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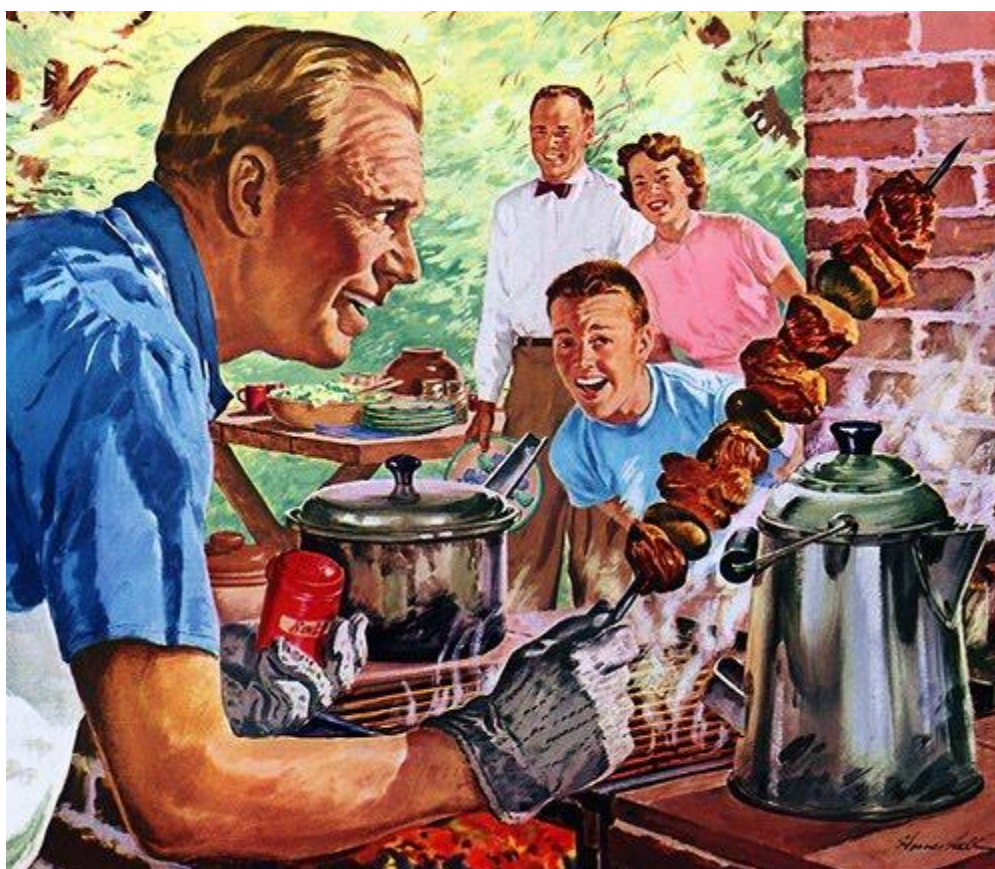
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## Introduction - Getting fired up

*"When a man volunteers to do the 'BBQ' the following chain of events is put into motion:*

- 1. The woman goes to the store.*
- 2. The woman fixes the salad, vegetables, and dessert*
- 3. The woman prepares the meat for cooking, places it on a tray along with the necessary cooking utensils, and takes it to the man, who is lounging beside the grill, beer in hand.*
- 4. The man places the meat on the grill.*
- 5. The woman goes inside to set the table and check the vegetables.*
- 6. The woman comes out to tell the man that the meat is burning.*
- 7. The man takes the meat off the grill and hands it to the woman.*
- 8. The woman prepares the plates and brings them to the table.*
- 9. After eating, the woman clears the table and does the dishes.*
- 10. Everyone praises the man and thanks him for his cooking efforts.*
- 11. The man asks the woman how she enjoyed "her night off."*

*The man, upon seeing her annoyed reaction, concludes that 'there's just no pleasing some women.'*

*(Author unknown, found the 8<sup>th</sup> of May 2013 on:*

*[http://www.emmitsburg.net/humor/archives/about\\_men/men\\_about\\_7.htm](http://www.emmitsburg.net/humor/archives/about_men/men_about_7.htm),*

*[http://tunadave.typepad.com/humor/2005/07/men\\_and\\_bbqs.html](http://tunadave.typepad.com/humor/2005/07/men_and_bbqs.html))*

The witticism above can be interpreted in various ways, from stereotyping men's and women's roles within the household, to differences in male/female mentalities, and behaviours relating to how men construct their identities within the couple. Aside from the possible interpretations, this joke appears to indicate the existence of a public discourse linking barbeque (BBQ) practices with the ideal of masculinity (Deutsch, 2004; Hocking, 2009). While there seems to exist a stereotypical image of men who BBQ, the reality is often, as is humorously portrayed above, men relaxing around the BBQ, beers in hand, competing about who grills/BBQ's the best meat while women are associated with merely setting the table and making the side dishes.

that being said, one should not be hasty to form stereotypical conclusions as it might be that there is something beyond these typecasts and associations that are so embedded in popular culture (Brown, 2007; Fürst, 1997). After all, in the context of the modern era, men are not the only providers or breadwinners within the family. As roles within the modern domestic pair are dynamic and in constant flux (Brown, 2007; Fuwa et al. 2006, Kemmer, 2009), one has to consider whether the assumption that men automatically act in a 'manly' way while women in a 'feminine' way is in and of itself innocuous or benign.

When referring to the act of BBQ'ing, the discussion takes a turn for several angles that need to be addressed in the attempt to grasp the complexity of this issue. Having this mentioned, one has noticed a growing interest regarding this topic as several scholars (Hocking, 2009; Deutsch, 2004; Veri et al., 2013) have tried to explain what exactly could be that men find appealing with BBQ'ing. Hocking (2009) suggests that factors like fire, sharp instruments and meat, together with the basic element of gathering around the fire contribute to the appeal, while Deutsch (2004:138) argues that: *"It is the 'inner caveman' in men that appears when men gather around a BBQ; the fire, being outdoors, meat, the bragging about cooking skills, it's a macho rush without violence"*.

One, or at least the writer in question, cannot help but wonder why cooking and elements like fire, sharp instruments and meat etcetera, are associated with masculinity when men are cooking outdoors? It is interesting to note that the same factors were, in the past, existing when cooking indoors. However, modern technology has transformed indoor fire to ovens and stoves. It would thus seem that the only things setting BBQ'ing aside from ordinary modern day cooking practices is that BBQ'ing takes place outside and that the utensils used to prepare the meal are perhaps simpler? Nevertheless, one must contemplate: is it the outdoor setting and the use of open flame all there is to why men BBQ?

To understand why men BBQ, one might consider the definitions of masculinity. Each person might have their own different understanding of whom or what the 'ideal' man is. This opinion of said ideal man would largely be informed by their experience of, and the reality in which such a person lives. Such opinion could be formed by culture whereby some [cultures] celebrate traditional society with set gender roles, whereas others have evolved to embrace gender equality

as the norm. This bucking or embracing of gender roles versus tradition could have an impact on how men cooking at home is perceived, and certainly also why men BBQ. In considering this scenario, one is logically lead to the question of do men in countries where gender equality is high, (e.g. Scandinavian countries) BBQ because they need an outlet for their masculinity? And do men in countries with 'traditional' gender roles BBQ at all? If so, do they BBQ because they have to?

When referring to masculinity one has to note this concept does not have a clear, defined meaning. Several researchers (De Visser et al. 2007; Newcombe et al. 2012; Lease et al. 2013; Schrock et al. 2009, Sobal 2005) suggest that there is not one single type of 'masculinity', as each man will define what being a man means to him. To this end, one might consider that each man constructs his own on-going masculinity according to his surroundings, his everyday life context and his life situation. Furthermore, it is also important to note that not all men BBQ, and it would be interesting to uncover how a lack of interest in BBQ'ing is perhaps connected to male identity construction. Ogilvie (1987) argues that what people reject is a picture of the values a person does not identify with, meaning, that a man who rejects BBQ might do so because he cannot relate to the values he attached to the practice. In considering Ogilvie's argument, one has to ask which values and identities if any, do men reject, accept or even embrace when they BBQ?

When the male of the species establishes himself as a man who BBQ's, he will need particular kind of tools to fulfil that role, leading to the acquisition and use (i.e. consumption) of BBQ equipment taking place. Decision making processes may also centre around questions like: should it be a big, expensive BBQ with the possibility of buying extra accessories? Or should it simply be a cheap, disposable BBQ without any fuss? Should it be self built from scratch, or should it purchased? The feelings, perceptions and associations with the various possibilities of consumption might show what kind of identity men wish to present. The choices made regarding equipment might be part of creating or upholding an image, as consumption is often used as an identity creator (Kastanakis et al. 2012; Hosany et al. 2012; Onkvisit et al. 1987).

This thesis will address how BBQ'ing might play a role in the identity construction of men, and how it could influence and uphold a 'masculine' self-image. Apart from generating knowledge about men and BBQ'ing, this thesis is also one small step taken to fill one of the most obvious research

gaps within consumer studies. Looking at consumer studies in general (Reinicke, 2002; Palan, 2001; Lipman-Blumen, 1975; Melanson, 2008; Gardiner, 2002; Hammer et al. 1989; Faber et al. 1987) and one who are the interviewees in qualitative consumer studies in particular (Little et al. 2009; De Visser et al. 2007; Cairns, et al. 2010; Newcombe et al. 2012; Gough et al. 2006; McRobbie, 1997) a picture emerges that shows that women's consumption has been subject to much more study than that of men. Accordingly, I hope that this thesis will give the reader not only more knowledge pertaining to how men construct their identity by means of BBQ'ing, but also more knowledge on male consumers, and why they engage in different acts of consumption - in the present case BBQ'ing.

Having all of the elements above considered, the following research question was reached:

### **“How do men construct their identities through BBQ'ing?”**

As the research question aims to develop a deeper understanding on men's identity constructions through BBQ'ing, it is important to mention that this study will be cross cultural as the men interviewed live in various cultural contexts. This will allow the exploration of the subject of masculinity and find commonalities across cultures. Nevertheless, the aim of the thesis is *not* to make a 'traditional' comparative study – instead, the purpose is to try to uncover how men construct identities through BBQ'ing by looking at cross-cultural aspects and dimensions, and at the same time to be sensitive to such issues.

In particular, one seeks to explore what feelings and thoughts men voice in regards to their own masculinity when BBQ'ing, and how this affects their overall identity constructions. According to West et al. (1987) we as humans construct gendered ideas and rules, meaning that we categorize things, actions and tasks as being 'masculine' or 'feminine'. However, several researchers (De Visser et al. 2007; Julier et al. 2005; Harrison, 2008; Buerkle, 2009) are pointing out that traditional 'masculine' roles and values are in the process of changing. This means that not only may young men have different ideas on 'masculine' roles than the ones gained from their fathers, but older men might also find that their roles are changing. This might have an effect on how they see themselves in relation to BBQ'ing and may relate to both contemporary and more traditional 'masculine' cooking behaviours.



In order to sustain the main research question, the following sub questions were created. These two questions will 'round up' the knowledge gathered throughout the thesis and will enable a better understanding of the investigated issue.

*1: What meanings do men associate with BBQ'ing?*

This sub question aims to examine what men think of the concept of BBQ'ing. The purpose is not to find a 'true' definition of the concept, as one does not believe this is possible, but instead wishes to explore the meanings the interviewees associate with it. As such, this sub-question is included to emphasize that the thesis does not only taking into account men's actual BBQ'ing, but also draws on normativity's, stereotypes and more social constructions that men relate to BBQ'ing. Due to the cross cultural aspect of the thesis, one expects to find various, potentially cultural imbedded meanings and constructions of the concepts. Furthermore, one hope to uncover associations between masculinity and BBQ'ing and therefore, the next sub-question, relating to masculinity, is added:

*2: How do men perceive masculinity and 'masculine' identity?*

With this second sub question one hope to understand how men perceive their own identities in connection to them being men. Wanting to gain knowledge on the meanings, feelings and associations men have on masculinity and what they consider to be 'masculine' actions and things. The intent is not to define 'the man' but rather to explore the variety of 'masculine' constructions that may exist. According to Britton (1990) some men might uphold their traditional roles, for fear of being labelled homosexual. Therefore I expect to find men who might be "in touch with their 'feminine side', where others might reject actions and things which they believe are feminine. I want to discover what the interviewees believe is a 'real' or 'ideal' man and also who is not? What is 'masculine' behaviour and are they guided by an aim to be more 'masculine'? Are there times were they feel more 'masculine' than others?

Another purpose of this thesis is to try to depict, interpret and possibly find unexpected constructions, meanings that men might attribute to the process of BBQ'ing and in this way maybe bring a small but significant contribution within male consumerism studies. Due to a strong interest in consumer behaviour and especially on male consumers and how they construct their



identities, the aim of this project is to highlight possible intrinsic meanings, feelings, anxieties, associations that men across different cultures and various backgrounds might link to BBQ'ing . Also, one also has the goal of possibly showing that it could be that BBQ'ing goes beyond the mere process of frying meat outside – that it might take a symbolic nature, even maybe a ritual.

## Theory - Beef it up

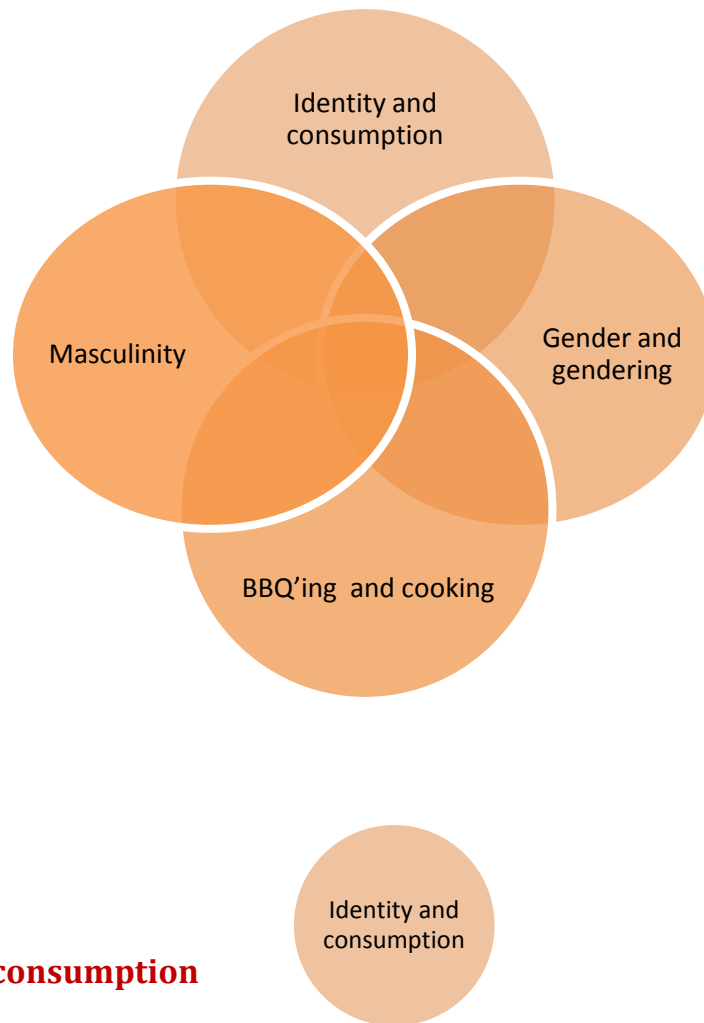
To understand how men construct their identity through BBQ, the writer must begin by getting an overall overview and understanding of already found theory.

A critical question to be addressed when doing a master thesis is: Why do we *need* a theory section? Costley (2006) answers this fundamental question by arguing that theories *both* guide research (i.e. they offer a clear idea of what data to collect) *and* give meaning to what we see. Accordingly, without theory the researcher would not know what to look for; nor would she be able to understand what she sees during fieldwork. Although this answer may be somewhat simplistic, entering the field without a solid theoretical framework seems to be a very risky endeavour as the researcher may get lost in the complexities of the 'real' world. Therefore, building a theoretical framework that can actually guide fieldwork (by means of interview guides etc.) is crucial if the researcher is to stay focused and not get (too much) off track during fieldwork and analysis. Furthermore, if the researcher strives to make a *theoretical* contribution, she needs to know what is already known about her topic and thus, to do extensive literature reviews and to build a theoretical framework on the basis hereof are the first steps needed in order to not 're-invent the wheel' by making a thesis that provides no more than answers that were already there before doing the thesis. However, to build 'the' theoretical framework most suited to guide research is problematic not only because so much theory already exists; but most importantly because many different theories may each provide one small piece of the puzzle needed in order to do not re-invent the wheel (especially when one's fundamental ontological belief is that multiple realities exist). In this thesis various pieces from a great variety of studies, theories and ideas have been used, in order for the researcher to get an overall understanding of the complex topic of men's identity construction by means of BBQ'ing. The researcher found the need first to get an understating on the complexities regarding identity and gendered identity, as that could provide important knowledge on how men establish their sense of selves in relation to others, but

also how humans perceive gender, hence do gender by labelling actions, things and feelings as 'masculine' or 'feminine'. Without a basic understanding of these issues on gender and identity the following pieces could be difficult to place successfully. From that starting point the next fundamental piece is on masculinity, where the writer seeks to discover how the normative guidelines of society impose values, ideas and actions on 'masculine' behaviour. This aspect of the thesis is especially important as it could provide knowledge on why some men might choose to specific behaviours such as BBQ'ing.

After exploring the 'masculine' and gendered parts of identity constructions, focusing on cooking and therefore also on the specific act of BBQ'ing seems evident. In this section the researcher seeks to understand the motivations behind cooking, why men cook and especially in relation to BBQ'ing. These aspects or pieces should together provide a solid frame in which the last 'missing' pieces on the puzzle can be placed. Leaving us with a fuller understanding on how men could use BBQ'ing in their identity construction and maybe why men engage in different acts of consumption in the present case BBQ'ing.

To illustrate the pieces described above, the following figure has been created to show how the different pieces interact with each other:



## Identity and consumption

To fully be able to understand how men construct their 'identity one must first try to depict how it might be negotiated. According to Jenkins (2008), identity is a process which allows us humans to know who we are and what others are, in other words identity is the identification of ourselves and others in relation to our surroundings. It further means that we as humans construct our complex identity together with others by means of classifying actions, behaviours, motivations, interests and numerous other factors, where we position ourselves according to differences and similarities. Jenkins (2008) further argues that identity negotiation can be understood as an ongoing process and that one's identity is multidimensional, meaning that we possess a primary identity and several secondary identities.

Moving on, primary identity can be understood as the things we as humans primarily identify with, such as our name, gender or even ethnicity depending on location and history. However, these primary identifications are not fixed and seem quite difficult to change (Jenkins, 2008). The

additional identities are those which are easily changeable and can vary depending on social contexts such as education, jobs or even interest. This means that how a man defines his interest, such as BBQ'ing, may encourage him to identify himself in particular ways, meaning that his interest in and ideas on BBQ'ing will make him act and use symbols which he believes to be socially acknowledged as BBQ'ing behaviour.

Another aspect of acquiring and maintaining an identity is through consumption (Wilk, 2000; Belk 2001; Dittmar et al. 2000; Landon, 1974; Belk, 1988; Kastanakis et al. 2012). Kressmann et al. (2006) and Belk (1988) argue that consumption, hence one's possessions such as a BBQ, serves as an instrument to self-expression. According to Hosany et al. (2012); Heath et al., (1998); Freitas et al., (2008); Onkvisit et al. (1987) individual consumption often is guided by a desired self-image. This means that when deciding on what kind of BBQ one should purchase, one does so by choosing one which fits to one's idea of self or wanted self. An example of this could be a man buying a coal BBQ, because he might feel that it will make him a BBQ chef. Another example could be a man buying an expensive BBQ from a well-known brand to establish him as successful towards his peers or a man buying tools to build and construct his own BBQ to show himself and others that he is crafty and handy.


When the discussion shifts to BBQ'ing from a practical point of view- in terms of tools- there are numerous options one could choose to buy ranging from coal, gas, wood, luxury, modern, cheap, eco-friendly, multifunctional, self-build, disposable - just to name a few. Additionally, accessories such as griddles, thermometers, knives, rotisseries, cookbooks etc. not even mentioning a huge variety of sauces, spice collections etc can be mentioned. In other words, options are endless. However, it could mean that men must navigate through a jungle of BBQs and equipment and might choose the tools that he believes will help him uphold a certain image. Also, it might give him an image he strives to achieve, as products allow him to define, maintain and enhance their image of self (Hosany et al 2012; Kressmann et al. 2006; Dittmar et al., 2000). Wilk (2000) and Veblen (1899) claim that people are also motivated to consume by negative emotions like pride, fear and envy, in other words men could choose a specific BBQ as they wish to invoke envy in others, but also if they have a fear of maybe not fitting in a group. According to Landon (1974) people who suffer from low self-esteem tend to consume products in order to elevate themselves.

This might suggest that men who may not consider themselves 'masculine' enough might choose a BBQ which they believe will add to their masculinity.

Lastly, as mentioned in the introduction, rejecting products is also an important aspect of consumption as people often reject products which possess values the individual finds unattractive (Ogilvie, 1987; Hogg et al. 2001). This means that a man might refuse to buy a gas BBQ if he finds it to have values which give him an appearance he finds unattractive, such as if he perceives gas BBQ to be less 'masculine' than a coal BBQ.

As mentioned gender could be considered a part of one's primary identity, which brings the researcher to the following section of how we as humans perceive gender and how we gender our surroundings.

## **Gender and gendering**



Gender and  
gendering

The main purpose of this next theory section is to offer the reader a detailed account of the various constructions surrounding the area of gender identity. After extensive reading, one has noticed that this notion seems to be rather difficult to address as authors seem to have different views on the matter.

For example, several scholars (West et al. 1987; Cheng, 1999; Connell, 1995; Tucker, 1998; Mangan, 2003; Craig, 1992; Schrock et al. 2009; Bohan, 1993; Newcombe et al. 2012) argue that distinguishing between sex and gender is important, as sex can be seen as purely biological and gender as a construction through psychological, cultural and social means.

Whereas the authors above debate on the differences between sex and gender, to Imms (2000) and Bohan, (1993) gender is a relational construction done by the individual and society, which means that the individual is not automatically born with gender and gender roles; they are built by negotiation and on perceptions of their born sex. This means that boys may reflect their own sense of self in other men because they might share the same sex and construct their gendered identity through the perceived image of what the role of being a man entails. It can further mean that they will recognize the roles of women and reject them as their own. In references to

BBQ'ing men might have learned, by observing their fathers, that BBQ'ing is 'masculine'. When referring to the role of the woman, they might have seen their mothers cooking inside hence they may establish this task as being feminine. This in turn might imply that while sex is established at birth, gender is a variable concept which is changeable. This is seemingly not the case as according to West et al. (1987); Kane (2006) gender may be 'achieved' at an early age, and is fixed, unvarying and static. However, what constitutes gender can be perceived as not static and changeable according to time and place (Connell, 1995; Tucker, 1998; Schrock et al. 2009) Thus, one can interpret that when defining one as either 'masculine' or feminine, often according to one's sex, the roles and perceptions attached to the specific gender is changeable.

Cheng (1999); Tucker (1998); Connell (1995) argue that we as humans use gender to categorize people's identity, as we assume and expect gendered behaviour based on a person's sex. These behaviours can be described as gender roles or acts, meaning that we define actions as being 'masculine' or feminine. Cheng (1999); Tucker (1998) mention that gender is a part of everyday activities and Cheng (1999) further states that it provides individuals with opportunities to express and maybe transform the meaning of gender. This means that we as humans might define actions as being 'masculine' or feminine. Taking this idea further, it could be that these perceptions on 'masculine' behaviour might be transformed due to the individuals who express the actions. In relation to BBQ'ing, one might perceive it as being a 'masculine' act; however that image might be changeable if women were to perform the act thus making it feminine.

Schrock et al. (2009); Kane (2006); Tucker (1998) mention that things and concepts can also be perceived as gendered and used to display ones "belonging". They point out that parents often make use of props to express their child's gender identity. Such props could be names, clothes and toys. Schrock et al. (2009); Kane (2006) further argue that using things or concepts perceived as belonging to the opposite gender may devalue a person's belonging to its gender. According to Schrock et al. (2009); West et al. (1987) in order for a man to be recognized as 'masculine', he has to put on a convincing manhood act. This could be seen as a display that he in fact is a 'real' man. This could imply that a man who uses things or shows behaviour which is perceived as 'feminine' might be seen by others as less 'masculine' than the men who use 'masculine' things (Craig, 1992). This opens up to a notion of a possible gender hierarchy within one gender, where some

men are more 'masculine' than others. This will later be elaborated in the theory section on masculinity.

Moving on, the next issue that should be addressed revolves around gender actions or 'doing gender', as West et al. (1987) name it. Thinking of gender in terms of 'doing it' makes sense as a man will 'do' his masculinity by performing actions and use props which he and his surroundings perceive as being 'masculine'. This means that gender may not be something that we are, but something that we do (Bohan, 1993). An example of this could be that a man 'does' masculinity in form of BBQ'ing as in order to be perceived as being 'masculine'. West et al. (1987); Bohan, (1993) further refer to 'doing gender' as something which is unavoidable, as actions done are symbolic to the gender who are 'doing' them. In other words, if men are the ones BBQ'ing, the act becomes 'masculine'. Furthermore, West et al. (1987) argue that not all actions are clearly gender definable or gender relevant, however they can be pushed into these images if necessary. Bohan, (1993) argues that the reason why we as humans perceive certain behaviours as being gendered stems from our experiences. Men are more likely to meet behaviour and experiences which are considered 'masculine'. In that case, they will reproduce and legitimize those experiences as being 'masculine', and the same might occur with women. This could mean that as we do gender 'correctly', according to our individual experiences, we show and display our gender, which is tied to our sex, and then reinforce and reproduce the gendering of that behaviour. Thus, the continuing process of doing gender re-creates the construction of gender. She further argues that we as humans become so familiar with the process of gendering, that it becomes part of us. Therefore, we might conform to the expectations of 'our' gender without even noticing it and hence we act and think gender as being a natural part of our sex. With regards to this issue, Purdie et al. (2007) mention that how people identify themselves is important, as this aspect may influence thoughts and behaviour. Also, it is argued that people perform specific behaviours that fit into the group or culture they belong to, especially if they strongly identify with that group. This might indicate that if a man identifies with other men because of their shared sex, he is more likely to perform the same behaviour, such as BBQ'ing as the other men within his culture in order to fit in, to be accepted.



In sum, gender can be described as something we are doing and not something we are. A man is not 'masculine' or feminine, but he can act 'masculine' or/and feminine. What we might constitute as being gendered is socially and individually constructed, and is therefore changeable, as meaning is something that is constantly flowing and depending on the context. Thus, one can perceive gender as a product of our everyday interactions and as a part of our everyday lives. Gender can be built into the major social organizations of society, such as economy, ideology, family, and politics (Connell, 1995; Tucker, 1998; Cheng, 1999). Often we do not realize that what we think and act are gendered, which means that men might do BBQ because it might be perceived as 'masculine' without recognizing it as being so. At last, taking a gender perspective on the issue of BBQ'ing is not to claim that gender is necessarily the key variable determining attitudes, behaviour and consumption, however the researcher do believe that normative gender rules could play an important role when men choose to BBQ instead of other forms of cooking.

## **Masculinity**



When considering what masculinity could entail, Reinicke (2002) mentions that it is the expectations and ideals a society or culture have when defining how a man is suppose to be. It is further argued that the concept of masculinity has several meanings as there seem to be numerous versions of it (Connell, 1995; Cheng, 1999; Martino, 2000; Reinicke, 2002; Schrock et al., 2009; De Visser et al. 2007; Newcombe et al. 2012; Lease et al. 2013; Sobal, 2005; Morrell, 1998).

Cheng (1999); De Visser et al. 2007 and Schrock et al. (2009) argue that it would be more 'correct' if one were to refer to the concept as masculinities, instead of the singular masculinity. Thinking of the concept in plural gives an idea of the differences and inequalities among groups of men. However, this might make it more difficult to make out what men have in common besides their sex (Schrock et al., 2009). Connell (1995) argues that recognizing the diversity in masculinities is not enough. He believes that it is equally important to recognize the relationship between the different versions of masculinities, where they exclude or include each other, implying an

existence of hierarchies within masculinity. This notion of hierarchy is further found within the concept of hegemonic masculinity, in which dominating other forms of masculinities is prevalent. Additionally, Imms (2000) claims that recognizing masculinity as being mobile, meaning that one man can adhere to several forms of masculinities according to context. Therefore, it might seem irrelevant to make sense of masculinity as hierarchical; however, it is still important to accept that the relationship between the numerous forms could be dominant or submissive.

Morrel (1998); Connell, (1995); Schrock et al. (2009) and Wang (2000) claim that masculinities are constructed by various factors such as age, race and class, meaning that these factors shape different forms of masculinity. When a man is 'doing' his 'masculine' self, it is according to Schrock et al. (2009), done according to his appearance (does he look like a man?) and behaviour (does he act like a man?), which is interpreted by others as being 'masculine'. This could mean that one man can do something he establishes as being 'masculine', but seen from another man's perspective the act can be interpreted as not being 'masculine'; perhaps even 'feminine' as his construction of masculinity could differ according to factors like race, age, class or culture. Such actions could be BBQ'ing, which for some might be 'masculine' behaviour, but for others it could be a 'feminine' act.

Having all of the above considered, it may not be possible to fully define the concept of masculinity as its meanings are constructed by the individual and therefore, its social meanings undergo constant change. In other words, because each person's individual construction of masculinity changes according to interactions and experiences, the widely accepted idea of what it means to be 'masculine' will change accordingly. Nevertheless, the behaviour a man engages in might have implications for his 'masculine' identity (De Visser et al. 2007). As a result, not only the expectations and ideals 'society' at large (may) have when defining how and what a man is supposed to be, but also men's individual constructions of masculinity and the importance, they ascribe to 'being 'masculine' could influence men's BBQ'ing behaviour and experiences. Accordingly, a critical element of the empirical part of the study is to look further into how men define masculinity (or more correctly masculinities) and how such definitions-in-use might relate to BBQ'ing practices and preconditions.

## Hegemonic masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity is described as the dominant form of masculinity, in which some men possess more power than others (Reinicke, 2002; De Visser et al. 2007). According to Morrell, (1998); Reinicke, (2002) this form of masculinity entails dominant behaviour, which oppresses both woman and other masculinities by silencing and subordinating them and their values. As a result, Morrell (1998) suggests that the values expressed by other masculinities do not have legitimacy to define manhood and in return the values presented within the hegemonic masculinity becomes the norm by which 'real' men are supposed to act as other ideals are being oppressed. Ridgeway (2009) mentions that hegemonic masculinity is used in the media to portray men and therefore it becomes a 'cultural ideal' on how men ought to behave. An example could be the hip hop artist Eminem, who refers to women as bitches, openly displays homophobia and disrespects authority figures like the police. Another example could be the ways in which celebrities such as Brad Pitt and David Beckham are quoted by mass media (and particular a certain part of the media) for what it 'means' to be a man.

According to Lease et al. (2012); Kane (2006) and Imms (2000) hegemonic masculinity have several characteristics and critical traits seem to be domination, competitiveness, strength, not displaying emotions, aggression and risk-taking behaviour. Imms (2000) mentions that one way to prove ones manhood is to act out these traits. One example could be how men relate to competitive sports (both professional sports and their own leisure activities), but an equally interesting example could be men competing to make the best meat on the 'dangerous' fire (risk-taking). However, as mentioned earlier masculinity is socially and individually constructed and therefore the characteristics will vary in each individual. Nonetheless, digging deeper into whether men relate such 'masculine' traits to the act of BBQ'ing seems interesting.

Often the traditional version of what it means to be a man is said to be based on the hegemonic version of masculinity, which means that men are seen as patriarchal, and hence supposed to be breadwinners and possess a dominant position among women and other men who do not adhere to this form of masculinity, such as homosexuals (Lease et al. 2012). Morrel (1998) further points out that this form of masculinity is to be understood within social contexts and is therefore the

subject of constant change and challenged by other forms of masculinity. Cheng (1999) as well as Kane (2006) argue that masculinities are not equally valued in society and the hegemonic masculinity is thought to be valued higher than other forms. Because of this inequality, hegemonic masculinity, at least according to these sources, becomes the 'standard' by which other forms of masculinity are measured and evaluated by. With this being said, could it be that some men consider themselves more 'manly' than others and maybe even 'superior' to women, as 'the stronger sex'? It could be that some, while BBQ'ing, to see themselves as the 'alpha male'- the one who demands respect from others and who is in control of everything.

Furthermore, Imms (2000) and Wang (2000) mention that hegemonic masculinity might be what men in theory adhere to; however, in practice few 'live it'. This is further elaborated on by Cheng (1999) who states that a discourse of masculinity, such as the hegemonic version, can be applied to only a few men as masculinity. Even though hegemonic masculinity may not be commonly enacted, it is the socially normative of masculinity, which means that all men have to identify themselves in relation to it (Lease et al. 2012). This means that most men are doing masculinity in ways which to some degree are prescribed from the hegemonic masculinity (Cheng, 1999). However, one has to be reluctant with what has just been presented as it is impossible to assume that all men relate BBQ'ing to masculinity based on hegemonic masculinity.

In sum, hegemonic masculinity is not supposed to be a set of behaviours, thought and ideas that which men completely adhere to. Instead, hegemonic masculinity seems to entail overall ideals of which men adhere to in various ways and to varying degrees. An example could be men playing football together, shouting, cursing and being aggressive toward the referee, behaviour which is considered hegemonic 'masculine', and then the same men can go home to their families to clean the house and babysit the children by nursing them, behaviour which is often considered feminine.

What could it mean to be a 'real' man? Various studies have addressed this issue from a multitude of angles. From one point of view, Mac an Ghail (2000); Lease et al. (2012) argue that being a 'real' boy/man means that one publicly has to distance oneself from femininity and non-

hegemonic forms of masculinity. Also, according to Wang (2000); Mac an Ghail (2000); Cheng (1999); Kane (2006); Reinicke (2002) and Connell (1995) this could be done by asserting aggressive behaviour or dominating others and therefore making femininity and forms of non-hegemonic masculinity inferior. Nevertheless, according to Connell (1995), masculinity is constructed together with femininity, as the two concepts are relational, meaning that masculinity exists as a contrast of femininity.

‘Masculine’ behaviour may not be, as many would assume, performed only by men, just as ‘feminine’ behaviour is not done only by women (Cheng, 1999) and this means that a man can and will do things which could be considered feminine. Nevertheless, Kane (2006) in her study on parents doing gender showed that fathers were more likely to push the hegemonic ‘masculinity’ ideals onto their sons by making ‘boyish’ toys like cars etc. available; than they were on pushing ‘feminine’ toys upon their daughters. She further mentions that this ‘gender-schooling’ on boys was done consciously as the fathers would avoid buying the ‘feminine’ toys such as dolls and pushchairs. This implies that men might have a fear as being considered feminine, which together with the competition between men, makes it difficult to distance oneself from the hegemonic masculinity ideal (Reinicke, 2002).

Cheng (1999) further mentions that being considered ‘feminine’ could devalue a man’s masculinity and he might fail to be a ‘real’ man. This could mean that what others (society/ family) perceive as being ‘feminine’ or ‘masculine’ has an impact on the individual’s upbringing and on how he sees himself. Consequently, looking into how men relate masculinity/femininity to the practices of BBQ’ing and cooking could potentially add to our understanding of men and BBQ’ing.


As mentioned earlier in the section regarding gender, there are certain tasks and things which are perceived as ‘masculine’. Subsequently, this means that tasks and things are judged by the ideals of hegemonic masculinity. Cheng (1999) argues that occupations such as military, law enforcement, construction and fire fighting are hegemonic ‘masculine’, because hegemonic masculinity is associated with heavy, dangerous, dirty, skilled and interesting work. Also operating mobile or moving machinery, like airplanes, cars, tanks and welding torches are considered to be

hegemonic 'masculine'. This might indicate that BBQ'ing could be considered hegemonic 'masculine' because of it being dangerous (fire), dirty and possibly heavily depending on what form of BBQ one is using. It could be that some men associate BBQ with 'playing with fire', doing something risky hence displaying his 'masculinity' in front of the others.

It is not to be understood that adhering to hegemonic masculinity excludes adhering to other forms of masculinity at the same time, because other forms of masculinity can coexist (Wang, 2000; Morrell, 1998). This means that men in some situations can do hegemonic masculinity and in other situations do other forms. Hegemonic masculinity is therefore according to Kane (2006) a cross-cultural and changeable normative concept, in which men are accountable as it is infused in all parts of society (Reinicke, 2002). As mentioned earlier, hegemonic masculinity is often seen as dominating, thereby oppressing femininity and other forms of masculinity.

According to Connell (1995) and Mac an Ghaill (2000), patriarchal cultures interpret homosexual men as men who lack masculinity. More than that, homosexual men are often considered to be 'feminine' men. Kane (2006) further mentions that the most important feature of hegemonic masculinity is that it is heterosexual; therefore disapproval of homosexual men is part of the hegemonic masculinity ideal. As a result, fear of being considered 'feminine' could lead to homophobic behaviour. This does not mean that all men are homophobic, as it depends on other factors, however it does indicate that men could have a fear of being considered homosexual, as he therefore will lack masculinity. Reinicke, (2002) argues that the fear of being labelled 'feminine' and homosexual shapes men's friendships and how they interact with each other. Men may use other men to confirm their masculinity by competing and constantly measuring each other's behaviour in accordance with perceived 'masculine' behaviour. Lease et al. (2012) further argue that 'feminine' behaviours such as help-seeking, emotional understanding, support and connection, might be devaluated among men and limit their close friendships if they adhere to the hegemonic 'masculine' ideal. As BBQ'ing might be considered a social event, it is interesting to discover whether competing on masculinity and rejecting 'feminine' behaviours is a part of the BBQ experience? And further, is the 'masculine' perceived BBQ a way for men to uphold a 'masculine' image in the eyes of other men?

## BBQ'ing and Cooking

An orange circle graphic containing the text "BBQ'ing and cooking".

BBQ'ing  
and cooking

Various authors (Daniels et al. 2012; Szabo, 2011; Cairns et al. 2010; Mancino et al., 2006; Ekström et al. 2001; Murcott 2000; Newcombe et al. 2012; Aarseth et al. 2008; Little et al. 2009) have long debated the topic of cooking in connection with female or/and male consumers. As a constructivist, one is not focused on making categorizations and 'putting people into boxes' but rather to investigate the complexity of this topic from a multitude of angles.

As an example, according to Deutsch (2004); Little et al. (2009) and Murcott (2000) cooking has been considered a 'feminine' task for centuries, whereas men have been considered food providers/ bread winners. Daniels et al. (2012); Szabo, (2011); Cairns et al. (2010); Mancino et al., (2006); Ekström et al. (2001); Murcott (2000); Newcombe et al. (2012); Aarseth et al. (2008) mention that the discourse on domestic cooking as being 'feminine' has changed a bit, in other words men are becoming more interested in participating in home cooking within the last decades. Despite what has just been mentioned, cooking seems to be still highly gendered and associated with 'feminine' characteristics (i.e. care giving). Ekström et al. (2001) argue that elements such as women increasingly joining the labour market and also the rise in equality expectations are contributing to more men cooking and therefore could be considered an important aspect of an ongoing world-wide modernization processes. A study by Mancino et al. (2006) suggests that women are still spending more time than men preparing food domestically and that the gap between the time spent cooking varies according to income. This could mean that in high income households men are spending more time cooking than in low income households.

Furthermore, Pitt et al. 2008 argue that the longer a man has lived alone, the more likely he is to agree that men should share housework such as domestic cooking, hence he might become less bound by traditional domestic gender roles. Nevertheless, several authors such as Deutsch (2004); Daniels et al. (2012); Fürst, (1997); Cairns et al. (2010); Aarseth et al. (2008); Veri et al. (2013)



argue that in order for men to distance themselves from the 'feminine' identity still associated with domestic cooking, they often see cooking as a hobby which they use for relaxation or pleasure. Deutsch (2004) therefore argues that the idea of men cooking is more accepted and embraced when it is done recreationally, such as BBQ'ing. Rogers (2008) mention that the grilling of meat outdoors by men is an embodiment of primitive, hegemonic 'masculinity' as it allow men to escape the domestic space to a more 'masculine' space such as the backyard or another outdoor setting.

This is further elaborated on by Veri et al. (2013) who argue that the barbeque grill and outdoor grilling has long been thought of as especially 'masculine', hence being a marker of masculinity. She further mentions there are several aspects to it such as the ability to cook on the BBQ. Also, she argues that the construction of the BBQ seems to be appealing to men. Cairns et al. (2010) point out that the domain of professional cooking is traditionally carried out by men as the professional chef is considered a talented and competent craftsman who is cooking in a public sphere. Could this mean that public image, how others perceive them might be relevant when discussing men's identity construction? One could not help but wonder whether cooking might be a way for men to stand out within society, to create for themselves a distinct identity and at the same time maybe seeking others' approval and validation. This also could mean that while women still do most of the daily cooking inside the household and even though men become more involved in domestic food work, men are showing more interest in occasional, recreational and professional cooking.

Cairns et al. (2010) further showed that while both men and women like to cook for others they have different constructions of it. Men seemed to experience cooking for others as a leisure activity and as a way to show of food knowledge and skills, whereas woman experienced cooking for others as providing care and proper notorious for the family or they experienced it with anxiety if entertaining guests. This means that men might engage in BBQ'ing as a leisure activity, where they can display knowledge and skills. With this being said, could it be that BBQ'ing could be seen as a 'display of power for men, as a way of positioning themselves within society, as a way of showing uniqueness?

As this thesis revolves around men and BBQ'ing one must consider the food choices made when men BBQ. One might believe that meat is the main food source used when BBQ'ing, however breads, salads and other vegetables are served as sides. To support this notion a study by Navarro et al. (2004) revealed that when cooking meat BBQ'ing was cooking method preferred by men, whereas iron-pan cooking was preferred by women. Meat is, according to several scholars such as Rogers (2008); Sobal (2005); Newcombe et al. (2012); Ruby et al. (2011); Veri et al. (2013); Heinz et al. (1998) associated with hegemonic masculinity. It is further associated with power, strengths and status. Sobal (2005) argues that eating meat symbolizes maleness and that men might not be 'real' men without meat. He further mentions that meat is often used in "man" rituals which could explain why men dominate meat cooking competitions such as BBQ contests. A study by Ruby et al. (2011) revealed that vegetarian men were perceived less 'masculine' than omnivores, which indicates that vegetables could be considered 'feminine' food sources (Newcombe et al. 2012; Roos et al. 2001; Veri et al. 2013; Heinz et al. 1998). Veri et al. (2013) argue that men, who are cooking what is culturally considered 'feminine' foods, might choose to do so by utilizing 'masculine' power utensils and tools such as a BBQ to distance themselves from the 'feminine' associations. Rogers (2008) argues that the use of power tools and outdoor BBQs become symbolic means to assert a form of hegemonic masculinity.

Taking this idea further, Veri et al. (2013) argue that in the gendered construction of food men are typically associated with the cooking of meat, especially outdoors, on a grill or over an open flame and women associated with preparation of vegetables. However, one can be quite reluctant when referring to what has been presented above. In the context of modern times, when many food trends are evolving, as consumers seem to be more and more difficult to depict, one might consider that there no fixed definition of what type of food makes a man more 'masculine' or not as the matter varies depending on the context. It could be that for some preparing vegetables when BBQ'ing to be seen as a 'manly and healthy' thing whereas for others not.

When investigating this issue within this thesis, one is preoccupied with shedding some light into the possible intrinsic, hidden meanings that men might associate with food and also linking it to aspects such as cultural, social, maybe even religious background as this might influence the way men perceive the food that they are BBQ'ing .

## Methodology - Tuning a pit

In this section, methodological approaches and procedures will be elaborated on in order to show the reader how this thesis came about. This section is an essential part of research as it aims to show the readers how answering the research question came about. Furthermore, it is meant to explain and display the structure of this thesis, in order for the reader to be able to get an overview on how knowledge was created. This means that informing the reader on the researcher's view of the world seems central, as this will influence the entire thesis.

### Paradigm

Whereas a paradigm could be defined as the belief system that guides researchers (Tashakkori et al. 1998; Guba, 1990), what constitutes a paradigm is not clearly definable (Carter et al. 2007; Harris et al. 1994). Guba et al. (1989) and Jonassen (1991) explain that a paradigm or the basic belief system is the sum of three elements of which the researcher must get acquainted with to understand how we come to know what we know. The three elements are considered to be the ontological, epistemological and methodological questions. This project will be guided by the constructivist paradigm according to Guba's approach (1990).

The ontological question addresses issues such as: 'What is there that can be known?' or 'what is the nature of reality?' (Guba et al. 1989). In other words, it is the assumptions that we hold about the physical world (Jonassen, 1991). This means that one has to consider matters of existence or being (Guba et al. 1989). The ontological stand within this study is relativism, where the researcher recognizes that multiple realities, which are socially constructed, exist. This means that each individual constructs its own reality through experiences and understandings of the world around him (Jonassen, 1991; Guba et al. 1989; Guba, 1990; Guba et al. 1994; Murphy, 1997). An example of this is the multiple social constructions of what it means to be a man or what BBQ'ing is. This means that there are no 'true' definitions on these matters, as the 'truth' implies social constructions on what the specific society regards or agrees as the best informed construction of it (Guba et al. 1989; Murphy, 1997). In addition, knowledge and 'truth' are created by the individual, not discovered because there is no 'real' 'truth' to be found (Schwandt, 1998; Murphy, 1997). The writer therefore expects to uncover various ideas, constructions and experiences in regards to men and BBQ'ing.

The epistemological question approaches, according to Guba et al. (1989), issues such as : ‘What is the relationship of the knower to the known or knowable?’ or ‘How can we be sure that we know what we know?’ These questions revolve around the understanding of the nature of knowledge and thoughts, in other words the origin of our knowledge (Jonassen, 1991; Ambert et al.1995; Von Glasersfeld, 1989). Carter et al. (2007) further mentions that epistemology is the justification of knowledge, meaning it is how we justify what we know. The epistemological approach in this study is a monistic subjectivist one. This means that according to Guba et al. (1989); Von Glasersfeld (1989); Murphy (1997) the researcher is a part of the construction of knowledge, as the researcher’s values, thoughts and feelings cannot be set aside and therefore will be reflected in all parts of this project. As a result of the subjectivity, it is important to note that the realities mentioned by the informants in this study are constructed together with the researcher (Gadamer, 2007; Von Glasersfeld, 1989); meaning that the researcher and informants are connected and the finding in this thesis therefore are recognized as specific to the study. In other words, because of the researcher is a part of the study and subjective, meaning that the constructions made together with the informants, the finding are not merely images on the informants view, thoughts and feeling, but rather images of shared constructions making the findings less generalizable, thus this is not the intent.

The methodological question is according to Guba et al. (1989): “what are the ways of finding knowledge?’. The combination of one’s ontological and epistemological approaches guides’ one methodological approach, as the methods could otherwise be counterproductive (Guba et al. 1989). Furthermore, methodology is according to Carter et al. (2007) ‘research action’, meaning that it is the justification of the techniques or methods used to create data. It is therefore a more practical approach in comparison to the ontological and epistemological questions (Guba et al. 1989). In this study a hermeneutic approach is used, as it allows for interpreting within the context of the research. The researcher will go back and forth between the gained knowledge and revise it, as the construction of knowledge is on-going (Thompson, et al. 1994). Nevertheless, these alterations are done if new or deeper knowledge on the matters investigated are gained throughout the writing process (Thompson et al. 1994; Guba, 1990; Guba et al., 1994; Lindseth et al., 2004; Murphy, 1997).

In relation to this study, it means that the writer had initial experiences, opinions and ideas on men and BBQ'ing. However, as she gained new knowledge on the matters by constantly comparing and contrasting, throughout the data collection and writing processes, new and deeper experiences, opinions and ideas emerged. In other words, the writer, according to the hermeneutic spiral, moved from a pre-understanding of men and BBQ'ing, which entailed her own views and judgments on the matter, and as the study evolved new views were uncovered, leaving the researcher with a fuller understanding of men and BBQ'ing (Andersen, 1998).

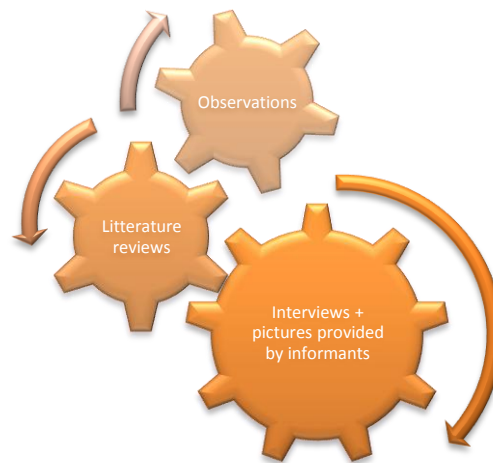
In summation, being a constructivist with regards to this study means that the researcher recognizes that identity and constructions of meanings regarding BBQ'ing are constantly created and re-created in various ways. This means that two men do not share the same reality and generalizing on behalf of all men is therefore not possible and also not the aim of this study. Rather the researcher acknowledges that each man must be viewed in the context of his daily life and the findings are to be diverse because of the each man's individual experiences, views and thoughts. Nevertheless, the individual behaviours might reveal social tendencies and meanings as each individual is part of a social world. Additionally, as the researcher was not able to uncover more than one study on men and BBQ'ing, the researcher hopes to bring a small contribution to this topic, highlighting the 'masculine' identity within BBQ behaviour.

### **Research design**

All research questions, including the one guiding this study, can be answered in numerous ways depending on the aim of the study (Higginbottom, 2009). However, as most constructivists, this study uses qualitative methods (Tashakkori, 1998) since these emphasize meanings and constructions, as they are contextual research methods (Ambert et al. 1995). The writer also considers that there is no such thing as a 'perfect' design, as the matter depends on the context of the research. Therefore, the design that was created within this section is just one of the many possible solutions aimed to help answer the research question.

Qualitative research methods are chosen as these will allow for an in depth understanding of how men construct their 'masculine' identity through BBQ'ing, by the informants' subjective BBQ experiences and thoughts. Several qualitative methods are used in different stages of the thesis

writing process, since each method provides different forms and amount of knowledge. The figure below gives an overview of these stages:



### **Unstructured observations**

The first method and the point of departure used in this study were unstructured, participative observations, which took place at a Braai/BBQ party in Cape Town, South Africa. The aim of the observation was to get an understanding of the mechanisms and behaviours men have when BBQ'ing that transcended the researcher's everyday life context and her observations done in that context. The researcher has several experiences of BBQ'ing herself, however, as the setting of this observation was in another culture and family than the ones earlier experienced by the researcher, behaviours might be more evident, which could lead way to new and possible better (or at the least, more nuanced) understandings of men and BBQ'ing (Morse et al. 2013). Men might not be aware of all their actions regarding their own BBQ'ing cultures, since the behaviours might occur on a subconscious level (Gram, 2010). The researcher therefore believed that letting the participants know they were being observed, would not change the outcome of the observation. However, as a constructivist the researcher assumes that people are the way that they claim they are. This means that they do not act differently because they know they are observed. Furthermore, the researcher's role as an observer was active as she participated in the party on equal terms with anyone else (Morse et al. 2013), except the researcher did not consume alcohol. Choosing not to consume alcohol was deliberate as the researcher wanted to keep a 'fresh' mind and therefore not lose any important data. Although the observation was open, the

researcher did not inform the participants on the exact purpose of the observation. The participants were told that the purpose was to get an understanding on South African BBQ practices; however, they were not told that the researcher had a special interest in the men and their behaviour. Choosing this kind of observation technique allows the researcher to get an understanding on what happens at a BBQ party, who does what and to what extent. However, the technique has limits as the researcher can only observe certain parts of the event at a time, meaning that parts of the BBQ event are missing (Andersen, 1998). Even though the participants knew about the observation, the observation was not recorded due to privacy protection of the participants. The conversations made during the observations, was not only about BBQ'ing but also on personal matters such as family problems etc., which therefore further highlighted the need for privacy. However, the researcher did photograph with the permission of the participants. Notes were made during the observation and a full description was written the following day (Attachment no. 2). Another aspect which should be mentioned in regards to the observation is that the group observed was a coloured (South African cultures differ largely in race) family with aunts, cousins, children etc. This means that the observation only gives an insight into that particular family's way of BBQ'ing.

The purpose of this observation was to gain preliminary knowledge on how BBQ'ing is 'performed' in a different setting than the one previously known to the researcher and to gain insights on the unconscious and conscious actions made by both men and women when BBQ'ing. These insights were used together with theory, to form the base for the interview guide.

### **Literature review**

The literature reviews were done by using academic articles and books, found via Google Scholar and the AAU library. The researcher did not find any other study similar to this, which means that one were to draw upon research which presumably was connected to men and BBQ'ing. However one text was found on BBQ competitions. Texts were found within subjects such as cooking, food, masculinity, consumer behaviour, gender roles, possessions and many others. Some texts were read as inspiration, were as other were directly used in the theory chapter. Based on extensive reading of various studies, the writer attempted, to the best of her abilities, to create a theory section within the thesis that would possibly 'fill in the gap' regarding men and BBQ'ing. Additional



literature reviews were done continuously as the empirical work inspires new issues, perspectives and angles on the subject.

### **Personal in-depth interviews**

The two methods mentioned above served as inspiration and therefore guided the researcher towards completing the interview guide used for the in-depth interviews. The in-depth interview gives the researcher the possibility to understand the interviewee and see the world from his point of view and therefore learn from his subjective beliefs and experiences of BBQ'ing (Kvale et al. 2009). The interviews were semi-structured meaning that the questions were meant as guidelines as the researcher wanted freedom to form dialogues around topics which arose during the interview (Bryman, 2004; Kvale et al, 2009; Morse et al. 2013).

This means that the interviews all vary greatly, as each man had individual feelings, thoughts and experiences with BBQ'ing and masculinity which needed different approaches. However, having an interview-frame with themes like; BBQ, masculinity and cooking, provided the researcher with an opportunity to have comparable interviews. The interview guide (Attachment no. 1) was created with four themes which guided the questions for each participant. The first theme was created to become acquainted with the interviewee, such as age, occupation, family and culture. The second theme involved questions regarding his views, experiences and use of BBQ'ing. The third theme was created for the researcher to acquire knowledge on how the interviewees related to ideas about various forms of masculinity, his own 'manhood act' and his gendering of different aspects such as BBQ'ing and cooking. Lastly, the fourth theme entailed questions on cooking in general; how he perceived domestic cooking, the division of work and what kind of domestic cook he perceived himself to be and how he classifies himself when doing domestic cooking. Together these themes are interrelated and interfere with each other, meaning that some questions were applicable in all themes. However, this could also mean that views on domestic cooking might show the researcher something about his views on gender and masculinity and vice versa.

It should be mentioned that the use of online interviewing via Skype was necessary as most participants were situated in various parts of the world, however when possible the interviews were done face to face. The researcher felt that using Skype would be the best option for the interviews as it is possible to see facial expressions and body languages via webcam, which

therefore give the researcher the possibility to see untold signs such as gestures etc. (Hanna, 2012). However, being able to interact with people in face-to-face interviewing would be ideal. Nevertheless, as a constructivist one might consider that there is no such thing as an ideal or perfect way of doing interviews. Another aspect of using Skype as an interview medium was that it allowed the interviewee to remain in his own house, which meant that the interviewee would be able to more comfortable as the researcher were not imposing on his personal space (Hanna, 2012). This further allowed the researcher to interview otherwise busy men on hours were he had time and energy to be interviewed; such times were early morning or late evenings due to time differences. Overall, the flexibility on time and location, were key-contributors to why some men agreed to be interviewed. Furthermore, due to technical problems with the researcher's computer, one interview with an Australian man was interrupted a few times, meaning that the recording was split in several parts. Lastly, some of the recordings are of low quality, due to an 'echo', which can make parts of an interview difficult to hear properly, those parts were discarded. Each interview was recorded with consent, all the interviewees were informed that they were free to end the interview at any given time without having to explain, and they were informed on how the data provided was to be used to overcome any eventual ethic dilemmas that might occur (Gillham, 2000), however no such problems was detected in any interview. The researcher is interested in the richness of constructions and the quality of answers, not on the platform used (whether it was face to face or Skype).

### **The interviewees**

The participants for the interviews were found via the researcher's personal network, snowball effect via Facebook and posts on a social network site called Quora. The interviewees were selected because they were men and had experience with BBQ'ing. Some had great experiences and considered BBQ'ing their hobby others only had occasional experiences. Furthermore, having interviewees from a variety of cultures across the world was important, as the purpose was to identify similarities and differences in men's behaviour, thoughts and feelings regarding BBQ'ing and their 'masculine' self on an international level (Mays et al. 1995). This means that the aim was not to find representative samples of specific cultures, but rather to acknowledge and embrace the existence of numerous variations on BBQ'ing and masculinity, which provides us meaningful knowledge on how men construct their identity through BBQ'ing. All the interviewees were asked

if they wanted to be anonymous, meaning that that their name would be altered in the study, none decided to use this opportunity. This following table provides an overview on the interviewees:

Avnish	Living in Aalborg, Denmark (4½ years), from Mumbai and Punjab in the northern India, 27 years old, I work with IT, single, no or limited experience with BBQ.
Berrie	Lives in Sydney, Australia, works with IT, married to a Dane (housewife), two kids, 52 years old, very experienced BBQ'er.
Caiwu (Western name: Jack)	Lives in Aalborg, Denmark (8 month), from Shanghai, China, exchange student in international business communication, lives alone, experienced BBQ'er.
Felipe	Lives in Aalborg, Denmark (2 years), from São Paulo, Brazil, artist, married, 3 kids, experienced BBQ'er.  Provided 3 photos (See DVD attached)
Grigoris	Lives in Thessaloniki, Greece, 29 years old, single, living alone, special education teacher, very experienced BBQ'er.  Provided 19 photos (See DVD attached)
Joshua	Lives in Maryland, Columbia, USA, 43 years old, computer programmer, single, live with female roommate, very experienced BBQ'er.
Lars	Lives in Nørresundby, Denmark, 35 years old, engineer, lives with pregnant girlfriend, very experienced BBQ'er.  Provided 7 photos (See DVD attached)
Luigi	Lives in Aalborg, Denmark (12 years), from Naples, Italy, 34 years old, lecture at UCN and Aalborg university, married with one child, little experience with BBQ'ing.

Nathielle	Lives in and from Cape Town, South Africa, 35 years old, have a girlfriend, lives alone, engineer at beer company, father to twins age 12, very experienced with BBQ, was also a guest and responsible for the BBQ at the observation.
Paul	Lives in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, 48 years old, recently separated, currently (briefly) living with his mother, computer technician, previously worked as a cook, very experienced BBQ'er.  Provided 7 photos (See DVD attached)
Razvan	Lives in Bucharest, Romania, 23 years old, studying cars, lives with girlfriend, occasional BBQ guest (he does not do the BBQ'ing himself)
Steven	Lives in the Hague, the Netherlands, he is Dutch/ Surinam, 41 years old, HR officer, married, homosexual, occasional BBQ'er.
Wayne	From Charlotte, North Carolina, USA, 32 years old, demo architect in the IT industry, married, certified BBQ competition judge, very experienced. Blogger on own BBQ-blog: <a href="http://www.bigwaynerbbq.com/">http://www.bigwaynerbbq.com/</a>
Yan	Lives in Rostock, Germany, 24 years old, studying logistics, single, live on college campus with many other students, experienced BBQ'er.
Xudong (Western name: Ricky)	From Huzhou, Zhejiang province, China, 25 years old, from, works in human resource, single, experienced BBQ'er.

The researcher did not aim to have a specific number of interviewees, but ended up with 15 individuals. In an ideal world, the research would continue to do interviews until 'the point of saturation' is reached, however as a constructivist is aware of the fact that the saturation point would be difficult (potentially impossible) to reach, as the researcher acknowledges that new knowledge is to be gained in each interview as each individual will have his own construction of BBQ'ing. The saturation point according to Ambert et al. (1995) is when major themes begin to

recur and only secondary themes emerge in qualitative studies. After the 15 interviews the researcher felt that a series of relevant themes and 'sufficient' content hereof had emerged, and the researcher therefore decided not to do more interviews. The interviews lasted between 30 – 90 min. according to the men's various experiences; some men had plenty of thoughts and experiences, whereas others did not.

At the end of each interview the men were asked to send pictures of their BBQ experiences, which together with their interview would provide valuable knowledge since visuals could enrich and enhance the understandings of the constructions made. The intent is not to make a content analysis or the similar on the specific pictures, but merely to actively use them in order to gain a better understanding of each interviewee, his everyday life and his BBQ'ing. Unfortunately, only a few interviewees sent pictures (see table showed previously).

Lastly, it is worth mentioning that all the interviews were made in English, except for one which was in Danish as this was the mother tongue of both the researcher and interviewee. Not all interviewees were fluent English speakers, which at times made the interviews difficult because of understanding problems. This also meant that some meanings might be lost as the interviewee could not answer or understand the question. Great effort was therefore put on asking the same questions numerous times in different parts of the interviews to uncover potential misunderstanding. Nevertheless, some answers have been discarded completely due to lack of understanding from both researcher and interviewee point of view, meaning that when the researcher is in doubt of an answer's quality in regards to understanding it is not used in the analysis. Furthermore, as a result of the various English levels, incorrect English grammar or choice of terms may appear in responses quoted.

### **Role of the researcher**

An important aspect of the interviews is the role of the researcher, as the researcher is female and all the interviewees are men. This provided some limitations and some advantages in the research (Ambert et al. 1995). One could imagine that some of the men might choose to withhold less equalitarian views, as they could fear that the female researcher would judge them as negatively. This was noticed as several men made great effort to display equalitarian views by mentioning that even though something was considered 'masculine' to them, it did not mean that a woman

could not perform the 'masculine' activity. One could speculate that this stress on equalitarian views might not be as evident if the researcher had been male. As mentioned in the theory section Reinicke, (2002) argues that men confirm their masculinity by competing and constantly measuring each other's behaviour in accordance with perceived 'masculine' behaviour, this means that if the interviewer had been a man, the interviewed men might express other parts of their 'masculinity' (and particularly more competitive aspects) whereas the female interviewer might have made them freer to speak about other issues, as they were free to speak without having to compete on being 'masculine'. Nevertheless, being a constructivist and therefore being subjective means that the interview is supposed to be seen as a construction between the interviewee and the researcher. This means that if the researcher had been another person, 'masculine' or not, the interview would have had a different outcome.

### **Methodology of analysis**

As qualitative analysis is based on social constructions, it is important to show the reader how going from raw data to the final analysis came about since it will help ensuring trustworthiness (Froggatt, 2001; Boeije, 2002). Doing qualitative analysis is complex as it involves having an overview on a vast amount of written data, which requires a systematic approach that enables the researcher to produce a final written report (Froggatt, 2001; Glaser, 1965).

This means that the data produced from the 15 interviews, together with the knowledge gained from the observation and theory section was collected and needed to be sorted to be able to analyze them. Collecting the data from the interviews required transcribing them, in order for the researcher to be able to use them. As mentioned earlier, some parts of the interviews were discarded due to the language problem, and furthermore, the researcher chose not to transcribe parts which were not considered crucial in regards to the overall theme of this study. Such subjects could be travelling information to Denmark, weather forecasts, specific recipes etc.

This means that interviews are not full-transcribed even though it would have been the 'ideal' (Kvale et al, 2009), however as a constructivist there are no 'ideal' way of assessing data from interviews (Kvale et al, 2009). The Danish interview was first transcribed in Danish and the used parts were then translated into English. All the recordings and transcripts are to be found on the enclosed DVD.

After collecting all data, general themes were found after their relation to the research question and other data were again discarded. These themes were chosen to make up the analysis section in this study. At last, the data from the interviews, the pictures provided by interviewees, the observation and the theory section, were analyzed by comparing and contrasting them to each other. The new knowledge created is building on the unique perspectives of the interviewees and participants in the observation, and further based on existing data (Hsieh et al. 2005).

## **The analysis - Bringing home the bacon**

In the following analysis chapter, the researcher explores the behaviour, perceptions and meanings that the interviewees construct about BBQ'ing. As the focus on this thesis revolves men's identity construction through BBQ'ing, the researcher found that the empiric data should guide the analysis. This means that significant themes constructed by the interviews, will be the themes of the analysis. The researcher therefore uses the theory when applicable, thus it is not the frame of the analysis.

### **The BBQ Experience**

Introductory it seems evident to discuss the meanings associated with BBQ'ing, to further be able to understand how BBQ'ing is used in men's identity construction. As the scientific approach of the researcher is constructivism the researcher does not aim to get a 'true' definition on the matter, as she does not believe that such a 'truth' exists, but there instead are multiple 'truth' and realities. However, each interviewee has his own definition and associations, which needs to be addressed prior to examining the various meanings associated with BBQ.

The interviewees are from numerous cultures, consequently there are several approaches to BBQ'ing. Within this thesis, the researcher has deliberately chosen to use the word BBQ as the overall term covering also grilling and smoking; however, some interviewees see these methods as separate techniques:

*"To me the definition is to cook the meat low; at lower temperatures for a long period of time and using smoke from burning wood as flavour enhancement, whereas grilling you still have to smoke as the flavour enhancement, but you're going to get a little bit higher temperature and a little shorter timeframe. I do both barbecuing and grilling. And I really much enjoy both." (Wayne, 32 year old, American)*



However, there is a little agreement to what BBQ'ing means:

*"The difference is that the BBQ is on a gas grill and Braai is in charcoal or on fire. In America they call it BBQ, we call it Braai. With Braai you get the smokiness of the coal and the fire, and it just taste better. The BBQ is a grill with gas, there is no flavour. That's why some BBQs have a smoker. That's in South Africa it's like that." (Nathielle, 35 year old, South African)*

The equipment used is therefore different from man to man, and it seems that the reason for the variation is to be found in geography reasons where different approaches are the norms in different places. The men thus adapt and have learned their BBQ style from their surroundings where they do not have the same ideas about what the practice of BBQ'ing entails.

As showed above there are numerous ideas on what the cooking method entails, nevertheless almost all the interviewees were mentioning BBQ'ing not only as a cooking method, but maybe more interesting as a social event as Luigi, 34 year old, Italian explains:

*"It means an outdoor activity, a social event, drinking a beer and standing by the BBQ and talking, it's a social event where the food is important, but not the primary event. The social aspect of spending the day out with family and friends, the outdoor aspects is also quite important, that's why I don't get the BBQ'ing in winter."*

This BBQ event takes shape in numerous ways, however, it seems that the BBQ cooking method is the centre of all events and everything else take a secondary position. Gregoris, 29 years old, Greek mentions that it would not be the same if an event revolved around meat boiling in a pot in the kitchen, indicating that the outside factor makes it possible to gather around the creation of a meal and afterwards eating it. Furthermore, one could argue that BBQ'ing has other norms attached to it than 'inside' cooking, as usually people would gather inside only to share the experience of eating food and not creation of it. Steven, a 41 year old, Dutch/ Surinam further elaborate on the difference between a dinner party and a BBQ:

*"I do think that because it's a BBQ people tend to help more than if you have traditional dinner party, it's always one or two people running around. With a BBQ it's just different, everybody helps and pitches in. It is informal, less formal were people try to help out with as much as they can."*

Steven argues that there are different etiquettes attached to the two types of social events, were at a BBQ people are also gathering around the workload, leaving the BBQ event to be a co-created group activity and a dinner party to be created by the hosts.

One could argue that BBQ'ing becomes not only something you do, but something you have – you have a BBQ event, with all sort of social interactions; conversations, games and the sharing of food. Almost all men agreed that BBQ'ing were done primarily by men, and since the men tend to be responsible for the BBQ'ing, it further places them in a position where they become the centre of attention. They become the executer of the event, as without this person behind the BBQ the event would not take place and he therefore becomes the key figure in this social outdoor setting. Several authors such as Deutsch (2004); Daniels et al. 2012; Fürst, 1997; Cairns et al. (2010); Aarseth et al. (2008); Veri et al. (2013) have argued that men tend to be more involved in social cooking or cooking for leisure, such as a BBQ party. The same authors further mention that domestic cooking as cooking for the family on a regular basis is mainly a woman task. Nevertheless, most of the men interview participated or shared the task of cooking domestically, but only few mentioned that they actually enjoyed it. Domestic cooking is daily and routinely, one could argue that the attention on the cook is not the same as at a BBQ event, which might be the reason why several of the men find it a necessity.

In contrast with the other interviewees, Avnish, a 27 year old Indian, has a very different look at BBQ'ing:

*“For me BBQ'ing is not a social event, because in India it's more to do with the breads and the tandoor (Indian BBQ) which is the traditional way of survival in our culture and is an everyday thing. BBQ'ing is never a planned event in India, so we don't have this BBQ'ing culture as in the western world .... In India woman cook the traditional way to feed their families.”*

He argues that BBQ'ing is a necessity and an everyday cooking method used to feed the family. He further mentions that BBQ'ing is a woman's job. One might argue that caring for a family, in regard to making sure they get the right nutrition etc. is often considered a female task, whereas event and social cooking is considered 'masculine'. This means that it might not be the BBQ cooking method, which is 'masculine' but rather the social aspect of cooking which is “a man's domain”. Avnish, who is from a business family, further argues:

*“BBQ’ing is also a matter of class in India .... Mostly lower class people BBQ because of their economic situation, meaning the amount of money they have in their pockets to make ends meet, unless one is economically viable one would use more modern methods like stoves or gas stoves other than BBQ’ing on an open fire.”*

He associates BBQ’ing with the poor population. This is in line with the ideas of Olivie (1987) who argues that when people reject something, the rejected is often symbols of the values they don’t identify with. Therefore, Avnish might not BBQ because he is economic viable and has a family who does not need to cook on a BBQ to survive. Not BBQ’ing could therefore become, in the case of some cultures, a symbol of wealth and perhaps succeeding as a provider.

### **Acquiring the BBQ**

According to the interviewees there are two ways of acquiring the BBQ; one is buying it and the other is building it from scratch. The way that the informants acquire their BBQ might be influenced by how they relate to masculinity where cultural settings have an impact. The matter of choosing a BBQ will be elaborated within the next section. The place of purchase has relevance as it seems that no matter what BBQ one chooses, the place to buy it or the remedies to build it with, is the hardware store.

*“They sell gas grills in hardware stores, and if I wanted to buy one I would go to the hardware store. You wouldn’t go to a cooking store or kitchen store, you wouldn’t go to the place you buy a stove, because it is a classical men thing, he uses it as a tool. It’s a piece of machinery, but relatively because it doesn’t plug in. but in the hardware store you’ll get all the grilling stuff, charcoal, seasoning mixes, tongs, grilling tools. Rather than going to a kitchen store where you buy the stuff you keep inside in the kitchen.” (Joshua, 43 year old, American)*

As Joshua points out, it might seem strange that BBQ equipment purchased at a hardware store, as opposed to a kitchen store, were one usually would go for cooking purchases. He mentions that it has to do with a BBQ being a tool that a man uses, a piece of machinery, which is interesting as he seems to ‘masculinize’ it by making a cooking tool a machine. He might do so to ensure that his hobby of BBQ’ing is perceived as ‘masculine’ and not ‘feminine’, as operating a mobile machine, such as Joshua’s BBQ, is considered hegemonic ‘masculine’ (Cheng (1999). The use of ‘masculine’ tools and therefore also the purchase of them, could be seen as distancing oneself

from 'feminine' associations (Veri et al., 2013) such as kitchen appliances and kitchen stores. A hardware store could be considered a 'power' store of 'masculine' equipment – a store where men can go and purchase 'masculine' items, which will allow them to do 'masculine' things, such as constructing, repairs or BBQ'ing. In the interview with Luigi, a 34 year old Italian, living in Denmark, it was further implied that his Danish wife, considered a hardware store 'masculine', as she wanted him to ask the clerk as he was man, despite his lack of communication skills:

*"We were at the hardware shop and hardware terminology in Danish is not my strong side, so I asked her to ask the clerk in the shop for information, she said: "why don't you ask, you are the man". I said: "I'm not-asking because I'm afraid, but you are much better to ask because you know the terminology, there are many words that I don't know, within the field".(Luigi, 34 year old, Italian)*

The quote is relevant as it contains several indications on how masculinity is constructed and maintained in everyday life situations. Firstly, as the hardware store might be considered a 'masculine' domain, one could consider that the hegemonic 'masculine' ideals are to be enacted, hence proving his masculinity. Luigi argues that he did not want to ask the clerk for help due to communication issues. However, one might reason that asking the clerk, whom one could argue is the personification of this 'masculine' domain, would threaten Luigi's masculinity as he will then display that he is less 'masculine' than the clerk, because he is less familiar in this 'masculine' domain. This notion is further developed, as Luigi stresses to his wife that he is not afraid to ask, establishing that he is just as much of a man as the clerk. Both asking for help and being afraid is according to Lease et al. (2012) associated with femininity, and therefore actions refused as being hegemonic 'masculine'. Lastly, in line with Connell (1995) who argues that masculinity and femininity is interrelated, Luigi's wife further indicates that her femininity is connected to him being able to prove his masculinity, and therefore she refused to ask even though her linguistic capabilities might be better than his. Together they reinforce perceived gender roles. Furthermore, De Visser et al. 2007, argues that the behaviour a man engages in might have implications for his 'masculine' identity, which makes the process of buying a BBQ gendered. If a man decides to engage in behaviour connected to BBQ'ing, he might unconsciously signal to himself and others that he adheres to the hegemonic masculinity ideal. Therefore, could his

masculine identity be constructed via others and own impressions and expectations of him, making it difficult to stray from those exact ideals.

### **THE BBQ**

Moving on, choosing a BBQ might for some seem as a simple task, nevertheless, because there are several different options on the market, one might think that choosing the 'right' BBQ is much more than just buying a simple tool to grill food on. Several scholars (Wilk, 2000; Belk 2001; Dittmar et al. 2000; Landon, 1974; Belk, 1988; Kastanakis et al. 2012; Kressmann et al. 2006) agree that consumption is a tool of self-expression, which means that buying the 'right' BBQ is complicated as it will symbolize ones, perhaps desired, identity (Hosany et al. 2012; Heath & Scott, 1998; Freitas et al., 2008; Onkvisit et al. 1987). As mentioned previously the interviewees were split in terms of the type of BBQ chosen.

### **Handy BBQ men**

Several of the men build their BBQ themselves; as an example, a BBQ could be a simple hole in the ground as Xudong, 25 year old, Chinese explains:

*"We build our BBQ, it is not that complicated, just dig a hole and put something in it. We do it because it is convenient, we don't have to carry it"*

Which he explains is due to it being easy to transport. He further points out that building it, is not that complicated; nevertheless, building and constructing things are usually something which require physical strength and knowhow, which according to (Veri et al. 2013) and Cheng (1999) are hegemonic 'masculine' ideals. This means that he by mentioning it is not that complicated and therefore easy to do, might imply that doing 'masculine' is easy to him. Razvan, a 23 year old Romanian gives another reason why this simple, on-time fire becomes the solution:

*"All we carry with us is a lighter. My dad builds the BBQ because he is the man of the family, as I told you before it is something manly".*

As he mentions, it seems that building one's own fire, with materials found in nature, is for Razvan considered 'masculine'. It seems like making use of the nature around them, could be a way of proving that they have a primitive survival instinct, and ideas of men as natural hunters or the inner caveman (Deutsch, 2004) might come into play. Another form of construction is by building a

permanent BBQ in the backyard of a house. There are several materials they use, concrete, bricks or metal. Yan, a 24 year old German student explains, how it is not only the idea of building a BBQ that seems 'masculine', but also the materials used:

*"I have built a grill with my dad and I think it's very 'masculine' to build something like this because it's built of metal which is considered heavy and tough like men."*

Cheng (1999) argues that hegemonic masculinity is associated with heavy, dangerous, dirty, skilled and interesting work, which is all applicable when building one's own BBQ.

Another interesting aspect in the above quotes from Razvan and Yan is the mentioning of their fathers as constructors or co-constructors of the BBQ. Razvan states that his father build it as he is the man of the family, which leaves Razvan to still be 'the boy', a position he further elaborates on in the interview as he describes himself as a still playful boy, who is not yet a man. One could argue that building a BBQ could become a 'rite of passage' in the journey of becoming a 'real' man. Yan explains that he co-created a BBQ with his farther, which indicates that he could have moved into 'manhood', seeing his father more and himself as more or less equal in the matter of building and 'battling' the hard material.

### **Money-Spending BBQ men**

Another possibility of obtaining a BBQ is by buying it. About half of the interviewees have bought their BBQs and several of them have chosen well-known and expensive brands such as Weber. Luigi, 34 year old, Italian, who does not have a lot of BBQ experience, mentions that he bought a Weber, because he didn't know other brands and because *"it is what people have"*. This is implying that he was looking at other people's consumption choices and that he did not want to separate himself and maybe reveal his lack of experience (Wilk, 2000 and Veblen, 1899), also indicating that BBQ'ing has normative 'rules' which tells him what Luigi 'should' purchase. Furthermore, it is relevant to shed light on the connection between his usage and the price of the Weber, which is one of the more expensive brands on the market. In the interview Luigi mentions that he BBQs a couple of times a year and therefore buying an expensive BBQ might seem illogical. One could argue that choosing a Weber might function as a tool to elevate himself as a man (Landon, 1974) or in other words, he chooses a BBQ that he know he will get recognition and perhaps obtain envy by other men (Wilk, 2000 and Veblen, 1899), something he might not obtain

by his BBQ skills alone as a result of his poor experience. Furthermore, could one argue that purchasing luxury items could function as a tool to show others that one is successful and can provide good things for his family, which could be considered traditional 'masculine' breadwinner ideals.

### **The BBQ tools**

Another aspect is the utensils used for the BBQ. Again there seem to be two types of men; the ones who buy them, and the ones who either make them or use natural resources. Lars, a 35 year old Danish engineer, puts a great effort into making equipment himself. He explains several times that he does so, because he likes to make BBQ'ing as easy as possible:

*"I have made a great effort to make it easy; I have made a grill starter, which makes it easy, it will start the coals in 5 min. It is this nerdiness, I cannot stop thinking how can I make something easier? It is also my job to think in these lines. Grilling a steak can take about 30 min., if it was more demanding than that then I did not want to stand there and fumble with it all the time.<sup>1</sup>"*

*"It is worth spending time making good food, but maybe it is more fun for me to spend time on making it easier. Then, when it is easy, one can do it (BBQ) once in a while, but then it is not that exiting. It is not so much the open flames; it's the taste and the result which matters. It is not that comfortable; there are smoke, hot and one gets dirty. I don't want much adversity, before I think it's annoying. But if the result becomes good, then I just have to find a way to make it easier. It has to be easy. I use a lot of time making it easy, I must admit<sup>2</sup>."*

It seems like he does not enjoy BBQ, however he likes the food produced, which is his reason to do it. Nevertheless, it is interesting that he seems to dislike 'masculine' makers such as smoke and getting sweaty and dirty (Cheng, 1999), however, he continues to BBQ and defines it as his hobby. The reason for this might be found in other interviews:

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<sup>1</sup> "Jeg har gjort meget ud af at gøre det let, jeg har lavet en grillstarter der gør det let, der starter kullene på 5 min. Det er det her nørderi, jeg kan ikke lade være med at tænke på hvordan jeg kan gøre noget lidt nemmere. Det er jo også mit job at tænke i de baner. At grille en bøf kan tage så tage en halv times tid, hvis det var mere besværligt så gad jeg ikke stå og fumle med det hele tiden"

<sup>2</sup> "Det er værd at bruge tid på at lave god mad, men det kan godt være at det for mig er sjovere at bruge tid på at gøre det nemt. Når det så er blevet nemt, så kan man godt gøre det engang i mellem, men så er det ikke så forfærdeligt spændende. Det er ikke så meget det der med åben ild, det er smagen og resultatet det kommer an på. Det er ikke vandvittigt behageligt, der er røget, varmt og man bliver beskidt. Det skal ikke gå mig ret meget imod før jeg synes det er træls, men hvis resultatet bliver godt så må jeg bare finde ud af at gøre det nemmere. Det skal helst være let. Jeg bruger en masse tid på at gøre det nemt for mig selv det må jeg erkende."

*"The women don't like the smoke. That is typical and the smoke gets in your hair and woman hate washing their hair, blow drying it, their clothes stink of smoke – they hate it!" (Nathielle, 35 year old, South African)*

*"I just think that it because they (woman) don't want to get dirty. " (Grigoris, 29 year old, Greek)*

Nathielle and Grigoris seem to judge these behaviours to be more 'feminine' than 'masculine', which could indicate that other men, might have the same judgments. Therefore Lars needs to negotiate his identity between who he is (e.g. someone who don't like to become dirty) and who others think he should be (e.g. a man who don't mind getting dirty). Consequently, he might choose something in between, where he does something that is perceived 'masculine' (BBQ) and by further adding a "'masculine' act, like construction of utensils, he can maintain a 'masculine' image which will allow him minimum time on the BBQ, hence becoming dirty etc. Another reason why he chooses to BBQ might be his girlfriend, as he states:

*"I think, maybe, that I got encouraged a bit to do this nerdiness (BBQ), that it actually got placed upon me by my girlfriend. When I think back, then I didn't grill before I met her."<sup>3</sup>*

Earlier in the interview, he had mentioned that he felt like a 'real' man when he has sex with his girlfriend, which together with the quote above, it might show that satisfying her particular needs plays an important role when he negotiates his 'masculine' self. He might BBQ to impress and show her that he is 'masculine' for her.

## **The food**

Another aspect of BBQ'ing is the food consumed, where all men agreed that meat is the primary food source and other types of foods like vegetables, breads etc. were secondary:

*"Meat is primary; one doesn't start the BBQ for the vegetables. I properly wasn't started with BBQ'ing if I was a vegetarian" (Lars, 35 years old, Danish)*

From this quote one can argue that Lars seems to believe that his BBQ hobby stems from his love for meat, however, one might consider that eating meat symbolizes more than just a food source. This is further demonstrated in a quote from Felipe, a 30 year old artist from Brazil:

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<sup>3</sup> "Jeg tror måske jeg er blevet opfordret en smule til det her nørderi, at jeg er blevet pusset lidt på det faktisk af min kæreste. Når jeg tænker tilbage så grillede jeg ikke før jeg mødte hende."



*“Because we eat salad everyday in Brazil so you cannot lose the barbecue opportunity to enjoy the meat. I am a meat man”*

This shows that he identifies with eating meat to the extent of calling himself ‘a meat man’ and as Sobal (2005) argues meat symbolizes maleness and one is not a ‘real’ man without meat, identifying with the meat might be a way for Felipe to emphasize himself as being ‘a real (meat) man’, hence being very ‘masculine’ in regards to eating. Furthermore, as he explains that he eats salads every day, and that he is afraid of losing the opportunity to enjoy meat, it might indicate that a BBQ event give him the opportunity to display himself as a ‘real’ meat eating man towards others.

Several of the men mention their love for meat as something ‘masculine’, whereas vegetables is food women enjoy, hence it being feminine. An example of this is Luigi, a 34 year old Italian:

*“Its (meat) food that traditionally men enjoy. Its heavy food and again I consider heavy food ‘masculine’. I will think of a salad or vegetables, which is not that heavy, with woman as it’s something they might appreciate also based on my wife and mother in law.*

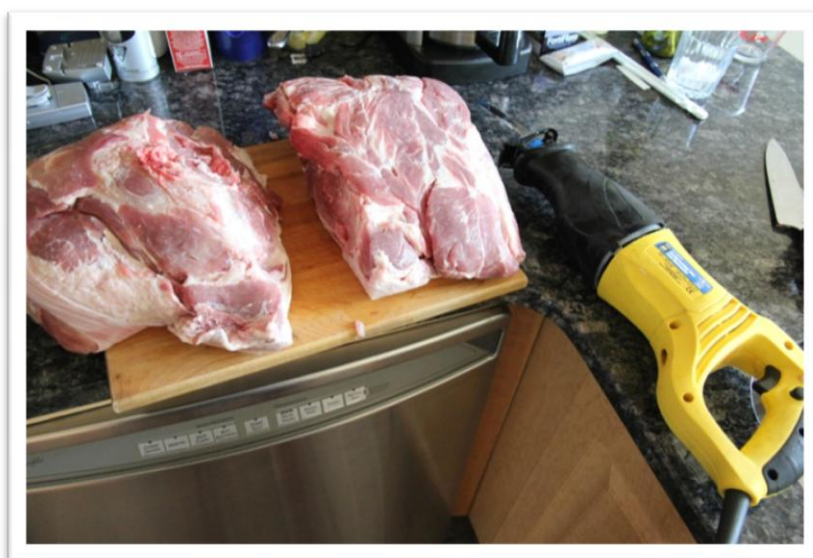
Several scholars such as Newcombe et al. 2012; Roos et al. 2001; Veri et al. 2013 and Heinz et al. 1998 also mention that meat could be perceived as ‘masculine’ and vegetables is a ‘feminine’ foods. One could argue, that because people tend to gender foods and food choices into gender, men have to negotiate their ‘masculine’ identity by choosing foods they are socially considered ‘masculine’ such as meat. This gendered categorization seems to have an impact on the BBQ’ing as well, making the BBQ process gendered as well:

*“After the meat is done, my mom comes and does the vegetables” (Razvan, 23 year old Romanian)*

It seems like even preparing vegetables for others is considered ‘feminine’ and that might be the reason why Nathiella, 35 year old, South African, describes the preparations of different food as a matter of skills:

*“Men just don’t make salads properly. We just don’t know, I can make one salad and that’s it. If it’s only guys then there won’t be salad, only meat and booze. The women will bring salads, rolls and cool drinks.” ... “The Guys Braai (South African way of BBQ’ing) better than woman!”*

Veri et al. (2013) argues that men might choose to use 'masculine' tools, such as a BBQ to distance themselves from the 'feminine' foods. On the other hand, one could then argue that choosing 'masculine' tools on already 'masculine' foods, could then emphasize one 'masculinity' as Rogers (2008) argues that the use of power tools becomes symbolic means to assert a form of hegemonic 'masculinity'. This photo from Paul, a 48 year old, Canadian, show the usage of power tools not usually used in the kitchen, might be due to the size of the meat, but more interesting, he chose to document his usage. This might indicate a need to display that he was able to 'tame' this big piece of 'masculine' meat, with a 'masculine' power tool, which could display him as 'masculine'.



### **The drink(s)**

An aspect of a BBQ event, which appears to be just as important as the food is the drinks. Just as the majority of the interviewed men, Berrie, a 52 year old, Australian, thinks that beer is an essential part of BBQ'ing:

*"I always need to drink two beers while I'm BBQ'ing" .... "The men want to stand around the BBQ and have beer and talk about men stuff."*

He further implies that beer drinking is something men enjoy together, thus it being a 'masculine' social marker. Luigi, 34 year old, Italian, reveal that there are certain 'rules' that men has to adhere to in the activity, to be a part of the group. This means that not drinking beer together with other men might leave you excluded from the group. Excluding a man from a group could according to Connell (1995) be a sign of 'masculine' hierarchy, were, in this case, the non-beer

drinking man is valued as less 'masculine' than the others in the group. Drinking beer could therefore be considered a marker of hegemonic masculinity as dominating (including and excluding) other forms of masculinities (Wang, 2000); Mac an Ghaill, 2000; Cheng, 1999; Kane, 2006; Reinicke, 2002; Connell, 1995), might help proving ones belonging in the upper part of a 'masculine' hierarchy. Paul, a 48 years old, Canadian, mentions a gender division regarding the drinks:

*"We men do the beer and wine at BBQs, were the ladies would do their cocktails."*

BBQ'ing might be a place where it is important to be very 'masculine' and where one is not 'allowed' to display 'femininity'. One could therefore reason that if a man was to have a 'feminine' cocktail at a BBQ event, he could be expelled from the hegemonic 'masculine' group. This might devalue him as a man, not being a 'real' or perhaps a 'feminine' homosexual man (Cheng, 1999), which according to Reinicke (2002) is something men are fearful of. Luigi, 34 year old Italian, explain this 'fear' of being labelled homosexual:

*"The fear men have. I don't know where that comes from. I have homosexual friends, and I have nothing against homosexuals. I don't know if its actual fear, it is more that I need to make sure that others see that I am man and BBQ'ing is part of that."*

This could mean that if a man does not act 'masculine' and uses 'masculine' things, in a 'masculine' way, he could be perceived as 'feminine' and therefore possibly as homosexual, which means that he cannot be a "real" man according to the hegemonic 'masculine' ideal. On the other hand, Cheng, 1999 argue that all men sometimes act 'feminine', which might allow men to drink 'feminine' cocktails without losing 'masculinity'. With that being said, one might think that some specific actions will devalue a man's masculinity, maybe if he performs several "feminine" actions at the same time or if the action is considered very feminine, whereas other actions might not be seen as equally 'feminine' and therefore not exclude men from a 'masculine' group.

It therefore seems that food and beer are two very important 'masculine' symbols at a BBQ event, which could be the reason why almost all the interviewed men, mention meat and beer as ingredients to a good BBQ. Steven, a 42 year old Dutch/ Surinam homosexual, explains:

*"It is more about meat and beer for a lot of people, than it's about good food." ... "BBQ for me is outdoor, real fire, no gas, no electricity, sitting around with friends having a laugh, drinking some wine and making good food."*

It is interesting that he acknowledge that BBQ'ing for others seems to entail the 'masculine' symbols of meat and beer, whereas he do not seem to care what food is served as long as it's good. He explains in the interview that him and his partner often BBQ vegetables or even vegetarian dishes, which suggest that he might not oblige to the same hegemonic 'masculine' ideal as the other men in the interview. It could be because one in the hegemonic 'masculine' ideal interprets homosexual men as men who lack masculinity (Connell, 1995; Mac an Ghaill, 2000) and disapprove of homosexuality as part of the hegemonic ideal (Kane, 2006). Striving towards the hegemonic 'masculine' ideal therefore seems in vain, which could explain him not following the same normative food rules for men BBQ'ing.

### **Competing men**

As mentioned earlier BBQ'ing is most often considered a social event. Several of the men mentioned that competition are common when BBQ'ing. It seems like competing takes several forms, such as Felipe, 30 year old, Brazilian mention:

*"In Brazil men have is an obsession for good meat, they are always thinking that it's a competition, who brought the best meat for the barbecue."... "We just love to compete, it could be football: we always make fun if my team won and yours lost. We don't win anything we just won the rights to make fun of the other, this is the point of the competition. It is more 'masculine' to do it, but I know women who do it to. Actually Tannit (his wife) provokes me to do it - to get me nervous I mean it's nothing serious it's just for fun. "*

Felipe mentions, that he competes with other men about the BBQ meat and football scores. He states that the aim is to earn the right to make fun of the 'loser', however, implying that he actually does compete because of his wife. He further mentions that he considers it to be 'masculine', which could suggest that he might be nervous to lose face, hence to be seen as less 'masculine' in front of his wife or other men. This is in line with Lease et al. (2012); Kane (2006) and Imms (2000) who claim that competing together with domination is a hegemonic 'masculine' ideal, competing could be a way to prove ones manhood (Imms, 2000), leaving the winner 'free' to

dominate the loosing man. Razvan, a 23 year old Romanian, further elaborates on the 'prize' of competing:

*"It is a bit of competition. The one who wins is the one who does the BBQ, I don't know, it's like the king of the crowd, or the king of the event."*

The 'prize' of becoming the king of the event emphasizes the importance for men to compete. Lars, a 35 year old Dane, describes that he at the moment has a ceasefire with one of his friends, as they always compete. He explains that they each have found a piece of meat that they BBQ, and that they are not entering each other's territories, he further explains that they compete on other things than BBQ'ing, also other 'masculine' symbols such as having the best car or whiskey. He states that all he gains is 'masculinity' points. One can argue that BBQ'ing becomes a competition or a battle zone; BBQ'ing becomes masculinised because it is a competition about manhood where one can only win on "masculine" parameters. It is about being the best man, instead of being the best cook. This means that manhood is always challenged, which might be the reason for Luigi, 34 year old Italian, doubting masculinity:

*"It is a man thing to be in doubt of your masculinity, your manhood – men are always questioning. I think that's a man thing, to be in doubt."*

Doubting a primary part of one identity, one's gender identity (Jenkins, 2008), might indicate the masculinity within a man is constantly negotiated and protected because of the challenge put by other men.

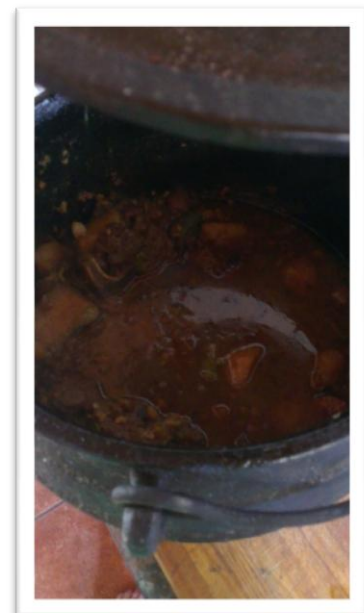
Competing can also take other a more serious form, such as professional BBQ competitions. Two of the interviewees have experience with this sort of competing. Wayne, a 32 year old American is a certified BBQ competition judge, this means that he uses much of his free time on BBQ'ing either via competitions or via the blog he writes. One might argue that becoming somewhat an 'expert' on BBQ'ing with the liberty to judge others on their BBQ skills, might be seen as the 'ultimate masculinity', as usually a judge is not challenged therefore leaving him and his 'masculinity' unchallenged. Nathiella, 35 year old, South African also has experience with public BBQ competitions, however, not at a professional basis but rather for school events etc.:

*“ I would do a potjie competition at a school or something like that, if one of my friends ask me to come and make it, then I will go and attend it, to make a potjie it is more difficult, because you have to have the right amount of fire and heat, so it’s more difficult than doing a Braii. Anybody can Braii, but not anybody can make a potjie. “*

Via the observation the researcher learned that in South Africa they have several traditional forms of BBQ’ing ; Braii which is what most would consider grilling and then they have something called potjiekos (potjie) which is stew made on a BBQ or on ‘real’ fire. It seems that he is interested in competitions, because he there can get public acknowledgement for his skills, as he perceives making a potjiekos difficult. In the case of winning, one might argue that he publicly has shown the other competitors that he might be more male than the others.



South African Potjiekos on the BBQ.



### **Praise and attention**

When men are cooking for others it might be according to Cairns et al. (2010) to be a tool to show others that one possesses knowledge and skills. Several men interviewed acknowledge that being praised for ones BBQ skills was nice and important for them. Joshua, a 43 year old American, acknowledges that getting attention and praise is important for a man when he cooks, therefore Joshua tends to do something big and dramatic, as he then knows that it will get him the wanted

attention. Furthermore he describes in the following quote, why men in his culture find a need to show off or display their food knowledge and skills:

*“It’s more just me as a person, me in my male role. I don’t think of it as being part of my perception of myself as masculine, except to the degree that men in this culture show of. Men do big flashy events to attract women. I don’t expect women to throw themselves at me at an event. But it puts me in the role as a father like I’m providing food for people. This is kind of weird because I’m not a father and it’s not something I really want to be. ”*

Attracting women by a doing big and flashy event could make one think of behaviour from the animal world, such as a peacock showing of his feathers to get attention from females. Joshua also mentions that providing for people is the role of a father, however usually the role of providing in a breadwinner context means providing money for food to feed the family, whereas women traditionally would be the ones caring and actually does the feeding (Lease et al. 2012). It is interesting that despite of not wanting to be a father, he still enjoys part of that role and one might think that displaying ‘fatherly’ characteristics might be a part of attracting a woman. With this in mind, one might argue that the competition to become ‘king’ of the BBQ event mentioned previously, is actually a way to get rid of competition leaving the manliest male back to receive glory from females. This connection between competition and woman is highlighted by Luigi, 34 year old Italian:

*“I think it arrives from competition, showing your competitors that you are the best one. First you need to out rule your competitors and show them that you are the one. Then you go to next step: woman. ”*



### The BBQ space

Several of the interviewees mention that at BBQ parties men and women was divided in the sense that woman grouping together doing 'feminine' things and actions, and vice versa with the men. This was also the case during the observation in South Africa which is pictured in these photos:



As these pictures show the men are gathered outside to play cards, drink alcohol and BBQ, while the woman was gathered inside to talk and take care of the kids. This behaviour emphasizes Rogers (2008) point on that BBQ'ing, allow men to escape the domestic 'feminine' space to a more 'masculine' outdoor setting. During the observation it was noticed that men only came inside to fetch more alcohol and when a woman came outside often she was not included in the group. An example of this was when the researcher, came out to the group of men they did not ask her to join. Later on she asked if she could join, but she was refused with an excuse of the game being too difficult. One could argue that this excuse was made to exercise a dominating role toward the entering 'femininity', thus defending the 'masculine' turf. Paul, a 48 year old Canadian also experiences this gender dividing:

*"During the lead up to it ,it's a little more segregated but when we sit down to eat everybody is together unless there's golf or hockey on the TV were the men would crowd around while the women have their chat and drinks."*

As he describes it, the food is the source binding together, however he stress that if the BBQ event is topped with yet another 'masculine' activity, such as watching sports, then this takes priority over eating with women. One could argue that BBQ'ing becomes a space of manhood, were doing



masculine with other men is the overall priority. One could therefore consider that even though it for the majority of the men is a social event with both genders present, it is a social 'masculine' space, used to display ones 'masculine' belonging:

*"It is some sort free space of manhood, an area of manhood, a place where you have the possibility to play your manhood, showing the world, showing your surroundings that I'm actually a man. I might be cooking and cleaning, but I'm a man – I'm BBQ'ING!" (Luigi, 34 year old, Italian)*

One might argue that in modern days, were men cannot 'battle it out' via fighting they need a vent or an outlet for their masculinity and the BBQ'ing arena seems to be such an outlet. Furthermore, values such as equality between genders is becoming the norm, at least in the western world, were women are entering what traditionally was a man's sphere, leaving men with fewer 'battlegrounds'. Defence of these battlegrounds, might be another reason why it seems that all primary things in a BBQ event seems to be 'masculine' symbols. BBQ'ing is could be considered as a group activity, with some people to shop for food, others to make the sides and someone to BBQ. Because the participants in a BBQ event often varies, one might argue that being the leader in the group is something that need to be established every time a new BBQ event takes place.

The following photo shows Grigoris, a 29 year old, Greek, BBQ'ing and clearly displaying his 'masculinity':



The symbolic photo display show a variety of hegemonic 'masculine' markers, such as the self-build BBQ, being outside, the beer in the back, the tool in his hand and even his 'aggressive' pose, showing his hairy chest and his 'rebelliously' untied pants. Grigoris is clearly displaying that he while BBQ'ing, adhere to the hegemonic masculinity ideal, were all 'feminine' are absent. Furthermore, because he is able to display several 'masculine' markers at once, hence being able to show that he is very 'masculine', he might have earned the 'right' to BBQ at this specific BBQ event.

### **Assessment of this thesis - More BBQ Sauce?**

When assessing qualitative research, each piece of research should be examined for its individual contribution, but more importantly qualitative research should be evaluated on the same terms as other research (Ambert et al. 1995). However, as qualitative research is often vastly different than quantitative research, with different methodological, epistemological and ontological approaches, one could argue that another set of evaluating guidelines would be 'right' (Ambert et al. 1995 and Hirschman, 1986.). According to Ambert et al. (1995); Hirschman, (1986); Clissett (2008) and Guba et al. (1987) Qualitative research should be evaluated under criteria's such as credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability, to ensure trustworthiness. The researcher therefore chooses to evaluate this thesis, by the criteria's mentioned.

#### **Credibility:**

To ensure credibility the researcher must try to make sure that the findings in this thesis, matches the personal constructions of the participants, however the researcher did not find it possible to go back and have participants assess the findings however it would be ideal (Hirschman, 1986; Clissett, 2008). As constructivist, the researcher believe that people are what they appear to be, meaning that the participants will be as honest as possible and open towards the researcher and the study (Hirschman, 1986). Nevertheless, there will always be parts of communication between the researcher and the interviewee that could be elaborated further, which might have given the researcher a better or fuller view on the matter investigated (Hirschman, 1986). The researcher has trust in that the interviewees were as 'truthful' as possible and if they deliberately tried to be deceptive or manipulative the researcher will not be able to know.

### Transferability:

The findings in this thesis is not generalizable or are aiming to be so, however it aims to be transferable meaning that the specific situations, constructions and ideas could be transferred into other situations (Hirschman, 1986). In other words could the findings in this study be applicable or similar to other men and their masculine identity construction? The researcher does not claim that the results apply to other situations, however the finding are applicable for the group of men interviewed. Other men might construct their masculine identity in similar ways when consuming other 'masculine' things; nevertheless the reader must look at their own situation and determine whether this research is relevant to their specific situation. To give the reader the best possibility to judge whether findings can be transferred to their situation, detailed descriptions of subject, methods, informants, researches role etc. are given earlier in the thesis (Clissett, 2008 and Guba et al. 1987).

### Dependability:

According to Clissett (2008) dependability is difficult to achieve in qualitative research, as a replication of a study with the same or similar participants, the same contexts etc. might not produce the same findings. To produce the same findings one has to believe that the subject and the participant's meanings are static and unchanging. Furthermore, one have to have in mind that data is collected trough interaction, which is impossible to replicate. However to ensure dependability in this thesis, the researcher has enclosed recordings and transcriptions, and further justified the decisions made within this thesis. Another way to one might ensure dependability is to get several researchers opinion on the constructions made, but as not two people are the same the constructions would vary – however finding similarities in these constructions makes the constructions more dependable (Hirschman, 1986). This thesis is written by only one researcher, which means that only the researcher know the process by heart. However, a hermeneutical approach were the researcher has gone back and forth between constructions, data and theory was used which might heighten the dependability, as is has allowed the researcher to look at the constructions with 'new' eyes. Furthermore, part of the thesis has been read by a supervisor and fellow students, who hopefully would have detected any abnormalities in the findings.

### Confirmability:

As a constructivist the researcher is subjective and involved in all parts of the study and therefore also immersed personally in interpreting meanings in the study, which means that the constructions and findings are not value free but are supported by the data collected (Hirschman, 1986). According to Clissett (2008) one is ensuring confirmability could be done by clarifying the links between the findings and data collected, which means that it should be possible to trace constructions to their original source. Therefore has the researcher as often as possible made use of direct quotations in the analysis and have also enclosed transcripts and record to the thesis (Guba et al. 1989; Clissett, 2008). To make sure that the finding and the data 'match' one could argue that having the thesis judged by other researchers would be ideal (Hirschman, 1986), however as mentioned in the part of dependability a supervisor and several fellow students have read all or parts of the thesis, and would hopefully have detected irregularities between quotes and constructions. Lastly, the researcher acknowledges that having external researchers to evaluate all data together with finding would have been ideal.

### The Conclusion: Rare, medium or well-done?

This study revealed that when BBQ'ing moves from being a necessity to being a leisure activity, when it moves from being a domestic task to a social event, then the gender roles change accordingly. What was before considered 'feminine' is now 'masculine'. To make sure BBQ'ing is perceived as 'masculine', several 'masculine' symbols are added leaving the BBQ space to become a 'masculine' field, with the king behind the BBQ. In this 'masculine' arena all 'feminine' becomes alienated by strengthening the 'masculine', meaning that as soon as a 'feminine' act, value or things enters the arena, the men adds other 'masculine' things to triumph it or even reject to deal with it. Such as when they refuse to BBQ vegetables, and leaves that to the woman.

Comparing BBQ'ing with everyday cooking might be difficult, as BBQ'ing redefines the reason to cook. Traditionally cooking was considered essential to be able to eat and therefore survive, which is still the main reason for domestic cooking. With BBQ'ing that reason seems to be secondary, as displaying manhood, competing to become the 'alpha male' seems primary.

Arguably identities are ongoing constructions, which are formed by everyday interactions and activities. When men participate in a BBQ'ing event either as the 'king' of the BBQ or as a helper, he uses this experience to maintain or confirm his masculine identity towards himself and towards others. It is possible for men to develop a strong masculine identity without BBQ'ing, as it seems that a BBQ'ing event is a platform of displaying 'masculinities'. This means that men who adhere to other forms of masculinities, might be comfortable in his 'masculine' identity to let others 'battle it out' thus claiming another role. Nevertheless the BBQ'ing arena it seems that hegemonic 'masculinity' is considered 'ideal' and is therefore something the majority of the interviewed men adhere to. It should further be noted that because this thesis is about BBQ'ing in particular it might not reveal to full extend of masculinities on display at a BBQ event. This means that other men might be 'king' of the other activities involved such as beer drinking, BBQ construction etc. and therefore maintaining a 'masculine' identity. The researcher is therefore suggesting that further research about this matter could further enlighten men's identity construction via BBQ'ing.

Another interesting aspect of men and BBQ'ing is there relation to the women in their life's, whom appear to support their men in doing 'masculinity' at these BBQ events. Because 'femininity' and 'masculinity' interrelate (Connell, 1995), one have to wonder what role the woman's 'femininity' plays in the construction of men's 'masculine' identity and vice versa. If a wife is very "feminine" does that mean that her husband is considered equally 'masculine'? Or if a wife is to enter her husband's 'masculine' BBQ sphere, is he then devaluated as a man? Further research on BBQ and women, could therefore enhance our understanding of the links between 'masculinity' and BBQ'ing.

Lastly, one must conclude that the topic of men and BBQ'ing is by no means simple. However, the researcher hopes that this thesis will help to shed light on this complex topic and can be used as an inspiration for further studies. The finding of this thesis shows BBQ'ing serves as an arena of 'masculine' identity construction, with important 'masculine' markers such as the BBQ, meat and beer as tools/ weapons. In contrast 'feminine' markers such as vegetables and cocktails are obstacles that need to be tackled to succeed in the display of manhood. It is in an arena like this, were the matches of masculinities are fought, forming some sort of hierarchy amongst the men, from were different roles are assigned and played.

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[http://www.emmitsburg.net/humor/archives/about\\_men/men\\_about\\_7.htm](http://www.emmitsburg.net/humor/archives/about_men/men_about_7.htm)

[http://tunadave.typepad.com/humor/2005/07/men\\_and\\_bbqs.html](http://tunadave.typepad.com/humor/2005/07/men_and_bbqs.html)



## Attachment no. 1 - Interview guide

Themes	Questions	Theories and Concepts Behind
Introduction	<p>Introduce myself</p> <p>Explain that they are free to quit at any time and the interview is recorded for later use.</p> <p>Explain the topic of the thesis and the purpose of the thesis, which is to gain knowledge on men and BBQing.</p>	
General Information	<p>Name</p> <p>Age</p> <p>Gender</p> <p>Nationality</p> <p>Current country of residence</p> <p>Profession</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Marital status</p> <p>Other information that they find relevant.</p> <p>Description of the culture they live in</p>	
Gender and Masculinity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- How are gender roles in your culture?</li> <li>- What is the role of a man? Why? What do you feel about that?</li> <li>- How are the gender roles in your house/ family? Who cooks? Why?</li> <li>- How would you describe you as a man?</li> <li>- What is your idea of an ideal man? Why?</li> <li>- What is not your idea of a real man? Why?</li> <li>- What do you do to live up to your idea of being a man? Why?</li> <li>- How do you react if a man doesn't act according to your definition of what a man is and do? Why?</li> <li>- Do you behave differently when you are "men only"?</li> <li>- Are there situations where you feel more like a man than others? Explain</li> <li>- Would you say that BBQing is masculine? Why? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o If yes, what do you think of men who don't BBQ?</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<p>"Gendered associations and behaviour" (Cheng, 1999; Tucker, 1998; Connell, 1995; Schrock et al. 2009; West et al. 1987; Craig, 1992)</p> <p>"Gender is learned behaviour" (Imms, 2000; Bohan, 1993)</p> <p>"Doing gender" West et al. , 1987; Bohan, 1993;</p> <p>"Gendering to fit in a group" (Purdie et al., 2007)</p> <p>"Concept of masculinities" (Connell, 1995; Cheng, 1999;</p>

	<p>What do you think of women who BBQs?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- What other actions do you define as “masculine” and “feminine”? (Decorating cupcakes? Building? Shopping? Etc.)</li> <li>- Who plans the meal? Why?</li> <li>- Who buys the ingredients? Why?</li> <li>- Who prepares the food? Why?</li> </ul>	<p>Martino, 2000; Reinicke, 2002; Schrock 2009; De Visser et al. 2007; Newcombe et al. 2012; Lease et al. 2013; Sobal, 2005; Morrell, 1998)</p> <p>“Hegemonic masculinity” (Reinicke, 2002; De Visser et al. 2007; Morrell, 1998; Ridgeway, 2009; Lease et al., 2012; Kane, 2006; Imms, 2000; Wang, 2000; Cheng, 1999, Kane, 2006)</p>
Consumption	<p>How do you BBQ?</p> <p>The BBQ:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Cheap, expensive? Why?</li> <li>- Real fire? Why?</li> <li>- Self build? Why? How? Who?</li> <li>- Coal, wood, gas? Why?</li> <li>- Do you buy extra equipment? Why? Why not? What?</li> <li>- Who buys the BBQ?</li> <li>- Where do you buy your BBQ?</li> <li>- Do you look at advertising for guidance?</li> <li>- How do you decide what BBQ to choose?</li> <li>- Is the brand of the grill you have important for you? If yes what brand do you have and why ?-explain</li> <li>- Are the tools for barbequing a brand or “no-name”?</li> </ul>	<p>“Consumption as self expression” (Wilk, 2000; Belk 2001; Dittmar et al. 2000; Landon, 1974; Belk, 1988; Kastanakis et al. 2012; Kressmann et al. 2006)</p> <p>“Consuming according to desired image” (Hosany et al. 2012; Heath &amp; Scott, 1998; Freitas et al., 2008; Onkvisit et al. 1987)</p> <p>“Negative consumption” (Landon, 1974; Wilk, 2000; Veblen, 1899; Ogilvie, 1987; Hogg et al. 2001)</p>
BBQ and Cooking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- What does BBQing mean to you? What does it mean?</li> <li>- Who is the typical BBQ chef? Why?</li> </ul>	<p>“Domestic cooking” (Daniels et al. 2012; Szabo, 2011; Cairns et al. 2010; Mancino et al.,</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Do you BBQ? If No, why not? If yes, tell me about it.</li> <li>- How often do you BBQ?</li> <li>- Is it an everyday event or a special event? why? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o What events?</li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p>Who do you BBQ with?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Family? Who does what? And why?</li> <li>- Friends? Who does what? And Why?</li> </ul> <p>Competition? Why do you compete? What do you gain?</p> <p>Where do you BBQ?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Parties? Backyard? Beach? Woods?</li> <li>- What does the setting mean to you?</li> </ul> <p>What do you BBQ? Why?</p> <p>While cooking / barbequing are you influenced by others? (Family, friends, children...) How? Why?</p> <p>Do you cook domestically? Why/ why not?</p> <p>Do you like to cook? Why/ why not?</p> <p>Are you the experimental type (domestically and BBQ)? Why? Why not?</p> <p>Do you think that you have changed your behaviour, views and attitude on BBQ and cooking over time? How? Why?</p> <p>What motivates you to cook and BBQ?</p> <p>Are there other reasons regarding why you cook and BBQ? Professionally perhaps?</p> <p>Do you care about what others think about the way you cook and BBQ?</p> <p>What would others say about your BBQ skills?</p> <p>Do you care what others think of your skills?</p> <p>Is it important to you to be a good BBQ chef?</p> <p>How do you improve your skills?</p> <p>Who is mainly cooking at your household? Why? Why not?</p> <p>Do you think that cooking is for women or do you think that both should participate in cooking?</p>	<p>2006; Ekström et al. 2001; Murcott 2000; Newcombe et al. 2012; Aarseth et al. 2008; Little et al. 2009)</p> <p>"Occasional cooking" (Deutsch, 2004; Daniels et al. 2012; Fürst, 1997; Cairns et al. 2010; Aarseth et al. 2008; Veri et al., 2013)</p> <p>""Masculine" BBQ" (Rogers, 2008; Deutsch, 2004; Veri et al., 2013)</p> <p>"Professional cooking" (Cairns et al., 2010)</p> <p>"Cooking for others" (Cairns et al. 2010)</p> <p>"Gendered food" (Rogers, 2008; Sobal, 2005; Newcombe et al., 2012; Ruby et al., 2011; Veri et al., 2013; Heinz et al., 1998; Ruby et al., 2011)</p> <p>""Masculine" BBQ" (Rogers, 2008; Deutsch, 2004; Veri et al., 2013)</p>
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	<p>Does the BBQ mean to you something more than that it is just a BBQ?</p> <p>Do you associate the BBQ with something?</p> <p>What are your opinion regarding public cooking; men and their cooking shows?</p> <p>Can you think of any factors which are influencing the way you cook/ barbeque? (Culture, family, friends, religion....)</p>	
Closure	<p>Something to add or something that you feel need to be elaborated further?</p>	

## Attachment no. 2 – Observation

Location: Cape Town, South Africa

Time: 19<sup>th</sup> of January 2013, 5 pm- 2 am.

Who: A coloured middleclass family and a few close family friends. 9 men, 11 women and 7 young children.

Before the BBQ party the host (Kim, single, student, 37 years old) had bought drinks (Sodas, beer and whiskey) and a variety of different foods. Around 5 pm. People started coming and preparing; a few men were in charge of preparing the BBQ, which they placed in an open garage and the woman gathered inside to prepare salads, snacks and entertain the kids. While the BBQ was heating, the men gathered in the small garden and had some beers and have conversations on various subjects, however fitness and health seemed to be popular topics. Sometimes a few of the woman would join them and have a cigarette and a beer. When the BBQ was ready all the men went to the garage. They sat and talked, drank beer and whiskey, while Nathielle was in charge of the BBQ. He was making seafood Potjiekos, which take a few hours to finish. All women except one (Olivia, Nathielles girlfriend) were inside, where they were snacking, talking and entertaining children. Olivia seemed very comfortable being outside with the men and she seemed to be a part of the conversations. This went on for a few hours. At one point some of the men found a table and started playing cards and dominoes. Olivia went inside. While the researcher was observing the men, they did not try to include her, by asking questions or asking her to join. The researcher later asked if she could join but was told it was too difficult. It seemed that the men were divided into two groups, one group playing and another one converting around the BBQ. When the potjiekos was done, Nathielle started grilling several different kinds of meat. The food was brought inside, where people could fetch it as they pleased. There didn't seem to be a structure of eating, other than the woman were eating inside and the men outside. After dinner, the men would all play cards and dominoes outside, while drinking alcohol. The woman would still be inside while looking after sleeping and playing children, talking and clearing up mess in the kitchen. The woman would consume alcohol, but also sodas. At one point the women seemed tired and ready

to go home, mostly it looked like they were waiting on the men to take them home (It is dangerous for women especially to be out in public spaces in the nights). When the researcher asked the woman why they did not ask the men to leave, they replied: “let the men be men”. The men were in a festive mood and carried on for several hours without considering the woman and children inside. Around 1 pm. People started to drive home and at 2 pm. everybody had left.

### **Attachment no. 3 – DVD**

- Interview audio
- Transcripts
- Photos from observation and from interviewees