edinburgh-based company. She has not previously lived in another foreigh country, prior to moving to Scotland	She lives together with her Romanian boyfriend, and most of her meals are cooked and consumed at home. She has experiences very little of the Scottish cuisine, firstly because she workd from home, and secondly as her boyfriend is less open to trying new dishes, so she preffers to cook the same foods as they ate back home.	no	exploratory, individual	00:19:53
4	Alex	Danish national, from mixed (Danish - Romanian family), 26 years old.Currently a Postgraduate student in the Astrochemistry Research Group at Heriot-Watt University, in Edinburgh, Scotland	Moved to Edinburgh 7.5 years ago, for his studies. He has not lived in another foreign country, prior to his relocation to Scotland.	He lives with a Scottish flatmate, and considers the Scottish cuisine to be generally poor or unhealthy, though he does mention a few places he likes to eat out in. He tries to cook dishes from both his 'inherited' cultures (Romanians and Danish), and enjoys cooking and eating out alike.	no	in depth, individual	00:38:09
5	Eliza	Indonesian national, from mixed (Indonesian - Singaporean family), 35 years old. Owns her startup interior design business, and also works a few part-time jobs, as retail shop suppervisor and care assistant.	Moved to Scotland 15 years ago, from Jakarta in Indonesia. Living in Scotland is her first immigrant experience, although she considers herself culturally mixed, having grown up in a mixed family.	She was married to a Scottish person, but now lives in her own flat. Her current boyfriend is Scottish as well. In terms of food, she rarely consumes food in town, and preffers to cook her meals at home, and she also brings her own lunch to work. She sometimes shops in Asian supermarkets in search of her home ingredients	yes	in depth, individual	00:37:32
6	Iva	Croatian, 27 years old. Works as a marketing executive, in a large multinational compnay based in Edinbrugh, Scotland.	Moved to Edinbrugh almost 2 years ago. She lived in Norway for one year, and in England for one year, before relocating to Edinbrugh.	She lives together with her English husband (Mike)	no	in depth, paired (2)	01:32:50
	Mike	English, 29 years old. Works as a front end developer in a large multinational company based in Edinburgh, Scotland	Moved to Edinbrugh approximately 1.5 years ago, from the North of England. Prior to this, he has not lived in a foreign country.	He lives together with his Croatian wife (Iva) and places a great importance on 'propper' cooked meals. He considers himself luchy to have grown up in a family that place great importance on healthy eating ang cooking (which is not necesarily the standard in England), and likes to keep this habit in his adult years as well.	no		
7	Erika	Italian, 31 years old. Works as a PhD fellow at the Royal (Dick) School of Veterinary Studies, near Edinburgh	Moved to Scotland 3 years ago. Before this, she lived in England for 2 years, and is originally from Italy.	She lives in the suburbs of Edinburgh, with her Spanish partner Jorge, and enjoys to cook both traditional Italian dishes with recipies learned from her mother, and more cosmopolitan, diverse dishes.	yes	in depth, paired (3)	01:24:50
	Jorge	Spanish, 40 years old. Works as lecturer at the Royal (Dick) School of Veterinary Studies, near Edinburgh	Moved to the Scotland 10 years ago, and lived in England for 4 years previous to this. He also lived in Portugal for one year, and is originally from Spain.	He lives with his Italian partner Erika, in the suburbs of Edinburgh and is an avid cook who likes to try foods of all sort and tastes.	yes		

#	Name	Demographic information	Immigration information	Food consumption 'profile'	Subject of participant obs.	Interview type	Length
8	Ilya	Russian, 28 years old. Works as a Social Marketing Manager in a large multinational company based in Edinburgh, Scotland	Moved to Scotland 1.5 years ago from Russia, and this is his first experience of living abroad	Lives on his own. Even though he doesn't consider himself a foodie, he likes to cook foods by ordering 'cooking kits' with home delivery, from an online website. Even though he misses some foods from Russia, he has them only when travelling back home, and he's never tried to cook them himself	no	in depth, individual	00:45:31
9	Trina	New Zealander, 60 years old. Works as a landscape painter in an arts center in Edinburgh	She moved to Scotland 6 years ago, and before that she lived in many Asian and African countries for 35 years, in various other locations, the last two being Bangladesh and Indonesia	Lives with her Scottish husband, and prefers light, fresh food. She eats mostly what she cooks at home, and preffers vegetarian based foods.	yes	in depth, individual	00:40:19
10	Luby	Slovak, 35 years old, works as fashion designer in Edinburgh	Moved to scotland 15 years ago, from Slovakia. Before this, she has lived for a few months each, in Czech Republic, Norway and England	She lives on her own, and prefers to eat...	no	in depth, individual	00:56:31