

# ENGLISH SUMMARY

In the beginning of 2008, Danish health organizations, health authorities and bread producers are launching a campaign aimed at increasing consumption of whole-grain products among Danish consumers. In order to target the campaign the best way possible, this anthropological study was initiated by the Danish Cancer Society to better understand how Danish consumers experience bread and wholegrain.

This socio-cultural study is based on anthropological fieldwork among skilled and unskilled Danish workers, primarily women with children living at home. The authors followed and observed the women in their families and at their workplaces and interviewed them, their family and their colleagues about their eating habits, focusing on bread and wholegrain. As a starting point for this study, fifty brief "street-interviews" were conducted in order to get an impression of the many co-existing ways Danes understand the term "wholegrain".

The study shows that Danes, first and foremost, understand wholegrain as something healthy and they associate it closely to traditional Danish rye bread. This bread is dark sourdough bread based almost entirely on wholegrain rye flour and rye berries. At the same time, they describe the characteristic "white bread" as an opposite to wholegrain in order to improve their understanding of the concept. According to informants, wholegrain is dark, heavy, healthy, and good for digestion, and it keeps you satiated in a good way. They un-

derstand wholegrain as "full of grains", or "with many grains", with an emphasis on the grains being intact, including all sorts of grains, also sunflower and pumpkin seeds. It is not the sort of grains that are important, rather the number, the size and the intactness that matters to informants. The analysis also shows that "wholegrain" is primarily a scientific term rather than a familiar concept to the consumers. Therefore, informants draw on various everyday experiences with bread in their efforts to explain the concept of wholegrain. Especially the term "coarse grained bread" seems to be much deeper embedded in Danish consumers' everyday language and knowledge surrounding bread.

This study also examines consumption of bread and wholegrain through an everyday life perspective, and incorporates anthropological methods to identify cultural patterns and ways in which bread and wholegrain are consumed. The Danish workers in this study organize their life in terms of work and spare time, and they eat bread accordingly. When they work, their body is a well functioning machine that needs fuel; that is wholegrain rye bread. This type of bread has the ability to keep the body going and informants feel good when eating it. In free time, however, the body is at rest and Danes prefer light white types of bread; especially at weekend morning breakfasts, a social event where the family is gathered. In this sense, rye bread or wholegrain symbolizes work and belongs to the work days, whereas white bread symbolizes spare time belonging to weekends, holidays or in the afternoon when work

is done. Nevertheless, it is likely that Danes eat white bread at work, but bread is used to celebrate birthdays or other occasions, or on Fridays to "warm up for the weekend". This analysis therefore teaches us that certain breads match certain occasions, but also that by choosing certain types of bread, consumers are able to create occasions, i.e. a bit of spare time at work by serving bread rolls.

Finally, this analysis argues that these cultural patterns are not definite. By changing the availability of the bread, its preparation and accompaniments, Danes can choose other types of bread than they are used to do. Some never eat bread rolls for breakfast, but if it is served at work, they will eat it. Others detest dark rye bread for a cozy cup of coffee Friday morning, but if it is served fresh out of the oven, or if it is served with delicious rolled seasoned meat, they think it is just perfect. This report points to ways or occasions in which bread and wholegrain habits are negotiable, in the context of Danish food culture and traditions.

In conclusion, the recommendation of this report suggests a revision of the scientific concept "wholegrain" into the more familiar term "coarse grained bread". In addition, future efforts should be made to target new products at meals that are less structured, such as breakfast and afternoon coffee on working days. Finally, campaigns should aim at increasing the availability of healthy bread types like wholegrain for example by serving it free of charge at workplaces. In general, the

report suggests that when promoting wholegrain, producers should have as point of departure, the values and characteristics that are already associated with the product in the everyday life of Danish consumers.

