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WOMEN, WORK, AND TIME: THE FOOD WORK POLITICS OF SELF DEFINED
HEALTHY MEN

by

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B.A. University of Central Florida, 2012

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
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ABSTRACT

This study examined the way gender operates in relation to time within the food work spectrum discussed in 19 narratives. The 19 narratives came from individual open ended face-to-face interviews with self-defined healthy men who shop at healthy food stores. This study's examination of how gender operates in the narratives was based on how the men constructed their experiences with women and work in relation to time through the food work spectrum. Women mentioned in the sampled narratives taught the men how to shop and eat in a healthy manner but women still did the cooking. Work wise the findings split the men into two groups, the majority were the men who did not eat at work and the minority were the ones who did. Both of these sets of findings illuminate that how the men constructed their experiences of the food work spectrum depended on gendered relations of power.

This thesis is dedicated to my friends and family who have supported me emotionally and financially through this lengthy process. I would specifically like to thank my mom and brother who continually have directed me to keep at it when I have talked of quitting. I would like to thank my dad for his hard work which has enabled me to be able to afford an expensive endeavor like this Masters without having to take out student loans. Finally I would like to thank my sister for being a continuous source of strength and inspiration. To my friends, I would like to thank them for listening to my ideas and for being or helping provide participants. Finally I would like to thank all the professors and staff at UCF's Sociology department. The emotional labor that helped socialize me into the field of sociology thus far is somehow contained in this note and thesis.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	5
2.1 Gender and Food	5
2.1.1 Femininity and Food	5
2.1.2 Singular Masculinity and Food	7
2.1.3 Multiple Masculinities and Food	8
2.2 Marketing	10
2.3 Theory	11
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY	14
3.1 Sample	14
3.2 Sampling	14
3.3 Data Collection	15
3.4 Data Analysis	17
CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS	20
4.1 Women and time	20
4.1.1 Planning	20
4.1.2 Shopping:	22
4.1.3 Eating:	24

4.1.4	Cooking:.....	33
4.2	Work and time.....	38
4.2.1	Positive.....	39
4.2.2	Negative:.....	49
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION		55
APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE		58
APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM		62
APPENDIX C: APPROVAL LETTER		64
REFERENCES		66

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Gender is a way through which society is structured (Connell 1995, Connell 2000). Masculinity or femininity can be modeled as a project of a gendered society because they are ongoing and never actually finalized (Connell 1995). These projects can be looked at through three spheres of society: the body of the individual, the private, and public sphere (Allen and Sachs 2012).

Women are disadvantaged at every sphere. Femininity through the body demands that women stay svelte, continuously diet, eat less than men, and seek emotional fulfillment through food (Allen and Sachs 2012). Through the home women are typically expected to do all the feeding work consisting of planning, buying, preparing, setting, eating, and cleaning food (DeVault 1991). This work also includes a level of emotional effort and overall excellence taught to women by their own upbringing through the private sphere (DeVault 1991). In the public sphere feeding work has been outsourced to the market place with the end result being that women still are doing the feeding work (Allen and Sachs 2012). Women's increased participation in the public sphere has not liberated women from doing the feeding work, as women are still as responsible for feeding work as they have ever been (DeVault 1991, Hochschild and Machung 2012).

The purpose of this project is to study a sample of self-defined healthy men's constructions of their constructed experience of feeding work in the private and public spheres. This study specifically examines the roles of women, time and employment in participants' feeding work narratives. This project responds to a call by Gough and Conner (2006) who studied health barriers of men to identify how men who eat healthily may go about overcoming barriers to healthy eating. Gough and Conner (2006) found barriers may come from men

enacting certain masculinities, which have been noted as barriers to a healthy lifestyle (Connell 1995, Connell 2000, Gough and Conner 2006). Other masculinities enacted may help overcome healthy eating barriers that are able to ground tensions against prevailing norms of masculine dieting (Connell 1995, Connell 2000). In order to use masculinity as a proper site of analysis, a theory that is able to account for power structures must be used (Sobal 2005). This study used feminist critical theory because of its emphasis on the complexity of power relations (Allen 2008).

Research into masculinity has gone through revisions; what was once thought to be a singular act all men were doing as illustrated by sex role theory, is now modeled through multiple masculinities (Connell 1995, Connell 2000). Each individual's masculinity is a result of intersecting structures at different epistemic levels (Connell 1995, Connell 2000). So an individual's class, age, race, and sexuality can affect how they display their masculinity (Bridges 2013, Connell 1995, Roos, Prattala and Koski 2001). This display is also affected by the audience present at the time of the performance (Connell 1995, Connell 2000).

Food marketing research has shown that consumers want food to be convenient, tasty, and healthy (Rappoport 2003). In a modern framework this means that inconsistencies arise leading to consumers not being sure of what is or is not "healthy" (Pollan 2006, Rappoport 2003). This leads to firms having to tote the health of their product over others through health labels on food packages (Williams 2005). While consumers are shown to not believe in health labels, they are still important to consumers (Williams 2005). Consumers want food packaging labels to have a concise health claim on the front and the elaboration of that health claim on the back of the product package. Further government oversight of these labels is also welcomed

(Williams 2005). As a result a legitimation crisis leads to people wishing for a simpler time so food is also marketed as “natural,” the end results are, however, more postindustrial or postmodern than pre-industrial or pre-modern (Pollan 2006, Rappoport 2003). The marketing of food must be taken into account through the theoretical orientation as being a product of a historical process.

According to Allen (2008), a feminist critical-theoretical account of the politics of ourselves requires three key parts. The first is to account for the subordination of women empirically. The second is to critique the women’s subordination with an eye towards liberation. Third is to offer some plan for this liberation to take place. The first part means giving an account of power. The second as well as the third parts require looking into critique and autonomy. As it turns out the three parts are interrelated with one another when the feminist critical-theorist is framed. The first requires autonomy since giving an account of the subordination of women precedes being able to critically reflect on relationships of power. The second and third require power to account for the feminist critical-theorist studying women’s subordination.

Women’s subordination through feeding work is an outcome of women’s unpaid labor when preparing meals that their families prefer. Their husband’s preference is the most important to be catered to followed by the rest of the family (DeVault 1991, Hochschild and Machung 2012). A result of women’s feeding work being catered to others means that the effort involved is invisible. This invisible effort put forth in planning meals, shopping for food, preparing food, eating food that others prefer, and finally cleaning is instead seen as an act of love that women have been expected to provide (DeVault 1991, Hochschild and Machung 2012). The present

study looks at how self-defined healthy men construct dealing with feeding work in the private and public spheres through the metric of time. Feeding work has been noted as being a time consuming activity that ends up being leveraged through power relations between gendered individuals (DeVault 1991, Hochschild and Machung 2012)

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Gender and Food

Members are socialized into a gender as soon as they are born (Connell 1995). Through that gender each individual is taught to interact with food through three spheres of society: the body, the home, and the public sphere (Allen and Sachs 2012). This means that gender is a social structure through which social practice is organized (Connell 1995, Connell 2000). To say practice means to talk about actions taken through the body as a process with the end result being of a gendered flavor (Connell 1995). In this sense masculinity and femininity are projects of a gendered social structure (Connell 1995). The gendered division of feeding work not only produces a good or service it also produces gendered individuals who are socially organized at each of the three spheres of society (DeVault 1991).

2.1.1 Femininity and Food

Women are disadvantaged at each of the three spheres of society (Allen and Sachs 2012). Through the body, women are taught to view food in contradicting ways through advertising (Allen and Sachs 2012). Women, in order to be feminine are to be svelte which means eating small amounts of food. However, they are also taught to indulge by seeking emotional fulfillment through food (Allen and Sachs 2012, Bordo 1993). Femininity then is enforced by denying food while one is hungry (Allen and Sachs 2012, Bordo 1993, Harper and Beau 2003). This has meant that women have acquired problematic relationships with food, for example eating disorders (Bordo 1993, Harper and Beau 2003). This is broken down intersectionally because, as it turns out, the women that can afford food are the ones that are dieting the most.

So, as income goes up weight comes down and vice versa (Allen and Sachs 2012). The individual is ultimately to blame for these problems because of efforts by 'Big Food' to blame the individual for any food consumption problems they may acquire (Brownell and Warner 2009).

At the home, women are taught to do their gender, and to uphold a level of excellence, through each of the six phases of feeding work: planning, buying, preparing, setting, eating, and cleaning (Allen and Sachs 2012, DeVault 1991). Feeding work however is not just a physically repetitive exercise, women must constantly worry emotionally about the quality of their food work (DeVault 1991). Because of women's active role in feeding work, they had been thought to be the ones in control of what was consumed at home (Kurt 1943). However later research has shown that they are mainly doing the feeding work that pleases their families (DeVault 1991). This catered feeding work goes largely unrecognized as work that takes effort because the feeding work is seen as an act of love (DeVault 1991, Hochschild and Machung 2012). This unrecognized work becomes invisible as even women themselves have trouble properly accounting for it (DeVault 1991).

In the public sphere a lot of feeding work has been outsourced to industry with women doing most of it while getting paid less than men (Allen and Sachs 2012). This is intersectional because in the back room, or in factories, it is women of color who may be immigrants that end up doing the processing while white women end up in the front, where the customers are (Allen and Sachs 2012). Men end up taking managing and driver jobs (Allen and Sachs 2012). In restaurants, it should be noted, that it is men who do the cooking (Allen and Sachs 2012, Pollan 2006).

The public sphere also places women in gender specific roles of caring (DeVault 1991). Hospitals will assign women with specific caring roles when given instructions on how to look after their sick family members (DeVault 1991). That advertisers depend on women's consumption habits means that women's bodies indeed inhabit a crossroads between the spheres (DeVault 1991).

2.1.2 Singular Masculinity and Food

There are many contradictory definitions of what masculinity is in the literature (Connell 2000). For this reason two main branches of masculinity will be reviewed, namely singular vs plural masculinities (Connell 1995, Sobal 2005). Singular masculinity comes from sex role theory (Connell 1995). In sex role theory a role is defined by the believed reciprocal relationship between the male and female sex (Connell 1995). It does this by starting with sociobiology and then stacking the corresponding socially constructed norms on top (Connell 1995). So what is masculine is directly opposite to what is feminine (Connell 1995).

Therefore in order to be masculine, a man must consume in socially described ways (Connell 1995, Connell 2000). Food wise, a masculine man's eating habits never change, and food is not to be overthought, or enjoyed, it is just fuel (Connell 2000, Gough 2007, Levi, Chan and Pence 2006, Newcombe et al. 2012). Because meat is the hallmark of masculinity, a man eats meat which must be as raw as possible and with no sauces (Roos, Prattala and Koski 2001, Sobal 2005). A masculine man does not cook for the family, he only cooks for himself, for self-expression, or does so outside through a barbecue grill (DeVault 1991, Roos, Prattala and Koski 2001). Even though men do not cook for the family, men work towards making their favorite

meals the main staple. These meals are cooked by their wives, and consumed by the family at dinner time (DeVault 1991, Newcombe et al. 2012, Sobal 2005). So the family eats the same food but in gendered quantities; the wife will eat less than her husband (Sobal 2005).

Vegetarianism/veganism exists only in relation to the norm, to eat meat (Ruby and Heine 2011, Sobal 2005). Since masculinity is an ongoing accomplishment, omnivore men must have accounts for any time they do not consume meat (Courtenay 2000, Gough and Conner 2006, Sobal 2005). Accounts for eating healthy food must come through prescription by a doctor or because of old age (Gough and Conner 2006). This is because a way that masculinity is affirmed as the stronger gender is by men not seeking medical attention (Connell 2000, Courtenay 2000, Gough 2007).

2.1.3 Multiple Masculinities and Food

Multiple masculinities can be grasped by realizing that whatever masculinity is being enacted, it can be modeled through the three spheres of society – the body, the home and the public sphere. This means that masculinities exist in relation to each other, and as such the relationships need to be specified in great detail (Connell 1995, Connell 2000, Sobal 2005). However, this also means that multiple masculinities can be ambiguous if there is not enough specificity. So much specificity is needed that Sobal (2005:151) notes that “models of multiple masculinities are more useful when attached to a clear theory of how power operates.” A proper account of power starts with an account of the context of the site where power is being investigated (Allen 2008).

A good way to start looking at the context is to see how broad any commonalities may be if any. One example, taken in universities located in twenty three different countries in the shape

of a self-reported questionnaire showed that “gender differences in beliefs in the importance of healthy eating explained a substantial amount of the gender differences in food choices” (Wardle et al. 2004:113). But this is just measuring attitudes and not trying to understand them (Wardle et al. 2004). In another college sample, this one in America, one hundred and forty three “individuals were observed after they purchased food and sat down” (Allen-O’Donnell et al. 2011:2273). It was noted that when eating together, men would eat the same amount compared to each other. But when eating with women, men tended to eat a lot more, presumably to show case their masculinity. This was especially the case by eating a lot of meat (Allen-O’Donnell et al. 2011). However, Gough and Conner (2006) in a sample of twenty four men in the UK note that older men, or specifically older men that were in a post illness event were more likely to seek guidelines regarding their dieting from a medical context. In the same sample, the younger aged men did not follow healthy guidelines for eating. They had two general reasons, first was a misbelief in media campaigns designed to encourage them to eat healthy, and second was that eating healthy was bland and slight (Gough and Conner 2006). For these young men, Gough and Conner’s (2006) possible explanatory multiple masculinity was conventional masculinities. Conventional masculinities value individualism that is not self-denying (Connell 1995). Individualists do not succumb to power and they always eat their fill.

Through another context, masculinities can be classed. In a sample comparing middle and working class men composed of twenty carpenters and twenty engineers in Finland. Roos, Prattala and Koski (2001) showed that working class masculinities were different from middle class ones. In the private sphere, working class men tended to prefer cooking outside in a grill while middle class men tend to enjoy cooking as a hobby, as a form of self-expression that is not

exactly up to subjective judgments of their family (DeVault 1991, Roos, Prattala and Koski 2001). Beer and wine consumption also differed, where the engineers preferred to drink beer or wine with their meals, to enjoy food better. While the carpenters mainly drank beer and only to get drunk on the weekends (Roos, Prattala and Koski 2001). However, Sellaeg and Chapman (2008) showcases a sample of twelve men, ranging in ages from twenty seven to forty seven, living alone in Canada. These men tended to reject traditional masculine ideals of food consumption habits that are unhealthy for feminine ideals of food consumption which tend to be healthy (Sellaeg and Chapman 2008). This sample also noted cooking skills as an essential part of being independent and self-sufficient, again rejecting traditional masculinity. As can be seen, the interlocking contexts that affect the possibilities of masculinities enacted are numerous and need to be taken into account carefully for proper analysis.

2.2 *Marketing*

Years of research have proven that consumers want three elements out of the food consumed. Food has to be tasty, convenient, and healthy (LLavinés 2013, Rappoport 2003, Williams 2005). Because of a modern framework (Pollan 2006), firms work hardest on convenience through the industrial food process (Rappoport 2003). Raw materials for food processing – corn and soybeans – are specifically subsidized so that they are easier to produce in mass quantities which lowers their price through the law of supply and demand (Pollan 2006). The resulting overabundance of sweeteners buttresses the resulting overabundance of cheap food (Pollan 2006); leading to food that is convenient, tasty, but not healthy (Rappoport 2003).

Health claims on food are a firm's advantage over another and is sought through both

modern (Pollan 2006), and postmodern frameworks (Rappoport 2003). The term “functional foods” – orange juice with vitamin D, fortified rice, energy drinks – denotes the industrial attempt at combining, and marketing, the three elements – tasty, convenient, and healthy (LLavinés 2013, Rappoport 2003). This leads to an overabundance of health claims configured as labels on products (LLavinés 2013, Pollan 2006). Consumers are consequently skeptical of health labels’ authenticity but have a preferred configuration; that of a split health claim, where there is a succinct health claim in the front and a longer elaboration of the succinct health claim in the back of the product; government regulation is also preferred (Williams 2005).

The postmodern framework that food is sold through (Rappoport 2003) calls to attention that health, unlike taste and convenience, cannot be easily verified by consumers (Williams 2005). Thus a nostalgic tone is taken when consumers rely on food that is “natural” (LLavinés 2013). Notions to a pre-industrial time when food consumption is thought to not have been an issue is solved by food processed in relation to the now established modern framework (Pollan 2006). The actual results are therefore more post-industrial/modern than anything, with arguments over the legitimacy of a product’s organic or local claim, and whether local or organic is better (Pollan 2006)

2.3 Theory

According to Allen (2008), a feminist critical-theoretical account of the politics of ourselves requires three key parts. The first is to account for the subordination of women empirically. The second is to critique the resulting account of women’s subordination with an eye towards liberation. Third is to offer some plan for this liberation to take place. The first part means

giving an account of power. The second as well as the third parts require looking into critique and autonomy. As it turns out all of the three parts are interrelated with one another when the feminist critical-theorist is framed. The first requires autonomy since giving an account of the subordination of women precedes being able to critically reflect on relationships of power. The second and third require power to account for the feminist critical-theorist studying women's subordination.

What leads to subordination of women in regards to feeding work is that women are left to take care of it all (DeVault 1991, Hochschild and Machung 2012). Women are socialized to not only take care of feeding work but also maintain a certain level of excellence (DeVault 1991). Thus the effort it takes to feed their family is seen as an invisible act of love that comes natural to them (DeVault 1991). This invisible act of love is done through relations of power in the family (Allen 2008, DeVault 1991). A woman feeding her family ends up preparing meals that her family and specifically her husband prefers (DeVault 1991). Thus women participate in their own subordination by preparing meals that are preferred by their family rather than themselves. This subordination happens every day multiple times a day through the life course of the family (DeVault 1991).

The way gender operates in relation to time within the food work spectrum discussed in the narratives was examined. The narratives came from 19 self-defined healthy men who were interviewed face to face. The examination of how gender operates through the food work spectrum was based on how the men constructed their experiences in relation to time with women through actions like planning a meal, shopping for the food, preparing the food, setting the table where the food will be consumed, eating, and finally cleaning up afterwards (DeVault

1991). The feeding work spectrum also includes a range of emotions that are supposed to be given off during each of the constructed individual actions (DeVault 1991). The constructed actions that could make up the feeding work spectrum are done by the sampled men in relations of power. Another way to examine how gender operates in relation to time within the food work spectrum discussed in the narratives was by how the sampled men constructed work. The way the men constructed work in the interviews was also done in relations of power. The relations of power constructed by the interviewer comprised the way gender operates in relation to time within the food work spectrum discussed in the narratives.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Sample

The sample of this study was nineteen men who report that they eat in a healthy way. The other characteristic shared was that they all shop at health food stores, participate in co-ops, and/or grow their own food. The health food stores that the men frequented were from the investigator's area and thus the investigator had some common experiences with the participants that pertain to living in the same geographical location.

3.2 Sampling

The characteristics needed in order to have participated in this study were to be an individual eighteen years of age or older that self-defined as a healthy man who shops at health food stores. This inclusion criteria was used based on a call in the literature to study men who self-identify as healthy (Gough and Conner 2006). Because "healthy eating" can be defined in multiple ways, the sample was narrowed to men who shop at health food stores to provide some consistency in the definition.

Consent to be recorded for an interview regarding the participant's eating habits was also required in order to participate in this study. Initial consent was obtained from participants when first contact was made before interview location and time were discussed. Initial consent was a verbal "yes" in response to the investigator asking the potential participant if he was willing to be interviewed and recorded for an interview. It was explained that the interview regarded their healthy eating habits.

Consent was also acquired again immediately prior to the interview. There was a consent

form (See Appendix B: Consent Form) present that the investigator and the participant discussed. This consent form was not needed to be signed by the potential participant in order to conduct the interview because of an exemption (See Appendix C: Approval Letter). The form stated among other things that the interview would be recorded and that they could choose to terminate the interview at any moment or skip any questions that they did not want to answer.

3.3 Data Collection

Once participants were secured they participated in a face to face semi-structured, qualitative interview that asked open-ended questions regarding their healthy eating habits. Questions were organized into four categories; the first category had questions regarding specifics of feeding work; the second had questions about their daily routine eating habits; the third had questions that were about gender, food, and health; and finally the fourth section entailed questions regarding the participant's demographic characteristics (See Attachment A: Interview Guide).

The interviews were conducted by the investigator. The investigator is a self-defined healthy man who is vegan that rarely shops at health food stores. That the investigator identifies as a healthy man who is vegan according to Schwalbe and Wolkomir (2001) could have meant a surplus threat to the men being interviewed. However the fact that the investigator rarely shops at health food stores may have lessened the surplus threat since the investigator was not be able to call into question their health food store shopping habits. Schwalbe and Wolkomir (2001) distinguish between two types of threats, one is a baseline threat and calls to attention the idea that men like to be in control and that as participants in an interview it is the investigator that has control. This lack of control can be a threat to a man's masculinity depending on their

personality and the type of masculinity being enacted by the participant (Connell 1995, Connell 2000, Schwalbe and Wolkomir 2001). A surplus threat comes from the scene, or the investigator depending on the topic of the interview (Schwalbe and Wolkomir 2001).

However, only that the investigator was vegan played a major role in the interviews. This was because none of the participants inquired directly about the shopping or eating habits of the investigator. The investigator was able to use his identity as a vegan man to solidify rapport between some of the participants. This rapport was useful when the investigator was able to connect with the men over being chastised for not eating meat.

Moreover as a way to minimize the participants feeling threatened, the interview location and length of the interview were decided by the participants themselves (Schwalbe and Wolkomir 2001). The interviews took place in a quiet location where there was not a lot of environmental noise that could have jeopardized the quality of the audio. The participants were reminded before the interview that they could decide to stop the interview anytime they wished to do so with no penalty and that the interviews could take as little as twenty and as much as ninety minutes. Further, the participants were told that they could skip any questions that they did not want to answer. In all none of the participants cut the interviews short and none skipped any of the questions. Schwalbe and Wolkomir (2001) also suggested asking the participants to ask the first question as a way to make them feel like they are in control of the interview. Something that the interviewer did instead or in addition to letting the participants ask the first question was to have them look at the interview schedule before the interview took place, which many. Many of the men were glad to do.

3.4 Data Analysis

The data were analyzed using techniques outlined in *The New Language of Qualitative Method* (Gubrium and Holstein 1997) and narrative analysis outlined by Riessman (2001). Gubrium and Holstein (1997) and Riessman (2001) stress that the narrative or story of the participant during the interview is itself the object of inquiry. This means that the narrative or story is socially constructed during the interview based on the social characteristics of the investigator and how those interact with the participant (Berger and Luckman 1966, Gubrium and Holstein 1997, Riessman 2001, Schwalbe and Wolkomir 2001). This means that the stories portrayed by the participants through the open ended interview are an interpretation of their experiences which differ from their actual experiences. This interpretation is ongoing and comprises what Gubrium and Holstein (1997) call interpretive practice.

The transcribed interviews were searched on two separate occasions with different terms. On the first occasion the terms searched were “women” and synonyms. On the second occasion the transcribed interviews were searched for the word “work.” The reason the interviews were searched for “women” and synonyms was to see how the men interpreted their experience regarding DeVault’s (1991) idea that women tend to the feeding work more often than men. Feeding work regards the effort to feed a family and includes actions like planning, shopping, preparing, setting a table, eating, and other actions seen as invisible like cleaning. Feeding work also includes the emotional effort put into each of the actions that could make up feeding work (DeVault 1991, Hochschild and Machung 2012).

The interviews were also searched for the meanings participants attributed to “work” in relation to healthy eating. Feeding work is seen as invisible because women are often believed

to be natural care takers. Their work at taking care of others is not seen as work that takes effort because it is seen as an act of love (DeVault 1991, Hochschild and Machung 2012). Further, according to DeVault (1991), women's work in the food work spectrum is usually made invisible because women report it just being an automatic thing that they do when they find a gap that needs to be filled. The gap that needs to be filled is in regards to the goal of feeding their families.

. Taking into account the invisible nature given to women's feeding work, this study looked for men's experience of "work" to find any correlations.

The reason "time" was searched through the interviews was because feeding work has been noted as being time consuming (DeVault 1991, Hochschild and Machung 2012). DeVault and Hochschild (1991, 2012) talk about the nature of feeding work changing with industrialization as this feeding work has been shifted to the public sphere, along with women's increased participation in that same public sphere. This shift to the public sphere has brought in modern forms of household feeding work. However, modern forms of household feeding work have yet to eliminate household feeding work as promised. Moreover women report being stuck between spending a lot of time doing household feeding work and work in the public sphere (Hochschild and Machung 2012). The task of being responsible for the household feeding work still belongs to women (DeVault 1991, Hochschild and Machung 2012).

Computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) was used to help organize the stories that the participants narrated about their healthy eating habits. CAQDAS such as NVivo are programs that present a compromise between quantitative rigor and theoretical complexity by allowing symbolic manipulation of strings of words that could be

categorized as stories (Seale 2001). The software facilitated comparisons across interviews because relevant excerpts were analyzed side by side. Themes were developed by analyzing excerpts that related to the topics of women, work and time. Excerpts were selected as examples that best represent the themes.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

Findings under each of the following headings reflect excerpts organized thematically under phases of the food work spectrum as elucidated in DeVault (1991). While food work is hard to define and often swept under the rug as things that are done without thinking about it by DeVault's (1991) sample, she nonetheless comes up with the idea that there is something like a food work spectrum. This spectrum includes planning what will be eaten, shopping for food, preparing the food, setting the table where the food will be eaten, eating, and cleaning in order for families to be fed. Women most often are left to take care of all of these actions in order for their family to be fed (DeVault 1991, Hochschild and Machung 2012). The excerpts were chosen based on the appearance of the word "woman" or synonyms of it and the word "time." Not all phases of the food work spectrum were represented in the findings with the word combinations of "women" or synonyms of it and the word "time."

4.1 Women and time

4.1.1 Planning

What this section of findings is trying to illuminate is that phases of the food work spectrum can be completely taken care of at the private sphere and then discounted or taken for granted. When women's work is taken for granted in such a manner their effort at feeding their family becomes invisible (DeVault 1991). In the excerpts below Bill tells how his wife takes care of all household work and then seems to sweep this under the rug when he tries to account for why other men in his work are not as healthy as he is.

Bill is a 51 year old white electrical engineer at a large firm and makes \$110K a year.

What is of interest in this excerpt is that Bill notes early in the interview that his stay at home wife mostly took care of all the food work spectrum duties for him.

INT Nice, um, ok so where you live, who plans what is going to be eaten?

Bill My wife.

INT Ok and why do you think that is?

Bill Well she stays home, she doesn't work so she pretty much takes care of all the household chores. Grocery shopping, meal planning and that sort of thing.

INT Ok cool, um. Ok so who sets up the table? Your wife as well?

Bill Yeah.

INT Um when does she do all of the cooking as well?

Bill She prepares all the food, does all the cleanup and [Pause]

INT Ok ok cool.

The excerpts above can be compared to the ones below where Bill accuses the other men at work of not “taking the time to really care for themselves.” Bill’s claim below is at odds with the fact the not even he takes the time to really take care of himself, it is his stay at home wife that does it.

INT Um yeah so what about men at work, where you work at.

Bill Most of people at work are real unhealthy, overweight, they don't exercise very much and [Pause]

INT Um yeah so why do you think that could be? That they don't [Pause]

Bill Er I think probably a lot of it is just busy schedule, hectic lifestyle and you know they don't take the time to really take care of themselves.

INT I see.

Bill Yeah it's a lot of lot of work you know.

INT Tell me about the work.

Bill Well you know just to make time in your day to go exercise and you know when you're you know you're healthy a healthy lifestyle you have to, it takes time to prepare your meals and kind of figure out what you're going to eat and that sort of thing so.

There's certainly some time you know involved in that that most people really don't have, or choose not to, not to do.

Further Bill is aware that keeping up with a healthy lifestyle takes time along with some facets of the food work spectrum like planning and preparing. He leverages this knowledge with his idea that not all people are willing to do so, of course not even him. Because as noted previously, his wife does it all for him.

4.1.2 Shopping:

Shopping for food is the another necessary phase of the feeding work as elucidated by DeVault (1991). The excerpts in this section show how the participants talk about shopping for healthy food is accomplished, or how they learned about shopping for healthy food. The main take away is that they learned it from women in their lives at different life stages.

To begin Bruce is a 48 year old white man that makes \$60K a year being a sales recruiter or a head hunter. In the excerpt below Bruce is expanding on a demographic question at the end of the interview where the interviewer asked him about his income. He said "I guess I mean it's just a question. I was just wondering because when you asked that I was thinking was, is there

some correlation between your income and how well you eat.” The main take away is that Bruce learned to shop for healthy food from a female nutritionist he went to see for health issues.

Bruce: Um, uh uh, but I ate very a-, I mean I was, I was, you know a lot of things kind of happened all at once because I also went to a nutritionist, because I was having some health issues. And she said you’ve got to add all of these things into your diet, so I, so I started adding all those things into my diet, which were vegetables that needed to be, you know, cooked you know and sustained and these types of things. So, um, it just kind of worked out that the most, the thing that was the cure was also the least expensive, at a time when I was, had the least amount of money, because of what I was going through financially.

Otherwise Bruce’s account contrasts the cure’s price versus his financial autonomy. He calls buying healthy food the cure as opposed possibly to pills and hospital visits. That Bruce boils the education that he received from the nutritionist down as “the thing that was the cure was also the least expensive” shows that he was taught how to shop for healthy food.

Alex is a 27 year old white man that works in finance and makes \$45K - \$50K a year. In the excerpt below Alex is talking about where he learned his eating habits because he was asked by the interviewer about them. He ultimately relates that he learned them from his mom’s personal trainer who was also a woman.

Alex: ...And she had a uh, she had a personal trainer woman for a while, that uh really informed me about food in general. ... And so I just learned all of that and like that was it like, a very influential time, like right coming out of high school I got that information.

Alex: ...Because there was a time when I was like no place is good!

Alex's statement about the things he learned from his mom's personal trainer are contrasted with the idea that he learned how to scope out healthy food to purchase. "No place is good!" to eat at, further he ultimately does not talk about his mom or her personal trainer teaching him how to plan, prepare, set a table, or clean up afterwards.

The excerpts in this section of findings showcase that the men in the sample learned to define and shop for healthy food from women. Noticeably two of the excerpts show that Alex and Bruce learned to shop for healthy food from professionals. Bruce from a nutritionist and Alex from his mom's personal trainer.

4.1.3 Eating:

The following excerpts try to show instances where the participants talked about where they learned to eat in their now self-defined healthy ways. Predictably the men learned to eat or started to eat in their now self-defined healthy ways from women.

Taylor is a 25 year old white man who is an entry level flight attendant who makes \$35K - \$40K a year. In the excerpt below he is answering a question regarding where he thinks he learned his food or eating education. The narrative account is long and showcases how living with his dad to living with his mom influenced the way he ate without specifically making him consciously change his eating habits.

INT: Okay, okay awesome uh so you mentioned like, so where do you get your food education or eating education? Or what was it that made you yeah start seeking?

Taylor: Uh it was kind of a very slow process. I mean, I would probably say, uh, um, because I identify as a gay man, and I haven't always. Um and when I wasn't identifying

as gay I kind of, that was also the time when I didn't really care about what I ate? And I also wasn't very active, um, and there's a lot of factors to that. I don't necessarily think it has to do with my sexuality. But um I was raised a Jehovah's Witness, so long story short, without getting like you know like religious and um this conversation, they don't really encourage you to do any extracurricular activities. So, I was never really in sports, um, so I never really go exposed to doing anything active. So, I never really crave that or was interested in doing anything active. Um, combined with the fact that my Dad, who I lived with throughout like high school, wasn't really a good cook. So, a lot of the stuff we would eat would either be like you know frozen, boxed, or from uh like a restaurant. Um, uh, fast forward to when I graduate high school and I go uh to college, I moved in with my Mom who was just a little bit more of a fresh, er like, eater. I wouldn't say that she specifically eats uh like healthy, which, actually now we kinda like, you know like helped er like each other to eat better. But um, like sh-, she definitely cooks more fresh. Like all of her food is like you know bought the same week, it doesn't come out of a box as often. Like you know she just cooks things that are not as processed as my Dad. So, after I moved in with her, I just kind of automatically started eating a little bit better. That was also around the time that I, um, came out as gay. And I would probably say that I just wanted to be more aware, probably for like you know vain reasons. Like I felt, I always felt like I was the bigger sibling of the 3 of us, I was never really fat per se, like I wouldn't like you know be pointed out of a crowd, or you know like shown on TV if they were talking about fat people, I wouldn't be like, I wouldn't describe myself like that. But I was always just a little bit like thicker. You know, I was always described as like, um,

like husky per se. Um, so, I just, yeah I just felt like it was probably like you know like a lot of it was driven uh like by vanity you know like I saw people in the gay community and, who were very like you know like image conscious. So, I'm not going to lie, I, I feel like that's kind of how it started. Um, and then the more people that I met, uh just like you know like in college and like in my community, were both active and both kind of aware of what they ate, so I definitely had um a friend, who um like introduced me to yoga which is something I do a lot um now. He's actually the one who brought me uh to Power Yoga. And he was a pescetarian, so, after I'd already kind of been losing weight, and I started to run, and I don't remember why I ran. But I used to run every day and I just, yeah I don't know if it was like you know like therapeutic for me at the time, at that time in my life, but then I started getting shin splints, and that's about the same time that I transitioned into yoga through my friend. And I just really enjoyed it and I saw that he was really aware of what he ate, so I decided to be like, you know, kind of the same way. Not to say that I was copying him exactly, but I was definitely influenced by him a lot. And so that was kind of how it started. And then I just kind of you know like gradually gathered more information that I felt pertained to me. And, just became like more and more aware of what I was putting into my body, and the choices I was making about, uh, food.

Ultimately this seems to be a negative case to compare the other accounts to since Taylor started to look towards a healthier lifestyle once he came out as gay and "Um, so, I just, yeah I just felt like it was probably like you know like a lot of it was driven uh like by vanity you know like I saw people in the gay community and, who were very like you know like image

conscious.” Taylor specifically notes his friend who introduced him to the yoga studio that the interviewer also frequents along with a new perspective on what to eat. Of interest otherwise is how Taylor constructed eating in relation to his mom’s feeding work.

Taylor: Um, uh, fast forward to when I graduate high school and I go uh to college, I moved in with my Mom who was just a little bit more of a fresh, er like, eater. I wouldn’t say that she specifically eats uh like healthy, which, actually now we kinda like, you know like helped er like each other to eat better. But um, like sh-, she definitely cooks more fresh. Like all of her food is like you know bought the same week, it doesn’t come out of a box as often. Like you know she just cooks things that are not as processed as my Dad. So, after I moved in with her, I just kind of automatically started eating a little bit better.

Mark is a yoga instructor at a yoga studio that the interviewer frequents. Mark is a 35 year old white man and makes \$20K a year. Mark actually had a garden of food where he lived at the time of the interview, he was renting a room at his friend’s home. Previously when the interviewer first met Mark, Mark was renting a home where and also had a garden of food. Mark in the interview claimed to make a salad out of the garden every day. That Mark had access to such a garden made him a very ideal self-defined healthy man that put considerable amount of work into eating healthy food regularly.

INT: That’s, that’s, that’s amazing, that’s awesome. Um okay so, you say you ge-, basically you try to feed yourself like breakfast, lunch and dinner out of your garden, or just?

Mark: No, I try to do one salad a day. And then I’ll add in stuff from the garden to the

rest of the meals...

What is of interest is that Mark, when in season, has a good amount of healthy food available to him out of his garden of food. Mark however still needs guidance from women in his life for ideas on what is healthy. In the following excerpt Mark talks about the impact a previous girlfriend had on his healthy eating habits. Mark already had a garden going while having the girlfriend mentioned in the excerpt below.

Mark: And um, yeah man, food is delicious. And, you know I'll, I'll eat all kinds of stuff I don't like, I don't turn food down if I had the choice. It's like I had a girlfriend one time who was trying to do this like life food diet, and she told me right at, you know, you can eat whatever you want. If you want to have food at home that's healthy, because if you munch on healthy food in your house then that's what you're mainly going to eat.

Mark then even as he already had a garden of food was still influenced by his girlfriend at the time. Following up with the concept of eating in the next couple of excerpts also from Mark, Mark answers how he goes about navigating an ever changing healthy eating landscape.

INT: No, yeah yeah yeah, yeah I to- okay so wait um why, so yeah, so you you, you were talking about this book that we both have read. Um, what, what, what are your go to sources for like what is healthy. Because right, everything fluctuates, do how do you navigate? What sources do you use to grab?

Mark: Huh where am I getting all this shit now? Um, you know my girlfriend Amy has been a real source of health food information. Like she's got me on coconut oil now. So you know I think like a lot of the women in my life have really brought a lot of healthy shit into my life. Like my Mom used to always pump me full of vitamins when I was a

kid, you like the take your vitamins! And it didn't matter if I was having it with fucking fu- like a, like I was eating really unhealthy but my Mom was like well you know, just eat like these vitamins with your cupcake and your coke for breakfast. Fuck.

INT: Haha.

Mark: She didn't let me do that that long but you know that idea like mitigate it.

Mitigate the, the thing that you're doing wrong for yourself, like add that into your dietary deals you know, add those little things in to make that unhealthy thing more healthy. Um, so yeah the, yeah. I mean I've definitely dated some unhealthy women too, so I can't say they're always bringing me health food info. Um you know uh I've just been concerned about it. It's just uh, like, it's been, health has been a concern, so you just see these little things over time. Um, I'm trying to think where I see stuff like eat kale, eat this and that, you know, it's like. You know I work with a lot of women too at the yoga studio, so that comes up, food, you know. Um, stumble upon kind of stuff, you know the random websites that talk about health stuff. You know Facebook I'll see stuff in there, and add that into the system. So, it's not like you know it's just like little articles on how you should eat, so, web articles. That help?

Mark's narrative account of his ever evolving health repertoire is filled with references to women teaching him how to eat healthily. Again even as he put considerable work into building and keeping up with a garden of food on at least two occasions since the interviewer has known Mark.

John is a 39 year old white man who is married to a yoga instructor that works at a yoga studio that the interviewer frequents. John is the owner of a construction business and makes

\$85K a year. His wife has taught healthy eating courses through the yoga studio which included tours of local health food stores. The interviewer has not taken her health food course but has taken yoga classes where she is the instructor. In the excerpt below John is answering a question regarding where he may have learned his eating habits.

INT: Okay so, okay so do you think? Okay so tell me, did you also, would you say you also learned your eating habits from her? Or previous to meeting her how were they different? Or?

John: I think she would, definitely refined them. But when I like right about the time I met her as I was getting more and more into yoga and became more aware of how things were affecting my body. So, there were certain things that I had already started to omit from my diet. And it wasn't necessarily, it was as much because of the visceral reaction my body was having as like some analytical decision. In other words like, when I ate cheese pizza, I would be curled in a ball with like massive cramps, and it was painful. So, like, you know, after a couple days doing that I just couldn't eat cheese pizza any more. And I had the same problem with chicken. It was weird, like I I, I would eat chicken and it just made me feel really bad. I would like, you know, where I couldn't even function. So I, kind of cut out chicken, I pretty much cut out chicken when I met her and I cut out, or cut it out right when I just started to get to know her. And cheese pizza was gone. So, it was you know, my diet had started to shape in that direction but she kind of gave me a much better understanding of what I was trying to do.

John's statement regarding his wife refining his dietary habits is contrasted with the statement that he was becoming increasingly aware of how things were affecting his body – how

eating was affecting his body. Through his narrative account he notes that his eating habits changed not due to some analytical decision but to him feeling horrible, or not being able to function after eating certain foods. John leverages the outlook that he was already working on being healthier and that his wife “definitely refined them.” Further down the narrative account he also contrasted “So, it was you know, my diet had started to shape in that direction but she kind of gave me a much better understanding of what I was trying to do.”

Samuel is a 53 year old white man with a master’s in electronics. At the time of the interview he ran an electronics business within a larger company. Samuel makes \$110K a year through his business. In the excerpt below Samuel is answering a question regarding where he learned his current eating habits. Samuel’s answer has to do with mom being a vegetarian when he was growing up. The habits are elaborated as the narrative account unfolds

INT: Nice, okay, so where do you think you learned your eating, your current eating habits?

Samuel: Well, uh, growing up, my mother was a vegetarian for a long time, probably still is, and um, uh, you know we kind of learned the habits early in our childhood. I mean we ate stuff, cookies and things, but my mother always tried to keep a certain diet amongst our, the kids in the house you know. Because you know, we were kids and, but she was trying to, as we got older trying to teach us better eating habits as, the way we kind of grew to try and understand nutrition and stuff like that a little bit you know.

Max is a 27 year old Black man who is a business analyst and makes \$50K - \$60K a year. Max was recruited as a participant because he frequents a gym that the interviewer’s mother,

brother, and sister also frequent. In the excerpt below Max is answering a question regarding if he has any healthy men or women as role models. He is specifically talking about his dad and sister who randomly lost a lot of weight.

INT: Awesome, okay, that's pretty, that's pretty awesome. Um, do you have any health men as role models, or any health women?

Max: Yes. Both actually, my Dad and sister lost weight before I decided to lose weight. My sister lost over 100 pounds, and her transformation was so dramatic is just triggered something in me, because she never exercised a day in her life – a day in her life. Like she would always read books, even when we were kids, you know we would go outside and play, she was just reading books or watching TV. And she was always obese, not even overweight, like, really, really, really big. And so I saw her one day coming back either from college or grad school, and I was like who is this? And they're like, it's your sister, I was like oh my gosh! You know, I was like, how did you do it? And you know she was like, she just worked out every day, ate really well, and she really inspired me, and I push her all the time. And so, I lost weight and she's a yo yo-er, so she's lose a lot of weight for a goal, but she won't keep it off as long. And she'll never like, each transition gives her a healthy foundation weight. But she'll always shift maybe 30 to 40 pounds give or take 6 months to a year. So, it's like every you know start of the year she's like, okay I have to get back, I have to get back, I have to get back. I mean if you'd seen her today to where she was 10 years ago, she's lost a dramatic amount of weight, but compared to when she completes her workout routine and regimen, she's never been able to maintain her ideal weight size. But she's always driving for that, she works hard, you

know she has support from my Mom. My Mom's amazing she'll meal prep for both of us, like, out of just love and care.

Again Max is another example of how the participants in the sample took up self-defined eating habits from women in their lives. In this example Max was triggered by his sister once she lost a lot of weight through eating and exercise.

The excerpts mentioned in this eating section show how important eating is to the men being interviewed. So much so that the eating section with regards to women and time is also the biggest sub-section of findings in this section. The men talked about eating more than they generally talked about any other part of the food work spectrum. In general this is because that is the part that the men worried mostly about besides shopping or sourcing healthy food. The other section of findings that rivals eating is how work is generally a huge obstacle to the participant's ideal healthy eating schedules.

4.1.4 Cooking:

In this section of findings the excerpts relate to instances where the words "women," and "time" showed up with the theme of cooking. Each excerpt demonstrates how the women end up doing most, if not all, of the cooking for the men in the sample.

Adolfo is a 22 year old Hispanic man that is a personal trainer and server at a restaurant while making \$30K - \$40K a year. He was recruited because he, at the time of the interview, was the personal trainer of Bill's wife. She was kind enough to recommend him to the interviewer once the interviewer was done interviewing her husband Bill. Adolfo was interviewed at the gym where he works at the end of the day.

In the excerpt below Adolfo is answering a question regarding if the cooking work is ever split up between him and his girlfriend. It turns out that he ends up doing more “of the prepping part, like uh cutting the food, spicing the chicken um, and like washing dishes” while his girlfriend does the cooking because “you know she’s the woman, so she knows how to cook things better than I do.”

INT: Sweet um, okay, so who does, the, cooking wise do you ever split up the work?
Like..

Adolfo: Yeah.

INT: Okay so tell me about that.

Adolfo: So uh, she’s usually doing the cooking part, I’m doing more of the prepping part, like uh cutting the food, spicing the chicken um, and like washing dishes. Because you know she’s the woman, so she knows how to cook things better than I do.

INT: Okay I got ya, um yeah why do you think that is? That because she’s a woman she knows how to cook better than you?

Adolfo: Um, well she grew up in, in er, she grew up in a household that she wasn’t really uh, allowed to go out a lot, so she spent a lot of time with her mother so I, I’m guessing her mother taught her how to cook. My mother didn’t teach me how to cook. So I rely on her cooking abilities a lot.

The interviewer then asked Adolfo why he thinks because his girlfriend is a woman that she knows how to cook better than him. Adolfo’s answer then went about to speculate his girlfriend’s specific upbringing such as that his girlfriend spent a lot of time with her mother. Which is contrasted with his idea that her mom must have taught her how to cook during that

time. This is further contrasted with his statement that his mom did not teach him how to cook.

Alex is a 27 year old White man who makes \$45K - \$50K a year working in finance. Alex was recruited through a flier the interviewer placed in a yoga studio the both the interviewer and Alex frequent. The excerpt below has to do with who ends up doing the cooking between Alex and his girlfriend. This is a really interesting account because Alex contrasts how his girlfriend and he do about “50/50” of the cooking. However as the narrative account opens up the “50/50” is not between Alex cooking and his girlfriend cooking but really between his girlfriend cooking and them going out to eat.

INT: Okay nice, um, okay and when you, when you do eat at home, uh, who ends up doing the cooking?

Alex: Um, like I said it's kind of 50/50. I mean, my girlfriend will make it more often when we're out the house because it's her house that we're eating at, we're never really eating at my place because I have roommates, so it's kind of like she doesn't like to cook there and stuff, because it's usually at the same time other people are wanting to cook and whatnot, so but um, she will make the food, I would say 60% of the time. Because um we're talking about breakfast and dinner usually. Um, so that's, yeah, I would say it's 60/40.

Alex contrasts his girlfriend's cooking to times when she does not cook. He does not contrast to the times when he cooks. He ends the account with a “60/40” meaning not that he cooks 60 or 40 percent of the time but that she cooks 60 percent of the time and they go out to eat, or actually he goes out to eat 40 percent of the time. That 40 percent of the time that he goes out to eat is most likely when he eats out at restaurants close to his day job in finance. This ratio

changes in relation to the question being answered though.

INT: Okay, so yeah that was breakfast, lunch, dinner, um, would you say that this was a typical day eating wise for you?

Alex: Um not so much, um the breakfast is usually a um, ba- like a meal bar, like uh, something that I get. Um I've gotten, I've been eating more of those, these breakfast bars from uh, an online source. Uh so I just get them in offline and I'll um eat them like that and have like a bar and like water, and stuff like that. And then that gets me to like lunch and what not, and so um, let's see. And then yeah usually yeah I usually for lunch I'm like, go into specific restaurants around my work, uh, very rarely do I like make food at home unfortunately. Uh I would like to make it more often at home but uh I just haven't really got that like, like meal prep Sunday kind of t-, down yet, because like, that's something that I see pe-, see my friends do and stuff and I'm like, I should do that, but I just haven't gotten it like down pat just yet, but um, so I'm usually at restaurants eating whatever for lunch. And then dinner is kind of the same things except it's more of a, a mealtime for me and my girlfriend so we er, we'll either go out or uh make food at her apartment. And I'd say that's about 70/30 – eating out on 70% and 30% is making food in the house. Maybe a little less, or maybe a little less on the eating out side probably. But you know I'm, rough estimate, so yeah.

INT: Nice.

In the excerpt above Alex claims that he “usually yeah I usually for lunch I'm like, go into specific restaurants around my work, uh, very rarely do I like make food at home unfortunately.” Even further the 60/40 ratio claimed in the previous excerpt changes to 70/30.

The 70 is now when he and his girlfriend go out to eat and the 30 is his girlfriend cooking at her apartment.

Max is a 27 year old Black man who works as a business analyst and makes \$50K - \$60K a year. In the excerpts below Max goes into the specifics of his food preparation. The interviewer sets up the question by describing his own routine. However Max's routine does not involve cooking, it involves shopping for groceries and then dropping them off to his mom. His mom then prepares them for him and he picks them up and later on packs them up individually for consumption.

INT: Nice, um, yeah, tell me about your, I guess like food prep. I guess like I, I will cook my food in the morning and I, I'll usually cook dinner in the morning.

Max: Okay.

INT: So and then I, I'll eat dinner for breakfast, and then I'll eat like peanut butter jelly for lunch.

Max: Okay.

INT: And then I'll eat what I cooked that morning for dinner. So, how do you, how do you do like?

Max: Actually lately, I've been able to solicit the help from my Mom. So, what I've been able to do, and it's been more effective this week, is specifically, is, I go and I shop on Sundays, Tuesdays and I'll drop it off to her that night. So, you know, on Saturday or Sunday I'll drop it off to her, she'll give me enough for lunch and dinner for Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday. Wednesday night I'll go back to her, or Tuesday night, either how my schedule works out, drop off a new batch of groceries, pick up the meals for Thursday

or Friday and again.

INT: Perfect!

Max: So every two or three weeks I drop off and pick up at the same time.

Max here is contrasting two actions that take place between his mom and himself. He drops off groceries while he picks up cooked and packaged meals from his mom. He does so for efficiency's sake. This is apparent when Max says "so every two or three weeks I drop off and pick up at the same time." Obviously Max benefits greatly from outsourcing the preparation aspect of feeding work to his mom.

In this section the findings regarding cooking and time were explored. Women did the cooking in the majority of the data, but for slightly different reasons. Adolfo relies on his girlfriend's cooking because she was taught to cook and he was not. Alex specifies scheduling conflicts which end up meaning that his girlfriend cooks at her apartment or they go out to eat. And finally Max relies on his mom because she is willing to prepare his meals.

4.2 Work and time

In the forthcoming section of findings, the results will regard the theme of a sample of excerpts. This sample of excerpts were gathered by doing a word search through each interview. The words searched were "work" and "time." Work was searched because it has been noted that feeding work takes time (DeVault 1991, Hochschild and Machung 2012). "Work" was searched to see what the men regarded as work. The findings regard that in interviews when asked about their eating schedule and/or obstacles to their eating schedules. The men in the sample most often (16 out of 19 instances) spoke about having to eat around their work day. They most often

sacrificed their ideal healthy eating habits to their work.

Not all the participants however sacrificed themselves to their work. The ones that did not sacrifice themselves to their work schedule will be presented as negative cases of the data set. The men that chose their healthy eating habits over their work schedule had a variety of plans available to them and will be discussed below.

4.2.1 Positive

Bill who is a 51 year old electrical engineer at a large firm where he makes \$110K a year, notes that his main obstacle to eating healthy is time. Specifically Bill notes that his work will usually cater food for meetings that he is stuck at. The food catered is not the type that Bill usually has prepared for him at home by his stay at home wife. Bill notes that he would rather come home for lunch but otherwise when he is busy he is able to go to a nearby healthy restaurant.

INT No yeah that's that's definitely an obstacle. Um ok so onto obstacles actually.

What are some obstacles that you as a man face or have faced towards healthy eating?

Bill Um it's really time I mean it's just you know sometimes you know I have um lunches at work and meetings over the lunch hour and they usually cater in food and I end up eating something you know that's probably not that great for me, just because I'm stuck in this meeting and I can't come home for lunch so it's kind of a scheduling thing that really is a problem but we have er a relatively healthy restaurant that I go to a lot when I'm busy it's tropical smoothie so I go there and they have this veggie hummus wrap that's really good and I really like and then sometimes I'll just go and get a smoothie like a green smoothie or something like that.

What is specifically of interest in Bill's account is that how he leverages his lunch options. These are either being stuck at meetings where unhealthy food is catered, coming home for lunch where his stay at home wife cooks for him, and finally having a nearby healthy restaurant that he frequents otherwise. All of these options available to him are about eating and/or buying food. And none of the options require him to engage in the work of prepping or cooking.

Bruce is a 48 year old white male that is a sales recruiter or head hunter who makes \$60K a year. In the excerpt below Bruce notes the differences between his ideal eating schedule and his reality. Again the main meal that is affected is the meal that happens at work time, lunch. Bruce notes that his lunches could be better if he were not stuck at work. So like Bill in the previous excerpts work takes precedence over their ideal eating routines.

INT: Okay, okay, uh, nice um, so would you say, w-, is that, like for the weekend and for the weekdays is that your ideal eating routine or do you have an ideal?

Bruce: Um, yeah I mean I would, ideally, yeah pretty much eat what I think is ideal for me. Um, I mean I'm really focused on food as a really important aspect of overall health, so, um, I would, my lunches could probably be a little bit better but you know when I'm stuck at work it's just really tough to really eat like great at work. You know, yeah, so a lot of the time I just don't really eat at all, or snack something like, but yeah that's pretty close to ideal, I would think.

Like Bill did previously, Bruce also mentions that eating at work is a challenge. Bruce leverages that food is to him a very important part of overall health but still ends up caving to his work schedule. He does this when he says "...but you know when I'm stuck at work it's just

really tough to really eat like great at work.”

Clark is a 26 year old white man who is a medical scribe that makes \$18K. Clark was also recruited from the flyer placed in the yoga studio that the interviewer frequents. The excerpt below shows how work is used as a site where a meal can be navigated properly if work provides options. Clark works at a hospital and notes being able to choose between options available at the hospital cafeteria. Clark seems to like the vegetarian option that is offered at the hospital cafeteria.

INT: Heh heh yeah, heh heh. Okay, sweet um, and then okay, what would you, I guess we haven't had lunch today. So, yeah what would you typically have for lunch, dinner, or any snacks?

Clark: It depends on if I'm working or not. If I'm working in the hospital, I'll eat what's, what's in the hospital lounge. And it's generally some sort of, like on Fridays it's always fish, because it's a Baptist hospital, and they don't, they don't eat meat on Fridays. So, fish, it's always like a rice or a couscous. Um, uh or some sort of potato, and they always have some sort of steamed vegetable and there's always a vegetarian option which I, like, like sometimes they'll serve Shepherd's pie, but the vegetarian option will be like a bean based, a black bean based Shepherd's pie, so I'll eat that. Um, so it just depends on what they have in the hospital.

However Clark's diet still depends on if he is at work or not. Other excerpts from the other participants show that work does not always provide them with healthy alternatives. However once Clark gets off work all bets are off. In the excerpt below Clark talks about obstacles to eating healthy on his way home from work at 2am. Clark notes that money is

definitely an obstacle, as well as “the time it takes to you know prepare those meals.”

Clark: Yeah a lot of them are financial, uh. Other obstacles, like we talked about, the time it takes to you know prepare those meals, you know. Some of us get off of work at 2 o'clock in the morning, and I don't want to go home and wait 25 minutes for the vegetables to steam and the rice to be done. I would just rather, just put a burger in my face and just regret it later. In that moment, so I guess it just takes a little more mental force to, to, to get past those obstacles.

INT: Aheh heh, yeah yeah, yeah I got ya. Yeah definitely late at night.

Clark: Yeah, you know, and sometimes when you're travelling and stuff to get those sort of options. Um, like I travel to um, I travelled to the Virgin Islands uh for my PA school interview. And uh, I ate just terribly, because there weren't a lot of options, there just weren't a lot of options. And I didn't have access to a kitchen so I couldn't make the food.

Clark leverages eating healthy in different situations. One is when he gets off of work at 2 am and the other is when he traveled for a school interview in the Virgin Islands. When he is hungry at 2 am he would rather “just put a burger in my face and just regret it later.” However when he is at the Virgin Islands where “there weren't a lot of options, there just weren't a lot of options.” Clark mentions that there was not even a kitchen available to him to prepare those meals.

In the excerpt below from Donatello, a half Pilipino and half European freelance artist who mostly works with music describes the obstacle to his ideal eating schedule being his turbulent life. When asked about his income he said “I'm an artist so I don't make too much

money.” In another part of the interview when asked about his ideal eating schedule he noted that what he would love to do is “no matter what my schedule is, is to have time to pre-prepare meals and have um 5 to 6 meals a day, at specific intervals.” However when compared to his reality what Donatello describes below is that his turbulent life just gets in the way of his ideal eating schedule.

Donatello: p ... Um, it’s really just the obstacle of um, um being in, in, the only real obstacle I have is my turbulent life, like, not that it’s bad or anything, it’s just very unpredictable. It changes from all, one day to the next, my scheduling, and uh, I just have, I just always feel like I’m behind on so many different things. Um, that when you feel like that ss- sometimes work takes priority to other things. Sometimes, you, you know, you get out of balance.

Again like the majority of the men he ends up letting his work dictate his ideal self-defined eating schedule. The way Donatello manages to give work more importance over his ideal eating schedule is by leveraging the meaning of “things.” Donatello says “I just always feel like I’m behind on so many different things” and then compares that to “Um, that when you feel like that ss- sometimes work takes priority to other things.” Things that Donatello is behind on are usually work things while things that work has priority over are his ideal eating habits.

In the next excerpt Joel who is a Hispanic lifeguard that makes \$58K a year notes the obstacles to his typical day of eating. What must be noted is that his typical day of eating is already “sometimes” missing out on lunch if work gets in the way.

INT: Okay, um, would you say this is like a typical day? Eating wise?

Joel: Um it, it’s, yeah yes, as far as the breakfast is concerned the only thing would be

the lunch. Um unfortunately sometimes I end up skipping my lunch because of er my, my type of work. Uh sometimes we have rescues and we have to jump in the water and save somebody, or secondly I'm on the boat usually 3 or 4 days a week. So, sometimes I don't have access to eat while I'm actually working. So, I have to kind of, kind of maybe skip the lunch or eat it right after, when I get off the boat, or right on the way home. So, sometimes i-, it, it depends on my work, how busy we are.

Joel leverages his lunch versus his work by qualifying his work as "my type of work." His type of work is being on a boat 3 or 4 times a week where he has to sometimes rescue people. The options that Joel otherwise gives himself are just eating like when he says "So, I have to kind of, kind of maybe skip the lunch or eat it right after, when I get off the boat, or right on the way home."

Kent is a 23 year old waiter who makes \$20K - \$30K a year at a vegan diner that the interviewer frequents. The interviewer placed flyers for this study at the vegan diner and was only able to recruit Kent. However two of the interviews took place in the parking lot of this vegan diner because a couple of the participants suggested meeting there. The noise inside the restaurant was too much for the digital audio recorder so the interviews took place in the participant's cars. The cars were parked in the vegan restaurant's parking lot.. What is of interest is that like Joel above Kent's daily eating habits depend exclusively on if he is opening or closing for the day at the diner.

INT: Yeah pretty good, um. So, okay, would you say that this is a typical? Your- y- was yesterday a typical day eating wise for you?

Kent: Yeah um, if I, if I open I'll eat, I'll eat and I just like, I'll eat, lun-, or br- and br-,

I'll eat breakfast, no lunch, dinner and then I'll eat like a little, I yo-, I kind of snack at night. But if I close it's a breakfast and lunch on time normal day schedule, and then I'll work and not eat at work and then eat when I get home.

Kent contrasts his eating habits with his work schedule by breaking down when and how he eats through breakfast, lunch, dinner, and/or snacks. There is a direct correlation between not eating if he is at work.

Michael is a software developer at a large firm who makes \$110K a year. He was recruited through his wife who is a yoga instructor at the yoga studio that the interviewer frequents. The interview took place in their home's living room. His wife elected to stay and listen to the interview while she studied for a class she was taking to become a certified massage therapist. Therefore Michael's answers to the interviewer's questions should take into account that his wife was in the room, sitting right next to Michael. The excerpt below regards his description of the men that he works with.

INT: Okay, okay, um, what about at work? Would you say that you are healthier than the men that you work with?

Michael: For the most part yeah.

INT: Why do you think that could be?

Michael: Oh well I think part of it is that I'm in the IT industry and the IT industry just tends to breed people who are not healthy, who do not eat healthy or live healthy.

Um, and that, that's one of the challenges, is that whatever you're going, uh the company the other things like that, that's paid for, a lot of the time it's foods that I would never normally never get for myself.

What is of interest is that the food served at Michael's place of employment is not food that he would normally get for himself. In the excerpt below Michael opens up about the specifics of the food usually catered and how he deals with it.

INT: Yeah, yeah I got ya. Um, okay, what are some obstacles that you as a man face or have faced towards healthy eating?

Michael: That would be one of them right here, you know we typically at least once a week at work, end up having a lunch um brought for us and uh sometimes it's, it's okay but typically it's always like bread and meat based. You know, heavy bread, heavy meat, um, thinking last week there was like a Sonny's barbeque pizza, it was you know uh barbeque and uh the barbeque pork and the chicken and uh like the really heavy mac and cheese, and uh, uh bread. And it's, it's just something that I, that, that when I, uh, I will eat it so I don't uh, I'll typically you know um blend into my mine, whatever it is, I don't try to stand out. But uh, I don't typically feel well afterwards.

Like Bill mentioned, Michael just eats whatever the company caters for lunch. What is to be noted is that Michael eats the unhealthy catered food knowing that he will not feel well afterwards because he does not try to stand out.

Taylor, an entry level flight attendant that makes between \$35K - \$40K a year talks about his partner's eating behaviors and ties them down to his partner's work schedule. Taylor claims to be able to navigate an ideal eating schedule even when he is flying for work. Taylor's partner on the other hand is a hair stylist without a predictable work schedule. Taylor ties his partner's work schedule to his eating schedule by contrasting each other's eating habits. Taylor does not like to feel too full from eating food, he paces himself. While his partner will eat to the point

where “he will tend to be the one that like has to sit on the couch because like he’s stuffed you know.”

INT: Mhm, yeah, yeah, yeah, no yeah I agree, yeah whenever I eat it, it tends to be fresher tasting and all that. Um, okay what about the amount of food between, because you mentioned earlier that?

Taylor: Uh that can vary. But typically um just because we always plan on sharing potentially we make probably more than we should. Um and we try not, I mean at least I do, I’m probably better at it than he is at eating, not overeating. He um, he will tend to be the one that like has to sit on the couch because like he’s stuffed you know. But, what I mean, not to say that we ate bad, we didn’t like eat terrible stuff, but he, I’m a little more like I don’t like that feeling. So I like to try and pace myself and not eat as much at one time, but also with his job it’s kind of difficult because he’s on his feet all day. Like, I’m like, he cuts hair at the moment so, he kind of, he doesn’t have a set time, like he can’t plan his meals as well as I can. You know, especially when I’m home because I can’t, being a flight attendant it’s difficult to eat on the go but I can still kind of you know, like navigate my day when I want in terms of like eating every er like 2 hours but if he has a client, there’s not you know, he barely has like you know like a 5 minute break between like each client. So, he’ll a lot of the time have to wait and then eat, and it’s how much, like it typically results in eating a lot at one time.

Taylor’s partner’s diet is intricately tied to his eating habit. Taylor begins by saying that his partner is on his feet all day. His feet means that he does not have time to eat when Taylor follows by saying “he doesn’t have a set time.” Taylor’s partner does not have a solid planning

phase available to him to plan when to eat because of his job as a hair stylist. Because of this lack of a planning phase Taylor's says "So, he'll a lot of the time have to wait and then eat, and it's how much, like it typically results in eating a lot at one time."

Tom works in digital advertising and 40% of the time has his pre-teen daughter living with him. He makes between \$100K and \$120K. Tom like most of the participants also claims that whether he prepares a meal at home or goes out to eat depends on his "crazy" work schedule. Tom accomplishes giving work priority over cooking at home when he contrasts "if work is really crazy, and I'm just like I wait a few minutes" with "and if I need to get carry out I do that sometimes." The source of the meal in question is suspended in relation to his work schedule.

INT: I got ya, um okay and that was like breakfast, and then?

Tom: Yeah, lunch, um, so lunch um I do a mixture of, of cooking that on my own um and going out to eat. So it kind of depends, you know, if work is really crazy, and I'm just like I wait a few minutes and if I need to get carry out I do that sometimes.

Most of the participants in the study gave work priority over their self-reported preferred eating habits. Only one participant (Clark) had the opportunity to eat healthy while giving his job priority over his preferred eating diet. This was because Clark worked at a hospital with a cafeteria that accommodated various eating lifestyles like vegetarianism. Participants like Bill and Michael had to deal with eating whatever their company brought in for lunch knowing that they would not feel well afterwards. The companies that Bill and Michael worked for usually brought in food that they defined as unhealthy. The rest of the participants in this section of the findings skipped eating altogether when at work. Their reasoning was varied but generally used

vocabulary that gave way to work such as “in my type of work,” or “need to get take out,” or “doesn’t have a set time.”

The only participant in the positive section of findings that claims to be able to navigate eating like he wants was Taylor but he was placed in this section because of his partner who does not have an ideal eating schedule. Both of them eat the same things but Taylor’s partner will eat more in one sitting to compensate for not knowing when his next meal will take place as he does not have a predictable work schedule.

4.2.2 *Negative:*

In this section of findings cases where the participants interviewed for this study placed their ideal eating habits before their work schedule will be examined. These participants will be looked at in relation to the previous section of findings. The previous section of findings dealt with participants that placed their work schedule before their ideal eating habits. This section is called “Negative” because the minority (4) of this study’s participants placed their ideal eating habits before work, the “Positive” being the majority (9). That is 13 participants out of 19 interviewed. The 6 others did not pop up in the word “work” and/or “time” search.

The first negative case that will be compared to the positive cases regards Carlos. Carlos is a 29 year old Hispanic massage therapist who makes \$29K a year. Carlos gave priority to his ideal eating habits over his work by choosing to work at a location that had a Whole Foods (a healthy food store) in the same plaza as his job. This stands in contrast to the majority of the cases in the sample, the positive cases. The positive cases claimed that work interfered with their ideal healthy eating schedule and did very little to nothing at all when it came to accommodating

themselves.

INT: Okay, um so yeah, why do you think you shop there besides it being so close?

Carlos: Um I actually, um (unclear), mm, I actually moved over to this area and um changed to this location because I just felt like um, every food option that I had on my break time, um, going, leaving, arriving at work were not healthy. And um, nh, and since I don't really cook that much, this is like a good alternative, because even if you know I haven't cooked anything I come here and I can grab lunch really quick, or I can grab a snack. So, that was kind of like, the reason why I moved to this area was the, the relative um nh location, closeness to these things.

Carlos gave importance to the location of his work because he does not usually cook.

This means that he is tied down to whatever food outlets are around his work at break time.

Carlos said it best by saying, "I just felt like um, every food option that I had on my break time, um, going, leaving, arriving at work were not healthy."

The next negative case is from John, a 39 year old owner of a construction business who makes \$85K a year. John is the spouse of a yoga instructor at the yoga studio that the interviewer frequents. Of note is that John's spouse was present while the interview took place. The interview took place at the dinner table while John's spouse was in the background diligently preparing dinner. Now John sticking to his ideal eating habits means that he usually does not "go out to sports bars and watch sporting events with people. You know I don't go to restaurants where there's nothing for me to eat that's healthy." Interestingly he also claims that his preference for his diet means that he loses out on important networking events for his construction business which usually take place in self defined unhealthy restaurants.

INT: Um okay let's see here. Um, okay, so, would you say you have faced any obstacles as a man towards eating healthy in the past?

John: In the past?

INT: Or even nowadays?

John: Hm, I mean if there's any obstacles it's just that but I, you know I have to, you know I don't, that I don't go out to sports bars and watch sporting events with people. You know I don't go to restaurants where there's nothing for me to eat that's healthy. And so, yeah, if there's any obstacles it's having to at times be anti-social, and you know, with people I enjoy to be around just because there's nothing where they go to eat that I can eat. You know, yeah. But that's not all places we go, we've got a lot of places that have a, you know a vegetarian item too on the menu, that maybe wasn't vegan, but we would eat that, so. Uh, that's about it. You know, other obstacles it's like, you know just in my own work, you know. One of the things that we do do is when you are negotiating in this (unclear) was going to lunch with people, that I used to do twice or three times a week is go to lunch with people and talk about the prices and numbers and where the jobs are and how much you know, and I mean, I don't do that with anybody anymore! You know, because like, they, where they want to go there's, there's nothing there that I eat.

INT: Okay, uh, would you say that you and uh, like are those meetings really important to be a part of? Where you're talking about numbers and like what are you going to do or whatever?

John: Uh I mean, yeah, they can be. I mean, the the the, you know, like, there's no doubt that, at times I'm sure that you know I wish to be in those meetings because I had a

few people connect me with things that, so yeah, I mean there's, there's a bit of a sacrifice there. But there's also this interesting reverse thing happening which is people who knew me 10 years ago and how big I was and how unhealthy I was, and as their health situation is worsening and they're seeing me come in looking younger than I did 10 years ago and better like, they're starting to also, at the same time become curious. And so like there's a respect thing there where they're like, hmm, I mean, you know, and they're, they're pretty funny you know they joke with me about you know, maybe it's my turn to do that vegan thing, you know.

John notes that in the end though people that have known him for a long time and have noted changes in his appearance joke about picking up "that vegan thing."

Juan a 21 year old Hispanic man who works part time at a supermarket not known as a healthy one makes \$7.2K – \$9.6K a year. Juan keeps to his diet by bringing his own lunchbox to work with him. Juan was recruited through a flyer the interviewer placed in Whole Foods, a healthy food store.

INT: Um, okay, yeah, so what about like where you work, or maybe where you go to school, or maybe church or?

Juan: Yeah if I'm the healthiest person compared to all those people there?

INT: Yes. Or men there.

Juan: Or men there, true, sorry. Uh where I work, I? I would say where I work yeah, because I know they like when lunchtime comes around they go to Taco Bell and McDonalds, because it happens to be right there! You know, while I have my lunchbox and what not.

INT: Heh heh heh heh.

Juan: I'll just whip it out like, I saved some time! Heh heh.

Juan contrasts his coworker's habits of going to close by fast food restaurants (to save time) to his own when he says "I'll just whip it out like, I saved some time! Heh heh". The contrast is meant to show that he saves time and is able to be healthy by bringing his own lunch.

Now Max a 27 year old Black man who works as a business analyst and makes \$50K - \$60K seems to be the most in control of his eating preferences. However, as noted in the Women and Time section of the findings, his mom is the one who cooks for him. So his control is largely due to him outsourcing feeding work. In the excerpt below though he notes being able to eat on his own schedule no matter where he is located. As he notes he eats in transition, because he eats every one, two, or three hours. This means eating in his car, standing instead of eating while sitting down. And if his eating randomly coincides he will eat with coworkers at their work cafeteria.

INT: Who sets up the table?

Max: There is no table setting! I just, usually I eat in transition so, a lot of it's maybe in the car because I try to eat on a schedule, like every hour or two, three hours. So, I eat in the car or at lunch at work with my co-workers in our cafeteria. And at dinner usually I normally eat standing up, like, I just get in from the gym, and I'll eat and then I'll go shower and you know prepare the meals for the next day right then and there. So, I really don't set the table, because I try not to waste time. So, I just eat, prep the meal, lunch or the dinner for the next day, and I pack my lunch box before I go to sleep.

In another excerpt not noted here Max claims to actually have a lunch box that can hold

3-5 meals. So it is more akin to carry-on luggage that can fit in the overhead compartment of a commercial flight. It is through this lunchbox, as well as his mom's food work that he is able to gain the agency to carry food that allows him to eat on his own schedule.

This section of the findings talks about men who eat on their own terms. It seems that these men were in the minority of a sample that is supposed to eat entirely on their own terms – men who define themselves as healthy. Interestingly John is the only participant in the sample who reported negative effects for eating healthily. Those negative effects being that he has to be anti-social since friends of his and coworkers will tend to eat at restaurants where self-defined healthy food is not served.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

This study is based on 19 face-to-face interviews with self-defined healthy men who shop at healthy food stores like Whole Foods, or at farmers markets. How gender operates in relation to time within the food work spectrum discussed in the narratives was examined. The findings related to women and time showed that women were primarily responsible for the feeding work in the home sphere, encompassing various phases of the feeding work spectrum (DeVault 1991). The findings related to work and time revealed two groups of men, those who choose to not eat at work and those who do not eat at work.

More specifically looking into the home sphere, that men rely greatly on women doing the work to feed men is a general finding of feminist research (Allen and Sachs 2012, DeVault 1991, Hochschild and Machung 2012). The narratives sampled showed that the men relied on women for planning, for learning how to shop in a healthy way, to then lead to eating in a healthy way. When it came to cooking though the narratives sampled showed that the men depended on women. Hegemonic masculinity is a masculinity where the individuals enacting them do not cook unless it is outside on the grill (Connell 1995, Connell 2000). Hegemonic masculinity interplayed with healthy masculinity which emphasizes avoiding long term health problems or maintaining health for as long as possible (Courtenay 2000, Sobal 2005). An aspect of a healthy masculinity was displayed when the men took up lessons from women on how to shop and eat healthy food.

Conversely the findings regarding the public sphere the men who gave up their self defined eating habits for their work schedule were in the majority (9 vs. 4). That most of the participants did not eat at work seems to be counterproductive to their health and the participants

admitted as much. Specifically this also goes against what a healthy masculinity would be which is to eat healthily no matter what (Connell 2000, Courtenay 2000). Even conventional masculinities which emphasize individuals not denying themselves in any way are thrown out the window to explain the sample's behavior regarding them not eating at work (Connell 1995, Connell 2000, Courtenay 2000). Paradoxically however that is exactly how these men assert themselves as strong in the workplace, by skipping meals and showing that they are continuously able to work (Connell 1995, Connell 2000, Courtenay 2000).

What these two sections of findings show is that the feeding work enacted in the sampled narratives depend on the social spheres and the gender relations within each one. In the home sphere the men rely on women for many things. In the public sphere the men tended to sacrifice feeding work altogether by not eating at work. Power relations based on gender norms (Allen 2008) at each sphere dictated how the men navigated their self-defined healthy habits.

Gough and Conner (2006) made the suggestion to explicitly study men who eat in a healthy fashion in order to find routes for helping other men become healthy eaters. However maybe men should not be the appropriate target to study but really power relations based on gender norms (Allen 2008). Specifically women's position in the food work spectrum must be looked at in every sphere of life – the body, the home, and the public sphere – in order to understand the pathways that men may end up taking in order to be healthy (Allen and Sachs 2012).

Limitations of the project are that the sample was not representative of a population. Therefore more research should be done at other levels to verify the validity of findings. Otherwise the fact that the transcripts were only searched for the a few words means that much

of the data were not included in the analysis. A future project can be to further evaluate by including more of the collected data for more robust findings.

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Feeding Work

1. Which grocery/health food stores have you gone to this week?
 - a. How often would you say you frequent those stores?
 - b. Why do you think you shop there?
2. Where you live,
 - a. Who plans what is going to be eaten? Why?
 - b. Who shops for the food to be eaten? Why?
 - c. Who sets up the table? Why?
 - d. Who does the cutting/cooking/processing of food that will be eaten? Why?
 - e. Are the same foods eaten by everyone? Why/not?
 - i. What about amounts of food?
 - f. Who cleans up after eating is done? Why?

Daily Routine Eating

1. What have you eaten today?
 - a. Breakfast?
 - b. Lunch?
 - c. Dinner?
 - d. Snacks?
 - e. Would you say that this is a typical day for you eating wise?
 - f. What is your ideal eating routine?
2. Do you find yourself thinking a lot about what you eat?
3. Where do you think you learned your eating habits?

Gender, Food, and Health

1. How would you define a healthy man?
 - a. Woman?
2. Do you have any healthy men as role models?
 - a. Healthy women?
3. What do you think constitutes healthy eating for a man?
 - a. A woman?
4. Compared to other men in your family, would you say that you are healthier?
 - a. How about work/church/school/gym?
 - b. Why do you think that is?
5. What are some obstacles that you as a man face or have faced towards healthy eating?
 - a. How have you overcome them?
 - b. Are there some that you have not been able to overcome?
6. What are some specific goals you intend to reach through healthy eating as a man?
7. What does being masculine mean to you?
 - a. How does that fit in with your eating and health food store shopping?

Demographics

1. What is your age?
2. What is your income?
3. Do you have a religious affiliation?
4. What level of education have you finished/working on?
5. What is your occupation?

6. Sexual orientation?
7. Race?
8. Do you live alone?
9. Are you in a relationship?

APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM



EXPLANATION OF RESEARCH

Title of Project: Healthy Eating and Masculinities

Principal Investigator: Juan Barredo

Faculty Supervisor: Shannon K. Carter, PhD

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Whether you take part is up to you. The purpose of this study is to conduct semi-structured, open ended interviews with twenty to thirty individual men who consider themselves healthy and shop at health food stores. The specific aim of these individual interviews will be to investigate how these men interpret their health through questions about daily eating and food shopping habits, as well as their gender and demographics.

Research shows that men in western cultures tend to be unhealthy when compared to women in western culture when socioeconomic factors are controlled. Gough and Conner (2006) claim that a way to make men healthier is to study men who are already healthy to learn how they construct it. This human research project will narrow the participants down to men who label themselves as healthy that shop at health food stores.

For this study you and I will engage in an interview of anywhere from 45 – 90 minutes. You will be asked a series of open ended questions regarding your eating and health food shopping habits. You do not have to answer every question. The location of the interview will depend on where you and I agree to meet. This can happen at your home, my home, or a public space that is relatively quiet. I expect that you will be in this research study for the duration of the interview which could be anywhere from 45 – 90 minutes. You will be audio taped during this study. If you do not want to be audio taped, you will not be able to be in the study. Discuss this with the researcher. The tape will be kept in a locked, safe place. The tape will be erased or destroyed after the interview is transcribed and checked for accuracy.

You must be 18 years of age or older to take part in this research study.

Study contact for questions about the study or to report a problem: if you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or think the research has hurt you, talk to Dr. Shannon K. Carter the faculty advisor of this study at skcarter@ucf.edu

IRB contact about your rights in the study or to report a complaint: Research at the University of Central Florida involving human participants is carried out under the oversight of the Institutional Review Board (UCF IRB). This research has been reviewed and approved by the IRB. For information about the rights of people who take part in research, please contact: Institutional Review Board, University of Central Florida, Office of Research & Commercialization, 12201 Research Parkway, Suite 501, Orlando, FL 32826-3246 or by telephone at (407) 823-2901.

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APPENDIX C: APPROVAL LETTER



University of Central Florida Institutional Review Board
Office of Research & Commercialization
12201 Research Parkway, Suite 501
Orlando, Florida 32826-3246
Telephone: 407-823-2901 or 407-882-2276
www.research.ucf.edu/compliance/irb.html

Approval of Exempt Human Research

From: **UCF Institutional Review Board #1**
FWA00000351, IRB00001138

To: **Juan Barredo**

Date: **February 09, 2015**

Dear Researcher:

On 02/09/2015, the IRB approved the following activity as human participant research that is exempt from regulation:

Type of Review: Exempt Determination
Project Title: Healthy Eating and Masculinities
Investigator: Juan Barredo
IRB Number: SBE-15-10945
Funding Agency:
Grant Title:
Research ID: N/A

This determination applies only to the activities described in the IRB submission and does not apply should any changes be made. If changes are made and there are questions about whether these changes affect the exempt status of the human research, please contact the IRB. When you have completed your research, please submit a Study Closure request in iRIS so that IRB records will be accurate.

In the conduct of this research, you are responsible to follow the requirements of the [Investigator Manual](#).

On behalf of Sophia Dziegielewski, Ph.D., L.C.S.W., UCF IRB Chair, this letter is signed by:

Signature applied by Joanne Muratori on 02/09/2015 11:13:05 AM EST

IRB Coordinator

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