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Kaisa Torkkeli

FOODWORK

**Practice theoretical approach to cooking
in families with children**

Doctoral dissertation

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Abstract

This dissertation introduces a theoretically and empirically elaborated understanding of cooking in families with children. A core argument of the research is that cooking should be explored as foodwork to better understand its complexity, organisation, and enactment in current family life. The research is rooted in a home economics science that emphasises an everyday life perspective as a research focus. The dissertation establishes the synthesis of three sub-studies published as three articles. The sub-studies approach cooking through a recently developed practice theory applied in sociological consumer and food studies but is still a rare approach in the science of home economics. By applying practice theory, cooking is defined as a socially shared and recognised practice as well as a situationally carried out performance, which results in the subtle but continual change of social practice. Simply put, the practice of cooking exists as doings and sayings that can be organised through different conceptual elements. At the same time, cooking is included in the bundle of foodwork practices comprising several everyday practices, such as planning, cleaning, and grocery shopping. From these premises, the overarching aims are (1) to introduce foodwork as a perspective essential to understanding cooking in families with children, and (2) a novel video method to analyse both the doings and sayings of everyday practices, as well as (3) to demonstrate the applicability of the practice-theoretical perspective in the discipline of home economics.

To capture both the doings and sayings of cooking practice, the research emphasises qualitative approaches. By applying a first-person perspective video method and two different interview methods, two qualitative data sets were collected: first, auto-ethnographical cooking videos recorded from my family life, and second, cooking videos recorded by five Finnish families with children for a one-week period, as well as pre-interviews and video stimulated recall (SR) interviews with the families. The participant families each consisted of two parents in paid employment and 2–4 children aged 5–16 years living in a metropolitan area. The analysis of the first data set was conducted in the first sub-study through a theory-based content analysis and a video analysis using the video analysis programme Interact. The analysis utilised six practice-theoretical elements of a practice. In the analysis of the second data set, the second and third sub-studies applied a theory-based and data-driven abductive analysis conducted with the help of the analysis programme ATLAS.ti. The analyses employed Thévenot's regimes of engagement in the second sub-study and Mylan and Southerton's coordination forms in the third sub-study.

As result, the first sub-study conceptualised cooking in a nuanced manner by revealing an interplay between two different practice-theoretical conceptualisations of elements of practices: materials, competences, meanings, and understandings, procedures, engagements. Further, the study developed a first-person perspective video method to be applied in the second and third sub-studies. The second sub-study elucidated engagements in situationally appropriate cooking performances: the familiar and embodied practices in a home environment maintain relaxed everyday cooking, while various justifications of ‘good’ cooking produce negotiations. However, continual and unavoidable planning in different time spans acts as balancing to (re-)produce satisfaction in family life situations. The third sub-study clarified the coordination of parental foodwork. The study elaborated the material, temporal and interpersonal coordination of foodwork practices by conceptualising six adjustment themes (appropriateness, sequences, synchronisation, duties, significances, acceptances) through which foodwork is enacted to produce the continuity of family life. In sum, the sub-studies showed the continual planning and adjusting of foodwork practices, which advance the understanding of current home cooking in everyday family life.

Through the results, the dissertation contributes to discussions of cooking skills by suggesting that skills are by-products of performances, or rather ‘do-abilities’ that make continual adjustment possible. Further, the developed and applied combination of video and interview methods is a new methodological contribution to studies that focus on everyday practices and emphasise their existence as doings and sayings. The dissertation also introduces a novel practice-theoretical approach to studying phenomena of everyday life in the home economics science by demonstrating various conceptual tools to apply in the analysis of household practices. Although the dissertation aims to construct a comprehensive picture of foodwork, in future studies, the application of elaborated conceptual tools such as adjustment themes should also be tested in the analysis of data collected from diverse families with different resources and socio-economic backgrounds.

However, the dissertation succeeds in elucidating current home cooking by broadening the perspective on foodwork in a theoretically and empirically plausible manner. Foodwork and its continual coordination can be beneficial perspectives while reflecting on the teaching of cooking in various degrees of education or advisor organisations, as well as while aiming to promote more sustainable practices in research proposals. Overall, understanding everyday life as being saturated with social practices could strengthen the studies of home economics science interested in the analysis of household activity.

Keywords: cooking, practice theory, foodwork, everyday life, home economics science, video method

Kaisa Torkkeli

Ruokatyö

Käytäntöteoreettinen lähestymistapa ruoanlaittoon lapsiperheissä

Tiivistelmä

Väitöskirja esittelee teoreettisen ja empiirisen analyysin kautta kehitetyn tavan ymmärtää ruoanlaittoa lapsiperheissä. Tutkimus ehdottaa ruoanlaiton tarkastelua ruokatyönä, jolloin voitaisiin ymmärtää paremmin sen kompleksisuutta, organisointia ja toteuttamista tämän päivän perhe-elämässä. Väitöskirja perustuu kotitaloustieteeseen, joka korostaa usein tutkimuksissaan arjen näkökulmaa. Yhteenveto luo synteysin kolmesta osatutkimuksesta, jotka on julkaistu kolmena englanninkielisenä artikkelina. Osatutkimukset lähestyvät ruoanlaittoa viime aikoina kehitetyn käytäntöjen teorian avulla, jota on sovelluttu etenkin kulutus- ja ruokatutkimuksissa, mutta joka on vielä harvinainen lähestymistapa kotitaloustieteessä. Käytäntöjen teoriaa soveltaen ruoanlaitto määrittellään sosiaalisesti jaetuksi ja tunnistetuksi käytännöksi sekä tilanteisesti toteutettavaksi suoritukseksi, jonka seurauksena sosiaalinen käytäntö muuttuu hieman jatkuvasti. Ruoanlaiton käytäntö koostuu tekemisistä ja sanomisista, jotka voidaan järjestää erilaisten käsitteellisten elementtien avulla. Samaan aikaan ruoanlaitto kuuluu ruokatyön käytäntöjen nippuun yhdessä esimerkiksi suunnittelun, keittiön siivoamisen ja ruokien ostamista kanssa. Näistä lähtökohdista käsin kaikkia osatutkimuksia yhdistävinä tavoitteina on (1) esitellä ruokatyö oleellisena näkökulmana lapsiperheiden ruoanlaiton ymmärtämiseksi ja (2) uusi videomenetelmä arjen käytäntöjen tekemisen ja sanomisen analysoimiseksi sekä (3) havainnollistaa käytäntöjen teoreettisen näkökulman sovellettavuus kotitalouden tieteenalalla.

Tutkimus painottaa kvalitatiivisia lähestymistapoja, jotta ruoanlaiton käytännöstä saadaan tallennettua sekä tekemisiä että sanomisia. Tutkimuksessa kerättiin kaksi aineistoa soveltamalla erityistä ensimmäisen persoonan näkökulman videomenetelmää sekä kahta erilaista haastattelumenetelmää. Ensimmäinen aineisto koostui autoetnografisista ruoanlaittovideoista omasta perhe-elämästäni ja toinen aineisto viiden suomalaisen perheen viikon aikana nauhoittamista ruoanlaittovideoista sekä alkuhaastatteluista ja videostimuloituista muisteluhaastatteluista perheiden kanssa. Osallistuneet perheet asuivat pääkaupunkiseudulla ja niihin kuului kaksi työssä käyvää vanhempaa sekä kahdesta neljään 5–16-vuotiasta lasta. Ensimmäisen aineiston analyysi toteutettiin ensimmäisessä osatutkimuksessa perustuen teoriapohjaiseen sisällönanalyysiin sekä videoanalyysiin Interact-videoanalyysiohjelman avulla. Analyysissä hyödynnettiin kuutta käytäntöjen teoriaan perustuvaa käytännön elementtiä. Toisen aineiston analyysi toteutettiin toisessa ja kolmannessa osatutkimuksessa soveltaen

teoriapohjaista ja aineisto-ohjautuvaa abduktiivista analyysia ATLAS.ti ohjelman avulla. Toisen osatutkimuksen analyysissä hyödynnettiin Thévenot'n sitoutumisen järjestelmiä ja kolmannessa osatutkimuksessa Mylan ja Southertonin koordinoinnin muotoja.

Ensimmäisen osatutkimuksen tuloksena ruoanlaitto käsitteellistettiin ja osoitettiin samalla vuorovaikutus kahden eri käytäntöteoreettisen käsitejärjestelmän välillä koskien käytännön elementtejä: materiaaleja, osaamisia, merkityksiä sekä käsityksiä, toimintatapoja, sitoutumisia. Lisäksi kehitettiin ensimmäisen persoonan näkökulmaa hyödyntävä videomenetelmä, jota sovellettiin seuraavissa osatutkimuksissa. Toinen osatutkimus selvensi sitoutumisia tilanteisesti sopiviin ruoanlaiton suorituksiin eli sitä kuinka tutut keholliset käytännöt kotiympäristössä ylläpitävät rentoa arkiruoanlaittoa samalla, kun moninaiset oikeutukset ”hyvästä” ruoanlaitosta tuottavat neuvotteluja. Tästä huolimatta jatkuva ja väistämätön suunnittelu erilaisilla aikajäniteillä toimii tasapainottavana tuottaen tyytyväisyyttä perhe-elämän tilanteissa. Kolmas osatutkimus selkeytti vanhemmuuden ruokatyön koordinointia. Tutkimus käsitteli yksityiskohtaisemmin materiaalista, ajallista ja ihmisten välistä ruokatyön käytäntöjen koordinointia ja käsitteellisti kuusi mukauttamisen teemaa (sopivuus, peräkkäisyydet, synkronisointi, velvollisuudet, tärkeys, hyväksyttävyyys), joiden kautta ruokatyötä toteutetaan ja tuotetaan samalla perhe-elämän jatkuvuutta. Lyhyesti ilmaistuna osatutkimukset toivat esiin jatkuvan suunnittelun ja ruokatyön käytäntöjen mukauttamisen edistäen siten ymmärrystä tämän päivän kotiruoanlaitosta lapsiperhearjessa.

Tutkimuksen tulosten myötä väitöskirja osallistuu keskusteluihin ruoanlaiton taidoista ehdottamalla taitoja suoritusten sivutuotteiksi tai ennemminkin tekemiskyvyiksi, jotka mahdollistavat jatkuvan mukauttamisen. Lisäksi väitöskirjassa kehitetty ja sovellettu video- ja haastattelumenetelmien yhdistelmä on uusi metodologinen panos tutkimuksille, jotka kohdistuvat arjen käytäntöihin ja korostavat niiden olemassaoloa sekä tekemisinä että sanomisina. Väitöskirja esittelee myös uudenlaisen käytäntöteoreettisen lähestymistavan arjen ilmiöiden tutkimiseen kotitaloustieteessä havainnollistaen erilaisten käsitteellisten työkalujen soveltamista kotitalouskäytäntöjen analysoimisessa. Vaikka väitöskirja pyrkii rakentamaan kokonaisvaltaista kuvaa ruokatyöstä, tulevaisuuden tutkimuksissa kehitettyjä käsitteellisiä työkaluja tulee testata moninaisemmista perheistä kerätyn aineiston analysointiin.

Väitöskirja selvittää tämän päivän kotiruoanlaittoa laajentamalla näkökulmaa ruokatyöhön teoreettisesti ja empiirisesti uskottavalla tavalla. Ruokatyö ja sen jatkuva koordinointi voi olla hyödyllinen näkökulma pohdittaessa ruoanlaiton opetusta eri koulutusasteilla tai neuvontaorganisaatioissa sekä pyrittäessä edistämään kestävämpiä käytäntöjä tutkimushankkeiden puitteissa. Kaiken kaikkiaan arjen ymmärtäminen sosiaalisten käytäntöjen kyllästäjänä voisi vahvistaa kotitaloustoiminnan analysoinnista kiinnostuneita kotitaloustieteen tutkimuksia.

Avainsanat: ruoanlaitto, käytäntöjen teoria, ruokatyö, arki, kotitaloustiede, videomenetelmä

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Puistola, Helsinki, 22 September 2022

Kaisa Torkkeli

List of original publications

This thesis is based on the following publications (Articles I–III):

- I Torkkeli, K., Mäkelä, J. & Niva, M. (2020). Elements of practice in the analysis of auto-ethnographical cooking videos. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 20(4), 543–562. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540518764248>

- II Torkkeli, K., Janhonen, K. & Mäkelä, J. (2021). Engagements in situationally appropriate cooking at home. *Food, Culture and Society*, 24(3), 368–389. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15528014.2021.1882167>

- III Torkkeli, K., Mäkelä, J. & Seitamaa-Hakkarainen, P. (2022). Adjusting the coordination of parental foodwork practices. *Cultural Sociology*, 0(0). <https://doi.org/10.1177/17499755221096647>

1 Introduction

This dissertation explores home cooking to better understand how this mundane practice is organised and enacted in the context of family life with children. The roots of the research lie in multidisciplinary home economics science. The discipline has a long tradition of supporting the everyday activities of households and families. However, current home cooking has rarely been studied as remarkable in itself, as it occurs intertwined with family life. Instead, many studies have approached cooking from nutritional perspectives, which risks analysing performances initially as ‘good’ or ‘bad’ without acknowledging everyday circumstances (Harman et al., 2019; Murcott, 2019). Thus, concerns about diminishing cooking at home and a lack of cooking skills can recur in public and academic discussions, although an overall understanding of current home cooking or cooking skills is missing (e.g., Halkier, 2021). I argue that these discussions could benefit from a theoretically comprehensive picture of home cooking based on the analysis of empirical data collected with methodologically novel ways while emphasising the perspective of everyday life. This dissertation aims to produce such a comprehensive picture.

The basis of my research has been to study the everyday home cooking carried out in situ and to strengthen the analysis of cooking with relevant theoretical concepts. Therefore, the dissertation utilises practice theory, which has been applied and developed especially in sociological food and consumption studies over recent decades (e.g., Warde 2005; 2016; Halkier, 2010; 2021; Shove et al., 2012). By following the practice-theoretical premise, cooking is explored as a social practice that consists of doings and sayings (Schatzki, 2002). Everyday practices interrelated with home cooking, such as the buying of food, the cleaning of the kitchen and the planning of meals, together compose a bundle of practices called foodwork¹ (O’Connell & Brannen, 2016). Thus, the dissertation explores cooking as a social practice, existing as doings and sayings and included in the bundle of foodwork practices. To capture both the doings and sayings of cooking and to produce a comprehensive picture of everyday foodwork, this research emphasises qualitative methods inspired by ethnographic approaches (e.g., Shutton, 2014; Wills et al., 2016). From this methodological premise, two qualitative data sets were collected for this dissertation: (1) auto-ethnographic cooking videos and (2) cooking videos recorded by five Finnish families with children for a one-week period and interviews with the families. The data is analysed in three sub-studies reported in the respective publications (Articles I-III). Three overarching aims connect the three qualitative sub-studies: first, **to understand, how everyday cooking is performed and organised in families with children**; second, **to introduce a novel video method that captures both doings and sayings of practices for analysis**; and third, **to demonstrate the**

¹ ruokatyö in Finnish

applicability of the practice-theoretical perspective in the discipline of home economics.

The first sub-study (see Article I) analysed auto-ethnographical cooking videos and developed a special first-person perspective video method (e.g., Lahlou et al., 2015; Pink, 2015). Subsequent studies (see Articles II and III) applied and further developed the video method by collecting cooking videos and two types of interviews from families: preliminary (pre-) and video-stimulated recall (SR) interviews. As results, the studies conceptualised elements of cooking (Article I), engagements in cooking (Article II), and adjustments of foodwork practices (Article III). Through these studies, the dissertation contributes to societal discussions about cooking and de-skilling and diminishing of home cooking. The dissertation argues for a greater attention to the everyday life perspective in studies and promotions of home cooking as well as introducing foodwork as the uniting concept of cooking-related practices. The focus on foodwork widens the perspective of cooking and enables us to better understand the current home cooking and skills that the surrounding society provokes. The comprehensive picture of everyday cooking as a part of foodwork was elaborated through the new method, utilising videos recorded from practitioners' perspectives. This methodological approach is also suitable for future studies of everyday practices.

Further, the dissertation contributes to theoretical discussions in home economics science by introducing practice theory as a new approach to upcoming studies of household practices. This is important, as the field has been criticised regarding the 'everyday practical knowledge' of housework 'without academic underpinning' (Brembeck, 2013, p. 302). The strengthened comprehension of everyday practices through the theoretical approach will advance the research of the discipline and its ability to contribute more widely to academic and public discussions concerning households' current activities in a society. The discipline has indicated its flexibility by adopting new scientific perspectives, changing its name, and adjusting its focus according to societal changes (e.g., Brembeck, 2013; Kay, 2015; Vaines, 1995). Thus, a brief overview of phases of the discipline elucidates the interconnections between transformations in the discipline, societies and home cooking. Further, the academic basis of this research topic and the research gap motivating the dissertation are more clearly indicated by the overview.

Academic interest in home cooking has evolved within the discipline of home economics, developed 'into a science of the everyday' at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries in North America (Brembeck, 2013, p. 296; Elorinne, et al., 2017). In the early 20th century, the discipline applied innovations of natural sciences about vitamins and bacteria with the aim of improving the nutrition, hygiene and well-being of households and families by teaching, for example, cooking and nutrition (e.g., Brembeck, 2013; Sysiharju, 1995). Since its beginning, the field of home economics has had a fundamental mission to empower people to increase their control over their

lives and support families by educating them on how to manage their everyday life² (e.g., Elias, 2008; Nicola & Collier, 2015). In this mission, home cooking and food provisioning have been significant targets of interventions in Finland and elsewhere (Heinonen, 1998; Sysiharju, 1995, pp. 26–41; Trubek, 2017). Simultaneously, engineering and economic perspectives were applied in developments of ‘scientific housekeeping’ with the aim of rationalising and enhancing housework and the profession of women as homemakers by studying time and motion for efficient home management (Brembeck, 2013). By the depression of the 1930s, it had become obvious that women are also consumers, buying goods and adjusting their budgets on family resources. This launched the development of consumer and family science besides, or in place, of home economics. The next significant shift in the field was in the 1960s and 1970s, when societal changes, such as women’s higher education, increasing involvement in workforce and feminist perspectives, challenged home economics, which was perceived as a patriarchal discipline. (Brembeck, 2013, pp. 296–299.)

Critical viewpoints have recurred in and around the field of home economics in particular, from two perspectives: anthropological or ethnological (e.g., Knuuttila, 2006; Sutton, 2006, Trubek, 2017) and feminist (e.g., Shapiro, 1986/2008; see also Brady, 2017; Brembeck, 2013). As expressed above, arguments about the significance and accurate education of household practices were built on the rationalisation of mundane tasks and the institutionalisation of instructions through the application of natural and engineering sciences. This resulted, for example, in recipes coded with standard measurements, an emphasis on nutritional knowledge and several handbooks about proper housework (Trubek, 2017; Brembeck, 2013) when daughters had earlier learned household tasks, such as cooking, by following the performances of their mothers (e.g., Knuuttila, 2006). Sutton (2006) criticizes: ‘What was left out of this course in scientific cookery, of course, was taste, or any of the lower senses for that matter. The food itself was uninteresting except as a route to nutrition and to a better society’ (p. 100). His critique highlights other aspects of cooking than nutrition by emphasising the fundamental character of cooking as an embodied practice intertwined in a social and cultural everyday life context.

Initially, the aim of the rationalisation and mechanisation of housework was to ease women’s workloads (e.g., van Otterloo, 2000) while the overall aim of the discipline’s founders was to strengthen women’s position by increasing the societal significance of their domestic expertise (Bardy, 2017). Paradoxically, the rationalisation and mechanisation of housework increased the demands of household tasks, because women’s position as inherent professionals in the context of households decreased without increasing their opportunities in labour markets (Shapiro, 1986/2008). Thus,

² The discipline of home economics and home economics science, referring to a branch of science, are used as synonyms in this dissertation (see, Elorinne et al., 2017). However, the field of home economics can involve home economics science as well as the teaching subject of home economics and home economics organisations. These three have developed in active cooperation with each other (e.g., Heinonen, 1998; Sysiharju, 1995; Trubek, 2017), which is another story beyond the scope of this dissertation, which seeks to contribute primarily to home economics science.

home economics has been criticised for strengthening women's position in households, instead of steering them actively towards professions outside the home context (see Brady, 2017; Trubek, 2017). Today, the critique is not necessarily targeted at home economics as a scientific discipline but at the surrounding society strengthening women's traditional position as the labour of households. The critique recurs particularly in discussions of gendered foodwork (e.g., Brenton, 2017; Oleschuck, 2020b), referring to work including all the work involved in 'feeding' the family (DeVault, 1991; O'Connell & Brannen, 2016). Cooking as a part of foodwork is still perceived as mostly the work of women and mothers, which is also demonstrated in time-use surveys (e.g., Clifford Astbury, 2020), although men and fathers are continually taking more responsibility (e.g., Holm et al., 2019a; Neuman, 2016).

Simultaneously, many nutrition-oriented studies have linked societal health problems, such as obesity and diabetes, to a lack of knowledge about food and nutrition, the diminishing societal role of home cooking and the deterioration of cooking skills (e.g., Slater, 2013; Lavelle et al., 2016; Hartmann et al., 2013; Utter et al., 2018). Thus, the nutritional studies justify the promotion of home cooking throughout society (see, Ministry of Health of Brazil, 2014; Health Canada, 2019). The repeated list of phenomena that diminish home cooking and people's healthy relationship with food still includes time-poverty, the greater participation of women in the paid workforce, longer working hours, the abundance of convenience and fast foods, the falling need for or aspiration towards meal planning and the lack of cooking from scratch (e.g., Kolodinsky, 2012; Slater, 2013). The list has been constructed from recent studies of international home economics scholars. For example, Slater (2013) unfolded a hopeless picture of the skills and societal food environment of Canadian pupils: 'The wider food and nutrition landscape is inundated with nutritionally poor fast and convenience foods, which support busy family lifestyles, yet diminishes interest in and valuing of home food preparation skills that are core to HEFN (Home economics food and nutrition) education. As a result, students entering into HEFN programmes increasingly do not even have the most basic of food preparation skills to build upon' (Slater, 2013, p. 622). Such discussions, highlighting people's lack of everyday basic skills, recur especially in the media but, as the reference indicates, also in academic writing (see also, e.g., Hartmann et al., 2013; Utter et al., 2018). Is the blaming of students, parents and uncultivated consumers justified or do such interpretations of deskilling merely add to the recurring public fear of diminishing or even vanishing home cooking without showing clear evidence?

For example, Murcott (2019) and Halkier (2010; 2021) have criticised such worry-based approach while reflecting on current home cooking, cooking skills and family meals from the sociological perspective. Research on these cooking-related phenomena reveals social structures that mediate, for example, gender, class and ethnic identity (Murcott 2019, p. 43). Social and cultural structures steer peoples' activities. Thus, especially in studies of sociological food and consumption, there has been a strengthened perception that the blaming of individuals' knowledge, their poor

skills, or careless everyday decisions do not necessarily help them to make changes toward more healthy or sustainable practices in households or societies (e.g., Harman, 2019; Koch & Sprague, 2014; Murcott, 2019). Instead of worrying about peoples' behaviour, scholars have refined definitions of home cooking (e.g., Halkier, 2017; Meah & Jackson, 2017), cooking skills (e.g., Halkier, 2021) and family meals (e.g., Brenton, 2017; Lindsay et al., 2021; Murcott, 2019). As a result, the definitions of these social phenomena have diversified, a subject to which I return in section 3 for closer treatment. Overall, these studies indicate that current home cooking is a complex issue, the analysis of which calls for a comprehensive approach and the aim to understand cooking enactments in real life from the everyday life perspective (Murcott, 2019).

It is noteworthy that the everyday life perspective is characteristic especially of the discipline of home economics (e.g., McGregor, 2020), which is interested in the cultural, economic, and social activities of homes, families, and households (Elorinne et al., 2017). Traditionally, the discipline has had the mission of supporting households in their everyday activities, but studies focusing on everyday practices carried out in the home context are rare. However, recent time use surveys indicate that cooking is still enacted, especially in families with children (e.g., Clifford Astbury, 2020; Holm et al., 2019b) and it also holds an essential position in the discipline and its teaching subject today (e.g., Granberg et al., 2017; Rees et al., 2012; Höijer et al., 2013; Höijer, 2013; Sepp & Höijer, 2016). Thus, scholars studying home economics from the perspective of teaching and learning have argued for an education in home economics that resembles practices that pupils are used to and recognise in their socio-cultural context of home (Palojoki & Tuomi-Gröhn, 2001; Höijer, 2013). The need for research that aims to better perceive current cooking and cooking-related practices enacted in the home context is real and more than topical. A comprehensive, theoretically and conceptually constructed understanding that acknowledges the current studies of diversified cooking while emphasising cooking as an embodied practice intertwined in a social and cultural everyday life context is rare in both fields of sociological food and home economics studies. This is the research gap that this dissertation aims to fill.

Many of recent cooking-related studies highlighting the perspective of everyday life come from the field of sociological food and consumer studies (e.g., Halkier, 2010; 2021; O'Connell & Brannen, 2016; Rawlins & Livert, 2020). Sociological food studies typically aim to understand real-life situations through qualitative and ethnographical methods and theories that approach people as being embedded in social communities rather than as individual decision-makers (e.g., Brembeck, 2013; Murcott, 2019). Over the last twenty years, social practice theory (e.g., Schatzki, 1996; 2002; Reckwitz, 2002) and its recent developments and applications (Warde, 2005; Shove et al., 2012) have inspired sociological food and cooking studies (e.g., Halkier, 2010; Neuman, 2016; O'Connell & Brannen, 2016). From this perspective,

Halkier (2021) has defined cooking³ ‘as a socially shared practice, immersed in materiality, intersected with other practices and embedded in normative expectations in everyday life’ (p. 2).

This dissertation approaches the concept and phenomenon of cooking from this premise. Accordingly, the research explores cooking as a social practice that is a part of foodwork practices by applying practice theory and Thevénot’s regimes of engagement (Thevénot, 2001; 2007), which can be included in the diverse group of theories of practices (Welch et al., 2020). Next, I explain the approach of practice theory to everyday activity in greater detail and address its interfaces to home economics science. Moreover, I explore focal concepts that lean on my chosen theories and recent studies of home cooking. The research context of everyday family life is discussed, particularly through the perspective of family food studies. After these theoretical chapters, I elaborate on research questions and introduce applied methods, collected data, data analyses and ethical questions. A short introduction of the main findings of three sub-studies ends in a kaleidoscope illustrating a synthesis of three sub-studies. The research questions and limitations of the research are reflected on in detail. In the conclusion, I consider the applicability of the research findings and topical approaches for future studies.

³ Instead of cooking, studies focusing on hygiene, nutrition, industry, technology or services related to food seem to prefer the concept of food preparation (e.g., Kennedy et al., 2011; Reicks et al., 2014; Romani et al., 2018). However, in recent years, cooking has become an established concept, especially in anthropological and sociological food studies, and this study follows their example. To reproduce the distinction that appears in English language studies, I suggest referring to cooking in Finnish as **ruoanlaitto**, to home cooking as **kotiruoanlaitto** and to food preparation involving also industrial food preparation as **ruoanvalmistus**.

2 Practices in everyday life

In the examination of home cooking, the dissertation emphasises the perspective of everyday life, which is typical especially for Finnish research on home economics focusing on the activity of households and families (e.g., Korvela, 2003; Korvela & Tuomi-Gröhn, 2014; Sekki, 2018; Tuomi-Gröhn, 2008; see also, McGregor, 2020). In these studies, everyday life is perceived as a set of continual processes in which people live and revise structures of everydayness through interactions with social and material environments (Salmi, 2004). Accordingly, everyday life should be considered as a continual interplay between societal structures and people's activities, which produces, reproduces and changes both the structures and the activities. This outlining of everyday life supports a holistic approach that has often been emphasised in the discipline of home economics (e.g., Janhonen-Abruquah, 2010; McGregor, 2019; Turkki, 2008; 2012) and its studies of everyday activities (e.g., Haverinen, 1996; Korvela, 2003). However, the all-embracing holism, combined with the perspective of everyday life as continual interplay, can be hard to follow in empirical analyses. After all, everyday life is also something like normal day-to-day life, composed of repetitive rhythms and contrasted with unusual and exceptional life (Schatzki, 2010). To perceive the processual, structural, conventional, dynamic, temporal and holistic character of everyday life is demanding, and requires governance of complexities with the help of theoretical clarification.

Over approximately the last four decades, a diverse group of social theories has used 'practices' systemically as a central theoretical concept for analysing everyday life (Halkier, 2010; Pink, 2012; Shove et al., 2012) and overall social life (e.g., Buch & Schatzki, 2018, Nicolini, 2012). This is called the 'practice turn' in various disciplines such as philosophy, social and cultural studies, as well as science and technology studies (STS). One aim was to get rid of the dualism concerning discussions on body versus mind, materials versus emotions, skills versus knowledge, or private versus public. The 'practice turn' equalised the conceptual dualism by focusing on social practices that mediate materials and emotions, skills and knowledge, as well as private and public life. (e.g., Schatzki, 2001) Another aim has been to conceptualise the problem between the holism of social structures and fragmented individual agencies (Warde, 2013). Because 'both social order and individuality... result from practices' (Schatzki, 1996, p. 13), practice operated as 'a bridging device' between the outspread holisms of everyday life structures and individualist explanations of daily activities (Warde, 2013, p. 17)

The philosophical roots of current practice theories lie in the thinking of Heidegger and Wittgenstein, but there are also links to the pragmatists Dewey, James and Pierce (Shove et al., 2012, p. 5; Buch & Schatzki, 2018). The theoretical approaches, such as cultural-historical activity theory (Korvela, 2003; Sekki, 2018; Tuomi-Gröhn, 2008) and pragmatism (e.g., Haverinen, 1996; Janhonen et al., 2018), used in studies in the discipline of home economics can be interpreted as being part of the large group

of practice theories (Nicolini, 2012; Miettinen et al., 2012). In the development and application of current practice theory, scholars have been inspired, for example, by Bourdieu, Giddens, Foucault, Garfinkel, Latour and Schatzki (see, e.g., Reckwitz, 2002) as well as the situated learning approach by Lave and Wenger (see, e.g., Shove et al., 2012).

Thus, theories of practices involve a diverse group of scholars whose thinking is not unified. Nevertheless, three commonalities can be distinguished in their understanding of practice. First, practice is a social phenomenon and a constellation of multiple people's organised activities. Second, human life is rooted in these organised activities of multiple people, not in the activities of independent individuals. Third, human activity is based on non-verbal embodied activities rather than something that can be necessarily accounted for in words. (e.g., Nicolini 2012; Schatzki, 2012; Spaargaren, 2016.) The more condensed group of practice theorists understand practices as central in the analysis of micro phenomena such as cooking or cleaning, but also in macro phenomena such as education, science or economy, which are bundles or constellations of practices. Consequently, social life consists of nexuses of practices that are laid out on one level of reality, meaning that social phenomena do not divide into 'higher' and 'lower' levels or separate levels of realities for individuals, households or societies. (e.g., Hui et al., 2017.) In other words, social life encompasses just one level comprising a plenitude of bundles and constellations of practices, which means that practice theory posits a 'flat ontology', according to Schatzki (2016b, p. 40). However, this does not mean that all the practices are shared, available or recognisable to all and everywhere, but it implies that everyday life consisting of practices have no a hierarchical structure.

This dissertation applies practice theory for two reasons. First, it allows us to distinguish a conceptual unit from the incessant flow of everyday family life activities and to analyse this unit as a practice. Second, it complements the definition of everyday life (cf., Salmi, 2004) by suggesting a practice as the basic unit of everyday life (see also, Aalto & Varjonen, 2014). Thus, various socially recognisable practices, such as the practices of cooking, cleaning, doing laundry, washing dishes, paid-working, shopping, transporting and travelling can be considered to construct everyday family life. Practices interrelate and compose varying bundles and complex constellations, that are performed, (re-)produced, and (re-)arranged in everyday life situations (Shove et al., 2012). Based on this, everyday life consists in the nexus of interconnected and socially shared practices that overlap, interweave and slightly but continually change while we coordinate and carry them out.

2.1 Practices as versatile devices

Practice is a commonly used word in the field of home economics, but it has referred primarily to arrays of 'practical activity' and somewhat as an opposite of a theory or

mere thinking (e.g., Haverinen, 1996, cf., Reckwitz, 2002, p. 249)⁴. However, recent practice theory does not make a direct distinction between activity and thinking or practice and theory. By contrast, a thinking can also be seen as an activity, and a theory as dependent on for example, practices of writing and discussing. (see, Schatzki, 1996.) In practice theory, the practice is central, the fundamental unit of social life and the essential focus of analysis. Thus, the practice is a versatile device. Firstly, the practice is a theoretical bridging device between holistic and individualist explanations of everyday life (Warde, 2013). Secondly, the practice is an analytical device or tool through which it is possible to study both minor elements of people's mundane activities and the larger dynamics of social life. In other words, it is possible to zoom in on the practice and explore the elements that comprise the everyday practice. Equally, we can zoom out of the practice and study the bundles and constellations that various practices exist in, how they link together. (Nicolini, 2012.)

In our everyday life, we follow the traces of practices that vast numbers of people have performed previously. We cook at home, eat breakfast and wash dishes, which are all socially shared practices of sorts. Thus, thirdly, practices are devices of everyday life. They steer or even govern our embodied and situational everyday performances. Therefore, we do not have to think about whether we should cook on a hob or in a fireplace, eat breakfast in the morning or evening, or wash dishes in a sink or bath. Social practices facilitate and streamline our everyday life activities as well as limiting our improvisations, freedom and personal decision-making. For this reason, practice theory avoids highlighting individual behaviour or cognition-based rationality (e.g., Warde, 2016.) Instead, practice theory approaches people as active 'carriers' of practices (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 250).

Being an *active* carrier of practices means that people bring about slight but continual changes in social practices while carrying them out. This can also be explained through the twofold character of practice: the practice exists *both* as a socially coordinated entity *and* as a situational performance (e.g., Shove, 2012; Warde, 2005). Practice-as-entity means that we can discuss a particular practice and recognise the performance of practice that someone is carrying out. This does not require us to have ever carried out the practice in question. It is enough that the vast range of people perform and enact it repetitiously in similar enough ways. Thus, the practice becomes shared, persistent and recognisable within a particular social and cultural sphere. Cookbooks are full of descriptions as manuscripts about such practices-as-entities: for example, the making of sausages or stocks, or the gutting of Baltic herring. However, to be remembered and to survive as socially recognisable practices, numerous people must carry them out as embodied and situational performances. While people carry out practices, they adapt performances of practices

⁴ However, Wilson and Vaines (1985) portrayed the theoretical framework of practice by distinguishing dimensions of the practice to direct discussions of home economics towards a more reflective epistemology of professional practices, but the article was not found an echo in scholars of the field. Presumably, the practice theoretical idea of practice (Shove et al., 2012) and its applicability to studies of everyday life and its rhythms was introduced to the field of home economics at the first time in the article of Aalto & Varjonen (2014).

to their situational circumstances, which are generally consequences of other practices or manifold bundles and larger constellations of practices. Nowadays, the practice of preparing sausages, stocks or fish from scratch is not supported or mediated, for example, by the practices of groceries, free time or paid-work. Thus, familiar cooking practices as social entities can change slightly but continually through the impetus of other social practices.

2.2 Components of a practice

If our social life consists of practices, of what are practices composed? The commonly cited definition of practice is from Reckwitz (2002), who describes a practice as a 'routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other' (p. 249). Accordingly, practices are routinised in their nature, which means that practices consist of regularly repeated series of actions that result in the accumulation of sufficient experience to carry out practices even without thinking or reflecting (Warde, 2016). The fundamental interest in taken-for-granted practices indicates that practice theory emphasises 'doing over thinking, practical competence over strategic reasoning, mutual intelligibility over personal motivation and body over mind' (Warde, 2013, p. 18). Taken-for-granted and routinised everyday performances of practices can be hard to verbalise, but simultaneously, one tip to recognise a social practice-as-entity is to find an instruction manual: how to drive a car, cook, or play a piano (Warde, 2016). However, the situationally enacted practice-as-performance and socially shared practice-as-entity have commonalities; both are composed of different elements.

The simplest way to describe a practice, such as cooking, is to define it as a nexus of doings and sayings (Schatzki, 2001). Notably, the practice is 'open-ended', meaning that it is in continual change and not composed of any specific number of activities: in such a situation, the practice would be dead and just the description of a disappeared practice (Schatzki, 2012, p. 14). However, the open-ended number of doings and sayings of a living practice can be organised by a set of elements. In other words, all practices comprise of various verbal and embodied activities that link together through the various elements of a practice. Reckwitz (2002) lists seven constituting elements of a practice: 'forms of bodily activity, forms of mental activity, 'things' and their use, background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion, and motivational knowledge' (p. 249). According to Schatzki (e.g., 1996; 2002; 2016) a practice is composed of rules (e.g. directing principles and instructions), general and practical understandings (e.g. knowledge and knowing of how to go on with an activity) and teleoaffective structures comprehending both the teleology (ends-orientation) and affectivity (emotions) of a practice, in other words, a range of normative goals, ends, wishes, hopes, moods and feelings.

Warde (2005) developed Schatzki's (1996) elements further to facilitate their applicability in empirical analyses of practices as follows: rules were conceptualised as procedures, general and practical understandings simply as understandings, and

teleoaffective structures as engagements. Understandings mean, for example, knowledge and opinions as well as an ability to recognise practices that someone is enacting. Procedures refer to rules, instructions and principles of practices, about which even a professional can be unconscious, as procedures may lean primarily on tacit knowledge. Engagements contain purposive components of practice, such as hopes, emotions, aspirations and ends towards which the practice is oriented (Warde, 2005; 2016.) This simplified conceptualisation of elements (understandings, procedures and engagements) by Warde (2005) is used broadly within sociological food and consumption studies (e.g., Halkier, 2009; 2010; Jauho et al., 2016; Närvänen et al., 2013; Warde, 2016).

To study changes of practices, however, Shove, Pantzar and Watson (2012) developed even simpler group of elements to emphasise material dimensions of practices and to better analyse the transformation and trajectories of practices while they evolve, persist and disappear. Reckwitz's list of elements, including 'things' (2002, p. 249), inspired them, as did science and technology studies (STS), where materials can be treated as anchors of social activities and people and things are approached as equal (see, Latour, 2005). Shove, Pantzar and Watson (2012) visualised the practice as a triangle, the angles of which represent three elements: materials, competences and meanings. Materials refers to things, technologies, ingredients, objects and bodies: in general, to physical entities. Competences include skills, know-how and techniques. Meanings encompass culturally and socially symbolic ideas and aspirations. When a practice is performed, the elements of the practice as angles of a triangle interlink and the practice exists. (Shove et al., 2012.) This simpler conceptualisation of elements, emphasising the material character of practices, has been applied widely in various food and sustainable consumption studies (e.g., Van Kesteren & Evans, 2020; Plessz & Étilé, 2019; Twine, 2018).

However, Schatzki does not include materials in the elements of a practice. In his definition, practices consist of doings and sayings that are organised by specific elements (understandings, rules and teleoaffectivities) *and* material arrangements (Schatzki, 2016b). Material arrangements comprise an essential background infrastructure (e.g., things of nature, electrical and water supply networks, roads and towns) and immediate arrangements (e.g., kitchens, equipment, ingredients and interlinked bodies). According to Schatzki (2010; 2016b), everyday social life is intertwined in bundles of practices and various immediate and background material arrangements. Shove et al. (2012, p. 10) criticised the scheme in which material arrangements 'are co-produced with practices but which are nonetheless distinct'. Simultaneously, Shove et al.'s (2012) simpler definition of elements as consisting of materials (as well as meanings and competences) has been criticised for oversimplifying and concretising materials into a comparatively stable form that outlines everyday social life (Spaargaren et al., 2016; Schatzki, 2016b).

Nevertheless, all the conceptualisations try to clarify the composition of practices as fundamental units of everyday life. Schatzki's accounts of elements of practices (e.g., 1996; 2002) and Reckwitz's (2002) description of practice have been crucial

stepping stones for different conceptualisations. Warde (2005) expressed his conceptualisation (understandings, procedures and engagements) to facilitate empirical analyses of practices and the reference of Schatzki's (1996) elements. Shove, Pantzar and Watson (2012) leaned more on Reckwitz's (2002) list of elements and developed their own conceptualisation (materials, competences and meanings) for understanding and studying transformations of material practices, and thus, changes in everyday life. Previous studies have indicated that these conceptualisations are applicable and profitable in analyses of everyday life and social practices. I concentrate on these two conceptualisations and their interplay (Warde, 2005 and Shove et al., 2012), giving more nuance with the help of examples of cooking in Article I of the dissertation (Torkkeli et al., 2020).

3 Competences and engagements in cooking

During the performance of cooking at home, the doings and sayings of practitioners are organised by constituting elements of practices. For example, while cooking an omelette, understandings of the necessary ingredients, procedures related to cooking and the engagements in particular ends are connected (cf., Warde, 2005). Similarly, the performance of cooking can be analysed through materials (ingredients and equipment), competences (breaking eggs and frying) and meanings (fast and nourishing) (cf., Shove et al., 2012). The examples indicate that the two conceptualisations of elements of the practice emphasise ends and skills differently. The conceptualisation involving engagements (Warde, 2005) acknowledges that the practice is in many cases a means to another end than the enacted practice as itself. In other words, the omelette cooking is not necessarily an end in itself but, for example, the ends are to avoid food waste, feed the children and get back to teleworking. The conceptualisation involving competences⁵ (Shove et al., 2012) can be interpreted as emphasising skilful performance of practice as an end in itself. In other words, performances display competencies linked to material practices with cultural and social meanings such as football playing, bio-waste separation or Nordic walking (see, Warde et al., 2017.)

Nevertheless, both ends-oriented and skills-emphasising approaches to cooking practices are relevant while trying to better understand current home cooking and the discussions thereof. Thus, I next focus on competencies and engagements related to home cooking in order to reflect on recent discussions about a decline in home cooking and a deterioration of cooking skills. Such reflecting is crucial in the field of home economics while promoting engagements and competences in home cooking practices. The purposes and bases of interventions should be built on academically supported knowledge and on the analytical understanding of public concern.

3.1 Changing cooking and skills

Many nutrition-oriented studies regard home cooking and proper cooking skills as an effective solution to the health problems of societies (e.g., Hartmann, 2013; Lavelle et al., 2016; Martins et al., 2020; McGowan et al., 2017; Mills et al., 2017; Polak et al., 2018; Radtke et al., 2019; Van der Horst et al., 2014). These studies suggest, for example, that confidence in one's own cooking skills, cooking from scratch and better diet quality are interconnected. Thus, the empirical applications based on such studies assume that improvements in cooking skills and the promotion of cooking from scratch at homes should affect people's health and wellbeing (see, e.g., Health

⁵ Skills are treated as a synonym for competences in this research, although they can also differ in their definitions. Competences can be defined as involving both knowledge such as discursive know-how and particular embodied skills, in which case, competences can be seen as a wider concept than skills (e.g., Salman et al., 2020; Sandberg et al., 2017).

Canada, 2019). These approaches are distinctive in that they highlight the significance of the competences, attitudes and cognitive abilities of individuals to improve their health while various interventions aim to promote these individual capabilities.

However, scholars exploring home cooking and cooking skills from sociological or anthropological perspectives emphasise social and cultural determinants (e.g., gendered and socio-economical norms) more than individual and cognitive capabilities (e.g., Halkier, 2010; 2021; Harman et al., 2019; Murcott, 2019; Rawlins & Livert, 2019; Sutton, 2014). They criticise the relatively narrow nutrition and health perspective, and call for more varied interpretations of home cooking and related skills that would lean on an empirically constructed understanding of cooking as it is carried out in the everyday life of homes. In the sociologically and anthropologically oriented analyses of current home cooking, at least four critical arguments recur, indicating more change than decline in the skills and practices of cooking.

Firstly, there is uncertainty concerning what cooking skills are. Many quantitative surveys have tried to measure cooking skills through various lists of skills, representing cooking from scratch in particular (Hartmann, 2013; Martins et al., 2020). Hartmann et al. (2013) developed a particular cooking skills scale focusing on skills in preparing listed ingredients or dishes. In a Brazilian study (Martins et al., 2020), researchers determined cooking skills and explored parents' confidence, for example, in the following of simple recipes, the grilling of meat and cooking in a pressure cooker. The telephone interview method detached skills from everyday life situations and the structured survey decreased the definition of skills as technical processes. Many scholars (e.g., Halkier, 2021, Lahne et al., 2017; Murcott, 2019; Short, 2006; Trubek et al., 2017; Wolfson et al., 2017; Raber & Wolfson, 2021) have questioned the relatively narrow interpretations about cooking and skills, which focus mainly on the ability to cook certain foods from scratch based on individual decision-making. Such a narrow perspective does not acknowledge the skills of organising, scheduling, budgeting, cooperating, negotiating, finding knowledge or using various digital appliances in cooking (see, e.g., Meah & Watson, 2011; Short, 2006; Halkier, 2021). Further, the lack of historical and comparable data about the cooking skills of previous generations hampers the affirmation of a decline in current cooking skills (Murcott, 2019; Lyon et al., 2011).

Secondly, time-use surveys comparing different periods do not clearly support the assumption of a significant decline in home cooking. According to the latest time-use survey in 2009-2010 from Finland, women spend 46 minutes per day cooking and baking (12 minutes less than 20 years ago), while men spend 20 minutes (3 minutes more than 20 years ago). The time use of women related to other practices that enable cooking, such as cleaning, shopping and washing dishes, has not changed compared to the data from 20 years ago. In the same period, however, men have increased the time they spend on those practices by 11 minutes. Overall, time use for cooking has decreased but time for cooking-related foodwork practices has increased. The comparative analysis of the large Nordic quantitative data set 'A Day of Food', collected in 1997 and 2012, indicates the same change: women's participation in

cooking has decreased as men's participation has gradually increased (Holm et al., 2019a). Thus, equality related to home cooking has improved, but women still perform most of the cooking and other foodwork practices (e.g., Clifford Astbury, 2020; Närvi & Salmi, 2019; Holm et al., 2019a). Furthermore, domestic food-related technologies, such as dishwashers, convenience foods and efficient hobs, which are supposed to facilitate cooking-related practices, can be ambivalent in their effects on time saving or gender equality (Truninger, 2013). Thus, time use surveys indicate that neither women's involvement in labour markets nor increased use of convenience foods have resulted in a significant decline in home cooking unlike some authors may imply (e.g., Kolodinsky, 2012; Pollan, 2009; Slater, 2013).

Thirdly, the concern about a decline in home cooking resulting in unhealthy eating (Martins et al., 2020) reveals a selective understanding of cooking and a juxtaposition of homemade and convenience foods. However, the boundaries between various convenience, ready-made, raw, unprocessed and homemade foods are ambiguous (e.g., Jackson & Viehoff, 2016). For example, ready-made and packed salad mix, many sauces, milk-based ingredients as well as plant-based alternatives can be ready to eat or processed in different ways in home kitchens. Therefore, ready-made or convenience foods and homemade foods cooked from scratch should not be seen as different categories but existing along the same continuum (Halkier, 2017). In cooking their daily meals, people mix foods and apply differently processed ingredients according to their situational and material everyday circumstances. Certainly, convenience foods can facilitate material arrangements, making cooking tasks more straightforward, and thus provide flexibility in everyday life organisation (e.g., Meah & Jackson, 2017), but its effects on the decline in home cooking are difficult to prove.

Lastly, many studies suggest more of a change than a decline in home cooking and cooking skills (Halkier, 2021; Lyon et al., 2011; Meah & Watson, 2011; Short, 2006). For example, a study exploring the cooking skills of different generations in Scotland notices, that while 'different cooking generations – do differ, the way they differ is related more to current lifestyle factors than to any highly differentiated domestic food preparation and cooking skills' (Lyon et al., 2011, p. 529). Sutton's (2014) study of cooking women in a Greek island suggested the same. He interprets the older women's complaining about a younger generation's cooking as relating specifically to a worry about the multisensory experiences and engagements in cooking. Younger women's attention has not evolved through similar cooking practices as those of older women, and thus 'cooking skill and knowledge will not stand still' either (Sutton 2014, p. 193). However, differently evolved skills or attentions do not result directly in a decline in home cooking, but probably the disappearance of particular cooking skills, such as the previously mentioned making of stock and gutting of fish. It seems that public health and nutrition experts as well as some home economics teachers are selectively concerned about deteriorating cooking skills (e.g., Halkier, 2021; Murcott, 2019). Discussions about 'good' (such as cooking healthy meals from scratch) and 'bad' (such as cooking quickly with convenience foods) are moral discourses about assumptions of skilled cooking (Sutton, 2014). Thus, skills should be approached as

moral issues that emerge as by-products of situational, embodied and social performances of cooking-related practices – as various and varying skilful everyday performances.

3.2 Looking at skilful cooking

To broaden the view of home cooking and cooking skills, many nutrition-oriented studies in home economics have applied the concept of food literacy (e.g., Pendergast et al., 2011; Pendergast & Dewhurst, 2012; Ronto et al., 2017). Food literacy is ‘a key concept for health and education’ that aims to summarise the knowledge, skills and behaviours needed to navigate the food system for a regular diet that complies with nutritional recommendations (Vidgen & Gallegos, 2014; Vidgen, 2016, p. 1). Although the concept aims at involving both critical understandings and practical competences, recent food literacy studies have mainly emphasised knowledge-related outcomes like the adoption of nutrition and health information (Truman et al., 2017). In broadening the focus from nutrition and health-oriented literacy on the social and cultural practices of food, Janhonen et al. (2015; 2018) was inspired by the concept of health sense (Ojajärvi, 2015) and developed the concept of food sense, which refers to the outcomes of food education. The food sense concept emphasises ‘the importance of recognising the broader consequences of one's choices and different factors that influence them’, and thus better acknowledges the ability and awareness of practitioners to make sense of their everyday food-related practices, including the ability to evaluate and apply knowledge and skills related to food issues (Janhonen et al., 2018, p. 190). Thus, food sense could be a consciously or unconsciously evolving outcome of cooking performances as well as an enabler of reflective everyday food practices.

However, the aims of food education in the context of school teaching as part of formal education can differ from the aims of everyday cooking in the home context. At school, the teacher may create a problem that students should solve with the skills that they are supposed to learn. At home, the situation is more complex, and even the recognition that there is a problem can be one challenge of the task. (Tuomi-Gröhn, 2008.) Skills, taught in the school context, do not bring about activity by themselves, but ‘if there are household activities then there must be the ability to act’ (Heinilä, 2008, p. 53). The home context perspective on skills emerging through everyday performances has at least three consequences. First, the generally applicable lists of basic skills are difficult to implement (cf., Hartmann, 2013) if home cooking skills are by-products of situational performances rather than consequences of exterior interventions. Second, most people think, if asked, that they have good enough food and cooking skills (e.g., Halkier, 2010; Slater & Mudryj, 2016), because their skills or abilities to carry out daily practices are rarely problematized in the private environment and during routinised everyday performances (Van Kesteren & Evans, 2020). Third, as suggested above, skills should be explored as the by-products of

home cooking performances that are, however, governed by the norms of socially shared practices.

Recent conceptualisations of cooking skills are shifting to acknowledge everyday life performances, in other words, the situational and variable situations in which the skills evolve (e.g., Halkier, 2021; Short, 2006; Sutton, 2014; Trubek et al., 2017; Lahne et al., 2017) instead of repeating skills dictated by public discussions or special professionals. With regard to sociological food studies that analyse the cooking and coordination of daily meals, Halkier (2021) suggests four components of skilfulness in current cooking in her qualitative study based on an analysis of meal-box schemes in Denmark. The components of cooking skills are balancing rules and improvisation (e.g., to create food from leftovers); handling planning and organising flexibility (e.g., by considering and adapting different timetables); assembling meals from various sources (e.g., from convenience, take away, homemade and readymade foods), and handling normative food issues (e.g., different knowledge, values and aims). The components of cooking skills acknowledge the continual social change in home cooking as well as temporally flexible everyday life circumstances. Further, instead of highlighting the concern about changing home cooking and deteriorating skills, the uncertainty and variability can be celebrated for itself. Sutton (2014; 2018; 2021) has foregrounded the idea of ‘cooking as a risk’ in his recent writings. From this perspective, cooking can be ‘seen as a willingness to expand food horizons, to continue learning new ways of preparing the familiar or variations on traditional recipes. But it is also simply an extension of the notion that the skilled cook is always adjusting to circumstances: the availability of ingredients, the desires of different people, the small variations in cooking processes and even changing time’ (Sutton, 2014, p. 192). Thus, cooking as a risk requires engagements in situational enactments of the practice rather than special skills.

Instead of skills, scholars of home economics have also used the concept of ‘art’ to refer to a higher and more general ability that subsumes within different skills that are needed to accomplish a certain action as a whole’ (Tuomi-Gröhn, 2008, p. 13). Art can also refer to the creative nature of everyday problem solving (Tuomi-Gröhn, 2008), like cooking as a risk (Sutton, 2014). Heinilä (2008) writes about ‘domestic skills’ as an ‘art of everyday life’ involving various abilities to respond to everyday problems and to act in front of smaller and bigger mundane problems. From the practice theoretical perspective, performances of cooking and other household practices indicate that there are ‘do-abilities’, of which an experienced practitioner may have more than a practitioner with less experience, although this does not necessarily result in less satisfactory performances (Halkier 2010, p. 36). Nevertheless, do-abilities evolve through varying performances, and conversely do-abilities enable practitioners to envision and enact, for example, various economically, situationally and temporally appropriate performances (Jackson & Viehoff, 2016). Thus, with the help of evolved do-abilities, practitioners carry out situationally ‘good’ and satisfying – in other words, skilful – performances that are suitable to their everyday situations.

However, from specific (such as nutritionist, ecological, cultural or economic) perspectives, situational everyday performances may appear as inappropriate, inferior, or even mistaken. This is the conflict highlighted by critical family feeding and parental foodwork studies in particular (e.g., Burrows et al., 2020; Brenton, 2017; Wilk, 2010; Elliott & Bowen, 2018; Harman et al., 2019; Lindsay et al., 2021, Oleschuk, 2020a; 2020b). These studies foreground the complexity of overlapping family practices as well as socio-economic and gender related factors that can make it difficult to perform publicly appreciated normative outcomes of cooking practices. Such a critical approach to normative assumptions of home cooking and its outcomes is also crucial in the discipline of home economics. It would improve the comprehensive understanding of everyday home cooking practices and thus facilitate the evaluation of current approaches as well as the development of more equitable interventions.

3.3 Regimes of engagement

Do-abilities or skills, as by-products of home cooking, cannot evolve without engaging in the practice. From the practice theoretical point of view, engagements as an element of practices comprehend range of hopes, ends, purposes as well as emotions and even moods (Warde, 2005). Thus, the social practices of cooking exhibit a set of normative ends that a practitioner may or should carry out for the sake of the situationally purposive performance of cooking. Simultaneously, the practitioner enjoys emotions (e.g., feelings of insufficiency or success) that are, besides ends in themselves, socially coordinated. (e.g., Schatzki, 2002, p. 80.) People are sensitive to a normativity involved in practices that can also appear as the social acceptance of performance (Schatzki, 2017). As previously mentioned, the different ‘good’ and ‘bad’ constructions of practices criss-cross in social discussions, and thus, depending on one’s perspective, some performances of practices are regarded as more acceptable than others. However, performances carried out in the home context do not necessarily come under immediate public evaluation. Thus, people can continue their routinised practices without reflection but still enjoy them and be satisfied with their everyday performances of different practices (e.g., Halkier, 2010; Slater & Mudryj, 2016). Although the practice theoretical concept of engagements (Warde, 2005) refers to a range of normative ends and feelings, the plurality of acceptances from most public norms to more private routines needs clarification.

Through an elaboration of the practice theoretical concept of engagements (Warde, 2005), this research aims to outline the plural ‘good’ of cooking as well as to better comprehend how people engage in present and future cooking practices. Therefore, the regimes of engagement developed by Thévenot (2001; 2007) are put into operation. His work is included under the wide umbrella of practice theories contributing to ‘a practice turn’ in many academic disciplines (Knorr Cetina et al., 2001). However, Schatzki (2017, p. 47) criticises Thévenot’s approach as individualist and Thévenot, in his turn, argues for practice theories that ‘point towards

intentions and plans’ as well as ‘the moral element of practice’ (Thévenot, 2001, pp. 64–65), which are aspects that some scholars applying the current practice theory have also highlighted (see, e.g., Welch et al., 2020).

The clearest difference between recent developments of practice theory (e.g., Schatzki, 2001; 2002) and regimes of engagement (Thévenot, 2001) may lie in the fact that a social practice is not the central analytical and theoretical concept in Thévenot’s thinking. Instead, he introduces three regimes that ‘are social devices which govern our way of engaging with our environment’ (Thévenot, 2001, p. 75). Regimes capture different goods that grant access to various extensions of social and material environments, from the most public (such as the common good of ecological sustainability) to the more private (such as ease of personal routines). Three regimes of engagement are familiarity, planning (or the plan) and justification. People shift from one regime to another during activities. In other words, their ways of engagement shift continuously between easy familiarity in private milieus, satisfied planning in situational circumstances and plural justification in public spheres. (Thévenot, 2001.) Thus, regimes of engagement do not focus particularly on social practices or varying performances of practices, but foreground the three ways to engage in the social and material environment, simultaneously revealing the spectrum of engaged good.

Despite the posited differences, at least two recent studies applying practice theory complement their theoretical basis with regimes of engagement: to analyse the plurality of ‘good’ in skilful cooking practices (Truninger, 2011), and the future-orientation of practices (Welch et al., 2020) more productively. According to Welch et al. (2020), Schatzki’s practice theory and Thévenot’s regimes of engagement are ontologically close enough to each other to enable the synthesis of slightly varying perspectives, which in turn can benefit both theoretical developments. Welch et al. (2020) suggest that people engage in their environment through varying regimes of engagement, which follows Thévenot’s thinking, but they do so in the nexus of social practices that goes along with Schatzki’s thinking. Thus, ‘different practices are *more or less* embedded in distinct regimes of engagement’ (Welch et al., 2020, p. 441). The synthesis of these two theories produces a theoretical development that can be applied, for example, to clarify the reflective future-oriented plans, ends and hopes of practices as well as the moral dimensions of people’s doings and sayings (see, Truninger, 2011; Welch et al., 2020).

The regimes of engagement are built on earlier work by Boltanski and Thévenot (1991/2006), which, in turn, is based on a convention theory developed in a collaboration of economists and sociologists in the middle of the 1980s (Truninger, 2011). Boltanski and Thévenot (1991/2006) focus especially on different ‘worlds of justification’, aiming to clarify how people justify their activities to each other while negotiating, criticising or explaining, for example, political or future-oriented actions. Their study has been used, for example, to analyse various justifications emerging from public discussions in media (e.g., Forssell & Lankoski, 2018), but has been criticised for overemphasising cognitive activities (see Truninger, 2011). Thévenot (2001; 2007), however, developed their previous work (Boltanski & Thévenot

1991/2006) by extending it to capture material and visible, not just verbal or cognitive, manifestations of engagement in a surrounding environment. As a result, he created the previously mentioned three regimes of engagement: familiarity, planning or the plan and justification. Each regime conveys two notions: (1) some good, which is to be engaged through some type of evaluation that is simultaneously (2) some kind of capacity through which people access the surrounding environment.

The regime of familiarity indicates the ease with which a practitioner can engage in routinised and unreflective activities in a private and intimate environment. Thus, the engagement in familiarity is based on a tacit and embodied knowledge, evolved as solutions for particular local and intimate circumstances without regular public evaluation. Thus, the familiarity may make it difficult for the practitioner to verbalise or reflect on their easy and relaxed doings as their personal engagement in different ends is unreflective and embedded in particular private circumstances. Such engagement in the familiar does not convey the similar good of relaxed ease in some other environments or contexts. (e.g., Thévenot, 2001; 2007.) For example, drinking a glass of water at home is an easy and even unconscious activity but, in another environment, the place of glass has to be found or requested. Sutton (2014) analyses cooking skills and knowledge as embedded in the social and material home environment, and thus his descriptions of skilled home cooks navigating their kitchen environment by applying ‘dexterously embedded techniques’ and embodied skills indicates engagement in familiarity. Similarly, without referring specifically to regimes of engagement, Warde (2016) aptly describes engagement in familiarity and its relaxedness as follows: ‘Being adapted to a familiar setting, being familiar with its prevalent operations and having a capacity to navigate it with embodied procedures... performances flow smoothly’ (Warde, 2016, p. 139). In other words, the regime of engagement in familiarity facilitates the coordination of repeated everyday practices without thinking or ruptures in activities.

The regime of planning conveys satisfaction from being engaged through reflectively and intentionally coordinated activities. The regime elucidates how people monitor their engagement in various material and social environments in the nexus of social practice. Therefore, engagement in a plan is governed by social practices that are often so normative that the planning becomes almost invisible, such as the mental coordination of cooking practices for enacting satisfying meals. However, engagement in the regime of planning, governed by satisfaction, differs from the engagement in the regime of familiarity, governed by ease. The satisfaction of fulfilled planned activities evolves by enacting future-oriented performances that often demand some evaluation or reflective coordination, contrary to the ease of carefree and routinised familiarity. (e.g., Thévenot, 2001; 2007.) Such conscious evolution relating to engagement in planning can be interpreted to accentuate individuals’ free will in decision-making, being the approach from which practice theory aims to distance (Welch et al., 2020). This can be one reason for the lacuna of the future in current practice theory, which typically sees performances of practices ‘as outcomes emerging from the past rather than as oriented towards the future’

(Welch et al., 2020, p. 439). This is also foregrounded in the study of Thomas and Epp (2019), which suggests that the third existence form, practices-as-envisioned, be added to practices-as-entities and practices-as-performances (see chapter 2.1). Simplified, the practice as a social entity should somehow be envisioned before a performance, such as, in the study of Thomas and Epp (2019), when new parents envisioned socially justified caring practices before the birth of their baby. However, situational performances of caring for the new-born baby are ‘reality tests’ (Thévenot, 2001, p. 69) of how the plans engaged succeed in real-life situations. In addition to considering the reflective and evaluative dimension of human agency, the future-oriented approach could elucidate engagements in multiple practices (Welch et al., 2020). For example, a satisfying cooking practices planning does not focus only on how to enact cooking but on the reflective and discursive coordination of multiple everyday practices, such as shopping for groceries, paid work, cleaning the kitchen and transporting children to activities (e.g., Halkier, 2010; 2020).

The regime of justification indicates differing but coherent notions of the common good that is to be engaged through public evaluations becoming discernible, for example, in negotiations and debates. Thus, engagement in the common good requires publicity and generality, which means an evaluation that is valid for some third party, such as professionals, citizens, authorities, influencers or promoters. The third parties mediate plural and possibly conflicting conventions or norms of the common good that, however, guide and justify people’s actions. Initially, Boltanski and Thévenot (1991/2006) identified six worlds of justification representing six differing but common goods: domestic (based on rooted tradition and trust), civic (benefits for a society, such as solidarity and public health), fame (visibility and general opinion), market (price and economy), industrial (efficiency and orderliness), and inspiration (creativity, improvisation and aesthetic) (see also, e.g., Forssell & Lankoski, 2018). The list of worlds is not limited to these six. For example, the world of green that represents the good of nature has been added later to analyses of how people justify their activities (e.g., Forssell & Lankoski, 2018). Thus, the list evolves as people’s activities are shaped by the common good of different worlds, just as their activities shape shared understandings of good in various situations. Warde (2016, pp. 129–137) describes this using the language of practice theory as follows: the repeatedly satisfying performances establish shared regularities that institutionalise as norms or conventions, which steer varying skilful procedures as well as being tools for justification. After all, the regime of justification enables practitioners to arrange situational and public disagreements on common notions of agreements, such as, arguments as to whether proper cooking skills can be recognised as referring to the domestic (the good of tradition) or civic (the good of health and welfare in a society) worlds.

In summary, through the regimes of engagement it is possible to analyse various norms or conventions that people convey while enacting the doings and sayings of practices. This also reveals a continual navigation between the private and public good. The acknowledgement of different moral engagements in practices enables us

to analyse, for example, the contextual and situational dimensions of skilful cooking, and how it can be evaluated with regard to the (private or public) context and different worlds of justification. This helps us to better comprehend current home cooking and its complex organisation in home context as well as the interpersonal negotiations, public discussions and debates concerning the practice. Thus, the regimes of engagement complement this dissertation's practice theoretical perspective by acknowledging in particular the moral but also future-oriented dimensions of practices, which creates a basis to analyse the differently justified home cooking practices that emerge from varying engagements in everyday performances. Article II of this dissertation offers an example of such analysis (Torkkeli et al., 2021).

4 Cooking entangled in family life

Home cooking cannot be enacted without a bundle of other practices linked to it. Ingredients have to be bought, meals planned and served, the kitchen cleaned and dishes washed. In an everyday family life, these practices are organised amongst each other as well as several other practices relating to family life, paid work and leisure time. This demands the monitoring of family members' schedules and preferences, and the arranging of materials, tools, equipment and vehicles needed for cooking, cleaning and shopping. Additionally, the organisation of all this often instigates negotiations with the people involved.

The interconnection of these practices integrated in home cooking, as well as their complex coordination in families with children, requires clarification. The theoretical elements of practices, cooking skills, and the various engagements or moral dimensions of cooking practices do not alone elucidate how everyday practices are coordinated to enact satisfaction and continuity from one situation to another regarding, for example, day-to-day nourishment. Thus, this dissertation approaches home cooking from a widened perspective involving a bundle of interconnected everyday practices that enable cooking practices in families with children. The bundle of practices is conceptualised as foodwork (e.g., O'Connell & Brannen, 2016). This chapter elaborates the concept of foodwork by applying previous foodwork studies, practice theoretical approaches and studies of household work. Then the empirical context of this dissertation is introduced through studies on families, family meals and parenthood, forming a literature-based field for reflecting on home cooking and foodwork practices. Finally, the coordination of everyday practices, such as foodwork in current family life, is clarified by applying practice theoretical concepts and considered from the perspective of the mastering of everyday life that has become an established concept in the field of home economics in Finland in recent decades.

4.1 Foodwork as a broader perspective to cooking

Foodwork refers to domestic 'food provisioning' (Foden, et al. 2022, p. 466) and 'feeding work' (DeVault, 1991, p. 61), consisting of 'all the tasks necessary before and after food is put on the table' (Murcott, 2019, p. 41) including the thinking and planning of feeding (DeVault, 1991; O'Connell & Brannen, 2016). Foodwork, in turn, is included in a range of necessary and unpaid domestic household work or housework (Bove & Sobal, 2006). The concept has been used written separately as 'food work' (e.g., Warde & Martens, 2000; O'Connell & Brannen, 2021) or together as 'foodwork' (e.g., Bove & Sobal, 2006; O'Connell & Brannen, 2016). Despite the fairly long history of the concept's use, it seems that it has not been defined or clarified with the help of theoretical approaches. Three recent theses referring to foodwork apply it as a lens to study inequality and health (Oleschuk, 2020b), masculinity and cooking (Neumann, 2016), and the relationship between cooking and diet quality (Clifford

Astbury, 2020). Instead of aspirations to a more theoretical definition, foodwork has been described repeatedly with a list of different practices. The list can change and consists of culturally and temporally varying practices: web or grocery shopping for food, growing vegetables, picking berries, setting the table, planning meals, preparing foods, cooking, serving, eating, clearing the table, storing leftovers, separating waste, washing dishes and cleaning floors ⁶ (see, e.g., Bove et al., 2003; Meah, 2014).

In this study, foodwork is conceptualised by applying Schatzki's (e.g., 2012) analysis of bundles of practices and material arrangements rather than merely focusing on single practices and constituting elements in trying to understand everyday social life. Consequently, foodwork is defined as a bundle of interlinked food-related practices and material arrangements for feeding family members repeatedly. Similarly, as practices are open-ended, the bundles of practices can be open-ended as well (e.g., Schatzki, 2012). This means that it is impossible to say exactly which doings and sayings compose a particular practice, such as cooking, or, which practices compose a particular bundle, such as foodwork. However, this dissertation focuses primarily on cooking and enlarges the perspective on foodwork, and thus cooking is defined as a part of foodwork.

Typically, foodwork has been applied as a lens to explore how people are 'doing gender' (West & Zimmerman, 1987) while feeding their families (e.g., Cairns et al., 2019; MacKendrick & Pristavec, 2019; Szabo, 2013; 2014; Wright et al., 2015); in other words, how people perform changing or established gender norms by carrying out practices according to gendered expectations. These studies often highlight the dichotomies recurring in societies : for women, foodwork is caring, struggling and (re-)producing family life, while men help or relax by cooking. In heteronormative families, mothers still perform most of the foodwork, although the participation of fathers has gradually increased (e.g., Holm et al., 2019a; Clifford Astbury, 2020). Perhaps, because time-use surveys are an established way to demonstrate inequality, the discussions of gender are intertwined repeatedly with questions about time and particularly, about whose time is used. Foodwork for feeding family members is the inherent responsibility of parents, but binds mothers and their time in particular. In the early stage of home economics, the discussion was not about the division of labour in families but time management and productivity when women's work at home was rationalised in parallel with processes of factory work. Since then, foodwork as well as other household work as time-consuming gendered duties have been examined remarkably rarely in the studies of home economics, and therefore the field has been criticised for strengthening its gendered roots through its own unreflective practices (Nicolas & Collier, 2015, p. 18).

Thus, the gendered reality of division in the home sphere must be recognised, but the main aim of this dissertation is still to develop a comprehensive understanding of

⁶ Depending on the purposive perspective, the practice of eating can be seen as a part of foodwork practice, separate or overlapping with the cooking practice (Plessz & Étilé, 2019), but it has also been suggested to consider eating as 'a compound practice' (Warde 2016, p. 86) that steers most foodwork practices.

foodwork and its complex organisation, involving labour division but also material and temporal flows. This can enable us to examine how gender roles are reshuffling (e.g., Neuman, 2020) rather than to repeat gender dichotomies, which has not significantly benefited aspirations to equality (see, e.g., Deutsch, 2007; Miller, 2017).

In addition to the gender equality issue, numerous public and academic discourses about food and families (e.g., public health, food poverty and family policy) interweave with foodwork (see, e.g., Harman et al., 2019; Mahler, 2013; O’Connell & Brannen, 2021). Thus, foodwork is a reasonable, recognised and topical lens for examining social phenomena, such as everyday family life. The lens of foodwork enables a critical approach to the social discourses that often represent normative ideas but disregard the financial, cultural and temporal recourses, social boundaries and conflicting norms that weigh upon current family life (e.g., Brenton, 2017; Lindsay et al., 2021; Oleschuk, 2020b; Parsons et al., 2021; Wright, 2015). Thus, the perspective of families enacting their day-to-day foodwork can be foreground and examined, even if it is steered by socially shared practices and taken-for-granted norms.

4.2 Families, meals and parenthood

Families take diverse and dynamic forms, which complicates the conceptualisation of family. Thus, many sociologically oriented scholars explore family life through the doings of families, rather than focusing on the compositions of families or the institution called family (James & James, 2012, pp. 53–54). Families are what they do, which emphasises the studying of ‘family practices’ (Morgan, 1996). Normative, socially shared, and recognisable family practices produce and reproduce families. Families involve interpersonal relationships between their members, and thus the distinctive feature of family practices is that they ‘are carried out with reference to some other family member’ (Morgan, 2011, p. 10). Family members can live in ‘a household as a group of people sharing resources, expenditures and activities’ (Casimir & Tobi, 2011) as well as periodically or permanently in separate households consisting of one or several members, including in different families. Roughly defined, families are about interpersonally enacted family practices and households are about living arrangements with shared resources (Murcott, 2019). In this study, the family is approached through practices of family members living in the same ‘household as a resource unit’ (O’Connell & Brannen 2021, p. 39), albeit participant families represent the traditional idea of nuclear families with two parents and at least two children.

Enactments of family practices have been considered ways to produce and reproduce family life in which, for example, the striving for ‘idealised family dinners’ (Lindsay et al. 2021, p. 77) or home cooking and ‘feeding the family’ are involved (DeVault, 1991, p. 1). Thus, the production of family life includes foodwork practices that aim to generate a togetherness or to support family harmony as well as to conduct the biologically determined feeding the family (e.g., Brembeck, 2005; DeVault, 1991; Grønhoj & Gram, 2020). However, the realisation of necessary feeding, on the

one hand, and togetherness or family harmony, on the other, can demand both ‘food fights and happy meals’ (Wilk 2010, p. 428) expressing the complexity of engagements in family food practices (e.g., Cuevas et al., 2021). For example, ‘the provision of fast food can be an enactment of care and belonging’, regarded as a component of good family life (Mahler, 2013, p. 72). At the same time, ‘family meals are assigned a significant role in health’ (Holm et al., 2019b, p. 80), which is a normative assumption often repeated in nutrition-oriented guidelines. However, health aspirations do not necessarily override the initial aims of everyday foodwork – the strengthening of togetherness and the feeding of the family (e.g., Torkkeli & Janhonen, 2022). Parents may aim at family harmony and togetherness rather than nutritionally proper family meals, simply to avoid conflict and to feed the family members sufficiently (e.g., Grønhøj & Gram, 2020).

Thus, like families, family meals are also various and multiform, especially in their organising and participants (Lindsay et al., 2021; Wilk, 2010, Jackson, 2009; Murcott, 2019; Harman et al., 2019). Eating together (i.e., commensalism) has been seen as a significant part of the production of family life, to create social bonds between people and socialise them into rules and the culture of eating (e.g., Holm et al., 2019b). In many public discussions, concerns have been expressed about the (assumed) decline of family meals and its possible consequences for the health and general wellbeing of children. Food sociologists have remained sceptical about two things in relation to these discussions. First, the decline of family meals has been hard to prove because the shared meal appears more ‘a valued idea’ than the daily practice of family life today, or even in the past (Murcott, 2019, p. 49; Jackson, 2009). Second, family meals do not inevitably mean homemade meals cooked from scratch and eaten together, as a study about the provisioning and eating of convenience meals with a family shows (Brembeck, 2005). Moreover, it is unclear whether it is a proper family meal if everyone is eating different portions at the same time or if family members eat the same home-cooked meal but at different times and with different compositions?

Generally, the term family meal ‘refers to cooked meals eaten in the evening, when family members have returned home from their daily activities outside the household’ (Holm et al., 2019b, p. 83). When studied statistically, such family meals have not declined significantly in various households, according to a Nordic analysis comparing data from 1997 and 2012 (Holm et al., 2019b). However, the data from 2012 proves that the prevalence of family meals was just under 50 % in Finnish households with small children and approximately 45 % in households with teenage children. This is lower than in 1997 or in other Nordic countries in 2012 (Norway 50 % with small children and 57% with teenagers, while Sweden and Denmark had 55 % and 65 %). Moreover, dinner was eaten with children less often in Finland than in other Nordic country, but it was eaten *at home* more often than in parallel countries (Kahma et al., 2019.) Such statistics can shed light on increasing fears about the decline of family meals, especially in Finland, even if families with children still eat their meals at home and perhaps together almost every other day.

In spite of family meal frequency, the feeding of family and especially children is the inherent and taken-for-granted responsibility of parents. How parents should discharge their responsibilities has been the subject of many public debates and parenting guidance since the 1970s, when expectations of ‘good’ parenting practices began to intensify (Lee et al., 2014; Miller, 2017). Parents are called on to take responsibility for numerous smaller and larger social problems (such as increasing childhood obesity or unhealthy food environment) by taking on advice about better practices, such as eating, cooking and planning of meals, and then to enact those even when the advice may sometimes be contradictory or hard to accomplish. Scholars have called the ongoing phenomenon intensive parenting, the background of which is a worry about vulnerable children and parents’ lack of awareness about proper caring practices such as healthy and regular feeding. (e.g., Harman et al., 2019.) The phenomenon has brought about side effects that scholars have approached, for example, by studying overprotective and indulgent ‘helicopter parenting’ associated with anxiety in children (Cui et al., 2019a; 2019b). Moreover, the intensified expectations related to foodwork and feeding of the family in healthier and more sustainable ways still mostly impacts mothers (e.g.; Brenton, 2017; Cairns et al., 2013; Cairns & Johnston, 2018).

4.3 Coordination of everyday practices

The doings and sayings of various practices are coordinated to achieve certain intended results (Schatzki, 2010, p. 69), such as the proper feeding of the family. To understand the coordination of foodwork practices or other everyday life practices, it is crucial to consider first how practices link into bundles. Put simply, bundles are ‘loose-knit patterns based on the co-location and co-existence of practices’ (Shove et al., 2012, p. 81). Links between practices arise and disappear because of competition and/or collaboration between various practices. Similarities between elements of practices (e.g., materials, competences and meanings) can be seen as indicators of links between different practices. (Shove et al., 2012; see also, e.g., Schatzki, 2010; 2015.) Many foodwork practices are enacted in the material environment of the kitchen, where spoons and knives are involved in the practices of cooking, washing the dishes and setting the table. Competences applied in cooking are also needed when buying food, and social meanings related to cooking can be the same as the meanings of parenting, such as producing togetherness. The sequential collaboration between foodwork practices is easily observed. Ingredients have to be bought before cooking, the table must be set before the cooked food is eaten, dishes should be washed and the kitchen cleaned before the next cooking. Some practices can disappear in the competition with others, but at the same time other practices can collaborate: instead of cooking, ready-made meals are bought to avoid the cleaning of kitchens and prioritise the transportation of children to activities.

The competition and collaboration between practices can also be considered through regimes of engagement, for example, why people are engaged in some

practices (the transportation of children) but not in others (the cooking of meals). The embedded and repeated everyday practices at home are enacted through the regime of familiarity, which conveys the relaxed and easy flow of everyday performances without continual thinking or reflective coordination, such as a regular heating-up of meals for children. However, engagement in the regime of planning implies the more or less reflective coordination of various overlapping social practices to achieve situationally satisfying ends. When the fridge is empty, the rupture in the regular performance evokes reflective planning: when, where and by whom will the meals for the following days be bought. The coordination of practices emerges to achieve a satisfying end, aka a filled fridge. In addition, the engagement in justification conveys the different worlds of good that may be revealed while one aims to solve the problems of coordination through negotiation (Welch et al., 2020). For example, ready-made meals should not be bought as they are expensive (the world of the market), a celebrity chef has slandered their nutritional value (the world of fame), which is not necessarily true (the world of civics), but the meals save time for travelling to the activity (the world of industry) that further one's children's health (the world of civics).

The regimes of engagement and especially justifications imply how practices absorb the different (e.g., temporal, mental, material and financial) resources of households. Practices use resources but resources are also outcomes of practices, or rather, relations between practices generate conditions that produce or consume resources, such as time (see, Shove et al., 2012, p. 90–91). People may save time and perhaps mental resources by outsourcing cooking tasks and purchasing ready-made meals that can diminish financial resources, but the dynamics of resources related to most everyday practices are not consequences of people's free will decision-making, which becomes obvious particularly through current studies of food poverty in families (e.g., O'Connell & Brannen, 2021). Until the 1990s, the management of household resources was a research focus in the field of home economics, but its roots in a positivistic view of knowledge and an approach to people as rational decision-makers have been considered demanding, as research on everyday life needs, for example, an understanding of the moral (Haverinen, 1996) and embodied dimensions of activity. Thus, the focus on the resources of households is a sticky approach that might unnecessarily narrow the understanding of coordination.

Instead, this dissertation analyses coordination by following temporal flows, sequences of materials and interaction between participants (e.g., Hui, 2017). Everyday practices are steered by the temporal organisation of society, such as the socially shared rhythms of daily meals or the durations of work and school days. In addition, some everyday practices are taken for granted and inherently involved in everyday family life, such as the care and feeding of family members. These 'practices come with sets of requirements', as Southerton remarks (2006, p. 440), referring particularly to time in the sense that socially accepted practices are always reserved for a certain time, but this is true for material sequences as well. Meanwhile, the coordination of everyday practices in family life is a continual process concerning several people with varying engagements, preferences, schedules and powers, and

thus involves continuous social interaction and unavoidable negotiations (e.g., Goodwin & Cekaite, 2018) because practices, such as foodwork, are done with others, for others and in front of others (see, Halkier, 2020). According to Morgan (2011) negotiations are family practices as such, offering insights into how practices are prioritised and organised while (re-) producing family life (see also, Lindsay & Mahler, 2013).

Mylan and Southerton (2018) analysed the ordering of domestic laundry practices in their practice theoretical study through three coordination forms: material arrangements, temporal activities and interpersonal relationships. They identified various social mechanisms, such as the institutional rhythms of everyday life, social relations between people in different contexts, cultural conventions or social norms and domestic materialities that steer performances, which order the laundry practice at the personal, household and societal levels (Mylan & Southerton, 2018). Thus, they elucidate the dynamics between practices as social and shared entities and practices as situational and embodied performances. However, the analysis does not clarify *how* practices are coordinated in the everyday life of families to achieve particular ends or continuity: in other words, how the coordination itself is performed.

Many well-known theories (such as pragmatism, phenomenology and ethnomethodology) may describe human life as a continuous flow of unreflective activities that can be ruptured by some co-incident that brings about reflectivity and consciousness (see Schatzki, 2015, p. 20). From this perspective, the coordination should be primarily an unreflective flow of routinised practices. Schatzki (2016a) approaches such a perspective with suspicion. Instead of dichotomizing how reflective and conscious or unreflective and unconscious actions of people are, he foregrounds how continuity and consciousness are ‘nearly ubiquitous in ongoing life’, as people are usually always aware of something while doing (Schatzki 2016a, p. 21). Schatzki focuses his critical eye particularly on thinking as an overemphasised indicator of consciousness, and highlights other forms of consciousness, such as listening, sensing and observing. Thus, people continuously adjust the things they are doing on the basis of conscious monitoring (e.g., thinking, watching, reflecting, smelling, touching) of the surrounding environment. In other words, adjustments to the ongoing everyday life practices cannot be segregated into verbalised and reflective thinking or embodied and unreflective acting. Instead, adjustments are always components of several practices, and thus they are embedded particularly into bundles of practices. (Schatzki, 2016a.)

After all, the coordination of foodwork or other everyday practices needs some kind of adjustment into the ongoing situations of family life. For example, the coordination or ‘management’ of income and food resources are crucial, especially in low-income households. The review of low-income mothers’ management of poverty with regard to food consumption and nutrition identifies three adjustment strategies (Attree, 2005). ‘Strategic adjustment’ indicates material strategies adopted to manage poverty. ‘Resigned adjustment’ refers to routines evolved over time and through repeated adjustment to poverty and the absence of realistic opportunities. ‘Maternal

scarifies’, refers to the public discourses of ‘good’ mothering shaping how low-income families try to adjust nutrition and health, for example, by denying the mothers’ own needs while prioritising the needs of children. (Attee 2005, p. 230; O’Connell & Brannen, 2021.)

The adjustment of practices and activities to changing everyday situations is also referred to in terms of tinkering (Mol, 2010) and navigation (Oleschuk, 2020b; Sutton, 2014). Management is, however, a term that has been avoided in practice theoretical as well as in Finnish home economics studies, since it refers specifically to the management theory that emphasises the cognitive and rational management of household’s resources (Haverinen, 1996), in which case the concept does not address the majority of everyday life phenomena described in this summary. Nevertheless, the established understanding of the aim of households’ activity is the mastering of everyday life (Haverinen, 1996), which can be misinterpreted as a reference to the management, particularly when the concepts are translated in Finnish⁷. However, the mastering of everyday life should be considered the ethically ideal aim of activity (Haverinen 1996, p. 161). Thus, it can be unreachable, a carrot fixed to the end of a stick, something that we strive for but cannot maintain and stabilize because social practices steer everyday life, and such alive practices are in continual change. As Schatzki (2012) reminds, us if practices are not changing, they are dead or have disappeared. Thus, it is essential to explore the coordination, adjustments or navigation of practices of families and households rather than to analyse or evaluate the unreachable mastering of everyday life. However, various forms of adjustments are underdeveloped in practice theoretical literature (Schatzki, 2016a). Thus, Article III of this dissertation clarifies the coordination of foodwork in families with children by elaborating on themes of adjustment (Torkkeli et al., 2022).

⁷ The mastering of everyday life is in Finnish **arjen hallinta**, the direct translation of which is ‘the management of everyday life’, because the Finnish word **hallinta** can be translated as management. In the field named home economics, economics refers initially to the Greek word *oikonomia*, which can be translated literally as ‘management of a household’ (see, Nicols & Collier, 2015, p. 15).

5 Research design

This study is based on the notion that our everyday life is formed by the nexus of socially shared practices. Practices exist as social entities and situational performances, which have methodological consequences. In other words, the fundamental research unit in practice theory is a social practice that can be represented as ‘a bridging device’ between holistic and individualistic explanations of everyday life. In addition, the social practice exists as doings and sayings, hence the analysis of practices should focus on both of the forms (e.g., Warde, 2005).

Accordingly, the dissertation approaches home cooking as a social practice, which is a part of the bundle of foodwork practices. The essential focus of analysis is on both the doings and sayings of cooking performances carried out in the everyday life of families with children. Therefore, the research emphasises qualitative methods inspired by ethnographic approaches. An attempt has been made to collect data that captures both the embodied performances of situational everyday practices (as doings) and their verbalisations (as sayings), as well as to analyse the home cooking data by applying concepts of practice theory.

As mentioned before, the dissertation has three overarching aims. Firstly, the aim is **to understand how everyday cooking is performed and organised in families with children**, and thus to contribute to the academic and public discussions about home cooking by introducing foodwork as a topical concept. Secondly, **to introduce a novel video method that captures both doings and sayings of practices for analysis**. Thirdly, the aim is **to demonstrate the applicability of the practice-theoretical perspective in studies rooted in the discipline of home economics**. These aims can only be attained through the synthesis of the three sub-studies and their results. However, these aims have guided the research design and the phrasing of research focuses and questions from the beginning of this research project.

5.1 Research questions

Each of the three sub-studies concentrated on a special research focus. The focuses are presented as a main research question and two explicatory sub-questions. Typically, in projects composed of qualitative studies, each sub-study proceeds from the grounds of the previous ones (e.g., Kouhia, 2016). Similarly, the research focuses and questions in this study were adjusted or redirected according to the results of previous sub-studies and after a more comprehensive assimilation of and familiarisation with the literature and data. Simultaneously, the lens through which the phenomena of home cooking was explored became extended. The first sub-study (Article I) focused on conceptualising cooking through practice theoretical elements and on developing a special first-person perspective video method to capture both the doings and sayings of everyday cooking performances. The second sub-study (Article II) focused on engagements in home cooking with the help of regimes of engagement

(Thévenot, 2001; 2007) to better understand the situationally appropriate cooking performances enacted in an everyday life context. Lastly, the third sub-study (Article III) widened the perspective from cooking towards foodwork and its coordination in families with children. The formulation of focuses and questions are unified in Table 1 to clarify the different approaches of each sub-study, and therefore the questions deviate slightly from what is expressed in Articles I–III. The research focuses and questions are presented briefly in Table 1.

Table 1. Research focuses and questions.

Article	Research focus	Main research questions	Sub-questions
I	Conceptualisation of cooking and development of video method	1) How can cooking be studied and analysed from the practice theoretical perspective?	a) Which different elements of practice are useful in the analysis of cooking? b) What kind of interplay can be discerned between these elements?
II	Particularising of situational engagements in cooking with the help of regimes of engagement	2) How do practitioners situationally evaluate and negotiate what is worthy of doing?	a) How are regimes of engagement manifested in cooking performances? b) How is situationally appropriate cooking carried out?
III	Clarification of foodwork as a bundle of cooking-related practices	3) What is foodwork and how do families perform it?	a) How are foodwork practices coordinated in families with children? b) How can adjustments of parental foodwork be conceptualised?

5.2 Qualitative approach to doings and sayings of everyday practices

The combination of video and interview methods were a significant premise of the dissertation. The primary aim of the combination of methods and the data collection was to capture everyday cooking performances to better understand how cooking practices are intertwined in daily occurrences and carried out in situ. Moreover, video recordings allowed the analysis of situational practices by focusing on both the sayings and doings of practices, supporting the practice-theoretical analysis (Warde, 2016). The application of visual methods (combined with verbalised accounts) is not new in the field of home economics science, especially in Finland. For example, Korvela (2003) collected video data from three families with children to analyse everyday life and being at home. Janhonen-Abuquah (2010) have researched transnational everyday life by analysing photograph diaries of immigrant woman and visual data stimulated recall (SR) interviews in her thesis. Overall, the SR interview method has a long tradition especially in social and educational sciences (e.g., Engeström, 2009; Mackenzie & Kerr, 2012) which partly reflects technological advances in recording equipment.

However, the combining of video and interview methods is still exceptional in cooking studies, which are usually based only on interviews or quantitative data (e.g., DeVault, 1991; Halkier, 2010; Holm et al., 2019a; 2019b; Kinser, 2017; O'Connell & Brannen, 2016). Relying solely on verbalisations of occurrences may highlight normative meanings and significances of practices (Martens, 2012) and conceal their performative, situational and embodied aspects (Halkier & Jensen, 2011). Thus, many studies that approach everyday food-related practices from the perspective of practice theory have emphasised the relevance of visual methods combined with interviews and an observation-based go-along technique (e.g., Wills et al., 2015; Meah & Jackson, 2013). Researchers have also argued for the relevance of visual methods because many everyday practices are so routinised and taken-for-granted that they are difficult to verbalise (Wills et al., 2016). However, scholars have been concerned with how the experience of the researcher's own embodied research practices and observation or questions focusing on participants' particular performances feed each other and diminish the overall reliability of the research (e.g., Pink 2012; Martens & Scott, 2017; Wills et al., 2016). For example, in a study focusing on mundane practices, the researcher's existence, go-along observation and in situ video recording may detach practices from their situational processes and performative existence and, by contrast, cause the display of most normative practices.

To reduce the researcher's intervention, this study was inspired by the first-person perspective digital ethnography (Pink, 2015) that Lahlou (2011; see also, Lahlou et al., 2015) developed as Self Evidence Based Ethnography (SEBE). The method is based on cameras that record video data from the practitioner's perspective. Pink (2015, p. 241) has argued for the research method 'producing naturalistic and optimally objective visual recordings of people's lives', and thus avoiding possible researcher bias or self-reflexivity of participants at the time of data collection. It enables the researcher to capture the practitioner's 'context of situation' and 'covert behaviour' involving non-verbalised emotions, goals, interpretations and intentions. Grasseni (2011, p. 29) aptly states that cameras tell us the participants' vision and its direction, which she calls 'skilled vision' (cf., Ingold, 2001, p. 135 and 'movement of attention') but camera does not tell of (embodied) experiences or applied knowledge. Thus, the method is not omnipotent. It captures just a trace through the situational context rather than a view or an account of it (Pink, 2015). Moreover, the idea that the researcher's absence may sustain the 'ongoingness and unstoppable flow of everyday life' (Pink, 2015, p. 241) needs reflection, as the camera itself also makes an intervention into the flow of everyday happenings. The camera is a part of the situational context. I consider this more closely in the discussion about the limitations of the method.

However, the use of the video method benefited this study in two ways. First, it enabled me to capture *doings of cooking practices*, the audio-visual data of situational everyday cooking, its context, sociability and entanglement in other practices. Second, the footage generated *sayings of cooking practices*, the verbal data produced in video-stimulated recall (SR) interviews (cf., Engeström 2009; Janhonen-Abuquah, 2010;

Mackenzie & Kerr, 2012), which Lahlou (2011) calls ‘reply interviews’ in his SEBE method. During discussion-like SR interviews, participants watch footage they had recorded, enabling verbalisations of occurrences: accounts of particular performances and the reasons for them, situational emotions, intentions and goals. Thus, the participant can ‘provide a detailed and grounded-in-evidence comment on her mental processes, without disturbing’ the situational everyday action (Lahlou, 2011, p. 611). However, Pink (2015) reminds us that ‘we cannot go back’ when watching recordings because our performances adjust continuously, and we are always learning. Instead of highlighting the idea that the video method can *capture* something for research purposes, we should understand the recording as a stimulus to talk about the doings of everyday practices. In addition, discussion-like pre-interviews preceding the video data collection acted as a preliminary familiarisation with participant families’ everyday practices and advanced the viewing and perceiving of footage, as well as the designing of SR interview questions that would deepen the understanding of foodwork practices.

5.3 Data and analysis

Two data sets were collected for the sub-studies. The first set of auto-ethnographical video data was used in the first sub-study (Article I). The second set, a combination of video and interview data from five families with children, was used in the second and third sub-studies (Articles II and III). The inspiration to collect such data sets was based on a Subjective Evidence Based Ethnographical (SEBE) video method (Lahlou, 2011, see also, Lahlou, et al., 2015) that was complemented with pre-interviews and SR interviews.

The video data were the crux of both data sets, and therefore the development of the video method before and during the first sub-study was crucial to success in collecting the second data set. Thus, the first step was to find a suitable recording device. First-person perspective digital ethnography has been carried out, for example, by collecting data with a wearable camera integrated in eyeglasses (Lahlou, 2011; Lahlou et al., 2015) or with a camera worn around the neck on a lanyard to take images every 20 seconds (Gemming, et al., 2015). For this study project, I tested a few wearable point-of-view cameras fixed to the practitioner’s head. A camera fixed to the practitioner’s temple at eye level proved the most appropriate and comfortable to wear, which was important as the aim was to make the recording as easy as possible. The control device was attached to an arm. The camera recorded vertical good-quality ongoing videos such that the hands of the practitioners, their head movements (as an assumed direction of eyes and the focus of performance), the surrounding environment and other participants were seen and heard in the footage, which is not the case with all wearable cameras.

In addition, the subject of all the video recordings in both data sets was selected. That was dinner cooking for four reasons: First, dinner remains the primary and most complex meal prepared in homes in Finland (Kahma, et al., 2019). Second, the public

and academic discussions of 'family meals' generally focus on dinners, their regularity and quality. Third, to introduce an unambiguous target of the video recordings, the study aimed to engage participants better in the data collection. Fourth, cameras' limited memory and batteries as well as the richness of video data itself forced the restriction of targets and duration of the data collection.

5.3.1 Auto-ethnographical cooking videos

The first data set was collected from the auto-ethnographical perspective, in other words I recorded my own everyday cooking at home. The data was used for the first sub-study (Article I) but the data collection was also crucial for testing and developing the novel video method. Auto-ethnography has typically been applied to highlight, for example, dominant and taken-for-granted cultural scripts or emotional knowledge of cultural experiences relating to gender, race or injustice through narratives of self (Adams, 2017). However, this study prefers 'analytical auto-ethnography', utilising the researcher's self in the research context rather than as a focus of the study (Anderson, 2006). Anderson (2006, p. 375) highlights that in analytical auto-ethnography the researcher is 'committed to an analytic research agenda focused on improving theoretical understandings of broader social phenomena'. In this research project, the auto-ethnographical approach enabled the development of the unique video method and the analysis of cooking practices with the help of practice theoretical concepts. Thus, the approach makes possible to analyse in greater depth the social practices related to cooking, to consider them through one's own embodied and non-verbal doings and mundane conversations with family members.

Overall, the first data set consists of fifteen auto-ethnographical cooking videos recorded in two periods: during November and December 2015 and during April and May 2016. In between these periods, I familiarised myself with various software programs to convert videos to analyse them in the video analysis program Interact. The entire data collection, which focused on both the developing of video method and the recording of video data from everyday cooking, consists of 22 cooking situations that took place on different days. During this period, I kept a diary of recordings consisting of several successful and failed recording sessions. In the diary, I described my own thoughts and feelings about the data collection, negotiations around daily foodwork and how video cameras, batteries and UPS devices worked or did not work, the mistakes I made during recordings and when guiding my husband to use the camera while cooking. Thus, the auto-ethnographical approach made it possible to reflect on how the camera disturbed the flow of everyday life, how it makes people nervous at first, how other family members reacted to the existing and recording camera, how the routinized doings and family life adapted when recordings kept going. These auto-ethnographic experiences gathered around the video method were extremely valuable, particularly in conducting the next stage of the data collection with other families. For the first sub-study (Article I), I selected six successful auto-ethnographical cooking videos: four cooking sessions from November and December

2015 and two cooking sessions from April and May 2016. The analysis of these videos is described in chapter 5.3.3.

5.3.2 Video and interview data from families with children

The second data set consists of pre-interviews, dinner cooking videos for a one-week period from the first-person perspective and SR interviews. For the data collection, I recruited families with two working parents and at least two children aged 5–16 living permanently together in Finland. Almost 80 percent of families with children in Finland consisted of two parents and a child or children, according to the latest statistics from 2013. Thus, I emphasised specific family compositions in the recruitment process, instead of the socioeconomic status or position of families or parents' sexuality, occupation or educational background. My aim was to ensure, on the one hand, that the study would capture the coordination of several everyday practices that were supposed to be in relation to the number of family members, and on the other hand, that participants would be in similar life situations, meaning children were in school and parents at paid work on weekdays. In addition, a study (Sorsa & Rotkirch, 2020) has showed that families with school-aged children and spouses living in the same household are most satisfied with the integration of work and family life, which perhaps improves families' dinner-making opportunities.

The auto-ethnographical experience and development of the first-person video method were eminently valuable in recruiting volunteer families as research participants and conducting the data collection with them. In January 2018, I sent the recruitment announcement through my own networks via e-mail and social media (e.g., Facebook) and asked people to spread it to families that fit the framing (Appendix 1). Thus, people who knew me spread the announcement to people whom I did not know and encouraged them to participate. The recruitment announcement consisted of a webpage link to a questionnaire made with Qualtrics software (Appendix 2). The persons who received the link were asked to first familiarise themselves with the research by watching an introduction video (duration 3 min 32 s), in which I introduced myself, explained the purpose and scope of the research and demonstrated the data collection with the help of exemplifying auto-ethnographical videos. Thus, voluntary participant families were informed as well as possible about the research, the data collection and the use of the data. In addition, one aim of the video introduction was to generate an atmosphere of trust and empathy, as the data collection was conducted in the private area of everyday life where people are supposed to be relaxedly themselves as much as possible, regardless of the research. After watching the video, the contact persons of the volunteer families answered the questionnaire of eight multiple choice questions concerning regularity, planning, the division of work and feelings related to cooking and shopping, as well as the use of convenience food and places of food purchases. My aim was to ensure that the families approached and enacted everyday cooking related practices in slightly

different ways, which was important for example, in conducting an abductive analysis (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012), which will be elaborated on in the next section.

In total, six heterosexual families living in a metropolitan area volunteered through the questionnaire by leaving the e-mail address and the phone number of the contact person, which was in all cases the mother of the family. The parents had tertiary education and their occupations were not directly related to food or food education. With five of the six families, I succeeded in arranging the first meeting and starting the data collection between February and April 2018. Data was collected from one family at a time. During the first meetings at the homes of families, at least the mothers as contact persons participated in pre-interviews about mundane cooking and its coordination. The participation of other family members varied. Participants received instructions on the use of cameras and on the recording of cooking videos independently for one week with a data collection pack consisting of two cameras, a UPS device, and simple textual instructions (Appendix 3). As video data is typically described as rich, thorough, robust and nuanced (e.g., Wills et al., 2016; Martens & Scott, 2017), I made explicit frames for both participant families and video data collection to control the abundance and multiplicity of data. For example, the one-week recording periods per family enabled me to explore the continuity and sequences of everyday cooking practices while the demarcation to dinner cooking curbed the quantity of footage.

After one week, I returned to pick up the devices and footage from families to familiarise myself with the recorded video data, and to prepare for SR interviews arranged within a week. After watching the videos, I met the participants again at their homes to conduct video-stimulated recall (SR) interviews (Appendix 4), in which they verbalised the occurrences of their own videos in greater detail. All the five families were well engaged in the research and data collection, which might be a result of the careful recruitment process.

Both pre- and SR interviews were recorded and written up verbatim by professionals. In addition, I wrote down transcripts of video-recorded sayings as well as descriptions about doings in the footage. Altogether, the transcripts of pre-interviews covered 108 pages, SR interviews covered 172 pages and videos covered 137 single-spaced pages in 12-point font. The textual data was anonymised for analysis. Participant families, the participation of family members in the data collection and the second data set are described in Table 2.

Table 2. Participant families, participants in data collection and collected second data set.

Participants	Family members	Main characteristics of foodwork	Main practitioner in videos	Participants of pre- and SR interviews	Number and duration of videos	Duration of interviews (pre and SR)
Family A	2 parents, son, 7, daughter, 9	Weekly plan of dishes, grocery shopping once a week	Mother A and Father A	Mother A and Father A	7 dinners + 1 lunch	pre 59min SR 1h 58min 4h 46min
Family B	2 parents, daughters, 9, 11, 14 and 16	Many activities, different diets, almost daily grocery shopping	Mother B	Mother B and some children	4 dinners	pre 1h 22min SR 1h 19min
Family C	2 parents, son, 9, daughter, 12	Plan of main ingredients, grocery shopping 1–2 times a week	Mother C	Mother C, Father C and children	7 dinners	pre 46min SR 1h 7min
Family D	2 parents, daughters, 10 and 13, son, 16	Varying plan of main ingredients, almost daily grocery shopping	Mother D and Father D	Mother D and Father D	7 dinners	pre 1h 26min SR 1h 32min
Family E	2 parents, daughters, 5, 9 and 12	Plan of main ingredients, grocery shopping 2–3 times a week	Father E, rarely Mother E	Mother E and Father E	6 dinners	pre 50min SR 1h 14min

5.3.3 Data analysis

In the first sub-study (Article I), the auto-ethnographical video data was analysed in three phases, applying both video analysis and theory-based content analysis. The first phase comprised the development of the coding scheme for analysing video data, the second phase focused on the doings and the third phase on sayings from cooking videos. The coding scheme was based on the idea that recipes represent cooking as a social entity and the entity is coded in recipes (Warde, 2016). The video data, together with the premise that cooking practices consist of doings and sayings, helped to elaborate the schema (seven classes altogether divided into 16 codes) and finally to code footage in into highly detailed visual charts of cooking processes that included tasks of other foodwork practices. The charts illustrated the routinised and, in some parts, unconscious doings of my own cooking and situational sayings being recorded on footages. The second and third phases of analysis focusing on doings and sayings applied to varying practice theoretical conceptualisations of the elements that construct the practice of cooking (Warde, 2005; Shove et al., 2012). As representations and performances of cooking-related practices were rich in content, the analytical units varied from non-verbal and embodied doings to words and sentences involved in conversations and negotiations with family members. The theoretical concepts as well as the detailed and schematic coding of videoed cooking situations distanced my subjectivity from the process of analysis. Overall, the auto-

ethnographic data enabled me to analyse cooking as a comprehensive, embodied, situational and emotional performance, but the continuous reflection on practice theoretical concepts (materials, procedures, competences, engagements, meanings and understandings) gave theoretical frames and a structure to the analysis.

In the following sub-studies (Articles II and III), parts of the second data set essential to each research question were analysed. The second sub-study (Article II) analysed video data and SR interview transcripts, while the third sub-study (Article III) utilised pre-interviews as well as transcripts of videos. All the studies applied an abductive content analysis that enabled me to develop conceptual accounts for the complex phenomena that appeared in the data. Timmermans and Tavory (2012) define three steps in the process of abductive analysis: revisiting, defamiliarisation and alternative casing. In the present studies, the rich and nuanced video data forced me to revisit the social phenomena of mundane cooking and re-evaluate my habitual perceptions. The defamiliarisation happens while conceptualising the taken-for-granted and generally nonverbal everyday practices. The alternative casing means trying to find other ways to understand the data, which almost inevitably happens during careful coding that 'requires further definitions and operationalisations of concepts (...) to the puzzle at hand' (Timmermans & Travory, 2012, p. 177).

Thus, in the second and third sub-studies (Articles II and III), the initial theoretical inspirations were complemented by data-driven notions of cooking-related performances that enabled me to elaborate novel conceptualisations to understand the research focus at hand in each study. The second sub-study (Article II) focused on regimes of engagement and their manifestations as doings and sayings of cooking (Thévenot, 2001; 2007) to improve my understanding of situational engagements in home cooking. The third sub-study (Article III) analysed foodwork practices with the help of coordination forms (Mylan & Southerton, 2018), complemented with elements of practices (Warde, 2005) to elaborate the adjustment of coordination of parental foodwork. The theoretical approaches of each sub-study offered stable premises for analyses but the repeated reviewing of rich and nuanced visual data as well as the coding of manifold textual data in the qualitative analysis program ATLAS.ti forced me to find novel theoretical links and alternative conceptualisations to explain the empirical observations. The units of analysis in each study consisted of doings and sayings that might be non-verbal and embodied actions and tasks analysed from visual video data as well as consecutive words, sentences and even paragraphs from transcriptions referring to different theoretical or elaborated data-driven concepts. The sub-studies enabled me to develop novel theoretical insights through the abductive analysis as a dialectic of theoretical generalisations and rich empirical data. The applied data in each sub-study (Articles I-III) and descriptions of data analysis are summarised briefly in Table 3.

Table 3. Data and data analysis in sub-studies (Articles I–III)

Publications	Data	Analysis	Focus of analysis	Applied theoretical concepts	Unit of analysis
Article I	Six auto-ethnographical cooking videos of which two in closer analysis	Video analysis and theory-based content analysis	Doings and sayings of cooking videos	Six elements of practice (Warde, 2005; Shove et al., 2012)	Non-verbal and embodied doings of cooking and consecutive words and sentences of sayings related to cooking situations
Article II	Cooking videos and SR interviews of five families	Abductive content analysis	Doings and sayings related to cooking situations	Regimes of engagements (Thévenot, 2001)	Non-verbal and embodied doings of cooking and consecutive words and sentences of sayings related to cooking situations
Article III	Pre- and SR interviews of five families and video transcriptions	Abductive content analysis	Coordination of cooking-related practices	Forms of coordination (Mylan & Southerton, 2018) and three elements of practice (Warde, 2005)	Non-verbal and embodied doings, consecutive words, sentences of sayings related to cooking and foodwork

5.4 Ethical considerations

Regarding ethical considerations, the research followed the guidelines of the Finnish National Board on Research Integrity TENK (2019). According to the guidelines, the research did not need the pre-evaluation of ethical issues as participation in the study was based on voluntary and informed consent. In addition, the study did not include conduct that requires ethical review in Finland: The study did not explore sensitive themes, participants were not in a vulnerable position and especial personal data (e.g., race, religion, or ethnicity) were not collected (Finnish National Board on Research Integrity TENK, 2019).

At the first meeting, the families and the researcher signed mutual contract forms explaining the ethical principles of the data collection, reporting and storage as well as abandonment of participation (Appendix 5). The Finnish language contract for data use is in Appendix 1. In the contract, it was highlighted that the participants were able to delete the footages or to deny the use of the collected data. Consequently, when I went to pick up cameras and the collected data from families after the recording week,

I always asked whether there were events in the videos that they did not want to give for research use. All the families gave their video recordings ‘in the raw’. Moreover, the study followed the ethical principle of Self Evidence Based Ethnography (SEBE), implying that participants are involved in looking at footage, and thus contributing to the interpretation of collected data (Lahlou et al., 2015). In publications and presentations using the data, all the participants are systematically anonymised.

However, during the publication process of the sub-studies it was noted that academic journals started to require ethical approval statements attached to submissions, which complicated the publication of the third sub-study in particular. Some researchers (e.g., Wills et al., 2015; Martens, 2012) consider video data from everyday life to endanger participants and especially children’s privacy in critical ways. The anonymisation of participants can be difficult if the kitchens are recognisable from the footage, which complicates the ethical principle regarding the openness of data (Wills et al., 2015). Thus, the complete openness of data was not realised in this study as the video data was collected only for my use in this dissertation project. Later, as asked, all five families gave consent to use the data in another study (Torkkeli & Janhonen, 2022), which speaks of their confidence in the collected data and its use in study purposes. In future studies, I recommend the opening of the descriptions and anonymised transcription of video data, and the signing of separate contracts with children aged 6-17 (see, Wills et al., 2015). Overall, in future studies that use the video method in collecting data from peoples’ everyday life, or even visiting private homes as researcher, a request for an ethical review statement from the human sciences ethics committee is highly recommended. This may help to avoid challenges during publication processes, and of course, to verify the ethical principles of the research proposal through independent and authorised reviewers.

6 Main findings

The chapter brings together the results of three sub-studies (Articles I-III) aimed at understanding how everyday cooking is performed and organised in families with children. Each of the sub-studies clarifies, deepens and extends the understanding of home cooking with the help of practice-theoretical concepts and empirical analysis of rich data.

6.1 First sub-study: Conceptualising cooking

The first sub-study, published as Article I and titled ‘Elements of practice in the analysis of auto-ethnographical cooking videos’ (Torkkeli et al., 2020), explored the conceptual elements of cooking practice. The study developed a video method that makes it possible to capture both the doings and saying of everyday home cooking and conceptualised cooking in a nuanced manner by revealing an interplay between two different practice-theoretical conceptualisations of elements of practices: materials, competences, and meanings (Shove et al., 2012); and understandings, procedures, and engagements (Warde, 2005). Procedures link materials with competences, such as how principles and routinised doings express how ingredients and utensils are handled properly. Understandings join materials with meanings, for example in how opinions and knowledge illustrate ingredients and their social and cultural values and qualities. Engagements connect competences with meanings, just as an aspiration to cook healthy meals refers to already evolved or needed skills to enact a socially valued practice. The six elements were analysed through doings and sayings: the analysis of the doings addressed the competences and procedures involved in situational cooking, while the analysis of the sayings revealed the meanings and understandings related to the performance, whereas exposing the engagements demanded an exploration of both the doings and sayings of cooking. The interplay between elements and their analysis through doings and sayings are illustrated as a triangle in Figure 1.

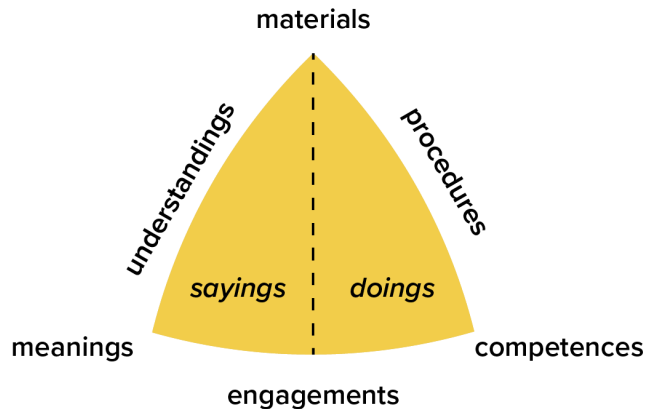


Figure 1. Elements of cooking practice and their analysis through doings and sayings.

The elements of practice should not be interpreted as fixed in Figure 1. They affect each other and thus their places may be re-arranged in some other analyses. However, the study clarified, in particular, concepts of procedures, understandings, and engagements that were not as straightforward as concepts of materials, competences and meanings to use in the empirical analysis. In addition, the first sub-study (Article I) developed the first-person video method for studying cooking as well as other everyday practices. Thus, the study contributes to the practice-theoretical discussion of constituting elements of practices and suggests the triangle created as an analytical apparatus that facilitates the acknowledgement of both the doings and sayings of situational performances of practices, and to observe performances in a nuanced manner with the help of the six elements. This more nuanced conceptualisation of cooking practice may better foreground the everyday life perspective while also acknowledging its complex character. Further, focusing on situational performances of cooking addressed how a practitioner engaged in cooking expresses, either consciously or unconsciously, what is situationally appropriate and worthy of doing in a family life situation. Consequently, such a focus on in situ occurrences enabled me to reveal the variability of engagements and situationally appropriate cooking, which raised the question of why people do what they do in their everyday family life situations. This inspired the second sub-study.

6.2 Second sub-study: Various engagements in cooking

The second sub-study, published as Article II and titled ‘Engagements in situationally appropriate cooking at home’ (Torkkeli et al., 2021), explored situational engagements in everyday cooking practices. As result, the study created a nuanced understanding of situationally appropriate cooking and its continual (un-)reflective evaluation through the synthesis of regimes of engagements (Thévenot, 2001) and practice theoretical elements of cooking (Torkkeli et al., 2020) in the following manner. *Engagement in the regime of familiarity* maintains and facilitates everyday

cooking enacted through personal procedures that link embodied competences and mundane materials. Similarly, this can maintain rooted understandings and unreflective meanings related to cooking and hinder socially promoted changes of everyday cooking in private home contexts. *Engagement in the regime of justification* conveys negotiations of the plural good of cooking, revealed through verbalised understandings of the various meanings and materials related to cooking. However, engagement in a particular public good does not necessarily guarantee enacted procedures and competences related to that good. *Engagement in the regime of planning* demonstrates a striving for a balance between maintaining familiarity and negotiable justification to achieve satisfaction and continuity, instead of continual conflicts, in everyday family life. The regime reveals situational engagements in cooking (i.e., what is evaluated as worthy of doing in a particular situation) by linking social meanings and embodied competences to enact it through reflective or unreflective planning. Planning proved to be temporally flexible but continual, in other words, it could be engaged in while cooking (i.e., in-action planning), through reflective thinking during other performances (i.e., tentative planning), and by producing lists and memos (i.e., anticipatory planning).

Figure 2 illustrates how regimes of engagement and elements of cooking practice, examined together, develop the understanding of situational engagements in cooking and evaluations of proper cooking performances in everyday life situations. The figure is a simplified version of that presented in the original Article II (Torkkeli et al., 2021). The triangle in the middle of the figure is reminiscent of cooking practice, with its six constituting elements (cf., Figure 1 and see, Torkkeli et al., 2020). The regimes of engagement capture a wider range of everyday activities than those related specifically to the practice of cooking (e.g., Welch et al., 2020). Thus, the dimensions of regimes are illustrated as ‘petals’ of the cooking practice. The right-side petal refers to the regime of familiarity, the left-side petal to the regime of justification and the bottom petal to the regime of planning. The petals together illustrate the continual, conscious and unconscious, public and private evaluations of situationally appropriate cooking.

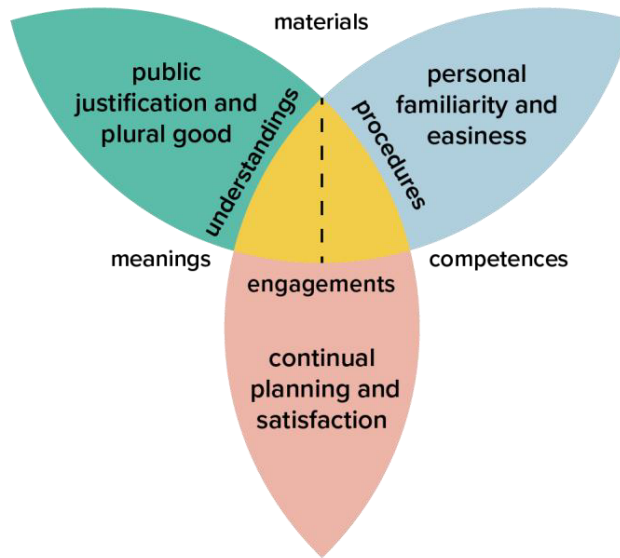


Figure 2. Regimes of engagement and their relationship with the consisting elements of cooking practice.

Overall, the study indicates that the appropriateness of everyday cooking performances is situation- and environment-specific though it is steered by social practices and public justifications. However, the study lightly questions public advice justifying the proper planning of home cooking to improve the regularity of family meals or reduce food waste. Instead of the observable and time-consuming practice of planning, the results show that planning is actually continual, mental, flexible, multifaced and somewhat unavoidable. It is an ongoing balancing act for achieving continuity, togetherness and satisfaction in an everyday family life comprising several people, timetables and activities. The regimes of engagement revealed a continual adjustment of cooking practices and inspired me to acknowledge a wider range of activities and practices in my home cooking research.

6.3 Third sub-study: Adjustments of foodwork practices

The third sub-study reported in Article III and titled ‘Adjusting the coordination of parental foodwork practices’ (Torkkeli et al., 2022) explored how home cooking was enacted through foodwork in families with children. As result, the study clarified the concept of foodwork in a theoretically rigorous manner as well as creating a comprehensive picture of parental foodwork and its coordination as continual adjustment in ongoing everyday family life. Thus, the study elaborated the coordination of parental foodwork by developing six adjustment themes with the help of practice theoretical concepts: three coordination forms (Mylan & Southerton, 2018) and three elements of practices (Warde, 2005). The need to clarify the coordination of foodwork was based on an observation that the concepts of coordination forms

manifested overlap in the empirical data. Figure 3 below exhibits the overlapping of coordination forms (material arrangements, temporal activities and interpersonal relationships) and simultaneously addresses their relation to cooking practice, depicted as the triangle (cf., Figure 1), as well as to the regimes of engagement, depicted as the ‘petals’ of cooking practice (cf., Figure 2), although the regimes play no particular role in the third sub-study. Figure 3 is a renewed illustration of the overlapping of the coordination forms. It differs from that presented in the original article (Torkkeli et al., 2022), but this figure better represents how sub-studies of the dissertation complement each other.

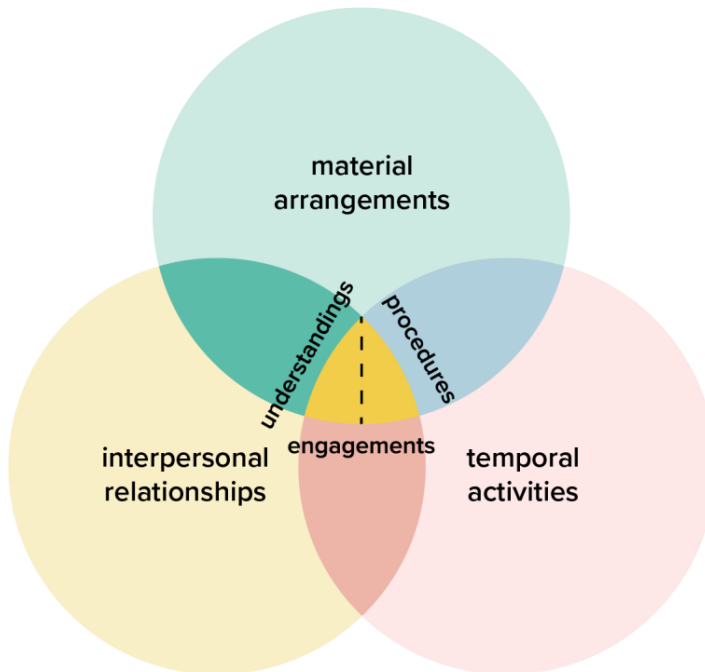


Figure 3. The overlapping of coordination forms, and elements of cooking practice.

As mentioned, the study results nuanced this picture of coordination (Figure 3) and conceptualised overlaps to six adjustment themes as follows. *Appropriateness* referred to material arrangements reflecting the understandings of foodwork practices, such as what ingredients and food were temporally, financially or spatially suitable in an ongoing everyday situation. *Sequences* also nuanced the material arrangements reflecting procedures of foodwork practices, such as usually routinised material doings that secured the flow of foodwork (e.g., the kitchen is clean, dishes washed, food in the fridge and enough room in rubbish bins). *Synchronisation* elaborated temporal activities that also reflected procedures, especially their temporality and routinised organisation according to different schedules (e.g., to arrange work so that there was time at home to cook, to do shopping while children were at their hobbies or to put the pantry in order while pasta is cooking). *Duties* referred to temporal

activities reflecting engagements in parental foodwork, such as various tasks divided according to fluency of and affection in temporal tasks, accumulated through embodied experiences of social practices. *Significance* gave nuance to interpersonal relationships, reflecting engagements but also especially various social and cultural meanings and ends related to parental foodwork (e.g., the aims of biological feeding, emotional caring or lifestyle display through parental foodwork practices). *Acceptance* also elaborated on interpersonal relationships, reflecting diverse understandings of ‘good’ foodwork such as differing preferences for foods or opinions about proper choices, which foregrounded the negotiable justifications.

Overall, the study proved how the ongoing adjustment of foodwork (re)produced the continuity of everyday family life by feeding family members and creating togetherness. The social practices of a surrounding society, with its temporal mealtimes, school and working schedules, opening hours of groceries, normative practices of ‘good’ parenting and public understandings of ‘proper’ nutritious feeding, affected adjustment and steered the coordination of parental foodwork. In sum, the study demonstrates that foodwork is a noteworthy and topical research subject because people resolve different feeding situations by mixing ready-made meals and raw ingredients, which challenges definitions of current home cooking.

6.4. Synthesis: Foodwork in kaleidoscope

The three sub-studies examine current home cooking practices through different conceptualisations applied in previous practice theoretical studies or were further developed for the purpose of this dissertation. The six elements of practice conceptualised nuanced home cooking (see, Figure 1), the regimes of engagement helped to specify situationally appropriate cooking (see, Figure 2) adjustment themes elaborated coordination forms (see, Figure 3) and clarified the organisation of parental foodwork. The synthesis of conceptualisations and their illustrations as figures create a kaleidoscopic picture of foodwork (Figure 4) (see also, Appendix 6). The picture is complex because of interrelated conceptualisations and the nature of everyday foodwork, but it can be also simplified for various study purposes by limiting the concepts included and restricting the analytical focus.

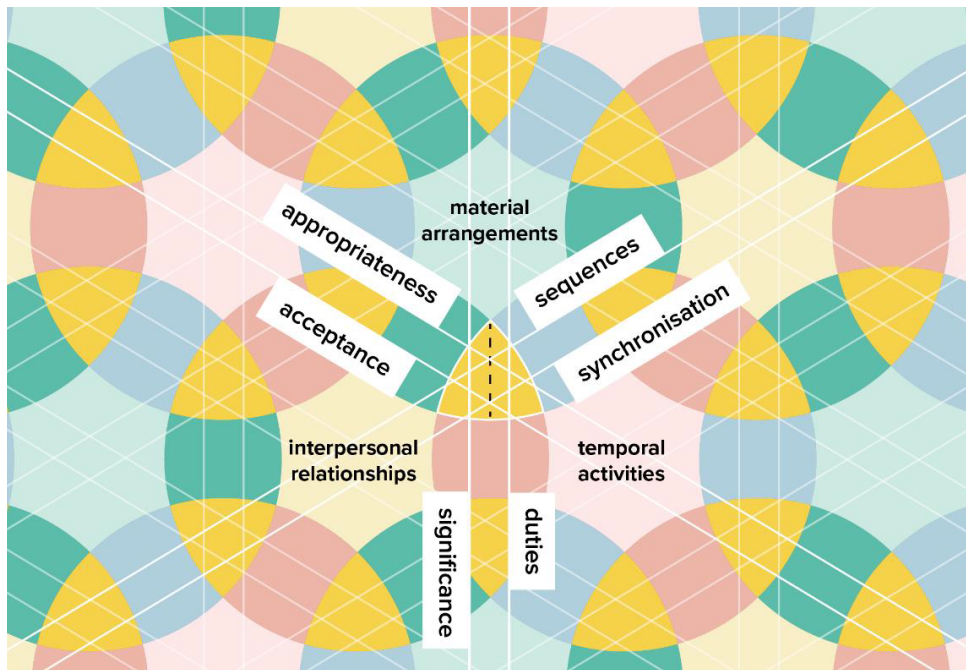


Figure 4. Foodwork in the kaleidoscope synthesising applied and developed concepts from the three sub-studies. Triangles depict practices, ‘pedals’ refer to regimes of engagement, circles illustrate coordination forms and lines represent adjustment themes.

Figure 4 shows the kaleidoscope illustrating simultaneously the synthesis of three sub-studies, applied concepts (elements of practice, regimes of engagements and coordination forms), developed concepts (adjustment themes) and the interrelation of these all. In the kaleidoscope (Figure 4), six adjustment themes of parental foodwork, written in white, run through the triangle of cooking practice in the middle of the picture (cf., Figure 1). White lines of adjustment themes also run through the “petals” of regimes of engagement (cf., Figure 2) and the circles of coordination forms (cf., Figure 3) that concern the bundle of foodwork practices, depicted as other triangles. Thus, the other practices are interrelated and can be adjusted similarly, which creates a regularly repeating pattern, a kaleidoscopic picture or a ‘fabric of everyday life’ (e.g., Chimirri et al., 2015) from interrelated practices, regimes of engagement, coordination forms and adjustment themes. The picture represents an attempt to clarify the complexity and ever-changing processual nature of everyday life activity.

7 Discussion

In essence, the synthesis of the sub-studies creates a theoretically plausible and comprehensive approach to examine how current home cooking and foodwork are performed and organised in households or particularly in families with children. The practice theoretical approach offers a premise to examine cooking and foodwork as situational performances of people that are steered, however, by socially shared and normative practices. As a response to the first overarching aim to understand how everyday cooking is performed and organised in families with children, the dissertation puts on display the endless changes of practices, balancing acts through continual planning and adjustments of performances that allow the continuity of home cooking and foodwork in everyday life situations. In other words, from the perspective of everyday life performances, people do not carry out routinised cooking completely without thinking (cf., Van Kesteren & Evans, 2020) but by monitoring the surrounding social and material environment reflectively or unreflectively (see, Schatzki, 2016). This calls for a continual coordination of performances, balancing acts and adjustments to carry out normative and socially shared foodwork practices. The analysis of such continuity was possible through the video and interview data that captured both the doings and sayings of practices enacted at home in the flow of everyday life situations. The second overarching aim of the dissertation, to introduce a novel video method that captures both the doings and sayings of practices for analysis, was achieved by developing and applying the new method successfully through all the three empirical sub-studies. Finally, the third overarching aim, to demonstrate the applicability of the practice-theoretical perspective in the discipline of home economics, is carried out through the synthesis of three-sub-studies condensed into Figure 4, which illustrates a version of everyday life perspective inspired by practice theory and developed through empirical sub-studies.

The next chapters reflect on in a more nuanced manner how the dissertation may contribute to discussions of skilful cooking in everyday family life, how the combination of methods developed may improve analyses of everyday practices, and how the practice theoretical approach could contribute to home economics science. Lastly, the limitations and strengths of the research are reflected upon.

7.1 Skilful cooking in families with children

The dissertation highlights the situationally evaluated appropriateness of home cooking. Thus, skilful cooking varies in how it acknowledges and resolves ongoing situations of everyday life. In a family life context, this can demand continual balancing acts, reflective or unreflective, and longer- and shorter-term planning to enact situationally appropriate cooking. (Torkkeli et al., 2021.) From the perspective of parental foodwork, skilful cooking requires continual coordination, entailing the adjustment of appropriateness, sequences, synchronisation, duties, significance and

acceptance (Torkkeli et al., 2022). In essence, skilful cooking responds to the overriding aims of parental foodwork, to the feeding of family members and to the production of togetherness or family harmony (e.g., Torkkeli & Janhonen, 2022).

Overall, skilful home cooking primarily requires engagement in foodwork practices and their adjustment rather than special cooking skills. Through repeated and regular engagements in foodwork, performances evolve into familiar and easy routines that maintain home cooking. In this way, engagements in cooking are often handed down tacitly in a family context from parents to children, but similarly engagements in home cooking can shift from one parent to another or from children to parents. Further, slight but continual changes of socially justified, shared and recognised foodwork practices can also change familiar practices of the home context (e.g., gendered foodwork duties, accepted diets or sequences of purchasing food). Everyday life circumstances change as well: the interpersonal relationships change as children are born and grow up, temporal activities shift according to work and school schedules, and material arrangements transform in a new kitchen and living area. Thus, skilful cooking should be flexible and adaptable to changing circumstances.

Inevitably, adapting to changes causes various experiences of foodwork to evolve, which, in turn, allows various skills to evolve as by-products of everyday performances. These by-products can be called ‘do-abilities’ (Halkier, 2010, p. 36; cf., Heinilä 2008, p. 53). More experienced practitioners may have more do-abilities and consequently greater flexibility in various cooking situations. However, this does not mean that a less experienced practitioner would be less satisfied with their home cooking in the flow of everyday life (Halkier, 2010). In the family context, people’s various do-abilities can differ or specialise, but also cumulate and complement each other, as the data indicated. Moreover, with the help of familial and personal do-abilities, people perform balancing acts (i.e. continual planning) by producing situational, conscious or subconscious interpretations of temporally possible, materially feasible and socially appropriate cooking (e.g., Jackson & Viehoff, 2016). Such situational interpretations can be seen as carrying envisioned practices (Thomas & Epp, 2019) and future-oriented coordination (e.g., Welch et al., 2020). In any case, people adjust foodwork through do-abilities, which should also involve some cooperation in the family context.

In sum, from the perspective of everyday life, skills evolve as by-products, subordinated to cooking performances that resolve ongoing everyday situations. This challenges the definitions of ‘basic’ or ‘good’ skills. Such definitions, detached from everyday life situations, reflect socially shared norms, moral judgements and public justifications, which can be negotiated and discussed but are difficult to shift as such to situational cooking performances. Therefore, instead of studying whether people have sufficient or valid cooking skills, studies should focus on how and why people engage in home cooking and what kinds of skills evolve there (e.g., Truninger, 2011). For example, a professional cook may have brilliant cooking skills that s/he does not use at home to feed the family, as s/he is so exhausted at the end of the workday. However, the regular foodwork remains essential, and it can be done by purchasing

ready-made and pre-prepared meals (cf., Halkier, 2017; Meah & Jackson, 2017), which evolves skills in ‘assembling meals from different sources’ (see, Halkier, 2021). Such a widened perspective towards open-ended but interrelated foodwork practices brings with it a diversity of diets, duties, food ingredients, meal options, taste preferences and timetables. However, the coordination of parental foodwork sets boundaries on the endless proliferation of diversity and complexity of feeding the family: someone has to arrange or order something edible every day. From this perspective, the question of how the practice of home cooking is kept alive, who enacts that or why should it be done in the nexus of everyday practices can feel more relevant than worrying about whether people have ‘proper’ cooking skills.

However, in many contexts, verbalisations of general cooking skills have been a traditional and important tool in discussing home cooking and its development and teaching. From the viewpoint of this dissertation, emphasising the perspective of everyday life, the definitions of cooking skills that acknowledge the significance of flexibility, negotiability, balancing, creativity and courage (e.g., Halkier, 2021; Sutton, 2014) seems more topical than those that focus on the ability to use specific ingredients and techniques or to prepare specific recipes or dishes (Hartmann, 2013; Martins et al., 2020). Current definitions of cooking skills should reflect, on the one hand, skilful home cooking performances in everyday life situations, and, on the other hand, broader societal consequences of practices (such as sustainability and health issues). The concepts of do-ability (Halkier, 2010) and food sense (Janhonen et al., 2018) together could capture both dimensions of skilful cooking by approaching the performance from slightly different perspectives.

7.2 Methods for capturing the everyday life practices

The combination of video and interview methods played an essential role in the dissertation. The new combination of methods captured socially steered and situationally enacted everyday practices as comprehensively as possible, grasping both the doings and sayings of practices. Consequently, both existence forms of practices could be included in the analysis carried through practice theoretical conceptualisations (including also regimes of engagement). This can be assumed to deepen and widen the understanding of home cooking and its performances and organisation in everyday family life.

The methodological approach familiar in anthropological and ethnographical studies of everyday practices (see, e.g., Lahlou et al., 2015; Sutton, 2014; Pink, 2012) inspired the study. The video method has been used to capture embodied, material, tacit, routinised and non-verbal performances for analytical purposes but the first-person perspective video method created in this dissertation also captured situational everyday discourses and negotiations essentially involved in the (re-)production of family life (see, Morgan, 2011). The use of such a visual approach for such purposes is not new in home economics studies that analyse everyday family life (e.g., Korvela, 2003). However, the analysis of social interaction, cultural representations or

reflexivity has not been the initial focus of practice theory or the ‘practice turn’ into which scholars and disciplines engaged as a critique of the ‘cultural turn’ that focused especially on analyses of discourses and representations (Halkier, 2020). To study familial negotiations, power relations, gendered duties, the varying significance of foodwork or the differing acceptance of performances – in other words, to study how everyday practices are coordinated through interpersonal relationships – the analytical focus should be on situational everyday interactions. In those situations, gendered duties can be reshuffled, power relations adjusted and compromises enacted (see, e.g., Goodwin & Cekaite, 2018), which can give new nuance to discussions about gender equality, the participation of children or the aims of cooking. Although the original purpose of applying the video method was to capture the embodied, tacit and routinised performances of cooking, the situational discursive performances became crucial to understanding foodwork enacted in families with children.

Thus, the video method does not exclude the analysis of social interaction, although it is especially effective in capturing embodied performances. Moreover, recorded everyday situations played an important role as stimuli in SR interviews, offering an opportunity to put into words tacit performances or issues affecting the performances from outside the footage. This can also reduce misinterpretations of speechless doings during the video data analysis. In this research, the new combination of methods was of crucial significance in revealing the continual planning of cooking and adjustment of foodwork practices. These findings are by their nature processual and subtle phenomena embedded in the flow of everyday situations. Their analysis would be impossible if the method were based purely on verbalised accounts that constructed quite fragmentary descriptions of material and temporal processes or the flows of an interpersonal interaction. In addition, the everyday cooking video data were recorded without the presence of a researcher. This might improve the chances of capturing familiar, unreflective and routinised practices that maintain engagement in home cooking, such as was indicated in the analysis of regime of familiarity (Torkkeli et al., 2021). In future, the regime of familiarity can be a relevant research focus if we seek to change the practices of households in more sustainable directions with the help of different interventions to implement in the home. Overall, the practice theoretical approach to everyday life and the combination of video and interview methods proved their applicability in improving our understanding of situational performances embedded and enacted in everyday home contexts. Consequently, the blend of theory and method created would also be applicable in studies of other household practices.

7.3 Practice-theoretical perspective in home economics science

This dissertation introduces a practice theoretical approach to studying the phenomena of everyday life focal in the field of home economics. In this approach, social practices are (theoretical, analytical and ontological) devices crucial to understanding everyday life. The sub-studies, in turn, demonstrate applications of the

theoretical approach and conceptualisations for empirical analyses. Overall, the dissertation indicates that the practice theoretical perspective on everyday life can clarify the processual nature of everyday life activity that has been significant in studies of home economics. The dissertation approaches everyday life as a nexus of practices (cf., Figure 4) that exist as socially shared entities and situationally carried out performances (e.g., Shove et al., 2012). Practices and especially their interrelation allow us to recognise the continual planning and ongoing adjustments in processual everyday life. The slight but continual changes involved in everyday life can contribute to definitions of concepts such as the mastering of everyday life or planning, which are regularly used in public discussions in the field of home economics.

The dissertation suggests that the skilfulness of everyday practices manifests itself in adjustments to ongoing situations, producing satisfaction and continuity. How does this associate with the mastering of everyday life, emphasised in the field of home economics as the aim of household activity? Firstly, the mastering of everyday life must be considered an ‘ethical ideal’; it follows that everyday life inevitably involves a contradiction between ideals and reality, and therefore the mastering of everyday life is more about finding a balance between oneself and others (Haverinen, 1996, p. 161). Secondly, the ideal of mastering everyday life is targeted at the activities of individuals, which is a crucial difference compared to the perspective of this dissertation, which emphasises social practices and their performances. However, we can recognise similarities between the ideal of mastering everyday life and Thévenot’s regimes of engagement. With a practice-theoretical approach to regimes of engagement (see, Welch et al., 2020), the mastering of everyday life can be described as a balancing act between private familiar performances and publicly justified practices. This balancing act, in turn, can be considered a continual planning that is embedded in normative everyday life performances to enact continuity and situational satisfaction (cf., Torkkeli et al., 2021). Overall, the dissertation highlights the endless changes, balancing acts and ongoing adjustments of practices in everyday life activity – the navigation of everyday life rather than the mastering of it (cf., Oleschuk, 2020b).

I hope that the theoretical and empirical applications demonstrated in the dissertation will encourage the exploration of other household practices (such as laundry, cleaning, or buying). The practices offer an approach for conceptualising them through elements of practices (cf., Torkkeli et al., 2020), for understanding how engagements in household practices diverge (cf., Torkkeli et al., 2021) or how those practises are continually adjusted to the ongoing flow of everyday life (cf., Torkkeli et al., 2022). Future studies of household practices could better acknowledge the everyday life context in which education and promotions aim to intervene. However, within the frames of present research, the aim was not to offer tools for teaching but elucidate home cooking by offering opportunities to understand it better. I hope to promote at least reflections and perhaps future-oriented trajectories for the formal teaching and public promotion of cooking at home. Reflection on the good and diverse future-oriented justification of social practices is essential in the field of home

economics, since guidance or teaching on various levels of education, for example about cooking practices, ‘justify interventions in the present based on imagined, anticipated actions in the future’ (Welch et al., 2020, p. 440). In such future-oriented reflections, interesting and topical approaches that also resonate with the findings of this research could be the worlds of justification (e.g., Forsell & Lankoski, 2018), the list of elements of flexible cooking skills (Halkier, 2021) or risk-taking as an everyday attitude, such as ‘cooking as a risk’, referring to a moment when continuity confronts change (Sutton, 2021, pp. 5–6).

Critiques directed to the international field of home economics have generated ever more discussion about the historical trajectories (e.g., Nickols & Kay, 2015; Nickols & Collier, 2015) and philosophical basis of home economics (e.g., McGregor, 2020). These self-reflective discussions on the discipline have contributed little to the current methodological or theoretical discussions surrounding the study field. This dissertation attempts to engage with current theoretical and methodological discussions from allied sciences through empirical analysis, and thus offer novel approaches to broaden the perspective of the research field and opportunities to participate in multidisciplinary academic debates. Further, through practice theory, home economics science can diversify its theoretical tools, and thus strengthen its contributions to academic discussions in Finland and abroad. The dissertation offers a version of the everyday life perspective, through which home economics science could approach, for example, current problems related to sustainable consumption or global and societal crises involving households, such as food poverty. However, comprehensive solutions for broad problems cannot be constructed from the everyday life perspective, but perhaps we can be reminded, for example, how the home context maintains everyday practices, how the coordination of interpersonal relationships involving negotiations and conflicts is entangled in everyday practices, or how continual planning and subtle adjustments enable the continuity of everyday practices.

7.4 Limitations of the research

The dissertation created a comprehensive picture of current home cooking enacted in families with children through a theoretically plausible and methodologically novel analysis. However, the comprehensiveness of the picture can be questioned. For example, the first-person perspective video method has limitations. People volunteering for this kind of study are willing to display their everyday life and self-select what they record. Therefore, the families were presumably quite satisfied with their everyday life, and thus this study perspective can offer just one quite normative view of current family life and its foodwork. The criticism directed at the video method often concerns to what degree videos can produce ‘naturalistic and optimally objective recordings of people’s lives’ (Pink 2015, p. 241). It was obvious that the camera made an intervention. In one family, parents repeated every time when they were recording that ‘I’m recording’ if someone came home or into the kitchen, which can affect the credibility of a study (see, e.g., Connelly, 2016) aiming to grasp everyday life without interruptions. However, children might continue talking, play

in front of the camera to tease their parents while recording or whisper to a parent because the camera was active. Some children wanted to record their own baking or cooking videos. Thus, children reacted to the camera differently and their reactions might change during the data-collecting week. Typically, the camera was ignored and incidences of speaking to the camera diminished towards the end of the data collection week.

Although the camera inevitably interrupted ongoing everyday life to some degree, it also revealed practices that have not necessarily been emphasised in cooking studies: cleaning, the arranging of worktops, storage and recyclable waste, cooperation between family members and the multitasking of other everyday practices, such as the filling of the washing machine. However, it can be asked: how deliberately did participants display their cooking to the camera or to the researcher who would look at the footage? In relation to this question, Lahlou (2011) has argued: 'Reflectivity indeed takes time and attention, which would disturb the subject in the flow of action' (p. 611). Thus, the conscious playing of everyday family life with children would be impossible in the long run. Recording periods of one week was an attempt 'to normalise' the existence of the camera as well as reactions and preparing for the recording. Moreover, participants acted in their own familiar home context, which supports the repeating of routinised performances as well as the data collection aim of capturing everyday life situations as they occurred (see, e.g., Thévenot, 2001). I also recognised myself how a familiar home context maintained the unreflective and routinised flow of performances while recording auto-ethnographic cooking videos. Even if the starting of recording might cause some nervousness, the familiar material environment directed mundane performances in a way that made it impossible to change or even consciously adjust the routinised procedures because of the recording. Thus, the recognition and observation of my own unconscious and routinised performances from auto-ethnographic footages were surprising. After the auto-ethnographical experience, I was not worried about whether participants play-acted their everyday family life because of the presence of the camera, since the familiar home context and its social and material environment would mediate and steer their routinised everyday practices. Hence, the auto-ethnographical experience in the recording, and the video data overall, should improve the dependability of this qualitative research (see, e.g., Connelly, 2016).

The participants were guided beforehand to record their dinner cooking situations in particular. Thus, the video data captured a restricted picture of foodwork that can also consist of practices enacted outside home cooking situations, such as the purchasing of ingredients or take-away meals, the growing and storage of vegetables, etc. In addition, an enormous amount of foodwork relating to breakfasts and snacks or duties taking place after different meals was left out of scope. In this way, the dissertation repeated the quite normative and traditional approach to familial foodwork and made cooking central. However, current studies have indicated that cooking at home is changing: the outsourcing of foodwork tasks is an increasingly acceptable way to organise various feeding-related duties (e.g., Halkier, 2017; 2021;

Plessz & Étilé, 2019; Meah & Jackson, 2017). Thus, foodwork should be approached with a wider focus if the aim is to understand the change regarding the feeding work of households. With good reason, one can also ask: where or how does foodwork begin or end? Can the earning of money for food, eating outside home or the recycling of waste, for example, be included in foodwork practices? This indicates the open-end nature of the foodwork concept, which can entail challenges but also opportunities when applied to different study purposes to better understand the current foodwork of households.

The limitations of the data can also be understood from the perspective of the participants. Several social phenomena were defined as falling outside the research focus, as the volunteer participants represented middle-class families with heteronormative parents possessing tertiary education and living in a metropolitan area. Because of the small and socio-economically limited sample of cooking families, the study could not acknowledge or analyse societally current food-related issues such as food poverty, complex emotions or health problems. In addition, single parents, families living in rural areas, and people from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds or socio-economic classes did not receive a voice in this study. Thus, this dissertation repeated the traditional and criticised approach of home economics as reflecting 'middle-class values and superior opportunities' (Murcott, 2019, p. 136). However, such data can also elucidate the norms recurring in a society regarding the current aims of home cooking and parental foodwork (e.g., Dermott & Pomati, 2016). Nonetheless, the purpose of the data was to enable the development and demonstration of empirical analysis through practice theory, and thus to improve our understanding of home cooking as a part of foodwork. The goal was not to unfold the whole story of feeding the family but rather provide theoretical and empirical tools for future studies. The analysis was based on continual reflection on practice theoretical conceptualisations, with the rich and thick data driving the elaboration of concepts throughout the process. Thus, the empirical data should add to the trustworthiness of the theory-based analysis process, whereas conceptualisations based on practice theory should improve the transferability of the analysis, at least to a culturally similar data set (see e.g., Connelly, 2016).

The theory-based and data-driven abductive analysis highlighted the interpersonal relationships (see, Mylan & Sotherton, 2018) involved in home cooking, which has not been particularly emphasised in previous cooking studies mostly based on interviews with mothers. The data revealed the cooperation of parents, situational negotiations of duties and diets and the involvement and socialisation of children, which were taken into consideration in the sub-studies. However, the interpersonal relationships were analysed simply as one of three coordination forms (Mylan & Sotherton, 2018). Thus, the interaction between family members or their changing power relations did not receive such attention as might be essential in a study focusing on a family life context. Concerning power relations, mothers volunteered their families for the research although fathers might also participate in cooking. In an effort to reduce gender dichotomies, in this research as in many previous ones, the words

'parents' and 'mothers' have been used partly as synonyms (see also Grønhøj & Gram, 2020), for example, while elaborating 'parental foodwork' (Torkkeli et al., 2022). The justification for this is not complete, which may affect the credibility of the research. In addition to the gender issue, this study did not concentrate on the emotions entangled essentially with home cooking as parental/maternal/paternal foodwork (e.g., Molander & Hartmann, 2018; Oleschuk, 2020a), although the study also explored engagements involving emotions according to the definition by Warde (2005). Feelings of guilt, the joy of cooking or the expression of love and caring with food were not highlighted, as the focus was more on the clarification of complex phenomena with the help of theoretically rigorous concepts. Thus, the dissertation offers one theoretical perspective to clarify this complex everyday phenomenon. Simultaneously, it opens up several new issues and complexities, such as personal and shared emotions, reshuffling gender dichotomies and societal mechanisms affecting households' foodwork, which did not receive such attention as would be needed to understand the complexity of this research context.

Moreover, theories, such as the various versions of practice theories, are primarily tools of selective attention (Warde 2014, p. 280) that develop as inevitably as social practices. Recent critical views on practice theory have foregrounded how studies applying it have, for example, left out discourses and reflexivity (Halkier, 2020), concentrated on minor mundane practices instead of larger bundles and constellations of practices (Hui et al., 2017), and have produced compassionate and unbiased interpretations of social practices (Evans, 2019) instead of contributing 'to discussions of current ecological crises and uncertain social futures' (Evans 2019, p. 499). Thus, development of theoretical instruments come under continual scrutiny, as do everyday household practices. This should also be the case with the home economics science and its theoretical approaches. How this dissertation succeeds in contributing the home economics science remains to be seen. However, the journey with practice theory described in this dissertation offers novel tools for home economics to participate in public and academic discussions about home cooking and foodwork.

8 Conclusion

The present dissertation established an approach to grasp the home cooking enacted in the everyday life of families with children by applying practice theory and the novel combination of video and interview methods. The dissertation highlights the concept of foodwork as a means and a perspective through which home cooking and its complexity, organisation, and enactment in current family life can be better understood. By applying practice theory, foodwork is defined as an open-ended bundle of cooking-related practices that enables the continual feeding of the family in various everyday life situations. The results of the dissertation highlight reflective and unreflective balancing acts, continual planning along various time spans and adjustments of practices to ongoing situations. Such coordination of practices is essential and unavoidable to enact home cooking and foodwork in everyday family life.

The dissertation and its argumentation is based on the synthesis of three sub-studies (Articles I-III), which introduced, elaborated on and applied various practice theoretical conceptualisations to analyse the everyday practice of cooking. To capture the doings and sayings of cooking and to analyse practices as defined in practice theory, this research project developed the new combination of methods to be applied in the sub-studies. The data, consisting of cooking videos and interviews from five Finnish families with children, were analysed by applying elements of practices (Warde, 2005; Shove et al., 2012), regimes of engagement (Thévenot, 2001) and coordination forms (Mylan & Southerton, 2018). As a result, the conceptualisation of cooking was nuanced through six elements of practice, situationally appropriate cooking was clarified through the regimes of engagement, and the coordination of parental foodwork was specified through the elaboration of adjustment themes.

The novel method to study everyday practices, as well as different conceptual tools to analyse the data, could also be applied to examine other household practices than cooking or foodwork, such as laundry practices, cleaning practices, caring practices or a bundle of other family practices. New theoretically and empirically established understandings of current household practices could offer means and tools to reflect on and develop the teaching of home economics and improve its responses to the current challenges of everyday life. In addition, instead of focusing on the embodied, tacit and nebulous skills of everyday practices, the dissertation suggests by referring to six elements of practices that the emphasis of observations and examinations should be shifted to the varying meanings of socially shared practices or how people engage in practices, and what aims, norms and hopes are conveyed by different practices. From that perspective and with the help of regimes of engagement, the varying moral dimensions of household practices and the different public justifications of those, as well as their future-orientation – especially in this time of sustainability crises – could be explored. This dissertation and its sub-studies offer theoretical and analytical stepping stones to approach these issues, and thus to improve our understandings of

how everyday practices are, can be, or should be coordinated in households as well as in society in general.

Regarding foodwork, a broader perspective on home cooking may benefit many agencies, including family and household advisor organisations and food education organisations, as well as the food industry, in their promotion work. To reduce food waste, to organise family meals more regularly, to plan foodwork more precisely and to prepare and eat healthier or more sustainably are not easily enacted aims in the context of family life. The complex coordination of foodwork practices always involves the coordination of material arrangements, various temporal activities and particularly interpersonal power relations. Moreover, the initial aims of foodwork, the feeding family and the (re)production of togetherness rather than conflicts, may override good transformation attempts (Torkkeli & Janhonen, 2022). It could be beneficial to acknowledge these characteristics of foodwork while aiming to shift familiar practices enacted in a home context involving several people. However, the adjustment themes (appropriateness, sequences, synchronisation, duties, significance and acceptance) may offer tools to understand the complex coordination through which the transformation of foodwork practices in a family context should be enacted, and thus help to navigate the transformation in an everyday family life context.

Adjustment themes address several new research topics by highlighting the interpersonal relationships inherent in the coordination of household practices. Analysis of the interpersonal relationships that emerge in everyday life situations could reveal a reshuffling of gender dichotomies, cooperation with family members and changing power relations in a way that cannot be analysed merely by interviewing family members. Such analysis would provide novel perspectives by which to approach gendered household practices and their coordination. Further, the participation of children in household practices entails a sometimes intentional but often especially unintentional socialisation to prevailing norms (Grønhøj & Gram, 2020) being an important everyday family life phenomenon that requires the examination of the discursive and embodied performances of daily lives. For example, the novel combination of video and interview methods with the practice theoretical perspective could help us examine the interactional orders and various power positions entangled in the coordination of everyday practices, and perhaps better analyse such phenomenon as the democratisation of family life (e.g., Giddens, 1998; Meah & Jackson, 2013; Wilk, 2010) or the societal mechanisms steering current family practices. In addition to qualitative research interests, the adjustment themes could also be a useful starting point to formulate a quantitative survey that would produce a broader set of data to analyse the foodwork of households.

The adaptation of topical theoretical instruments for understanding ongoing everyday life and its futures will continue, because any theory highlights some issues of the life while leaving some out of the account (see, Warde, 2014). For instance, in the era of climate change and post-humanism, an emphasis on the practices of people and human coexistence does not use the whole capacity of practice theory, through which the coexistence of social life and material nature could also be explored (see,

e.g., Evans, 2019; Schatzki, 2001). The ongoing ecological crises will affect households as materials of food, energy and the range of consumer goods should and will be changed to protect the biodiversity of nature. This demands the re-coordination of everyday household practices simultaneously with the development of a broader perspective on material arrangements. Thus, in future studies, the coexistence of natural environment and social life should be acknowledged and approached as equal, thus erasing the dualism between nature and the human, as well.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The recruitment letter

[Translated by an author from a Finnish original.]

Hi!

Greeting from the dissertation project. The work has progressed well and the first article will be published soon.

For the next stage, I am asking you for some help with the recruitment of research families.

I am looking for families consisting of at least two children aged 5-16 years and two employed providers or parents living together permanently. Families can also live outside of the metropolitan area.

It does not matter how enthusiastically, skilfully or with how much planning the families cook or use ready-made foods.

However, I cannot choose families whom I already know, in other words, you. Thus, I would be grateful if you could pass on the link below to families or your family friends who fit the criteria described above.

Of course, if you are curious, you can also fill in the questionnaire behind the link and watch the introduction video about the research.

The questionnaire has been made so that it would encourage families that are as different as possible to participate.

[Cooking in families with children study](#) [link]

Best regards,
Kaisa

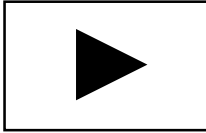
PS: I apologise that you might receive this message on your work e-mail.

Appendix 2: The invitation and questionnaire

[Translated by an author from a Finnish original in Qualtrics.]

Come to the study Cooking in Families with Children!

This pre-questionnaire is directed at families with two employed providers or parents and at least two children aged 5-16 years. It is hoped that all the family members live together permanently. The questionnaire relates to my dissertation research, about which I tell more in this video:



I am looking for families in which food is cooked and planned in different ways.

If your family is interested in participating in the study, please answer the questions below and leave your contact details in the space at the end.

NB: There are no right or wrong answers, as the aim is to find families who look upon cooking in different ways.

If you would like to receive more information about the study, please send an e-mail to [kaisa.torkkeli @ helsinki.fi](mailto:kaisa.torkkeli@helsinki.fi) I will answer as soon as possible.

1 How often is food cooked in your family?

- every day
- almost every day
- approximately every second day
- couple times per week
- never

2 Which of these describe the planning of your cooking? Choose three (3) options that best describe your planning.

- plan is made in grocery
- plan is made almost daily
- plan is made weekly or rarely
- we do not plan foods
- plan is written down as a list
- plan changes often

3 Who has the main responsibility for the planning and cooking of evening meal in weekdays?

- just one of the parents
- both parents alternately
- both parents equally
- child/children
- whole family
- someone else, who? _____

4 How often is grocery shopping done in your family?

- every day
- almost every day
- a few times per week
- 1-2 times per week
- less frequently

5 From what places listed below have you bought food during the last month? You can choose several options. From...

- corner or neighbourhood shop
- large supermarket
- marketplace or market hall
- food circle or local producer
- web store
- meal box service
- cheapest place

6 How often are prepared or ready-made meals used in your family?

- almost every day
- 1-3 times per week
- rarely
- never

7 How well does everyday life relate to food work in your family?

- well
- quite well
- neither well nor badly
- quite badly
- badly

8 What does cooking in everyday life feel like?

- relaxing
- rewarding
- neither good nor bad
- necessary compulsion
- tough

Thank you for your interest in participating in the study Cooking in Families with Children!

Please leave your contact details in the space below and press the blue button to finish.

I will contact you as soon as possible.

Name _____
Place of residence _____
E-mail address _____
Phone number _____

Send your answers by pressing the blue arrow at the bottom right of the page.

Do not hesitate to ask any questions you have on your mind.

It is my pleasure to answer all your questions relating to the study and participation in it.

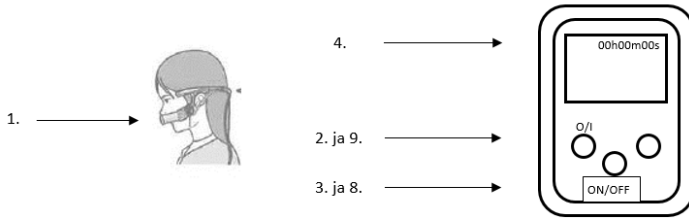
Please send an e-mail to [kaisa.torkkeli @ helsinki.fi](mailto:kaisa.torkkeli@helsinki.fi). I will answer as soon as possible.




Kind regards,
Kaisa Torkkeli
PhD candidate
Faculty of Educational Studies, University of Helsinki

Appendix 3: Written instructions to families

[Translated by an author from a Finnish original.]


How to use the camera



1. Fix the camera on the head.
2. Turn the power on for the control unit by pressing the button: 
3. Begin recording by pressing the button above the sticker ON/OFF.
4. Check from the control unit that the time indicator 00h00m00s starts running. (There is a short time lag before it appears.)
5. Turn the control unit on its side and check that the camera records a vertical picture that is quite straight: 
6. Put the control unit into its pouch and fix it to your arm.
7. Start cooking.
8. Stop recording by pressing the button above the sticker ON/OFF.
9. Turn off the camera by pressing button: 

How to charge the battery

The battery of the camera lasts 2 hours.



When the battery is empty, this picture flashes in the screen of control unit: 

The charging of battery from empty to full can take as long as 5 hours.

Use the camera's own USB cable. Open the cap from the right side of the control unit. Attach the cable to the camera and the other end to a power source.

Options for charging

- A. Charge the camera with a UPS device.
- B. Charge the camera by connecting it to a computer.
- C. Charge the camera by connecting it to a mains outlet.

When the camera is charging, a flashing red light  will appear beside this picture 

When the indicator light turns off, the battery is charged.

Self-reporting

Answer daily by writing in the notebook, speaking to the camera or typing a text-message to me.

1. What food did you have today and why?
2. Have you thought how the next day will go in relation to food?

Appendix 4: Brief sample of a SR interview sheet

[Translated by an author from a Finnish original.]

Mother A and Father A, 2 children (daughter 9 and son 7) Father A participates in cooking and foodwork. Involved in the pre-interview and video recordings.		Pre-interview: 4 Mar 2018 SR interview: 16 Mar 2018			
<p>AN EVALUATION OF THE DATA COLLECTION PERIOD Did any questions or ideas about own everyday foodwork arise during the data collection period? How did the recording feel like? Did the camera affect what and how food was cooked? How do you describe the week, was it ordinary? What was the flop of the week? Why? From whose perspective?</p> <p>THE MEANING OF COOKING AND FOODWORK Is it important to cook daily? Why? Is it ordinary to cook daily? Children and cooking? The meaning of food education? How important is it to maintain a daily rhythm? Why? How does it feel when plans change? How does it feel when things 'stall'?</p> <p>THE MEANING OF INGREDIENTS AND GROCERY SHOPPING On what basis are ingredients chosen in a grocery. (What means the most: taste, price, locality, desire, sustainability, freshness, recommendation?) What is your take on health? What is our take on salt? Must you also go to a grocery on some other day than Thursday?</p> <p>THE EVALUTION OF OWN COMPETENCES How do you describe yourself as a home cook? How do you describe your spouse? Father A: Do you follow recipes every time? Did the camera affect this? Mother A: You follow the recipe but you do not measure? How do you estimate amounts? What are you proud of in your cooking? What feels difficult? What would you like to learn, be able to do or do differently and why?</p> <p>COOPERATION AND DIVISION OF WORK Do you have specific spheres of responsibility? Are you both interested in food? How is the responsibility for ingredients' circulation and fridge arranging divided?</p> <p>DO YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS FOR ME?</p>					
VIDEOS (date)	FOOD and COOK	DURATION	SELF-REPORTING (Mother A) - written notes	SPECIFIC SR-QUESTIONS	NOTES ABOUT VIDEO OCCURENCES
Tue 6 Mar	Haloumi-stroganoff (Father A)	1. 17:29:50 21min20sek 2. 17:53:16 07min57sek	Daughter has noodles and fish fingers => Departure to an activity at 4 pm Haloumi-stroganoff => recipe from the newest food magazine. Last summer, we ate a similar dish made by Father A's sister. => Suitable for everyone and is quite quick to do. For tomorrow, the plan is broad-bean kofta balls, sauce and rice. Father A on a business trip. Mother A cooks.	Has you made these before? How did the cooking feel like? Did you follow the recipe? How did it taste? How did you conclude that the rice was ready?	In the first video, Father read the recipe from the magazine. Discuss for a while with the son looking at TV. In the second video, Father A made tomato-cucumber salad and finished making the food.

VIDEOS (date)	FOOD and COOK	DURATION	SELF-REPORTING (Mother A) - written notes	SPECIFIC SR-QUESTIONS	NOTES ABOUT VIDEO OCCURENCES
Wed 7 Mar	Broad-bean kofta balls, sauce and rice (Mother A) - Friends coming to visit, with whom they planned to make Thai food. Mother A went to a grocery for that reason after cooking dinner.	1. 16:14:22 28min21sek	Broad-bean kofta balls, sauce and rice => I did not remember that friends were coming to visit and the original plan was to make a pesto-pasta for kids. I remembered that just after cooking. Father A is on a business trip. So, the pesto-pasta tomorrow.	Did you read the recipe at the same time as grating the ginger and chopping the garlic? 7:00 Why did you change the saucepan? Were the dishes in the sink from the previous day? 13:00 Can you tell, what you were looking for and what you looked at? Do you often get into conflicts with the children about food? What compromises do you make? How do the reactions of the children affect your cooking and foodwork? Tell me about the changed plan. How did it feel?	In the first video, Mother A is cooking, washing dishes, cleaning up, filling a washing machine fluently and simultaneously. The daughter had a tantrum because she was hungry and was served food that she did not like both at school and at home.

Appendix 5: Mutual contract form

[Translated by an author from a Finnish original.]

A contract for data use for a research purpose

Study: Cooking in families with children, dissertation study

COMMITMENT OF THE RESEARCHER

Researcher: Ph.D candidate, M.Ed. Kaisa Torkkeli

Contact details: kaisa.torkkeli @ helsinki.fi, 040-XXXX XXX

The researcher commits to use the research data according to the ethical principles for research activity. The video and audio data recorded for the study purpose, as well as textual documents, will be treated in such a way that the autonomy of the people appearing in the data will be preserved in all stages of the study.

If the video data is to be presented publicly, the faces of people in the data will be edited so that they cannot be identified, and names will be edited out to make sure that people cannot be identified from the data sample. Video data will be considered in all respects according to the ethical principles in such a way that the use of the data will not harm a family or place them in an unpleasant situation.

One backup copy will be made from the research data. The researcher will store the backup copy and the original research data carefully and not relinquish them to third parties. If there is a need to use the research data for some other purposes than the above-mentioned study, separate consent will be requested from the research family.

Correctives to previous:

A COMMITMENT OF THE RESEARCH FAMILY

Contact person of the family:

Contact details:

The family participates in the study of their own free will. The contact person of the family has obtained the consent to participate in the study from the other family members.

The family is aware of the ability to delete the footage from the study purpose if it is found to harm the autonomy of the family or a family member.

Two copies of this mutual contract have been signed, one for the researcher and one for the research family.

Place and time _____

Researcher:

The contact person of family:

Appendix 6: Formation of the kaleidoscope

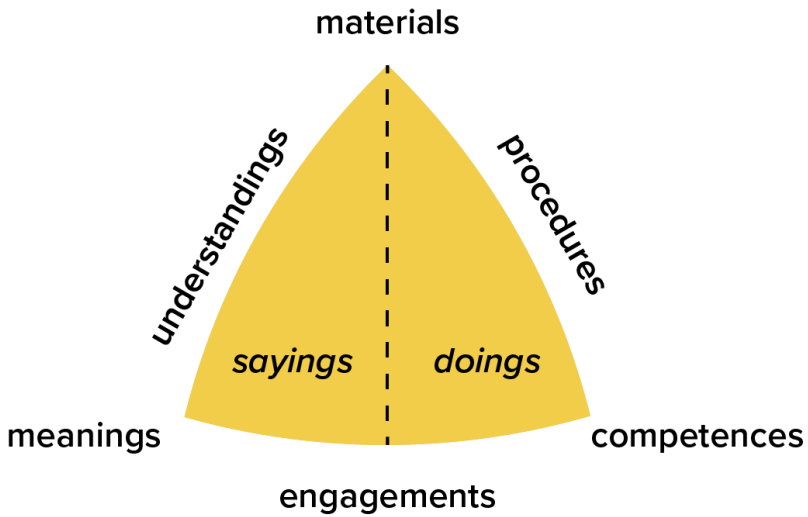


Figure 1. Elements of cooking practice and their analysis through doings and sayings.

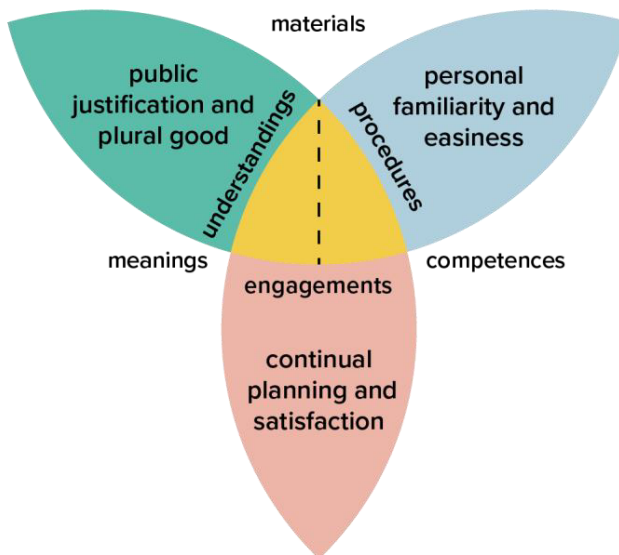


Figure 2. Regimes of engagement and their relationship with the consisting elements of cooking practice.

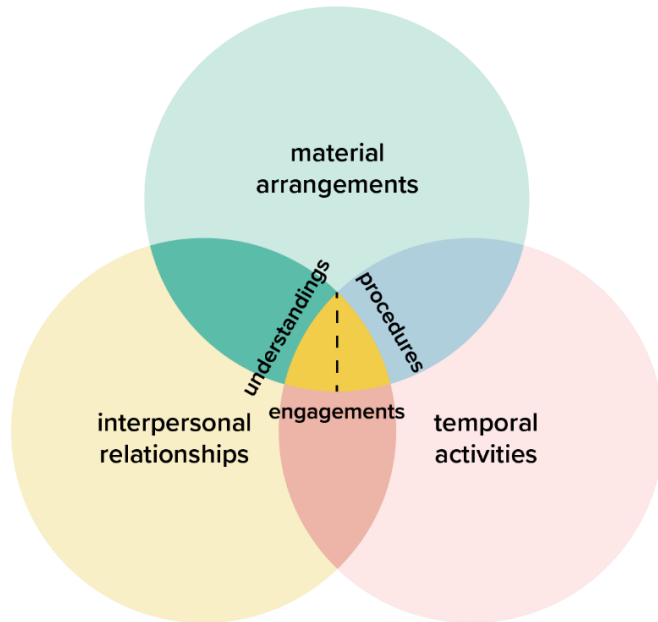


Figure 3. The overlapping of coordination forms, and elements of cooking practice.

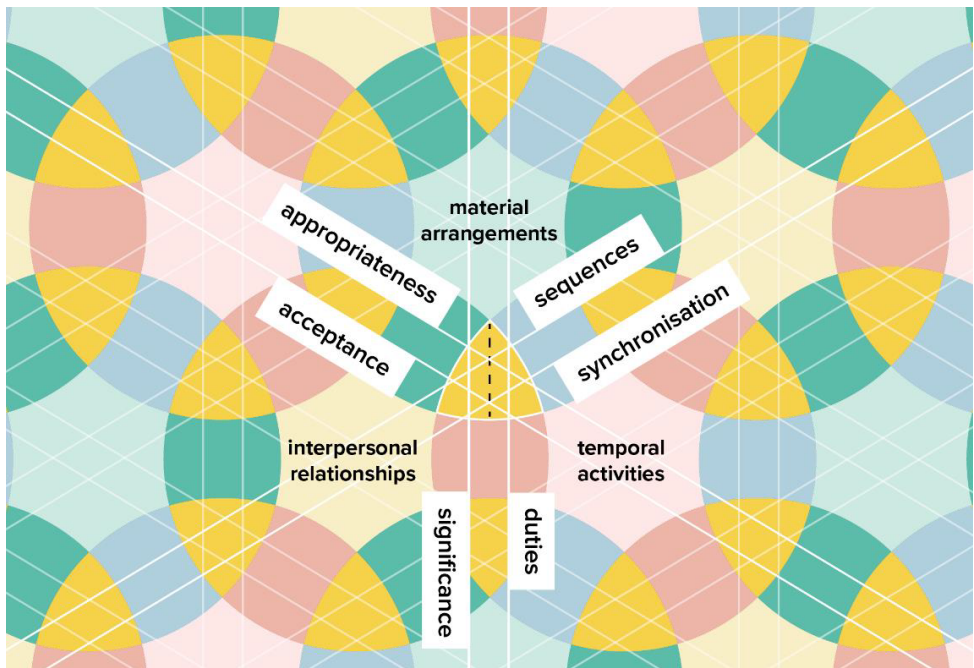


Figure 4. Foodwork in the kaleidoscope synthesising applied and developed concepts from three sub-studies. Triangles depict practices, pedals refer to regimes of engagement, circles illustrate coordination forms and lines represent adjustment themes.

