A TWO-PART STUDY OF TAKEAWAY FOODS IN MANCHESTER: A GEOGRAPHICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE CONCENTRATION OF TAKEAWAY FOOD OUTLETS AND A GROUNDED THEORY STUDY OF THE SOCIOCULTURAL EXPERIENCES OF TAKEAWAY FOOD CONSUMERS

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Abstract

Background

Takeaway and fast foods take up a considerable proportion of the UK diet and the proliferation of takeaway food outlets is likely to have contributed to this issue. Food choices are shaped by many factors including the physical food environment and sociocultural factors.

Aims and objectives

This study aimed to explore the physical takeaway food environment and the sociocultural experiences of takeaway food consumers in Rusholme, Manchester, quantitatively and qualitatively.

Methods

The first stage of the study mapped takeaway food outlets using geographical information systems, which was then analysed using descriptive and inferential statistics. The second stage of the study explored sociocultural experiences of resident takeaway food consumers using constructivist grounded theory methodology.

Findings

Takeaway food outlets were found to concentrate on primary commercial roads, major commuting routes and small shopping parades where a mixture of ethnic minorities and university students co-reside, mostly serving a mixture of American-style fast foods.

Most schools, colleges and universities contained 1-10 takeaway outlets within walking distance. The findings from the grounded theory study showed a shift in individual time allocation for food preparation and a demand for fast, bulky, culturally acceptable, hot meals that are available 24/7. Large portions and low prices were important to a lower-income population and young people were particularly vulnerable to peer influence in consuming takeaway foods.

Conclusion

This research has provided valuable data regarding locations and populations which need the most attention from local governmental initiatives and it has also highlighted that many areas will be unaffected by current initiatives. It is vital to recognise local sociocultural sensitivities that influence the food choices made by the local and wider community.

Contribution to knowledge

The findings in this study should be utilised to inform further research, which should then collectively contribute to the evidence base for the formation of future policy regarding takeaway and fast food outlets locally and in other areas.

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Chapter one: Introduction and background

This research was undertaken in the electoral ward in Manchester, Rusholme and surrounding areas, exploring the local physical takeaway food environment and sociocultural factors that influence the consumption of takeaway foods using grounded theory methodology.

Takeaway and fast foods now take up approximately 21% of the UK diet (Adams, et al., 2015) and tend to have a poor nutritional profile (Jaworowska, et al., 2014). Furthermore, evidence suggests that frequent consumption of takeaway and fast foods promotes poor health outcomes (Duffey, et al., 2007; Smith, et al., 2012) and is associated with poor diet quality (Smith, et al., 2009). In 2007, the Government Office for Science published the Foresight project report, *Tackling Obesities: Future Choices*. The report recognised that significant changes in modern society have resulted in a change in the food environment and, as a result, the prevalance of obesity has significantly increased. Environmental factors affecting individual food intake include physical, sociocultural, political and economic factors (Lake, et al., 2011) that have resulted in a reduced amount of time being spent preparing food in the home and has supported 'convenience food culture' (Government Office for Science, 2007). Physical environmental factors include food availability and accessibility and much recent research has specifically focused upon the increasing availability of takeaway and fast

foods and its association with obesity (Fraser, et al., 2010). Sociocultural environmental factors such as the beliefs, practices, knowledge, values and norms that influence the decision to consume takeaway food have been much less frequently explored, yet a better understanding of such factors is crucial for the formation of more effective and targeted interventions.

In 2012, the National Planning Policy Framework was published (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012), which gave directions for local authorities to use planning permission powers to control the proliferation of hot food takeaway outlets. Subsequently, local authorities have formed policies to restrict planning permission for new hot food takeaways (Manchester City Council, 2016a). Manchester has been ranked 8th of 325 local authorities in England for the highest quantity of takeaway outlets per 100,000 people by local authority, and contains a significantly higher number of outlets than the England average of 80, at 136 outlets per 100,000 people (Manchester City Council, 2016). The Curry Mile area in the electoral ward, Rusholme, is particularly renowned for containing a high concentration of takeaway food outlets. Furthermore, an estimated 26% of adults and children in Manchester are classed as obese, which is higher than the England averages of 23% and 19.1%, respectively (Public Health England, 2015). Manchester City Council have therefore proposed to deny planning permission for new outlets in particular areas which are already densely concentrated with outlets or near to schools, as well as control opening hours (Manchester City Council, 2016). Altering the physical takeaway food

environment is an important factor to consider and is one method of taking control of the issue. However, the sociocultural factors that affect individual choice to consume takeaway foods as well as particular local sensitivities must be explored and considered for the implementation of effective, multi-dimensional intervention strategies.

1.1 Study aims and objectives

This study aimed to explore both the physical takeaway food environment and the sociocultural experiences of takeaway food consumers in Rusholme, Manchester, and surrounding areas. In doing so, the study aimed to provide a detailed analysis of the local area using both qualitative and quantitative research methodology as complementary to one another.

To achieve the above aims there were a number of objectives. These were:

1. To characterise the physical takeaway food environment by geographically mapping takeaway food outlets and their immediate localities including local schools, colleges and universities;
2. To identify sociodemographic characteristics of the surrounding population;
3. To identify the cuisines on offer in takeaway food outlets in the study area;

4. To gain a deeper understanding of the sociocultural factors involved in takeaway food consumption by exploring the topic qualitatively with resident takeaway food consumers.

The thesis is structured as follows:

Chapter one gives an introduction to the research study and describes the issue of takeaway food consumption in the UK and its effect upon health. It subsequently discusses environmental factors that influence obesity, subsequent national and local policy regarding takeaway food outlets, and the issue of takeaway foods in Manchester.

Chapter two gives an in-depth review of the literature, firstly incorporating theoretical perspectives of factors that affect food choice in a wider sociocultural context. It subsequently gives a targeted review of the empirical literature regarding takeaway, fast and convenience foods in the UK and other locations, and considers physical availability of such foods, sociodemographic characteristics and sociocultural factors that may affect consumption.

Chapter three describes the methodological approaches taken for both parts of the research project. It firstly provides a detailed description of Manchester and Rusholme, a description of the exact study area that the research was undertaken within and the

definition used for takeaway food outlets in this study. It is then divided into two sections, the first describing the methodology and methods used during the geographical mapping part of the research. The second describes the methodology and methods used to explore the sociocultural experiences of takeaway food consumers.

Chapter four presents the findings from the geographical mapping of takeaway food outlets in the study area. It firstly gives a geographical description of the study area and sociodemographic characteristics of the population, followed by series of geographic and thematic maps representing the findings with a corresponding description of each.

Chapter five presents a discussion of the findings from the geographical mapping of takeaway food outlets component of the study, combining evidence from the findings with empirical literature and existing information about the study area. From this discussion, conclusions are subsequently given.

Chapter six presents the findings from the grounded theory analysis of the qualitative exploration of the sociocultural experiences of takeaway consumers in the study area. It also brings a discussion of the findings throughout using theoretical perspectives from the field and empirical literature and finally, gives a conclusion from the findings and discussion.

The final chapter, chapter seven, summarises and synthesises the two parts of the research study, addresses the methodological strengths and limitations, and gives recommendations for practice and future research.

Chapter two: Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the existing literature regarding food choice, firstly, from a wider theoretical perspective regarding the sociocultural influences upon food choice. It then explains the uses of literature regarding takeaway, fast, and convenience food in this study. Finally, a review of the extant empirical literature regarding takeaway, fast and convenience foods in the UK and other locations is presented.

2.2 Food choice

For much of the western population, food is now available in abundance and consuming food is no longer just a matter of survival, but a matter of choice. It is widely accepted that no single factor determines decisions related to food, but instead, a complex interplay of physiological, sociocultural, environmental, behavioural and economic factors contribute to ultimate food choice. The following section will focus upon sociocultural factors and their influence upon individual food choice from various theoretical perspectives.

2.2.1 Class, identity and values

Food choice is shaped by culture; a common set of behaviours, beliefs, customs, habits, norms, and values that are shared amongst a group of individuals. Evidence of such cultural influence can be observed within the enormous variations in food consumption practices between the many societies and groups that exist today and have existed throughout history.

Cultures often persist through generations as a result of socialisation; the process of both inheriting and disseminating culture. All individuals, regardless of their culture enter predetermined sensory worlds (Douglas, 1978), embodied during the socialisation process (Bourdieu, 1990). In western societies, distinctive social classes have been described particularly often as possessing distinguishing food consumption cultures. In his seminal work, 'La Distinction' (1979), Bourdieu places great significance upon social class as a predictor of taste, including that of food, arts and literature, termed 'habitus'; a necessary component of class formation. To Bourdieu (1979), the term 'social class' represents groups within society that have common means of production and that share similar lifestyles relating to consumption, distinguished through symbolic meanings. Bourdieu's (1979) empirical work with French families in the 1960s and 1970s highlights stark cultural differences in consumption habits and expectations and bodily ideals between the elite and the working class. To Bourdieu, consumption practices acted as a

symbol of distinction, they legitimised culture, and they were used to exclude individuals of lower classes.

The homogeneity and strict standards of the classes that Bourdieu described has, however, been questioned, especially within the realm of food consumption (Bauman, 1988; Warde, 1997). Bauman (1988) suggests that individual responsibility in creating self-identity is an important factor involved in food choice, perpetuated by the postmodern expectation to construct the self. He argues that people are defined by the symbols they transmit to others by consumption practices and must personally regulate such symbols by means of identity control. Warde (1997), however, asserts that this perspective focuses too heavily on individualism and that consumers are less calculating in their identity formation. Warde proposes that, "Individualization is often glorified because it gives the personal freedom to pursue self-determination" (1997:75). Nevertheless, Sobal et al. (2014) reminds us that individualistic food choices still exist due to varying experiences, knowledge and physiological states.

Featherstone (1990) suggests that having individual tastes that are fluid and stylised is a part of postmodernist culture. Yet the question is put forward by Warde (1997) as to whether such patternlessness is a result of genuine individualism or of culture uniformity; the answer to which remains poorly understood. The existence of such individualism has also been challenged and instead, a dominant, mass culture is proposed to have been formed reflecting capitalist production (Adorno & Bernstein,

2001). In his thesis regarding the 'McDonaldization' of society, Ritzer (2001) points out that mass culture can be exemplified in the internationally shared taste for fast food, such as the famous McDonald's burgers and Coca-Cola. Ritzer (2001) advises that this has arisen through shared propaganda and has subsequently become normality. He views personal variations of lifestyle such as class features as minor themes within a dominant, mass culture that possesses a common, popular taste. Moreover, Kahma et al. (2016) propose that industrialisation and the proliferation of supermarkets has enabled a wide audience to access a range of foods (Johnston & Baumann, 2010) and therefore food choices may have become more similar across class groups since Bourdieu's observations (Purhonen, et al., 2010).

The notion of identity is theorised to involve assignments of mental self-images based upon interactions with both people and objects, and can be personal (for example, relating to traits or descriptors), or social (for example, relating to collective social groups or roles) (Bisogni, et al., 2002). Fischler (1988) emphasises that the symbolic meaning of food contributes to a sense of identity, within groups, for example a national identity, and also as individuals, such as 'a good cook who likes Italian food'. Types of food eaten, methods of preparation, and food preferences can be utilised by individuals to assign identities to themselves and others (Mennell, et al., 1992). Identities are thought to be temporally stable and fluid resulting in the possession of multiple identities (Demo, 1992), shaped by life-course experiences (Bisogni, et al., 2002), and personally monitored and modified throughout the life-course (Peterson & Lupton,

1996). Gabriel & Lang (2015) also propose that consumers have multiple identities. They descibe consumer types such as communicators, choosers, rebels, activists, victims, hedonists and cititizens. They propose that a consumer can enact multiple indentities at various times and even simultaneously in a single transaction. They, too, agree that class segregation within the field of consumption is diminishing and capitalism is causing the formation of more fragmented cultures within smaller, less structured groups (2015). Ritzer (2001) insightfully links Gabriel and Lang's (2015) consumer typologies to fast food consumers. For example, he describes 'chooser' types as more likely to involve rational thought in their food decisions, choosing food that is convenient, low priced and accessible, or conversely, opting not to consume such food because of rational motives like wanting to be healthy. 'Communicator' types may wish to eat fast food to communicate a message of frugality and humbleness, whilst hedonists may consume fast food because they derive pleasure from it and the large portions that it is generally served in (Ritzer, 2001).

Both individual and social group values are considered as important when choosing foods (Krondl & Lau, 1982; Connors, et al., 2001). Values can be described as salient considerations that are weighed up against one another and guide the selection of foods, such as health, taste, cost, convenience and socal relationships (Connors, et al., 2001), and are proposed to support the formation and definition of identities (Kluckhon, 1951). Connors et al. (2001) found that the major values that are considered when choosing foods are ". . . taste, health, cost, time and social relationships, and other less

prominent values of symbolism, ethics, variety, safety, waste and quality" (2001:189). Concerning potential class differences, Warde's (1997) insight on class culture of taste has highlighted that the possession of values such health pursuits, extravagance and novelty resonate as middle-class features, whereas indulgence, economy and tradition resonate as lower class features. Furthermore, values can symbolise implicit meanings, for example, Barthes puts forward that the value of health, which he associates with the recent development of nutritional science, is bound by the desire for power; the power of consciously deciphering a diet that adapts humans to a modern world (Barthes [1961], 2013).

Studies that solely focus upon values themselves, rather than the process by which values are constructed, tend to assume that individuals are rational and logical-thinking. The first issue with this, however, is that rationalism assumes that an individual has full information about the costs and benefits of their actions (for example, the nutritional implications of a particular type of food), and also that individuals always act upon these rational values, which is often false (Sobal, 2009). Those studying values from a constructivist perspective seek to understand how people define and negotiate these values. Individuals have been found to use heuristic techniques in order to negotiate between their values when choosing which foods to consume; practical ways of thinking such as prioritising values, and making decisions that do not guarantee a perfect choice but are practical at the time (Payne & Bettman, 1992; Janas, et al., 1996; Scheibehenne, et al., 2007). Furthermore, value boundaries have been found to be involved in the

negotiation and trade-off between values, such as a predefined price limit for a certain type of food (Sobal, 2009).

2.2.2 Routines, traditions and novelty

Many food-related decisions can be made in a single day or even before consuming a single meal, ranging from deciding on what to eat, where to obtain food, whether it will be safe to consume, how to prepare it, whether it will be enjoyable, whether it will please others and so forth (Wansink & Sobal, 2007). To make new decisions regarding such factors on a daily basis would ultimately amount to poor use of time and energy. It is likely that, for this reason, people have been shown to develop routines (Bisogni, et al., 2011) and recipe repertoires (Falk, et al., 1996), enabling such decisions to be made subconsciously (Wansink & Sobal, 2007). Drawing from her empirical work concerning the social meaning of food, anthropologist Mary Douglas too points out that food behaviour is not random, but is patterned through routines within days, weeks, social events and so forth (Douglas, [1982], 2011). In contrast, Douglas proposes that these patterns represent pressure from society to produce perfect series of eating habits ([1982], 2011). Giddens (1991), however, theorises that routine formation is a part of building self-identity and constructing a coherent narrative of oneself; the simplification of how to act and who to be.

Shared routines that are particularly long-standing and appealing often become regarded as traditions; shared, uniform customs that can be perceived as authentic, well-established and a proven success. Whilst it is a common assumption that there has been a decline in traditional food practices in recent years, Warde (1997) has identified that the British diet has gone through a process of continual change for some 200 years. During this time, he proposes, enduring traditional food practices exist somewhat less than modern discourse implies. He theorises that, in actual fact, the possession or perception of traditions can serve a number of purposes: as legitimation of conduct (through some moral or aesthetic value), as a tourist attraction, a way of conjuring nostalgia, and to enable a feeling of social belonging and group identity. Food traditions can therefore be invented or promoted for such purposes. The appeal of national traditions is highlighted in Anderson's (1991) description of nations as 'imagined communities', where a sense of collective social belonging and security is brought about by the possession of national or regional identity. Such a theory can be recognised within Ferguson's (1998) work on the French national identity, in which he demonstrates that it has been heavily promoted by culinary discourse and gastronomic writings. Similarly, in his recent empirical work, Warde (2009) proposes that traditions of British cuisine have been largely invented in writings such as the Good Food Guide. He theorises that such writings were a reponse to the search for national symbolic meaning of food and also as a means to assign identity to cultural practices.

In contrast to traditional foods and food practices, novel foods have also a become source of appeal. Warde (1997) puts forward that modern capitalism and consumer culture (that is ultimately revenue-driven) propels the appeal of novel foods by promoting new foods for those seeking a change from the normal, 'mundane' routine. Peterson & Kern's US study (1996) suggested that the appeal and pursuit of gastronomic variety represents 'omnivorousness'. They proposed that having a breadth of taste for both high status and popular consumption practices was a method of displaying high social status. Similar findings of symbolic representation of high social status through possession of eclectic tastes have been found in the UK (Gripsrud, 1989; Blewitt, 1993, Bennett, et al., 2005). Peterson (2005) does, however, later point out that there could be an issue with the methodology in measuring such 'omnivores' as it is only breadth that is taken into account and not volumes of tastes. Furthermore, Peterson later identified (2005) that what he classified as 'low-brow' individuals were displaying more eclectic tastes than during his previous study, potentially signalling the cross-cultural proliferation of omnivorousness. Warde, et al. (2007) also suggest that omnivourous practices are now a norm for the educated middle class. Nevertheless, Fischler (1988) asserts that, for most, there are always grounds for continuation of eating foods that are known, trusted and have the ability to generate nostalgic feelings, as new foods can be perceived as risky and anxiety-inducing.

2.3 Takeaway, fast, and convenience food

2.3.1 Uses of the literature

The focal point of much of the recent literature regarding pre-prepared foods consumed or purchased outside of the home is that of fast food, out of home food, and convenience food, whilst there is much less international research that concentrates solely upon takeaway foods. In terms of types of cuisine offered, research in the US tends to focus on fast food such as burgers, fried chicken, fries, American-style pizza, hotdogs, tacos, ice-cream and milkshakes, and less so on ethnic cuisines (Jeffery, et al., 2006), which is likely to be owing to the numerous fast food chains in existence in the US (Ritzer, 2011). The definition of takeaway foods in the UK, Australia and New Zealand tends to cover that of both ethnic cuisine and fast food sold by small takeaway businesses (Miura, et al., 2012; Bagwell, 2013; Smith, et al., 2014). Research concerning fast food in the US research is therefore still useful, however it should be noted that it is not likely to cover ethnic cuisines which may be consumed for different reasons. Furthermore, a recent review highlights the need to more accurately define the concept of convenience food (Jackson & Viehoff, 2016). They uncover that the available literature uses the term convenience food to describe a combination of categories such as fast foods, takeaway foods, ready meals and snack foods, which include foods such as both fresh cut fruit and deep-fried chicken drumsticks, which are polar in terms of nutritional content. Research that investigates convenience food may be useful to

review as consumers are likely to use both convenience and takeaway food to save time (Verleigh & Candel, 1999; de Boer & McCarthy, 2005). Finally, out of home food tends to cover all food consumed and/or purchased outside of the home, including takeaway foods. It is therefore useful to review studies regarding out of home foods. The following review will mostly focus upon takeaway food and fast food. Some studies that focus on out of home and convenience food have been included where appropriate, yet it is recognised that the explanation for consumption of such foods may deviate from that of takeaway food consumption specifically.

2.3.2 Takeaway and fast food in the UK

The takeaway and fast food market in the UK was estimated to be worth £18 billion in 2016, with an annual growth of 2.7% since 2012 (IBISWorld, 2016). The past five years have seen economic improvement for most individuals in the UK, however, recent market research states that although consumers have historically traded up to purchasing restaurant meals during such periods, a preference for cheaper, 'on-the-go' food has persisted (IBISWorld, 2016). A study analysing the 2008-2012 UK National Diet and Nutrition Survey (NDNS) has revealed that approximately 21.1% of adults and 21% of children in the UK ate takeaway meals once per week or more often (Adams, et al., 2015). Furthermore, a governmental UK report identified that up to 58% of UK residents eat takeaway foods a few times per month (Food Standards

Agency, 2008). Reasons for such popularity have been found to be numerous, including increased demand for dishes that consumers can't or don't make at home (Bagwell, 2011; Mintel, 2016) and dishes that are convenient (Jekanowski, 1999), increased time pressures (Jabs & Devine, 2006) as well as a reduction in the effort required for meal planning, preparation and cleaning (Beck, 2007). Further explanations include changes in cooking patterns (Bowers, 2000), the perception of good value for money of takeaway foods (Mahon, et al., 2006), taste perceptions (Rydell, et al., 2008), and an upsurge in the demand for ethnic foods due to increased "ethnic diversity, globally sourced food, cultural experiences, and media exposure" (Clemes, et al., 2013:413).

Many types of takeaway outlet, in terms of types of cuisines offered, exist in the UK, ranging from more specialised cuisines that originate from a single country (Clemes, et al., 2013), to outlets that serve a mixture of American-style food such as burgers, fried chicken, fries and American-style pizza, sometimes in combination with specialised cuisines (Olsen, et al., 2000; Bagwell, 2013). In their study investigating the market for eating out in the UK, Olsen et al. (2000) identified that much of the fast food and takeaway offerings are devoted to the provision of standardised foods that provide a uniform meal experience, with the aim of producing merely acceptable nourishment for those seeking a fast meal. Additionally, they identified that independent outlets tend to use the same suppliers for pre-prepared foods, thus offerings are often standardised and are of indifferent quality. Bagwell (2011) found

that independent fast food outlet owners in London that had previously only offered Asian foods now offer cheaper foods such as fried chicken and other American-style products. They stated that the economic recession has caused customers to tend to purchase cheaper products and less Asian meals that are more expensive. They also cited that there was too much local competition and thus in order to enable business survival, they had to keep prices low and subsequently sell foods that were of poor quality.

2.3.3 Takeaway, fast food and health

It is widely accepted that diet is an important factor in the promotion or prevention of a number of health conditions and diseases such as cardiovascular disease and type 2 diabetes (World Health Organization, 2003). Research suggests that the growth of the takeaway and fast food industry has taken place at virtually an identical timescale as the proliferation of overweight and obesity (Ebbeling, et al., 2007). This is not to suggest that takeaway and fast food consumption is the sole cause of the obesity epidemic, but that, amongst other recent changes in diet and physical activity levels, popular consumption of such food is likely to have contributed to the issue. Recent UK-based studies have found takeaway food (including pizza, kebab, Chinese, Indian and English cuisines) to be typically large in portion size, energy-dense, and excessive in total fatty acids, saturated fatty acids, sugar and sodium (Jaworowska, et al., 2011;

Jaworowska, et al., 2012; Jaworowska, et al., 2014). Excessive consumption of such dietary components is associated with a myriad of adverse health issues (Jaworowska, et al., 2013). For instance, the resulst of a 15-year prospective study of over 3000 participants aged 18 to 30 years revealed that the frequency of visits to fast food restaurants has been associated with increased body weight and insulin resistance, which are associated with the progression of cardiovascular disease and type 2 diabetes (Pereira, et al., 2005). Using evidence from the same study, increased fast food consumption was also associated with an increase in body mass index (Duffey, et al., 2007), whilst the results of a study of over 3000 Spanish participants aged 25 to 74 suggest that fast food consumption increases risk of obesity (Schröder, et al., 2007). Furthermore, the data from a recent Australian cross-sectional study suggested that consumption of takeaway foods at least twice per week was associated with increased cardiometabolic risk in young adults aged 26 to 36 (Smith, et al., 2012). However, numerous studies have shown that those who consume fast and takeaway foods tend to have a poorer diet than those who do not, with higher dietary intakes of energy, fat (saturated and trans fatty acids), sugar, sodium, carbohydrates and sugar-sweetened beverages, in combination with a lower intake of fruit, non-starchy vegetables and fiber (Clemens, et al., 1999; French, et al., 2001; Bowman, et al., 2004; Smith, et al., 2009). Such effects have been displayed in young Australian adults (aged 26 to 36) (Smith, et al., 2009), and children (Bowman, et al., 2004), adolescents (French, et al., 2001), and pre-menopausal women (Clemens, et al., 1999) in the US. The dietary behaviours associated with takeaway consumption

are likely to influence the findings of studies of the association between takeaway and fast food and poor health. It therefore cannot be concluded that consumption of such foods independently promotes poor health outcomes, however, frequent consumption of foods with a poor nutrient profile, such as takeaway foods (Jaworowska, et al., 2014), is likely to contribute to poor health outcomes (World Health Organization, 2003).

2.3.4 Takeaway and fast food availability

The food environment or 'foodscape' has been implicated in causing individuals to eat unhealthier foods and subsequently contributing to the increased prevalence of overweight and obesity. This includes the increased availability of unhealthy foods, a lack of access to healthy foods ('food deserts') (Black & Macinko, 2008; Cummins & Macintyre, 2006), and the influence of the media and advertising on food choice (Glanz, et al., 2005).

The geographical environment in which individuals exist is proposed to play a pivotal role in shaping food choices, as in socioecological theory (Green & Kreuter, 1991). Recent attention has specifically been given to the increased availability of unhealthy foods in the form of takeaway and fast food outlets (Fraser, et al., 2010). A strong positive association between fast food availability and fast food consumption has been

displayed in previous US-based research (Moore, et al., 2009). Similarly, the results of recent UK-based research also shows a strong positive association between fast food availability and obesity (Cetateanu & Jones, 2014). However, both studies were observational in design and therefore causal explanations cannot be suggested. A question remains as to whether availability of fast food outlets is a cause of fast food consumption or that preferences for fast food cause increased demand and therefore more outlets are necessary to cope with the demand. Furthermore, much existing research has been criticised as it focuses on the neighbourhoods where people reside and ignores non-home environments such as travel routes to work or other places. In their study of food outlet availability in Cambridgeshire, UK, Burgoine & Monsivais (2013) suggest that relying solely on home neighbourhoods greatly underestimates total foodscape exposure, including that of takeaway food outlets. In a later study, Burgoine et al. (2014) found that when including both home areas and commuting routes, exposure to outlets was positively associated with takeaway consumption, BMI and obesity risk, with evidence of a dose-response effect.

The causal mechanism of increased consumption due to an increased availability of outlets is proposed to be an increase in the frenquency of encounters with and easy access to such establishments (Caraher, et al., 2014) and furthermore, they have become part of normality (Townshend, 2016). Additionally, Dicken & Lloyd (1990) propose that fast food outlets largely exist to serve their local communities as they have particularly short ‘desire lines’. Townshend (2016) suggests that this is one reason that

the local community surrounding such outlets has been shown to be most affected by them (by increased consumption or increased weight). In light of such findings, much recent UK policy has been concerned with restricting planning permission to control the proliferation of outlets, particularly those surrounding schools (NICE, 2010). In their qualitative study of school children's experiences of fast food consumption in a London borough, Caraher et al. (2014) found that such policy only deals with a small part of the problem. The children that participated were lacking healthy, low-cost options available at existing nearby takeaway and other food outlets. The authors subsequently recommended that policy should also aim to improve these factors, and more research should focus upon gaining a better understanding of the consumption of takeaway and fast foods from the consumer perspective.

Various research has explored the link between high concentrations of takeaway and fast food outlets and poor or socially disadvantaged areas, although, there are disagreements amongst the findings. Research undertaken in England and Scotland has shown that the four largest fast food outlets (McDonald's, Burger King, Kentucky Fried Chicken [KFC] and Pizza Hut) are more concentrated in poorer areas (Macdonald, et al., 2007). The authors attribute their findings to the possibility that deprived areas are more commercially desirable to fast food businesses, due to cheaper or more available land, increased consumer demand or that it may be easier to obtain planning permission. This study was ecological (descriptive) in design, however, and thus inferences about causality cannot be made. In contrast, previous reseach in Glasgow,

has displayed no concentration effect in poorer areas when considering these chains in combination with independent takeaway food outlets (Macintyre, et al., 2005). Simon et al. (2008) identified that 18 types of fast food outlet in the US were more concentrated near schools in commercial low-income areas, yet no effect was observed in low-income, non-commercial areas. A study located in Brisbane, Australia showed no association between deprived areas and increased concentration of takeaway food outlets or purchase of takeaway food (Turrell & Giskes, 2008). Their results did instead suggest that individual-level (and not area-level) sociodemographic characteristics were more important to predict the purchase of takeaway food. Pearce et al. (2009) put forward that deprived areas tend to be greater in population density and therefore the demand for food outlets is greater. They also suggest that such areas may be more desirable to owners due to low building rental costs and land prices. Furthermore, in her qualitative exploring takeaway food provision with takeaway owners in Tower Hamlets, London, Bagwell (2011) proposes that factors such as crime and urban neglect have caused major multiples to overlook such areas, leaving voids for small businesses such as takeaway and fast food outlets owned by ethnic minorities. She suggests that such areas are attractive to ethnic entreprenuers as there is often a cheap and plentiful supply of labour residing close by, low rent, and that they are able to cater for their local community's consumption needs.

Greater neighbourhood ethnic concentration has been associated with an increased number of fast food outlets including McDonald's, Burger King, Kentucky Fried Chicken,

Pizza Hut, and Subway outlets in London (Molaodi, et al., 2012); however, they did not analyse the prevalence of small, independent takeaway outlets. Bagwell (2011) points out that the UK independent catering industry provides significant form of employment for ethnic minorities. She advises that this is due to low amounts of capital investment necessary, low labour costs and low skill requirement, as some individuals have limited education or few contacts other than in their own community and therefore finding other employment is more difficult (Bagwell, 2011). Townshend (2016) points out that clustering of takeaway outlets is often seen in communities that are densely populated by ethnic minorities, providing a community focus and sense of vitality for such groups. Furthermore, during interviews with local independent fast food outlet owners and employees, Bagwell (2011) found that takeaway food outlets can provide a culturally acceptable eating place. For example, she found that the participants that are Muslim felt that they are able to trust other Muslims to serve halal that has been slaughtered in the correct way. Detailed local assessments, such as that of Bagwell (2011) and Caraher et al. (2014), using qualitative research methodology are rarely made, yet they are vital in order to unearth local sensitivities.

Qualitative research also suggests that high concentrations of takeaway food outlets has also been related to university 'studentification' of some areas (Smith & Hubbard, 2014; Olsen, et al., 2000). As takeaway foods are most popular amongst young adults (Adams, et al., 2015) and students tend to reside in areas where housing is cheaper (Rugg, et al.,

2002), such a link is plausible, however there is no existing statistical data to support this.

2.3.5 Gender

A number of important demographic variations in takeaway food consumption have been identified including that of gender. A large prospective cohort study of out of home food consumption 10 European countries including the UK found that more men consume at least 25% of their diet from out of home sources than women (Orfanos, et al., 2007). However, a cross-sectional study in the UK including 2001 adults (aged 18 and over) and 1963 chidren (under 18) did not find any effects for gender in adults for consumption of takeaway meals (Adams, et al., 2015). They did, howvever, find that males under 18 consumed more takeaway food than females under 18. Another UK-based study of 1001 adults in London, Preston and Bristol identified that men were significantly more likely than women to eat at fish and chip outlets at work, which is suggested to be due to men tending to have more opportunities to eat such foods whilst at work due to their jobs and work practices (Olsen, et al., 2000). This may explain the lack of gender difference found in the study by Adams et al. (2015) as they only investigated at home consumption of takeaway foods.

2.3.6 Age, identity and diaspora

The consumption of takeaway foods in the UK has been found to peak among young adults aged 19 to 29 years old (Adams, et al., 2015), which has been mirrored in a large prospective cohort European study of out of home food consumption (Orfanos, et al., 2007).

A qualitative study by Ionnaou (2009) explored the symbolic meaning of choices to eat fast food compared to healthy food with 15 to 17 year olds with mixed socioeconomic backgrounds in Cyprus. They discovered that the participants associated meanings such as being 'cool', 'high class' and 'attractive', all of which they identified as being a part of youth culture. The participants described that they frequently displayed this image by eating fast food in public spaces with other young people in. These findings demonstrate that fast food consumption may be an important part of young people's identities. However, the findings cannot necessarily be extrapolated to a UK youth culture, as the Cypriot youth culture may hold different symbolic meanings for more western fast food brands and, furthermore, availability and cooking practices may differ. In a briefing report for the Greater London Authority that reviews the evidence base for fast food takeaway consumption, Bagwell (2013) proposes a form of identity exists related to fast food in reference to the UK population. The younger British Asian population use fast food restaurants more than traditional curry houses (Ram, et al., 2000). Bagwell (2013)

points out that, similarly to a sense of westernisation young Puerto Ricans in the US have described when going to fast food restaurants (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010), young ethnic minorities in the UK may use fast food restaurants as a means of maintaining a western identity, likely propelled by peer group pressures. It is important to note that not all young people align their identity with fast food. For example, in Norway, qualitative research with 15-16 year olds demonstrates that young people are increasingly skeptical towards fast food consumption, especially that of McDonalds, in their quest to be healthy and slim and therefore more attractive (Bugge, 2011). Nevertheless, the participants did still consume fast food regardless of such skepticism.

A sub-group of young people who carry a stereotype of having a particular affinity for takeaway food are those that are part of video-gaming culture. In their ethnographic study of fast food consumption among gamers aged 18 to 23 in Ireland, Cronin & McCarthy (2011) found that fast food played a role in fostering social relationships and the celebration of group identity, which is corroborated by other literature relating to identity (Belk, 1988; Symons, 1994). Another theme that emerged was the hedonistic escape that fast food provided the gamers with, which they interpret using Bourdieu's theoretical perspective that places emphasis on hedonism as socially and culturally constructed (1979). They also found that the participants used fast food to rebel against mainstream culture norms; a communal method of rejecting parents' habits that provides them with 'subcultural capital' (Cronin & McCarthy, 2011). Interestingly, the authors propose that the implications of their findings may not be solely limited to the

video-gaming community, but in fact, in their reference to the work of Sanders (1985), they point out that there is potential for 'spill-over' of subcultural norms and values into more mainstream cultures. Importantly, this study also highlights that fast foods are complexly intertwined within less obvious parts of people's social lives. The types of fast foods that the study is referring to are not explicitly stated, however, it is likely that the study is referring to cheaper fast foods rather than expensive ethnic cuisines due to the general budgetary constraints of young people.

Generational differences in fast food consumption have been found amongst South Asian communities in the US, with first generation individuals less likely to frequently consume fast food than third generation individuals (Becerra, et al., 2014). A study that investigated the effect that migration had on South Asians settling in Oslo found that older generations emphasise the consumption of traditional cuisine after migration, whilst younger generations' values and traditions relating to food may adjust to food norms more readily (Wandel, et al., 2008), which may explain such findings. Furthermore, a qualitative study of first, second and third generation British Bangladeshis that had migrated to Tower Hamlets, London (Vaughan, 2011), found that first generation individuals tended to follow traditional food practices of eating home-cooked food and they regarded outside food as substandard. Second generation individuals demanded quicker, easier food solutions than first, and also described a lack of knowledge regarding western food practices and therefore ate more fast food as they could more easily identify with it.

2.3.7 Socioeconomic status

John Walton, a leading scholar of British leisure and life, offers a detailed account of the late 19th and early 20th century British fish and chip shop trade and its position within the working class (1992), in which he describes the fish and chip shop as an open, democratic institution. Such a description is owing to the open and public nature of the purchase and consumption of fish and chips, which signifies democratic solidarity. Walton also puts forward that this 'openness' also aligned fish and chip shops with commonness, and in combination with vulgar smells, behaviour and hygeine practices, this violates powerful taboos in the upper classes. Towards the inter-war years, however, the fish and chip shop trade began to attract the middle class due to a combination of upmarket outlets and the favourable flavour of fried fish. He describes fish and chips as a stable tradition of the British national identity, which has remained up to present times.

In more recent years, some research shows that differences in takeaway consumption have remained between socioeconomic positions. The diet of socio-economically disadvantaged individuals has been frequently found to be poorer than their less disadvantaged counterparts in western societies (Giskes, et al., 2008; Mackenbach, et al., 2008; Stringhini, et al., 2010). This effect has also been found specifically for takeaway food consumption. For example, a large cross-sectional study (n=7319) of adults aged 25 to 64 Australian-based study found that high socio-economic position

(measuring education as a proxy indicator) was associated with consumption of 'healthier' takeaway foods, whilst lower socio-economic position was associated with less healthy takeaway food choices (Miura, et al., 2009). A second study by the same authors which had similar findings revealed that level of education influenced beliefs and knowledge regarding the link between diet and nutrition, which mediated such results (Miura & Turrell, 2014). Such findings have been shown in other, non-takeaway food specific studies (Wardle & Steptoe, 2003; Kearney, et al., 1998). The study by Miura & Turrell (2014) was, however, cross-sectional in design and therefore inferences about causality cannot be made. In the UK, a cross-sectional study has found that less affluent children but not adults have been found to consume more takeaway food (Adams, et al., 2015). Furthermore, a recent systematic review has found inconsistent results regarding the relationship between socioeconomic status and out of home food consumption including takeaway food (Lachat, et al., 2012). However, a reason for such inconsistencies is suggested to be due to differences in definitions of out of home foods and socioeconomic status (Lachat, et al., 2012).

2.3.8 Time scarcity

In their review regarding perceptions of time scarcity in relation to food choice, Jabs & Devine (2006) discuss important changes in modern society that contribute to such perceptions, such as busy schedules, the growing number of women in employment (Bava, et al., 2008; Office for National Statistics, 2013), being a single parent (Jabs & Devine, 2006), and being in poverty (Cohen, 1998). From a constructionist perspective, it is theorised that time is constructed by cultures in order to regulate behaviour, such as that of eating food (Kimmel & Hoffman, 2002). For western civilisations especially, just as commerce and globalisation have standardised time for working hours, they have also impacted times perceived as appropriate to eat, and indeed the amount of time seen as acceptable or desirable to spend cooking or doing other activities. There may be quite a distinction between actual available time and the perception of available time; it may be the way in which our cultures choose to utilise their time that is an important factor involved in food choices.

A qualitative study of 11 women aged 20 to 60 in New Zealand, who were responsible for food provision, found that their choice of food for the family was shaped by a 'trading-off' of food preferences in respect of time constraints, which often led to a demand for convenience food (Bava, et al., 2008). Intriguingly, the younger women who the authors perceived to have less time constraints actually expressed greater feelings

of time constraints than the other participants, which in turn increased their likelihood of seeking convenience food. This is in agreement with other findings regarding the effect of perceived time pressure upon the consumption of convenience food including takeaway food (de Boer & McCarthy, 2005; Verleigh & Candel, 1999). It is problematic to determine actual time scarcity versus perceived time scarcity due to the biased nature of self-reporting, however, it has been suggested that the marketing of a relaxed lifestyle and the ability for convenience food to maximise social time whilst hosting social events actually contributes to an increased perception of reduced time available to cook (Celnik, et al., 2012).

Observational work on dining out emphasises that eating out is a social event, in which the authors suggest that "the meal symbolizes a socially significant, temporally specific occasion" (Warde & Martens, 2000:217). Warde (1999) theorises that convenience food has allowed for a new way of conceptualising and manipulating uses of time. He proposes the response to feelings of insufficient time from living in a social world is that people try to include more activities to fit into the same quantity of time. He reminds us that eating is both a commensal and convivial activity. A de-routinised world where people work to different schedules and try to achieve more, however, has meant that synchronising time to meet socially has become more difficult. Warde therefore puts forward that "Eating conveniently is probably a precondition of one of the most highly valued forms of sociability." (1999:525).

2.3.9 Values involved in takeaway food consumption

Values relating to food and their effect upon consumption have been under frequent empirical investigation in recent years, typically from a commercial perspective for the purpose of better understanding consumers for increased profit (Worsley & Skrzypiec, 1998; Kihlberg & Risvik, 2007). A number of studies specifically explore the relationship between values and consumption of convenience and out of home foods (Rose, et al., 1995; de Boer & McCarthy, 2005; Botonaki & Mattas, 2010; Kahma, et al., 2016) and takeaway food (Costa, et al., 2007). Values such as price, convenience, sensory appeal, health-consciousness (Costa, et al., 2007; Kahma, et al., 2016), traditionalism (Rose, et al., 1995), saving time, variety in the meal pattern, having a treat, and limiting waste (de Boer & McCarthy, 2005) have been found be be important predictors of choosing to eat convenience and takeaway food. However, as many of the studies have been undertaken from a marketing perspective, why the participants have such values and also how they negotiate between them has been largely ignored, which limits the studies in their use for health promotion purposes.

de Boer & McCarthy's qualitative study of convenience foods available on the Irish market (2005), including takeaway foods, as well as ready meals, and restaurant and pub food, found that the respondents generally regarded the consumption of takeaway food as more related to convenience issues due to time and stress. The participants

valued the consumption of takeaway foods as a social event to a certain extent but less so than for convenience (de Boer & McCarthy, 2005). Cullen (1994) also found that convenience eating is associated with saving time and less-so as a social event.

Consumers of takeaway food have also been found to value 'novelty' in the motivation to purchase such foods (de Boer & McCarthy, 2005). This is thought to be owing to the increment in travelling abroad for holidays, resulting in a more adventurous consumer demanding increasingly authentic international foods (Newsholme & Wong, 2001). Bava, et al. (2008) also found that their participants identified 'exotic' as a favourable attribute when choosing convenience foods.

2.3.10 Family food provision

The family mealtime has been suggested to be the hotspot of the day for family social time (Southerton, 2003), and while the regularity of family meals in Britain is somewhat less frequent than fifty years ago, Warde (1999) suggests that the ideal remains influential. Home-cooked food has been found to symbolise family identity (Moisio, et al., 2004), however, convenience food, including that of takeaway food, is becoming an important part of family food provision (Romani, 2005). It has been found that mothers describe certain instances where they feel that it is acceptable to provide convenience food in place of home-cooked food. For example, a Norwegian study of 25 mothers of

young children found that they associate cooking meals from scratch as a substantial part of a woman's identity as a mother of the ideal family; however, it is sometimes acceptable to use convenience food when the mother is alone and thus the meal is not a social occasion (Bugge & Almås, 2010). Using Swedish studies of parents' opinions of McDonalds consumption, Brembeck (2005) theorises that some parents actually use fast food as a means to create family and home time in new ways, as opposed to the typical view that fast food symbolises a decline in family unity and cooking skills. Some mothers have even been found to use convenience food as a symbolic statement of love and care as this type of food enhances their ability to give attention to their families (Carrigan & Szmigin, 2006).

In their review of the consumption of convenience and takeaway food, Jackson & Viehoff (2016) cite a British study of women whom the authors perceive to have a moralised vocabulary, laced with reports of guilt and responsibility when discussing feeding the family foods which are not home-made (Carrigan & Szmigin, 2006). The review also highlights that numerous authors have discussed an enduring discourse of participant's justifications, excuses and apologies made to researchers for using convenience food (Jackson & Viehoff, 2016). They pertinently make links between this moral discourse with both the rise in convenience food consumption and the perceived and actual decline in the domestic competency of modern families (Grinnell-Wright, et al., 2013; Jackson & Viehoff, 2016). Some mothers have been found to rationalise their food choices when choosing fast food, for example, stating that because McDonald's

offer apple slices and water with happy meals, that they do not consider it an unhealthy option (Bava, et al., 2008).

Furthermore, Yale & Venkatesh (1986) theorise that whilst a parent may enjoy cooking, they may experience role overload and use convenience food as a way of reducing responsibilities. A Dutch study by Candel (2001) that used both qualitative interviews and quantitative surveys with individuals who were responsible for family food provision found that using convenience food was associated with the dislike of preparing and cooking food and also experiences of role overload. Similarly, a study of mothers aged 35-50 in Birmingham, England who had at least one child living in the house, were found to have perceived takeaway foods as a staple family treat on weekends (Carrigan, et al., 2006). Whilst the mothers were aware of the poor nutritional content of takeaway foods, the authors found that the mothers felt both liberation and hedonism associated with the consumption of takeaway foods, as they did not have to plan or prepare meals or clean up after. Another qualitative study with Irish parents and children of mixed demographic backgrounds also found that out of home foods were perceived as treats and health was not a current priority for the participants (McGuffin, et al., 2015).

2.4 Conclusion

The review here has highlighted that the sociocultural and environmental influences on food choice are complex. A class divide exists in terms of obesity, however, theories on class culture and mass culture conflict with one another, with some arguing that the classes still exist but in a different form to how they have been represented in the past. How people of different socioeconomic status behave with regards to takeaway food is largely unexplored. Literature on UK-style takeaway food is limited, and existing literature is largely quantitative in nature and cross-sectional in design. Detailed assessments of areas are necessary which take into account both the physical takeaway environment and sociocultural factors that shape food decisions.

Chapter three: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the methodological approaches taken for both parts of the research project. It firstly provides a detailed description of Manchester and Rusholme with regards to geographical location, sociodemographic population characteristics, and takeaway food outlets. The exact study area that the research was undertaken within and the definition used for takeaway food outlets for the purpose of this study are then described. The rest of the chapter is then divided into two sections, the first describing the methodology and methods used during the geographical mapping part of the research. The second section describes the methodology and methods used to explore the sociocultural experiences of takeaway food consumers.

3.2 Description of Manchester and Rusholme

This section gives a detailed description of the study location and relevant known background information in order to provide context. The present study was conducted in the electoral ward, Rusholme, including a 2 km buffer radius of the ward (section 3.3), which is situated within the city and metropolitan borough of Manchester, Greater Manchester, England. Manchester is a densely populated, ethnically diverse city with a

large student population in the North West region of England (Manchester City Council, 2016b). The once highly industrialised city has experienced great economic downturn between the 1960s and 1980s; however, some, but not all, areas have benefitted from large amounts of investment and regeneration during the past two decades (Kidd, 2006). Despite this, Manchester as a whole has been identified as the fifth most deprived district in England (Manchester City Council, 2016b). An estimated 26% of adults and children in Manchester are classed as obese, which is higher than the England averages of 23% and 19.1%, respectively (Public Health England, 2015).

Rusholme is a predominantly residential electoral ward around two miles south of Manchester city centre. Electoral wards are spatial units in UK administrative geography used for the purpose of electing local government councillors (Office for National Statistics, 2016). It covers a relatively small area of 198 hectares, but is densely populated with a count of 14,300 residents, or 72.2 residents per hectare, among the most densely populated wards in Manchester (Manchester City Council, 2014). There are a high proportion of residents aged 15 to 29 years (Manchester City Council, 2011a), which reflects the proximity of two large universities close by whose residential campuses fall within the area, as well as a high population of young migrant workers (Manchester City Council, 2015a). Specifically, there are 34 student halls of residents located within the area that are in close proximity to Oxford Road and Wilmslow Road length (Manchester Metropolitan University, 2016; University of Manchester, 2016). Rusholme also accommodates a large population of South Asian residents, the majority

of which are of Pakistani and Bangladeshi ethnicity (Manchester City Council, 2011b). The South Asian community is most apparent surrounding the busy bus corridor, Wilmslow Road. It is well-known that Wilmslow Road is comprised of many South Asian restaurants and takeaway establishments (Gorringe, 2013), aptly nicknamed the 'Curry Mile' in the mid-1980s. Barrett & McEvoy (2006) observantly identify that the Curry Mile does not actually represent a full mile, but the imagery of a 'mile' is pleasantly reminiscent of "Golden Miles" in British seaside resorts, and so the nickname has remained. The large quantity of takeaway establishments within Rusholme make it an ideal area in which to study takeaway consumption.

The area has seen a transition since the 1960s from principally being a suburban shopping district to its celebrated occupation by such restaurants and takeaway outlets through "an evolutionary process of adaptive reuse" (Barrett & McEvoy, 2006:194). The total number of businesses has remained similar between 1966 and 2002, however, the composition of this total has notably changed; a total of 45 restaurant and takeaway businesses opened in Rusholme between 1966 and 2002, 41 of which were run by South Asians, whilst the number of other retail premises has seen a sharp decline (Barrett & McEvoy, 2006). The decline in other retail premises is proposed to be largely due to the increased mobility that car ownership has provided and therefore the growth and success of supermarket (Barrett & McEvoy, 2006), which consequently led to many premises becoming vacant, low in rental price, and thus reoccupied by its migrant resident entrepreneurs (Pearce, et al., 2009). The Curry Mile has been somewhat further

transformed in more recent years by an influx of Iranian, Kurdish, Lebanese and other Middle Eastern immigrants serving their own respective cuisines in restaurants and takeaway establishments (Manchester City Council, 2015; Ballard, et al., 2007).

The majority of Lower-layer Super Output Areas (LSOA) within Rusholme are in the top 31 - 40% most deprived in England (Manchester City Council, 2015) (see section 3.5.4 for a more detailed explanation of IMD and LSOA). For health deprivation, which measures premature mortality and morbidity, 71.4% of LSOAs in Rusholme are in the most deprived 10% nationally (Bullen, 2015b). There were an estimated 16.9% of adults classified as obese in 2008 in Rusholme (Manchester City Council, 2008), however, this value is likely to be significantly higher at present in line with the rising prevalence in obesity nationally (Lifestyles Statistics Team & Health and Social Care Information Centre, 2014). More recent evidence suggests that Rusholme has a high prevalence of childhood overweight and obesity, with 42.5% of year 6 children estimated to be obese, higher than the England average of 19.8% (National Obesity Observatory, 2015), which demonstrates the requirement for research that explores the possible causes such as the immediate takeaway food environment or sociocultural influences in the area.

3.3 The study area

A 2 km Euclidean (straight line) radius buffer area surrounding Rusholme's ward boundary was selected as the study area for both stages of the research study (the mapping of takeaway outlets and also for participant sampling for the qualitative stage). Euclidean radius buffers measure the distance around objects (such as the ward boundary) on flat surfaces. Use of a Euclidean radius buffer is appropriate in relatively small areas, such as the area under study, where the distortion of the earth's surface is minimal (ESRI, 2016). Administrative boundaries are not fully representative of individual perceptions of neighbourhoods (Smith, et al., 2010) and residents are unlikely to solely use food services located within their home area (Burgoine, et al., 2014). The use of such measures is therefore somewhat arbitrary for food environment studies. As the Rusholme ward is known to contain a large concentration of takeaway food outlets (see section 3.2), it was used as a central 'hub' from which to generate a larger area for further investigation, rather than solely using its administrative boundaries.

Furthermore, the buffer distance of 2 km was intended to represent a conceivable travel- (by means of walking or otherwise) or takeaway delivery- distance for residents to obtain takeaway food within their home neighbourhood. A previous study on UK adults has found that walking distances up to around 1 mile (1.61 km) capture 96% of typical neighbourhood walking destinations, such as those involving food purchases

(Smith, et al., 2010), whilst numerous other studies that investigate exposure to food environments have used a 2 km buffer to represent home neighbourhoods (Crawford, et al., 2008; Harris, et al., 2011; Griffiths, et al., 2014). It is important to note that Euclidean distances are straight line (or 'airline') distances, whereas the use of street networks would be more representative of travel distance. It has, however, been shown that food outlet densities are similar when using both street network and Euclidean distances (Burgoine, et al., 2013).

3.4 Definition of takeaway food

For the purpose of this study, takeaway food was defined as convenience and fast food meals purchased from small, independent outlets, that are commercially pre-prepared and ready for immediate consumption, either eaten in-store or elsewhere, or ordered for delivery. A similar definition has previously been used in another UK-based takeaway foods study (Jaworowska, et al., 2012). Small, independent takeaway outlets were selected as the focus of this study as recent evidence has revealed that the meals sold specifically in this type of outlet tends to be excessively high in energy, fat, salt and sugar (Jaworowska, et al., 2014). This may be due to offering larger portion sizes in comparison to larger chain fast food establishments which tend to be under more scrutiny from the media to provide 'healthier' options.

3.5 Takeaway food outlet mapping

3.5.1 Introduction

The following sections begin by detailing the methodology used for the takeaway outlet mapping stage of the study, followed by details of the study design and data collection and analysis processes. The section after describes the qualitative stage of the research study.

3.5.2 Methodology

This stage of the study aimed to characterise the takeaway food environment by collecting quantitative data concerning both takeaway food outlets located within and the population that reside within the study area (see section 3.3). The collection of such data allowed the formation of a detailed descriptive account of the local area, representing the phenomena as it naturally occurs (Hedrick, et al., 1993). Descriptive research is valuable as multiple data variables can be collected enabling a wider view of the issue, as opposed to forms of quantitative research methods where fewer variables are often studied (Gray, 2014). The aim of descriptive research is not to answer questions of a causal nature, but to quantify and/or characterise subjects or entities better in order to provide a more complete picture of the phenomenon under study

(Hedrick, et al., 1993). The present descriptive analysis of quantitative variables was intended to complement the qualitative data provided from the second stage of the study, however, it should be noted that this research did not employ a mixed methods approach.

3.5.3 Study design

This stage of the study used a descriptive approach in order to characterise the takeaway food environment within the electoral ward, Rusholme, including a 2 km Euclidean buffer radius. The variables under investigation were: population deprivation data; the geographical location of takeaway food outlets; the quantity of takeaway food outlets which was subsequently presented as area outlet density (outlets per km^2); area outlet density in relation to population density; and the geographical location of takeaway food outlets in relation to roads, educational institutions and other places of interest (such as other commercial food and drink providers, commercial and retail business places, places of worship, and public services). The data was collected using a variety of secondary sources (see section 3.5.4) and was modelled using geographic information systems (GIS) software (see 3.5.5).

3.5.4 Data collection

3.5.4.1 Takeaway food outlet data

By law, UK food businesses are required to register with their local council (Food Standards Agency, 2016). The type food business that the premises is registered as depends upon its use class according to The Town and Country Planning (Use Classes) Order (1987), where takeaway food outlets are registered as 'A5 Hot food takeaways - For the sale of hot food for consumption off the premises'. Under the Freedom of Information Act (2000), local councils are subsequently required to provide an up-to-date list of business names, addresses and use class types of all food premises that are located within their jurisdiction. The most recent public register of food premises at the time of data collection (April 2016) was provided by the Environmental Health Department of Manchester City Council. The gatekeeper that provided the database advised the researchers that the list was updated on a monthly basis, unlike other secondary data sources which are likely to be updated less often. It is, however, the business's responsibility to notify their local council when they cease trading, which could subsequently cause errors within the public register (Lake, et al., 2010). Other sources available include commercial sources, local directories and omnidirectional imagery (for example, Google Street View), used by other researchers that have geographically mapped food businesses (Lake, et al., 2012; Fleischhacker, et al., 2013).

However, these sources have been shown to have low accuracy (Lake, et al., 2010). Validation research based in the UK has found the use of the public register to be the most accurate secondary data source (Cummins & Macintyre, 2009; Lake, et al., 2010). Only the collection of primary data through field verification would produce a completely accurate dataset, however this method is particularly labour-intensive and time-consuming.

The Environmental Health Department advised that they categorise traditional takeaway food businesses such as kebab shops, chip shops and pizza outlets as 'takeaways' for the purpose of the public register, however, food businesses that have more than a small number of tables (this was not quantified) and also provide a takeaway service are placed into the 'restaurant/café/canteen' category. There was a further category of 'mobile food units', however, more than 35% of address data was absent for this category (possibly due to the transient nature of this type of business), and much of the existing address data appeared to be home rather than commercial addresses. Lake et al. (2010) have noted that these type of businesses are usually registered to the address where they are kept and not necessarily where they trade, and for this reason they are problematic to utilise within food environment research. As the aim of the present research is to map traditional takeaway food outlets in the area, only the food businesses categorised as 'takeaways' were used for geographical mapping. The researchers recognise that other types of food businesses can be a source of

takeaway food for consumption, therefore this is considered a limitation of the present research.

Some address data was absent from the public register which was necessary to geographically map the takeaway food outlets. In order to obtain this data, the business names were entered one by one into Google Maps (Google Inc., California, USA), which is an online, interactive map service that provides full address data using their own database. Most business addresses were registered on Google Maps. Where data were absent, the business addresses were located online using food business websites or local directory webpages such as Yell.com (hibu [UK] Ltd., Reading, UK). All missing address data was found online using these services.

3.5.4.2 Population data

The population residing within close proximity to takeaway food outlets is likely to partially represent users and/or owners and employees of such outlets. Deprivation data and population density data were therefore also collected for subsequent geographical representation and analysis. The 2015 Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) rank for each Lower-layer Super Output Area (LSOA) in England was used to represent deprivation, which was provided as official statistics that are available for the public on the government website (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2015).

English LSOAs are small areas that are designed to be of similar size and population for more detailed and equal comparison across the country (Office for National Statistics, no date). Measures of relative deprivation are calculated by government and incorporates indicators such as health, education and skills, crime, and access to services (Bullen, 2015a). Multiple deprivation ranks indicate the level of deprivation across a number of these dimensions in order of deprivation by LSOA, where 1 represents the most deprived (Bullen, 2015a). The IMD rank was selected for use as it is the most comprehensive deprivation data available and it provides detail for small areas (LSOAs).

Finally, population density data were obtained using recent estimates from 2011 census data (Office for National Statistics, 2015), as consumer demand (population density) has been shown to explain an increase in takeaway outlet density (see section 2.3.4). This was calculated by dividing the total number of people by the total land area per LSOA to give people per km^2 (arithmetic density). This was a more useful value than population counts alone as the LSOAs located within the study area were of diverse sizes and therefore population density represents the number of people or outlets relative to the size of each LSOA.

3.5.4.3 Places of interest

In order to describe physical characteristics of the local area surrounding the takeaway food outlets identified in this study, the locations of specific places of interest were obtained using Ordnance Survey data (OS Points of Interest, 2016). This data is used by government and according to Ordnance Survey, it is the most comprehensive, up-to-date, location-based directory of all publicly and privately owned businesses in Britain (Ordnance Survey, 2016). This included educational institutions, other commercial food and drink providers, commercial and retail business places, places of worship and public services.

3.5.5 Data analysis

Geographic information systems (GIS) software can be used to produce maps or other representations of geographical information, which can then be used for visual presentation and/or geographical analysis. With GIS software, the user can obtain existing maps containing geospatial, graphical and other data for features such as land, sea, cities, roads etc. and subsequently can input other features with geospatial data (such as takeaway food outlets) on to such maps (National Geographic Society, 2016).

The GIS software, QGIS version 2.18.0 (OPENGIS.ch LLC, Einsiedeln, Switzerland), was used for geographical representation and analysis in the present study. Each data variable was input into the GIS software and used to visually represent the location of the data. Index of multiple deprivation data were represented as thematic maps by either LSOA. Takeaway outlet address data were geocoded and visually represented as data points on an existing map of the study area. Major roads (A and B roads) were also highlighted in order to aid description of the location of large clusters of takeaway food outlets.

Takeaway food outlets were sorted into cuisine types in order to describe the types of takeaway food that is available in the area. This data was based upon the food menus located either on the business websites, internet-based takeaway ordering service websites or by telephoning the business and requesting information about the menu. Four cuisine types were created based upon the most commonly occurring types of cuisine in the identified outlets. The categories were: 'mixed cuisine' (including outlets that sold combinations of predominantly fried chicken, burgers, pizzas, kebabs, deep-fried fish and chips; some of which had small quantities of other types of cuisine available on the menu); 'other specialist cuisine' (including outlets that sold only Chinese, Japanese, Thai, Caribbean, Spanish, or Greek cuisines); 'English and Chinese cuisine' (including traditional English fish and chip shops only or in combination with Chinese cuisine); and 'South Asian/Arabic/Turkish cuisines' (including outlets that sold these cuisines only). No other cuisine types were identified within the study area.

Another study that categorised takeaway outlets used similar categories as they found the mixed type outlets to be the most common (Bagwell & Doff, 2009). The relationship between cuisine category and the outlet location on major and minor roads was analysed using the Chi-Square Independence Test, using IBM SPSS Statistics (version 22.0).

Takeaway food outlet density (outlets per km^2) was calculated for each LSOA by dividing the total number of outlets by the total land area per LSOA included within the study area (arithmetic density). This measure reflects the 'intensity' or clustering of outlets (Ball, et al., 2009), and has been used in other food environment studies (Maddock, 2004; Moore & Diez-Roux, 2006). The relationship between outlet density and population density (people per km^2) was subsequently explored using a scatter plot. The relationship was statistically analysed using IBM SPSS Statistics (version 22.0) using Pearson's correlation coefficient. The alpha level of significance was $p = 0.05$.

Finally, places of interest (including educational institutions, other commercial food and drink providers, commercial and retail business places, places of worship and public services) were identified (section 3.5.4). These were used to describe the locality of areas with large clusters of takeaway outlets. Educational institutions including only schools, colleges and universities (and not adult learning facilities) were identified and visually represented on a map. The GIS software was used to place a 400 m Euclidean

(straight line) radius buffer distance around each institution and subsequently quantify the number of takeaway outlets located inside each buffer. This distance was selected to represent a conceivable walking distance for students to travel during breaks (if the institution is not gated) or whilst travelling to or from the institution. Numerous other studies that have investigated clustering of fast food and takeaway food outlets around schools have used Euclidean radius buffers of 400 m (Burgoine, et al., 2013). This distance is often used on the basis that the average adult is able to walk approximately 400 m in 5 minutes (Pikora, et al., 2002). Furthermore, in the Manchester City Council draft supplementary planning document concerning proposed planning permission restrictions for hot food takeaways (2016), they propose restriction of trading ours of takeaway food outlets within 400 m of schools.

3.6 Exploring sociocultural experiences of takeaway food consumption

3.6.1 Introduction

This section begins with methodology used for the qualitative stage of the research exploring the sociocultural experiences of takeaway food consumption. This is followed by details of the study design, ethical considerations and details of the participant sampling and recruitment stages. Subsequently, data collection and analysis techniques are described in detail.

3.6.2 Methodology

Qualitative research seeks to explore phenomena within particular contexts, with a focus upon participant's culturally specific meanings and perceptions that they give to their experiences (Maxwell, 2005). Positivist discourse dominates within nutritional research, however, the social and cultural aspects of food and eating are integral factors to address in the promotion of healthy societies (Schubert, et al., 2012). Exploration of these issues requires the adoption of qualitative research methodologies, for which some authors specifically highlight a greater necessity for within the field of nutrition (Crotty, 1993; Harris, et al., 2009). By exploring culturally specific meanings and

perceptions, researchers can begin to understand the influences that they may have upon individual food choice. For those seeking to ilicit behaviour change in food choice, knowledge and understanding of these factors is crucial.

The decision to eat a particular type of food is influenced by numerous factors other than merely a biological necessity to feed oneself (see section 2.2). This can be observed within the distinctly diverse food choices and practices of the many societies and cultures around the world, both past and present (Sobal, 1998). Crotty proposes that there are two 'cultures' that exist within the field of nutrition: "the post-swallowing world of biology, physiology, biochemistry and pathology, and the pre-swallowing domain of behaviour, culture, society and experience" (1993:109). This description highlights the requirement to look past positivist nutritional science that is focused on so frequently in the field, and to recognise that food choice is also a socially constructed act, and that food is permeated with symbolic meaning. For example, certain foods can be markers of social occasions or luxury and equally foods can be associated with peasantry or guilt (Beardsworth & Keil, 2002). In another sense, food exchanges between individuals can symbolise elements such as caring and nurturing, particular social roles, or social characteristics (for example, age or ethnic differences) (Beardsworth & Keil, 2002).

Constructivism examines how these meanings come into existence, what factors influence them, and the processes that individuals use to make choices from the meanings that they hold (Sobal, et al., 2014). A constructivist perspective is therefore well-placed to explore the sociocultural experiences associated with takeaway food consumption, as it will allow investigation of the symbolic meanings that influence their choice to eat takeaway food, along with the processes they undertake to enact such choices.

3.6.2.1 Grounded theory methodology

Grounded theory (GT) methodology is a systematic research method that guides the collection and analysis of qualitative data in order to form a theory which is not preconceived by existing theories within the literature, but is 'grounded' within the data (Charmaz, 2014). This method allows the researcher to perceive phenomena in new ways other than those that have already been identified. It is particularly suitable when the literature on the area of interest is sparse and specific theories do not have a long established empirical basis (Goulding, 1999). Takeaway and fast food consumption is a relatively new phenomena and has therefore made a small footprint within the literature, however, very little qualitative research, especially based within the UK, exists covering these issues. Thus, a GT approach is suitable to explore in this relatively uncharted area.

The aim of GT methodology is to transcend and complement descriptive accounts of qualitative data by identifying abstract patterns within the data that account for behaviour, termed 'grounded theories' (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). Suddaby insightfully points out that "the purpose of grounded theory is not to make truth statements about reality, but, rather, to elicit fresh understandings about patterned relationships between social actors and how these relationships and interactions actively construct reality" (2006:636). GT methodology aims to move away from studying units themselves, i.e. people or groups under study, which is often a part of descriptive analysis (Glaser, 1978). Instead, the aim is to generate an explanation of a process, which Corbin and Strauss define as an "ongoing action/interaction/emotion taken in response to situations, or problems, often with the purpose of reaching a goal or handling a problem" (2008:96). In their discussion of unit versus process sociology in GT methodology, Glaser & Holton (2005) draw valuable comparisons between the two, asserting that the resultant theory generated from a study that focuses on process is more independent of the unit's time and place than a study that focuses upon the unit.

A number of varieties of GT methodology exist within the literature. The method was introduced formally in what is now termed 'classic grounded theory' by Glaser & Strauss (1967), however, they ultimately disagreed about the methods used in GT and its philosophical roots. In recent years, some forms of GT have taken a 'constructivist turn',

supported by Charmaz (2014). This turn came about due to criticisms of positivist approaches of early versions of GT (for example, Bryant, 2002; Clarke, 2005), which assumed that data can be "systematically obtained from social research" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967:2). The researcher should, however, be recognised as involved in the construction of the data and should engage in reflexive processes to evaluate their potential influence upon it (Charmaz, 2014). Constructivist GT emphasises participant's "views, values, beliefs, feelings, assumptions and ideologies" (Creswell, 2013:87), which are known to be involved in food choice (Beardsworth & Keil, 2002). For this reason, constructivist GT was particularly suitable for use in the present study exploring factors involved in choosing to eat takeaway foods.

3.6.3 Methods

This stage of the study aimed to explore the sociocultural experiences associated with takeaway food consumption. This was achieved using qualitative research methodology to explore such issues with takeaway food consumers that reside within the Rusholme + 2 km buffer study area (section 3.3). The results of the research aim to enhance our existing understanding of factors that influence takeaway food consumption in order for policy-makers to form improved strategies aimed at eliciting a change in consumption behaviour. The following sections outline the study design, ethical considerations and risk assessment, participant sampling and recruitment strategies, data collection and analysis.

3.6.4 Study design

This stage of the study employed constructivist GT methods to collect and analyse qualitative data. This data was collected by carrying out one-to-one semi-structured interviews within the Rusholme + 2 km study area between June and October 2016. Participants that were aged 18 – 65, ate takeaway foods at least once per month, and resided in the study area were eligible to participate.

3.6.5 Ethical considerations and risk assessment

Ethical approval for this study was obtained from Manchester Metropolitan University Academic Ethics Committee. The participants were given full written information about the nature, purpose and risks of the study and how their data would be handled (Appendix A). Participants were also informed that they did not have to take part in the study, they were free to discontinue at any time, and that this would not affect their rights or any future treatment or service they receive. They were given the opportunity to ask questions and those questions were answered honestly and as fully as possible. Upon agreeing to take part and prior to the interview, the participants signed a consent form (Appendix A).

A risk assessment was undertaken prior to the study using the Manchester Metropolitan University risk assessment procedures. Questions relating to diet may be a sensitive or distressing subject for some, however, the sensitivity of questions were evaluated prior to carrying out the study in order to minimise this. Participants were also reminded before the interview that they could refuse to answer particular questions or terminate the interview if they wished.

3.6.6 Participant sampling and recruitment

Participant sampling and recruitment was carried out between June and October 2016. The study began with an initial criterion sampling strategy, where eligibility criteria and methods of recruitment were established, followed by a theoretical sampling strategy. Bryant & Charmaz (2007) emphasise that employment of these strategies in GT enables development of a rich GT that has been subject to verification. For the initial sampling phase, participants were considered eligible if they were aged between 18 to 65 years, consumed takeaway food at least once per month, and resided within the Rusholme + 2 km buffer area (see section 3.3). This age group was selected, firstly, as children have less involvement in food choices than adults, and secondly as food behaviours are known to vary throughout the life course, particularly at adolescence (Stok, et al., 2015) and older age (Westenhoefer, 2005; de Boer, et al., 2013). These age groups were therefore not within the scope of the present study. Individuals that consumed

takeaway food at least once per month were considered eligible. Participants that consume takeaway food regularly were deemed more likely to relay unsubstantiated opinion and speak for others. Participants were recruited for the initial sampling phase using two approaches. Firstly, the study was advertised using a Facebook page (Facebook Inc., California, USA) and the page was subsequently posted into various Facebook groups that were known to be based in Manchester. These groups included two sports club groups (for all ages) and five university-based subject societies. Secondly, a community centre within the area was visited three times during adult social group meetings and children's playgroups.

The first three participants were recruited and interviewed, then the interviews were transcribed verbatim and the data analysed (section 3.6.8). At this point, a theoretical sampling strategy was employed to sample the remaining participants. Theoretical sampling in GT methodology can be distinguished from other methods of sampling within qualitative research, as it seeks to answer research questions and follow leads that develop from initial data analysis rather than initial research questions derived from the literature. It is different to sampling until no new data emerge (Charmaz, 2014) (see section 3.6.8.3). New participants were selected based upon missing information within nascent categories that emerged from early data analyses, in order to explore those categories in further depth and to narrow focus. For example, an emergent category from early analyses of interviews with individuals who had no children revealed that family traditions during their childhood were influencing factors in their present adult

consumption. In their interviews, the participants used what Morse (2001) refers to as 'shadowed data', where they spoke for others, in this case their parents during their childhood. Bryant & Charmaz (2007) identify that the others that are referred to here are a significant group for further sampling. Therefore, a number of parents with children still in their care were subsequently recruited in order to delineate and develop this category's properties further with a refocused line of questioning (discussed in section 3.6.7.1). In order to recruit parents, a local community centre was visited twice during 'stay and play' playgroups (where parents remain in the playgroup with their children) and participants were also requested to ask parents they knew if they would like to participate (snowball sampling).

3.6.7 Data collection

The present research used one-to-one semi-structured interviews to collect qualitative data from participants, each lasting approximately 30 to 60 minutes, carried out between June and October 2016. The interviews were digitally recorded for subsequent transcription verbatim. Interviews were carried out in locations convenient to the participants, such as community centres, playgroups and on a university campus.

Semi-structured interviews are one of the most widespread method of interviewing in qualitative research in the social sciences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Brinkmann, 2014), as

they offer flexibility during the interview, allowing the interviewer to follow up on issues that are important for the interviewee, whilst maintaining the focus of the conversation within the scope of the research. This type of interview uses an interview guide which covers topics that the interviewer wishes to discuss, however, interviewees are encouraged to elaborate on issues that they raise. The main goal during the constructivist interview is to obtain descriptions of how the interviewee experiences the world in the context of the research aim, and what meanings they hold for such experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Charmaz, 2014). Asking open-ended and non-loaded questions is crucial in order to minimise bias from the interviewer (Charmaz, 2014).

3.6.7.1 Interview tools

An interview guide was used during the interviews, which includes notes on topics to cover during the interview. In line with GT methodology, the interview guide was treated as a flexible tool in which revisions could be made in order to follow up leads and develop theoretical categories (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Charmaz, 2014). The purposes of the interview guide were to aid the formation of clear and concise open-ended questions, aid the interviewer (JB) in following leads during the interview, and avoid imposing preconceived interests and assumptions upon the interview by refining topics and accompanying questions (Charmaz, 2014).

The first interview guide was designed by the researcher (JB) (Appendix B). It encompassed a number of topics which were deemed as important for the research in relation to the overall aim, which was to explore individual's sociocultural experiences of takeaway food consumption. The culture of a society is generally considered as the common beliefs, norms, values, rituals/habits and knowledge shared among its members (Bruce & Yearly, 2006). Topics and questions were therefore designed to explore these aspects in relation to takeaway foods with participants. Examples of follow-up questions were also designed prior to the interviews (Appendix B). A number of questions were designed to avoid asking direct and intrusive questions such as "why do you do that?", which demand justification. Instead, follow-up questions were designed that allude to the 'why', but imply the interviewer's acceptance, such as "can you tell me more about that?" and "how does that affect you?". Other follow-up questions were designed with the aim of eliciting participant's meanings of their terms and their feelings about events and situations that they described, as in constructivism (Charmaz, 2014). Finally, questions were designed to elicit information about process and sequence, which is an important part of GT methodology (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), such as "when…" and "what happens before and after?".

3.6.8 Data sorting and analysis

The interview recordings were made anonymous by allocating a code, which represented the order that the participants were interviewed. Each interview was subsequently transcribed by hand by the author (JB) verbatim. Both data collection and analysis moved forward simultaneously, allowing refocusing of interview questions and theoretical sampling to aid the development of tentative categories. Consequently, data sorting and analysis was implemented by moving between four major processes: coding, memoing, developing categories, and theoretical sorting, whilst using the constant comparative method throughout (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Charmaz, 2014). These methods will be described in further detail below.

3.6.8.1 Coding of the data

The coding process was further divided into two phases: initial coding and focused coding. The initial codes were applied to fragments of data; incident by incident. A code was applied for more or less every sentence. The codes accounted for each piece of data by summarising elements such as the actions and processes happening within the data, feelings and meanings and how those meanings had evolved, and important relationships described by the participant. Many of the codes were gerunds, i.e. verbs with the ending '-ing', as GT fosters the use of these 'active' codes as they allude to processes and progression of events which ultimately form the ensuing theory

(Charmaz, 2014). The coding process also provided an opportunity to indicate questions about the data and identify missing information, which were explored in further interviews.

Next, focused codes were formed and input into the qualitative data analysis computer software package, NVivo 10 (QSR International, Melbourne, Australia). This involved studying the initial codes to identify the most significant or frequent codes or groups of codes, which were then either raised to focused codes or recoded entirely. Application of the 'constant comparative' method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) aided the identification of significant initial codes to raise to focused codes. This method is recognised as an important step in GT methodology involving the comparison of codes against each other as well as against raw data or categories, which allows identification of similarities and differences and therefore a refinement of concepts (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). Focused coding is a refining process as it allows the identification of the most important data (Charmaz, 2014). The focused codes were developed into more conceptual and abstract codes than the initial, more descriptive codes as they summarised processes in multiple initial codes, aiding the analytical process (Glaser, 1978).

Two further forms of coding are used in other forms of grounded theory: axial coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), and theoretical coding (Glaser, 1978). Axial coding refers to the creation of codes that delineate the properties of a category, and theoretical coding

refers to a way of making codes more abstract by applying analytic schemes to the data (Charmaz, 2014). These coding processes have, however, received considerable criticism as they both involve applying procedural 'frames' to the data, an application that could stifle the 'emergence' of the ensuing grounded theory (Kendall, 1999; Charmaz, 2014). These coding processes were therefore not utilised for the present research.

A portion of the codes were cross-checked amongst research team members, which is reported to increase the level of credibility of the codes (Morse, et al., 2002). The research team reviewed the codes against the corresponding data to determine whether the codes could be interpreted in the same way by all of the team. Potential preconceptions that may have entered the coding process and alternative explanations for data were discussed, which ultimately enhanced the interpretation of the data.

3.6.8.2 Memoing and formation of conceptual categories

Memoing is the process of writing short memos that cover every idea that occur to the researcher relating to the data. It is a fundamental process in GT as it enables the researcher to deal with the plethora of emergent ideas and concepts involved during data analysis (Glaser, 1978). Memos can be developed over time during data collection and analysis and are important to trace the growth of ideas and theories about the data

and to preserve ideas that can be forgotten or lost sight of during the research process (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Charmaz, 2014). There are no specific rules for writing memos and they are not necessarily intended for others to see, but they provide a pivotal step between data collection and writing up results.

Memoing prompted early analysis of the data and gave an additional opportunity to identify questions for further data gathering (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Charmaz, 2014). A 'memo bank' was formed containing all of the memos, each one dated, with dated revisions to signpost the evolution of ideas. Memoing also created an area where comparisons could be made between data, codes and categories. Furthermore, the memoing process involved engagement in researcher reflexivity, as preconceived ideas and assumptions were recognized and challenged in order to establish confirmability and ensure the analysis remained grounded in the data (Charmaz, 2014).

Memoing facilitated the formation of conceptual categories, which can be defined as "conceptual elements in a theory" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967:37). Focused codes were raised to tentative conceptual categories which included narrative statements within memos containing the abstract explication of processes, events, meanings and feelings happening in the data, its relationship with other categories, as well as a delineation of the category's 'properties'. Charmaz (2014) recommends avoiding simply 'applying' properties to a category like a tick-box exercise as this undermines the 'emergence' of

theory and therefore its ability to remain grounded within the data. Therefore, properties were inspired by but not strictly adhered to Glaser's (1978) theoretical coding families (Appendix C), as well as emergent properties not explicitly mentioned by Glaser. The properties included factors such as the conditions that the category was dependent on, causes of it, its contexts, processes that happen within it, and its cultural elements. A tentative category remained a category if it could be supported in multiple data, which provided a form of verification. Some focused codes could be grouped together into one category that accounted for them all.

3.6.8.3 Theoretical saturation

GT methodology involves sampling until proposed 'saturation' of theoretical categories, which therefore determines the sample size. Glaser asserts that saturation in GT studies does not refer to merely observing the same themes repeatedly, but it is the "conceptualization of comparisons of these incidents which yield different properties of the pattern, until no new properties of the pattern emerge" (2001:191). Bryant & Charmaz (2007) describe saturation in GT as a point where the researcher is convinced that they understand the properties of a category and they can identify that category in numerous forms. Saturation is also recognised as a form of data verification as it ensures replication within categories, ensuring completeness (Morse, et al., 2002). The term 'saturation', however, is somewhat disputed in GT methodology literature.

Breckenridge & Jones (2009) argue that saturation is a subjective judgement that is nearly always delimited by the research scope and time and resources available. Furthermore, explicit guidelines that describe how saturation is reached are limited, if not non-existent, within the literature (Bowen, 2008). With this, for the present research, a subjective judgement of theoretical saturation was employed when numerous variations (or 'properties', discussed in section 3.5.9.2) had emerged for a category and no new properties were emerging from interviews, remaining within the scope of the research aims.

3.6.8.4 Theoretical sorting and presentation

The final process was theoretical sorting in preparation for the presentation of the final analyses and resultant grounded theories. This involved describing theoretical links between conceptual categories such as their relationships and sequential order. The links had been identified during the coding and memoing processes where participants had explicitly or implicitly alluded to them, and they were subsequently entered into NVivo 10 as 'associations' along with new memos explicating the relationships. Sorting was aided by a diagramming exercise, where the titles of memos were written onto cards and different arrangements were experimented with. When a particular order made analytic sense and still remained grounded within the data, the diagram was sketched out. Several grounded theorists advocate diagramming as an essential stage in

the grounded theory process (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Williams & Keady, 2008; Charmaz, 2014) The benefit of this exercise was that it enabled further comparison of categories against one another using visual representation, permitting even further analytic refinement of categories and their relationships.

3.7 Summary

This chapter has given a detailed description of the study location and defined the exact area the study took place in followed by the definition of takeaway food used here. This was followed by the methodology and methods of both stages of the study. The following chapter presents the findings from the takeaway outlet mapping stage of the study.

Chapter four: Findings from the takeaway outlet mapping stage

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the takeaway outlet mapping stage of the study. This commenced with a geographic description of the area under investigation, followed by a series of maps and descriptions that related to area deprivation and takeaway food outlet counts and location. The relationship between takeaway outlet density and population density was explored, followed by an investigation of the locality and population surrounding the areas with high concentrations of takeaway outlets. Finally, takeaway outlets were categorised by cuisine and the location of schools, colleges and universities in relation to takeaway outlets was mapped and described.

4.2 Geographic description of the area

The area under study for the present research was the electoral ward, Rusholme, Manchester, Greater Manchester, United Kingdom, including an additional 2 kilometre Euclidean buffer of the Rusholme ward boundary. Figure 1 displays a map of the United Kingdom which highlights the location of Greater Manchester. The total area under

study measured 27.04 km^2, covering 22.2%, 1%, and 0.1% of the city of Manchester, Stockport, and Trafford, respectively (a total of 2.1% of the Greater Manchester county) (Figure 2). The electoral wards covered by the buffer zone included Ardwick (100%), Levenshulme (100%), Longsight (100%), Moss Side (100%), Rusholme (100%), Withington (99.2%), Fallowfield (98%), Old Moat (81.8%), Hulme (70.2%), Gorton South (67.3%), Burnage (57.9%), Gorton North (42.9%), Whalley Range (42.6%), Heatons North (22.6%), Reddish North (16.2%), Manchester City Centre (14.9%), Clifford (7.0%), Chorlton Park (6.2%), Bradford (1.9%), Didsbury East (1.6%) (Figure 3).

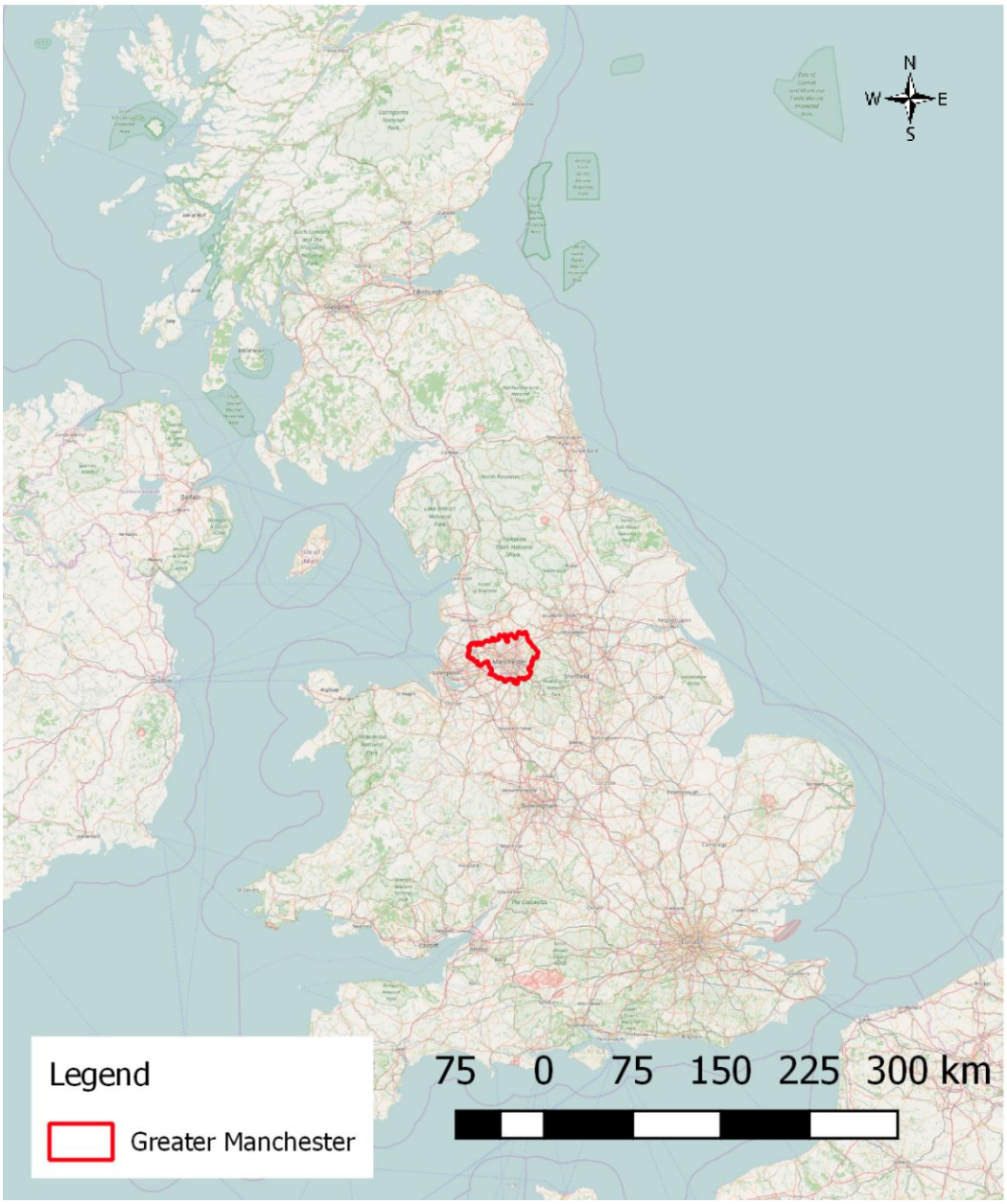

Figure 1: Map of the United Kingdom showing the county of Greater Manchester

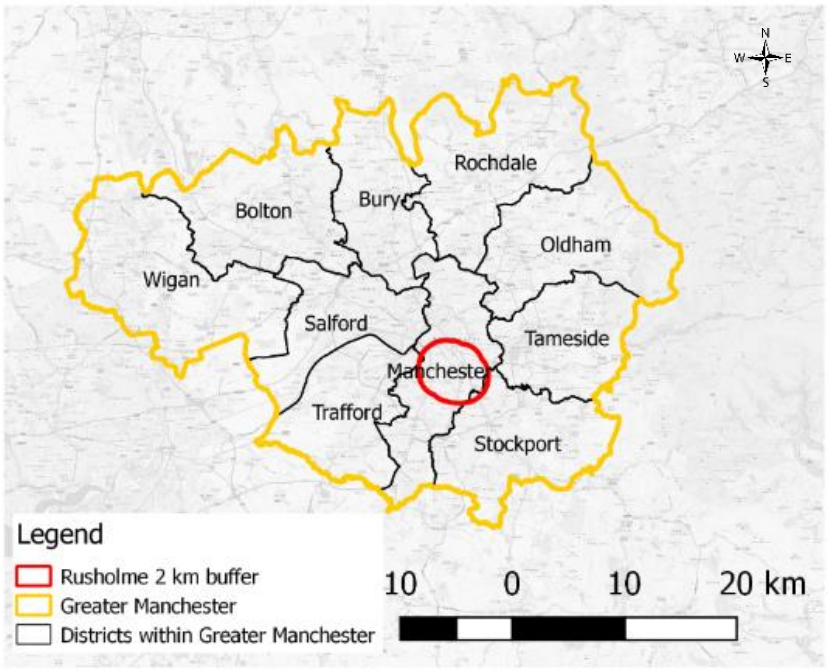

Figure 2: Map of districts within Greater Manchester and the Rusholme + 2 km buffer study area

Contains OS data © Crown copyright and database right (2016)

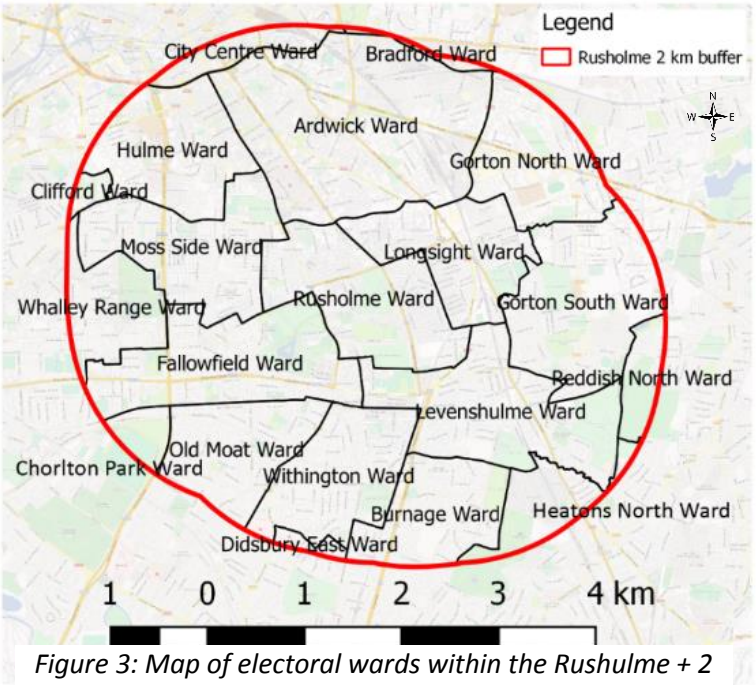

Figure 3: Map of electoral wards within the Rushulme + 2 km buffer study area

Contains OS data © Crown copyright and database right (2016)

4.3 Area deprivation

Figure 4 displays the 2015 Indices of Multiple Deprivation tertiles per LSOA (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2015) within the study area in the form of a thematic choropleth map. Of the 114 LSOAs that are located within the study area, 88 (77.2%) placed in the most deprived tertile, 20 (17.5%) placed in the intermediate tertile, and 6 (5.3%) placed in the least deprived tertile. The LSOAs that place in the intermediate tertile surround the Oxford/Wilmslow Road length (Curry Mile).

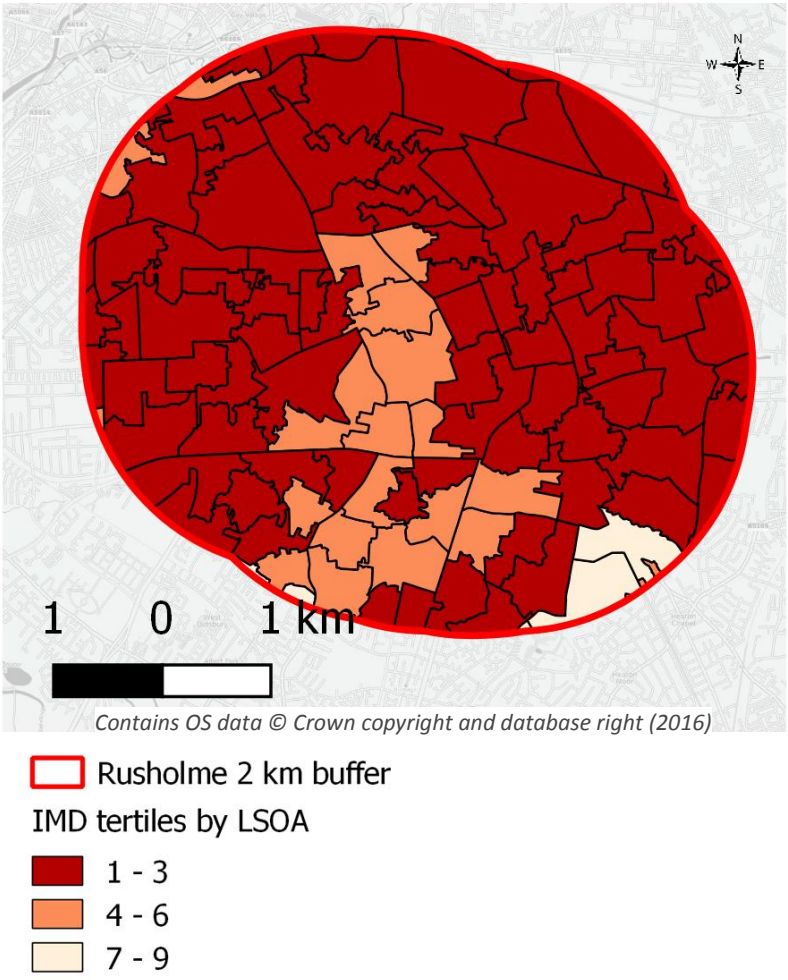

Figure 4: Thematic choropleth map of Indices of Multiple Deprivation tertiles per LSOA in the Rusholme + 2 km buffer study area

4.4 Takeaway food outlet count

Using the May 2016 public register of food premises provided by Manchester City Council, a total of 202 takeaway food outlets were identified and mapped within the study area. Figure 5 (below) represents a map of the study area displaying each takeaway food outlet as a point located at the address provided within the public register. The type of outlets included in the map were small, independent takeaway food outlets that sold convenience and/or fast food meals that were commercially pre-prepared and ready for immediate consumption, either eaten in-store or elsewhere, or ordered for delivery. This did not include mobile food units or restaurants that sold takeaway food (see section 3.5.4). Several takeaway food outlet data points within Figure 5 overlap as they were located within very close proximity to one another. As a consequence, it is impossible to view all of the data points simultaneously. Figure 6, therefore, represents a map of the study area with the takeaway food outlets presented as 'cluster points'. The number and size of each point on the map represents the amount of takeaway outlets that cluster within a small area.

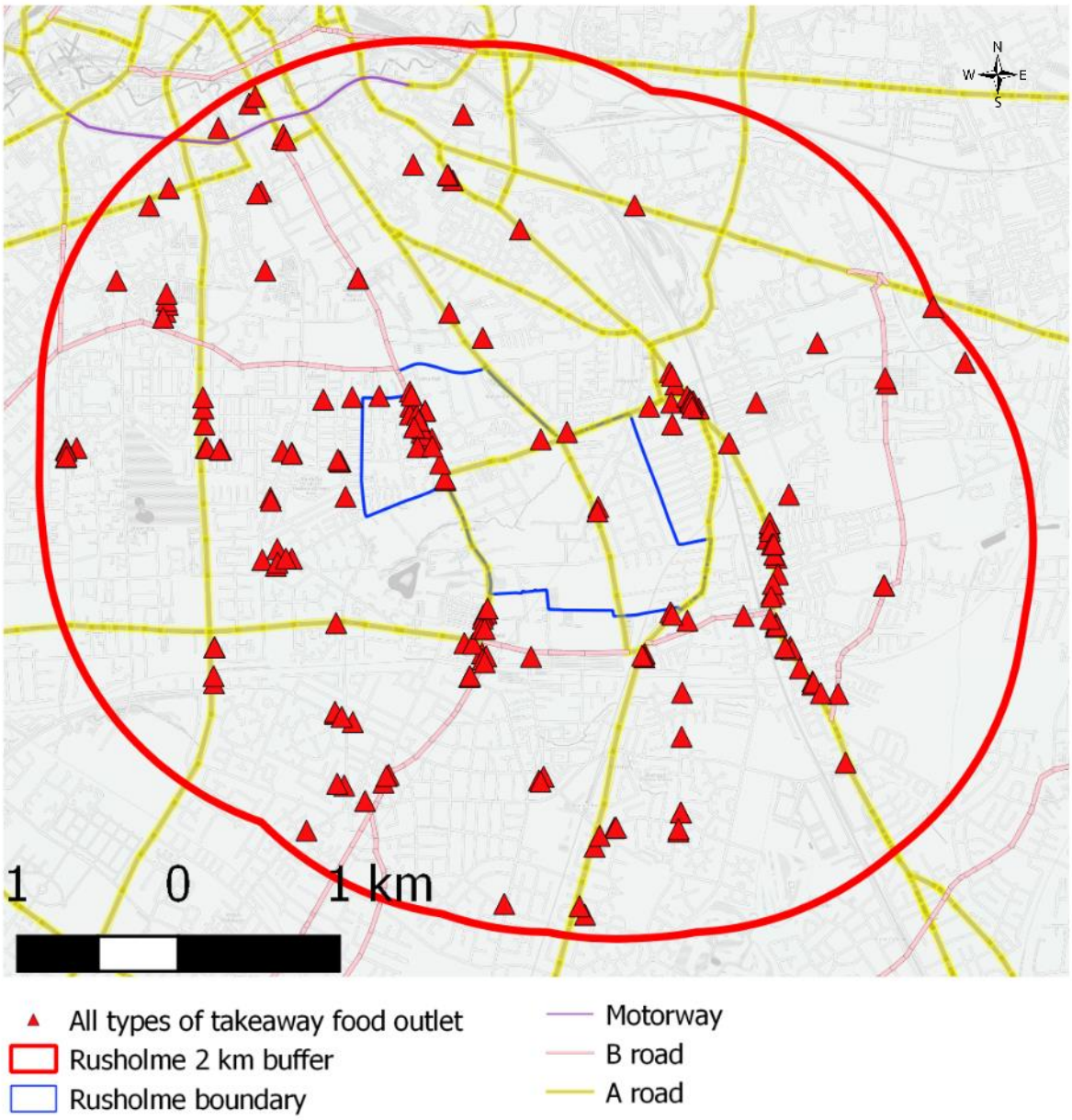

Figure 5: Map of takeaway food outlets in the Rusholme + 2 km buffer area

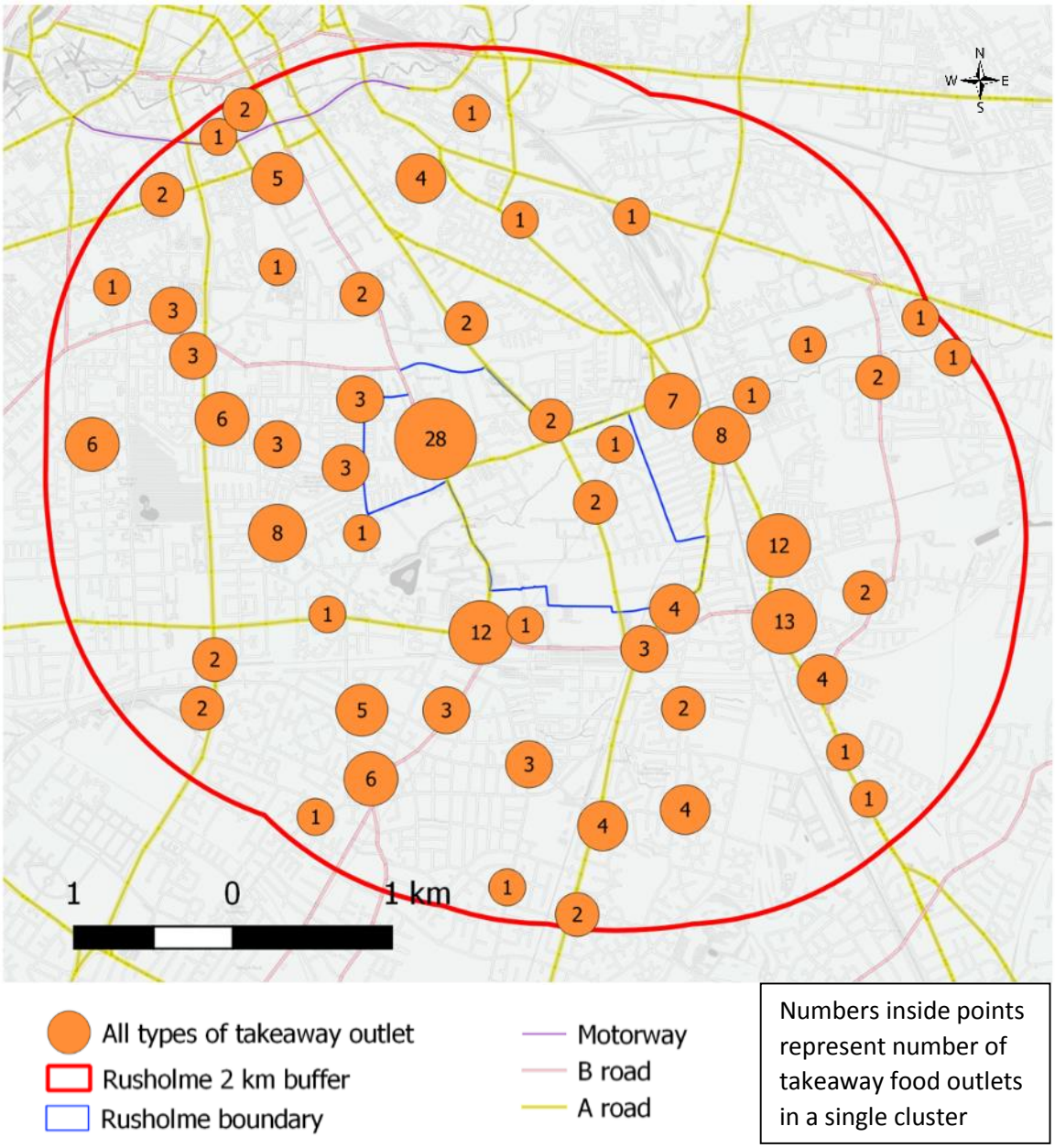

Figure 6: Cluster map of takeaway food outlets within the Rusholme + 2 km buffer area

4.5 Takeaway food outlets on major and minor roads

Of the 202 takeaway food outlets mapped, 136 (62.3%) are located on A and B roads, whilst the remaining 66 (32.7%) are located on other minor roads (Table 1). Fifty takeaway outlets (24.8%) were located directly on the two connected roads, Wilmslow Road and Oxford Road. This was the largest number of takeaway outlets located on a single road length. The length of Wilmslow Road and Oxford Road combined is 6.5 km, which represents 13.1% of all major roads (A and B roads), and 2% of all roads (A roads, B roads, motorways and minor roads) in the study area (see Table 1 for road type lengths). A second large cluster of 47 takeaway outlets (23.3%) were located on the Stockport Road. The length of the Stockport Road is 4.8 km, which represents 9.6% of all major roads (A and B roads), and 1.5% of all roads (A roads, B roads, motorways and minor roads) in the study area.

Table 1: Number of takeaway food outlets located on road types

Type of road	Total length of type of road in study area (km)	Number of takeaway outlets located on type of road	% of total takeaway outlets on type of road
A and B roads	49.72	136	62.3
Minor roads	267.07	66	32.7
Motorways	1.69	0	0
Total	318.48	202	100

Figure 7 (below) displays the density of takeaway food outlets in the study area in the form of a heat map, which illustrates that the highest density of outlets is located on the above-mentioned road lengths.

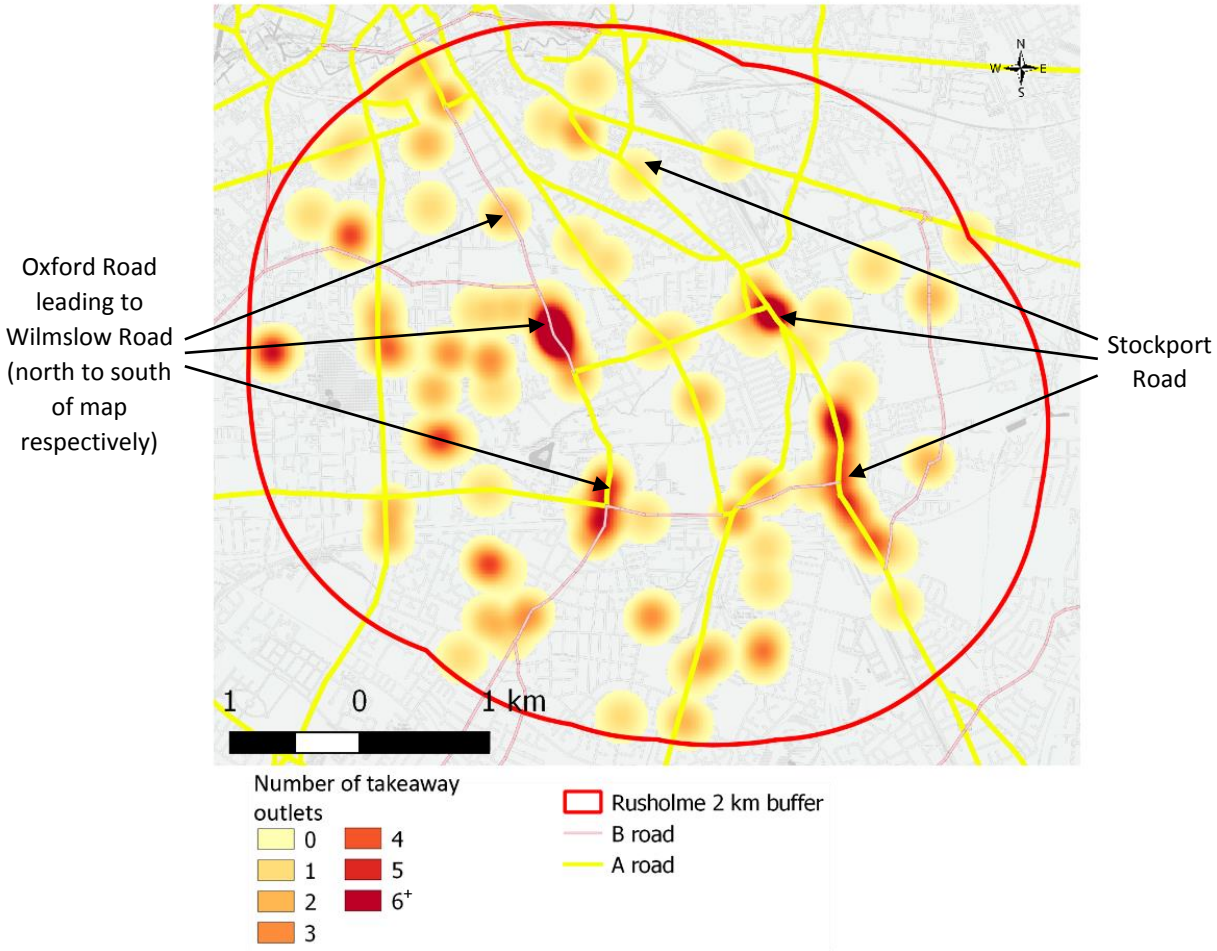

Figure 7: Heat map showing the density of takeaway outlets against major roads within the Rusholme + 2km buffer study area

4.6 Relationship between takeaway food outlet density and population density

Population density (people per km^2) (ONS, 2016) and takeaway outlet density (outlets per km^2) were calculated for each LSOA within the study area, displayed in Table D1 (Appendix D). This aided identification of the most concentrated clusters of takeaway outlets whilst accounting for population density as an explanation for higher concentration. Of the total number of LSOAs, 37.7% contain 5 or more takeaway outlets per km^2, 9.6% contain 1 to 4 outlets per km^2, and 52.6% contain 0 outlets per km^2.

Figure 8 shows the relationship between population density (people per km^2) and takeaway food outlet density (outlets per km^2) for each LSOA within the study area. Zero value takeaway outlet density data points were removed from the graph as many represented LSOAs where the majority was outside of the study area and therefore takeaway outlets were not identified. The LSOA data point containing the most concentrated area of takeaway outlets on the Curry Mile was also removed from the graph as this represented an outlier.

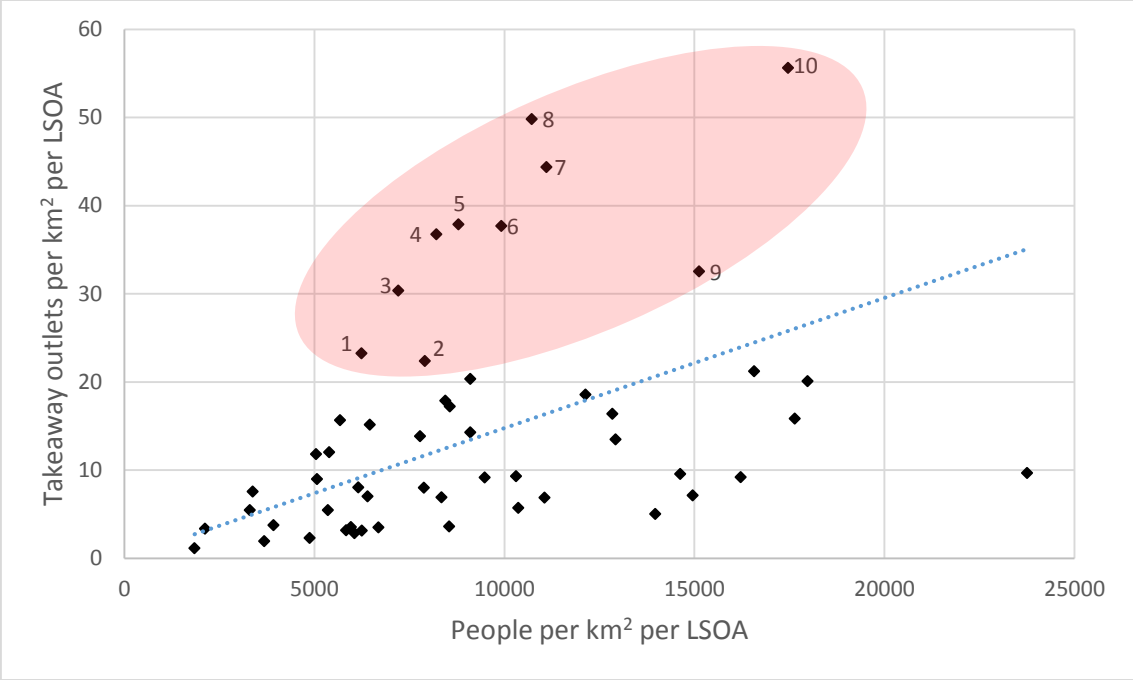

Figure 8: Relationship between LSOA takeaway outlet density and population density with takeaway food outlet density zero values and Curry Mile anomaly removed

There was a weak positive linear relationship between LSOA population density and takeaway food outlet density, however, this was not statistically significant ($r = 0.246$, $p = 0.073$) (Figure 8). There were, however, a number of LSOA points that deviated considerably further above the trend line than the majority of points within Figure 8. These LSOA graph points have been highlighted in red and numbered (Figure 8) so that they can be represented within the following map. Figure 9 (below) illustrates the geographical location of the LSOA points highlighted in Figure 8.

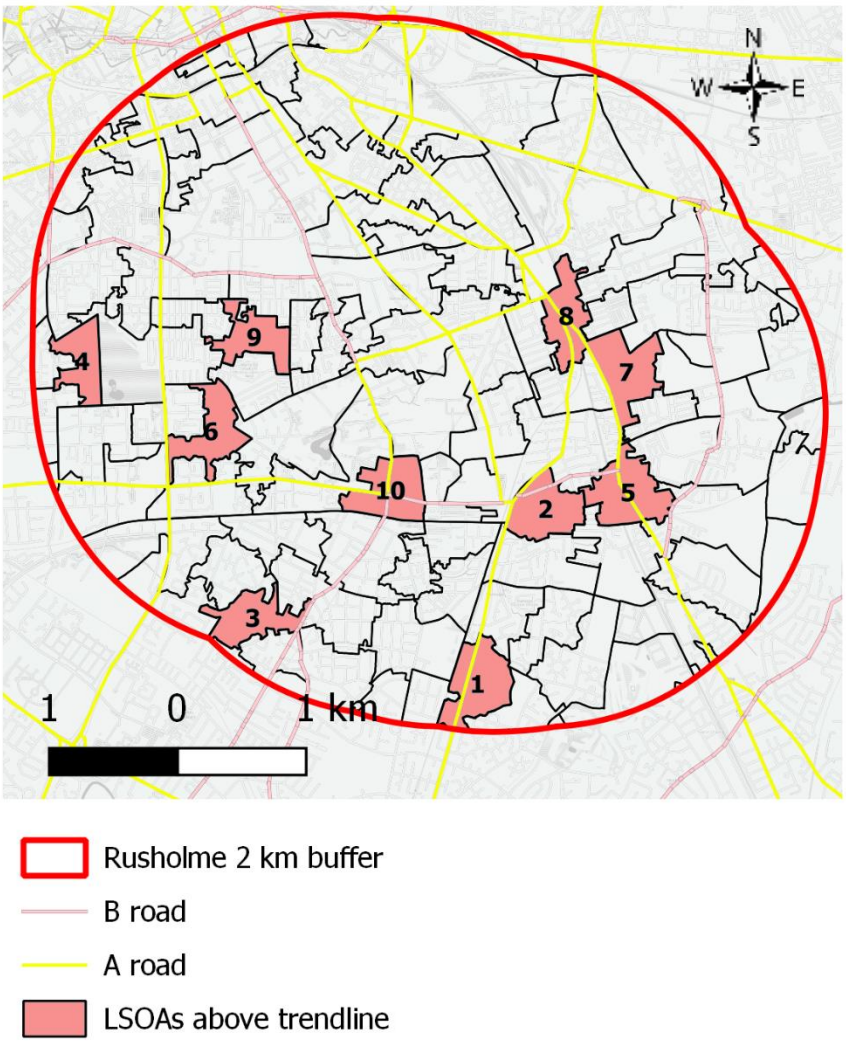

Figure 9: Map highlighting the LSOAs that deviate furthest above the trend line shown in Figure 8

4.6.1 Immediate locality of LSOAs with highest outlet concentrations

Neighbouring places of interest were identified using Ordnance Survey data (OS Points of Interest, 2016) as a method of exploring the immediate locality of the highlighted LSOAs within Figure 9. The places of interest identified included food and drink services (not including takeaway food outlets), other commercial and retail businesses, places of worship, educational institutions, and public service providers.

The LSOAs numbered 5, 7, and 8 are located within close proximity to the Stockport Road area, whilst the LSOAs numbered 3 and 10 are located within close proximity to the Wilmslow Road area (Curry Mile) (Figure 9). As described in section 4.5, takeaway food outlets were most densely clustered upon these two road lengths. Approximately 475 places of interest were identified as located either directly on or within ≈30 m of the Oxford Road/Wilmslow Road length, and approximately 500 places of interest were identified as located either directly on or within ≈30 m of the Stockport Road. They represent the two primary commercial streets in the area. On these roads there are a mixture of small, independent retail outlets and larger multiples, numerous places of worship, restaurants, pubs and shisha bars. There are also a number of ethnic supermarkets and small ethnic retail outlets.

The remaining highlighted LSOAs 1, 2, 4, 6, 9 (Figure 9) had significantly fewer surrounding places of interest, and were subsequently identified as located upon small shopping parades using the definition provided by the Department for Communities and Local Government (2012). These parades tended to contain small, independent restaurants and other takeaways, estate agents, newsagents and hair and beauty outlets.

Population demographics relating to age, ethnicity, housing type and tenure, employment status, income, and family status of each highlighted LSOA were identified (Manchester City Council, 2011a) and are displayed in Table 2, along with deprivation data and a description of the locality. The LSOA containing the Curry Mile has been added in for completeness. The majority (82%) of the LSOAs are in the most deprived tertile, except for the two LSOAs that are situated on the Oxford/Wilmslow Road. The population demographics for each identified LSOA were mixed, however, the Stockport road was characterised as being populated by low-income Asian families, whilst the population of Oxford/Wilmslow Road was characterised as being predominantly students and multi-ethnic populations.

Table 2: Population demographics of LSOAs with the highest concentration of takeaway outlets (not explained by population density)

LSOA number as highlighted in Figure 9	Road and Ward location	Locality of area	Population demographics (Manchester City Council, 2011a)	IMD tertile
1	Mauldeth Road, Burnage	Small shopping parade	Families and single parents, semis and terraces	Most deprived tertile
2	Kingsway and Slade Lane, Levenshulme	Small shopping parade	Mature families in suburban semis	Most deprived tertile
3	Wilmslow Road, Withington	Primary commercial high street	Home-owning Asian family area	Most deprived tertile
4	Upper Chorlton Road, Whalley Range	Small shopping parade	Home-owning Asian families	Most deprived tertile
5	Stockport Road, Levenshulme	Primary commercial high street	Mature families in suburban semis	Most deprived tertile
6	Platt Lane, Fallowfield	Small shopping parade	student flats and cosmopolitan sharers	Most deprived tertile
7	Stockport Road, Longsight	Primary commercial high street	Low income Asian families	Most deprived tertile
8	Stockport Road, Longsight	Primary commercial high street	Low income Asian families	Most deprived tertile
9	Claremont Road, East Moss Side	Small shopping parade	Singles, sharers and multi-ethnic areas	Most deprived tertile
10	Wilmslow Road, Fallowfield	Primary commercial high street	student flats and cosmopolitan sharers	Intermediate tertile
Curry Mile LSOA	Wilmslow Road, Rusholme	Primary commercial high street	Singles, sharers and multi-ethnic area	Intermediate tertile

4.7 Takeaway food outlet cuisine categories

The takeaway food outlets were sorted into four cuisine types by assessing their corresponding food menus. The categories were 'mixed cuisine', 'other specialist cuisine', 'English and Chinese cuisine' and 'South Asian/Arabic/Turkish cuisines'.

Table 3 displays the number of takeaway outlets in each cuisine category. The majority of outlets identified in the study area were 'mixed cuisine' (57.4%), followed by 'other specialist cuisine' (16.3%), 'English and Chinese cuisine' (15.3%), and 'South Asian/Arabic/Turkish cuisine' (10.9%). All types of outlet were observed more frequently on major roads (A and B roads), except for the 'English and Chinese cuisine' type which was observed more frequently on minor roads (Table 3). A statistically significant association between cuisine category and road type was observed, $x^2(3) = 33.17$, $p = 0.000$.

Table 3: Cuisine types of takeaway food outlets and their road type locations

Cuisine type	Number of outlets	% of total outlets counted	% of type located on major roads (A and B roads)	% of type located on minor roads
Mixed cuisine	116	57.4	80.2	19.8
Other specialist cuisine	33	16.3	72.3	27.7
English and Chinese cuisine	31	15.3	35.5	64.5
South Asian/Arabic/Turkish cuisine	22	10.9	95.5	4.5
Total	202			

Figure 10 (below) shows the geographical locations of the takeaway food outlets by cuisine types, where each outlet type is represented by a single point. Numerous data points overlap on the map shown in Figure 10 as they were located within close proximity to each other and it is not possible to view all of the data points simultaneously. Figure 11 (below) shows the points as clusters of outlets. The number and size of the points represent the number of takeaway food outlets that cluster within a small area.

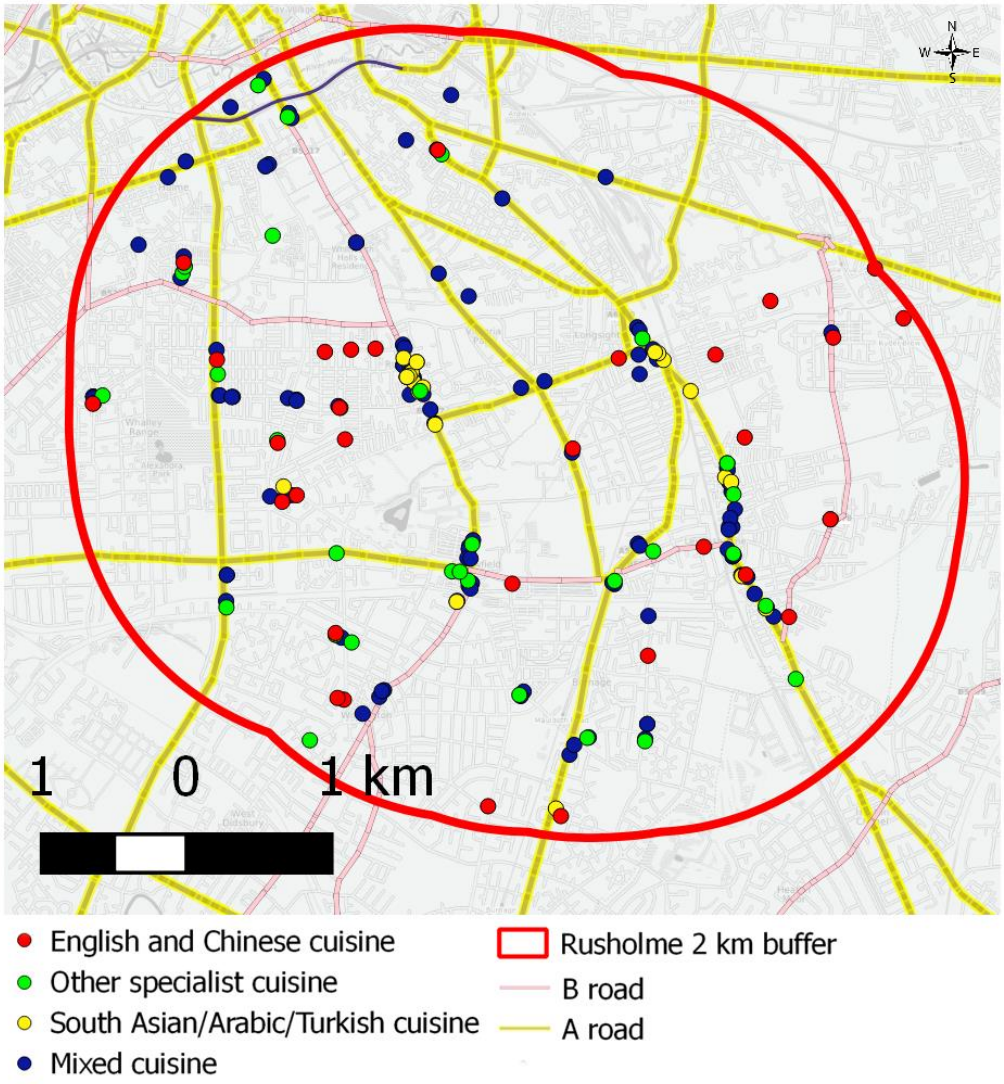

Figure 10: Map of categorised takeaway outlets within the Rusholme + 2 km buffer area

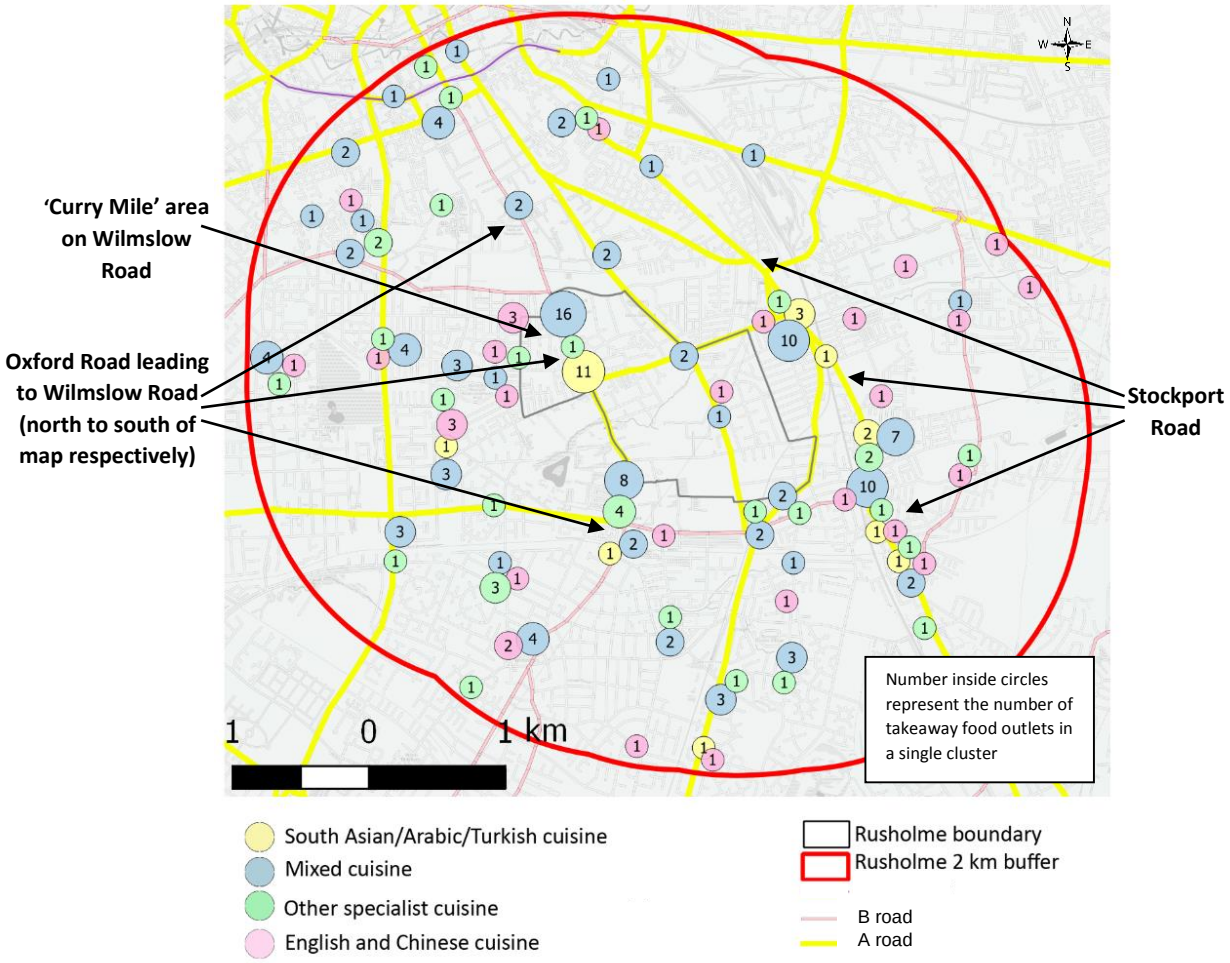

Figure 11: Map of categorised takeaway outlets by cluster within the Rusholme + 2 km buffer area

The ‘mixed cuisine’ type outlet was most clustered on the length of road running from Oxford Road to Wilmslow Road (31% of this type), and also on the Stockport Road (25.9%) (Figure 11). The ‘English and Chinese cuisine’ type and the ‘other specialist cuisine’ type were the most dispersed types in the study area, whilst the ‘South Asian/Arabic/Turkish cuisine’ type outlets were observed most frequently on the ‘Curry Mile’ area on Wilmslow Road (55.5%) (Figure 11).

4.8 Takeaway food outlets near schools/colleges/universities

The locations of all schools, colleges, and universities were identified and mapped within the study area using Ordnance Survey data (OS Points of Interest, 2016). Figure 12 displays a map of the locations of the identified institutions in conjunction with 400 m 'acceptable walking distance' Euclidean buffers surrounding each data point. The number inside each institution data point represents the number of takeaway food outlets that were identified within its corresponding 400 m buffer.

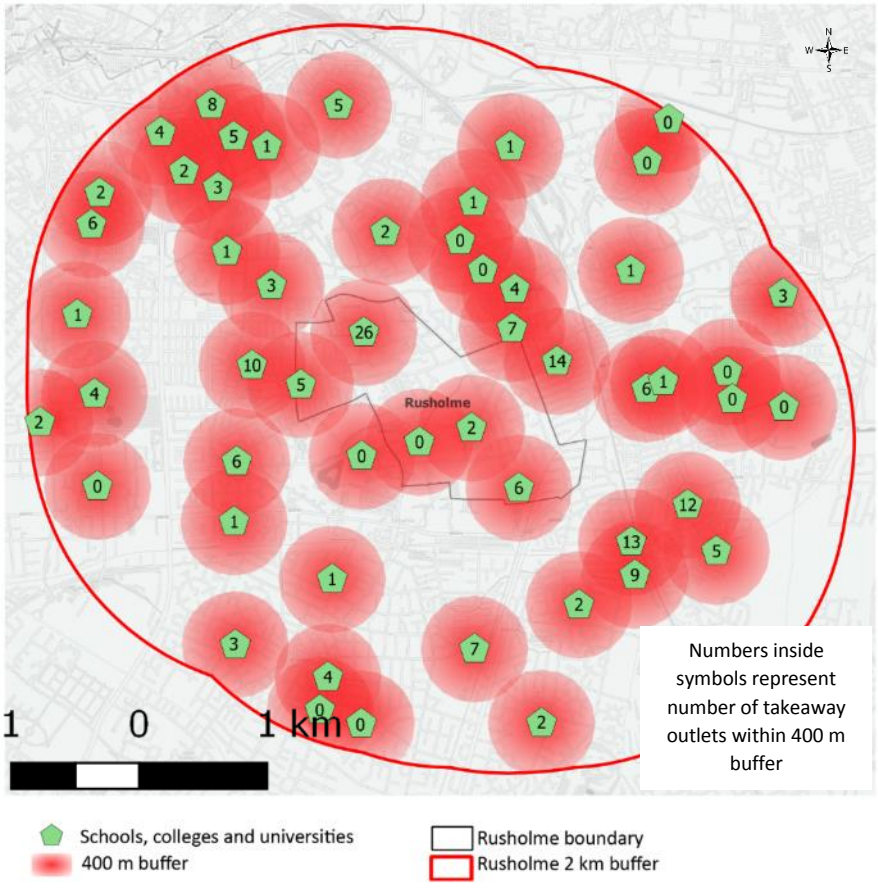

Figure 12: Map of all schools, colleges and universities with 400 m Euclidean buffers for takeaway food outlets in the Rusholme + 2 km buffer area

Of the 53 schools, colleges and universities within the study area, 12 (22.6%) had 0 takeaway outlets within 400 m, 37 (69.8%) had 1 - 10 takeaway outlets within 400 m, and 1 (1.9%) had 21 – 30 outlets within 400 m (Curry Mile area) (see Table 4).

Table 4: Schools, colleges and universities with takeaway food outlets in a 400 m Euclidean buffer

Number of takeaway outlets within a 400 m buffer	Number of schools, colleges and/or universities	% of total schools, colleges and universities
0	12	22.6
1 – 10	37	69.8
11 – 20	3	5.7
21 – 30	1	1.9
Total	53	100

4.9 Summary of key findings

The takeaway food outlet mapping stage of the present study provided a detailed geographical characterisation of the study area. The geographical area under study was the electoral ward, Rusholme, Manchester, including a 2 km Euclidean buffer radius. A number of variables were geographically explored. These were: Index of Multiple Deprivation, takeaway outlet counts and locations, takeaway outlet location in relation to roads, the relationship between takeaway outlet density and population density, cuisine categories, and outlet locations within walking distance from schools, colleges and universities. The key findings of each explored variable are presented below.

Deprivation:

- The resident populations of the majority (72.2%) of the 114 LSOAs that are located in the study area are placed within the most deprived tertile of the Index of Multiple Deprivation.

- The LSOAs that place in the intermediate tertile (17.5%) follow the Oxford/Wilmslow Road length (Curry Mile).

Takeaway outlet locations in relation to roads:

- A total of 202 takeaway outlets were identified within the 27.04km^2 study area.

- Of the total outlets, 62.3% are located on A and B roads, whilst the remaining outlets were located on minor roads.

- The largest proportion of takeaway outlets (24.8%) were located on the Oxford/Wilmslow Road length (Curry Mile). This road length represents 13.1% of all A and B roads in the study area.

- The second largest proportion of takeaway outlets (23.3%) were located on the Stockport Road. This road length represents 9.6% of all A and B roads in the study area.

Relationship between outlet density and population density:

- There was a weak positive linear relationship between takeaway outlet density and population density per LSOA, however, this was not statistically significant ($r = 0.246$, $p = 0.073$).

- Ten LSOAs were plotted considerably further above the trend line (they had a higher number of outlets in relation to population density than the other LSOAs) and the surrounding local area was subsequently investigated.

Locality of areas most concentrated with takeaway outlets

- The two most areas most highly concentrated with takeaway outlets were the Oxford/Wilmslow Road length and the Stockport Road. Both roads represent primary commercial high streets.

- The takeaway outlets in the remaining identified LSOAs were found to be located on small shopping parades.

- The population demographic for each identified LSOA were mixed. The Stockport road was characterised as mostly populated by low-income Asian families, whilst the central Wilmslow Road (most concentrated takeaways) is characterised as a student and multi-ethnic area. Wilmslow Road south is characterised as home-owning Asian families.

Types of cuisine served in takeaway outlets:

- Four cuisine categories were identified. The majority of outlets (57.4%) were identified as mixed cuisine (predominantly a mixture of fried chicken, burgers, pizzas, kebabs, deep-fried fish and chips).

- All types of outlet were observed more frequently on A and B roads, except for the 'English and Chinese cuisine' type which was observed more frequently on minor roads. A statistically significant association between cuisine category and road type was observed, $x^2(3) = 33.17$, $p = 0.000$.

- The 'mixed cuisine' type outlet was most clustered on the Oxford/Wilmslow Road (31% of the mixed type), and also on the Stockport Road (25.9% of the mixed type).

- The South Asian/Arabic/Turkish cuisine type outlets were observed most frequently in the Curry Mile area on Wilmslow Road.

Takeaway outlets near schools, colleges and universities

- The majority (69.8%) of the 53 schools, colleges or universities in the study area had 1 – 10 takeaway outlets within 400 m.

This chapter presented the findings of the takeaway outlet mapping stage of the study. The following chapter presents the results of the grounded theory analysis of semi-structured interviews with residents of the study area. The subsequent chapter is used to discuss the findings of the mapping stage in relation to extant literature and theoretical perspectives.

Chapter five: Discussion of the findings from the takeaway outlet mapping

5.1 Discussion

The aim of this stage of the study was to provide a detailed characterisation of the electoral ward, Rusholme, Manchester and the surrounding areas with regards to takeaway food outlet availability and other key variables. Takeaway food outlet locations, density and cuisine types were identified along with their spatial proximities to roads, schools, colleges and universities. Additionally, the most concentrated clusters of takeaway outlets that could not be explained by high population density were identified and their local area and population sociodemographic characteristics explored.

The results showed firstly, that takeaway outlets are most concentrated among the two large primary commercial road lengths, Oxford/Wilmslow Road (Curry Mile) and the Stockport Road. Both of these roads are populated by multiple ethnic minorities, whilst the Oxford/Wilmslow Road has 34 student halls of residence in the immediate locality (Manchester Metropolitan University, 2016; University of Manchester, 2016) and therefore is heavily populated with students. The remaining smaller concentrations of takeaway outlets are located upon small shopping parades serving the local community

which are mostly students and ethnic minorities. Furthermore, the entire study area falls within the most deprived IMD tertile except for the Oxford/Wilmslow Road area which is in the intermediate tertile. The findings here are consistent with other studies in the UK (Macdonald, et al., 2007; Bagwell, 2011) and US (Simon, et al., 2008) that also found that takeaway outlets tend to be most concentrated in commercial low-income areas. MacDonald et al. (2007) attribute their findings to the possibility that deprived areas are more commercially desirable to fast food businesses due to cheaper or more available land, increased consumer demand or that it may be easier to obtain planning permission. Additionally, in her qualitative study with takeaway outlet owners in Tower Hamlets, London, Bagwell (2011) found that ethnic minority areas are attractive to ethnic entreprenuers for the cheap and plentiful supply of labour residing close by, low rent, and the ability to cater for their local community's consumption needs. Townshend (2016) proposes that large commercial areas create a sense of community focus and vitality for such communities. The findings in this study show that there is likely to be high demand for both traditional ethnic cuisine and fast food by the ethnic minority and student community that co-reside here, which would explain their ability to generate revenue and survive amongst dense competition.

Qualitative work has identified an association between high concentrations of takeaway outlets and 'studentification' of areas (Smith & Hubbard, 2014; Olsen, et al., 2000), whilst Adams et al. (2015) found that takeaway foods in the UK are most popular amongst young adults. This also partially explains the demand for and survival of

takeaway outlets in this area. In combination with the custom it recieves from local residents, the Curry Mile is also a major tourist attraction (Visit Manchester, 2016), which further enables the proliferation of outlets.

The Oxford/Wilmslow Road length also represents a busy bus corridor and student commuting route, whilst the Stockport Road (part of the A6) is a major North to South road. Setting up a business on a major A road or central commuting route that is characterised by plenty of footfall is a key revenue-building tactic. It is no coincidence that they are positioned on such routes. In their recent Cambridgeshire-based study investigating takeaway food availability on consumption habits and obesity, Burgoine et al. (2014) found that exposure to outlets in home neighbourhoods, along commuting routes, and in work environments was associated with higher takeaway consumption and risk of obesity. In this study, the two most concentrated areas of takeaway outlets are located directly on major commuting routes that are also densely packed with other appealing commercial outlets. This demonstrates the potential for high exposure to many takeaway food outlets for much of the population in the area, as these two roads represent home neighbourhoods for some, work environments for others and commuting routes for many.

The takeaway outlets identified in the study area were further organised into types of cuisine. The majority of outlets (57.4%) were identified as mixed cuisine (predominantly

a mixture of fried chicken, burgers, pizzas, kebabs, deep-fried fish and chips), which were densely clustered on the Oxford/Wilmslow Road (31%) and Stockport Road (25.9%). UK-based studies have previously identified that these specific takeaway food offerings are excessive in energy, fat, salt and sugar (Jaworowska, et al., 2011; Jaworowska, et al., 2012; Jaworowska, et al., 2014). Olsen et al. (2000) have previously identified that fast food and takeaway providers are devoted to the provision of standardised, routinised food for a uniform meal-experience and often use the same suppliers for pre-prepared food. Furthermore, this popularised American-style cuisine is a proven success in global brands such as McDonalds, KFC or Domino's, both in terms of customer popularity and cheaper ingredients for increased revenue (Ritzer, 2001). Bagwell (2011) identified that outlet owners in Tower Hamlets had previously offered Asian foods only, however, due to fierce competition and economic recession, customers were seeking cheaper food and they therefore had to provide poorer quality, cheaper foods for business survival. Tower Hamlets is comparable to the present study area as both are characterised as large ethnic minority, low-income communities with a high concentration of takeaway outlets. It is therefore quite likely that this is the reason that the mixed type outlet is the most prolific here.

In contrast with the rest of the outlet types, the English and Chinese cuisine type were most dispersed across minor roads. This category was formed as most of the outlets served both traditional English fish and chip style menus and Chinese meals, with fewer

stand-alone English chippies. This dispersal of outlets is likely to reflect the smaller Chinese population in the area (Manchester City Council, 2011b).

Finally, the quantity of takeaway outlets within a 400 m Euclidean buffer radius of each school, college and university was identified. The majority (69.8%) of the 53 schools, colleges or universities in the study area had 1 – 10 takeaway outlets within 400 m. Other UK-based studies have identified that school children use fast food takeaways during lunchtime and after school (Sinclair & Winkler, 2008; Caraher, et al., 2014). Caraher et al. (2014) specifically found that children were influenced by friends to visit takeaway outlets, and also that they represent better value than food offerings at school. Planning laws that restrict the proliferation of outlets near to schools will not affect those that are already open near to 69.8% of the schools, colleges and universities found in this study.

5.2 Conclusions

The findings from the geographical analysis have identified a number of factors that must be considered for the implementation of interventions on takeaway food outlets. The findings suggest that there is a demand in the area for both ethnic cuisine and fast food takeaways from ethnic minority communities, students and tourists. The takeaway and fast food industry has been demonised somewhat in recent years due to the role it

is likely to have played in the obesity epidemic. However, for ethnic minority communities especially, the takeaway outlets provide a vital source of income for local owners and employees and also caters for culturally specific food preferences. The concentration of commercial businesses, many of which are independent businesses owned by ethnic minority individuals, is likely to bring a sense of community vitality to the area.

The largest concentrations of takeaway food outlets run parallel to one another on the primary commercial roads, Oxford/Wilmslow Road and the Stockport Road. As well as being commercially concentrated areas, both roads are important commuting routes into and out of the city centre and through Manchester for nearby residents, especially students. As previous research has shown that increased exposure to outlets on commuting routes is associated with increased takeaway consumption and obesity risk (Burgoine et al., 2014), interventions should focus upon these two roads specifically. Restriction of planning permission is futile in these already densely packed areas, however, there may be an opportunity to work with outlet owners to provide healthier options. This has been shown to require significant time and face-to-face contact and time with owners of smaller catering businesses (Food Standards Agency, 2010), however, there is a growing body of practical advice on how to best approach such initiatives based upon empirical research and past initiatives (Bagwell, et al., 2014).

The findings revealed that the most prolific type of takeaway outlet was the mixed type, which sells predominantly a mixture of fried chicken, burgers, pizzas, kebabs, deep-fried fish and/or chips. The nutritional profile of this type of takeaway food in the UK has been shown to be particularly poor (Jaworowska, et al., 2011; Jaworowska, et al., 2012; Jaworowska, et al., 2014). However, selling this type of food is profitable as it is popular and the ingredients are cheap. Outlet owners may feel that they are forced to drive costs down amongst fierce competition and economic recession for business survival. Interventions need to take into account that some business owners may feel uneasy about offering healthier foods as they may feel that it would not be profitable. Future research and pilot studies should explore the potential of restricting the use of certain ingredients such as palm oil for deepfrying, as outlet owners may not do so voluntarily. Furthermore, methods of recipe reformulation that affect taste and price minimally need to be explored.

Finally, the majority of schools, colleges and universities in the area had 1-10 takeaway outlets within a 400 m walking distance. Planning permission policies for new takeaway outlets will not affect existing outlets. This therefore highlights the importance of using other solutions such as working with owners to provide healthier options that are still affordable for young people or alternatively restricting opening hours of takeaway food outlets, as Manchester City Council (2016a) have proposed.

Chapter six: Findings from the grounded theory analysis

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the findings from the takeaway food outlet mapping stage of the study and acts as complementary to the findings presented in this chapter. This chapter presents the findings from the grounded theory analysis. Firstly, a description of the study participants is presented, followed by an explanation of the order of categories and subcategories derived from the grounded theory analysis. Subsequently, the findings within each subcategory are presented together with discussion drawing from empirical research in the field and theoretical perspectives, together with the implications of the findings from this study.

6.2 Participants

Thirteen participants were interviewed for the present study between June and October 2016. Interviews were carried out in community centres (n=3), playgroups (n=5), and on a university campus (n=5). Participants were aged between 25 and 60 years (mean=38 years) and the majority of participants were female (n=9 [69%]). All participants resided in the study area (see section 3.3) at the time of interview. Six participants had children (under 18 years old) in their care, and 4 participants had never had children. All

participants (n=13) had been educated to at least secondary school level, and 8 participants were either currently (at the time of interview) studying for or had already attained a university degree or higher.

Participants were asked about the frequency of their takeaway food consumption. The definition of takeaway foods used in this study was explained to them before they answered this question (see section 3.4 for full definition). The majority of participants (n=7 [54%]) ate takeaway foods 1-2 times per week, whilst 5 participants ate takeaway food every few weeks, and 1 participant ate takeaway food 3-6 times per week. All participant names used in this report are pseudonyms in order to protect participants' anonymity.

6.3 Findings

Using the grounded theory method described in chapter three, three categories were derived from the data. The category labels represent fundamental influences upon takeaway food consumption, and were used to group a number of subcategories.

The first category derived from the data was 'resources', which describes the four subcategories: 'lacking / saving time', 'takeaway availability and saturation', 'financial

resources: value for money', and finally, 'Using knowledge and skills versus the desire for variety'. The second category was 'social factors', which describes the four subcategories, 'bonding with others', 'forming routines and traditions', and 'being influenced by others'. The third and final category was 'personal factors', which described the two subcategories, 'prioritising values', and 'controlling damage'.

6.4 Resources

6.4.1 Lacking / saving time

A key resource cited as lacking by several participants was the time they perceived as being available to them for obtaining and preparing food. Purchasing takeaway food as an alternative to shopping and home cooking presented an opportunity for individuals to either participate in other activities or, alternatively, an opportunity to revoke participation from everything altogether.

Participants cited various activities that caused them to feel that they had less time available for shopping and food preparation. The activities cited can be perceived as essential activities (for example, child-care or work) and non-essential activities (for example, hobbies or personal interests).

A number of participants that are mothers reported that they felt that they did not always have enough time to prepare home-cooked, healthy food due to childcare responsibilities. Charlotte, a 34-year-old married housewife and mother of two young children, explained her difficulty in caring for her children and spending extended periods of time preparing food:

> . . . if something takes three hours just to prepare it and then you've got another half an hour to cook it – no. Because my son is very active. I have to keep – I need eyes in the back of my head, basically. Especially if the two of them are in the house together, they are constantly fighting.

Karolina, a 27-year-old married housewife and mother of a 1-year-old, reported similar difficulties in juggling child care and finding the time to prepare food: “I don't have time enough [sic] to cook and just like once in a month I'm cooking proper healthy because I’m always busy . . . Majority time, it's taking baby my attention [sic].”

Takeaway food provided a form of respite for participants from their usual household duties. Sonia, a 56-year-old housewife who cooks traditional Indian food every day,

expressed her pleasure with the break from cooking and cleaning that her Saturday night takeaway provides:

> It's a lot of work at home from scratch . . . First there's the cooking it, then there's the cleaning, then there's the smell in the house. There you've just ordered it and you've satisfied what you wanted to eat without the mess! So it's good, you know. So, I'm thinking takeaways are God-sends really. They're quite good . . . We even use plastic plates for convenience because a takeaway is just chuck everything in the bin, so there's nothing to wash. And that's great. You don't know how good that feels. When you just eat and just chuck everything in the bin and the kitchen's still tidy.

She went on to express how she feels that she finds her role as a housewife more difficult now that she is older: "And the cooking, the cleaning, the washing, the hoovering. And I'm finding it hard now because I'm getting older." She mentioned that it was not a dislike of cooking, but of cleaning that influenced her to buy takeaway foods: "I don't mind cooking but if that was the only thing I did all day, just the cooking and that was it. I don't like the cleaning up and the washing and the stuff like that. I like the cooking."

The main parent involved in choosing, shopping, preparing and cooking for the family tends to be the mother (DeVault, 1991). It has been proposed that as women have entered the labour market but also tended to keep their traditional food provisioning roles, women feel more time pressures than ever (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004) and may experience a feeling of role overload causing them to seek convenience foods (Yale & Venkatesh, 1986; Candel, 2001). However, the women that spoke of time pressures due to childcare responsibilities were not in paid employment and therefore could be perceived to have sufficient time to obtain and prepare food. A qualitative study by Bava et al. (2008) of women in New Zealand also found that the demand for food that was convenient was influenced by time scarcities. Likewise, they also found that many participants identified themselves as having time constraints, however, the participants that the authors perceived as having more available time expressed the greatest feelings of constrained time. It was the perception of time constraints that caused a greater likelihood of desire to minimise food preparation time by seeking more convenient food.

Furthermore, takeaway food provided some participants with welcome respite from their usual roles. Similarly, a study carried out with Dutch individuals that were characterised as being the main family food provider, found that use of convenience food was associated with feelings of role overload and dislike of the preparing, cooking, or cleaning associated with family food provision (Candel, 2001).

Some participants cited that they purchased takeaway food when they felt it was too late to cook whilst travelling back from activities such as going out with friends or shift-work. A female student participant with no children spoke about the lack of regular or appropriate length breaks during her shift work, describing it as too late to cook after a shift:

> We rarely get breaks, so for a 6-hour shift, we get a 10-minute break and you can't really eat much then, so I don't usually end up eating at work at all. So then right after that shift, obviously you're hungry and you've just missed a meal so that's why I end up going to get takeaway . . . It's too late even bother to cook something.

Mason's report on shift workers (2000) points out that fast food outlets tend to be one of the few outlets open late at night and therefore shift workers may feel that this is the only option available to them. This may highlight a potential need for healthier options to be available late at night. In support of this suggestion, another participant stated that after a night out with friends that she would purchase healthier takeaway foods if they were available late at night. Late at night may therefore be a key time where availability of and exposure to takeaway foods is highest as, with the exception of 24-hour supermarkets (which are often far removed from walkable travel routes and also

do not provide pre-prepared, hot meals) or corner shops, they tend to be the only food outlets open.

However, Amira, 29, described her husband's desire for "bulky, heavy, fill-me-up kind of food" to feed his extreme hunger which was caused by a lack of time to eat lunch; something that only takeaway food could satisfy: "He wants something that is really going to stuff him." This shows that there is a demand for takeaway foods due to its satiating abilities when lacking time to eat, and therefore some would be unlikely to choose healthier options at such times.

The consumption of takeaway food provided numerous participants with the opportunity to maximise available time for other, less essential activities such as personal hobbies or socialising with others. Most participants mentioned using takeaway food for non-essential activities, which suggests that they hold more importance for the participants than preparing food. Emma, a 26-year-old student whose interview is laced with dialogue regarding the importance of socialising with friends and family, refers to consuming takeaway food as a way of maximising social time:

> . . . in terms of people coming together, it's a lot easier for people to be like, come on, let's just chuck a fiver in and get a load of food and share it, as opposed to somebody having to give up a lot of time to cook for a load of people . . . there's a lot more preparation involved.

The data ultimately exposed takeaway food as providing those who perceived themselves as lacking time or those who intentionally wished to save time with the opportunity to spend time undertaking other activities, whether essential or non-essential. This can be seen to be in agreement with Warde's (1999) proposal that people are increasingly manipulating their time to fit in more activities. Furthermore, he suggests that we live in a world where people are busier and are on different time schedules, which makes meeting socially more difficult, therefore social time is precious and eating conveniently is important.

6.4.2 Takeaway availability and saturation

The issue of accessing food was described by participants as occurring in two ways that act simultaneously to increase the likelihood of takeaway food consumption: reduced access to healthy food options and increased access to takeaway food.

Participants reported that the large quantity of takeaway food outlets in the area, as well as increased availability from long opening hours and new delivery services directly influences the frequency that they consume takeaway food. When asked whether the amount of takeaway outlets in the area affected the frequency that she or her son consumed takeaways, Gabby answered:

> because I work here and live here in Hulme, it does because I walk that way. So, if I've had one of those days – or it's also Daniel [Gabby's son] who will say to me in the morning, are you walking home tonight? . . . if I am he'll probably say, well will you bring me? So, yes it does. And sometimes of a weekend, I'll be sat at home and it's only walking distance so he'll say, will you just go?

As a parent, Gabby struggles with the temptation that increased access to takeaways has created for her son. Similarly, Robert, who is father to two 12-year-old girls, discussed his concerns about his children's exposure to takeaway outlets in the area:

> I think because they are exposed to, again, because they actually walk past all these takeaways and sweet shops on their way to school, because it's as you walk along adjacent to the Curry Mile . . . So, what we eat and

> where we eat and how we eat is becoming more of an issue to us as a family.

Whilst discussing the vast amount of outlets in the area, Jack clarified what many of the participants had spoken about during interview:

> . . . there are just so many just competing with each other that they're just saturated . . . It's just like you can't put 500 people into a minicar or an ordinary car . . . and that's why it's just saturated. There's no diversity of any kind of health . . . Plus, you have 24-hour pizzas now which is like, your restaurants are open at 3 a.m.

Participants simultaneously expressed that there was a shortage of healthy takeaway options available to them. Although Emma consumes takeaway food every few weeks, she also frequently highlighted the importance of eating healthily throughout her interview. Here, she expresses her desire for healthier takeaway options along with her loathing of current takeaway offerings:

> I think if there were more healthy options for takeaway it'd be different. And I think if the healthy options weren't as expensive. Like for me, sushi

> is like my favourite thing. I like to think sushi is healthy. Well it's healthier than like a pizza. And if that was cheaper to get delivered . . . I think the main thing is that it's just shite food. I mean, all these samey places are samey because it's cheap, shit food. And it's so horrid. I hate it so much. Just give us more healthier options that can match the price.

The findings above highlight that the participants are dissatisfied with what is available to them, in terms of both too many takeaway food outlets and not enough healthy options within and around the outlets.

In their recent study Burgoine et al. (2014) found that takeaway food outlet exposure within travel routes and home and work environments was positively associated with takeaway consumption, BMI and obesity risk. In support of these results, some participants in the present study reported that travelling past outlets directly influenced their use, whilst parents were concerned that their children may be overexposed on school travel routes. However, the results also suggest that others that are not directly exposed to outlets on travel routes are consuming takeaway foods that their family members are exposed to on their own travel routes. This suggests that studies that only analyse the effect of takeaway outlet exposure on takeaway consumption in an individual (such as a person commuting to work) may be underestimating the amount of people that are affected. Furthermore, to the participants in the present study,

increased exposure was not only physically passing an outlet or having many in the area, but also the increased access to takeaway food that long opening hours and online ordering had created. Further quantitative research should include such factors when analysing true exposure to takeaway and fast food outlets.

Whilst numerous participants cited an aversion to the availability of takeaway foods, the three participants of Indian and Arabic ethnicity described having lots of choices of takeaway in the area as positive:

> I've always liked it because there's a lot of choice . . . I like it because you can go one day here, one day there." Sonia pertinently pointed out that ". . . for Asian people who've grown up with their mum's cooking, at least they can go and buy something that they're used to having eating . . . because it's a lot of work at home from scratch.

Furthermore, Amira highlighted her issue in being able to find halal food in certain outlets. She also pointed out that the Curry Mile has lots of choices for her to obtain halal food:

> We do like fish and chips, but obviously we can't go to any chippy because they fry everything in the same oil and we've got the halal/non-halal issue. So we can't go to any chippy, we have to go to certain chippies. Everything halal that they fry in the same oil . . . . [the Curry Mile] is convenient, more choices. It's home because we've been coming here pretty much all our life. So yeah, convenient and I like it . . .

The findings above confirm the findings in a study by Bagwell (2011) in Tower Hamlets, London. She too found that the area which had a high concentration of takeaway outlets run by ethnic minorities provided a culturally acceptable place to eat. Furthermore, consuming traditional food enables a feeling of social belonging and group identity (Warde, 1997). Bagwell also found, however, that non-Muslim owned outlets are less trusted by consumers to serve halal meat that has been slaughtered lawfully (Bagwell, 2011) and therefore traditional outlets make up an important part of the community.

6.4.3 Financial resources: value for money

When asked about financial resources and buying takeaway food, most participants referred to takeaway foods as expensive. The unprompted topic of getting 'value for money' emerged frequently, however, the participant's definitions of 'value for money' were diverse. This appeared to be dependent upon two interrelated factors: actual

financial resource availability and values. The participants that expressed financial hardship tended to associate value for money with the quantity of food, whereas the participants that did not express financial hardship tended to associate value for money with the quality of food. Basic needs are required to be fulfilled (quantity of food) before additional needs can be considered (quality of food).

Charlotte has a budget of £50 per week to feed her family of four. She spoke about her preference for being able to eat as much as she wants at takeaway buffets:

> . . . we just go to one of the buffets where it's cheaper. We used to go to one which was £8, eat as much as you want and we go to this other one which has got more things on the menu, £15 per person. We go for things like that. We don't go spending £6 for one dish. We pick the cheaper option.

Gabby referred to her strategy of obtaining the full value of her takeaway by consuming the entire portion, even though she perceives it as too large: ". . . a portion size should be no bigger than your palm, like your fist . . . but if my take away comes and I paid for it, I'm going to eat it all."

Charles, who recently moved to England from his home country, did not express any financial hardship. When asked about his thoughts on the price of takeaway food, he associated value for money with food quality:

> Charles: I think—I just can compare it to where I'm actually from—I think here it is a bit more expensive but I think the quality is bit better. It's not just the food you can buy everywhere, so I think the value for money here is actually quite good.
>
> Interviewer: So, even though it's a little more expensive, that's reflected in the quality?
>
> Charles: Yes.

Some participants who experienced more recent financial hardship expressed their desire for quality but also their lack of financial resources to fulfil it. Emma repeatedly described the quality of food as important to her, which she defined as fresh, healthy and locally sourced; however, her current financial situation as a student did not allow her to fulfil her desire for good quality food: “. . . you’re paying for quality aren’t you.

That's the thing. And it is something you need to consider but when you have no money a lot of the time, it's kind of like, well, what am I going to do about it?"

The findings above show that having a low income leads to a desire for large quantities of food, whereas financial stability leads to a desire for good quality food. Furthermore, past financial stability also lead to a desire for good quality food. If using income as a proxy for class, similar findings are shown in Bourdieu's empirical work (1984). He observed that ". . . the working class meal is characterized by plenty" (1984:192); a taste for the most economical and filling foods formed from conditions of having a low income. Whilst "the bourgeoisie is concerned to eat with all due form . . . with quality more important than quantity" (1984:195). This is what he describes as "the opposition between the tastes of luxury (or freedom) and the tastes of necessity (1984:177). To Bourdieu, upper classes are concerned with form rather than function in order to socially distance themselves from tastes of necessity. Warde (1997) too suggests that values of indulgence and economy resonate lower class features, whereas health pursuits, such as the desire for good quality food, resonate as middle-class features. Some have argued that the divide between the taste of the classes is diminishing in more recent times in place of a mass culture with a common, popular taste for food (Adorno & Bernstein, 2001) such as that of fast food (Ritzer, 2001). The results here show that whilst a common taste for takeaway food exists among people with different income brackets, there is still a divide between desires for particular properties of such food.

This suggests that the rest of their diets may also be defined by desires for such properties of quantity or quality.

6.4.4 Using knowledge and skills versus the desire for variety

During the interviews, all of the participants indicated that they had at least basic knowledge and cooking skills. However, a desire for gastronomic variety meant that participants sought increasingly complex or diverse dishes and cuisines in exchange for minimal effort.

When asked how she feels about her diet, Karolina's answer showed that she had basic nutritional awareness: "I think bread is still nutritious but it's not making people slimmer but everyone needs that bread, so. About me, I can tell you that all Asian food is cooked with oil and is very fatty and this will not help you to lose weight, it's just helping to gain weight."

Anthony explained that he often cooks for himself and his wife: "I tend to make my own lunch and a couple of times a week I might make dinner in advance . . . when we're [Anthony and his wife] home, we'll just both share the cooking." The main factor that

influences him to get Chinese takeaway was ". . . the variety with a Chinese. It's the fact that you can get duck and things like that. Stuff you just wouldn't normally make."

Sonia described her diet as nutritionally poor: "I'm happy with what I eat but when you look at our food, it's not very healthy. It's got cooking oil and ghee and I think our vegetables are cooked 'til they're dead." She prepares traditional Indian food on most days from recipes that have been passed down through her family, except when she has her regular weekend takeaway. She expressed her desire for different types of food on the weekend and that it would be too much work at home:

> We get KFC a lot because we're usually eating the Indian stuff during the week. We get KFC, McDonalds, pizza, and then sometimes we get from the Asian takeaways, curries, chapattis, but I prefer, you know, the snack foods? Like samosas, stuff like that . . . It's a lot of work at home from scratch. Like we went to have breakfast today at Frankie and Benny's and [think about] making all that stuff at home!

Since purchasing and consuming takeaway food does not require food preparation, cooking, recipe or food knowledge (to a certain extent), it could be perceived that one may consume takeaway food due to a lack of one or all of these attributes. Cooking

skills have been suggested to be in decline in England (Caraher, et al., 1999). Furthermore, a lack of cooking skills has been identified as a strong predictor of ready meal consumption elsewhere (Van der Horst, et al., 2011). However, the findings in this study show that the participants, at least during interview, indicated basic nutritional knowledge and cooking ability. The findings here are consistent with other studies that have also identified a desire for variety when choosing to eat takeaway food. In Bagwell's (2011) interviews with takeaway outlet owners in Tower Hamlets, the owners stated that their customers bought fried chicken because they could not make it at home, it was a treat or a welcome alternative. Furthermore, UK-wide market research by Mintel (2016) has also identified a desire for variety influencing the choice to eat takeaway food. Similarly, in their qualitative study of convenience foods available on the Irish market, including takeaway foods, de Boer & McCarthy (2005) found that a particular type of consumer increasingly desired variety. This type of consumer, they propose, is the 'adventurous' type that prefers foods prepared outside of the home such as takeaways, is very involved with food, and to whom food represents novelty. The study by de Boer and McCarthy was, however, undertaken from a market research perspective in an attempt to categorise and focus target markets and therefore may not be useful to use from a health perspective.

From a theoretical perspective, Warde (1997) proposes that desires for gastronomic variety are becoming increasingly common due to consumer culture and modern capitalism that is revenue-driven and consequently promotes novel foods. In contrast,

Peterson & Kern (1996) suggest that in the US, the desire for variety and display of eclectic tastes represents a marker of social distinction; a display of what Bourdieu has termed, 'cultural capital' (1986:47). This non-financial form of capital relates to the possession of particular dispositions or competencies which are used (consciously or unconsciously) to attempt promote social mobility. While it is not clear from the findings which theory best explains the data, if either, such theories bring context to modern consumption with regards to desiring a variety of food, including that of takeaway food.

6.4.5 Summary

The 'resources' category highlights a number of issues. Firstly, it was the participants' perception of their time availability and not their actual time availability that influenced their choice to purchase takeaway food, as a way of making more time for both essential and non-essential activities. Also, some participants used takeaway food as a form of weekend respite from their usual weekday duties. Takeaway food outlets provide an ideal opportunity to eat a hot, 'bulky' meal whilst travelling, particularly late at night when very little else is available and home cooking is deemed as inappropriate. These factors would suggest that there is a demand for quick, hot meals that are satisfying and filling on-the-go. Furthermore, late at night is therefore a key time where availability of and exposure to takeaway foods is highest as healthier, pre-prepared meal options are much less available.

Secondly, participants were exposed to takeaway outlets on travel routes and stated that they consumed more takeaway food as a result. Family members also consumed takeaway food as a result of participants travelling past takeaway outlets. This shows that exposure to (travelling past) takeaway outlets can affect more than just the exposed individual and therefore studies that only take the exposed individual into account may underestimate effects. Some participants perceived the area as lacking healthy options, however, the area provides a culturally acceptable eating place for ethnic minorities and may provide such groups with a feeling of social belonging and group identity.

Third, although the participants with different incomes all consumed takeaways, the participants with lower incomes desired a larger quantity of food such as that served at all-you-can-eat buffets, whilst the participants that were not under financial hardship preferred good quality food. This shows that there may still be a class taste divide for properties of food when using income as a proxy measure.

Lastly, nutritional knowledge and cooking skills were not absent in this group of participants, but the participants desired a variety of food that they could not or did not want to make at home, causing them to seek takeaway foods. This desire for a variety

of foods outside the home may be becoming increasingly common in place of home cooking.

6.5 Social factors

6.5.1 Bonding with others

The majority of the participants referred to the consumption of takeaway food as a social activity. Takeaway food consumption was often perceived by participants a social activity in its own right, and also was associated with numerous other social activities and events such as birthdays and anniversaries, as well as being an integral part of alcohol-drinking nightlife culture. Lastly, obtaining takeaway food was perceived as a way of bonding with outlet owners and being a part of the community.

Emma, 26, consumes takeaway food as a way of bonding with an old friend of hers when they meet. She explicitly stated that eating pizza brings her and her friend together again:

> Friday my friend is coming over to visit and stay with me—my friend from home, so that'll be a takeaway . . . it's about bringing people together

> again. That's what it's about isn't it. That's what pizza does for me and Julia.

Emma clarified that consuming takeaway food is particularly sociable because it involves sharing food:

> My friend, she lives kind of north Manchester, so we don't get to see each other that often otherwise we'd be getting together at the weekend and like you know, watching a movie, getting a takeaway, sharing it. I love that . . . Me and my brother, for example, and his girlfriend, the three of us will always make sure we order different meals that we open up and that we can all pick off each other's plates.

Specifically, the act of physically sharing a single takeaway meal is used as a way to bond and affirm relationships, and the large portion sizes generally associated with takeaway foods are well-suited for sharing. Furthermore, the social sharing of takeaway foods acts as a form of hedonism and indulgence. A common anthropological concept is that eating as a social event marks boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, indicating social distance (Warde & Martens, 2000). In their qualitative research with English urban populations exploring the social

aspect of eating out of the home, Warde & Martens (2000) found that social events (meeting friends, birthdays, anniversaries etc.) were perceived as markers of social belonging and intimacy. They identified that for these events, “the meal symbolizes a socially significant, temporally specific occasion” (Warde & Martens, 2000:217). In their study of convenience foods in Ireland, de Boer & McCarthy (2005) found that takeaway food was also viewed by participants as a social event, but less so than for convenience. The partipants in the present study, however, highlighted that takeaway food consumption can act very much as a social event alongside special occasions or when meeting friends.

Laura, a 34-year-old student who spoke about once regularly going to bars and nightclubs some years prior to her interview, referred to the consumption of takeaway foods after alcohol consumption as a social component of the night out:

> It was definitely a social activity in regards of we're out, we're partying, it's 4 o'clock in the morning, let's go get take away. That's very social because, you know, in a way it's like another logical phase of going to the party. So in that sense, very social thing.

Here, takeaway and fast food enables affirmation of social relationships in the act of group hedonism within youth nighttime drinking culture. Similarly, in their study of young Irish video gamers, Cronin & McCarthy (2011) found that the participants shared fast food consumption habits which allowed them to celebrate group identity, as well as a hedonistic escape and a means of rebelling from parents. Such findings have been suggested to be due to the influence of the media and commercial promotion and the increasing centrality of unhealthy foods in social contexts (British Medical Association, 2003), thus such eating habits are suggested to be integrated into youth culture (Stevenson, et al., 2007).

Finally, having positive relationships with local takeaway outlet owners was important to a number of participants. Emma recently moved away from her family home to study. She expressed that when she visits home there are local takeaway outlets that she and her mother regularly visit, with whom they have formed friendly relationships as local customers and local traders:

> So like, you know at home, you know, in your family environment, there's always that Chinese that you go to. Like you have your Chinese, you have your chippy or your Indian or whatever it is. You're usually on first name terms with the people that work there . . . She [Emma's mother] knows them, she's on first name terms with them. She gave them a Christmas

> present. I live in quite a small Irish community in the middle of nowhere . . . I think if you bought a house, like, if I lived, let's say, right here, my local would be the Caribbean across the road so I would probably become on a first name basis with them or the Chinese down the road. They would probably be my locals had I bought a house and lived here. Because it's your local environment and it's your community and that's where you obviously buy and sell.

It is not only the residents of a neighbourhood that form the local community, but also the people who trade within the neighbourhood, and takeaway food outlet owners and employees, are no exception. This may be especially true for small, independent outlets as they are likely to serve a smaller population and therefore have more regular customers. In her discussion of the value of sense of community, Farahani (2016) argues that a sense of community can enhance feelings of belonging, community identity, civic participation and security. Furthermore, she points out that within boundaries of small neighbourhoods and suburbs, the local commercial street represents "the context of social life and interaction among residents" (Farahani & Lozanovska, 2014). Bagwell (2011) also found that takeaway outlets formed an integral part of the community as they provided small seating areas for young men and women to meet. The findings of the present study build on this to include the outlet owners/employees within the definition of 'community'.

6.5.2 Forming routines and traditions

For many of the participants, consuming takeaway food socially formed an integral part of their regular routines and traditions. The few participants who spoke less frequently about eating takeaway as a social activity did not cite such routines and traditions. Participants that had partners and/or children most frequently discussed routine takeaway food consumption, and cited weekends as the time that they routinely consumed such food. Numerous participants discussed an association of such routines and traditions with their childhood and the subsequent continuation during adulthood, whereas others had formed newer routines and traditions with their partners, children, and friends (see Sonia, section 6.4.1 and Emma and Laura, section 6.5.1).

Emma, 26, described the tradition she formed with her housemate of getting takeaway food every Friday. She subsequently explained her decision process of choosing which takeaway to purchase based on factors such as reviews and costs, which then became second nature once she had found a place she knew and trusted:

> I lived in Glasgow in a flat with just one other guy and every Friday we would generally get a pizza . . . I look at price and I look at reviews and I look at delivery costs. Like, before when I was in Glasgow when I was living with Tom, it was generally either a Pizza Hut or a Domino's getting

> delivered because you know, we both trusted it. We knew it. And then once we found the ideal Indian we started using them all the time because we realised we were getting a good amount of food for a really good price and it was really tasty.

People have been shown to develop eating routines (Bisogni, et al., 2011) and scripts (Blake, et al., 2008) in order to simplify daily food decisions. In their study of the types of food decisions that are necessary to make before eating, Wansik and Sobal (2007) suggest that over 200 are made every day, such as what to eat, where to eat, whether it will be enjoyable and so forth; most of which are made subconsciously to save time and energy. For many of the participants, weekend takeaway consumption has become engrained into routines.

Emma frequently described takeaway food consumption as part of what she defined as a 'ritual' together with her family and friends: "It's a ritual. It is a ritual, definitely. I love it. I only wish I could do it more but that wouldn't be good on my waistline." She also consumes takeaway food as part of a ritual during what she refers to as 'hangover day':

> I will always get a takeaway on a hangover . . . But yeah, hangover day, because a hangover day is like a ritual as well, you know? . . . Like you

nominate somebody to get up and go to the shop at the beginning of the day, which is usually my boyfriend.

The findings above demonstrate that takeaway consumption as a 'ritual' activity with others can, once again, be perceived as an act of social bonding. In his discussion of cultural consumption, Warde (1997) argues that food consumption traditions enable social belonging and group identity through sharing of the same practices. That is to say, similarity creates group identity.

Gabby, 55, described herself as growing up in a working-class family. She recounted that eating fish and chips is an old tradition of working-class families dating back to her childhood: "Fish and chips on a Friday because that was what you did."

Above, Gabby is justifying her consumption of fish and chips by stating that such practices were normal for working class families when she was a child. Warde (1997) proposes that defining practices as traditions also serves as a rhetorical device to legitimate conducts or preferences, under the 'sanctity of tradition'. Furthermore, as Walton (1992) describes in his writings concerning the British fish and chip shop, fish and chips are perceived by many as a national British working class dish. Anderson

(1991) proposes that nations are 'imagined communities', where shared practices symbolise collective social belonging and a national identity.

6.5.3 Being influenced by others

Numerous participants described that takeaway food consumption was influenced by others, such as friends, family and partners. Similarly, some participants refrained from eating takeaway food because others were refraining, either because they felt self-conscious or they had no one to consume it with.

When asked what the main influence was for her in consuming takeaway foods, Amira expressed that it was because her husband wanted to eat it as he does not get a chance to eat lunch on Fridays after praying at the local Mosque. Although Amira herself does have time to eat lunch, she joins him every Friday in eating takeaway foods:

> Since I've known him, seven, eight years, he's had a take-out on a Friday night because he doesn't get to have lunch that day . . . and It's always going to be let's just both of us have it.

Emma described that she sometimes feels obliged to eat a takeaway with her mother as she suspects that her mother would be offended if she refuses, even though Emma wishes to eat more healthily:

> . . . I don’t want to step on my mum’s toes and be like ‘oh, I’m just going to buy my own food and eat what I like to eat’ because she’ll get a bit offended by that as well, so.

Gabby discussed the peer-pressure that her stepdaughter and goddaughter experience to be seen by others eating in specific takeaway outlets that were endorsed by celebrities:

> I've got a stepdaughter and goddaughter and because they're brought up in the area, there's a lot of peer pressure. Like there's a, I don't know if you've seen it, Archie's it's called. It's like a burger and shake bar which is all around celebrities and all of that stuff. My goddaughter is 13 and she wants to go there. If I say do you want to go out somewhere, she doesn't even like burgers but she wants to go and have a shake and be seen in this place. A lot of peer pressure.

Likewise, Emma highlighted the peer-pressure she experiences herself from her housemates who are 'health-conscious', which causes her to refrain from purchasing takeaway food:

> Less likely to [get a takeaway] in the house that I currently live in and I do think it's because I am more conscious that they [housemates] don't get takeaways as much. Well the guy would . . . But the other two girls, they would be very food health conscious . . . so that would make me more conscious about what I eat and 'do I need to get a takeaway?'

The findings above suggest that there are numerous ways that others can influence the consumption of takeaway food. Firstly, there is passive influence, where food is eaten in participation with others (either for practicality or to socialise). Secondly, there is obligation, where food is provided and it is socially unacceptable to refuse it. Lastly, there is peer pressure, which can either cause increased or decreased consumption, dependent on the beliefs of others.

In their review of social influence of others on food choice, Herman, Roth, & Polivy (2003) highlight that the desire to adhere to social norms may be an explanation for eating similarly. Cruwys et al. (2015) point out that people that are familiar with each

other such as couples are likely to develop common eating norms and therefore the process becomes an unconscious, automatic decision, which may explicate the present findings.

Adolescence marks a life stage where peer approval is perceived as very important (Coleman, 2011). In agreement with the present findings, other studies have also found that peer pressure to eat takeaway and fast food is especially prevalent amongst young people. In their study of school children in the deprived London borough of Tower Hamlets, Caraher et al. (2014) found that many children were purchasing fast food before and after school for a number of reasons, such as being hungry after school, the takeaway outlet being better value for money and importantly, that their friends were using them. This is an important time of life where behaviours surrounding food are particularly vulnerable to the influence of peers.

6.5.4 Summary

The 'social factors' category highlights a number of important social issues concerning takeaway consumption. Firstly, takeaway food supports social relationships. It is used by many in conjunction with social occasions as it is particularly suitable for hedonistic acts of sharing food, acting as a marker of social belonging and intimacy. It is also an important part of youth night-time drinking culture, as it supports social bonding and

symbolises hedonism and group identity. Futhermore, the act of purchasing takeaway food fosters community relationships.

Secondly, takeaway food is engrained in the routines of many of the participants and can be seen as predictable and trustworthy, making it an easy choice. Takeaway consumption was also a ritualistic, traditional activity which enabled social bonding and formation of group identity through sharing of similar practices. Furthermore, fish and chips specifically can be seen to represent a traditional British working class dish, which symbolises national identity and collective social belonging. Consumption of takeaway food is legitimated by defining it as a tradition.

Finally, the participants were influenced by others to eat takeaway food in three ways: passive influence (eating in participation), obligation (where it is socially unacceptable to refuse it) and peer pressure. Participants with established relationships participated with others eating practices perhaps due to established social norms, whilst younger participants were more susceptible to peer pressure.

6.6 Personal factors

6.6.1 Values

The participants described a variety of values that they consider when making food-decisions, such as saving time (see section 6.4.1), consuming good quality food or large quantities of food (see section 6.4.3), variety (see section 6.4.4) and health. Such values have been found in studies analysing values considered when purchasing convenience food (de Boer & McCarthy, 2005; Costa, et al., 2007; Kahma, et al., 2016).

Furthermore, the maintenance of cultural identity was found to be an important value in the present analysis. Amira, 29, a second generation British Pakistani, described her parents' traditional values concerning takeaway food. Her parents viewed the provision of takeaway food as substandard: "we can do better than that at home", and disrespectful:

> . . . even now for my dad, a take-out would be just no - *"We can't have a take-out, how disrespectful, what are [potential visitors] going to think? We can't be bothered to cook?"*

Despite her parents' traditional values, Amira described personally consuming takeaway food every weekend with her husband, however, she ensures she cooks Pakistani food at least twice per week to prevent her children from 'forgetting' their culture. Furthermore, she expresses the lack of cultural identity she feels from being both British and Pakistani:

> Where do we stand in our culture? We are already lost . . . It's like when we're here, our parents are like, *"Oh, we're Pakistani, dress like Pakistani, talk like Pakistani."* But when we go Pakistan, my dad buys my brothers trousers and shirts and ties and we speak in English . . . *"Oh, we've come from England. We don't belong here. We are from England. We are British."*

The findings here are somewhat consistent with other studies of the food practices of British Bangladeshis in Tower Hamlets (Vaughan, 2011) and South Asians in the US (Becerra et al., 2014). Although the population from tower hamlets were Bangladeshi, they practiced Islam (as did the participants in this study) which may enable some comparison. In these studies, first generations perceived out of home food as substandard and valued traditional practices. However, Vaughan (2011) found that whilst second generations also valued quicker, easier food solutions, this was because of a lack of food literacy with English foods and therefore Bangladeshi takeaway food

was identifiable. In the present study, however, it is a feeling of loss of cultural identity which has left the participant confused about eating practices.

6.6.2 Controlling damage

Numerous participants discussed methods of control of their own or their family's diets in relation to takeaway food consumption. A method discussed by various participants was that of 'damage-control'. If the participants or their children wanted takeaway food but they also valued eating healthily, employing damage-control meant still consuming takeaway food but selecting a healthier option.

Jack described how he attempts to control the healthiness and portion size of takeaway food, as well as the frequency he consumes it: "If I have to go, I'll go for the least-worst option, you know, so it will be like three samosas and that's it, so that least-worst option than just fried . . . if I can go without it for two months it's a bonus."

Robert, a father of two young girls, described his struggle with the dynamics of family food provision. Similarly, he expressed concern for eating healthily and used damage-control methods when getting takeaway food for him and his family:

> . . . about quantity and quality control . . . sometimes you're never quite sure how much is going to turn up when you order something, and so we'll say *"Right, well, there's four of us, let's order for three and see how we get on"* . . . We choose our takeaways. Some, we know we get perhaps a nice salad that comes with it.

Amira indicated that she accepts eating takeaway food twice per week as she mostly prepares food from scratch. This represents yet another form of damage-control: “Because five, six days a week I'm cooking at home, then I don't mind having a cheat twice a week.”

Laura, 34, stated that as long as takeaway food was of better quality, then she did not feel as guilty about eating it: “If the food is better quality and it seems at least more healthy and if it's not outright unhealthy, then I don't have to feel guilty about eating it.”

The above findings are consistent with another study of parental fast food provision. In their qualitative study of 11 mothers in New Zealand, Bava et al. (2008) found that the women mentally rationalised provision of fast food to their children. A healthy side

option of apple slices meant that they could categorise it as more of a balanced meal, regardless of the burger and chips that made up a substantial portion of the meal.

The findings here show that the participants justify their choice to eat takeaway foods by counter-balancing it with something they perceive as a healthier practice. In health research, the belief that one is able to counter a negative health action with a positive one has been termed a 'compensatory health belief' (Knäuper, et al., 2004). Such beliefs are suggested to have arisen over the past few decades due to an increasing focus upon healthy practices. Individuals experience mental conflict when they wish to indulge in pleasurable behaviours but they are simultaneously aware of potentially negative effects on health. Compensatory health beliefs, therefore, "enable individuals to keep the best of both worlds: eating the cake, but not feeling guilty about it" (Knäuper, et al., 2004:608). What this does show, however, is that there is a concern for health among consumers, yet there is no desire to eliminate takeaway foods from their diet all together.

6.6.3 Summary

A number of issues within the final category, 'personal factors', were found. Firstly, the participants were found to consider certain values that influence their choice to eat takeaway foods and subsequently what to eat. These were taste, quality, quantity, health, variety and maintenance of cultural identity. Confusion of cultural identity was experienced by some participants as a result of growing up with two nationalities, which in turn caused confusion regarding appropriate food practices.

Additionally, the participants described counterbalancing unhealthy takeaway food consumption with healthier practices as a way of rationalising it, both for themselves and their children. This enabled them to partake in indulgent behaviour without experiencing the feelings of guilt associated with such behaviour. The participants were concerned for their health but did not wish to eliminate takeaway food from their diet.

6.7 Conclusions

The extant literature concerning takeaway and fast food consumption is predominantly occupied by quantitative research that assesses environmental influences upon consumption and subsequent health outcomes. However, studies have been cross-sectional in design and therefore causality has not been identified. Nevertheless, local councils have formed supplementary policies to restrict the proliferation of hot food takeaways.

The present findings have identified numerous local sensitivities which should inform further qualitative research into the issue. Once accumulated, the research should then be considered as part of the evidence base for the formation of future local governmental policy regarding takeaway and fast food outlets. Furthermore, the use of grounded theory methodology allows for transferability of findings to other areas and different food-related contexts.

The findings of the research show that time that was once allocated for food preparation is now being replaced by other activities and consequently there is an increasing demand for hot, bulky meals on-the-go, available at all times of the day. Furthermore, such food needs to be culturally acceptable (culturally specific recipes and/or halal) for some ethnic minority residents. The findings show that there is both a demand for and

a lack of healthier options that satisfy all of these criteria. It would therefore be useful for local government to work with existing takeaway food outlets (that are already licensed to remain open late at night) to serve healthier meal options that satisfy all of the above criteria.

Furthermore, takeaway food is perceived as a weekend treat, break, and hedonistic indulgence that supports social relationships and also night time drinking culture. Large portion sizes and low price points, particularly at buffet-style restaurants, appeal to low income residents. These findings suggest that some people are less likely to choose healthier or smaller portion options if made available, and therefore working with outlet owners and employees to improve the quality of ingredients and covertly reformulate recipes to improve nutritional content may be a key strategy in improving food offerings at existing outlets. Current policy to reduce the proliferation of outlets is unlikely to affect the consumer demands uncovered in this research.

An important finding was that school children and adolescents are likely to be particularly affected by peer pressure and peer influence to eat takeaway and fast foods, especially in places that are modern and marketed towards a young population (such as milkshake bars). Current policy that restricts planning permission for new takeaway outlets near schools may prevent school children having access to even more outlets, but it will not prevent them from accessing the outlets already nearby. Outlets

that particularly appeal to children and adolescents offer fashionable products such as American-style desserts and calorie-dense milkshakes. Such outlets require particular attention concerning potential interventions such as recipe reformulation before dangerous food trends are allowed to spiral out of control.

Chapter Seven: Final Conclusions

7.1 Synthesis of the research findings and final conclusions

This research has given a detailed account of the issue of takeaway foods in Rusholme and the surrounding areas by considering a broad range of factors that influence food choice. The geographical mapping of takeaway food outlets has provided valuable information regarding locations and populations which need the most attention from local governmental initiatives, and it has also highlighted that many areas will be unaffected by current initiatives. Whereas, the qualitative study has provided the community residing in the area with a voice. It is vital to recognise and explore the local sociocultural sensitivities that influence food choices made by the local and wider community. The findings of this research have unearthed numerous local sensitivities as well as wider determinants of food choice associated with broad sociocultural shifts in values. The evidence provided from this research should inform future research into this key issue, which once accumulated, can be considered as part of the evidence base in the formation of future policy regarding takeaway and fast food outlets, both locally and in other areas.

The findings here show that there has been a marked shift in the way that people allocate their time, and that there is an increasing demand for fast, bulky, hot meals that are available on-the-go 24/7. There is a demand for healthier options that satisfy these criteria that are available at the same times and with the same ease as current takeaway food offerings, however, some also enjoy the hedonistic treat that takeaway foods provide. Large portions and low price points are important to a lower-income population, whilst ethnic minority communities require offerings that are culturally acceptable. Young people are particularly vulnerable to peer influence to consume fast and takeaway foods, especially with fashionable takeaway outlets that are targeted towards this demographic and most schools, colleges and universities have a plethora of existing outlets to choose from. Furthermore, areas that are concentrated with outlets will especially expose the neighbourhood and working community as well as commuters, some of which are students. Restriction of planning permission is likely to be ineffective in these areas, and therefore local government initiatives should work with existing outlets to improve the quality of offerings, without impacting on profitability as the outlets are a vital source of income. This is likely to be a significant challenge, however, a growing body of evidence is accumulating which will help local authorities with such work (Bagwell, et al., 2014).

7.2 Contribution to existing knowledge and recommendations for practice

The evidence that this research has presented can be used by local authorities for the consideration of targeted approaches and interventions that take local sensitivities within the community into account. This research contributes to a very small existing evidence base taking into account such detailed local factors which are vital for the formation of targeted approaches. This evidence will be transferable to similar areas in the UK and elsewhere and, furthermore, the use of grounded theory methodology enables the evidence from the qualitative study to be used in other food choice contexts.

A number of key areas have been identified and subsequent recommendations for future practice in takeaway food initiatives are as follows:

1. There is a demand for healthier options by some but these need to be as satisfying, convenient and widely available as current offerings, therefore working with existing takeaway businesses to provide such offerings is vital;
2. Some enjoy the indulgent qualities of current offerings and show no desire for healthy options. Working with existing businesses to covertly improve the quality and nutritional profile of current offerings is therefore an important issue;

3. Price points are an important factor for both the consumer and business owners, therefore, healthier and better quality options should not impact profitability;
4. Particular attention should be given to outlets which appeal to children and young adults such as new milkshake bars so that dangerous trends cannot spiral further out of control;
5. Concentrated areas of takeaway outlets in combination with other independent retail outlets are an important social eating space and provide a sense of social belonging as well as sources of income. Future policy should take into account such factors and recognise that these communities require culturally acceptable food provisions;
6. Further work with takeaway businesses is necessary to explore methods of recipe reformulation that affect taste and price minimally;
7. Existing takeaway outlets already surround the majority of schools, colleges and universities. It is important to consider the restriction of opening hours in such outlets, as well as the provision of healthier and better quality options at the same price point. As students have free choice, nutritional education is also a key factor in tackling the issue.

7.3 Methodological strengths and limitations

A number of strengths of this research should be recognised. Firstly, there is very little existing qualitative literature available to explore how people experience eating takeaway foods, in the UK or elsewhere. Qualitative research is essential in order to understand culturally specific meanings and perceptions that individuals give to their situations (Maxwell, 2005). Specifically, the use of grounded theory methodology to analyse the qualitative data collected in this study has allowed the analysis to remain 'grounded' within the data, yet it transcends descriptive accounts and instead accounts for social processes that are happening in the data (Charmaz, 2014). The findings are therefore useful in other food choice contexts. Furthermore, by combining the geographical exploration of the takeaway environment with the qualitative data, local sensitivities that would ordinarily be missed if only using one method have been identified. Finally, the area is comparable to the neighbourhoods with large ethnic minority communities, high student populations and high concentrations of takeaway outlets that are found so frequently in the UK and the findings are therefore transferable to other settings and contexts.

Some methodological limitations should be considered. Firstly, some bias may have occurred from the use of mostly secondary data during the mapping stage of the study. For example, takeaway outlet owners must alert their local council if they cease trading,

however, some may not have done so. Furthermore, the analysis of small, independent outlets in this study is likely to underestimate the availability of fast and takeaway foods, as it has not considered restaurants that provide takeaway food, mobile food units or large fast food businesses.

7.4 Recommendations for further research

The research here has uncovered a number of topics which require further investigation for the formation of effective and targeted strategies. Firstly, further research and pilot studies are required to explore options for takeaway food recipe reformulation that affects price points and taste minimally. Subsequently, consumer demand for such foods needs to be further explored and this demand is required to be proven to takeaway outlet owners. Furthermore, detailed local analyses similar to the present research should be undertaken in different contexts where various other factors may come into play, including further qualitative research from a business perspective. There is no one-size-fits-all approach and local policy should be targeted at their respective local communities.

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Appendices

A
Participant information sheet and informed consent

Participant Information Sheet

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Before you decide you need to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Ask questions if anything you read is not clear or would like more information and take time to decide whether or not to take part.

Takeaway foods are now taking up a large part of the UK diet. The type of food sold at small, independent takeaway outlets has been shown to be very high in calories, fat, sugar and salt. Eating this type of food regularly may have a poor effect on health. The population in the North West area of England has high levels of obesity and diet-related disease, therefore research into eating behaviour in this area is needed. If you agree to take part in this research study, you will be asked to take part in an interview about takeaway foods.

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of this research is to find out more about the social and cultural aspects of eating takeaway foods, for example, why, when and where people eat them and who they eat them with. The information found from this research will add to the knowledge about takeaway food eating behaviour which informs local policy about things like the location of takeaway outlets and healthier takeaway meals.

Why have I been invited?

You have been chosen to take part in this study because you live in Rusholme or within 2 km of Rusholme in Manchester. About 30 people are required to take part in this study.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide. We will describe the study and go through the information sheet, which we will give to you. We will then ask you to sign a consent form to show you agreed to take part. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason.

What will happen to me if I take part?

You will be asked to take part in a short one-to-one interview which will last around 30 to 60 minutes. This interview will be recorded using a digital audio recorder. The interview will take place at a time and location that is suitable for you, for example where you were recruited (e.g. your local community centre), Manchester Metropolitan

University offices or your home. The interview will be used to discuss your behaviours and why you eat/don't eat takeaway foods, when and where you eat them, your thoughts about healthier takeaway foods and feelings about your own diet and weight. The interview will then be typed up and you may be sent this document to check that you are happy that the information is correct.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?
Discussing diet and weight can be a sensitive subject for some people to discuss. Please remember that you are free to stop taking part in the research at any time.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?
Some participants may value the opportunity to discuss their views about takeaway foods. By taking part, you will be contributing to knowledge that informs local policy about takeaway foods which may benefit your community in the future.

What if there is a problem?
If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should ask to speak to the researchers who will do their best to answer your questions (Jennifer Blow, [telephone number]). If you wish to complain formally about any aspect of this study such as the way you have been approached or treated, you should contact the project supervisor, Rebecca Gregg on [telephone number].

If you came to any harm as a result of taking part in this study, there are no special compensation arrangements. If you are harmed due to someone's negligence (but not otherwise), then you may have grounds for legal action but you may have to pay for this.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?
All information which is collected about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential, and any information about you which leaves the university will have your name and address removed so that you cannot be recognised. Electronic data will be stored on a password protected computer known only to the researcher. Data in tape or paper form will be stored in a locked cabinet within a locked office, accessed only by the researcher. The information you provide will be retained for a maximum of three years and disposed of securely.

What will happen to the results of the research study?
The anonymous information you provide will be used as part of a research thesis to be held at Manchester Metropolitan University. A report of the research may be published in a scientific journal which adds to the knowledge about eating behaviour regarding takeaway foods in the North West. You are entitled to a summary of the report which will be available on request from Jennifer Blow (contact details below).

Who is sponsoring the research?
Manchester Metropolitan University.

Further information and contact details:
If you have any further questions please contact Jennifer Blow (the researcher):

[email]

or

[Telephone number]

Thank you for taking the time to read this information

Hollings Faculty
Righton Building
All Saints Campus
Manchester Metropolitan University
M15 6BH

CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: **An exploration into the social and cultural aspects of takeaway consumption in two areas of Manchester**

Name of Researcher: **Jennifer Blow**

Participant Identification Number for interview:

Please initial all boxes

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated _____ for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily. ☐

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason, without my legal rights being affected. ☐

3. I understand that my responses will be sound recorded and used for analysis for this research project. ☐

4. I understand that my responses will remain anonymous. ☐

5. I understand that at my request a transcript of my interview can be made available to me. ☐

6. I agree to take part in the above study. ☐

It is your choice to initial the following boxes

7. I give permission for my interview recording to be archived as part of this research project, making it available to future researchers. ☐

8. I give permission for the researcher to send the interview transcripts to me for me to check that I am happy with the information. ☐

Name of Participant	Date	Signature
Name of Person taking consent.	Date	Signature

B
Primary interview guide

Interview Guide

- Investigator to introduce participant to the research topic and talk through participant information sheet and informed consent

Question topics

Behaviour:

- General meal/snack consumption patterns
- Cooking habits
- Type of takeaway meals consumed (cuisine and specific meals) and why
- Context (when/where/who with/how much consumed/what for i.e. meal/snack)
- Reasons for takeaway food consumption
- Visits to particular outlets and why
- How obtain takeaway foods e.g. travel to outlet (if so, how), home delivery
- Social role in household

Beliefs and feelings:

- Food and health
- Nutritional value of takeaway foods
- Attitudes towards healthier options
- Mood and feelings before/whilst/after takeaway food consumption
- Facilitating/impeding factors of takeaway food consumption
- Availability i.e. density of outlets in neighbourhood
- Acceptability of takeaway foods
- Affordability of takeaways foods and healthy foods

Probe examples:

Tell me about…
How…
What…
When…
Could you describe X further?
What is that like?
How does that affect you?
When do you most…
How does that compare with…
How do you feel when…
What does that mean to you?

C

Glaser's theoretical coding families

Coding families	Concepts
The Six C's	Causes, Context, Contingencies, Consequences, Covariances, Conditions
Process	Stage, Staging, Phases, Phasing, Progressions, Passages, Gradation, Transitions, Steps, Ranks, Careers, Ordering, Trajectories, Chains, Sequencing, Temporaling, Shaping, Cycling
Degree	Limit, Range, Intensity, Extent, Amount, Polarity, Extreme, Boundary, Rank, Grades, Continuum
Type	Type, Form, Kinds, Styles, Classes, Genre
Strategy	Strategies, Tactics, Mechanisms, Management
Interactive	Mutual Effects, Reciprocity, Mutual Trajectory, Mutual Dependency, Interdependence, Interaction of effects
Identity-Self	Self-image, Self-concept, Self-worth, Self-evaluation, Identity, Social worth, Self-realization, Transformation of self, Conversions of identity
Cutting Point	Boundary, Critical juncture, Cutting point, Turning point, Deviance, Point of no return
Means-goal	End, Purpose, Goal, Anticipated consequences, Products
Cultural	Social norms, Social values, Social belief, Social Sentiments

Glaser's coding families

Source: Adapted from Glaser (1978:75-82)

D

Table D1: *LSOA population density and takeaway food outlet density in the Rusholme + 2 km buffer area*

LSOA code	**LSOA Area km²**	**Mid-2015 population estimate** (ONS, 2016)	**Mid-2015 population density (people per km²)** (ONS, 2016)	**Number of takeaway outlets per LSOA**	**Area km² of LSOA located within Rusholme + 2 km buffer zone**	**Takeaway outlet density (outlets per km² within buffer zone)** **= 5 outlets/km² and above** **= 1 to 4 outlets/km²** **= 0 outlets/km²**
E01005288	0.19	1703	9151	21	0.19	**113**
E01005185	0.23	4080	17466	13	0.23	**56**
E01005234	0.20	2151	10717	10	0.20	**50**
E01005194	0.25	2751	11102	11	0.25	**44**
E01005221	0.26	2321	8792	10	0.26	**38**
E01005178	0.21	2104	9920	8	0.21	**38**
E01033680	0.16	1340	8211	6	0.16	**37**
E01005242	0.18	2787	15122	6	0.18	**33**
E01005274	0.25	1825	7205	6	0.20	**30**
E01005121	0.26	1631	6239	6	0.26	**23**
E01005218	0.22	1765	7901	5	0.22	**22**
E01005246	0.14	2342	16575	3	0.14	**21**
E01005219	0.25	2238	9105	5	0.25	**20**
E01005128	0.14	2454	17978	2	0.10	**20**
E01005237	0.16	1961	12135	3	0.16	**19**
E01005120	0.22	1889	8448	4	0.22	**18**
E01005278	0.23	1988	8558	4	0.23	**17**
E01005271	0.18	2348	12838	3	0.18	**16**
E01005244	0.19	3334	17640	3	0.19	**16**
E01005066	0.19	1086	5671	3	0.19	**16**
E01005208	0.46	2981	6454	7	0.46	**15**
E01005311	0.21	1911	9104	3	0.21	**14**
E01005286	0.29	2247	7780	4	0.29	**14**
E01005284	0.30	3833	12923	4	0.30	**13**
E01005197	0.29	1577	5386	1	0.08	**12**
E01005222	0.42	2128	5038	5	0.42	**12**
E01005233	0.10	2456	23752	1	0.10	**10**
E01033656	0.21	3065	14623	1	0.10	**10**
E01005287	0.21	2209	10303	2	0.21	**9**
E01005210	0.22	3525	16214	2	0.22	**9**
E01005201	0.23	2166	9479	2	0.22	**9**
E01005308	0.33	1693	5070	1	0.11	**9**

LSOA code	LSOA Area km²	Mid-2015 population estimate (ONS, 2016)	Mid-2015 population density (people per km²) (ONS, 2016)	Number of takeaway outlets per LSOA	Area km² of LSOA located within Rusholme + 2 km buffer zone	Takeaway outlet density (outlets per km² within buffer zone) = 5 outlets/km² and above = 1 to 4 outlets/km² = 0 outlets/km²
E01005240	0.50	3053	6153	4	0.50	8
E01005220	0.25	1963	7880	2	0.25	8
E01005065	0.66	2222	3370	5	0.66	8
E01005236	0.14	2100	14957	1	0.14	7
E01005183	0.28	1821	6394	2	0.28	7
E01005276	0.20	1680	8346	1	0.14	7
E01005273	0.15	1608	11052	1	0.15	7
E01033657	0.17	1804	10362	1	0.17	6
E01005279	0.63	2068	3298	2	0.37	5
E01005282	0.37	1962	5355	2	0.37	5
E01005241	0.20	2780	13970	1	0.20	5
E01005209	0.79	3112	3919	3	0.79	4
E01005212	0.28	2377	8547	1	0.28	4
E01033652	0.28	1684	5961	1	0.28	4
E01005063	0.28	1901	6682	1	0.28	4
E01005232	0.89	1885	2119	3	0.89	3
E01005235	0.32	1836	5829	1	0.32	3
E01005217	0.32	1989	6245	1	0.32	3
E01005215	0.35	2104	6048	1	0.35	3
E01005195	0.43	2102	4877	1	0.43	2
E01005180	0.52	1899	3677	1	0.52	2
E01005061	0.86	1589	1843	1	0.86	1
E01005062	0.59	3090	5261	0	0.59	0
E01005067	0.40	1355	3415	0	0.40	0
E01005105	0.56	2662	4726	0	0.03	0
E01005106	1.03	2188	2125	0	0.05	0
E01005118	0.22	1542	7009	0	0.22	0
E01005119	0.29	1590	5500	0	0.17	0
E01005122	0.34	1712	4968	0	0.34	0
E01005123	0.22	1698	7594	0	0.12	0
E01005124	0.24	1785	7472	0	0.00	0
E01005179	0.32	2276	7196	0	0.32	0
E01005181	0.41	2054	5049	0	0.36	0
E01005182	0.20	1748	8598	0	0.20	0
E01005184	0.42	2428	5775	0	0.42	0
E01005186	0.74	2480	3373	0	0.50	0
E01005189	0.37	1735	4629	0	0.02	0
E01005196	0.48	2905	6036	0	0.34	0
E01005198	0.28	1877	6630	0	0.28	0
E01005199	0.14	2342	17158	0	0.14	0

LSOA code	LSOA Area km²	Mid-2015 population estimate (ONS, 2016)	Mid-2015 population density (people per km²) (ONS, 2016)	Number of takeaway outlets per LSOA	Area km² of LSOA located within Rusholme + 2 km buffer zone	Takeaway outlet density (outlets per km² within buffer zone) = 5 outlets/km² and above = 1 to 4 outlets/km² = 0 outlets/km²
E01005200	0.54	2036	3805	0	0.54	0
E01005213	0.26	2242	8761	0	0.03	0
E01005214	0.24	2516	10492	0	0.15	0
E01005216	0.32	1489	4681	0	0.32	0
E01005230	0.20	2150	10697	0	0.20	0
E01005231	0.17	2727	15975	0	0.17	0
E01005238	0.21	2128	10255	0	0.21	0
E01005239	0.27	1795	6690	0	0.27	0
E01005243	0.31	2572	8281	0	0.31	0
E01005245	0.31	2424	7732	0	0.31	0
E01005270	0.22	1767	8169	0	0.22	0
E01005272	0.48	1832	3820	0	0.24	0
E01005275	0.15	1594	10549	0	0.02	0
E01005277	0.28	1766	6254	0	0.04	0
E01005280	0.29	2035	7100	0	0.29	0
E01005281	0.46	2045	4493	0	0.46	0
E01005283	0.16	1817	11700	0	0.16	0
E01005285	0.12	1248	10777	0	0.12	0
E01005297	0.33	2535	7755	0	0.12	0
E01005300	0.27	1382	5049	0	0.02	0
E01005302	0.27	1960	7319	0	0.04	0
E01005304	0.21	1844	8785	0	0.21	0
E01005305	0.33	1833	5587	0	0.33	0
E01005307	0.27	2009	7378	0	0.26	0
E01005309	0.21	2505	11912	0	0.21	0
E01005310	0.16	1864	12003	0	0.16	0
E01005312	0.12	1942	15892	0	0.12	0
E01005864	0.29	1573	5481	0	0.00	0
E01005865	0.82	1559	1902	0	0.35	0
E01005866	0.29	1702	5899	0	0.02	0
E01005868	0.47	1531	3270	0	0.01	0
E01005869	0.50	1546	3094	0	0.33	0
E01005887	0.34	1599	4699	0	0.10	0
E01005890	0.38	1541	4069	0	0.23	0
E01005919	0.45	1590	3536	0	0.17	0
E01006109	0.19	1230	6436	0	0.13	0
E01006112	0.19	1859	9558	0	0.00	0
E01033654	0.28	3508	12623	0	0.10	0
E01033661	0.56	1783	3198	0	0.14	0
E01033662	0.15	2017	13910	0	0.02	0

LSOA code	LSOA Area km²	Mid-2015 population estimate (ONS, 2016)	Mid-2015 population density (people per km²) (ONS, 2016)	Number of takeaway outlets per LSOA	Area km² of LSOA located within Rusholme + 2 km buffer zone	Takeaway outlet density (outlets per km² within buffer zone) = 5 outlets/km² and above = 1 to 4 outlets/km² = 0 outlets/km²
E01033686	0.15	1274	8471	0	0.10	0
E01033688	0.92	1589	1720	0	0.02	0