If I Am What I Eat, Who Am I?

Using Food to Maintain Jewish Identity and Heritage in Norway

Miriam Janice Cohen Kiel

Masteroppgave i Museologi og Kulturarv

MUSKUL4590 (30 stp)

Institutt for kulturstudier og orientalske språk

UNIVERSITETET I OSLO

Høst 2018

If I Am What I Eat, Who Am I?

Using Food to Maintain Jewish Identity and Heritage in Norway

© Miriam Janice Cohen Kiel

2018

If I Am What I Eat, Who Am I?

Miriam Janice Cohen Kiel

http://www.duo.uio.no/

Trykk: Reprosentralen, Universitetet i Oslo

Abstract

As minority cultures are on the rise all over the world, it is important to investigate how heritage and identity intersect. The Jewish population of Norway has always been a small percentage of the population, and there has been a lack of research into the community outside of studies into antisemitism, the Jewish ban, or Holocaust and interwar studies. In this thesis we have interviewed immigrants of Jewish heritage and engaged in participant observation of public events within the wider Jewish community in Oslo. These materials were used to try to investigate how food culture is being used to adapt and maintain Jewish identity among immigrants to Norway. My results found that food continues to be an important part of Jewish identity in Norway, but that there are unique struggles in maintaining one's food culture.

Preface

History, culture, and identity are three subjects that have always interested me from a young age. With a home that straddles two continents and the ocean between, who I am has never quite jelled with where I was. Or, was it where I was that never got used to who I was? As I grew older, my histories and backgrounds became important for me to express and acknowledge. The past has shaped all of us and understanding *how* will always be an important question for me.

Thank you to my two advisors, Virginie Amilien and Marzia Varutti, who have had utmost patience with me and who were vital to helping guide my project from an idea into reality.

Thank you to the Jewish community of Norway, those that allowed me to interview them and gather material for this project, or those who simply those who welcomed me into their homes and their lives.

Thank you to those of my friends and family who have encouraged me and offered whatever help they could.

Thank you to my partner who supported and took care of me, our home, and our dog, while I worked away.

And thank you to my grandmothers, who taught me to love to cook.

Table of Contents

Abstract IV
Preface VI
Table of Contents VIII
Chapter 1 Introduction 1
1.1 Themes and Research Question 1
1.2 Case Studies and Research Methods 4
1.3 Thesis Structure 4
Chapter 2 Food, Heritage, and Identity 7
2.1 Food 7
2.2 Culture and Heritage 9
2.3 Diasporic Heritage and Multiculturalism 11
2.4 Identity 13
2.5 Norwegian Food Culture 14
Chapter 3 Case Study and Methodology 18
3.1 Participants and Recruitment 19
3.2 Interviews 21
3.3 Jewish Food in Public Spaces 22
3.4 Ethical Considerations 23
3.5 Shortcomings 25
Chapter 4 Jewish Norway 26
4.1 A Brief History 26
4.2 Hatikwoh 30
4.3 Jewish Food Laws and Customs 32
4.4 Jewish Food Traditions in Norway 35
Chapter 5 Results 38
5.1 Interview A 38
5.2 Interview B 39
5.3 Interview C 41
5.5 Meals and Events 43
Chapter 6 Analysis 46
6.1 Appropriation 46
6.2 Keeping *Kosher* 48

6.3 *Kosher* Meat 49
6.4 Importing 50
6.5 Further Research 51
Chapter 7 Concluding remarks 53
Lexicon 55
Bibliography 58
Interviews 64
Pictures 65
Picture 1 65
Picture 2 66
Appendix 67
Appendix 1 – NSD agreement 67
Appendix 2 – Copy of consent form 71
Appendix 3 – Copy of interview questions 72
Appendix 4 – Jewish population in Norway from census data 74

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Themes and Research Question

In March 2018 there was a two-day conference 'Jewish Tradition: Does it Matter?' in Oslo jointly organised by the Theological Department of the University of Oslo and the Jewish Museum in Oslo. While the question itself was rhetorical, the conference provided an opportunity to shed light not only on the different aspects of Jewish tradition, but specifically different Jewish traditions and their presence and practice in Norway and the rest of Scandinavia. In fact, it was the first time that several different rabbis[1] based or practicing in Oslo came together to discuss the role of Judaism and Jewish people in Norway. If this truly was the first case of Jewish traditions being discussed within some of the different Jewish communities in Norway, it reflected the equally quiet interests of the academic community in Norway when it comes to investigating the Norwegian Jewish community's cultural heritage. This is also an observation made by Kasstan (2016) on the lack of ethnographic or anthropological studies in Scandinavia on Jewish sociality.

Studying the Jewish community in Norway might seem like a strange minority to choose. But with the exception of the second world war, there has been a Jewish community and presence since 1851 not only in Oslo, but throughout Norway. And in the second half of the 19th century the Jewish population grew slowly from tens to hundreds. Although there has never officially been over 2 500 Jewish people living in Norway, it's likely there are many more, and that number is likely to rise. A at the beginning of 2017 the population in Norway comprised of 17% immigrants or Norwegian citizens born to immigrants. Furthermore, since 2017 every third person in Oslo has an immigrant background of some kind (SSB, 2017); this number has continually risen each year and is expected to continue to rise in the future. It is a contemporary debate and struggle not only in Norway, but also in Europe and around the world, on how best to effectively integrate or assimilate immigrant populations. The balance between integration and maintaining a diasporic identity is constantly being discussed within

[1] Within the Jewish community there is debate about the number of rabbis in Norway, which ranges from one to six. This has to do with both levels of orthodoxy as well as who is ordained versus who is leading a community

and outside these diasporic communities, as national and cultural identities are no longer one and the same.

The main theme this thesis will focus on is how food culture is being used as a way of maintaining Jewish identity among immigrants to Norway. As people with immigrant backgrounds are on the rise in Oslo, it's important to not only understand the people around us but learn how to include each other in our lives. The goal of this paper is not to solve problems and differences in cultures, but instead to highlight some of the choices people make to preserve and maintain their unique diasporic identities. There are many different ways to do this, whether it is religiosity, language, or lifestyle. Gjernes' master thesis (2002) for example, examined the integration of the Jewish minority in Norway through women's integration into the Norwegian labour force. In this case, we will be using food as a method of maintaining and adapting Jewish identity in Norway.

Not only does everybody eat, every*thing* eats, from a single cell amoeba to the blue whale. When we stop eating whether by choice or by insufficient access to food, we die. It is a simple statement to make, but it becomes clear just how important and useful food is when we consider that every single one of the 7.6 billion people in the world today all must eat. It would be a great feat if every single person in the world ate the same thing as every single other person, all of the time. But most of us know this is not the case. If you've watched a foreign movie or TV show, eaten at a restaurant that serves a foreign cuisine, or even travelled across a country's border or a mountain range, it is easy to understand that suddenly the food changes. Sometimes it is the brand of food that changes, or the most popular bag of crisps is a different flavour. Certain flavours and spices may disappear as others show up. What is even considered to be food might change.

Geography plays one of the most important roles in what we consider food; it dictates quite simply what is traditionally available in the local nature for us to take advantage of and to consume. Thousands of years ago with the advent of farming and domestication, different parts of the world domesticated different grains based on what was locally available and what was best adapted to the climate. The main grains domesticated were corn domesticated

throughout North and South America, wheat was grown in Europe, sorghum was domesticated in Africa, and rice in southeast Asia. Today these are not the only grains found or eaten in these areas, but they have played an important role in the development of society, culture, and traditions. In Europe this can be applied for wheat; in almost every country in Europe today people eat bread regularly, and wheat flour is further used to make cakes, pastries, dumplings, or even to thicken sauces. What has been locally available for centuries has become a vital part of local food culture. If wheat was suddenly no longer available in Europe, let alone Norway, how much of the food that we eat daily would disappear?

Food itself has been a useful medium in investigating almost any part of human society. Food is examined in archaeology and in history as what we ate in the past, in biology and nutrition, economics and food distribution, engineering in agriculture, linguistics even analyses food as how both people, language, and food spreads. For example, almost all of the Norwegian words for fruits come from loan words, except for apple, or *eple*, which could imply it was the only fruit that was common enough or native enough to be named. It appears natural then, to be interested in using food to investigate heritage, culture, and identity, and we would not be the first to think so as there have been several books, edited volumes, and numerous articles on food culture around the world (Counihan & Van Esterik 2013; Lysaght, 2010; Montanari,1994) let alone the addition of food cultures into UNESCO's list intangible heritage.

My research question is how immigrants to Norway with Jewish heritage use food to adapt and preserve their identities. I believe there is a struggle for Jewish immigrants to maintain an individual cultural and religious identity as a minority group within the larger Norwegian population. The acquisition, preparation, and distribution of food I believe can be used as an analytical tool to investigate to what lengths and what choices that Jewish immigrants in Norway are making to maintain or develop their Jewish identity.

Previous research in Norwegian-Jewish studies have largely focused on the 19th century constitutional ban of Jewish people entering the Norwegian state, the interwar period in Norway, and of course holocaust studies. Interest in Jewish immigration into Scandinavia

grew in the 1980s not by institutions but independent scholars (Hoffmann, 2016) stemming from an increased interest in ethnic and migration studies. Excluding studies into antisemitism, there has been almost no in-depth analysis of contemporary Jewish-Norwegian communities, with a few exceptions. There is Bogen's (2015) master thesis on Jewish life in Norway, which analysed exhibitions at the Jewish Museum in Oslo and text analysis of the current version of the Jewish-Norwegian magazine *Hatikva*, and Bakke's (2017) master thesis on Judaism and antisemitism in school studies. While Bakke was the only one to conduct interviews, she was only studying the perception of Judaism in Norway, not Jewish people in Norway. This study was undertaken because there is a lack of material into Jewish identities and heritage in Norway from a Jewish perspective, as well as an absence of research into contemporary Jewish life in Norway. This investigation could be used not only by the local Norwegian Jewish community to further discuss contemporary issues but could also be applied to other minority and diasporic groups in Norway or elsewhere in the world.

1.2 Case Studies and Research Methods

This thesis has a multimethod approach, taking into account three different types of material and analysis. There are three semi-structured interviews with three immigrants with Jewish heritage to Norway, participant observation of five religious meals throughout the year 2018, and the participation in two Jewish adult education events on theme of Jewish drinks. Using these case studies, I hope to investigate how food culture is being used as a way of maintaining Jewish identity in immigrants to Norway.

Further, we might be able to see what food practices are being preserved, and what is being adapted to Norwegian circumstances or being excluded. I believe that there are many concerns, such as concern about assimilation and loss of Jewishness, as well as the problems caused by lack of access to a *kosher* market.

1.3 Thesis Structure

The analysis of two different sets of material, interviews, public events, created several different possibilities and directions of analytical and theoretical approaches. Therefore, I chose to focus my approach not only on what I find most relevant to the themes

of food culture, Jewish identity, and Norway, but what was also most interesting to the subject.

In chapter 2 the reader will find the relevant theoretical frameworks and discussions that I find necessary in analysing and answering my research questions. I begin with a simple introduction to food, what it is and why food is a meaningful subject to investigate. I then introduce the reader to the two concepts of culture and heritage, while linking both of them to food and Judaism. Culture and heritage are necessary concepts to understand in this research because we need to understand culture and heritage to understand how we use the past to create our identities. I then discuss the use of heritage in diasporic heritage. This is because the Jewish identity, especially outside of the state of Israel, is essentially a diasporic identity, which can be in contrast with the local national heritage. This leads smoothly into ideas around multiculturalism, and specifically Jewish multiculturalism. At this point, I feel we can take all of these concepts and apply them to how we create our communal and individual identities, and how they can be applied to Jewish identities, and Jewish food culture.

Chapter 3, after having established the theoretical background in understanding the scope of the theme of Jewish identity and food culture in Norway, can then introduce the case studies and methods of investigation. This involves who we have been in contact with, and how we have found and recruited participants for interviews, and the public events. Before moving on to the research and analysis, I discuss some of the ethical considerations in this research and some of the shortcomings.

Chapter 4 introduces the reader to Jewish Norway. This begins with a brief history of the Jewish people in Norway, beginning with the ban of the Jewish people in the kingdom, but focusing mainly on the 1900s once the community had established itself. There is a section on the Jewish-Norwegian journal *Hatikwoh* that gave unique insight into Norwegian-Jewish identity, as well as some insight in what we would today describe as food culture. There is also a section on Jewish laws and customs relating to food. While this research is not investigating religiosity per-say, it plays an important role of the Jewish ethno-religion. We end with a brief investigation into food traditions and history specific to Norway, such as the

after effects of banning religious slaughter, and previous interest in the subject of Norwegian-Jewish food.

Chapter 5 gives a summary of the results of the research. Each of the three interviews are summarised, and the religious and educational talks are briefly discussed as well. Next in chapter 6, the results are analysed. Interviews and the religious and communal events are compared to each other to see what themes if any run throughout, and to see if we have any evidence how Jewish food culture in Norway is helping maintain a Jewish identity. And naturally, at the end, chapter 7 the conclusion attempts to wrap up the end of this research project.

Chapter 2 Food, Heritage, and Identity

How do we eat food? Why do we eat food? And where shall we have lunch?

Douglas Adams, 1980

Where to begin when researching theoretical frameworks is a hard place to pin down. In the end, it's a leap we just have to make, and to just take it from there. Through the process of writing this paper, at a certain point even though everything seemed and felt relevant, it was impossible to mention every thought, idea, theory, or concept; it is impossible to include an argument of semantics for every keyword. In the end it seemed rational to introduce and focus on a few concrete concepts that are at the core of the themes of Jewishness, Identity, and Food Culture. We begin with an introduction to the concrete and tangible field of food, before continuing onto how we understand the two concepts of culture and heritage, diasporic heritage and national heritage, multiculturalism, and eventually identity. Throughout all of this, I have tried to link everything back to the two main themes: Food and Judaism.

2.1 Food

At first glance one might simply say anything that is edible is food. However, there are many things that are edible that we don't eat; grass is edible but is hard to digest and wears down our teeth. Pigeons that flock most urban areas are edible, but you'd be hard pressed to find someone who was willing to catch and eat one. Without realising it, everyone is born into a cultural context with expectations about what will be eaten or not eaten (Harvey, 2015). Could food be anything you put in your mouth then and consume? Again, there are many times things are put in our mouths or we eat things that are not food; just look at any baby or toddler and observe that they might stuff anything from plastic toys to bugs and leaves into their mouths, or an adult that smokes a cigarette. Montanari (2006) cites Hippocrates as identifying food to be something "not of nature", that is, the edible only becomes food when we identify and manage it. Food is something we must identify and create. This is where food loses its identity of being a part of nature, when we infuse meaning and creation into it. When you walk through the forest in the summer and autumn, the mushrooms you find are not food unless you can identify which ones are poisonous versus

which ones are edible; which ones are too old to pick, which ones appear healthy. Even then, simply being able to identify them doesn't make it food until the mushrooms are being picked with the purpose of consumption. There must be intention to consume on top of knowledge of what can be eaten.

After having decided what food *is*, people can start deciding what meaning food has when we inevitably eat it. When UNESCO established their lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage, it was as a direct response to the biases of Western notions of heritage focusing on the monumental architecture and aesthetics based and found within Europe. The aim of the Intangible Cultural Heritage lists was to begin a formal process of safeguarding the culture of societies who had values focused more on intangible culture and elevate them to an equal level as monumental heritage. Two years after its inception in 2010, there were the first two additions of food culture, the Gastronomic meal of the French, and Traditional Mexican cuisine. Ironically, France has the fourth largest number of UNESCO heritage sites, and so the aim of official intangible heritage being an equalising force may not have been successful. Regardless, the acknowledgement of food as heritage had been formally and globally established, and so food quickly began to be added to the UNESCO list almost every following year, showing that worldwide there was a realisation and acknowledgement of food playing an important part of national culture and heritage. One of the first analysis of food as a medium of nation building was with Artusi and his 1869 book Science in the Kitchen and the Art of Good Eating.

We can subject food to an analysis where we observe whether the passage of one fact to another produces a difference in significance (Barthes, 2013). That is, when choosing the different aspects of what we eat such as the ingredients, the methodology, and the habits, do we change the significance and the meaning of food. The simple answer is of course, yes. The ingredients we choose, whether they are *kosher*[2], organic, from a large grocery store or a family owned store, or imported are all choices with significance, with Montanari (2006) listing how food is prepared as being the third of his four aspects of how food becomes

[2] *Kosher* refers to food that is permitted to be eaten under religious Jewish law. All words in Hebrew or Yiddish are translated first as a footnote at their first occurrence, as well as being translated in the lexicon at the end of the thesis.

heritage. Choices behind how we cook food, if we choose to soak beans overnight or opt for pre-soaked beans in brine or water, if we mix by hand or with an electric mixer, are all choices with significance. Not everyone has the time to soak beans overnight, or even know how to soak beans long enough. Only some people can afford an electric mixer, while others may believe hand mixing gives a better consistency. Food becomes a part of a system of communication. These foodways give people a way to engage and communicate in community, personal, and group identities, as well as in boundary or barrier marking. (Zeller, 2015). What people choose to buy or restrict themselves from consuming in a world full of choices, is an action instilled with meaning. But what even is culture and heritage, and why are they relevant to Jewish identity and food?

2.2 Culture and Heritage

Culture and heritage are two words that are thrown around a lot these days, and definitions could be debated to the end of time. However, they do have some differences, and it can be agreed that heritage is part of the larger concept of culture. The idea of culture becomes distinct as a multitemporal concept of history where the past and present come together and show simultaneous and opposing narratives, and culture itself has been called the memory of society that is not genetically transmitted (Assmann, 2010; Confino, 2010). Further clarified, that culture is all non-biological features that are remembered and transmitted amongst members of a group. This includes the tangible such as architecture and objects, but also the intangible such as language and world views. And this is how food can be understood as a vital part of culture, as it is something remembered and transmitted amongst a group. People remember meals and continue to make and transmit them to other people.

Several have been sceptical of the idea of culture, especially in modern society, (Bauman 2011; Baumann, 1999) feeling we were or are in a liquid modern state of culture, where the regulation of culture is no longer important, but culture is being used primarily to drive consumption and consumerism. It's important to consider that especially as many societies become less homogenous, that the idea of culture, especially of a single unifying culture, may not be relevant or realistic anymore. When Norwegian culture and heritage was peaking in public interest in the middle of the 1800s, it was still in a more ethnically

homogenous society than compared to today. The ideas and notions about Norwegian culture that were created at the time may no longer be relevant, putting us instead in this liquid state, constantly changing and adapting. What a millennial in Oslo might think of as important to culture could be completely different than their grandparents, or even their own parents, which is where the concept of heritage comes into play.

Heritage on the other hand, is succinctly described by Harrison (2013) as the past's relationship with the present and future. And so, heritage is not a tangible thing, but the worth and meaning we give to the past. An object itself is not heritage, but when we prescribe it with meaning and worth, it becomes part of our heritage. So, while food is already a part of culture, it must be given worth and meaning to become a part of the culture's heritage. Which is why taco-Fridays might be a part of Norwegian culture but hasn't yet become part of Norwegian heritage. But this could change in the future, because heritage is always evaluated in the present. What might be considered heritage today doesn't mean it had the same value placed on it in the past.

It is useful to remember that food is a basic and universal human necessity to survive and can illuminate a range of cultural practices (Watson and Caldwell 2005). Food has an ability to incite memory and emotion, whether consumed alone or communally, and binds people in space and time, as a collective memory of past meals and by imagining one's ancestors having similar experiences. This is when food becomes heritage (Di Giovine and Brulotte, 2014). Montanari (2006) further breaks down when food becomes heritage by saying it has to first be produced, performed, prepared, and finally eaten. And so, the nature of food as heritage is not only about the food itself but all the methods surrounding making and sourcing ingredients, and the social situations around eating the food itself.

Things are rarely considered heritage in the absence of uncertainty, risk, threat, or competition for attention (Harrison 2013) This is further enhanced when we consider that heritage and culture exist strictly in the present and are constantly being constructed and reconstructed; as the present is constantly changing, so must our perspective and relationship with the past. And as such, heritage itself is not a 'thing' but assemblages of tangible and

intangible items and practices that represent a relationship between the past and present. And so, one could say that the 'bread in Norway' itself is not heritage, but the values and normative behaviours around the creation and consumption of bread is heritage. On the same vein, *hamantaschen*[3] could be Jewish food heritage because it represents uncertainty risk and threat both in the past and present, being literally named for a villain who tried to eliminate the Jewish people, as well as representing in diasporic communities a symbol of a separate religious and ethnic past. When studying the heritage of the Jewish community in Norway, it is important to remember that they are a diasporic community.

2.3 Diasporic Heritage and Multiculturalism

The way in which we remember and engage in our cultural backgrounds relates directly to where we are in our life, geography, and the people around us. This happens both at an individual level and as a larger society. Heritage and nation building frames the idea that all members of a nation share the same ideas and social norms (Graham et al., 2000), which is useful tool in promoting unification and solidarity of a country's identity. But society is becoming less and less homogenous, and so it has been important to consider how to engage with new groups inside of countries and nations. Multiculturalism as a term came into popular use in the 1970s, often in post-colonial societies to discuss and manage the 'problem' of new ethnic groups inside a nation whether by homogenization or to simply mitigate tensions (Di Giovine & Brulotte, 2014), and has been a useful concept in discussing new identities and heritages. And integration is only successful if society values multiculturalism (Berry 1997). There has to be a certain acceptance from both sides that the society they live in is changing, but often as they say in Norway 'Children who are similar play the best together, but don't learn anything'[4].

There are a lot of different methods within multiculturalism, that is, how diasporic communities engage with their new location. Acculturation, adaptation, assimilation, and integration are all different methods in which new communities engage with new surroundings. When someone raised on one cultural context moves to another, there is a complex pattern of continuity and change. Acculturation is the cultural changes resulting from

[3] *Hamentaschen* are triangular cookies traditionally eaten during *Purim*
[4] Like barn leker best, men de lærer jo ingenting

these group encounters, while adaptation are the changes in individuals/groups in response to environmental demands (Berry 1997). The process of adaptation is the same for everyone, however there are various levels of difficulty in the process, and differences in the outcome (Berry 1997). The clearest example of resistance to assimilation is the Jewish diaspora, who for thousands of years have still maintained a unique cultural heritage despite living within other countries (Berry 2008).

Diasporic heritage can be a key player in understanding Jewish identity, and thus Jewish food culture, as the Jewish identity itself is hinged on a diasporic heritage. Diasporic heritage struggles to fit into many theories on heritage, which rely on the importance of the nation state as key to important social change (Appadurai 1998). As such, studies into multicultural heritages have often been left out of the spotlight in research in heritage studies. Diasporic heritage differs from a national, state, or geographical perspective of heritage, as it challenges the individual and group inheritance within, throughout, and beyond a person's place of settlement and of their perceived origins (Ong et al., 2017) as opposed to a national or state heritage where home and settlement are the same, lacking geographical complexities other than boundary disputes.

Diasporic heritage relates to both transnational groups and ethnonational diasporas; Transnational groups being the traditional method of discussing this topic, is generally a group of people of whom some regard themselves as a group of coherent entities, based not on migrant status but instead shared cultural, religious, or ethnographic characteristics. Ethnonational Diasporas are sometimes considered a subgroup of transnational groups, except with more emphasis on the social and political aspects of a specific ethnographic identity, and how that identity exists within the framework of the country of origin and the country settled within (Sheffer 2006). It is this Ethnonational diaspora that the Jewish community in Norway falls into.

Diasporic heritage may take the same symbolism, memories, and traditions from the country of origin, but requires alternate ways of embracing (Noorda 2017), and then engaging in these aspects of heritage. While heritage will always exist within state-constructed ideas of

ethnicity, diasporic heritage takes this a step further dealing with the right to maintain ideas of cultural heritage in the absence of an historical geographical connection. Bringing food back into the equation as a part of diasporic heritage came in a later wave of post-monumental heritage definitions, when interest in the intangible and daily practices grew to be part of heritage discourse, such as with the UNESCO intangible heritage list.

2.4 Identity

Now that we understand some of the various forces at play, how does culture, heritage, food, diasporic heritage and multiculturalism, all come together to help us to form our different identities? The idea that heritage and identity are associated has been around for a long time, and heritage can give material authority to the construction of identity (Smith, 2006). That is to say, once something has been established as heritage, it can ground identity with a physical and tangible presence. And identities in the diaspora need to be understood in terms of complex sets of competing loyalties (Wald Williams 2005), because our identities and relational and contextual, situational and particular (Banik, 2015; Woodward 1997). We don’t necessarily have one identity all the time, or we don’t necessarily display all aspects of our identity all the time. In simple context, do you act the same way with your parents as with your friends? Identities are not only variable, but more increasingly multiple as most society itself becomes less homogenous. We find more and more people who would identify as multi-ethnic, and multi-national. These identities coexist, but how comfortably is individual and situational. And so, we need complex and contextualised understandings of the ways in which national and minority identities are negotiated (Kudenko and Phillips, 2010)

There are multiple, overlapping ways migrants conceive of social membership (Nagel and Staeheli 2004). Immigrants belong to the larger society as simply being present in it, but as migrants are immediately separate. People’s constructions of their identities become more central the more threatened and less secure they become (Yuval-Davis, 2011). Lack of security can come from so many directions, from migration, to not being taken seriously in their choices.

The diversity of Jewish identities is not novel, partly due to thousands of years as a diaspora (Kudenko and Phillips, 2010). But the pluralism and fragmentation of individual

Jewish identities is matched by growing pluralisation of collective narratives of Jewish self (Kudenko & Phillips 2010). Who we are is such a vital conversation in today's society, across the world not only in Norway. And according to Hoffmann (2016) the strategy of assimilation was not possible for Norwegian Jews – they wanted, and likely still want, to preserve their Jewish identity but at the same time had to consider the majority of society and therefore adopted a strategy of 'careful integration'. As for the multi-ethnic heritage of Jewish people in Norway, Banik (2015) observes shortcomings in literature around integration of Jewish people in Norway.

2.5 Norwegian Food Culture

When Notaker (2000) put out the question about whether or not there even *was* a national food culture in Norway, he was not being facetious. Norway is a long country with lots of isolated mountain valleys and coastal towns where unique dialects and traditions have developed. There is also the discussion of the import and adoption of foreign foods into Norwegian cuisine, and how they can play a role. But before Notaker even addressed his question, he noticed that interest in traditional food in Norway came significantly later than the original 18th and 19th century romanticism of folklife in Norway. This early romanticism focused more on dress, language, songs, architecture, and folk tales, with the infamous collection of Folk Tales gathered in the 1840s by Asbjørnsen and Moe. Food eaten by the average Norwegian on the other hand, simply didn't seem varied enough for the upper-class elites to take notice of, and the people who were eating 'Norwegian' food, also didn't seem to be interested in preserving their food culture.

The first cookbooks in the world are a set of Mesopotamian tablets that are about 3 500 years old (Albala, 2017), which is a far cry from when the first Norwegian cookbooks appear on the scene. The first Norwegian cookbooks were published in the 1830s, with titles such as *Fuldstænding Norsk Kogebog*[5] and *Den Norske Kokkepige*[6] which were both first published in 1835. Contrary the gathering of folk material happening at this same period, these books had little to nothing to do with folklife. The recipes listed, while likely popular and being used in upper class society in Norway, had no roots in Norway, and I doubt recipes

[5] The Complete Norwegian Cookbook
[6] The Norwegian Cooking-girl

in these books such as ‘Champagne cakes’ or *Blancmangée* were well known among the larger populace. These books were called Norwegian for two very specific reasons. They were written in the Norwegian language, and they were written for the purpose of educating Norwegians. Food that was already being made and eaten around Norway was not considered to be culture in the same way that folktales and folk songs were. Porridge and flatbread were not quite as romantic or marketable, and when porridge was spoken about such as in Asbjørnsens cookbook published first in 1864, he criticised Norwegian women’s inability to make porridge properly. This did spark a debate in Norway that today might have been called ‘Porridge-gate’, but back in the 19th century was simply titled the Porridge controversy. This helps highlight that there were class differences in who these cookbooks were being written by and marketed for.

By the 1930s we have the first systematic collection of Norwegian recipes, produced in a book called *Norsk mat: Uppskrifter på nasjonale rettar frå eldre og nyara tid*[7], largely connected to so-called ‘Housewife schools’. Here recipes are cited from all over the country, and there is a strong focus on food with strong roots in Norway. Dishes with reindeer meat are being included as well as a large variety of porridges and breads. Meals such as ‘Beouf á la monde’ from the earlier 19th century cookbooks have been excluded, signifying a shift in the purpose of the cookbook, but also a shift in the interest of what the public want or need.

Since the 1940s, a series of questionnaires have been sent out by NEG, the Norwegian Ethnological Investigation, documenting Norwegian culture from the past and present. The topics have varied largely, with the 1946 questionnaire topic investigating transport of hay, to the 2013 questionnaire examining TV and media usage. But a large group of the topics have dealt with food culture in Norway. An investigation by Ruud (1990) analysed everyday food using material from these questionnaires, taking care to focus on places with varying climate and geographical conditions.

Ruud (1990) notes in the Norwegian pre-industrial farming societies there was little variation in what people ate, with the time of year playing the largest role as it dictated what

[7] Norwegian food: recipes of national dishes from older and newer times.

was readily available. The use of fish, the types of meat eaten, which grains were used for breads and porridge, and access to dairy were some of the largest variables, changing with the different geographic regions. Warm meals and porridge were focused upon by almost all, while other responses included every meal of the day. Some of the information gathered appeared self-evident, inland regions for example ate very little fish, one response from Hemsedal in central Norway claiming they only ate fish during Christmas. One of the only aspects that held true throughout the entire country was that Flatbread was eaten with almost every meal. With the turn of the century yeast breads and potatoes became more widespread, slowly replacing the use of flatbread. Vegetables had little presence in responses, with cabbage, rutabega and carrots often being the only vegetables in regular use. Other vegetables such as beets and garlic and onions, were rarely used and often only for medicinal purposes.

Flatbread, *flatbrød,* has from the turn of the century been called Norway's "national bread" (Notaker, 2000). Made over the entire country, it's possible to use whatever grains are available and it is famously described in the travelogue *Three in Norway* (1882) as having a taste that is "easily acquired in the absence of other food, and with butter it becomes quite delicious- to a *very* hungry man.". The Natural History Museum in Oslo even has examples of *flatbrød* made from bark from an Alm tree, and flour made from a Pine tree[8] for making the bread.

In the popular Norwegian reality TV show *Alt for Norge*[9] where foreigners of Norwegian ancestry visit Norway and compete to meet their distant relatives, there is a scene in one season where participants are served what their host calls a traditional friday meal in Norway. To the participants dismay, they were given Grandiosa pizza, a popular frozen pizza that is produced in Norway. While pizza, and particularly frozen pizza may not seem like part of the Norwegian food repertoire, it has grown so much in popularity and the questions around its place in the Norwegian kitchen and mealtimes have grown so much that the NEG sent out a questionnaire in 2001 all about pizza in Norway. And while many of the responses were critical, there was a clear trend with Norwegian 'favourites' becoming more common

[8] Call number for the flour is 1235, but there is no number for the flatbread. Both items are in the Økonomisk Botanik Samling in the Botanisk Museum in Oslo
[9] Everything for Norway

toppings on Pizzas than what might have been traditional in some places in Italy- minced meat and onion being a strong favourite (Skjelbred, 2004). With Pizza now so readily available in Norway, even with the debate on whether it is ‘Norwegian Food’, it is almost impossible to ignore that pizza has become part of Norwegian food customs.

Despite the rather dry joke played on the participants of *Alt for Norge,* when food is usually being presented to foreigners, Marianne Lien (1995) cites two classics: *rømmegrøt* and *spekemat*[10], but also reminding her audience that while only *rømmegrøt* is particularly unique to Norway, what they both have in common is that neither are eaten frequently. This infrequency is a phenomenon observed in the case of lots of traditional Norwegian food. According to the work of Skjelbred (2004), there appear to be two paths to something being called Norwegian food. The first that the ingredients need historical roots in Norway, the second that they are part of the regular diet in Norway. While pizza has no historical roots in Norway, it is becoming part of the regular diet. On the other hand, *fårikål*, a lamb and cabbage stew that is the national dish of Norway, is really only eaten during the wintertime. After observing the ingredients in Norwegian *bacalao*, a stew based around salted cod, show us only a few of the ingredients have deep historical roots in Norway, mainly the cod and potatoes. The dish itself gets its name from the Portuguese word for cod.

[10] Sour cream porridge and cured meats

Chapter 3 Case Study and Methodology

When beginning my research, I was initially interested in how we form and strengthen our individual identities, specifically for multicultural and diasporic groups. This stemmed not only from reflections on my own cultural identity and how it fits into the wider Norwegian cultural and national landscape, but also through my archaeological background, where themes such as indigenous rights, public interests, and outreach were always present. Food as a physical material appealed to me as it exists in archaeological remains as well as continuing to be a vital part of today's cultural landscapes. To analyse how food can be used to play a role in identity was a natural step to take but was a relatively new academic field for me to investigate.

With food and diasporic cultural identity in Norway as the two starting themes, I quickly understood this research would only be feasible with a narrower definition of who I was interested in studying. And so, I chose a diasporic group in Norway that I felt I already had a connection to, albeit a weak one: The Norwegian Jewish community. I began first by researching and trying to understand the cultural history of the Jewish community in Norway, where Mendelsohn's two volume history of Jewish Norway was a vital starting-point (Mendelsohn 1969; 1987).

I then began the more arduous process of sifting through theoretical frameworks around identity, food, and multiculturalism, and tying them all back to Judaism and Norway. To understand why food is an important part of building identity, I discussed food, food culture, and heritage. To place a Jewish perspective, I also discussed the nuances of diasporic heritage. Then, because we are looking at a group of people who have immigrated, I felt discussing multiculturalism was an important part of Jewish identity in the diaspora.

When it came to choosing research methods, I had to consider the material available to me. To investigate Jewish identity in Norway today meant that practically there would need to be fieldwork where I would engage with some of the people within the Jewish community.

Within the timeframe it seemed unlikely I would be able to do a large survey, so I decided upon a multimethod approach, with a series of qualitative interviews of a small selection of the Jewish community in Oslo to understand today's community, participant observation of a series of public meals and events. The participant observation of five religious meals and events in the spring of 2018 allowed for a broad insight into Jewish life, identity and food in modern times. And the three semi-structured interviews allowed to delve into the nuances of Jewish identity and food in modern day Norway.

Chrzan and Brett's edited volume *Food Culture* (2017) had several indispensable chapters on producing research in food studies, particularly chapters by Devine and Brett on ethics, and both Moreno-Black and Paxson's chapters, which helped form the research in this thesis. Their second of three edited volumes, *Food Culture* focused more on sociocultural food studies and their methods which was suited to my qualitative analysis, while the other two volumes were more dedicated to quantitative methods, and public health and nutrition, respectively.

The research in this study was conducted mainly over a five-month period between January-May 2018, as well as desk-based research through September-November 2018. The primary research method was initially to be in depth interviews with participants. Part-way through the research process in spring 2018, the singular focus on interviews had to be dropped due to scheduling problems with some of the participants, and a lengthy family emergency and death for the researcher. At this point three interviews had been completed, and another was postponed and eventually cancelled. Research methods were then revised to include on equal footing to the interviews the analysis of contemporary public Jewish events in Oslo.

3.1 Participants and Recruitment

Recruitment of participants was a mixture of outreach to public figures in the Jewish community and word of mouth. The Jewish community in Norway can be reached in several different ways. There is the official DMT in Oslo, the *Chabad* of Oslo, the Israeli Embassy, and several Facebook groups for different Jewish interests in Norway. In this research, both

the DMT and the Oslo *Chabad* were contacted as well as the Israeli embassy, but Facebook groups were not contacted. While DMT unfortunately never responded to emails, meetings with both *Chabad* in Norway and the Israeli embassy were organised in November 2017 which resulted in further suggestions of people to contact.

The profile of the three interview participants was limited to any adult living in Norway on a long-term basis, and who would describe themselves as being Jewish. This resulted in three interviews being completed, a French woman who worked in research who was in her 40s with a family; an American man working in the tech industry in his 30s with a spouse; and an American woman who was studying while in her 20s and living with a partner. A long-term residence was loosely defined as having no plans of moving away from Norway. This allowed for participants who are living in Norway, who may not consider themselves Norwegian, but have engaged in Norwegian society and have done so within a Jewish framework. Having an open interpretation of Jewish identity allowed for the inclusion of various modes of religious observation, from a *halachic*[11] adherence to Jewish food laws and customs, to interfaith or secular families, and including patrilineal[12] Jewish identities, allowing the diverse depiction of Jewish identity in Norway. The aim was to have between 4 and 6 participants. The small quota of participants was chosen to keep interview material level to a reasonably manageable amount within the time frame, while still maintaining several different perspectives and profiles.

Although this project focused on the population of Jewish identifying people in Oslo, Norway, this did not mean all participants were necessarily be of the same national or ethnic background. It is important to remember that the Jewish diaspora spread across Europe, Africa, and Asia, and that it was likely that not all participants would be of Jewish *Ashkenazi*[13] heritage, but could likely include *Sephardim*[14], and other groups. As such it was be important to remember that a Western or even Norwegian perspective of heritage and food

[11] *Halacha* is The collection of Jewish religious laws, based on the written and oral torah.
[12] The strictest Orthodox interpretations dictate that Judaism only follows matrilineal descent, while certain sects and the more liberal side of Judaism acknowledges patrilineal descent as valid.
[13] *Ashkenazi* comes from the Hebrew word for Germany. Refers to the Jewish diaspora from central and Eastern Europe.
[14] *Sephardi*m comes From the Hebrew word for 'Spain'. Refers to the Jewish diaspora from the Iberian Peninsula

may be different from a specific diasporic perspective, as not all people place the same importance or value in food or cuisine. Additionally, a difference of value could be reflected in gender perspectives as some communities in the world view cooking as largely a women's domain, and as such can be given lower importance. Further, there could be the bias between what may constitute a woman's 'home cooking', and a male chef's 'cuisine'. Montanari (2006) himself called women the eternal heroines of the kitchen. We have to look no further than many western societies, where with the difference between men's role in carving meat or grilling meat, while women bake, clean, and do the rest of the cooking.

3.2 Interviews

A semi-structured interview allowed for specific areas of information to be gathered while still maintaining and allowing freedom and adaptability of answers. This was key as I anticipated each interview would be highly individual. Interviews began with demographics, gathering age, name, and general background information, before advancing into questions around food behaviour and eventually their perception and intersection of heritage and cultural backgrounds in regard to their food. Interviews were to be recorded whenever possible, and in practice all the participants allowed themselves to be recorded. Before the interviews began however, it was made clear that in case they did not want to be recorded, written notes would take place instead.

The questions given during the interviews were open ended questions that investigated four different spheres of food culture[15]. The first area discussed was buying food and their kitchen space. These questions aimed to see if there were choices and thoughts around acquisition and placement of what the participants might consider Jewish food. This might take the form of paying attention to keeping their kitchen *kosher*, or how they sourced ingredients that may not be common. The next group of questions was around preparation of food and were aimed to reflect on why the participants eat the food they make, and how they do it. The third area was about eating Jewish and Norwegian food, and how that has changed over time and throughout the year. The fourth group of questions were a more theoretical

[15] See Appendix 3 for question list

group of questions. These questions mainly discussed notions of heritage and Judaism, and awareness of *kosher* or Jewish life in Norway.

Keeping the interviews and the questions open ended allowed for the interviews to be more grounded in participant's experiences and less reliant on the researchers preconceived expectations (Moreno-Black, 2017; Paxson, 2017). It also kept the interview open to finding out what was truly important to the participant. This is all reflected in the analysis where some of the recurring themes brought up in the interviews were tangential to the questions given, but still important and relevant to the topics. While the purpose of this study was not to examine the prevalence or lack of access to *kosher* food, a large part of what Jewish food is, does revolve around the laws of *kashrut*[16]; and so, a good deal of questions and discussion have included the discussion around keeping *kosher* or how *kosher* something needs to be and when.

3.3 Jewish Food in Public Spaces

There were a series of public events I attended arranged for the Jewish community in Oslo that fit into two different categories. One group was events organised around religious holidays. This includes a *Pesach*[17] dinner, three *Shabbos*[18] meals, and an event for *Rosh hoshanah*[19] where cakes and drinks were served. The second category of events was a series of adult education talks surrounding the theme of Jewish traditions and drinks. At these events I was able to observe some of the presentation of food, the eating of food, and some of the cleaning up of meals in Jewish spheres of life in Norway. In addition, at the adult education meetings, I was able to listen to some of the thoughts and discussions of people interested in themes around Jewish food.

The religious events I attended was a *Pesach* dinner, a *Rosh hoshanah* event, and three *Shabbos* meals. While the *Pesach* meal was not a *Seder*[20], it did observe the rules for what is

[16] *Kashrut* is from the Hebrew word 'fit', as in 'fit to eat'. Refers to the religious dietary laws in Judaism
[17] *Pesach* is a Jewish week-long holiday that celebrates the exodus out of Egypt.
[18] *Shabbos* is the Jewish day of rest. It is observed from Friday at sundown to Saturday at sundown.
[19] *Rosh Hashanah* is the Jewish holiday that celebrates the Jewish New Year
[20] The *Seder* meal is a feast that marks the beginning of *Pesach*. Usually one or two *Seder*s are observed during Pesach

‘*Kosher for Pesach’*. The *Rosh hoshanah* event was the only event that I went to that did not have full meal, but cakes and drinks were present instead. For all these events I was invited by the *Chabad*[21] Rabbi in Oslo. These events were strictly participant observation. No photographs or recordings were taken, which would have violated *Shabbos*[22]. I did not lead conversations, but instead simply took part in the events and discussions around me.

Similarly, there were the adult education events, a series of lectures in spring and summer 2018 discussing drink in Jewish tradition. I was able to attend two of the discussions; those on wine and on water. I became aware of these events after being in contact with the organiser and seeing them advertised in some of the Jewish-Norwegian facebook groups. The talks were organised by a member of DMT and held as a casual and fun way for adults to learn more about Judaism and were open to the public.

The choice of having both semi-structured interviews as well as participant observation at public events seemed natural, and Paxson (2017) describes them as going hand in hand. Paxson also brings up the term ‘Inquisitive Observation’ as an alternative to participant observation. In many of the events I attended I would describe that the method I used was more inquisitive than it was participatory, as it was more “hanging out and interacting with people” as opposed to what feels to be a more formal approach in participant observation. When I attended events, there was no list of questions or topics to ask about, simply an event to observe what was present or being discussed and to probe lines of thought.

3.4 Ethical Considerations

As of 13.02.2018, NSD or the *Norsk Senter for Forskningsdata*[23], gave permission for personal information to be collected and interviews to be conducted as long as certain rights are protected[24]. One of the most important aspects of collecting information from interview is a trusting and respectful relationship with a researcher’s sources and so Devine and Brett’s

[21] *Chabad* or *Chabad*-Lubavitch is an orthodox religious movement in Judaism that has a focus on outreach
[22] Commonly referred to as being *shomer Shabbos,* observing *Shabbos* generally means not working. For orthodox communities, using electricity is forbidden and would then ‘violate’ the *Shabbos*.
[23] Norwegian Centre for Research Data
[24] See Appendix 1 for NSD communications

article on Research Ethics in Food Studies (2017) was a useful guide, as well as the SRA's Ethical Guidelines (2003). The most important ethical issue for this research is the rights and protection of participants in the study. As with any research that includes volunteer participants, two things here are vital: anonymity of participants, and clarity of how information from participants will be used.

Regarding anonymity and confidentiality, steps were taken to remove all references to participants names, occupations, domicile, or any identifying features. Two main identifying features will be preserved, a rough age group, and family size. Pictures taken did not include faces or any identifying features. This information should be vague enough not to make it difficult to identify individuals. However, it should be noted that as within any small community, participants might be able to be identified by other members of the community.

Prior to interviews, participants were briefed on the purpose of the research, what and how the information was to be gathered, what the information gathered was to be used for, and when the project would conclude. In addition, everyone was told that participating in the project was fully voluntary and that participants could withdraw at any time. They were informed that if they chose to withdraw from the project, that would result in their contributions from that time being removed and destroyed. Towards the end of the project, participants were given a chance to read and approve the information they had supplied prior to publication.

After briefing participants on this, it was vital to get their informed consent to continue, both written and voiced in digital recordings if digital recordings had been consented to. In the written consent, there was also the name and contact information of both the institutions responsible for the project, the advisors to the project, and the student conducting the research[25].

[25] See Appendix 2 For Consent Forms

3.5 Shortcomings

Although I spoke and had contact with a large amount of people within the wider Norwegian Jewish community, in the end the number of actual interviews that were able to be conducted was three people, half of what I had originally aimed for. I also exclusively spoke with people working in Oslo, Norway, which limited the view from all of Norway to a single city. As well as the small sample size, I used the snowball method for outreach, and so almost all my participants knew each other. While this method of recruitment engaged with people who are consciously and to some degree publicly engaging in Jewish culture, it did not take into consideration any Jewish individuals who were unaffiliated with a group or society, or inactive in Jewish community to a point of being unknown or invisible. To include a person unaffiliated and inactive, I contacted a family friend to ask if they would be willing to participate, which helped include another perspective. However, to illustrate how small the community is, at the end of one of my interviews, we found out that they were acquainted with one of my parents. This highlights the difficulties of anonymity in a country of 5 million people.

Another point that should be made, is that there can be almost no conclusions as to what is actually being practiced when it comes to food culture for Jewish immigrants in Norway. Of the three different sets of material being analysed, only part of the participant observation, the five religious meals, include actual usage, consumption, of food. Everything else is language-based analysis, by text or interviews. This means we should not, and further, cannot make any conclusion based on what people are actually doing, only what they say they are doing, and what they say the think or feel about the topics at hand. It is always possible that people could be lying, whether consciously or unconsciously.

Because of the small sample of interviews, a multimethod approach was taken to widen the materials available for analysis. While these materials, were already being investigated as background research, it now needed to be scrutinised more than originally planned. Having a wider variety of methods and materials than planned could undermine the strength of the research. However, I am under the opinion that allowing myself more material and thus widening the scope of analysis gave a stronger conclusion than if I had only used the three interviews and the participant observation events.

Chapter 4 Jewish Norway

4.1 A Brief History

Jewish people have had a relatively short history in Norway compared to the rest of Europe, with about 167 years of legal residency. The first legal residency began when Article 2 of the Norwegian constitution was abolished. Article 2 had banned the entry of Jewish people into the realm. Prior to 1851, the Jewish presence in Norway had always been minimal. The first written references we have to Jewish people come from the Icelandic sagas and the simultaneous Christianisation of Scandinavia. From these early Nordic references, we have evidence showing at the least an awareness that Jewish people exist, albeit through a newly arrived Christian context. While we have no pre-Christian Nordic references to the Jewish people although it is possible that they were encountered on travels during the Scandinavian Viking age while travelling. From 1523 Norway was under the rule of Denmark, and in accordance with Danish law at the time, Jewish people were only permitted into the Dano-Norwegian Kingdom if they had a letter of exemption to do trade. From this period there are scattered records of Jewish people trading within Norway legally, and occasionally being imprisoned for not having the correct documentation (Mendelsohn, 1969). However, the doors were not open to all Jewish traders and merchants, but specifically allowed for the entry of Portuguese Jews, a reference to the *Sephardic* Jews who specifically had a reputation at the time for not only being small scale merchants but also for being involved in international commerce and financing.

During the dissolution of Norway's union with Denmark, Norway began writing its own constitution in 1814 in Eidsvoll. In the second article, colloquially known as the "Jewish Paragraph", it clearly stated that Jewish people were prohibited access to the Kingdom[26]. At this time Norway was not the only country that had no legal Jewish residents, however it was unique in being the only country to have a constitutional clause banning their entry. In comparison, Sweden and Denmark had been allowing Jewish residents since the mid-1600s.

[26]The original text for Article 2 of the Norwegian constitution «Den evangelisk-lutherske Religion forbliver Statens offentlige Religion […] Jesuitter og Munkeordener maae ikke taales. Jøderere fremdeles udelukkede fra Adgang til Riget.» translated, «The Evangelical-Lutheran religion remains the state religion […] Jesuits and monastic orders are not allowed. Jews are still not permitted entrance into the Kingdom"

The last expulsion of a Jewish populace in Europe had occurred 60 years prior in 1744 in Prague, an expulsion which by then had become an unusual occurrence. By the 1780s the general consensus in liberal circles in the western sphere was that the best and possibly only way to solve 'The Jewish Question', i.e. how to deal with Jewish populations, was to fully emancipate the Jewish people. By the time Norway's constitution was being drafted, this emancipation was largely being accomplished throughout Europe (Rürup, 2016), further emphasising the oddness of the implementation of the Jewish Paragraph in Norway's constitution. Article 2 has been called Europe's most antisemitic clause within Europe's most liberal constitution (Harket, 2016). While this clause has often been interpreted as pandering to the fears and wills of peasants, in fact it was a decision made entirely by the well-read and educated men of the time.

Article 2 initially was strictly and consistently enforced in Norway. But only eight years later in 1822, the Norwegian state was having difficulty affording this enforcement and was largely ignoring the presence of Jewish people within the Kingdom. Only a few cases of the people suspected of being Jewish were investigated and even fewer were actually fined, imprisoned, or expelled, as law dictated (Ulvund, 2016). At the same time, the clause was gradually becoming less and less popular, with several outspoken opponents, namely Wergeland, calling for its removal from the constitution.

In 1851 after Article 2 was revoked, there was no immediate flood of Jewish immigrants to Norway, and it took several decades before the Jewish community truly began to grow. In 1875, over twenty years after Article 2 was revoked, only 25 Jewish people were counted in the Norwegian census[27]. Contrary to the earlier *Sephardi*c traders and merchants who had been visiting the Kingdom of Norway, the initial Jewish immigrants were from Denmark and Northern Germany. From the turn of the century the Jewish immigrants also began to include people from Eastern Europe who were fleeing the pogroms of the former Russian Empire. While most Jewish people began to settle in Oslo and Trondheim, there were no restrictions on where they could live, and so Jewish families slowly began to settle quietly

[27] See appendix 4 for census data

and without significant fuss or controversy all over Norway. At its peak in the early 1900s, the Jewish community in Norway had four synagogues in Oslo, and one in Trondheim.

Coinciding with the rise of antisemitism in the western world, in 1929 in Norway religious slaughter in was banned. Debate around this issue had started in the 1890s by animal welfare groups. In 1900 they contacted a prominent Norwegian veterinarian Ole Malm to ask if he would support their cause, and he responded by publishing an article in the *Norsk veterinærtidsskrift*[28] concluding that *kosher* slaughter was no more "gruesome" than other forms of slaughter (Mendelsohn, 1969), and that supporting a ban would be limiting religious freedom. By 1919, coinciding with the opening of a *kosher* slaughterhouse in Trondheim, a more formalised movement to ban religious slaughter began, which succeeded in 1929. Although the ban was officially passed as an animal rights law, the original wording of the law does show antisemitic undertones. The wording wasn't actually banning slaughter without prior stunning or even religious slaughter, but specifically was banning *sjekting*, the Norwegian word which was referring specifically to the Hebrew word *schecting*[29], *kosher* slaughter. The ban of *kosher* slaughter marked the rising antisemitism in Norway that peaked during the Nazi occupation of Norway.

By the start of World War II, the Norwegian census counted the Jewish population in Norway as officially just over 2 000 people. During the war and especially during the German occupation, the majority of the Jewish population of Norway fled or escaped to Sweden and abroad to escape the approaching German forces, and in 1942 Quisling who was the pro-German head of the Norwegian government during the occupation, reinstated the previous ban on Jewish people entering the realm, although the ban existed mainly as a propaganda movement. Between 1942-1943 about a third of the pre-war Jewish community, 772 people, were arrested, deported, and exterminated at Auschwitz internment camp, where all but about 30[30] survived (Ottosen, 1994).

---

[28] Norwegian Veterinarian Journal

[29] *Shechita* comes from the Hebrew word for 'slaughter'. Refers to slaughter of permitted animals under the laws of Kashrut.

[30] The estimation is between 26-34 Jewish Norwegians who were deported survived the *Shoah*.

After the Holocaust, the surviving Norwegian Jewish population had two options; they could return to Norway or immigrate to Israel or other countries. Even with the small size of Norway's pre-war Jewish community, the community today still has not regained the same number of people from prior to the Holocaust. As of 2018 there are around 700 registered members of the synagogue in Oslo. However, the number people in Norway identifying as Jewish, or with Jewish heritage but who do not pay membership to the *Det Mosaiske Trosammfund,* DMT[31], is almost undoubtedly several thousand. It was even posited at the 2018 Jewish Tradition in Norway conference that the number of Jewish people is potentially as high as 20 000. Norway's chief rabbi was also from about 1980 the first rabbi to begin serving the Norwegian community again since *The Shoah*[32]. Michael Melchior, who comes from a line of Danish chief rabbis began serving the Norwegian community and later made *aliyah*[33] in 1986. DMT's current rabbi is Michael Melchior's son Joav Melchior. There is also a *chabad* house in Oslo that has been served since 2004 by Shaul Wilhelm, and several other rabbis of various denominations that do not lead active congregations in the community. The Oslo community also includes a Jewish preschool and a Jewish nursing-retirement centre, and which also runs a small *kosher* grocery store that is open roughly two days a week.

There is a Jewish museum in both Oslo and Trondheim, the latter of which is housed the same building as the only Synagogue in Trondheim. The Jewish Museum in Oslo was established in 2005 in the location of *Den Israelitiske Menighed*[34], DIM's synagogue that they established in 1920 after they split from DMT in 1918. Today the museum has three main exhibitions. The newest is on outdoor life and sports in Norway, and how Jewish immigrants engaged in this important aspect of Norwegian culture. The two main exhibits inside are split between stories of World War II, and the Jewish Calendar. It is the last exhibit that has the most relevance, as it is the only one that includes a discussion of Jewish food in Norway.

[31] The DMT shortened from Det Mosaiske Trossamfund, literally The Mosaic Religious Community, is the organisation that runs Oslo's only synagogue
[32] The *Shoah* is the Hebrew word that refers to the Holocaust
[33] *Aliyah* comes from the Hebrew word for 'ascent'. Refers to Jewish people who emigrating to Israel
[34] The Israeli Community

4.2 Hatikwoh

There is one magazine that was published as a Jewish initiative in Pre-War Norway, which is *Hatikwoh* and published from 1929-1939. The name comes from the poem of the same name in Hebrew, which means 'The Hope' which later was adopted as the national anthem of Israel. *Hatikwoh* was initiated after the Swedish-Jewish magazine *Israeliten* stopped publishing in 1927, which had been started by the Jewish Scandinavian Youth Group. *Hatikwoh* describes itself as independent of any pre-existing Jewish religious community or society, focusing on bringing news of the Jewish world both local and abroad, and to help promote Jewish interests in Norway (Hatikwoh, 1929). While *Israeliten* was published in a blend of Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian, *Hatikwoh* was unique in Northern Europe as being the only Jewish magazine being published not in Yiddish or Hebrew, but the main language of the country: Norwegian. At the time when the Jewish community was at its largest, that *Hatikwoh* was being written in Norwegian shows the depth of the integration of Jewish life as a part of Norwegian society.

The timing of the first publication of *Hatikwoh* was lucky considering the topic of this paper, as it spanned the 1929 debates around the ban on *kosher* slaughter, as well as giving some insight into the immediate aftermath. The very first volume was published in January 1929 and includes a discussion of whether the Jewish community in Norway should follow the Swedish Jewish community's example and conduct electric stunning on animals. This was in light of the ban which was to be debated in the following month and shows that t0he Jewish community was not only very conscious of the debate but were considering what would happen if the ban was approved. No debate is not brought up again until the sixth volume published in June 1929 which has an article dedicated to discussing the ban as it was just about to be debated in parliament, followed immediately by the July 1929 issue which dedicates half of its pages to an article decrying the passing of the ban. The headline read *Silence and Anxiety! The Agricultural committee has decided shechita is forbidden from July 1st*[35]. While the title was naturally dramatic to catch attention as any journal or newspaper would have done, the seriousness of the situation could not have been clearer.

[35] Stillhet – Angst! Landbrukskomiteen insstiller på at schachtningen forbys fra 1. juli

Even more exciting than the slaughter discussion are the advertisements throughout the entire publication of *Hatikwoh*. While many of them are simply services such as lawyers, barbers who give DMT members discounts, and life insurance sellers, there are a number of advertisements dedicated to grocers who stock *kosher* items. While the magazine was usually between 8-12 pages long, there regularly were 1-10 advertisements specifically for these *kosher* grocers. This gives a little insight not only into the prices, but also where grocers with *kosher* products were located, about how many there were, and what were important items being stocked. Although it should be natural to assume not all grocers were advertising, and that there were more grocers than listed. *Hatikwoh* regularly has five different grocers in Oslo advertising *kosher* products, as well as advertising DMT's store, the kindergarten selling products mainly during *Pesach*, and Vinmonopol[36] in Oslo having *kosher* wine and spirits. Interestingly, *Hatikwoh* publishes a notice saying that even though the wine was made *kosher*, the fact that it is being imported in casks and bottled in Oslo by *goyim*[37] nullifies the *kosher* certificate.

After the ban of *shechita* in Norway, the nature of some of the advertisements changes, and a few articles speak of the changes that had to be made. DMT begins to put out a very prominent advertisement of their *kosher* meat store. At the same time, the January 1930 issue of *Hatikwoh,* the first issue since the ban was implemented, includes an article with an interview with Herman Bernstein, who was involved with running DMT's store. He said that DMT had been given permission from the government to import smaller pieces of meat than entire carcasses from Gothenburg. He also encouraged the community to support DMT and buy their groceries from them, encouraging the community that DMT is able to import every week on Wednesdays, and that the more people who support the DMT store, the cheaper the food can be. There is a subtle subtext then not to be supporting the other stores. Snildal (2014) found record of an incident where pressure between the different grocers and religious communities in Oslo to import *kosher* meat even led to sabotaging each other in at least one incident.

[36] Vinmonopol is the Norwegian state-run liquor store, which is the only place to legally purchase wine or spirits, other than for consumption in bars and restaurants
[37] The word *Goy* comes from the Hebrew word for 'nation'. It now colloquially refers to non-Jews and gentiles

Even though the majority of the food advertisements are around *kosher*, this isn't always the case. The advertisements and articles in the magazine hint at the importance of being a *Norwegian* Jewish community, such as Freia chocolate was often being advertised right next to *kosher* grocers in *Hatikwoh*[38]. There were other articles that showed the attentiveness to being Norwegian, such as an article that wondered whether *Pesach* could ever fall on Norwegian Independence Day, 17th of May. The conclusion of the article says that yes, but not for about 8 000 years, and "That time, that sorrow". Other articles are translated speeches such as the January 1930 article that speaks of Jewish people belonging the country they live in.

> *"The English Jews belong to the English nation and culture, the French to the French nation, the German to the German."* (Hatikwoh, 1930)

4.3 Jewish Food Laws and Customs

We then come to why food culture is particularly important for Jewish identity. This is not to elevate that food is more important to Jewish identities than it is to other groups of people, but to highlight how food is important to Jewish identities. Particularly unique is the long history of being asked to leave behind the Jewish food laws, and often being punished for refusing (Neegaard, 2004). Today, not all people with Jewish heritage keep *kosher* or follow all the food laws in Judaism, and so we can not only look those that adhere to the *kosher* food laws as the only parts of Jewish food culture. In addition, the diasporic nature of Judaism makes it difficult to discuss- is there one unifying food culture in Judaism, when you look at a people that have spread throughout the entire world?

There are lots of things food can communicate. Food simply existing communicates availability, but taste is important to consider as well. In a paper investigating elderly holocaust survivors and their relationship with food, one person said, "*Tasteless food is an insult, but not enough food is traumatising*" (Kasstan, 2015). Food had to not only be present but taste good, as to avoid past trauma. So, while almost any culture values food that tastes

[38] See Picture X

good, there are nuances in some Jewish communities that can put extra value on taste and quantity.

In the last few years when the DMT was given the opportunity to review and edit a Norwegian textbook on religion aimed for young school children, they were dismayed to read inaccurate and incorrect depictions of modern Jewish life, such as *Channukkah*[39] being described as 'Jewish Christmas'[40]. And so it is important here not only to describe some of the major holidays that are celebrated, but also to describe the religious and cultural laws and customs around food in Judaism. To begin, the laws of *Kashrut* are based on laws written in the *Torah*[41], and then the details and discussion of application of these laws are written in the *Talmud*[42] and *Mishnah*[43]. Any book on Jewish life and holidays, and even some Jewish cookbooks will explain these laws and customs, such as Strassfeld's *The Jewish Holidays: A Guide and Commentary* published in 1985. These laws, *Kashrut,* surround all details of food production and preparation, starting at the very beginning with how to raise livestock and what the correct agricultural farm practices are. *Kashrut* continues with what animals and creatures are permitted to be eaten, how they are to be correctly slaughtered, and the inspection and preparation of meat. In addition, there are laws about what foods can and cannot be eaten together, how long to wait between eating foods that should not be eaten together, and how to clean and keep cooking utensils and dishes separate so that these foods do not mix. The laws around *Kashrut* are extensive and complicated, and customs and observation of the laws differ both due to geographical and cultural norms, and by religious observance. 'Keeping *kosher'* is the general term to refer that one follows these laws at home.

Food throughout the Jewish holidays plays a large a role and is given deep significance. It feels natural to start with the holiday *Rosh hoshanah*, the Jewish new year, where it is customary to eat honey and apples to signify a sweet new year, with the apples not only being sweet, but reminding us of the Garden of Eden. Fish heads, pomegranates, and

[39] *Channukkah* is a Jewish holiday often called the festival of lights
[40] Interview B
[41] Torah can refer to several different things, but in this text, it explicitly is in reference to the Five books of Moses, unless specified. In Christian terms, these are the books Genesis to Deuteronomy
[42] The Talmud is the primary source of Jewish law, *halacha*. With various versions, it is a collection of commentary by rabbis over thousands of years
[43] The Mishnah is a collection of Jewish oral traditions

round *challah*[44] is also traditional in some communities at this time of year, with various interpretations as to the significance and meaning. *Yom Kippur*[45], called the Day of Atonement, is the next major holiday, and while it is a fast day and so has few food customs, it is also the holiest day of the year and important to mention. *Channukkah*, the festival of lights, celebrates the historical victory of the Maccabees over the Greeks, and afterwards with the reclaiming The Temple, the miracle of a small container of oil lasting not one, but eight days. During *Channukkah*, traditional food is usually fried in oil to remind one of the miracle of oil not running out, and cheese or dairy products are eaten as that is what Judith fed Holofernes before beheading him. The holiday of *Purim*[46] is important to note as well, which follows the book of Esther, who spoils a plot to massacre the Jewish people. A celebratory holiday, people dress up in costumes, and it is customary to drink alcohol. The most commonly eaten food however, is *hamantaschen*, a triangle shaped cookie with sweet fillings, which is supposed to be reminiscent of the hat of the villain, Haman. Per the Italian tradition, these cookies are called Haman's ears.

The most food filled holiday however, is *Pesach* or Passover, a holiday held for about a week which celebrates the exodus from Egypt. During *Pesach* there is an entire traditional meal called a *Seder.* This meal is full of food customs symbolising different aspects of the holiday. The *Seder* meal is usually only held once or twice during *Pesach,* but there are several food traditions that are observed throughout the entire week. The largest tradition is the refraining of eating leavened bread, as the Jewish people leaving Egypt didn't have enough time to leave their bread to rise. Instead, a flat unleavened bread called *matzo*[47] is eaten for the duration of *Pesach* — seven to eight days. Some groups will even avoid letting *matzo* get wet, or refrain from eating any grains and legumes as when wet they then expand. On the *Seder* plate for *Pesach*, food is displayed that all have symbolic meaning. Bitter herbs symbolise the bitterness of slavery in Egypt, *charoset*[48], a sweet fruit paste, is for the mortar used to build the pyramids, *karpas*[49], a vegetable for renewal, that is dipped in salt water symbolising the tears of the slaves. A piece of roasted meat symbolises the Passover sacrifice,

[44] *Challah* is braided bread that is eaten in many Jewish communities especially on *Shabbos*
[45] Yom Kippur is often called The Day of Repentance and is the holiest day in the Jewish year.
[46] Purim is Purim is a holiday that celebrates Queen Esther who helps save the Jewish people from the wrath of the Haman
[47] Matzo is unleavened bread that is an integral part of celebrating Pesach
[48] *Charoset* is a sweet nut and fruit paste that is eaten during Pesach
[49] *Karpas* refers to the ritual vegetable in the Pesach *Seder*

and an egg for mourning and the festival sacrifice. Even the amount of wine one drinks has significance, with four glasses of wine customarily being drunk during the Passover *Seder*. One of the main interpretations of this symbolism is for the four promises made by God to the Jewish people[50], with another interpretation having the four glasses symbolise the four matriarchs in Judaism. As London (2009), reminds us, home is the traditional midpoint of Jewish life, and women have been the tradition carriers. In many cases, this means cooking food.

4.4 Jewish Food Traditions in Norway

Between 1881 and 1890 there was an orthodox Jew by the name of Marcus Pabst living in Bergen working in the watch industry. According to Mendelsohn (1969) he enjoyed the special privilege of being able to cook his own food in his own cooking pan while he took the *hurtigruta*[51] which would have allowed him to maintain the laws of *kashrut*. While this is possibly the only record of a Jewish person being given such permission, it is reasonable to think that similar arrangements could have occurred around Norway from around this time. We do know that its likely Jewish food traditions were looked down upon by some Norwegians. In 1911 the Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten (*Jan 14, 1911*)* had an article about the influx of Russian Jewish immigrants, claiming them to be unclean and unable to cook food.

Mendelsohn (1969) tells us in the past it was not easy to keep *kosher* in Norway especially outside of Oslo. It wasn't permitted to eat margarin blended with animal fats as that violated the laws of *kashrut*, and so *meirismør*[52] was a well sought-after delicacy in most Jewish communities. In Trondheim during *Pesach*, when food can be particularly important, everyone would say what they needed, and a single large order would be put out to Oslo; but even then, there were often delays due to bad weather or poor road conditions. Those that didn't receive their order of *matzo* in time, the unleavened bread, had to make due with eating potatoes for the duration of *Pesach*.

[50] I will bring out, I will deliver, I will redeem, I will take.
[51] Hurtigruta is a Norwegian coastal ferry service that runs along almost the entire coast of Norway.
[52] Dairy butter, in this context refers to 'pure' butter that has not been blended with other products

The debates and discussions that surrounded the banning of *kosher* slaughter in Norway has been written about and discussed, but almost no investigations as to who was running and working in the *kosher* slaughter industry has been made. By 1900 there were at least two *Shechitas* operating in Oslo (Mendelsohn, 1969), with the rest of the Jewish population importing meat from Karlstad, Gothenburg, or Copenhagen. In 1912 DMT applied and received permission to open a slaughterhouse in 1913 despite protestations from animal rights groups, and in 1919 another *kosher* slaughterhouse opened in Trondheim. Religious slaughter was eventually banned in Norway in 1929, following Switzerland to become the second European nation to ban it, and being followed in 1938 by Sweden. That made these three places the only European countries to refuse slaughter according to religious recommendations (Bergeaud-Blackler, 2007). Most Jewish homes in this interwar period had maintained *kosher* kitchens, but with the ban of *schechting* and sudden reliance on the import of *kosher* goods, it was almost impossible to continue this practice, and the ban marked the beginning of a drop in religious observance. Food then is fundamental to understanding Jewishness and one of the main ways of expressing it as an identity. Being unable to engage in *kosher* food practice severely limited people's ability to engage with their Jewish heritage.

After the war, access to *kosher* food was minimal. According to Liv London (2009), *kosher* food was imported twice a year for the more important holy days[53], mainly chicken, meat and other goods from Stockholm and Copenhagen. In the 1980s when Michael Melchior was DMT's rabbi, it is said that he felt the lack of access to *kosher* food created a problem in the continuation of Jewish traditions in Norway (London, 2009), and so the DMT *kosher* store was opened, and still runs today. The small store stocks a variety of dried or frozen *kosher* food that is imported about four times a year. Import regulations on importing food products are very strict in Norway, following most EU regulations but with stricter rules for the importation of chicken products.

[53] I assume she refers to around Pesach when the exodus is celebrated, and for the High Holidays which includes the Jewish New Year, and Yom Kippur the Day of Atonement which is considered the holiest day in the Jewish calendar

Today Jewish food is largely eaten together as families or on days with religious significance. The *Chabad* house organises *shabbat* meals regularly, and dinners and parties around most of the big holidays. DMT has regular *kiddush*[54] which often includes small snacks, organises special community meals for big holidays, and has a semi-regular event called Burgerstein[55] where they serve *kosher* burgers. DMT's rabbi Joav Melchior is responsible for creating a *kosher* list, listing that would list which products available in Norway have been approved for consumption. Events at the Jewish Museum that are catered are exclusively vegetarian. London (2009) claims there are about 50 families in Norway that keep *kosher*, another 100 that regularly purchase *kosher* food, and a further 100 families that buy *kosher* food for at least the holidays.

There has been one book about Norwegian-Jewish food, published in 2009, a collaboration between the Jewish museum in Oslo and Liv London, calling itself a cultural historical cookbook. While many cookbooks these days are organised by ingredients (vegetarian, fish, meat, etc) or by meal (appetisers, main courses, desserts), most Jewish cookbooks are organised by holiday, and London's book follows this example. It divides recipes from seven holidays, and an eighth section for Shabbat. While of course many of the recipes could be used at different times of the year than the exact holiday they were listed under, listing by holiday implies an implicit understanding of what is eaten on the holidays, and thus what kind of ingredients are to be expected. The *Shavuot*[56] section is naturally filled with cheese recipes, *Rosh Hashana* has sweet recipes for main courses as well as desserts, and *Pesach* has nothing that would violate the *kosher* for *Pesach* rules. Between all of these recipes are notes on Jewish holidays and traditions, Jewish families in Norway, people who have donated recipes, and the history of Judaism in Norway.

[54] Kiddush is the blessing over wine or grape juice that sanctifies the *Shabbos* or other holidays
[55] A pun on the street name where the Oslo synagogue is, *Berg*stein -> *Burger*stein
[56] *Shavuot* is a Jewish holiday that usually marks the beginning of the harvest in early summer.

Chapter 5 Results

5.1 Interview A

Interview A was a woman in her 20s with a partner and no children, who has recently moved to Norway to study. She describes her childhood as very secular, and to her recollection they never kept *kosher*. Her own food habits haven't changed significantly with her move to Norway, but over the years she has had a gradual increased interest in paying attention to her heritage.

"We paid more attention to what we were eating than what the ingredients were."

While young, Interview A said she went from attending a Jewish private school, to being wildly anti-religion as a teenager, and then as a young adult slowly finding a middle ground. Her parents let her make her own choices about how religious she wanted to be, and while she had been encouraged to engage in her Judaism, it was never forced. The family mainly celebrated *Pesach* and *Channukkah* at home and would occasionally visit friends for *Purim* and other holidays. But she stopped going to *shul* at a young age. Keeping *kosher* was never important at home, and there was a much stronger emphasis on using fresh and high quality ingredients. So homemade *matzo* ball soup was made with non-*kosher* chicken and stock.

"I'm used to more variety I guess. I can find almost everything I want for the kitchen now, but it's taken me two years to find which stores have what. But some spices like mace or celery seed I think I'm always going to have to import, let alone pearl couscous or anything kosher."

The move to Norway happened after a gradual re-interest in her Jewish past over the last ten years or so, and while she was used to living in small Jewish communities there were still differences she found in Norway she had not prepared for. The lack of perceived quality of ingredients was the most frustrating, followed by lack of variety. Visiting the *kosher* store at DMT made her uncomfortable.

"I get why it's there, and I don't mind specialty stores. But there's something about how that's like the only place to get some things, and I

think it's in the shul? It's inconvenient, and I'd feel like I was intruding almost."

Not being a member of DMT was what she wanted, but at the same time made her feel like she was a little bit of an outsider, and it wasn't as welcoming as some other, smaller communities she used to live in. She went a few times to *shul* when she first moved but no longer. And so, her Jewish life has become more isolated, which frustrates her.

"I mean I've made my bed I have to lay in it now don't I. I just wish there was more visibility. Maybe things would be easier. Or harder, I don't know."

She thought the problem was visibility. If the Jewish community was more public, more visible, maybe it would be easier to be part of things on her own terms. Or that if people saw more of the community stores would be more open to selling *kosher* food, especially around the holidays. In the meantime, she enjoys Norwegian *pålegg*[57] throughout the year and *ribbe*[58] during Christmastime.

5.2 Interview B

Interview B was a woman in her 40s married to a Norwegian with children living at home, and she has been living in Norway for almost 20 years. She described her childhood as being mainly *kosher*, with no pork and rarely shellfish at home, and definitely no bread during *Pesach*. She eventually chose to be vegetarian. While her food habits didn't change significantly when she first moved abroad for her studies, the later move to Norway and especially after the arrival of her first child, triggered changes in not only what she was eating, but changed the physical layout of her kitchen, and how she thought about food and engaged with Jewish identity and community.

As a child, Interview B said being Jewish had always been an important part of who she was, but it was framed by the aftermath of the war. So being Jewish was something to do at home, but not necessarily a fact to advertise to strangers. With a large extended family of

[57] *Pålegg* is the Norwegian word and concept for bread-toppings

[58] *Ribbe* is the Norwegian Christmas dinner of pork ribs and crackling.

different levels of religiosity, being Jewish had primarily been something that was mostly at home, or to be celebrated with the family. Synagogue was really only visited for *Yom Kippur*, and even then, only for an hour and the fasting was not, at least not strictly, observed. When she moved away for her studies, things didn't change very much with her food habits or engagement with Judaism, because there was still a fairly visible Jewish presence around her.

"It changed when it came to Norway When I came to Norway, here I didn't know any Jews. So, I started going to the Jewish community, started going to synagogue for the first time in my life."

After moving to Norway however, it seemed a lot of things changed, especially over time. The largest difference was the lack of Jewish presence. For the first time in her life, she began to attend services at the synagogue in order to engage with other Jewish people. Food-wise, not a lot changed initially- but after her first child she began to keep more *kosher* at home.

"I started thinking, how on earth am I going to show him what it is to be Jewish. It was the natural thing to do."

It was important to change things to show her children how to be Jewish. Gradually for her, this meant introducing sets of plates and cooking utensils for milk, *parve*, meat, and *kosher* for *pesach,* as well as a set designated non-*kosher* for her husband. She was not strictly 100% *kosher*, and neither is her family. Her husband who is not Jewish has his own drawer in the refrigerator for his non-*kosher* food. Her children eat from his drawer when they want to, and at school they can choose to buy what they want at the canteen. *Kosher* food has changed as well over the years.

"When I first arrived, there were 5-15 things I could buy in the store if I was to follow kosher rules at the time. And suddenly in 2001 or 2002 the rabbi decided to have a proper list. Because at the time there was almost nothing. And then all the doors opened."

The *kosher* list has been updated continuously since then, and a brand new list completed in 2018 with over 50 pages of specific food products you can purchase in Norway that are *kosher*. Interview B says she has it practically memorised, and even though things are better, she still has to go to 3-4 stores to purchase everything she needs. And even then, there

are things she would like to cook that she can't because of the lack of *kosher* ingredients in Norway.

> *At work I eat salad, I don't know if that's Norwegian or Jewish it's just kosher. At home it's both, but I mean, if it's pasta is it Italian?*

There are also some new things she has learned about Jewish food in Norway, that has to do with the intersection of *Ashkenazi* and *Sephardi* traditions. Interview B comes from a *Sephardi* background, while the established community here in Norway has largely been from the *Ashkenazi* traditions. And so there are meals she has incorporated such as chicken soup with *kreplach*[59], and *cholent*[60] that were as new to her as the Norwegian meals she cooks like *bacalao* and meat- or fishcakes. As for changing heritage and identity, while sometimes Norwegian, sometimes she felt part of a different national heritage; but throughout the whole time she was always Jewish.

5.3 Interview C

Interview C was a man in his 30s with a wife and no children living at home, and he has been living in Norway for almost 10 years. He describes his grandmother as being a semi-practicing Jew, and his mother as quarter-practicing. There was little attempt to go to synagogue while growing up, but they generally would observe the high holidays, *Channukkah*, and *Pesach*. While some severe food allergies have limited what he can eat, he is a self-professed "food nerd" it seems to have taken more pleasure in food as he has gotten older.

> *"We would light the candles in the wrong order. We had presents, we tried to read the Hebrew, we tried harder at the Seders. But abridged."*

Keeping *kosher* didn't seem to be the most relevant to him as it wasn't a tradition that had been actively kept in his family for a long time. And the idea of giving up bacon now seemed ridiculous. But there was also the perspective in his family that keeping *kosher* wasn't necessary to Jewish food. Going to a Jewish deli in New York wasn't about getting *kosher*

[59] Kreplach are stuffed dumplings that are usually added to soup
[60] *Cholent* refers to a slow cooked stew that would often be cooked on a Friday before *Shabbos* began, and kept in an oven so as to have a warm meal on Saturday. Ingredients varied geographically.

food, it was about getting Jewish food. If the same place hadn't been *kosher* certified, it's possible it wouldn't have made a difference to the family.

"My grandmother definitely made an effort. My mom felt bad about not making an effort. And I feel wonderful about not making an effort."

For him, Jewish food seemed to exist primarily in the past, from memories of holidays and spending time in New York. That's not to say Jewish food is non-existent in his life or irrelevant. Jewish ingredients were perceived to be quite hard to come by, and so the effort of thinking about them was too much effort. But *matzo* was sometimes brought back to Norway in suitcases alongside candies and tea hard to find in Norway, although his wife was happier about that than he was.

"You can take a New York bagel and put bacon and goat cheese on it and it would still be a Jewish bagel. You could take a California bagel and nothing you could do to it would make it Jewish. I can't tell you why."

While eating *kosher* wasn't a relevant part of his identity, there was still a deep tacit knowledge of what Jewish food was, regardless of whether or not he could pin down what that meant. It had nothing, or little to do with being *kosher*. And the closest he was able to come was to say there had to be a relation to tradition. But that was clearly not the case for the California bagel.

"My wife really likes [matzo]. I've tried to explain to her it's unleavened bread. And therefore terrible."

Interestingly, tying heritage, especially national heritage was a more volatile concept for Interview C. For him it seemed directly tied to the neofascism that has been growing in the USA that he disagrees with. And when he hears descriptions like something is Jewish or Norwegian being thrown around, it raises more questions than answers. Which leaves him to believe it's "one of these words that doesn't have a real definition.".

"You can't find them in other countries. They are specifically Norwegian pizza, Norwegian kebab, Norwegian sushi"

In Norway, cooking has been an important part of everyday life. Interview C and his wife split cooking fairly evenly, although he finds there are mainly differences in their techniques. He describes his wife has cooking good food that tastes good, while he might be

more caught up in precise measurements and temperatures. And most of their food is cooked from scratch, with the exception of Grandiosa pizza in the freezer.

5.5 Meals and Events

Several events were held during the research period of the Spring of 2018, almost all of them connected to Jewish holidays of some sort or another. Both DMT and *Chabad* house held *Seders* for *Pesach*, with *Chabad* having a second dinner at the end of *Pesach*. Events held by *Chabad* were more accessible than those held by DMT. This is mainly due to security concerns by DMT, and so almost none of their events are disclosed to non-members. It unfortunately means that it is difficult for non-members, whether Jewish or not, to have any idea of the number or content of events that are held there, if any at all. Other people who simply don't want to pay membership fees are also excluded from information around what events there are and when. While *Chabad* without doubt is also aware of security concerns, they have taken a much more liberal approach to security, and with the rabbi actually living in the country full time, *Chabad*'s events have been much more accessible to those who don't have a Norwegian-Jewish background, those who aren't interested in being officially affiliated with a movement but still want to take part in Jewish life, or even just visitors to Norway.

Because the events observed at *Chabad* Norway were often on *Shabbos*, no recording or writing was allowed, as that would break the *Shabbos*. So unfortunately, I left with no written or digital notes of the events. As such, all meals I participated in had to be recalled and written up in posterity. Of the five meals, four were at least two course meals, usually a variety of vegetarian dishes and one warm meat dish, and a dessert to follow. The *Rosh Hashanah* event I attended was only cakes, as it was primarily to hear the *shofar*[61] before leaving for a traditional prayer. The cakes however, were an apple cake and a honey cake, both of which are symbolic for Rosh Hashanah, and to usher in a 'sweet' new year. The foods served in the other four meals also often hinted to the time of year in the Jewish calendar. The meal served during *Pesach* for example, was naturally without *chometz*[62].

---

[61] The *Shofar* is a traditional musical horn often made from a ram's horn. It is traditional to hear it blown around the time of *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur*

[62] *Chometz* refers to leavened foods which are all forbidden during *Pesach*

It should be noted, one aspect that I did not expect, but should not have surprised me, was the amount of Hebrew being spoken at the events at *Chabad*. Naturally, there were many visitors from Israel who came by for a meal and to engage with the local Jewish community. As I do not understand modern Hebrew, I was unable to understand the discussions and conversations conducted in Hebrew. Otherwise, most of the people attending spoke a mixture of English and Norwegian with one another.

Then there was the series of adult education events put on in one family's home, an initiative by an ordained rabbi within the DMT community to create more 'fun' adult education events that could help strengthen the community. These events investigated Jewish traditions surrounding drink; over five lectures in Winter-Spring of 2018, whiskey, coffee, wine, water, and beer were partaken of and discussed in relation to Jewish life, history, and religion. I was able to attend two of these discussions, on wine and water. A mix of debate, discussion and lecture, these talks were attended by both young adults as well as the retired, and all that comes in between, as bell as there being a large difference in religious backgrounds. The talks were loosely based around references to the drinks in religious texts, and, discussions around proper translations of the original Hebrew, and how applicable the symbolism is in Norway. There were even a small number of non-Jewish people attending, who, for various reasons were connected or interested in Jewish culture.

Different drinks were seen as a fun way to investigate at Judaism and tongue and cheek comparisons were made between the past and present, the religious and irreligious, but also geographically comparing Norway and other more traditional Jewish centres such as America, Poland, and Israel. The symbolism of water in the *torah* would have been very different if it was written in Norway instead of in the Middle East, as one observer pointed out. Another person wondered if *mevushal*[63] wine was really necessary longer, as while there are other religions in the world, would any of them fit into the historical concept of an idol worshiper.

[63] *Mevushal* comes from the Hebrew word 'cooked' or 'boiled', it refers to wine that has been boiled and thus retains *kosher* status under non-Jewish supervision

Similarly to the *Chabad* meals, no recorded notes were taken at the Drinks in Jewish Tradition events. Although these talks were not on the *Shabbos,* because it was an open discussion it was decided by the leader that to allow people to feel comfortable speaking and participating in the discussion, it was best to not record. I did however, take brief notes of the two events.

Chapter 6 Analysis

Even from the interwar period, the Jewish community was aware that having and living a Jewish life required engaging and relating to its non-Jewish surroundings (Banik, 2016). Both Ruud (1990) and Mendelsohn (1969) note the difficulty acquiring certain ingredients throughout the history of Norway regardless of social group. Butter that had not been blended with animal fats specifically was not easy to come by unless you lived in regions that were very involved in dairy production. While butter was sometimes a luxury in the Jewish communities due to the religious requirement of not mixing meat and dairy, the larger Norwegian society often substituted pork fat in its place, or mixed butter and and pork fat together to stretch out its use. While that would not have been possible for the largely *kosher* Jewish community in Norway, it was also done by some farmers that potatoes were blended with butter as well to stretch out their use, which likely would have also been done by the Jewish communities.

To maintain a Jewish identity, it seems people with Jewish heritage in Norway are doing a number of things. There is an appropriation of Norwegian food traditions and the expansion of the *kosher* list to include products that are viewed as inherently Norwegian. Some people import food to maintain a supply, and importantly, there seems to be an awareness that Jewish food traditions need to be passed on generationally. In addition, it seems that the difficulty of accessing *kosher* meat is a topic almost everyone, excluding Interview C, is aware of, and is being affected by. People are either dependant on importing or the DMT store, or they have given up eating meat, or eating meat that is *kosher*.

6.1 Appropriation

One of the food traditions that was mentioned during the religious meals that showed a unique Jewish food culture in Norway, was the adaptation of having seven kinds of Christmas cookies during Christmas time. Since Christmas naturally isn't a Jewish holiday, but *Channukkah* usually falls in December and sometimes overlaps Christmas, some people began to bake seven types of *Channukkah* cookies. Another adaptation to Norway that one Jewish family was rumoured to have done, is having a *Shechita* in the United Kingdom make

kosher pinnekjøtt[64]. This is both an expensive and time-consuming process, and so likely a very special treat for those who are invited to partake, especially if they keep *kosher* regularly throughout the rest of the year.

On the other hand, especially for those who did not keep *kosher* at home, adapting in Norwegian elements into their Jewish food was a way to strengthen, and even normalise their Jewish heritage while in Norway. Interview A spoke about how she would often use minced meat from moose instead of beef. Not only was this being used in non-Jewish cuisine such as a Bolognese sauce with pasta, but also when making *kreplach*. *Kreplach* are a type of dumpling, that can be filled with ground meat, vegetables, or even cheese, depending on the holiday, or one's preference. For her, keeping *kosher* was less important than maintaining knowledge of cooking techniques and recipes. There were recipes in her family that had been passed down several generations, and still being used and adapted upon.

Importantly, having non-*kosher* ingredients during Jewish holidays was felt to be unacceptable even in this secular family. But even so, Jewish food itself wasn't segregated to the holidays. *Kreplach* was made year-round when there was time or a desire, not only on *shabbos*, which was not observed at home in this family, or the holidays that were observed. *Matzo* ball soup was a regular meal made often in the winter, or during times of illness. Even so, it was a treat, as the *matzo* meal that was brought over in suitcases had a limited supply.

During the talks on Jewish tradition and drinks, it was often asked that people bring kosher snacks. A few times people would bring fruit, usually clementines. But there were a few times that people brought one of the most common brands of Norwegian chocolate: Freia, as it was on the kosher list. In fact, Freia has been advertising *kosher* products since at least the 1930s[65] in the old monthly journal Hatikwoh. The continuity shows that Jewish people in Norway have always been interested in parts of Norwegian food culture that are available to

[64] Pinnekjøtt, literally 'stick meat', a salted and sometimes smoked lamb ribs eaten in the wintertime

[65] See Picture 2

them. And with the last few years and the continual updating of the kosher list, that there is a desire to have access to food in general, but also some very specifically Norwegian food.

6.2 Keeping *Kosher*

Most Jewish families in Norway do not keep fully *kosher*. Many Jewish families in Norway however have at least set up their kitchens so that they are able to be 100% *kosher* if the need be. How every family has their daily meal is hard to tell, but at least for when more religious family members are visiting, or for holiday meals, there is the possibility of keeping *kosher*.

People concerned with keeping *kosher* tend to follow two different methods of buying *kosher* food in Norway. Some follow the *kosher* approved lists that started being produced by DMT from about 2005. These lists are updated now and then, with food being taken off and, on the list, regularly. The latest *Kosher* list was published in 2018 with over 70 pages of *kosher* items one can buy in Norway, and the first sentence in its introduction is 'To keep *kosher* when one lives in Norway can be a struggle.' Other people memorise the 'E-numbers', a numeric system of the additives in food. Some of these are considered non-*kosher* or specifically not *kosher* for *pesach*, as some E-numbers are derived from animals or insects. Today there's a fair amount of *Kosher* food if you know what you're looking for. And that's the key part. Keeping *kosher* in Norway takes a huge amount of effort, foremost just by learning how to read a label and see what is and isn't *kosher*. But not everyone who would want to keep *kosher* is willing or able to do that.

Everyone I spoke with talked about the number of stores they have to go to, to get all the ingredients they need for cooking. At minimum, there was the dichotomy between whatever store was the 'local' store, that is, the one closest to their home, and then the store or shops where everything else was purchased. This of course occurs in other groups of people in Norway, or there wouldn't be specialty stores such as fish mongers or bakeries any longer. But while many Norwegians might be going to a variety of stores for their groceries for the best quality product, the people I interviewed who spoke about choice in store were not necessarily thinking about quality, but selection. That is, if something was *kosher* or an

ingredient necessary in a meal, they were limited by whether or not it had a presence in Norway and did not have the luxury of choosing for quality of products.

6.3 *Kosher* Meat

The presence or lack of presence of food products available in Norway lead to the discussion of *kosher* meat. Everyone spoke of the difficulty and cost of buying meat in Norway. This almost always lead families to either stop eating meat, stop keeping *kosher*, only purchase *kosher* meat for certain holidays, or to start importing their own meat and rationing it. The first solution is a sacrifice or a compromise. Not eating meat has not only become more popular in general Western society, but easier to do with both more understanding of health and nutrition, and animal rights being common topics. The brand marketed as *Hälsans Kök* in Norway offers vegetarian frozen food often with a *kosher* stamp, and Interview B goes out of her way to find it in grocery stores. However, many other people see meat as an essential part of their diet that they are not willing to give up or stop eating. And so, many families have chosen to stop keeping *kosher*. For some it was not an important or vital aspect of their life to begin with, and others of course had never even kept *kosher* such as Interview C, so the access was not important. It also shows the general trend not necessarily of secularisation, but definitely of a reformation and liberalism within Judaism. Importing *kosher* food is an incredibly common thing people do, that involves not only *kosher* meat, but all types of products with a *kosher* label. Some people during the meals I attended spoke of travelling to Norway with suitcases full of frozen meat and sausages, while others are also coming with *kosher* wine, dairy products, sweets, *matzo* meal, and *kosher* bouillon cubes. The price of this is significantly cheaper than buying in the *kosher* store in Norway, or shipping food into Norway online. But not everyone has the opportunity or can afford to travel on a regular basis, especially not solely for purchasing *kosher* food.

It is unfortunate that the only person interviewed who bought kosher meat was Interview B, who bought it for her children to eat since she herself was vegetarian. Neither Interview A or C went out of their way to purchase kosher meat, although A attempted to avoid eating from *treif*[66] animals namely pork. The only place in Norway that offers *kosher*

[66] *Treif* is the Yiddish word for non-*kosher*

meat is the store run by DMT that has frozen meat for sale, which not only limits people geographically to the Oslo area, but also cost-wise. While Interview B admitted that the price was not an issue for her personally, it was mentioned at least once during the religious meals at the *Chabad* house that the price of *kosher* meat at the DMT store is twice that of non-kosher meat in regular supermarkets in Oslo. While the increased cost is very likely necessary due to import taxes, this does price out people who might want to keep more kosher but can't afford the prices, such as students such as Interview A.

As for the issue of *shechita*, there are many varying opinions. Most people have come to accept the law that has been in place for almost 90 years, but at the same time most feel that without extra provisions given, it creates a hostile environment towards being Jewish in Norway. Some people during the meals attended point to the rights that the Sámi have to slaughter reindeer in traditional methods and feel there is hypocrisy and a double standard when it comes to them. Others point out that importing *kosher* meat quite literally doubles the cost of meat and wonder why subsidies aren't given on religious grounds. This can feel especially poignant during Christmas time in Norway, where prices for Christmas food drops lower than production prices, and which the state has sponsored in the past, sometimes with officials claiming that the drop in price allow everyone to have plenty of food during Christmas time, and extra 'Christmas cosiness' (Dagligvarehandelen, 2013; Punsvik, 2015). Another common hypothetical question is why the end of life is particularly focused on, but the day-to-day life of an animal almost never commented upon.

6.4 Importing

Every family has at least one story of importing Jewish food. In interview B the woman spoke of the time she tried to bring back some *kosher* pâté which was thrown out by airport security, as the pâté was considered liquid. Another story heard at one of the meals was the story of being stopped at security in Norway, and the confusion from the security guards that his suitcase was full of *matzo.* After the man tried to explain what *matzo* was and its place in Jewish culture, he gave up and called *matzo* 'Jewish *knekkebrød*[67]', to which the guards all nodded in understanding and waved him through.

[67] Knekkebrød is the Norwegian word for a thick rectangular crisp bread commonly eaten in Norway

Of course, not everyone is only bringing *kosher* products in. Interview A said she brought cheddar cheese with her a few times, and corn tortillas are often requested when she gets visitors. And Interview C who doesn't keep *kosher* at all still regularly brings food back with him when he travels. So, the importing of food that takes place within the Norwegian Jewish community is likely less of a reflection of lack of Jewish food, but the response of immigrants to a new country bringing food back from abroad.

6.5 Further Research

One of the fields that I believe should be investigated more clearly is research into how the original ban on *kosher* slaughter effected the Jewish community of Norway. Snildal in 2014 wrote his PhD on the discussion leading up to the ban, and how different elements such as animal welfare, politics, and antisemitism played into the creation of the ban, but stops after the immediate aftermath. Outside of this thesis, I found little to no evidence of widespread awareness of Jewish or antisemitic influences in the creation of the law in current literature. Those that did mention antisemitism in relation to the slaughter ban mentioned it in passing, or only discussed it as a stepping stone in the growing antisemitism in Europe and Norway. But even Snildal did not include the actual effect of the ban on Norway's Jewish communities into the scope of his thesis. A full investigation of the beginnings of *kosher* slaughter in Norway, and its full economic history in contrast with public awareness of *kosher* slaughter would be an interesting avenue of further research, as well as an in-depth investigation of Jewish and *kosher* food in Norway during this interim period before World War 2, and even how it affected the post-war community through to today. Particularly again, what effect the ban had on Jewish and religious life in Norwegian homes.

While the magazine *Hatikwoh* has been used as material to investigate Jewish life in Norway during the interwar period and as a part of other research, there has been no overall analysis of the magazine itself. Running for ten years, it would be a fascinating project to see investigate the role *Hatikwoh* played in the Jewish community during the interwar period as well as what we can understand of the community from the articles and advertisements being published.

Finally, I also feel a more widespread investigation into food practices in the Jewish community in Norway would be valuable. While Liv London's book (2009) was successful in recording some of the recipes being prepared today, it was limited in its scope and breadth. Focusing on recipes is only a small part of food consumption and culture, and an investigation into the entire process from planning meals, to purchasing, cooking and eating, and eventually food waste would give interesting insight into a vital minority culture in Norway.

Chapter 7 Concluding remarks

"*All we have is debate and uncertainty.*" This was one of the harder hitting statements made during The Jewish Tradition workshop held in Oslo during March of 2018. A quintessential joke in many Jewish communities, is if you ask two people a question you will get at least three answers. And here we are with more questions, and even more answers about Jewish food, Jewish life, and Jewish traditions in Norway. As Paxson (2017) reminds us, sometimes research generates instead of satisfying research questions, and I find myself sympathising with that perspective.

We have of course the most obvious question, which is what are people actually doing at home. But since so many of the stories people told me were about memories when they were young, I'm left curious how memory is playing a role in Jewish food heritage in the Norwegian diaspora. Of course, food and memory is not a new theme, as Proust immortalised the taste and smell of madeleines and their connection to memory in the first volume of In Search of Lost Time.

"Undoubtedly what is thus palpitating in the depths of my being must be the image, the visual memory which, being linked to that taste, is trying to follow it into my conscious mind."

(Proust, 1913)

Even arriving at the question of how Jewish immigrants to Norway are maintaining and preserving their identity through food culture was a long process and not an easy one. The people I interviewed and the events I attended helped me to realise that it's possible that this question can't be answered. And in some ways, it can't, as how anyone does anything changes constantly over time, and the meaning and importance of our identity is always changing, both in the present, and how we view identity and heritage in the past.

But what we do know, is that people are making a variety of choices all the time. In Interview A there's been a slow increase not necessarily of religiosity, but of being connected to the past, and finding ways to do that within reason, and within a budget. Interview B has

always been *Kosher-ish*, but with the arrival of her children she increased her observation of *kashrut*, so that her children would know it. And Interview C, who has never been, and never wants to be *kosher*? Well, who is to say what would could change if there was more access to Jewish products. The events I attended at the *Chabad* house and the Jewish tradition in drink were attended partly due to a personal interest. But they were still a vital glimpse into Jewish-Norwegian food culture and showed us first and foremost that there *is* a Jewish food tradition in Norway. Whatever roots the food traditions came from, it is in Norway today, and it is being made my Jewish people, today.

The least we can say, is that we have come out of this with more knowledge and understanding. Not only of course of the history and theory around identity, food culture, and Jewish heritage, but with more knowledge of what people are thinking, saying, and doing today. That itself will always be something of value. Food has played a part in everybody's lives, and whether or not they themselves have put value into Jewish food culture, everyone has memories of it in their lives.

I will end with a story that I heard at one of the public events, that highlights the role food heritage can play with someone's Jewish identity. The story that was recounted was about an older man in Poland, who visited the local rabbi. And he said to the rabbi, that his parents had been Jewish, but they died during the *shoah* and he didn't remember anything about being Jewish. So, the rabbi took him to see the synagogue, read the *torah* for the man, recited prayers, but the man didn't recognise or remember any of it. Finally, exasperated, the rabbi took him home with him, and served him soup-with either *matzo* balls or *kreplach*- and then, after having a taste of the soup and smelling the aroma, the man began to cry, and he said 'This, I remember.'.

Lexicon

Most words written in Hebrew, whether of Hebrew or Yiddish origin, can be transliterated into English in more than one way, due to multiple existing transliteration policies across fields of study, the many pronunciation styles found within different Jewish communities, and the lack of similarities between the English and Hebrew alphabets. As such I have chosen the transliterations that I am most familiar and comfortable with, which may include several different Hebrew-English transliteration standards.

Aliyah – From the Hebrew word for 'ascent'. Refers to Jewish people who emigrating to Israel. It is often written as someone 'making *aliyah'*.

Ashkenazi – From the Hebrew word for Germany. Refers to the Jewish diaspora from central and Eastern Europe. Pl. *Ashkenazim.*

Chabad – *Chabad* or *Chabad-Lubavitch* is an orthodox religious movement in Judaism that has a focus on outreach to other Jewish people.

Challah – braided bread that is eaten in many Jewish communities especially on *Shabbos.*

Chometz – Chometz refers to leavened foods which are all forbidden during Pesach.

Channukkah – A Jewish holiday often called the festival of lights. Has many different transliterations, but is often also spelled as *Hanukah.*

Charoset – *Charoset* is a sweet nut and fruit paste that is eaten during *Pesach*

Cholent – Refers to a slow cooked stew that would often be cooked on a Friday before *Shabbos* began, and kept in an oven so as to have a warm meal on Saturday. Ingredients varied geographically.

Goy – From the Hebrew word for 'nation'. Now colloquially refers to non-Jews and gentiles. Pl. *goyim.*

Halacha – The collection of Jewish religious laws, based on the written and oral *torah*.

Hamentaschen – Triangular cookies that are traditionally eaten during *Purim.*

Karpas – Refers to the ritual vegetable in the *Pesach Seder*

Kashrut – From the Hebrew word ‘fit’, as in ‘fit to eat’. Refers to the religious dietary laws in Judaism.

Kiddush – The blessing over wine or grape juice that sanctifies the *Shabbos* or other holidays.

Kosher – Food that is permitted to eat under Jewish law.

Kreplach – *Kreplach* are stuffed dumplings that are usually added to soup.

Matzo – *Matzo* is unleavened bread that is an integral part of celebrating *Pesach*. It can often be found ground, resembling bread crumbs.

Mevushal – From the Hebrew word ‘cooked’ or ‘boiled’, it refers to wine that has been boiled and thus retains *kosher* status under non-Jewish supervision.

Mishnah – A collection of Jewish oral traditions.

Pesach – A Jewish week-long holiday that celebrates the exodus out of Egypt. Also called Passover.

Purim – *Purim* is a holiday that celebrates Queen Esther who helps save the Jewish people from the wrath of the villain Haman.

Rosh Hashanah – The Jewish holiday that celebrates the Jewish New Year.

Seder – The *Seder* meal is a feast that marks the beginning of *Pesach.* Usually one or two *Seders* are observed during *Pesach.*

Sephardi – From the Hebrew word for ‘Spain’. Refers to the Jewish diaspora from the Iberian Peninsula. Pl. *Sephardim* Adj. *Sephardic.*

Shabbos – The Jewish day of rest. It is observed from Friday at sundown to Saturday at sundown. Also written or pronounced as *Shabbat*, or *Sabbath*.

Shavuot – A Jewish holiday that usually marks the beginning of the harvest in early summer.

Shechita – From the Hebrew word for ‘slaughter’. Refers to slaughter of permitted animals under the laws of *Kashrut*. The v. *shecht* and the occupation is a *shochet.*

Shofar – The *Shofar* is a traditional musical horn often made from a ram’s horn. It is traditional to hear it blown around the time of *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur*

Shoah (the) – The Hebrew word that refers to the Holocaust.

Shul – *Shul* is a Yiddish term for a Synagogue.

Talmud – The primary source of Jewish law, *halacha*. With various versions, it is a collection of commentary by rabbis over thousands of years.

Torah – Can mean several things, but in this text, it explicitly is in reference to the Five books of Moses, unless specified. In Christian terms, these are the books Genesis to Deuteronomy.

Treif – A Yiddish word referring to any non-*kosher* food.

Yom Kippur – *Yom Kippur* is often called The Day of Repentance and is the holiest day in the Jewish year. It is a time of fast and reflection before the new year begins.

Bibliography

Adams, D. 1980. *The Restaurant at the end of the Universe*. Reprint: 2002. London: Pan.

Aftenposten, 1911. Den Russiske Indvandring til Kristiania. Faa farlige individer, *Aftenposten*, 24 Jan, p.1e.

Albala, K., 2017. Analysis of Historic Primary Sources. In: J. Chrzan and J. Brett, eds. 2017. *Food Culture: Anthropology, Linguistics, and Food Studies*. New York: Berghan. pp. 183-193.

Appadurai, A., 1998. *Modernity at Large*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Artusi, P. 1869. *Science in the Kitchen and the Art of Eating Well*. Translated by M. Baca and S. Sartarelli., 2003. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Asbjørnsen, P. C., 1864. *Fornuftigt Madstel: en tidsmæssig Koge- og Husholdningsbog*. Reprint 1993. Oslo: Bjørn Ringstrøms antikvariat.

Assmann, A., 2010. Canon and Archive. In: A. Erll and A. Nünning, eds. 2010. *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*. Berlin: de Gruyter. pp. 97-108.

Bakke, H. M., 2017. Jødedom og antisemittisme i KRLE. Master Thesis. University of Oslo

Banik, V. K., 2015. A Gendered Integration Revisited: Work and Integration of Jews in Norway, 1900-1942. *Modern Judaism*, 35(2), pp. 175-202.

Banik, V. K., 2016. The Faith of the fathers, the future of the youth: Being Jewish on the periphery of the diaspora. *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis,* Issue 27, pp. 153-172.

Barthes, R., 2013. Toward a psychosociology of contemporary food consumption. In: C. Counihan and P. Van Esterik, eds. 2013. *Food and Culture: A Reader*. New York: Routledge. pp.23-3.

Bauman, Z., 2011. *Culture in a Liquid Modern World*. Cambridge: Polity.

Baumann, G., 1999. *The Multicultural Riddle: Rethinking National, Ethnic, and Religious Identities*. New York: Routledge.

Berry, J. W., 1997. Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 46(1), pp. 5-68.

Berry, J. W., 2008. Globalisation and Acculturation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Issue 32, pp.328-336.

Bergeaud-Blackler, F., 2007. New Challenges for Islamic Ritual Slaughter: A European Perspective. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 6(33), pp. 965-980.

Bogen, M. 2015. Jødisk liv i Norge Den norske jødiske minoritetens egenfortellinger belyst ved menighetsbladet Hatikva og utstillingene ved Jødisk Museum i Oslo, 2012-2014. Master Thesis. University of Oslo.

Chrzan, J. and Brett, J., eds. 2017. *Food Culture: Anthropology, Linguistics, and Food Studies*. New York: Berghan.

Confino, A., 2010. Memory and the History of Mentalities. In: A. Erll and A. Nünning, eds. 2010. *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*. Berlin: de Gruyter. pp. 77-84.

Counihan, C. and Van Esterik, P., eds. 2013. *Food and Culture*. New York: Routledge.

Dagligvarehandelen, 2013. Staten sponset billigsalg av julemat. *Dagligvarehandelen*, [online] 24.01.2013. Available at: <https://dagligvarehandelen.no/2013/staten-sponset-billigsalg-av-julemat> [Accessed 23.03.2018].

Devine, S. and Brett, J., 2017. Research Ethics in Food Studies. In: J. Chrzan and J. Brett, eds. 2017. *Food Culture: Anthropology, Linguistics, and Food Studies*. New York: Berghan. pp. 15-28.

Di Giovine, M. A. and Brulotte, R. L., 2014. Food and Foodways as Cultural Heritage. In: M. A. Di Giovine and R. L. Brulotte, eds. 2014. *Edible Identities: Food as Cultural Heritage.* Farnham: Ashgate. pp. 1-28.

Erll, A., 2010. Cultural Memory Studies, an Introduction. In: A. Erll and A. Nünning, eds. 2010. *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*. Berlin: de Gruyter. pp. 1-18.

Gjernes, M., 2002. *Jødar i Kristiania: dei fyrste innvandrarane si geografiske og sosioøkonomiske plassering i samfunnet frå 1851 til 1942*. Master Thesis. University of Oslo

Graham, B., Ashworth G. J., and Tunbridge J. E., 2000. *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy*. London: Arnold.

Harket, H., 2016. The Ban on Jews in the Norwegian Constitution. In: C. Hoffmann, ed. 2016. *The Exclusion of Jews in the Norwegian Constitution of 1814*. Berlin: Metropol Verlag. pp. 41-66.

Harrison, R., 2013. *Heritage: Critical Approaches.* London: Routledge.

Harvey, G., 2015. Respectfully eating or not eating: Putting food at the centre of Religious Studies. *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis*, Issue 26, pp 32-46.

Hatikwoh: Månedsblad for Jøder i Norge, 1929-1939. Oslo: H. M. Koritzinsky

Hoffmann, C., 2016. Jewish History as a History of Immigration: An Overview of Current Historiography in the Scandinavian Countries. *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis*, Issue 27, pp. 203-222.

Kasstan, B., 2015. The taste of trauma: reflections of ageing *Shoah* survivors on food and how they (re)inscribe it with meaning. *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis*, Issue 26, pp. 349-365.

Kasstan, B., 2016. Positioning oneself and being positioned in the ‘community’. *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis*, Issue 27, pp. 264-283.

Kudenko, I. and Phillips, D., 2010. Multiculturual Narratives and the Construction of Identity: The British Jewish Experience. *Space and Polity,* 14(1), pp. 65-80.

Lees, J. A., and Clutterbuck, W. J., 1882. *Three in Norway.* Reprint 1995. Oslo: Aschehoug.

Lien, M., 1995. Norsk matkultur - mangfold og fornying. In S. Sem and E. Ribe, eds. *Mat - mer spennende enn vi liker*. Oslo: Landbruksforlaget. pp. 70-81.

London, L., 2009. *Jødisk Mat på Norsk Fat.* Oslo: Forlaget Press.

Lysaght, P., ed., 2010. *Food and Meals at Cultural Crossroads*. Oslo: Novus Press.

Mendelsohn, O., 1969. *Jødenes Historie i Norge Gjennom 300 År Bind I.* Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Mendelsohn, O., 1987. *Jødenes Historie i Norge Gjennom 300 År Bind II*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Montanari, M., 1994. *The Culture of Food*. Translated by C. Ipsen. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Montanari, M., 2006. *Food is Culture*. Translated by A. Sonnenfeld. New York: Columbia University Press.

Moreno-Black, G., 2017. An Anthropology of Food and Food Anthropology: A Sociocultural Perspective. In: J. Chrzan and J. Brett. eds. 2017. *Food Culture: Anthropology, Linguistics, and Food Studies*.New York: Berghan. pp. 31-46.

Nagel, C. R. and Staeheli, L. A., 2004. Citizenship, identity and transnational migration: Arab immigrants to the United States. Space and Polity, 1(8), pp. 3-23.

Neegaard, G., 2004. *Når Gud Bestemmer Menyen.* Oslo: Yrkeslitteratur AS.

Noorda, R., 2017. From Waverley to Outlander: reinforcing Scottish diasporic identity through book consumption. *National Identities*, 20(4), pp. 1-17.

Notaker, H., 2000. Do we have a national food culture?. *Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift*, 17(4), pp. 345-364.

Ong, C. E., Ormond, M. and Sulianti, D., 2017. Performing ‘Chinese-ness’ in Singkawang: Diasporic moorings, festivals and tourism. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 58(1), pp. 41-56.

Ottosen, K., 1994. *I slik en natt: historien om deportasjonen av jøder fra Norge*. Oslo: Aschehoug.

Paxson, H., 2017. Participant-Observation and Interviewing Techniques. In: J. Chrzan and J. Brett, eds. 2017. *Food Culture: Anthropology, Linguistics, and Food Studies*.New York: Berghan. pp. 92-100.

Proust, M., 1913. *Swann's Way*. Translated by C. K. Scott Moncrieff., 2013. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Punsvik, F. B., 2015. Julemat til besvær, *Minerva*. [online] 07.12.2015. Available at: <https://www.minervanett.no/julemat-til-besvaer/l> [Accessed 23.03.2018].

Rürup, R., 2016. The Politics of Jewish Emancipation in Europe at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century. In: C. Hoffmann, ed. 2016. *The Exclusion of Jews in the Norwegian Constitution of 1814*. Berlin: Metropol Verlag. pp. 23-40.

Ruud, M. E., 1990. *Hverdagsmat på landsbygda ved århundreskiftet. Fra svarene på NEGs spørrelister*. Oslo: NEG.

Sheffer, G., 2006. Transnationalism and Ethnonational Diasporism. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 15(9), pp. 121-145.

Skjelbred, A. H. B., 2004. *Pizza i Norge*. Oslo: NEG.

Smith, L., 2006. *Uses of Heritage*. Oxford: Routledge.

Snildal, A., 2014. *An anti-semitic slaughter law? The origins of the Norwegian prohibition of Jewish religious slaughter c. 1890-1930*. Ph. D. University of Oslo.

SRA, 2003. *Ethical Guidelines*. [pdf] Social Research Association. Available at: < http://the-sra.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/ethics03.pdf> [Accessed 2 Feb 2018].

SSB, 2017. Innvandrere og norskfødte med innvandrerforeldre. [Online] Available at: <https://www.ssb.no/befolkning/statistikker/innvbef> [Accessed 22 Mar 2018].

Strassfeld, M., 1985. *The Jewish Holidays: A Guide and Commentary*. New York: Harper & Row.

Ulvund, F., 2016. *The Practice of Exclusion: How Article 2 in the Norwegian Constitution was Administered and Enforced between 1814 and 1851*. In: C. Hoffmann, ed. 2016. The Exclusion of Jews in the Norwegian Constitution of 1814. Berlin: Metropol Verlag. pp. 141-170.

Watson, J. L. and Caldwell, M. L., 2005. Introduction. In: J. L. Watson and M. L. Caldwell, eds. 2005. *The cultural politics of food and eating.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing. pp. 1-10.

Yuval-Davis, N., 2011. Power, Intersectionality and the Politics of Belonging. *FREIA,* Number 75, pp. 1-16.

Zeller, B. E., 2015. Totem and taboo in the grocery store: Quasi-religious foodways in North America. *Scripta Donneriani Aboensis*, Issue 26, pp. 11-31.

Interviews

Interview A

Norwegian-American woman in her 20s. She has a partner with no children.

Interview conducted 18 April, 2018

Interview B

French woman in her 40s. She is married with children still at home.

Interview conducted on 26 April, 2018

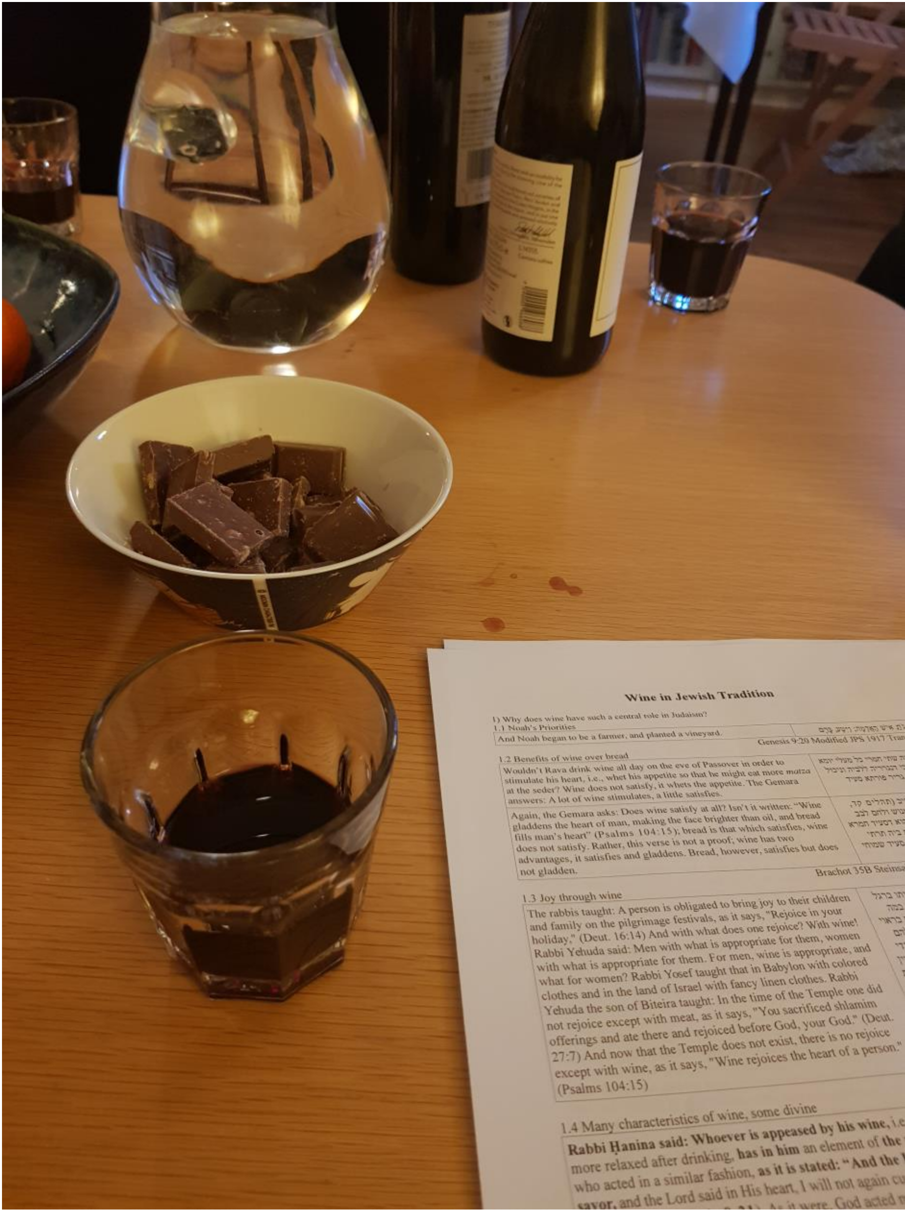
Interview C

American man in his 30s. He is married with no children.

Interview conducted 4 May, 2018

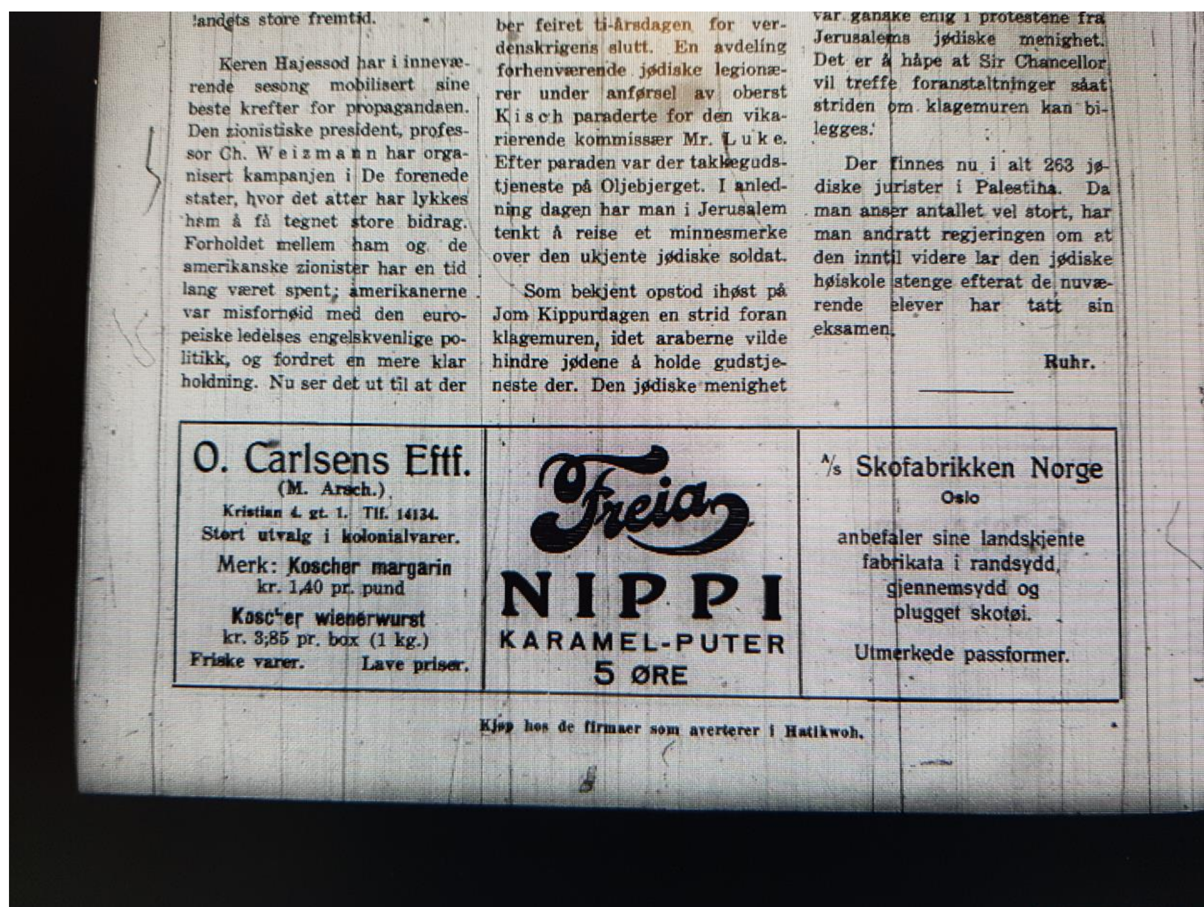
Pictures

Picture 1



Kiel, M., 2018. Picture A. [photograph] (Miriam Kiel's own private collection).

Picture 2



landets store fremtid.

Keren Hajessod har i inneværende sesong mobilisert sine beste krefter for propagandaen. Den zionistiske president, professor Ch. Weizmann har organisert kampanjen i De forenede stater, hvor det atter har lykkes ham å få tegnet store bidrag. Forholdet mellem ham og de amerikanske zionister har en tid lang været spent; amerikanerne var misfornøid med den europeiske ledelses engelskvenlige politikk, og fordret en mere klar holdning. Nu ser det ut til at der

ber feiret ti-årsdagen for verdenskrigens slutt. En avdeling forhenværende jødiske legionærer under anførsel av oberst Kisch paraderte for den vikarierende kommissær Mr. Luke. Efter paraden var der takkegudstjeneste på Oljebjerget. I anledning dagen har man i Jerusalem tenkt å reise et minnesmerke over den ukjente jødiske soldat.

Som bekjent opstod ihøst på Jom Kippurdagen en strid foran klagemuren, idet araberne vilde hindre jødene å holde gudstjeneste der. Den jødiske menighet

var ganske enig i protestene fra Jerusalems jødiske menighet. Det er å håpe at Sir Chancellor vil treffe foranstaltninger såat striden om klagemuren kan bilegges.

Der finnes nu i alt 263 jødiske jurister i Palestina. Da man anser antallet vel stort, har man andratt regjeringen om at den inntil videre lar den jødiske høiskole stenge efterat de nuværende elever har tatt sin eksamen.

Ruhr.

O. Carlsens Eftf.
(M. Arsch.)
Kristian 4. gt. 1. Tlf. 14134.
Stort utvalg i kolonialvarer.
Merk: Koscher margarin
kr. 1,40 pr. pund
Koscher wienerwurst
kr. 3,85 pr. box (1 kg.)
Friske varer. Lave priser.

Freia
NIPPI
KARAMEL-PUTER
5 ØRE

A/s Skofabrikken Norge
Oslo
anbefaler sine landskjente fabrikata i randsydd, gjennemsydd og plugget skotøi.
Utmerkede passformer.

Kjøp hos de firmaer som averterer i Hatikwoh.

Image of: Hatikwoh: Månedsblad for Jøder i Norge, 1930. Oslo: H. M. Koritzinsky

Appendix

Appendix 1 – NSD agreement

Virginie Amilien

Postboks 1010 Blindern

0315 OSL O

Vår dato: 13.02.2018	Vår ref: 58858 / 3 / L T	Deres dato:	Deres ref:

Tilrådning fra NSD Personvernombudet for forskning § 7-27

Personvernombudet for forskning viser til meldeskjema mottatt 31.01.2018 for prosjektet:

58858	How Diasporic Heritage is Displayed and Consolidated in Social Food Practice In the Norwegian-Jewish Community.
Behandlingsansvarlig	Universitetet i Oslo, ved institusjonens øverste leder
Daglig ansvarlig	Virginie Amilien
Student	Miriam Kiel

Vurdering

Etter gjennomgang av opplysningene i meldeskjemaet og øvrig dokumentasjon finner vi at prosjektet er unntatt konsesjonsplikt og at personopplysningene som blir samlet inn i dette prosjektet er regulert av § 7-27 i personopplysningsforskriften. På den neste siden er vår vurdering av prosjektopplegget slik det er meldt til oss. Du kan nå gå i gang med å behandle personopplysninger.

Vilkår for vår anbefaling

Vår anbefaling forutsetter at du gjennomfører prosjektet i tråd med:

•opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet og øvrig dokumentasjon

•vår prosjektvurdering, se side 2

Dokumentet er elektronisk produsert og godkjent ved NSDs rutiner for elektronisk godkjenning.

•eventuell korrespondanse med oss

Meld fra hvis du gjør vesentlige endringer i prosjektet

Dersom prosjektet endrer seg, kan det være nødvendig å sende inn endringsmelding. På våre nettsider finner du svar på hvilke endringer du må melde, samt endringsskjema.

Opplysninger om prosjektet blir lagt ut på våre nettsider og i Meldingsarkivet

Vi har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet på nettsidene våre. Alle våre institusjoner har også tilgang til egne prosjekter i Meldingsarkivet.

Vi tar kontakt om status for behandling av personopplysninger ved prosjektslutt

Ved prosjektslutt 01.06.2018 vil vi ta kontakt for å avklare status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Se våre nettsider eller ta kontakt dersom du har spørsmål. Vi ønsker lykke til med prosjektet!

Vennlig hilsen

Marianne H øgetveit Myhren

L is T enold

K ontaktperson: L is T enold tlf: 55 58 33 77 / lis.tenold@nsd.no

Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

K opi: Miriam K iel, mjkiel@student.ikos.uio.no

Personvernombudet for forskning

Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar

Prosjektnr: 58858

Du har opplyst i meldeskjema at utvalget vil motta muntlig informasjon om prosjektet, og samtykke muntlig til å delta. Vi gjør oppmerksom på at for å innhente et gyldig samtykke må utvalget minst motta følgende informasjon:

- hva som er formålet med prosjektet og hva opplysningene vil bli brukt til
- hvilke opplysninger som samles inn og hvordan opplysningene samles inn
- at deltakelse i prosjektet er frivillig, og at man kan trekke seg uten begrunnelse
- hvem som vil få tilgang til opplysningene
- når prosjektet vil bli avsluttet og hva som vil skje med opplysningene ved prosjektslutt; opplysningeneanonymiseres, slettes eller lagres/arkiveres
- navn og kontaktopplysninger til behandlingsansvarlig institusjon
- navn og kontaktopplysninger til den daglig ansvarlige for prosjektet, samt til studenten ved studentprosjekt

Det fremgår av meldeskjema at du/dere vil behandle sensitive opplysninger om etnisk bakgrunn eller politisk/filosofisk/religiøs oppfatning.

Personvernombudet forutsetter at du/dere behandler alle data i tråd med Universitetet i Oslo sine retningslinjer for datahåndtering og informasjonssikkerhet. Vi legger til grunn at bruk av privat pc/skylagring er i samsvar med institusjonens retningslinjer.

Du/dere har opplyst i meldeskjema at personopplysninger publiseres. Personvernombudet har lagt til grunn at du/dere innhenter samtykke fra den enkelte informanten til publiseringen. Vi anbefaler at hver enkelt informant får anledning til å lese og godkjenne sine opplysninger før publisering. Du/dere har i meldeskjema opplyst at direkte og/eller indirekte personidentifiserbare opplysninger publiseres. Personvernombudet kan ikke se av øvrig prosjektdokumentasjon at det er tilfellet, og har lagt til grunn at personopplysninger ikke publiseres. Vi gjør oppmerksom på at dersom du/dere publiserer personopplysninger, er det en forutsetning at den enkelte har samtykket. Vi anbefaler at hver enkelt informant får anledning til å lese og godkjenne opplysningene før publisering.

Prosjektslutt er oppgitt til 01.06.2018. Det fremgår av meldeskjema/informasjonsskriv at du vil anonymisere datamaterialet ved prosjektslutt. Anonymisering innebærer vanligvis å:

- slette direkte identifiserbare opplysninger som navn, fødselsnummer, koblingsnøkkel
- slette eller omskrive/gruppere indirekte identifiserbare opplysninger som bosted/arbeidssted, alder, kjønn- slette lydopptak

For en utdypende beskrivelse av anonymisering av personopplysninger, se Datatilsynets veileder:

https://www.datatilsynet.no/globalassets/global/regelverk-skjema/veiledere/anonymisering-veileder-041115.pdf

Appendix 2 – Copy of consent form

Yes, I would like to participate as an informant in the master thesis of Miriam J. Cohen Kiel about Jewish food culture in Norway. I understand what the purpose of the project is and what the information will be used for. In the interview I give, I understand I will be asked questions about cooking and eating food, and questions about being Jewish in Norway, and I can choose to be recorded or have written notes taken. I understand that this is a voluntary project, and that I can withdraw at any time. I understand the information I give will only be accessed by the student researcher Miriam J. Cohen Kiel, and that when the project is completed in June 2018 all information given will be deleted, and any information I give that is used in the project will be fully anonymised. I understand I can request to read and approve my information prior to publication.

Student researcher: Miriam J. C. Kiel ---- Miriam.ckiel@gmail.com

Advisor at SiFO: Virginie Amilien --- Virginie.Amilien@sifo.hioa.no

Advisor at UiO: Marzia Varutti --- marzia.varutti@ikos.uio.no

Min emailadresse og evt. telefonnummer er – My email address and telephone number are:

…………………………………………………………….

……………………… (place/date)

……………………… (signature)

Appendix 3 – Copy of interview questions

Profile Questions:

Family Profile of all members: Name, age, nationality, where one grew up, relationship to Norway and Judaism

Buying Food/Kitchen Questions

- Do you have a special place for Jewish food in your kitchen? What do you keep there?
- What kinds of Jewish Foods or ingredients are present in your household? Tell where and when the different foods are used or served.
- Do you keep *kosher*?
  - Why or why not?
- Is it easier to acquire ingredients for Jewish food in Norway or other countries? Where do you buy your ingredients? How has this changed over time?
- Who takes responsibility for buying groceries? Do you buy different things at different stores, or do you usually buy everything in one place. How often do you get groceries? What do you buy canned or frozen? Do you buy anything readymade?

Preparing Food Questions

- Do you make all food from scratch? How common are pre-made foods, such as frozen meals, or ready mixes? Is this the same when you cook Jewish food?
- Do you like variation in your cooking? Where do you get inspiration? Is tradition important in cooking?
- Who did you learn to cook from?

- Who in your household takes responsibility for making food? Do you agree on how it should be? Is there a difference in what you make for weekdays or weekends, or holidays?

Eating Food Questions

- In Childhood, for which meals was Jewish Food eaten? What other kinds of food was eaten, and when? Is it different from now?
- Are there specific kinds of Jewish food you like to have? On which occasions? Are there specific dishes you find particularly important? Explain.
- When do you eat Jewish food now? What about Norwegian food?

Theory Questions

- What do you think is part of your "National Heritage"
    - Do you have any other heritage? How are they separate or the same?
- What does it take for food to be called Jewish?
- Where are the boundaries of what you think are Jewish food?
- What is the largest different of your use of Jewish Food here and Norway and that in your childhood?
    - Have your attitudes towards Jewish food changed? How? Why?
- Do you follow any discussions in Norway about the use of Jewish or *Kosher* food?
    - What are your perceptions?
- Have you ever had problems around use of Jewish food in Norway?
    - What about good things that have happened?
- Do you think there are differences between habits and attitudes towards Jewish or *Kosher* food in Denmark, Norway, or Sweden? What about wider Europe?
- What does it take for food to be called Norwegian?
    - What comes to mind when you think about Norwegian food?

Appendix 4 – Jewish population in Norway from census data