

Parenting Practices: the provisioning, cooking-eating and remembering of food

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Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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August 2010

Abstract

This thesis explores the way that parent(s) display family through food materiality within the context of time-space and the emotional connection between people in relation to their everyday existence. It is concerned with examining the normal daily actions of families using diary-interviews supported by a participant observational approach, which examines the relationship between food activities and parent(s) practices. This research adopts a case-study approach in order to offer a rewarding encounter with everyday family activities both in the United Kingdom and Hungary. Together, the two case-studies outline the differences and similarities encountered in each location as representative of everyday family life. In summary, this thesis offers to engage both empirically and theoretically with the notion of family practices. Each chapter examines different aspects of foodways, specifically; provisioning, cooking-eating and remembering, which enables family life to be displayed. I explore these through the examining in each of these aspects, considering the materiality, time-space/space-time and emotion that are displayed through foodways and which shape parent(s) practices. The aspect of materiality that this thesis addresses draws particular attention to the influence of mutable objects, viewing food more, playing more than a symbolic role in life. The project focuses on framing time-space in terms of contextualising and rooting activities and, in turn, practices. Emotions within the context of this research are seen as being displayed through connections between people and practice, showing how and why particular practices are recognised as being parenting practices. This thesis extends current literature by considering recent developments within practice theory which accepts that practices are more than just actions brought to bear on the notion of family practices (Morgan 1996). This thesis contends that family is something that is done continually and cannot be captured in one meal, and family practices are more pervasive in everyday life than recent moral panics may suggest.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to take a moment to thank all the people who have helped me. Firstly, I would like to thank the Leverhulme Trust for funding the Changing Families, Changing Food programme which my PhD was part (award number F/00118/AQ). Secondly, I would like to thank my supervisors, Megan Blake and Peter Jackson for their patience, time and insightful comments. I would like to thank Megan for always being there when it was needed most and allow me the time to think in-between. Peter I would like to thank for his continuous and unfailing positivity. I would like to pay tribute to all the families that took part in this research and for giving so generously with your time and culinary skills. I was privileged to be able to share an office and ideas with other research on the Changing Families, Changing Food programme and I would like to thank them, particularly: Joseph Burridge, Katie Ellis, Trish Green, Julia Keenan, Jody Mellor, Alan MetCalfe for being free with their thoughts and ideas. I would also like to thank the folks in the geography department Erena, Roza, Matt, Sarah and particularly Helen for being encouraging me to think I was more, and Nissa for encouraging me to run until it hurt! I would like to pay tribute to my proof-reader, Martin Lupton and Lorna Bleach, for always asking for more. Thank you to Greg who knows and understands what it is like to be labelled special when that is the last thing you feel, and challenging me every step of the way to think deeper. I am blessed to have such as supportive extended family who never tired of asking - 'when are you going to finish'. The final thank you goes to my Mum and two sisters who have inspired me through their constant will to carry on, in spite of everything.

Chapter 1 Introduction

“The decline of family meals has also been linked to recent increases in eating disorders, childhood obesity, drug abuse and alcoholism.” (Jackson, Olive and Smith 2009:133)

There is a widespread perception that families are in crisis and parents are responsible for these problems. High and increasing rates of divorce, obesity, crime rates, drug taking and anti-social behaviour among young people are all perceived to be part of a wider problem of disintegrating family social values (Jackson et al 2009, Moore 1994). The way a child behaves is seen to be a reflection of the family environment, and this is created by their parents. These issues are compounded by parents feeling that their time is being squeezed by work commitments, leaving them feeling that they do not have enough quality time with their children (Milkie et al 2004, Hallman and Benbow 2007), and by anxieties, that leave parents feeling ineffective and unsupported (Furedi 2001). These are seen not only to be a problem within the United Kingdom but also a global problem (Moore 1994). All of these issues are perceived to be in need of attention and action. Food, however, has increasingly been the focal point for moral panic in families and, in particular, parenting practices (Green et al 2009). Everybody needs to eat food, and each one of us comes from a family; notions of family and food are pervasive in people's everyday lives.

When this research was started, Jamie Oliver's campaign to reduce child obesity by addressing the nutritional value of school dinners was under way. However, while campaigning in Rotherham, he realised that children were not being fed meals at home that were any more nutritious. This sparked a television campaign and a cookery book called 'Jamie's Ministry of Food', inspired by the Ministry of Food established in the UK during World War II to help families make the most of their food rations. Taking the time to have family meals is perceived to be almost the most influential part of family life. The focus of Jamie Oliver's campaign was to teach parents how to create a family meal, the ultimate aim of which was to produce healthier children, not to mention healthier parents and a healthier nation. However, this research does not question the grounds for this moral panic but seeks to question the practicing of the family and the construction of parenting. This thesis does, however, seek to question whether the family meal is the only time-space where 'positive' notions of parenting can locate within the context of everyday activities. In this thesis I also explore the family

through the practice of parenting. To do this I draw on multi-locale research in both Hungary and the United Kingdom. I consider how family members' provision, cook, eat and remember food. I recognise how food can become not just a lens through which to view family life, but also a unique object with the potential to display connections between people, time, and space. This approach builds on existing theorisations of the family to develop a more nuanced understanding of what it is to practice family.

This chapter introduces the form of this thesis. I then introduce the key conceptual frameworks at work in this thesis: the family as practice, food as an object, time-space, and communal understanding. I argue that using two case-studies provides a contrasting context in which every day food activities takes place, and finally, I outline, in brief, the thesis structure.

1.1 Conceptual framework

The central concern of this thesis is to develop a deeper understanding of how families operate by examining parenting practices operate in relation to food. I introduce here some of the theoretical underpinnings of this thesis. Firstly, by outlining the usefulness of Morgan's (1996): I look at the use of the term 'practicing family' and how, by drawing on recent developments in Practice Theory, we can usefully further develop an understanding of the family as being something which is both multiple and diverse. The secondary thread to this thesis is to examine some of the tools that enable actions, tasks and projects to take place, specifically objects, time-space, and roles. Within this section I outline the significance of these tools and describe, briefly, why they have been chosen. This means examining food as an object; if food is observed in this way other connections between family members can be seen to be significant. The second tool to be considered when studying the family is the function of time-space in creating a context in which actions take place. The final tool adds to the conceptual framework of this thesis, relating to the construction roles through which parent(s) actions are interpreted. The following section outlines further each of these conceptualisations and develops their use within the thesis.

1.1.1 Practice, Parenting and the Family

Initially, this thesis takes up Morgan's (1996:191) notion of 'family practices', a way of seeing a families' 'flow and fluidity'. As Morgan acknowledges, using the word 'practice' in explaining social phenomena is not new, but he argues his use of the term practice is different from others' interpretations. Practice for Morgan highlights the importance of combining both the perspectives of actors and observers, conveying a sense of activity, evoking notions of the everyday, communicating a sense of regularity, expressing fluidity, and linking history with biography. He argues that viewing family in this way focuses meaningful attention on how family is constructed. I set out to draw on David Morgan's (1996) work, to explore the meaningful relationship between the terms *family* and *practice*. These ideas provoke an acknowledgment that family is a set of practices, and the term family is both complex and meaningful. Drawing upon Morgan's concerns, I too set out to understand more about how practice operates in family life.

Although Morgan's work establishes the term 'family practices', I take this idea on a step further by drawing on recent work in practice theory which has sought to focus on the social ontology of practice, focusing on parenting (see Schatzki et al 2001). These theorisations of social practice draw attention to the way in which practice operates and builds social order – “[a] practice... is a collection of activities that are linked through an array of understandings, rules, and ‘teleoaffectivities’” (Schatzki 2002:xxi). In the case of the family, family can be seen as one practice that is constructed from sub-practices, e.g. parenting. These sub-practices are created from the linking of activities through shared understandings, rules, and a teleoaffective structure, and the activities are composed of doings and sayings from both actors and observers. Concurrently, doings and sayings are constructed by ideas of family practice. In this thesis I explore how defining practice in such a way means that more detailed contributions can be made to the ideas that surround family practice. In order to do this I also engage with theorisations of the tools that are used in an everyday context by families to perform these doings and sayings – food as an object, the perceptions of time-space and the construction of roles within families.

1.1.2 Food as an object: refining the food and family

Food has always been an object that has received attention from social theorists, and this work has highlighted that food is an object deserving of attention. However, few studies have looked at the change of the object itself. This thesis seeks to move forward with some of these ontological changes of approach towards objects, and examines the nature of change to an object and how this can further challenge the assumptions that are made towards objects in use.

Food is essential for human existence, and the ways that people provision, prepare, cook and eat food has been seen to enable researchers to position people in a wider contextual framework. Academics have sought to explore the everyday use of food to comment on wider social and economic relationships (Cook and Crang 1996, Douglas 2002, Holtzman 2006, Jackson 2009). Previous research has depicted food, in the context of family life, as a static object, for instance, food on a plate or a piece of fruit always ready for something to happen to it. This thesis is no exception, and adopts this approach; however, it does ask the question: what is food in terms of its material-temporal qualities?

I add to this existing conceptualisation of food, and I take this work further by developing food as an object, an object whose material form change. In order to do this, attention is paid to the work that has been carried out in conjunction with other objects, specifically those studies arising from the call that was made to re-materialise social and cultural geography, (Anderson and Tolia-Kelly 2004, Jackson 2000). Encounters with matter and materiality have sought to enliven approaches to the everyday (Anderson 2004, Doel and Segrott 2004, Gregson and Beal 2004, Maycroft 2004, Tolia-Kelly 2004), objects which have the capacity to act, disseminate and attribute agency. Increasingly, however, notions of the capacity of objects to have their own action have been brought into focus (Anderson and Tolia-Kelly 2004, DeSilvey 2006, Edensor 2006). I therefore focus in particular on food that degrades, and the way that this is made sense of by subjects, “things decay and disappear, reform and regenerate, shift back and forth between different states, and always teeter on the edge of intelligibility” (DeSilvey 2006:336). By developing the notion that food provokes action, and by analysing these actions unnoticed, it can be seen that social relations come to the fore (DeSlivey 2006).

1.1.3 Time-space: routines and rhythms

Families create routines for everyday life in order to make everyday tasks more manageable (DeVault 1991). These routines are made up of the repeated actions that cause the experience of the everyday to have a particular rhythmic quality. The repetition of actions can display the way that projects, such as cooking a meal, draw particular attention to the interdependencies between things, other people and places, and the importance of time (Blake et al 2009, Hägerstrand 1982, Schatzki 2002). This offers an opportunity for different notions of time to be explored; this thesis uses two notions of time – objective time and existential time – where objective time is independent of an individual, and existential time is changed by individual perceptions (Schatzki 2005). The second conceptualisation of time focuses on the human experience of being in the world and how understanding both past and future intentions influences actions. This time is located in the materiality of everyday life (space and place). Initially therefore I adopt the idea about conceptions of time, but come to see that both the temporality and spatiality of practice are inherently interlinked. I recognise how both time-space helps give structure to the organisation of actions within an assemblage and a practice. This dynamic approach to understanding interactions with food and family life displays the root of human experience, drawing attention to the need to see family as both fluid and flexible, yet remain meaningful (Morgan 1996). As such, this thesis develops an understanding of how these two times interact as they pertain to provisioning, cooking-eating and remembering food within families.

1.1.4 Emotional connections

Activities as a family constitute and maintain the functioning of family, and simultaneously reflect the emotional work that goes into being a family (Daly 1996, Hallman and Benbow 2007). Emotions within families are all pervasive, whether acknowledged or not; often, actions that have been repeated over a period of time and are just seen as something that a person does, can often display feelings of love and care (Miller 2004). Emotional labour involves the carrying out of activities that involved time, energy, and individual engagement in doing something for another, such as cooking a meal, or buying their shirt (Forbre 2002). These activities can display emotion, but there

must be some understanding of the motivation that is behind different actions or what the desired end state might be, and therefore emotions are expressed within the context of the present (Schatzki 2002). Emotional labour is seen to be different with regard to gender, where women are predominantly still seen to provide the majority of that work (Milkie et al 2004). The construction of women's roles by literature on pregnancy and child rearing has been seen to delimit the role that men play within the context of children and heighten the responsibility placed on mothers (Hollows 2003). In the context of family, this means paying attention to the role that the individual makes for themselves within the group and their actions further their construction within that role. I therefore draw on the constructed roles that are created both by the actor and the audience through the actions that they perform to establish their emotional connections within and beyond the family.

1.2 Thesis aims and objectives

Overall the aim of this thesis is to consider the connection between food, time-space, emotion, and family, as well as offering a renewed encounter with family as practice. As part of this thesis I question:

1. How might the ways that family members engage with foodways be understood as parenting practices that embody family life?
2. How does the materiality of foodways help shape family practices?
3. How are food-related family practices framed within the context of time-space/space-time?
4. In what ways are food-related family practices constitutive to the emotional aspect of family practices?

1.3 Choice of case-studies

The research questions focused on the notion of the banal rather than the exceptional, contrasting two different geographical locations and bringing seemingly insignificant detail into sharper focus. The United Kingdom and Hungary were ideal locations in several respects. I discuss how an investigation into family practice benefits from considering the locations together.

Hungary was specifically chosen because of its contrasting social and economic history with the UK. Perhaps of particular significance and relevance to this research were the expectations of, and attitude towards, women in work in these contrasting political regimes. In Hungary, the national assumption was that women would be in employment as part of the nation's workforce. However, this often did impact upon the division of labour (Tang and Cousins 2005, van der Lippe and Fordor 1998). This is in contrast to the UK, where traditionally, it was expected that women were employed in the home (Tang and Cousins 2005). Increasingly, this approach to women in work is being seen to be changing in Hungary so that more and more, women's place is at home and not at work, taking jobs away from men (Glass 2008). The decrease in numbers of women in work has been largely attributed to the changes that are taking place in Hungary relating to its welfare reforms and income inequality (Kattuman and Redmond 1997). For these reasons, it seems opportune to discuss and explore everyday life in Hungary and the UK.

1.4 Thesis structure

As a whole, this thesis seeks to understand how, as other research has indicated, the notion of family can be seen as flexible and fluid, and yet remain a meaningful term. I begin by contextualising this thesis and its concerns with the family, and specifically parenting, by examining relevant literature, followed by an explanation and examination of the methodological approach undertaken. The subsequent chapters, 4 – 6 cover an in-depth discussion of the empirical research carried out: these discussions illustrate some of the social practices that constitute parenting. In these chapters attention is paid to the everyday activities involved in provisioning, cooking, eating and remembering food. Each chapter engages with notions of food, time-space and practical intelligence. Below I summarise the contents, discussions and concerns of each chapter according to how they provide a renewed encounter with parenting.

Chapter 2 draws attention to the relevant literature used in order to contextualise this thesis. I explain how previous literature has conceptualised the family and suggest that there is a need to pay further attention to the family as a set of practices. I outline how this notion of family as practice relies a great deal upon the theoretical insight from recent developments in practice theory. In order to

bring a different focus to the distinctiveness of parenting, I then draw on some of the things that constitute practices – objects, time-space and emotional atmosphere. Chapter 3 outlines the methodological approach that was designed to examine food practices within the context of the family. I describe and explain how and why the research was carried out in the way it was. These two chapters situate and contextualise the research within a wider set of associations.

Chapter 4 discusses the provisioning of food for families as a way of focusing on the *doing* of family (Morgan 1996). I offer a discussion of three social practices, monitoring, mediating, and adapting, to illustrate how parenting is assembled and identified. Monitoring focuses on the activities that are undertaken by parents to keep an eye on their children. Mediating represents how parents are positioned by the negotiation of different courses of action. Adapting describes how change occurs to the routines of family members on a daily basis. These practices are formed from a collection of actions, tasks and projects, thus defining the family practice of parenting. These actions are informed in part by different objects, perceptions of time-space, and an engagement with emotion. The chapter is supported by work on materiality that explores the significance of the potentiality of objects (DeSilvey 2006, Edensor 2005 and Pels 1998). I develop these literatures, and argue that there is a need to see food as an object that degrades; in paying attention to these changes, members of the family can be identified is further explored in chapter 6. The chapter also explores how families perceive their use of time-space and how this reflects on the food activities that take place, and in turn, position parenting within the context of the family.

Chapter 5 explores the cooking and eating that takes place within families and how Finch's (2007) notion of *display* can be developed empirically; I bring together the social practices of teaching-learning, demonstrating and delineating. I also consider actions that depict these social practices, where; teaching-learning explores how parents not only impart knowledge to their children, but children teach their parents through everyday actions; demonstrating where a parents actions, displayed passively, inform their children's actions, and delineating where individuals display their boundaries. These social practices focus on the ways that families display to one another in contrasting ways with different results. This chapter begins to directly address the ways in which cooking and eating habits are more than simply a meal. In addition the chapter draws on previously

established notions of food as an object, the influence of perceptions of time-space and the emotional atmosphere that is being established and engaged with in these practices.

In chapter 6, I investigate the different ways in which families remember food, and this chapter draws specifically on the idea of collective memory (Connerton 1989, Halbwach 1992). The chapter develops the notion of memory in relation to practice theory, where actions are shaped and informed by the way individuals, families and nations remember moments. The chapter illustrates this by exploring the three social practices of preserving, sharing, and recounting. Each of these practices utilises memory in contrasting ways. Preserving, examines the notion of invented traditions undertaken by families in order to justify particular actions. Sharing is a way in which family members remember information about themselves and others in order to define relationships. Recounting illustrates how family members have experienced moments together, which in turn have become legendary within their own families, creating common narratives. Overall in this chapter, I suggest that remembering past food memories often locates family relations, and positions parents within the framework of the family.

Chapter 7 draws this thesis to its conclusion and summarises how I have developed the idea of family as practice. My argumen is based on an exploration of the materiality of food as an alternative way of examining family, rather than focusing on family meals. I suggest the importance of illustrating families in relation to their perception of time-spaces, showing how the division of labour is not as straight forward as some may suggest and assumptions cannot be made that women do it all themselves. I highlight that although food and family is an emotionally charged relationship, often these can be seen to be confusing and conflicting. Furthermore I discuss how this gives an alternative approach to viewing families and parenting, and show perhaps a more positive picture than moral panics about cooking and parenting skills that might be otherwise suggested.

In summary, this thesis offers a more detailed account of how, if we are to take practice seriously in relation to the family, practice can offer new and novel ways of seeing the term 'family' as a multiple and flexible form whilst still being meaningful and relevant. It draws on established bodies of knowledge to address concerns of how objects, time-space, and individual roles relate by

reflecting on general social practices that can be seen at work in the family. Each family is unique, but each has a shared understanding of what is a family.

Chapter 2 – Interpreting Family

“It is impossible not to love someone who makes toast for you. People’s failings, even major ones such as when they make you wear short trousers to school, fall into insignificance as your teeth break through the rough, toasted crust and sink into the doughy cushion of white bread underneath. Once the warm, salty butter has hit your tongue, you are smitten. Putty in their hands.”
Slater (2003:1)

This quotation from Slater’s (2003) award winning biography ‘Toast’ highlights how the making and eating of food provokes an emotional connection with parents. He highlights the significance that activities such as making and eating toast can have on people’s lives, and the emotional connections that can be created, however temporarily. In this chapter I develop the notion that activities can be recognised as creating, maintaining, and distinguishing relationships within the family. I begin in section 2.1 by outlining past and present academic understandings and theorisations of family. I then consider how parenting has often been discussed in the context of gender specific terms – motherhood and fatherhood – and why it is necessary to rethink parenting as a sub-practice of family practice. Moving on from these literatures, in section 2.2, I develop this thesis by looking at recent theorisations involving practice theory. I explore the treatment of objects in practice theory and the tensions between the structure and the agency. I then consider how time-space is viewed in practice theory through the repetition of actions and interaction between people within the context of everyday life. I discuss the tensions between practice theory and emotions, reflecting upon the difficulties of representing emotions, highlighting the importance that they play for people, in creating and navigating their own roles. Finally, in section 2.3, I discuss how these recent engagements with objects, time-space, and emotions are explored in relation to family life; I draw these insights together to develop the concept of family practice. I then outline how this subsequently informs how the family employs the sub-practice of parenting. This chapter sets the context for the thesis and the approach it takes towards parenting and, as suggested by Slater’s quote, the connections that are formed through food. Overall, I advocate the conceptualisation of parenting developed in this thesis and, at the same time, develop, a more nuanced understanding of family practice.

2.1 Understanding family and parenting

Engagements with the family by social scientists have explored the families we live with, and the families we live by (Gillis 1997: 226-7), where the definition of family has long been dominated by notions of the nuclear family. Sociologists in particular, have sought to theorise how families function by drawing on the work of Talcott Parsons (1951): ‘The Social System’ depicts the family as a “heterosexual, nuclear family with a clearly defined breadwinner – homemaker role’s as the most fictional form in modern society” (ibid: 210). Research into the family appears – whether acknowledged or not – to be rooted in Parsons’ conceptualisation of family (Manm et al. 1997). This notion of the family is still seen to be important to the way in which people “understand and structure their lives” (Morgan 1996: 11), and plays a significant symbolic role in cultural and political systems (Pratt 2000: 254). Other social science engagements have often examined the effects of having a family. For instance, geographical engagements have sought to understand how gender within families is linked to migration and participation in the labour-market (Bailey et al 2004, Cooke 2008 and Smith & Bailey 2006).

Feminists, including geographers, sociologists, economists, and anthropologists, have sought to examine the role of women within the domestic environment (Bowlby et al. 1997, Folbre 2006, McKie 2002, Oakley 1981)., Initiated by the radical feminist movement of the late 1970’s, in-depth investigations have taken place into the family during the last three decades, and these have predominantly focused on the gendering of work being done in the domestic environment, highlighting the construction of care work. Engagements over this period have attempted, through a variety of frameworks, to explore the institutional and experiential knowledge of the family. However, the family, as a term, is often seen to be left unchallenged by participants of these types of research, and can be viewed as a concept that is largely “taken for granted, even by those whose family experience is often different” (DeVault 1991: 16). By drawing on day-to-day experiences of family life, research has often sought to undermine the established institutional construction of the family (Gubrim & Holstein 1990). By drawing on everyday lives, researchers have sought to expand this ideological unit of the enquiry, expanding the compositional framework of families (see Stacey

1990, Katz & Monk 1993). The narration of the family has shifted in relation to the research carried out, moving away from a monolithic view of the family as the institutional discourse of the family, however, is still potent, and resistant to change (DeVault 1991).

Another way in which research has successfully challenged the nuclear family is in the study of non-heterosexual families, or families of choice (Weeks et al. 2001). However, although research of the family is both insightful and useful, there are still unanswered questions concerning heterosexual parents. Morgan (1996) therefore argues that families do not have to be a thing-like existence, and if viewed as processes that are recognised to be family practices, they are consequently also recognised as having a theoretical status. He argues that by using the term 'practice' it conveys a number of things: the perspectives of both actor and observer (even when these views are conflicting), action, the everyday, regularity, and fluidity that links history with biography (Morgan 1996: 190). Morgan argues that while there may be some need to acknowledge that the composition of the family is changing, family life still remains important in people's lives and, by examining family practices, the term remains fluid and flexible to these changes. In what follows, I offer a slightly different understanding of the term practice by considering recent developments in practice theory: I seek to develop Morgan's ideas in this thesis, to attain a more nuanced understanding of family and, specifically, the practice of parenting.

2.2 Contributions of Practice theory

The following section outlines how practice theory develops notions of practice and how these can address some of the concerns held by social and cultural geography. To begin with, the section outlines how recent developments in practice theory have theorised both practice and the context in which it operates. The section explores how social and cultural geography, along with other social sciences, has outlined the need for more attention to be paid to the materiality of the social (Jackson 2000), the notion of fluid time-space (Cresswell 2004, Crang 2005, Massey 1994, 2005), and emotions (Bondi 2005, Anderson & Smith 2001). This section specifically deals with how practice theory has developed meaningful engagements with responsive objects (section 2.2.2), a more nuanced and fluid view of time-space (section 2.2.3), and emotions (section 2.2.4). By

exploring these areas, one can identify where practice could be more effective than previous engagements in understanding the role of things, time-space and people.

2.2.1 Practice theory

The theory of practice has characterised a movement away from traditional methods of thinking about a number of things but, in particular, those notions of structure-agency and actor-audience. This is of particular relevance to this thesis because of the way that the theory focuses on practice, challenging the more traditional dichotomies between structure and agency (Pile 1993), and actor-audience (Finch 2007, Morgan 1996). Secondly, people's everyday activities, such as consumption, have become increasingly compartmentalised within social theory, becoming "a moment in almost every practice" (Warde 2005: 137): in other words, there is a need to see the subject as more than a constant consumer. Thirdly, this theory offers itself as a tool with which to carry out empirical work, while at the same time accepting that work is always unfinished and in motion (e.g., de Certeau 1988[1984]), because, as a method, it draws attention to the motion of everyday life and its fluxes and flows.

Recently there have been calls for more academic thought to be given to a theorisation of practice which does not rely on Bourdieu, Giddens and Taylor for direction, simultaneously cautioning against the development of an over-theorised account of practice; however, there is a need to be careful not to over-theorise, at risk of divesting practice of its "embeddedness", which is its greatest strength (Reckwitz 2002: 259). For a number of years, philosophers have sought to go beyond the work of others and re-engage with a theorisation of practices (Rouse 2001; Schatzki 2001, 2002, 2007; Schatzki et al. 2001; Turner 2001, 2007). This has most recently included collaborating with sociologists, who have called for a need for a turn in contemporary theory towards reengaging Practice Theory (Schatzki et al. 2001). Practice theory can be said to have had a substantial influence on how social scientists – geographers in particular, even if they perhaps would not categorise themselves as such – have carried out research (see Simonsen 2007: 168). One particular group which has drawn heavily on practice theory has been researchers engaging with consumptions of time, (Cheng et al. 2007; Roe 2006a; Shove et al. 2007; Southerton 2003; Southerton et al. 2001; Warde 2005) eating

(Roe 2006a; Roe 2006b) and the use of technological tools (Reckwitz 2002; Shove and Pantzar 2007; Shove et al. 2007; Southerton et al. 2001). These engagements have all specifically focused on the need for studies in consumption to be more open about the connections between consumption and other aspects of the social world, studies that have employed an examination of practices to achieve this (Warde 2005). The increasing amount of academic attention paid to actions, and the need to understand the social world, has led to a relationship developing between philosophers and sociologists, with both parties working towards the advancement of ideas on how to generate a practice theory, as commented by Reckwitz (2002).

Each of the theorisations of practice is unique, but their central concern is collective action, as opposed to individual dichotomy. For instance, Giddens' work is more focused on structure rather than individual actants; Bourdieu focused his attention on *habitus*, and de Certeau paid attention to tactics and strategies. Engagement with these more traditional theorisations of practice has, predominantly, meant they have been used as a basis for further work, for instance, the use of Bourdieu's *habitus* in feminism theory as a way of exploring perceived feminist issues such as the embodiment of emotions, (Probyn 2004), the use of Bourdieu's idea of social capital, and the nature of *habitus* as a framework with which to explore young people's embodiment of inclusion and exclusion from school (Holt 2008: 227). These engagements have examined a wide range of everyday, often banal actions with varying degrees of success, but they have ceaselessly attempted to locate the social, generating a turn in contemporary theory, and developing collective development.

This increased focus on the theorisation of practice, chiefly over the last decade, has sought to recognise greater multifaceted nature of change as it occurs in social life. Both Bourdieu's *habitus* and Giddens' *practical consciousness* have been seen to limit the options for change (Adkins and Skeggs 2004, Reckwitz 2002, Schatzki 2002). The way that Schatzki has defined practice theory to include arrangements of practices with a teleoaffective structure offers a way of viewing collective action without limiting possibilities. A teleoaffective structure mixes teleology and affectivity; where teleology is used to describe how individuals act with an eye to the end state, and affectivity is a recognition and realisation of the current situation (Schatzki 2001: 52). Teleoaffective structure is what links practices together and therefore making sense for the individual, often making the

individual both connected but distinctive. “To say that doings and sayings are linked by a teleoaffective structure is to say that they pursue end-point combinations that are contained in the same teleoaffective structure.” Schatzki (2002: 80). In the context of the social, Schatzki suggests exploring issues within a “teleoaffective structure” (2002). For instance, emotions are an explicit part of practice; they are the skilful performance by the mind-body and, simultaneously, emotions make sense of what the processor must do. According to Simonsen, practice theory draws on phenomenological accounts of being in the world and the rationalisation of actions using beliefs, in which he includes emotions (Simonsen 2007). In his post-phenomenological account of being in the world, Alphonso Lingis writes - “[i]n performing such acts, I myself forth, and do not simply put the act forth.” Lingis (1998: 222). Lingis’ sentiment is clear, no action stands alone, and actions are plural. It could therefore be argued that there is a need to engage with not only what people do, but how they rationalise what they do using teleoaffective structures; both the past, present, and future are part of practice.

If we are to take Schatzki’s practice theory seriously, practices must be seen as more than actions within a structure. Practices are doings that are actively enacted through their replication, continuation, or alteration (Shove et al. 2007:13). Recent theorisations of practice place practice as being collectively produced, as suggested below by Reckwitz (2002: 254):

“Just as the bodily activities are ‘social’ as a consequence of their stable reproduction beyond the limits of space time and single individuals, their ‘corresponding’ forms of understanding must be subjective pattern.”

Reckwitz identifies practice as being more than just activity; it is socially created for a purpose, bringing more than the individual into the sphere of influence at any one time. This theorisation however has sought to re-engage with practice while maintaining practice embeddedness (Rouse 2001; Schatzki 2001, 2002, 2007; Shrove et al. 2008; Turner 2001, 2007). Through the maintenance of empirical work, the preservation of practices as a whole has been largely achieved, whilst acknowledging the practices themselves to be more than just doings. Within this context, practice theory has developed a specific treatment of its constitutive parts such as embodiment, rationality, normativity, and the transformation of the social (Schatzki 2001: 1). Schatzki (2002) describes actions as being general activities, when they are given specific direction they become a task, and then

when given purpose, they become a project: , walking for instance is an activity, walking in a straight line is a task, and walking down to the shops is a project. Tasks and projects are described as higher order activities and a practice embraces a set of hierarchically organised actions. Practices become arranged both through and across practices, and are recognised as a defined part of social order. As such, this thesis brings together these recent developments in practice theory, the notion of family practice, and the sub-practice of parenting, including objects, time-space, and emotional connection, something which is further developed in section 2.3.

2.2.2 Practice theory and material objects

In Reckwitz (2002) work comparing practice theory with other theories explains that: “of course, in practice theory things also appear as always-ready-interpreted but here they are things to be handled and constitutive elements of forms of behaviours.” (ibid. 2002: 253). Reckwitz implies that practice theory specifically seeks to address the ‘thing’ in use, even when those uses seem to be contradictory, for example where objects can be flexible and rigid, malleable and robust.

Practice theory’s engagements with objects are similar but different to social and cultural geographical investigations into materiality. For practice theory, agency is something that is contained within action, therefore although only subjects can have agency, objects do have an effect on action. For instance, a recent empirical engagement with practice has seen objects as part of the body. Shove, Watson and Hands’ (2008) work into DIY describes the way in which once a hammer is placed in a skilled practitioner’s hand, the hammer becomes an extension of the body and enables particular actions to be carried out. In contrast, social and cultural geography, which focuses on materiality, explores the ways that humans interact with the environment; in recent years this has meant a close engagement with matter (Anderson and Wylie 2009: 318). Other social scientists’ encounters have produced a number of theorisations of how matter can: display (Finch 2007, Miller 2007), connect (Latour 2005, Law 2002, Mol 2002, Hehterington 2004), enchant (Bennett 2001) and refract (Ramsay 2009), to name only a small selection. The focus of these approaches has often paid attention to one specific object, but one which has come from a diverse range of objects, from African souvenirs to aircraft. All these considerations, however, have focused on the need for a better

understanding of matter, things, or objects prompting action, some even go as far as describing objects as having agency (e.g. Bennett 2001, Latour 2005). The work of constructivist Bruno Latour (2000), such as an article entitled 'When Things Strike Back', has called for a (re)engagement of social sciences with science studies. The main theme of his article focuses on science and the lack of confidence social scientists have in interpreting 'natural' processes. In the article Latour states "[n]atural objects are naturally recalcitrant; the last thing that one scientist will say about them is that they are fully masterable" (ibid. 2000: 116). This particular quote states that science cannot contain natural objects; it is not only scientists that feel natural objects are unruly, wayward, and unstoppable, as everyday people deal with the disruptiveness of nature. Latour's life work highlighted how non-humans can be seen to be actants and, therefore, have agency (Latour: 1993, 1999, 2000). This thesis argues that we should consider agency as a purely human endeavour, or as all persuasive within the world (Schatzki 2002: 194).

The difference between the way that practice theory and other social scientists have engaged with objects is in part the engagement with agency; in terms of practice theory it is displaced and only revealed in action, and for other social scientists, agency can be contained within object as well as people. For this reason I examine the various uses of objects in activities in everyday family life, an idea which will be further developed in section 2.3.1. The questioning of how material objects are used in everyday life is an issue that I take up in chapters 4, 5, and 6. In addition, section 2.3.1 develops this work to explore food. The section also explores how the actor network theory has been used when examining food, and alternative ways through which linkages between family and food could be explored as a result.

2.2.3 Practice theory and time-space

Over the last two decades, geography, along with other social sciences, has sought to address the everyday and banal (Holloway and Hubbard 2001). By examining the everyday there is a need to engage with its temporality and space (see Crang 2003). Within this context geography, geographers have argued that the role of space and place needs to be taken seriously, to be constantly (re)engaged with, and thought through (e.g. Crang 2003, Massey 1994). Time and space have frequently been used

as a foothold with which to “anchor analyses” of the social (Crang 2003: 205). Time being seen to give direction, and force that cannot be changed once enacted, and space has been given a sense of placement; put simplistically “time as action, and space as context” (2003: 205). As Doreen Massey and John Allen point out in their introduction to their book entitled ‘Geography Matters!’, the term ‘spatial’ is fundamentally embedded in the social world and covers a range of experiences of distance, which can in addition be mobile, pointing to some of the difficulties in assigning specific meanings to terms like space and place, due to the need for spatialities to be discussed. Geographers need to think through both space and time in their multiple forms (Crang 2005). As a consequence, and heeding the advice of Crang (2005), Hubbard (2005) and Massey and Allen (1984), there is a need to move away from attempts to define space and time with a view to “not what they are, but what they do” (Hubbard 2005: 47). This section takes forward this geographical imperative to explore time and space in relation to the everyday, and examines how practice theory develops the notion of time and space and how this could develop the notion of time-space.

If the aim of time-space is to respect what they do, as opposed to what they are, practice theory provides a platform through which both can be seen as active agents. Generally, time-space has been seen in the context of actions occurring which are simultaneously a material consequence of action. This can be seen in the work of de Certeau (1984), where he explores everyday practices such as cooking, eating and walking; where he takes these practices and analyses them in relation to bodily movements, and the way that people talk about these practices. Through these practices de Certeau argues that place is consistently being conformed and reformed through experiences that are both direct and indirect (Cresswell 2004). This idea is taken further by Schatzki’s understanding of time and space as a site ontology (2001: 53). This means that when a change in circumstance happens projects that “change over time and across space can occur” (Blake et al 2009: 189).

Schatzki’s site ontology explores time as having two dimensions; ordinary and existential time, and space, a location where something takes place, and the placing of a location within a wider sense of space (Schatzki 1996, 2005). Ordinary time can be described as ‘makeable time’, such as hours within a day. Ordinary time, although connected to human understandings, is independent of any one human, and can create a shared uniformity amongst members of a group (Blake et al. 2009:

190, Schatzki 2005). In contrast, existential time is rooted in human undertakings in the world; central to this time is action and the way that humans make choices connected with past and future intentions (Blake 2009: 190, Schatzki 2005). Existential time shapes and puts into place projects, and the way in which human beings are in relation to the world (Heidegger 1962 cited in Blake et al. 2009). Just as activities are experienced in relation to time, actions cannot take place devoid of topological influence. In other words, actions are rooted in space. Space is a location within which action takes place and this experience of space and action is positioned within a wider sense of space (Schatzki 2002: 64) For instance, the space related to having a new kitchen is seen in relation to the life course, and the changing materialisation of the household (Shove et al. 2008).

The interactions between these two approaches to time and space can be seen to create and influence relationships within the family (DeVault 1991, Morgan 1996). In spite of this connection between time-space and action there is little acknowledgement of this within research treating eating and the feeding of the family (Blake et al. 2009, DeVault 1991).

2.2.4 Practice theory and emotional connections

The location and expression of emotion has been seen as a way of geography maintaining a critical edge (Anderson & Smith 2001). There is little escaping the fact that geography, along with other social sciences, has not explicitly focused upon and has engaged little with emotions (Bondi 2005). The need to reconnect with emotions is largely seen to be taken up by feminist geographers (Davidson et al. 2005; Probyn 2004). However, the exploration of the body by geographers, along with other social scientists, could be seen to be an indirect exploration of emotions and, in particular, the location of them. So perhaps to engage more explicitly with specific emotions such as fear, love, hatred, and desire, and so dealing with them as a defined social process but, simultaneously, embodied, may in fact mean that emotions become detached and compartmentalised, rather than fluid and numerous as suggested by other work on the body (Simonsen 2007; Colls 2004).

Practice theory could be used to develop research into the family e.g practice theories approach to people with regard to emotions and relationships. Practice theory emotions are the expressions and manifestations for the processor, along with the belief that they are *states of affairs*

that are relational (Schatzki 2001). They are connected and manifested by, and through, the mind-body (Reckwitz 2002: 49). By locating emotions in practice theory we are taking an approach towards arrangements, tasks, and projects that are said to constitute social practice (Schatzki 2001, 2002). This means examining emotions as embodied artefacts, expressions, and manifestations for the processor. Along with beliefs, emotions are understood as states of affairs that are relational (Schatzki 1996, 2001). They are connected to and manifest by and through the mind-body (Reckwitz 2002), and cannot be adequately approached by only dealing with just the mind or the body.

To re-represent emotions has often lead human geographers to explore *emotion* with *effect*, but separate areas of intellectual endeavour which have attracted attention from a diverse number of advocates (Anderson & Harrison 2006; Thien 2005)., Simonsen (2007) argues that this separation creates a “dichotomous model” (ibid:174), and this handling of effect and emotion results in the occurrence of two things. Firstly, this approach misses the things that are ‘not consciously recognised’, including past events. Secondly, this model ”risks cutting off emotions from the lived experience of being and from having a body” (ibid.: 176). Emotions therefore are difficult to define without connecting them to other actions or reactions. Emotions are half hidden and ”go beyond their visual, textual, and linguistical domains” (Anderson & Smith 2001 cited by Thien 2005: 451). However, Miller’s (2004) article ‘Making Love in Supermarkets’ argues that an activity such as shopping for others’ clothes has a “taken-for-granted backdrop” which shows the activity of shopping to be more than an expression of the individual, but “an expression of kinship and other relationships” (ibid.: 254).

There has been a particularly strong emphasis placed on bringing a more phenomenological account of the body into practice theory. Simonsen’s (2007) work in particular is the most recent contribution to this effect. She emphasises the possibility that geographers have implicitly explored emotions through the exploration of the body. She argues that geographers such as Thrift, Harvey, and Massey owe a great deal to practice theory. Emotions in practice theory originate from the approaches taken towards the arrangements, tasks, and projects that are said to constitute social practice: for Schatzki, this means looking at actions as they are being carried out in relation to the present action and end state, i.e. teleoaffective structure (Schatzki 2001, 2002). It may be argued that

this does not move towards what Anderson and Smith called for, a need to move beyond emotions' physical representations (2001: 8). There is however an ideology that legitimates relationships, asserting the idea of emotional agencies such as love (Miller 2004: 264). This opens up the question of how emotional connections inform relationships, an issue developed in relation to family practice in section 2.3.3.

2.3 Practices and family life

“Western cooking practices, for instance, are typically heavy on teleological and light on affective structure, whereas Western rearing practices display considerably more of the affective.”
Schatzki (2002: 80)

As outlined in section 2.1, research about the family has increasingly adopted a family practice approach, focusing on the 'doing of family'. Recent engagements with family have sought to write about what families do, challenging the dominant view that changes occurring in families are harmful (see Silva & Smart 1999). For instance, Doncet's (2006) research into stay-at-home fathers raises the question – 'do men mother?' The research examines the activities that are carried out, in order to generate an understanding about mothering and fathering. The research points out that by examining the differences in family practices such as mothering and fathering, gender stereotypes regarding the ability to care for children are challenged. In spite of the valuable contribution to these understandings of family practices has made to understanding family, the theorisation of family practice is loose, and open to individual interpretation. This section seeks to explore ways that practice theory could inspire a more nuanced understanding of family relationships.

2.3.1 Family practice and material objects

Research has often used material objects such as food to explore the family (Beardsworth & Keil 1997, DeVault 1991, Charles & Kerr 1986, Keane & Willetts 1995, Murrcott 1982, 1997, Valentine 1999). Food has been used as a lens through which relationships within families can be explored, and it is largely seen as part of an autonomous individual consumption pattern, or as a symbol of a type of relationship that is taking place (Warde 2005). The use of objects, such as food, often engage with a display of who is family, and what values and norms this group hold (Douglas

1979, Finch 2007, Morgan 1996). For the majority of research undertaken in the past into different family roles, objects, such as food, are only seen for their symbolic role, rather than being an active part of a network of projects. These previous studies into food and family have used food to access and explore relationships with the family and the carrying out of individual identity (Valentine 1997). In this research, one member of the family is often explored in relation to others, particularly women (Charles & Kerr 1986, deVault 1991). This means that food is often seen as a straightforward symbol of family life (Warde 2005).

In contrast, the material qualities of food that are seen without paying attention to family, have brought to the foreground the possibility that food items have the capability of being seen as an object. As Allison James discusses in relation to items such as the hamburger or the fizzy drink, they have identities waiting to be consumed but these identities “are dependent on the form and presentation of the food itself” (1996: 82). Food is often used as short-hand for a number of objects that have a variety of different interpretations, as shown through their uses. Alan Warde (2005) urges us to go further than their symbolic meaning, and show that actions utilise things to go beyond the seemingly autonomous individual (Warde 2005). Macbeth and MacClancy depict food as an object that sits between socially constructed divides, “[f]ood is both ‘nature’ and ‘culture’, and bridges many divides: it is both substance and symbol; it is life sustaining in both biochemical and cognitive modes. Both physically and socially, we consume it and make it part of ourselves” (2004: 5-6). Others have sought to go beyond this depiction of food by seeing it as a “thing in use” in the practice of provisioning, and therefore slips between boundaries of edibility and inedibility (Roe 2006). In doing so it becomes clear that food and its aesthetic, visual, and physical material qualities make certain demands on practitioners. For instance, the work of Roe (2006) highlights the social embeddedness of particular foodstuff by exploring the edibility and inedibility of organic and genetically modified foodstuff for people, bringing together not only the connections that are made through food, but in addition, foods’ tangential material associations with carrots of a particular provenance. These engagements suggest that there is a need to view food as a thing that has been seen to be shaped, and equally shapes human interaction with the stuff of food.

Actor Network Theory (ANT) has been seen as both a theoretical and empirical tool for viewing food. ANT sees meaning given through a combination of form, function and meaning and being understood through interactions that take place. The aim of these engagements is to move beyond the physical processes of production and provisioning, and to stimulate a movement away from studying nature and society as a dualism that has been seen to dominate agri-food studies, to a more nuanced incorporation of both the inhuman/nonhuman/human (Murdoch 1997). This approach has two main assumptions; the premise of post-structuralist semiotics, and the notion that meaning is created through encounters. To put it another way, objects themselves have agency and have the “will to connect” (Hetherington 2004 cited by Ramsay 2009: 215). This approach has often increased calls for the need to go back to the intersections of bodies, animals, and plants (Roe 2006b).

There have been several critiques of ANT, however, attempts have been made to address these criticisms through what has been termed ‘after-networks’ (Hetherington & Law 2000). Critics of ANT have sought to draw attention to its seeming obsession for having a complete network, which means that the muddle, confusion, uncertainty, and apathy shown in the relations of people, space, time and things, is not allowing space for absences that might exist in particular networks (Anderson & Wylie 2009, Hetherington & Law 2000). Recent engagements have tried to address these apparent shortcomings in a variety of ways and have sought to draw attention to the momentary nature of these relations, and the transitory and mobile behaviour of objects (Whatmore 2002). In a variety of ways these approaches have brought attention to these issues, however, this often still assumes that objects will create, rather than see that objects can be distant and bring “estrangement alongside attachment” Ramsay (2009: 215). Although this work has done much to allow for the role of non-humans to be seen as a significant and equal part of everyday life, objects within the network are static. Food is constantly changing, and I would suggest here that recent works in practice theory would better deal with food, where things are seen as an extension of the body (Shrove et al. 2007).

Practice theory aims to displace discursive matter such as conversations, texts, and minds – the central objects of social enquiry – and move bodies, things, skills, and routine at the centre of research into the social (Reckwitz 2002, Shove et al. 2008). The aim of practice theory is to develop a language with which to engage with things, and the way that they are integrated into the social;

however, their precise role still intentionally remains a little fuzzy (Shove et al. 2008). Food can be seen as similar to this in the way that the body responds to food, even before it is ingested. The way that the satsuma, once placed in a skilled practitioner's hands, is peeled to their satisfaction and taste for example, instead of being placed into the mouth directly. By understanding how practice theory treats things, food can be used as an analytical tool with which to explore more of how a family is a practice. This thesis contextualises food as an active agent of a variety of arrangements ordered by a social structure that is more than doing, but remains embedded within the context. This is particularly highlighted in chapters 4 and 6, where notions of food agencies are developed in relation to the biological process of degradation.

2.3.2 Family practices and time-space

As previously highlighted, the association between food and family is not a new one. Family and food has been largely considered within the framework of the family meal; whether that is the food presented, or the people that share the food at any one given moment in time, seems to enable a framework for the "proper meal" (Bell & Valentine 1997: 59). The nuances of the family meal have often been seen to hold the key to understanding the family as it is: defining social and cultural contextual differences (Hardyment 1995), the adaptation of food to suit different economic conditions within the family (Charles & Kerr 1986), the delineation of boundaries between people that are seen to be inside and outside of the family (Douglas 1972, 1984), or the polarity of the meaning of cooking (Murrcott 1993). These have been useful studies in examining the meaning of the meal and why it has been popularised, celebrated and not vilified; more recently, there have been discussions as to whether society has ever had these types of meal (Cheng et al. 2007, Jackson et al. 2009). It has been suggested that these types of meal are seen as an expression of society's obsession to have things remain constant (Murrcott 1997: 46). A way of exploring these issues is to examine family practices by looking at their repetition and the creation of a routine.

The location of both time and space are fundamental in creating the social, and are therefore at the centre of practice theory because practices are controlled, rooted, and facilitated by time-space (Blake et al. 2009, Reckwitz 2002, Schatzki 2001: 53). Time-space can however be examined in

more than one way in relation to the family. Literature that explores the 'doing' of family explores family as a dynamic, shifting process, one which continually defines and redefines this social unit in relation to an individual's position in their life course, something which enables practices to become embedded, facilitated, and changed (Curtis et al. 2009). In relation to time there is ordinary time, (situated), and existential time, (the human experience of being in the world). These two distinctions suggests that practices are both sequential projects, such as time seen over the period of the life course, but there is also, however, an experience of time presenting existentialist projects in time, with both creating family practice (Blake et al. 2010: 189).

Space has increasingly been seen as central to understanding the family. The household has often been viewed as a useful way of examining consumption habits (Jackson et al. 2007). This has been reflected in the interest that has developed over recent years about the spaces inside the household, in particular the kitchen (Warde and Martens 2000). This room has been configured as a site where consumers are re-positioned as active participants or practitioners in the ontogenesis of discourses pertaining to lifestyle, gender, sexuality, and youth (Bowly 2000; Glennie & Thrift 1993; Miller 1997; Shields 1992, Warde 2005). The kitchen, specifically, has long been seen as a setting for women's oppression (Floyd 2004: 61), as an area of matriarchal and patriarchal power relations through the practices that happen within, but are not constricted, to these areas. For instance, areas such as the hallway have been a source of reference when looking at the identity and establishment of the middle classes. The hallway has become an increasingly prevalent design feature of the twenty-first century household, with the decrease in domestic labour and its capacity to physically put space between the outside, from the inside (Cieraad 2002). These areas are spaces that can be used to demarcate who is a member of the family, and who is not (Douglas 1972), but these seemingly constructed boundaries are often blurred (Floyd 2004). Space is significant in the understanding and interpretation of actions located there, and affects how the action is recognised as part of wider practices (Schatzki 1996, 2001).

To be aware of practice is to go beyond that of a static view of time-space and to enter into an acceptance of a multitude of enactments of routine behaviour, giving the family a sense of fixity and

flexibility. Following these insights I explore time-space in a number of ways in chapters 4, 5, and 6 by recognising the role that both routines and rhythms play in the lives of families.

2.3.2 Family practice and emotional connections

Families are frequently identified through generational relationships; often, however, theories of family address these different relationships that appear to be both fixed and static. Role theory made attempts to position and fix relationships to people's particular generational relationships (Parson 1951). Recent years have seen a decrease in popularity amongst anthropologists and sociologists; this has not only been due to the increased awareness of different compositions of families due to re-marriage where one of the partners, that already has grandchildren, could possibly have children of the same age. In other words, one child could be Aunt and the other nephew. The waning influence of these theories has been as a result of criticism taken from research into childhood, which points to relationships being both the same, yet different (Hockey & James 2003). This thesis moves beyond fixed relations where roles are in flux. The expression of emotion is a way to identify different relationships within the family (DeVault 1991).

Families can be located through their actions, and largely seen as a group of related individuals (Pratt 2000). Recently, social sciences, predominantly sociologists, have explored the composition of the family. These explorations have often found that there is a range of social groups identifying themselves as 'family'; however, the group's composition would place them outside of what could be termed a nuclear family, such as single parent families. Current theorisations of the family have begun to explore the way in which family is displayed and is constructed through discursive practice (see Finch 2007, Hockey & James 2000). Rather than looking at the family as a unit this research often considers the constituent parts of the family, divided by role and stage during the life course. Take for instance mothering: in relation to being a first time mother, Stapleton & Keenan (2009) explore the change that is experienced in relation to emotional connection. Even if women were in the most egalitarian relationship they see themselves as responsible for domestic

labour, as a way of defining their role and expressing their love for their family (Stapleton & Keenan 2009). Mothering is just one example of how the connection of an individual, whether acknowledged or not, is related back and so positions them as part of a family. So, although role theory has become redundant, this fragmentation of interest highlights that roles remain an important way to explore family practices and identify emotions.

Practice theory attends to emotions as expressed in terms that make sense of what people do as a result of connections to a teleoaffective structure (Schatzki 2002). In other words, actions are carried out with a view to both the present and the end state, and teleoaffective structure (Schatzki 2001, 2002). As I have argued in section 2.2.4, this does not move beyond emotions or physical representations (Anderson & Smith 2001: 8), however, it does acknowledge the importance of emotional connections that are often otherwise taken for granted in asserting an idea of emotional agency, such as love (Miller 2004: 264). This opens up the question of how emotional connections inform relationships, an issue developed in relation to roles of parenting practice within family practice.

2.4 Concluding thoughts

Moral panics, as outlined in chapter 1, suggest that parents are failing to pass on key life skills to their children. Parents are failing to teach their children to cook, and therefore as adults, they are unable to feed themselves with healthy meals (Caraher et al 1999) and manage food waste (WRAP 2000). This research suggests that these activities are constitutive of family practices, but it does not tell us about the actual work that is being done in great detail to family practices. There have also been a number of studies questioning whether we have ever had family meals (Jackson et al 2009). Questions should be asked about what it is that parents are trying to do when they have a meal together; encouraging their children to eat all the fruit including the bruised bits; recalling past events, and going beyond seeing the family meal as the only valuable food activity that parents do in terms of the practice of family.

This thesis offers a renewed questioning of family according to practice theory with particular attention being paid to materiality, time-space, and emotional connections, and specifically the

interactions that take place in relation to food. In other words, I consider how practice theory can enhance an understanding of family as practice, and how this is displayed through everyday household food projects. However, the family is also held in contention in this thesis, through repetition and difference, stability and change. I intend to explore both the tensions between past, present, and future practices of the family as they are presented in current household arrangements. In conclusion, I offer a renewed encounter with family practices and, specifically, parenting as a sub-practice. This thesis draws upon and contributes to a multiplicity of literature according to how and where they help, understand, and meaningfully analyse the family as a collective of individuals that are not static or fixed.

Chapter 3 – Practising an Approach

This research seeks to understand how families are created and sustained through the food practices of family members. Existing research into families is often criticised for the use of the term ‘family’ and for assuming too much when looking at what it is to be a family (Morgan 1997). The aim of this research was not to build an identity of the family, but to explore an approach that could empirically show, and account for the family. The aim therefore was to look at routine tasks carried out on a daily basis, but not limited to the household. Food provisioning and eating seemed an appropriate focus, given that everybody has to eat. Of particular interest are the ways in which their practices are connected to foodways (Finch 2007, Jackson et al. 2007, Morgan 1996, 1997). Embedded within this interrogation of foodways is a concern with the materialities, time-spaces, and emotional aspects that help frame foodways as specifically related to family practices.

3.1 Research Questions

1. How might the ways that family members engage with foodways be understood as practices that embody family life?
 - a) In what ways can provisioning practices enable the family to work?
 - b) In what ways can cooking and eating practices enhance the durability of the family?
 - c) In what ways can the remembering of food enable the family to endure?
2. How does the materiality of foodways e.g. the food itself, but also the things that are used in relation to specific foodways such as fruit-bowls and vegetable boxes, help shape family practices?
 - a) How do families engage with the materialities of foodways as they undertake family work?
 - b) How do families engage with the memory of the materialities of foodways within their everyday family work?
3. How are food-related family practices framed within the context of time-space/space-time?
 - a) How do families experience change day-to-day, including within contrasting locations?
 - b) How do families experience and express change over their life course?

4. In what ways are food-related family practices constitutive to the emotional aspect of family practices?
- a) How do emotions connect to the provisioning of food?
 - b) How are emotions connected to the cooking-eating of food?
 - c) How are emotions connected to the remembering of food?

To address these research questions I adopted a practice theory informed approach which enabled the research to be focused on the materiality of everyday life, concentrating on food, and exploring the experience of time-space whilst situating emotions both in terms of body and mind. I chose to use a contrasting international case study approach located in the United Kingdom and Hungary. These elements and their connections to the research questions are discussed below.

3.2 Research Geography

The aim of the research was to explore everyday activities involving the provisioning, cooking-eating and remembrance of food as something that is familiar and routine to everyone. It is difficult to see the nuances and intricacies of everyday routines that are familiar within one's own seemingly normalised, banal and mundane behaviour. As a result there is the potential for things going unnoticed. In contrast, a new and apparently different setting can reveal new possibilities and ways of doing things, for instance, buying bread by the slice rather than by the loaf. The focus of this research is on everyday activities within the context of family life. For me to examine families within the United Kingdom, it may have been interesting in itself without necessarily and sufficiently drawing out the intricacies of everyday family life. Using contrasting case studies not only provides an insight and perspective into different foodway practices, it also questions the known position by avoiding an overly functionalist approach to the objects that are used in everyday life (Miller 1998). For these reasons the use of two contrasting case studies reveals more than if the research had been situated in a single context. The two geographical areas were Ilkley in the United Kingdom and Szeged in Hungary.

Hungary was chosen to as a comparison with the UK because of the contrasting enactment of practices surrounding food provisioning, cooking, eating, and remembering within in each location. These contrasting factors included the experience of women in the locations. Although the focus of this research is not primarily on the role of women in the family, research into feeding the family has often been based on the important and complex role that women play, (see DeVault 1991), therefore their treatment and influence should not be overlooked. This is one of the reasons for choosing Hungary to contrast with the UK. A burgeoning body of literature concerned with gender in Central and Eastern Europe explores the interaction between women, work, and the welfare state both before and during the transition from socialist state to market capitalism (Misra 1998). This literature suggests that women's roles were perceived differently within socialist ideology as it saw women as a resource within the labour market, in comparison to western thought and other capitalist ideologies (Fodor 2002). This does not mean that women were treated any more equally under communism, for instance in Hungary, women were often only given menial jobs, and, more often, the lowest paid jobs; they also had to fight for the right to stay at home and care for their children (Glass 2008, Misra 1998). This is in direct contrast to the UK, where it is seen a problematic if women raise children and work full-time. (Hakim 2004).

Another reason for choosing Hungary is the differing sources of food available to consumers both there and in the United Kingdom. These sources include, but are not limited to, farming practices that are in use; these include different types of buying and bartering which occur in each country. One of the aims of the study was to examine households' food provisioning, therefore it is relevant and necessary to examine each location for the difference in cultural attitudes towards food and the sources of food available. I chose Ilkley and Szeged because of their similar, but different characteristics. Both areas have strong food traditions including food festivals and they are well known for their locally produced food (see section on fish soup and the work of Blake et al. 2009). The aim of this section is to draw on national and local characteristics of gastronomic practices to mark out each location, and explain why it was important that these locations were used in the study. This section will contextualise each location, exploring their similarities and differences with regard to food. Two areas in particular were identified; Ilkley in West Yorkshire and Szeged in Hungary,

firstly because of their own gastronomic histories and culinary delights. Ilkley has an approach to food that is like others in the UK but has some individual characteristics related to its gastronomic tradition, starting with the location of the restaurant the 'Box Tree' which has received at least one Michelin-star since its establishment in 1974 (web ref¹). It is also home to the butchers Lishmans established in 1986, an award-winning butcher shop whose owner, David Lishman, became one of food writer 'Rick Stein's superheroes' in 2003 (*The Observer* 2003²). Ilkley recently became a fairtrade town in 2006, showing its commitment to fair food production methods (web ref³).

Similarly Szeged has distinct culinary traditions in the form of; Pick Salami, Szeged Paprika, and the fish soup festival. Pick Winter Salami, has been in production since 1869, but saw its sales peak in the middle of the 20th century, becoming the largest food processing company in Hungary; it was nationalised in the 1930s and then privatised in 1992. It holds a large proportion of the domestic market, 77% in 1994, and is a major exporter of salami, mainly to Germany and the United States (*The Economist* (US) 1994 and Pick Salami and Szeged Paprika Museum 2007). Szeged Paprika has a distinctive taste, colour, and aroma, and since 1934 Szeged has been declared a closed zone, meaning that no other paprika can be called Szeged Paprika (Pick Salami and Szeged Paprika Museum 2007). The 'International Tisza Fish Festival' (Nemzetközi Tiszai Halfesztivál) takes place on the first weekend of September. The first fish festival was held on the site of the old fish market in Szeged in 1997. The idea of the festival is to celebrate the gastronomic traditions of Szeged, and the primary focus of the event is the open-air fish cooking competition. Participants compete in two categories; the first is Tisza fish soup made from carp, and the second encompasses every other kind of open-fire fish dishes. It is a popular event amongst national and international guests and is an opportunity to taste real Szeged fish soup. The second, but equally important reason was because of a connection, which was developed over a number of years and was established between a women's organisation in Ilkley and a sister organisation in Szeged. This meant that undertaking this study in unfamiliar locations was made easier and more accessible due to this connection.

¹ Michelin Guide Star History 2006-1974: England C-J. <http://www.michelin.co.uk/travel/star-history.htm> (Accessed 11 March 2007)

² Rick Stein's superheroes. (*The Observer*, 14 September 2003)

³ Fairtrade - Towns List. (Accessed 28 November 2008)

Central and Eastern European countries are becoming increasingly understood in terms of people's everyday experiences (see Smith and Jehlicka 2007, Stenning 2005). Although these studies infer the differences in Western/Eastern treatment of similar issues, I have avoided any direct comparisons. It was the aim of this research to expand upon existing literature and offer a comparison with a country outside of this block. As a result the final research question to be addressed by this thesis was:

5) What influence does geographical location have on foodways and *doing* family life?

3.3 Research Methodology

In this research, the one key area of inquiry concerns how individuals within families define family through their actions and consequent practices of everyday life and particularly those involved in food through provisioning, cooking and eating, and remembering. This chapter explores the methods that were used to inform this research. The chapter initially discusses the theoretical approach that was taken towards the research, and then considers the diary-interviews which captured individuals' opinions within households and the differences between the different locations. I then consider how I carried out participant observation in each of the locations. The final section lays out how this material was gathered and analysed.

3.3.1 Theoretical Approach

Practice Theory has had a large influence over how this research has been designed and implemented. The key to understanding how Practice Theory has influenced this research project is to explore how it has influenced the design of the research tools, the analysis of the material gathered, and the way that it has been presented in this thesis. This section draws specific attention to the ways that Practice Theory informed the research and runs through it.

Practice Theory demands that actions are examined as a whole practice to challenge traditional ways of thinking about social practices. Warde (2005) states that there is a need to go beyond studying moments in social practices, moments such as consumption, and to go outside of these moments and see social practices as a whole. Practice Theory's central concern has always been focused on the collective action of the social, as opposed to focusing on the individual dichotomy. In

terms of this research, using Practice Theory means understanding parent practices in terms of how these actions unfold over time – actions that are repeated, incomplete, and evolving – and it means contextualising actions and seeing them as part of a whole.

In designing this research one of the main concerns is to explore parent's practices in relation to their feeding activities. If the social practices of parenting are to be addressed the methods that are chosen to explore these have to look at every aspect of their daily lives that uses food. This means not taking their activities out of the context in which they are carried out. This requires interrogating people's daily routines in relation to things, other people, and time-space. In addition to influencing the gathering of data, Practice Theory influences that way that the data is presented. This thesis is structured so that it offers a broad picture of the specific ways in which parents create and carry out actions related to food, and develop routines within the context of the family's day-to-day life. Each chapter draws upon a range of research material collected from the same family in each of the different locations in order to illustrate family practices. Each of the chapters has an over arching theme relating to different processes that were predominantly informed by the way that parents spoke about their feeding practices. Together, these chapters provide different insights into the interconnecting relations between each of the parts that make feeding practices, the acts of provisioning, eating-cooking, and remembering food. They address how parents use objects, invest emotions, and interact with time-space in their everyday lives, offering an insight into the ways they come together to make sense of the social practice of parenting.

3.3.2 Diary-Interview

This section discusses in-depth why and how diary-interviews were used in this research. Diary-interviews were chosen because they can provide a "rich source of information on respondents' behaviour and experiences on a daily basis" (Corti 1993:1). This research was concerned with the everyday activities involved in provisioning food in the context of the family. This method explores the family as a set of individuals, where habits and ideas are perceived not to be uniform and unchallenged, and the combination of this method with participant observation provided a detailed

picture of the family and the relationships that occur within it, at both an individual and a household level.

A diary, with an accompanying set of interviews, furnished this research with information regarding written and anecdotal practices (Elliot 1997). To ensure the diaries are not stand-alone sources of information, this project conducted three concurrent interviews: one at the start of the observation period, one following the first week or when next the participant was able to be interviewed, and a final interview following the completion, and return, of the two-week diary. By conducting sequential interviews, the limitations associated with snapshot diaries are minimised. For instance, interviewing for the second time can often encourage people to continue recording the diary. Sometimes three interviews were possible but, because participants were told they could opt out at any time of the process, some did not continue and reach the third interview. However, at least two interviews were carried out with each participant lasting approximately one hour and a half in length. Time was also spent before and after the interviews with the participants, often in their house. This time was essential to contextualise their family; not all members of the households felt able to take part in the interviews, but were happy to be part of the research in a less formal capacity.

The first interview was focused on the everyday cooking, and eating of food in the household. As part of this first interview the participants were asked to think of or bring with them two recipes. The first of these was their favourite recipe and the second, something that they cook regularly. These recipes are a less traditional way of looking at the practices of food. In talking about these particular recipes, this research examined not only a particular articulation of practice but also the way that particular food rules are enforced or challenged. By inquiring about these recipes, different respondents were encouraged to talk about different things, including why these recipes are favourites, or why they are part of the daily diet. The recipes themselves were not examined for their actual nutritional content but rather the ideals they provoked, the practicalities of provisioning food, and they provided engagement with the participants' practices. The second interview focused on the buying or procuring of food by the individual. The third interview was more open, and often all of the interviewees would try to review previous interviews and to provide feedback and to answer any questions that they thought should be asked and were omitted from the earlier interviews, or equally

where it was felt more detail was needed. The third interview also offered an opportunity for the diaries that the participants had been keeping to be interrogated further. This involved comparing what was written in the first interview with what routines were written down in their diaries. As the first interview was often the longest, by exploring parts of the diary, it led to parts of their routine that might not have been mentioned before, as well as an opportunity to explore further moments that seemed to contradict what they had previously said, or things that I had observed by spending time with the family. Having a series of diary-interviews was vital in understanding the nuances of the household's routine as a whole, rather than as disconnected parts.

The interviews were semi-structured to allow for continuity between interviews, however, all the interviewees were allowed to tell their own stories. A more conversational approach was adopted with a total of six families (31 interviews) were carried out in Szeged and seven families (24 interviews) were carried out in Ilkley. Further details about the families and their households are displayed in table 3.1 and 3.2; how these interviews were broken down is outlined in Appendix 8.3.

Table 3.1 - Participants from Szeged, Hungary

| Family Name | Adult(s) | Children |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| Kovács | Anita Istavan | Patrick ^ |
| Batha | Helga Leon | Remo (2) |
| Grundel | Rita Peter | Elizabet (10) Otto (8) |
| Kis | June Kurt Kurt's Mother | Four Boys (19-15) One Girl (15) Boy's girlfriends |
| Gosh | Jenci Aurelia | Gitta (40) |
| Aper | Borka | Klara Miriam |

^ - Patrick has his own flat but eats nearly every night with his mother

Table 3.2 – Participants from Ilkley, UK

| Family Name | Adult(s) | Children |
|-------------|------------------|--|
| Burn | Amanda Chris | Jess(10), George (7), Henry (4) |
| Buxton | Vicky Jeremy | Grant(10), Jasmine (9) |
| Davis | Karen Harry | Tom (15), Karen (13) |
| Chase | Bethany Simon | Lulu (16), Mary (13), Gregory (11) |
| Lee | Zoe John | Stephen (18), Jo (16) |
| Bishop | Renee Jack | One daughter and two sons* |
| Wright | Lisa Tony | |

(* - their children do not live at home, but live locally with their own children)

While I deal with the issues of using translated material later in this chapter, I would like to explore how the diary-interviews were being carried out in Hungary as it was slightly different from the way that it was implemented in the UK. In Szeged (Hungary), although the structure of the series of interviews and writing of the dairies were translated and used in this location, the data that this method generated in this location was however different. To begin with we trained the Research Assistant how to carry out interviews. As part of this ongoing training, when the Research Assistant had carried out all the interviews and had translated them, she would then email me a copy. I read the transcripts before the next interview took place. The Hungarian interviewers were different in style, often being short or even vaguely aggressive in tone. After talking with the Research Assistant it became apparent that although she had a strong relationship with these participants, the participants felt that the questions were patronising, in spite of it being explained to them that the people in the UK were being asked the same questions. This meant that while I was in Hungary I tried to be present for the third interview in order to explain to them that I was genuine and I really did want to know every detail, however boring they may have considered it, about their everyday lives.

Overall one particular criticism of the diary is that because of its reflexive nature as a practice, often it may change people's habits (Johnson and Bytheway 2001). However, using interviews

enabled this methodological issue to be drawn out and examined. As part of the second interview, participants were asked to reflect upon how, if at all, writing the diary had impacted upon their eating habits: often the participants reflected, as [Pat] did, "... I was hoping it was going to stop me eating so much but it hasn't [laughs.]" (field diary November 2006) Participants often hoped that the diary would improve personal eating habits but more often than not it was a secondary thought after eating, rather than the primary motivator.

3.3.3 Participant Observation

As the aim of this research was to look at household members' practices within the family, participant observation was an appropriate method to use when researching something that was potentially obscured from view (Jorgensen 1989:12). In using this method it provided an assessment from the standpoint of the insider (Spradley 1980) and placed everyday life first (Jorgensen 1989:15). Participant observation acknowledges mutual influence; the analyst observes, but is also an unwitting participant. As a result of this reactivity, bias may be generated through expectations related to both the researcher and the participant. Furthermore, the method's "in-depth nature inherently limits its use to a small number of participants, reducing the representativeness of its findings" (Plummer et al. 2006:31). While these are valid critiques, the method ensures concepts are not predefined by way of existing hypotheses or theories that allow practices and their meanings to be observed more readily.

Participant observation was a continual process which took place within five Hungarian and three UK family homes; this occurred when it was convenient for them and varied as to the time of day, which meant that different members of the household were available at various times. The majority of the observations took place late afternoon or early evening. I kept detailed notes of the experience afterwards and my reflections on leaving the household. Notes were retained in a layered process by: (i) locating the study by description and layout of areas to which access was allowed, (ii) describing other interactions in the settings, such as the practices that took place, (iii) my own participation within the setting, describing my involvement with the people and the household, (iv) reflections on the research process, i.e. the method that had been chosen to capture the research, and (v) self-reflections, for example what effect my own feelings and attitudes had on the day when data

was collected. By using this layered process as others have done in geography – for instance Crang (1994) in observing the interactions in a restaurant, and Parr (2000) in exploring semi-institutional space – detailed notes were collected.

The focus of my research, in respect of participant observation, was concentrated in the late afternoon and evening with the family in their home. Although dinner time might be seen to be an important time to observe; compared to breakfast or lunchtime, and is the time when often the moral discourse around family meals is situated, (see media interest and the seeming institutionalisation of the evening meal as seen in research carried out by Anne Murrcott 1982, 1992), the times were often negotiated by participants which meant that these encounters felt less structured and informal.

As part of carrying out participant observation I kept a field diary which was used purely as a reflective tool. Much has been made of the reflexive practices of the researcher (Haraway 1991, McDowell 1992) for examples of writing 'self' into the research (see Shurmer-Smith 1991). This involved a more exploratory approach to what was happening emotionally and how this interacted with the research. Notes, such as those detailed below, were taken throughout every aspect of the research and their relevance to the research explored.

“Feeling very home sick today spending the evening with Anita and her family has made me think about how I internalise and observe family life around me, and how engrossing it can be. To what extent do other family members do what I do – watch and wait, is my focus always directed towards the active participants rather than the quieter more reflective family members. Listening to the silences. It feels like that at the moment, I want to be here but I want to be with my step brother who who, arriving back from Afghanistan had been admitted to a Birmingham hospital today... Mum says there is nothing that I can do, as they are only letting two people sit with him at any time. I feel distant from my own family and feel uneasy watching someone else's. It is interesting the kinship ties that are built over life and the sphere of protection that we want to build around the ones with whom we feel some kind of connection. The different aspects of daily lives that influence us to want to protect one another e.g. from the dangerous properties of a piece of food that has gone off or out of date there is a material incitement and a judgement made without the other person being completely aware of how something is being enacted. Active moment or a silent one.”

This extract is of a particular time where my own personal reflections on what I was experiencing with my own family have bled into my personal research experience. This meant that there were four diaries of about two hundred pages each. No one works in isolation and there are events that ground me and my ability to reflect and interact with these experiences which were vital in acknowledging my own thoughts and, yet, remaining critical of them (Haraway 1991).

3.3.4 General Description of Analysis

This section deals with the way that the materials were analysed and used. Although the process of analysis in this project was not a one off coding experience, as with many other research projects, the analysis was continuous and informed the ongoing generation of research materials (Stake 1995:71). In addition the analysis of materials involved “the manipulation and orchestration of a range of materials that occur in a specific place”. (Crang 2003: 128). This section seeks to specifically highlight the key issues surrounding the analysis of the interview-diaries, the participant observation, and the field diary.

All the interviews were recorded and transcribed and the Hungarian interviews were then translated. The first part of the analysis occurred when the data was gathered in light of the first two interviews and the diary. Each person on the project had an opportunity at that stage to reflect upon whether there was anything else that they would like to be asked in the third interview. This happened in both case studies and was further explored when I carried out observations of families in their own homes. Although it is acknowledged that there is a difference between talk and practice due to the reflective nature of talking, the interview questions were often about discussing in detail what people did, rather than what they thought of what they did; the difference between talk and ‘natural’ material should not be overstated (Peräkylä 2005).

The materials were dealt with, firstly, on an individual level, and then brought together to a family level. As a consequence of looking at specific practices across families a ‘grounded theory’ approach was adopted (Crang 2003, Strauss 1987, Struass and Corbin 1997). Firstly the material was continually being read and reread, to familiarise oneself with the families. The materials were

collectively analysed to identify contradictions and confirmations across all family members, both in terms of what they say they do, and in terms of what they actually did. This meant that the interviews and the research diary were coded, and themes were developed as a result. This was done to try and keep together activities and practices, to reinforce a whole story rather than selective parts (Miller and Glass 2004). However this thesis is not representing the whole story, as it is only a partial picture, because it does not explore all the ways in which the parents display family, as the interviews were mainly carried out with adults and not the children. Rather, the aim was to highlight some of the practices that were used to display the family through everyday food activities.

I draw out some of the more subtle differences between Ilkley and Szeged, and the main differences have been referred to in other published work (see Blake et al. 2009). This meant that each social practice highlighted how different actions were bundled together and seemingly dissimilar actions are brought together to form the same social practice. In other words, from reading and re-reading the transcripts and manually coding them, there were themes that were occurring in each case study. During this process, a certain notion came to the surface, which was that although there were different tasks or actions involved, the same social practices were often being enacted. These different actions were coded to relate to particular social practices until nine themes or social practices emerged. These nine themes developed into section headings in each of the three chapters. To begin with, an attempt was made to draw several people together, however, writing often meant that the actions became meaningless without the social practice context. The social practice context felt meaningless without the action. This meant changing the way that the chapters were written to enable a more embedded discussion on the social practices in the round. The aim was to retain the focus on the everyday activities carried out and give the reader enough context in which to see the actions as connections rather than stand alone activities. Each theme/social practice would have an exemplar family, which effectively personified and illustrated the nuances of that practice, and then other families are drawn upon to further highlight significant points. In this regard each of the chapter headings refers to where these social practices might be located.

3.4 Situated Knowledge, Reflexivity and Power

3.4.1 Research Project

This doctoral research project was part of the wider inter-disciplinary programme called 'Changing Families, Changing Food', funded by the Leverhulme Trust. The Changing Families, Changing Food programme was organised into three research strands on: pregnancy and motherhood; childhood and family life; and family and community. Each of these research strands had at least three projects and there were a total of around 38 people working on the programme by the time it had finished in October 2008. The focus of this research programme was to take food as a lens through which to observe recent changes in family life in the UK and Hungary. The focus was on contemporary Britain, and included the establishment of a 'time-line' regarding the quantitative and qualitative nature of social changes affecting families and food over the last century, as well as the programme also including two international comparisons. One of these was a project called 'Feeding the Family: UK and Hungary', the project in which I was involved.

This project was co-ordinated by Dr. Megan Blake, who was also my main supervisor. The overall aim of the Feeding the Family project was to examine 'the practices and expectations of families in different institutional structures'⁴ with the aim of understanding 'family structures and food practices' and draw conclusions about the links that are made between food, the decline in family cohesion, and the increased awareness of food related health risks. This doctoral research was a primary output of this project, and is where the data from both locations was brought together. There have been other outputs but these primarily focused on the UK (Mellor et al. 2009, Blake et al. 2010). There was also a programme which juxtaposed one Hungarian and one UK family to consider the role of time-space of family, in relation to how an individual approached meal times throughout the day (Blake et al. 2009).

Consequently there are also overlaps and distinctions between the methods used at each stage of the project. The overlaps with the larger project were in the methods used and the material produced. With regard to methods, the larger project drew on oral histories and the diary-interviews.

⁴ Web 1 - <http://www.shef.ac.uk/familiesandfood/projects/feedingthefamily.html> (Accessed 19/05/09)

My project uses the diary-interviews to examine the individuals from the project and then added to it participant observation in order to understand the intersections between individuals that make up family behaviour. The generation of data and records used within this research included other investigators – Dr. Megan Blake, and two research assistants, Dr. Jody Mellor and Brigitta Ósz, working in the UK and Hungary respectively. Dr Jody Mellor, who was based in the UK, worked only for the wider project and her only involvement in my research project was to transcribe the interviews. This differed from the involvement of Brigitta Ósz, in Hungary. She was responsible for recruiting and carrying out all of the semi-structured interviews and, thereafter, translating them into Hungarian. She was trained by Megan Blake and myself in who to select, and how to carry out the semi-structured interviews. In addition to this she was responsible for liaising with the families that I would meet for the first time. All of this was essential as I am not a native Hungarian speaker and could not have carried out the interviews in such a conversational manner and established enough interaction with participants without having the barrier of a third party (Twyman et al 1999). This meant that Brigitta was available as a native Hungarian when I had questions about the language and cultural norms, not only while I was carrying out my field work, but also whilst writing up the data. Brigitta was always on hand to review my interpretation of events and interviews, and she often spoke up if she felt I misinterpreted something. As well as the interviews in Szeged being carried out a third party, the interviews in Ilkley were undertaken by Dr Megan Blake and myself.

Both of the other interviewers were often more familiar with the participants and had insights into the families. Their involvement served to enhance my own understanding of the individuals that were being interviewed. Both of the other interviewers were open to discussions about their interviewee, in terms of the setting of the interview as well as the larger context of the family. These conversations gave invaluable insight into the participants. In addition, both Megan and Brigitta were privy to the writing of this thesis and often would question any misinterpretations. When working with secondary data one is often denied access to such dialogue.

3.4.2 Working in Foreign Places

Working in unfamiliar places is not an uncommon occurrence within geography and, more widely, social science. Work that attempts to go beyond the domain of the English language is challenging, however, it is increasingly being seen as vital to challenge the dominance of Anglo-Americanisation of academic writing and conferences, both in terms of communication and subject matter (Helm et al 2005). Recently geographers have begun to discuss what it is like to try and learn a new language whilst doing research (Watson 2003). Watson (2003) specifically draws attention to how being silent in a situation can be both unnerving and reduce you to a childlike state, which is both humbling and insightful. Although I am not a native Hungarian speaker, I learnt some basic Hungarian, enough to buy bread and understand more and more of what was going on around me by attending a month long intensive language course in Hungary. I lived in Hungary for a total of three consecutive months, and visited Szeged on a number of other occasions. Before living in Hungary the project had already recruited a Hungarian translator, and we had built up a relationship over a period of time having established strong communication links. This helped me to be able to ask her questions, in particular, regarding the translations (see Crane et al. 2009 and section 3.4.3) and to learn more about my surroundings as well as absorbing day-to-day activities in Szeged. This not only occurred through questioning people and the research assistant, but also by reflecting on the research data captured within a research diary.

3.4.3 Translation

As part of the analysis it is important to note the role undertaken by translation. The approach was not only embedded within literature on translation, but it also adopted a wider social and cultural approach to help understand different cultural contexts (Best 2003). Translation using a translator allowed time and space for questions, which led to an increased understanding, and although at times using a translator was limiting, conversely it meant that arresting spaces – similar to those spaces that Smith (1996) calls hybrid spaces – were created and new meanings were fashioned in both cultural contexts. Often in transnational research the role of the translator in negotiating different situations is acknowledged. Twyman et al. (1999) discusses how the translator, in the context of simultaneous

translations, may explain words as something slightly different when listening back to the recordings away from the pressure of an interview situation. The nuances in each other's languages meant that the same words often had slightly different meanings. In this case, it was when reviewing the translations with the translator that she often revealed her own dissatisfaction with the choices she made in her instinctive written translation. This process highlighted these small discrepancies, which were often passable translations, enough for the basic meaning to be understood, but which also often glossed over the intended meaning of the interviewee.

Throughout this process there were many examples of this. I have chosen one that seems to be most appropriate. This is an extract from one of our interviews:

I try to buy it somewhere else, yes. Because it is scary...Well, meat... I don't like to buy meat in the Tesco, as I am not really satisfied with it. That means, if I have the opportunity, and I do a bigger meat-shopping, then – well, the other day I was ~~suseptible~~ inclined to go to the butcher's in Szamos street, as I trust in butchers more than in the meat counter at the hypermarkets.

In this example the word 'susceptible' is the direct translation in accordance with the dictionary, but when the meaning of the word was further examined, this translation was not what the translator believed was being expressed. The word 'susceptible' may lead the reader to believe that the interviewee feels that she is being tricked into going to the butchers. However the word 'inclined' was used as an alternative definition, and one that does not hint that the interviewee feels that she has lost control. This word was used because it best reflected the way in which the interviewee saw this process through the eyes of the translator. It is not that this was a mistranslation or a bad translation, but it did not best reflect the full, limited, or intended meaning of the word in this case. It also added another perceived meaning into the mix.

As the interviews were spoken, everyday language was used, presenting an interesting interplay between current cultural contexts in both languages. Often the translator (the research assistant) would say to me, 'but you don't have a word for this in English'. This was true. It is often difficult to keep the exact translations of each word, and compromises, inevitably, had to be made in order for it to be comprehensible and relevant. We would however find that often it was more than this; it was frequently because the words were 'slang' or vernacular. These words were culturally and contextually specific; their meaning would change over time, so what is 'cool' now, tomorrow

might be 'phat'. We decided to do our best to keep to the informal way in which these words were being said to maintain their meaning. This brought to light an interesting use of language that would not have been used by English speaking people. For example the word 'grubs' was used instead of 'meal'. 'Meal' was too formal for the context, and it set the wrong tone for what participants were trying to depict, which was somewhere in between what they saw as a meal and a snack. This identified an interesting area in which the data could then be analysed. In acknowledging and discussing the way in which slang or alternative meanings of words can play an important part in looking at intercultural settings, the meaning of language can become arresting and cause moments of contemplation for the researcher.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to draw a line through the various stages of the research process; firstly the thought process surrounding researching, secondly, being in the 'field', and finally the analysis and write-up. This chapter has been structured in this way, but with an awareness that just like the social practices discussed in this thesis, these sections are not isolated or independent from each other. The aim of this chapter is to highlight what and how this research was carried out, and to position it in relation to the locations and people chosen as well as the wider theoretical endeavour, highlighting how families are practiced and displayed.

Chapter 4 – Provisioning

This chapter explores the activities that contribute towards provisioning for the family and how these are arranged to create particular practices. Provisioning involves an engagement of household members at a variety of levels (Clarke et al. 2006, DeVault 1991, Jackson et al. 2006, Miller 1998). Individuals contribute to activities through their own doings and sayings that are appropriate and make sense for them to do, creating different activities that when arranged and organised, make sense of the wider teleoaffective structure with which they are involved (Schatzki 1996, 2002). The aim of this chapter is to draw attention to the activities that are carried out in relation to provisioning, and how the arrangement of these particular provisioning activities can mould these into individuals into a family.

This chapter explores how provisioning is part of parental practices. Firstly, the chapter deals with monitoring; how it is used as a tool by parents to monitor and reflect on the world around them and for their children, filling their need or impulse to care for their children (DeVault 1991). Secondly, this chapter considers the practice of mediating that occurs in families. Mediating is occurs when one activity is allowed to take place, in spite of parental disapproval, because of another practice, that is perceived by the parent to be beneficial to the child or young person, take place instead. Thirdly, the chapter investigates the practice of adapting, showing how families, in particular parents, adapt their own behaviour and activities. For instance, in relation to parents placing the needs of their children before their own needs, parents will often change their own daily routine. This can sometimes mean that in meeting the needs of the children, neither party will be satisfied (Forbre 2001: 38). All of these practices are about how the parent is a reflexive actant within a network of connections with things, ideas, and time-space that recognise the subject as a knowledgeable and skilled actant (Dyck 1990, Giddens 1991, Shove et al. 2007). There are other practices that occur in provisioning, however, these particular practices – monitoring, adapting and mediating – were dominant in all of the families that participated in this research. Finally, this chapter shows how the

provisioning of food for families involves more than just doing the shopping or growing some vegetables.

It is important to recognise that by examining the motivations behind these activities we must actively engage with them as a practice. To engage with a practice there must be an examination of the wider teleoaffective structure, specifically in relation to connections of time-space, things, and emotions. The reason for exploring the practice in relation to the wider teleoaffective structure is so that a fuller, more adequate answer may emerge as to why parents do what they do. For instance, the practice of monitoring can be examined in relation to these specific activities instigated both by the end state, teleology, and the recognition/realisation of the current state and affectivity. If the idea of a teleoaffective structure is taken seriously it means that the reasons behind why activities make sense for an individual to carry them out, is that they are prepared, acted on and that they obtain things that matter (Schatzki 2001). To begin to unravel the meaning of the practice means to maintain its strength in embodied meaning (Shrove et al 2007); therefore I will seek to maintain the integrity of the activity by giving thick descriptions of each activity followed by a more detailed analysis. Throughout this section, reference will be made to the different ways in which individuals are compelled to do activities that indicate that particular practices are taking place to position the individuals as parents.

4.1 Monitoring

4.1.1 The Social practice of Monitoring in the Family

Monitoring has long been seen as a practice that is carried out by parents. Parents, particularly middle class parents, seek out and pay attention to information about their children, such as a child's academic development by reading school reports. DeVault (1991) draws on the word monitoring to explore the ways in which parents care for their children. She sees monitoring as being achieved through a variety of activities, such as families having meals together. Having "family meals" is seen to achieve a variety of practices by parents, however, specifically in relation to monitoring, the family meal is seen as a way to monitor children's manners and tastes (DeVault 1991: 71). These activities are identified through the responses or adjustments made by parents to

what they find in relation to the monitoring in which they are involved. This section seeks to show how the practice of monitoring is displayed through activities, other than during the family meal. Monitoring has often been identified through a parent's response to specific actions; however, monitoring still has particular activities that enable it to take place. The following two sections outline how the practice of monitoring takes place in the families researched into as part of this study.

They aim to show how families that took part in the study are involved in the practice of monitoring. The practice of monitoring is created through the arrangement of activities which are shaped through particular doings and sayings. Different activities, such as making a chart for the freezer, involve: things (a magnetic board, a pen, a freezer, for example); emotional labour (engagement of the person in the activity of making edible meals for others in the household); and space-time (the family's routine). They start, however, with a perceived need for the practice of monitoring to take place. Therefore, by carrying out doings and sayings in specific ways, individuals are involved in situating themselves as part of the family. These sections draw on all expressions of the practice of monitoring, but specifically highlight how a sense of parental monitoring is created through things, time-space, and emotional labour. These sections therefore draw on, to begin with, one exemplar family in order to explore in detail, through their own doings and sayings, the activities that they carry out in relation to the daily food activities that are seen to be arranged to create a wider sense of monitoring.

4.1.2 Szeged

This section draws on the Kovács family's monitoring practice. There are many families in Szeged involved in activities that when arranged, create the practice of monitoring. The Kovács family, however, draw together many of the issues that are prevalent in other families as well as some that are unique to them. In order to explore the practice of monitoring, this section draws both on the wider context in which their activities are positioned, as well as the Kovács' actions as observed and talked about with them. This will begin with the wider context of Hungary dealing with the larger macro changes that have occurred in recent years, and will then continue to look at the more micro, household level. These activities, only initially described as activities, occur, however, later in the

section where each of the activities will be viewed to examine the involvement of things, time-spaces and emotional labour.

Hungary has undergone a number of changes in the last two decades that have affected the way that households consume products. These changes have affected a number of areas of state governance, such as state welfare (Fordor 2001) and the supply of food products (Roe et al 2006). Changes that have occurred in relation to the food chain in the last decade were largely instigated by the need for reform in order for Hungary to achieve accession to the European Union – which it achieved in 2004. One of these modifications has been the change that was brought into law in 2000; the requirement for all food to be stamped with a ‘used by’ date. The introduction of a date stamp can be seen to have had a considerable impact on the way in which food is provisioned.

The introduction of government legislation, such as date stamping, has influenced provisioning behaviour within the family. The use of use-by-dates, which tells consumers the minimum length of time that they can expect a product to last, has not been completely successful. The main problem has been in supermarkets where they often sold out of date meat. The selling of out of date products became so prevalent that it was given the popular term *étel Csalás* – ‘food fraud’ (Délmagyarország 26/01/07, 26/03/07, 10/06/08). Supermarkets had not actively engaged with the need to monitor products that were date stamped; large fines were issued to these supermarkets and extensive media coverage was given to these instances in order to reassure the public that these cases were taken seriously and continually monitored. Both the supermarkets and the government have subsequently sought to create an environment of trust for the consumer.

The issues that surround food fraud are affecting the way in which not only supermarkets conduct themselves, but how consumers changed their behaviour as well. When meeting with families we discussed food fraud and how much they trusted supermarkets. Mothers in particular, reported that the responsibility to monitor whether the meat was out of date before buying it, rested with the supermarket, and not the consumer. After the product was bought, it was then thought up to the individual to evaluate whether the product was safe. In these discussions parents often noted that they had little idea of this before the change in legislation, but were glad that these issues were being checked and talked about openly. Butchers shops were often trusted more than supermarkets in

Szeged. This became evident after interviewing a number of people in the city who visited these butchers, and after buying meat for myself over a three-month period. Supermarkets are, however, still used and increasingly trusted by Hungarian consumers. They have seen profits rise substantially in the last decade, even though it would appear that families prefer to use butchers. People doing the provisioning in supermarkets argued that it was because of the saving that can be made in time, energy, and money that they continue to shop there. Perhaps in addition to these perceived benefits, it is the changes to the monitoring of foodstuff that have been introduced and are now being carried out by supermarkets, that means the Hungarian consumer is more content with the supermarket as a place to provision for their households. That is to say, that those who would in the past only have bought meat from what they would term 'trustworthy people', such as a family butcher, now have something other than a friendly face to rely on – the date-stamp.

Since the collapse of the communist regime in the late 1980s and Hungary's accession to the European Union, many changes have taken place that has changed daily life. For instance, the Kovác family, Anita and Istavan, have been able to buy their panel flat on the outskirts of Szeged, from which they can watch the surrounding area. The first time that I met with Anita and Istavan they both showed me around their flat, sharing their pride and the setbacks that they faced in owning their own flat; replacing the windows, for instance, so that they co-ordinated with the other flat owners. This is a new experience for the couple, and they took considerable pleasure in showing me around their home and the improvements that they have made in comparison with the other blocks of flats and nearby flats that have not carried out the same improvements. As we gaze out of the beautiful, newly fitted windows, we can see the block of flats that surrounded their block. These blocks of flats have small shops at ground level including a butcher, baker and a small CBA store that sells milk, flour, cream cheese, and other basics. As we discuss the changes that have taken place in the area since they have bought their property, I discover that new hypermarkets have been built, a big Tesco store, and a large CBA store.

Even though Anita and Istavan are surrounded by small local shops they still take a bus to the Márs Market, even though they think it is expensive. The couple visit the market every Saturday, when they are not visiting Anita's daughter in Budapest, to buy the majority of their fruit and

vegetables. Márs Market is a small bustling market divided into two distinct areas, one designated for food, and the other non-food stuffs. The food side is full of stalls that are largely owned by owners of small holdings, both from Szeged and the outlying area: there is no imported produce. Although the couple visit the market every Saturday, Antia sometimes likes to visit on her own during the week to have time shopping without the watchful gaze of Istavan. She describes it as a skilled activity that requires her full attention.

“...at the market if I don't like it [particular produce], then I go further, and then I look at it at the other one, what it looks like there. And if it's good, and even at a fair price, then I buy it. Thus, there, there I go two or three sellers further, and then the same things are associated there...”

It is Anita's careful gaze and monitoring of different stalls that allows her to make a judgment on what is a good price to pay for the particular 'fresh' quality that she wants. It is not only the extra money that they might spend, but also the extra time that it takes to make the journey to the market. The fresher quality of fruit and vegetables that they get at the market are seen by the couple to be worth the bus ride, away from the small shops around their flat, and the supermarkets that are nearby.

There are other activities that are involved in choosing produce from the market. One of these involves monitoring for foods which have the potential to degrade, in particular fruit and vegetables. Anita uses the social practice of monitoring to maintain her household's supply of fruit and vegetables. “...I'd rather give more money for it, than buy cheaper, what bit of rubbish is...and then I throw out half of it here home. Say, grapes...and then rotten grapes on it...that can be eaten to the last grape.” Here, Anita makes a decision between the potential of the grapes to be thrown away because they will perish too quickly, and the monetary price of the grapes to the household. This is a decision she has to make and something that she speaks about from experience. It is important that Anita knows that there is the potential for her to be able to eat “to the last grape” before the mouldy grapes will have to be put into the bin. For Anita, who is often responsible for provisioning food for the household, it is her judgement that is required; her judgement of knowing what grapes will last because this will mean she can achieve more value from the grapes. In turn, this involves Anita in the practice of monitoring by carrying out activities such as watching and keeping a record of how long other grapes have lasted previously, and how quickly they have been eaten in the past.

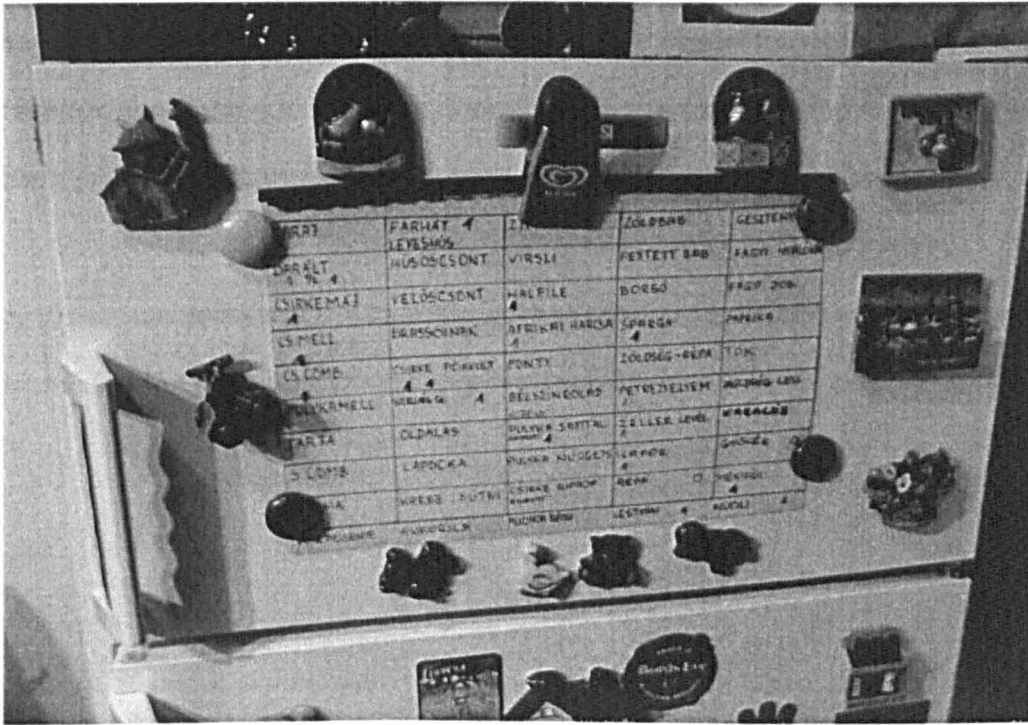


Fig. 4.1 - Kovács' Freezer

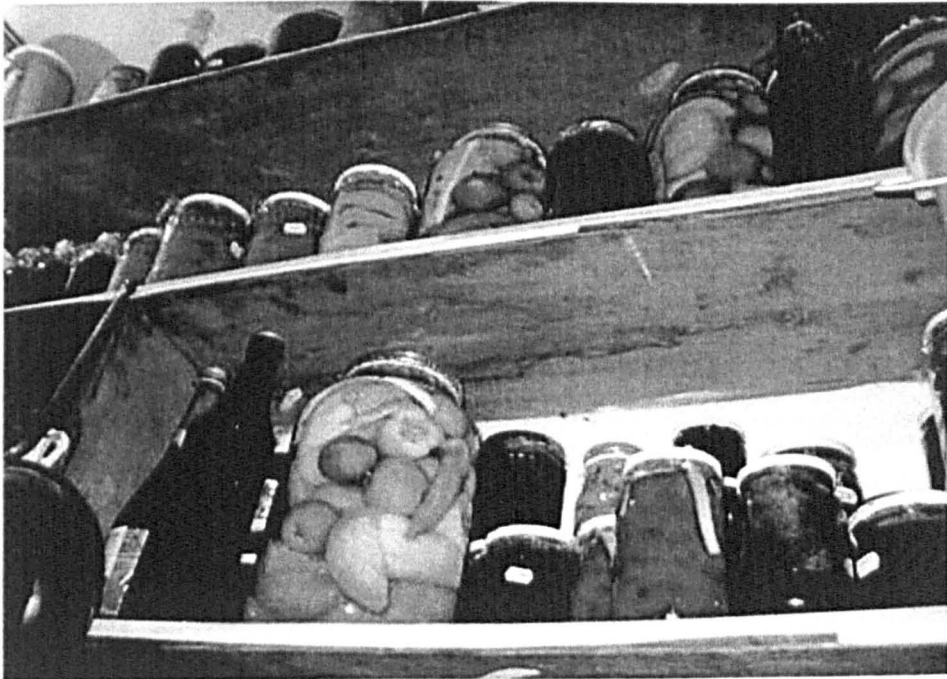


Fig. 4.2- The Gosh Families Pickle and Preserves

Fruit and vegetables are not the only food product that Anita monitors. For the Kovács household, like many families in Szeged, bread is an important part of their daily diet. Both Anita and Istavan have it as an accompaniment to breakfast or with soup that is their first course nearly every lunchtime. Practically each day one member of the household will visit the local shop near to their flat; like most small stores this shop sells freshly baked loaves, and bread that can be bought by the slice. “We [prefer] rather the brown, well, I like when, when bread is very tasty, fresh, warm, (laughs), then I usually buy from that, but not much, only a half kilo, since it dries on us.” As Anita says, in order to preserve the quality and value of the bread she needs to buy bread in this way so that they do not waste the bread and the money that bought the bread. The amount that they need is “only a half kilo” but this requires constant monitoring so there can be little that goes to waste. Anita often uses the stale bread to make bread crumbs in order to cover leftover cooked meat, and fry the meat and bread so it will not be wasted. However, Istavan will not eat meat that is cooked in this way so she has little use for stale bread in her cooking in comparison to other households in Szeged. Therefore there is even more need for Anita to monitor the amount of bread in the household in order not to throw anything away.

One way to ensure there is little waste of food is by pickling and preserving fruits or vegetables for another time, an activity that is highly favoured in Szeged. Anita and Istavan have no relatives or friends that have land upon which they can grow produce, unlike many other families in this case study who received free food from relatives. However in spite of this, when particular vegetables such as paprika and cucumbers are at the right price they do occasionally buy them in bulk to pickle, but space in their flat is limited. They tell me when having dinner one evening that it does not make sense to go to the effort of pickling their own, if it is going to cost more in time and money. There are other families however such as the Gosh family who have dedicated a part of their outbuildings to the practice of pickling and preserving, and a room in the house to store them. The Gosh family do however have the majority of their half an acre of garden devoted to the production of fruit, vegetables, and chickens. There are other families such as the Bathas, that have a ready supply of preserved fruits and vegetables from their parents, who own a smallholding and have a market stall themselves. There are however problems with preserving, as stated by Anita, “...if you preserve...

And then, if it doesn't last after all, then you've just thrown away the money..." The couple have a careful process of laying out the gherkin cucumbers to dry and then cooking them in white wine vinegar, garlic, and salt. The cucumbers progress in this process is watched with anticipation. Anita describes how they take over every room in their house and how they lay them on their new windowsills to maximise their potential.

Marking and monitoring the progress of foodstuff in the Kovács household, such as pickled cucumbers and meat, is an important part of their daily routine. Depicted above is the couple's freezer, which is encountered in the hall way. Attached to their freezer door is a sheet of paper that marks out places that they have visited and things that they have bought, as other households (see Watt 2005); however they also chart notes of what they have in their freezer at any one time. Anita describes the process that she goes through when she is putting food in the freezer, mainly meat, but there is other foodstuff that is charted besides that of meat.

"...generally I do put them into a plastic bag, and then I shove a little extra slip in, then I do it up in another bag, and then I write on what, what kind of meat it is. Because how the hell can I remember now, in what, say, pork loin or that meat which if frozen you cannot tell what is like has been put; and then I plus write on it as well, what is inside. "

The couple monitor quite distinctly that there are many ways in which one must watch the contents of hidden spaces. Especially when you are unsure of what type of meat you will end up with as a result. Although not perhaps in this way, many of the participants in Szeged measured the contents of cupboards or freezers to make sure that food was being moved through these spaces. The Gosh family had a particular way that they stacked their jars of pickles and preserves, so that the older ones were eaten first and the younger jars had time to mature, but also to monitor their progress and to dispatch problems jars.

Although the couple live on their own Anita's son comes over late lunch time or early evening to have a meal. They joke with Sofia and I that they need to find him a wife. Anita protests at Istavan's comments but also agrees with Istavan.

Anita: No. He's got keys and then he comes; if we aren't at home, then he comes in, then, if we know we'd leave for a great deal of time or for a longer period, then I usually put out the grub there, in order to well, here, here it is, you are allowed to eat from that.

Istavan: Well, we are about to get him a wife, aren't we?

Sofia: ... take part...?

A: Take part in what? In baking and cooking?

S: Well, any... yes, or in...

A: He doesn't.

S: ... or in such washing-up, in laying the table in anything.

A: Who?

A: Patrick. He doesn't.

I: Doesn't (inaudible) "Drink!" and then...

A: Laughs.

I: ... and then Mum runs, that "do you want this, do you want that, or another ... ah... ooooh.

Despite Istavan's objections to the fact that Anita's son is still coming to have a late lunch with them, and Anita feeding him even if they are not home, he still comes and Anita still fusses over him, as Istavan describes in the above quote. It is her need to monitor him even though he is a grown child, to check whether he is eating and taking care of himself, as he does not have any other female to look after him. The meal times in households were often moments in some parent's, particularly mothers, daily routine to check and monitor their children's physical and mental well-being.

These discussions have in part shown how and why particular activities are carried out when provisioning food for the family enables the display of the practice of monitoring. Developing insights into the practice of monitoring, it is necessary to consider how objects, time-space and emotions enact and react to the activities that are carried out by family members, parents in particular. The next section explores similar activities that occurred in relation to the other case study area – Ilkley, West Yorkshire.

4.1.3 Ilkley

There are many other families in this research from the area of Ilkley that could be used to examine the practicalities of the social practice of monitoring. However, the Burn's family narrative brings together a wider range of concerns than were seen in other families in the locality. The way that the family carry out the practice of monitoring will be illustrated by activities carried out in relation to the provisioning of food. At the end of this section, the way in which these characteristics can be seen in other families will be highlighted. To begin with however, the focus of the section will explore how the family attends to food in the context of their daily lives.

The Burn's household consists of Amanda and Chris who are married with three children, aged ten, seven, and four – Jess, George and Harry, one girl and two boys. Amanda and Chris are currently both employed outside of the house; Chris works three days away in London or Paris. This has meant that the couple have divided their childcare responsibilities in the week between each other, each having days when they are solely responsible for the children. Part of the care regime in this household is cooking the children their evening meal. This is a time when often one parent is not present, although during the time of this research the family sat and had breakfast together. Since being married Amanda has moved from being at home with the children and studying but still being mainly responsible for the provisioning of food in the household, to working outside of the household, and having less responsibility for the provisioning of food for the household. Relatively recently Chris has taken on more responsibility around the house, in particular in relation to childcare and food provisioning. Both Amanda and Chris, like others in the locality, are keen to reduce the amount they waste while still maintaining high levels of food quality for their family. Amanda is keen to grow her own fruit and vegetables and maintains a compost heap.

There have been many changes in Amanda and Chris' lives, but one thing that has not changed has been a ritual that started when they began living together, that of Friday night being "treat night". The family's treat night has taken on a variety of forms, sometimes it is shop bought and at other times it has been delivered; sometimes it is eaten together and other times it is had alone with a glass of red wine, but the constant is that the treat is always pizza. However, as Chris comments, recently the children are starting to expect this treat every Friday.

“...because Amanda and I have done it for years, had pizza on Friday night, then we’ve, we do it with the children and they have cottoned on to this and they now also like to have pizza on a Friday night, and they complain if they don’t get it.”

It is not only that the children are learning the rituals that take place in this family but also that they are monitoring their parents’ behaviour towards observing this ritual and commenting when they see something amiss. In turn both Amanda and Chris are monitoring their own children’s diet, not in terms of whether pizza is unhealthy or good for them, but monitoring their children’s expectations of what their Friday night diet might or might not be.

The symbolism of pizza on a Friday night is important to this family and household as it marks the end of the working week and the school week and the beginning of leisure time for the household. The meal is a way for them to mark out and monitor the time that passes in relation to the household. It is a time to be enjoyed in a way that suits the individual; for Amanda and Chris this can be individually with a glass of red wine, together without the children or with the children, depending on mood or what is practically possible. Amanda says when she is discussing how she chooses the pizza from Tesco’s;

“yeah by choice I buy Dr Oetker (a type of pizza). I like them because they are thin and crispy erm...and the children like them, they like the plain margarita, but theirs is a little bit different cos it has got tomato and mozzarella, it’s got little green bits on, it’s not mould. I don’t know whether it’s parsley or what it is, I don’t know. But they particularly like it and always go on about the green pizza, so we try and get that but they don’t always have it in.”

Amanda has spent time with her children and knows what they like, “thin and crispy”; when she goes on to describing how she chooses the pizza, increasingly her preferences become secondary to those of her children. At the end of the week the pizza acts as an acknowledgement that her children have worked hard and that is why the treat must be something they enjoy. The pizza is a way of displaying that Amanda has been watching them and their behaviour.

Besides the children’s behaviour being monitored by parents, objects are being monitored for their potential threat to the health and well-being of the family. The ‘Food Standards Agency’ in the

United Kingdom launched on the 9th June 2008, a campaign called ‘Germ Watch’, the sole purpose of which was to reduce the number of cases of food poisoning. The campaign claimed that on average 400 people die every year of food poisoning⁵, with a larger number of people experiencing milder symptoms. A parent wants to protect their children from experiencing any pain or discomfort.

When Amanda is choosing the pizza she also acknowledges that the “little green bits” on the pizza are “not mould” but are something else that is edible. The pizza is not only a symbol, it is a biological physical object that needs monitoring. In saying this, Amanda recognises the capacity of mouldy foods to inhabit the space of the pizza. This acknowledgement also indicates how “green” food must be examined carefully because this is the colour that could lead to it being interpreted as inedible and thereby contaminate the whole of the pizza. The intention to have a healthy diet is not just about eating nutritionally valuable foods. Food is seen not only as a source of providing life and extending it, but food is also a threat to life. Contamination calls into question the safety of food for human consumption because of its ability to make the body unwell. As is hinted in the above quote about Amada’s pizza having “green bits”, eating healthily is also about watching and monitoring food for possible contamination. The Burns’ family, like other families, have particular moments when they monitor the food produce in their house – vegetable and fruit are of particular concern and in need of close attention.

As a household they subscribe, like many of the other households in the Ilkley research group, to a local box scheme. There are a wide variety of reasons that the couple subscribe to this scheme, some of which are due in part to their specific interpretation of ‘local’ (Blake et al. 2010). Their subscription to this scheme is however more than the fact that produce is being supplied locally; both Amanda and Chris perceive the box as having the ability to bring them a healthy and varied diet. Amanda comments that “[the delivery] It’s good, it’s good, on the whole it’s really positive and it’s making us eat a wider variety of, cos we got into the habit of buying the same old vegetables every

⁵Food Standard Agency (press release ref:R1374) - <http://www.food.gov.uk/news/pressreleases/2008/jun/germwatch>

week.” She has watched what the content of the box contains and recognised that she has been moved from being disinterested to being actively engaged because of the different types of vegetables. The delivery brings a new set of vegetables directly to their door on a weekly basis, and there is often a rush to finish off the last of the vegetables before they have to put the empty box on their front door step. As Amanda says, “I like it but I do find sometimes we’ve got to the end of the week, ‘oh no we’ve still got half the box left, there’s another delivery tomorrow. Quick we need to make a large vegetable stir fry up!’ so we end up having a slightly odd meal in an effort to use up all the veg...” The whole family is involved in subscribing to this ‘odd meal’ and they are all party to the notion that the food, in particular fruit and vegetables, need to be watched. Although this family is relatively comfortable in financial terms and can afford to have a box delivered, food should still not be wasted. Where Amanda’s account is about the whole family, Chris depicts how he chooses to cook on a nightly basis.

“What would I do? Really basically I would look in the fridge, look in the cupboard and think ‘what shall I make?’ Actually I would also check the fruit and veg boxes and see what needs eating up. There is definitely an element of stuff that is about to go off, so it is not always completely free choices, it is a lot guided by we’ve got to eat this by this date or these fruits and veg will be off in a couple of days so we have to use those now.”

Although Chris and Amanda’s cooking styles are different – Chris does not follow a recipe whereas Amanda does – they both monitor what is in the fridge and in the cupboards.

Amanda and Chris actively encourage each other and their children to have, what each other would perceive, as a healthy life style. An activity such as Amanda encouraging Chris to drink more water at work, are suggestions that the couple make to each other, but they both focus their attention on their children. While they both watch the transformation of produce from ‘edible’ to ‘inedible’, this is different for the children. Although each of their children “...They would probably eat an apple with a bruise in but they would carefully eat around the bruised bitand only if there is no other unbruised apple in the basket.” The point at which a piece of fruit will become inedible for their children varies from child to child, “The worst one is Jess actually, George is not so bad. Harry wouldn’t really know anyway, he’d just eat it if we gave it to him. Jess won’t eat anything...if it’s a grape with a slight blemish on it (no way)”. Whereas Amanda perceives herself to be more tolerant and able to deal with the inedible food; “Well it depends how mouldy, I mean if it just looks

bleuggghhhh it goes on the compost heap. If it is just a little bruised, or a corner or whatever, and the rest is fine then I'll probably eat it." Amanda and Chris, as parents, display how well they know their children through their discussions of their children's experiences and expectations in relation to the different stages of edibility. Through these moments of watching, taking note, and recording children's reaction to foodstuffs, edibility shows a variety of issues of knowledge and control over their diet.

For Amanda it is not just fruit and vegetables that are watched, different foodstuff requires different types of monitoring to decide whether they are edible. "Meat, I'd go a day over with, depending on what it is and how it looks and smells. Stuff like yoghurts I'll quite happily eat weeks after...if it's not exploding out of the pot it's fine...": in saying this Amanda acknowledges that she shows her knowledge of when food is ready to be eaten. Amanda sees it as her duty to know when something is safe to eat, not only to maintain her own health, but to protect her children from the potential harm that this food could bring. The watching of foodstuff and continuous monitoring of what is needed or wanted means that the couple go to the supermarket sometimes twice a week and at other times there is no need to go in three weeks. Amanda not only uses this knowledge to keep harm from her children, but in addition, this knowledge means she can save money and resources for the family.

The above illustrations show how and in some cases why, particular activities are carried out when provisioning food for the family, in particular enabling parents to display the practice of monitoring. Both of the above sections create an insight into the practice of monitoring, and it is clear that there is a need to develop a more nuanced view of objects, time-space, and emotions. The following subsection draws on the examples from Szeged and Ilkley to compare and contrast the different locations and to seek to expand upon the importance of objects, time-space and emotions in relation to the practice of monitoring.

4.1.4 Points of Comparison

The two case studies that are represented here through their doings and sayings involve people in displaying the practice of monitoring, and in doing so, positioning themselves as parents.

The act of provisioning involves a number of activities, such as watching, recording, and reassessing a course of action. These activities are created through time-space (being at markets, going around shops), objects (fruit, vegetables, bread, pizza, and date-stamps) and emotions (caring for others, and creating understandings of household systems that work for others in the household). These parts of practices enable monitoring practice to take place in a specific way, which in turn, highlights levels of engagement that parents experience to ensure that their children are provisioned for. This section seeks to provide further elucidation on points that have been previously made, but also drawing on previous interpretations of objects, time-space and emotions to further develop points of comparison between the two case-studies.

Drawing on Schatzki's (2002) notion of teleoaffective structure alongside Forbre's (2002) conceptualisation of emotional labour, both can be seen as a way of recognising how everyday provisioning activities are used to transform, maintain, and reproduce the relationship between children and parents. The relationship between children and parents is expressed through meeting the needs and expectations, instigated by both the possible future end states (teleological structuring), and recognition of the present (affective ordering). The involvement in possible future end states is seen to involve the co-ordination of mood and emotion (Schatzki 2002: 80). Similarly, the conceptualisation of emotional labour means that work is being used to meet both these emotional needs and expectations. In other words, projects, such as feeding carried out by a parent, can be described as work that is carried out because of the emotional involvement of the parent (Dyke 1990). Although there are many discussions as to whether the activities carried out by parents are work (see chapter 2), the term emotional labour is useful to describe this activity as more than work and hints at the motivation behind these activities (DeVault 1991, Forbre 2002). Therefore, these insights are invaluable in highlighting the importance of emotion as a reason why practices are carried out.

In the previous two subsections, provisioning is shown to be prompted by the need to act by a number of factors, however, the main motivating force is the presence of children. Being a parent means for these families that they are motivated by their own emotional involvement with their children. In relation to the practice of monitoring, the examples given see parents being involved in two projects; watching and making a note of a child's physical health and a child's mental

development. The rest of this section seeks to show how these two projects are done and how these activities are executed, and the effect of the different time-space and objects that are involved in these activities. Firstly, the section will focus on the activities that draw on the emotional attachment that ensures a child's physical health. In relation to the examples from the case study this means drawing on the need to protect children from harmful foods and then moving on to discuss the desire to ensure the future wellbeing of the child. Secondly, the section will examine the need for a parent to practice monitoring of themselves and their child's behaviour. These examples show how objects and time-space often stimulate and contain activity, and create an emotional atmosphere between a child and a parent, that in turn mean that it makes sense for parents to do what they do.

Monitoring practice in relation to preserving a child's health day-to-day involves watching and taking notice of foods that might pose a threat through the form of food poisoning. Food such as meat and rice are two such foods that can cause problems. When these foods are degrading they create an environment where bacteria can grow, and the food matter can become harmful causing the food to become poisonous. When food reaches a stage of degradation, it can be harmful to everybody; however, the elderly and young children can be particularly susceptible. In relation to food, parents have to monitor the food that is put into children's mouths.

Food is an object, an object that degrades and interrupts parent's daily routine, therefore having a communicative agency (see DeSilvey 2006, Edensor 2005 and Pels 1998), as identified by the case studies as degrading of objects communicates with parents. Ripening or moulding requires a certain amount of active engagement with moving fruit through the fruit bowl or cupboard, but the level of urgency may increase or decrease depending upon other influences such as weather conditions or the way that food is provisioned. While there are many ways in which each family source their fruit and vegetables, to fulfil other desires such as the sourcing of locally produced food, ease, quality, and nutrition, it is however the constant monitoring and therefore the ability to always provide a meal for other family members that is important, even if it is an 'odd meal'. The object, food, initiates behaviour by parents so that they are required to monitor the food that they provide for their families.

In Hungary the way that food is monitored has, in a limited way, been affected by the relatively recent introduction of the used-by-date on packaging. This adjustment to new legislation has only had a limited impact on families in this study. The labelling is taking place; the problem is that shops have been found to be selling products, predominantly meat, past the date stamped on the product. Food for the Hungarian participant is done through a combination of different means. Use-by-dates do not have to be put on produce that is sold at market, or farmed/pickled produce by friends or family members; this might be why date stamps are not discussed in the same depth in the interviews with the Hungarian participants as those in Ilkley. The date-stamps are changing the way that some of the participants of Szeged provision food for their families, however, even in Ilkley, where date stamps have been in use for a number of years, they are still only treated as a guide, and are often challenged by participants who would rather rely on their senses. The Hungarians have their own ways of keeping track when things are pickled or frozen. For example pickled produce, which was in all of the homes, was never labelled but was often displayed in particular ways and rotated through particular places at different times to ensure that the oldest food was used first. The same principle was used with Anita and her freezer; although no other participants use the same level of in-depth knowledge on the contents of their freezers, however, other households such as Bethany (in the Chase family) and Karen (in the Davis family) in Ilkley use date stamps as guides to help them clear spaces in fridges and freezers. Monitoring food produce also enables other parenting practices to take place; watching produce at the market means that money can be saved by reducing the amount that has to be bought because the food bought originally, degrades too quickly to be used. This monitoring is one way in which money can be saved, and means that families might be able to afford to take trips, such as visiting Anita's daughter in Budapest. Anita sees the trips that she takes as vital in maintaining the relationship with her daughter. A different approach is taken to monitoring in each of the case-studies as shaped through different procurement methods in each location, however, the function of each of these actions positions parents in similar ways within each family.

Provisioning is more than going to the shops or growing produce, the provisioning project involves a number of activities, such as: being made aware that there is a need to gather more food in order to feed the family, making a list, deciding what type and how much food is bought, and drawing

on past experiences to aid future activities. All of these activities involve monitoring the contents of cupboards, fridges, and freezers, and these actions can display a number of different activities. In the instance of both case-studies, the practice of monitoring is carried out through distinctive and diverse numbers of activities, which each display the way in which monitoring can aid parents. These activities can be seen to display three things, firstly the need to fulfil the basic nutritional needs of the family members, in particular the children, secondly, to protect family members from defined threats, and finally, to distinguish between different children's needs: these activities can be seen through the project of provisioning.

The practice of monitoring as seen through provisioning activities places parents in positions of authority. Firstly, parents often place themselves in the position of being the only ones that can provide for their children; they work to grow or buy food for their children, ensuring they will not starve. Secondly, by provisioning food, parents situate themselves as figures of authority, as displayed through their ability to monitor the food as it sits in the cupboards, fridges, and freezers, and knowledge of how to protect their children from food that might cause them harm. Finally, although parents are not the only ones who monitor the degradation of food, they are the ones who often interpret their children's reactions. In interpreting children's reactions to different food and food events, parents can create situations and moments where different children's needs are accommodated, giving parents the possibility to create situations that would benefit their child and facilitate other parenting practices, such as socialisation. With respect to provisioning, the practice of monitoring enables parents to gain knowledge of foodstuffs and other members of the family, placing them in positions of authority and control.

4.2 Mediating

4.2.1 The Social Practice of Mediating in the Family

In terms of defining parenting, mediating practice can be described as the way that parents often compromise between two or more parties. The practice of mediating is shown through the way in which parents decide to execute one activity over another, for instance, the balance between making a fuss about a child eating a healthy diet, or the child eating anything at all in order to sustain

them, regardless of nutritional value. The practice of mediating is perhaps not seen as a dominant one in parenting, as it is often a fleeting moment of action, frequently superseded by other activities; for instance, by a parent boosting a child's diet with supplements, thus ensuring healthy physical and mental development.

This section aims to explore the social practice of mediation, and begins by describing the actions of two exemplar families, from Szeged and Ilkley. By drawing on examples from the Batha and Buxton family, it will seek to show parents' actions. The final section looks to draw on past critiques of the term family, and by proxy parenting, as being fixed and inflexible (Valentine 1999), seeks to show how parents' roles are constantly in flux, displayed through the constant adjustments that parents make in relation to their understandings of their children and of their surroundings. This section aims to illustrate how parents' actions are reacting to, and actively shaping time-space, objects and emotions. It demonstrates that although the terms 'family' and 'parents' are constantly evolving concepts, by using a practice theory approach, fluidity can be identified and still remain meaningful.

4.2.2 Szeged

The families that were part of this research in Szeged often discussed mediating as being an integral part of families' daily routines. There were many families that could have been used to explore the practice of mediating, however, the Batha family clearly implemented activities, that when arranged, built into the larger practice of mediating and therefore positioning them as a family. This section explores how primarily the Batha family display the practice of mediating, and then moves on to discuss how other families' activities exhibit similar activities.

The Batha family consists of wife and husband Helga and Leon, and Remo their 2-year-old son. The family are currently living in a one bedroom newly built flat in an older part of Szeged. The family have not always lived in this area of the city before, but the couple recently moved into a newly built flat. Their son went to stay with Leon's parents over the summer. This was to enable the couple to move in more smoothly allowing them time to install the kitchen and bathroom, before Helga had to go back to work as a teacher. When Remo came back to be with his parents, however, they were still missing some pieces of the kitchen, such as the sink. Missing a kitchen sink often

meant that they, or mainly Helga, did the washing up in the bathtub. This is something that Remo, their son, found to be a great source of amusement when he went for a bath in the evenings.

Both couples' parents live some distance away; Helga's parents living the greatest distance away in Transylvania, however, Leon's parents live close enough to send their son a delivery of food from their small holding every couple of weeks. This way Helga and Leon can ensure that their diet is full of vegetables and fruit from the delivery that they receive once a month from Leon's parents' small holding (see figure 4.3). These fruits, vegetables, preserve, pickles, and ready cooked meals do not cost the couple anything apart from the small tip that they might give the bus driver for transporting the goods. Leon negotiates with his parents over the amount that he should receive from them. The project of provisioning for the Batha family is in part completed by the delivery that they receive from Leon's parents. When Leon is talking with his parents, over skype, about the amount of food that they will send to the family he says "I usually ask rather for less, as I cannot see the sense of getting faded and ruined and then it must be thrown away." As Leon explains, it is through the skype call that he has with his parents that he mediates with his parents, knowing that they will want to help the family in any way that they can. There are also ways in which he tries to remove some of his responsibility of wasting food, which he sees as something that a good Hungarian's should not do.

"...Lida you know that have imported vegetables and fruits from abroad meanwhile people were throwing them[Hungarian vegetables and fruit] away here that should be resolved by us ourselves after Széchenyi⁶ that we really would need to buy our own products first of all."

The activity of receiving a food delivery is closely monitored and mediated by the couple in terms of how much food they receive each month. Leon is mediating between ideas of saving money for his family, and the biological process of food, therefore, negating their need to waste food, which is particularly important to Leon.

⁶ A Hungarian historical figure (1791 -1860) – who wanted to bring modernisation to Hungary, and sought to develop the Hungarian economy: by amongst other things establishing the Hungarian National Academy of Science (1825) and called for aristocrats to pay tax and only involve themselves in productive actions.

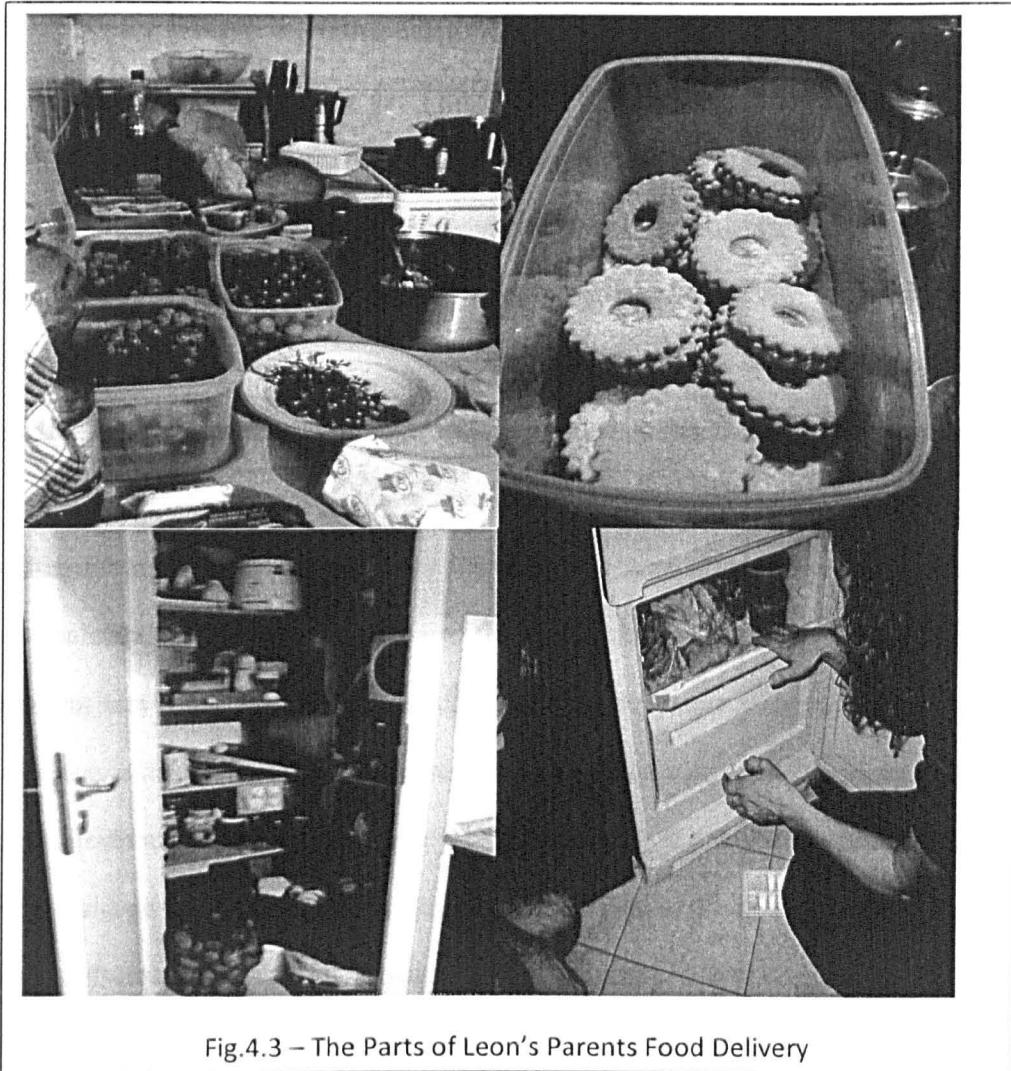


Fig.4.3 – The Parts of Leon’s Parents Food Delivery

The weekly deliveries that the family receive help them to negotiate over their son’s eating patterns, particularly his evening meal. The Batha’s routine in the evening is something that has changed very little since their move to their new apartment. They both take an active role in trying to feed Remo something. On the evenings when there is not a meal, both Helga and Leon often have soup or snacks in the evening, and some attempt is made to encourage their son to have something before he goes to bed. While I was spending an evening together with the family, Leon started cutting the cheese into small strips which he placed on the edge of his plate; one slice of red bell pepper, and toast is cut into a circle along with two slices of tomatoes that are delicately placed either side of the toast: a food face smiles back at the child. Leon and his son’s smile expectantly back at each other. Helga smiles at me and says he “won’t eat it he will play with it, he is just too excited.” There is a discussion between father and son, the deal is done, he has to eat one piece of the face and then he can have a piece of

Grandma's biscuits which we⁷ have all enjoyed after our meal of tomato and noodle soup. Remo eats a piece of cheese and receives a piece of the biscuit; this type of negotiation goes on for a while, until about half the face has disappeared. Then Remo decides he has had enough and he doesn't want to play anymore. Both parents look at each other and Remo is allowed out of his special chair. This is a scene from one evening that I spent with the Bathas; the experience of eating with the couple and in particular observing Remo being fed gives an insight into the negotiations that take place in order to encourage Remo to eat healthier food. It is through his parents provisioning, ensured by both parents, that Remo has a balance of food items with nutritional value on his plate.

Although both Helga and Leon enter into negotiations with Remo, it is Helga that takes a more active role with regard to Remo's eating. She describes her son as a fussy eater, and explains how she internalises how she could, or should, feed him by the ways that she carries out this project through a variety of activities. Helga tries a variety of ways to negotiate and introduce different food into Remo's diet to ensure that he receives a varied and healthy diet: she achieves this through deploying a variety of methods such as hiding fruit in semolina and meat in fuslik⁸, mashing up vegetables and fruits so they are easier to eat, and reverting back to baby food. Helga is frustrated by Remo's refusal to eat a variety of food and has taken to getting a prescription from a friend who has a 'friendly' doctor that will write the prescription even though Remo is too old to have this prescription of vitamin and mineral formula. She sees a need to make sure that Remo is not only fed, but that he consumes nutritionally valuable food. Helga therefore practices mediating between what she would ideally like to happen (have Remo eat nutritionally valuable food), with the need to feed him, whether it is nutritionally valuable food or not. Here Helga is not only negating her anxieties about her child eating enough food with the prescription that she gets from a friend for baby formula food, but by carrying out these activities, she mediates her own desires between what her child wants, and what she wants for her child.

⁷ Sofia, Helga, Leon, and I

⁸ This is a common Hungarian way of cooking green vegetables in a white sauce; it is usually cooked in large quantities.

There were other families that had issues negotiating their dietary preferences with that of other members of the family. For example, the Kis family, where Anita negotiates with her husband regarding the different times and types of meals that she can cook for the family. There are moments when she has changed her cooking habits to that of her husband's mother, and other habits that Peter has come to prefer over those his mother used. There is also the Baranyi family that negotiate the feeding of one of the couple's child from a previous relationship with the preferences of a current partner. These brief encounters with other families point to things that will be further discussed in the comparative section, but one can extract from this case study that there were three key ways in which household members negotiated, other members of the household, and with the biology of food. There are many things that are negotiated; the child's diet is in negotiation with the parents, the parents negotiated their own anxiety of their child not having enough to eat with the time and energy that they have to feed him with, and the negotiation of foods' biology and the supply of vegetables. There are other negotiations that take place, none of them are restricted to the household but all can be seen through the practicalities of daily food provisioning.

4.2.3 Ilkley

Mediating between individuals' needs and wants is a social practice that features heavily in the households in the Ilkley case study. There are ways in which families negotiate their own membership of the family, often discussed in terms of ideas of what is healthy, what food is enjoyable, and what food is appropriated in different circumstances. On some levels these social practices are seen in these practicalities, but there were also negotiations that were about dismissing ideas of what other members might want in terms of food. The Buxton family are unique in the specific way that they carry out negotiations, but they highlight common ways in which families would facilitate the running of a daily food routine in comparison with more infrequent events. Vicky and Jeremy are married with two teenage children, Grant (17) and Jasmine (15). Both Vicky and Jeremy take an active role in provisioning food for their household, although it might not always be equal in the number of tasks that are done during the week.

Vicky holds dinner parties once a month, on average, for different adult friends as well as having other family members around for meals. Vicky has a great deal of confidence in both Jeremy's and her culinary capabilities. Dinner parties are a time for Vicky to enjoy the experience of cooking and creating an experience for the discerning guests. Vicky identifies that there are some vital differences between her cooking experiences everyday with the time that she spends preparing a meal for guests and other family members that do not live in the same household, as well as the type of food that she prepares, which she says all adds to the experience of the occasion. Vicky normally would not spend longer than forty-five minutes cooking but when she is cooking for a dinner party she will spend a minimum of an hour cooking and preparing. Part of the preparation for Vicky is spending time buying speciality items.

“doing the dinner party situation I like to sort of go upmarket with some things like cheese and... I'm trying to think, fish, I wouldn't go to the fish counter at Tesco for example, I wouldn't go to the meat counter, do they have a meat counter at Tesco? I wouldn't go there.”

Her comments might give an insight into how she positions Tesco's produce, where she buys her weekly household food, in relation to the food that she would buy her guests. This delineation between the different groups is enabled through Vicky negotiating between what she feels is appropriate for her guests, and that of her family.

Vicky not only negotiates over what is required by a meal experience for the members of household and guests, but she also differentiates between family members outside the household, guests, and household members, in terms of their involvement with the preparation and eating of food. For family members that do not live in the household but visit her for birthdays and other occasions, these meal events often involve a mediating between what might happen regularly when it is just the four of them, for example, people are welcomed to help with the peeling and chopping of vegetables. There are, however, some of the elements of the dinner party, where special food is selected, that might bring people together in conversation. Her daughter Jasmine is aware of these compromises that need to be made, even when it is her own birthday. When it was her birthday she had a dinner party with her family to celebrate. Vicky asked her what she wanted to eat; Jasmine's favourite food is fajitas and that was what she really wanted. However, Jasmine's grandma was coming and she did not think that she could manage with the tactile nature of the dish. “I'd probably have fajitas but it's

harder for my grandma to eat. Just to fold it and eat it with your hands. So that's why we usually have lasagne cos it's not difficult..." Jasmine is aware that although it is her occasion, the needs of the household guests are important, so she makes a compromise and has lasagne.

Both of Vicky's children Jasmine and Grant go to school locally where lunch can be provided for them. Vicky provides both Jasmine and Grant money so they can get lunch for themselves, whether from the school canteen or the local shops, and the children often go back to the house with friends after buying a sandwich from Tesco's. Their house is near to Tesco's and therefore it is easy for them to congregate at the house with their friends. Vicky is a little apprehensive about giving her children money, as she has seen so many of her children's peer group outside Tesco's.

"...you know, and you see them in Tesco's ...I know they get the sandwiches but I know also, I've also seen a lot getting a muffins and cakes and stuff like that. Which can't be, which can't be that healthy, but they [other school children] tend to do."

She has to negotiate her own concern over them not having a healthy diet and the knowledge that there is only a limited number of options available at school, and that she does not have time to provide them with a packed lunch.

Although predominantly seen through the provisioning, the practices of mediating can be seen through eating projects in families. Vicky does not see the evening meal as an essential part of the household's necessary routine because they are able to talk without the aid of food. However, she misses the moment when they do get to sit down together and share a meal. She sees it as a way of enabling her to negotiate the different personalities of her two children.

"[Grant] is an individual who likes a talk. [Jasmine] is, perhaps needs, a good opportunity for her to talk as well, so the different personalities that they are, sitting round the table and eating, has this sort of relaxed, unforced... erm atmosphere. Yeah, it works very well."

Her perception of Grant as being more confident and talking with less prompting than Jasmine, means that in order to treat them equally she has made herself aware that meal times are a better time to allow Jasmine to talk. Negotiating this difference is something that Vicky is highly aware of in relation to the members of her household and other people, some that she invites in about once a month, and others that are invited by her children. There are clear distinctions, not only between household members, but also the lines drawn between the type of guests that are invited, and the type of food that they are offered.

Their family's food routine during the week is often decided on a daily basis, and Vicky sees this as something of which she is largely in control, because she is the one that restocks the cupboard, fridge and freezer. Jeremy does occasionally do the food provisioning, but the children complain that he only buys the cheapest food, rather than what is more pleasurable to eat. This is different from Vicky, who says that she enjoys finding new things to eat; to Vicky, eating is an experience, and it is more than just putting food on the table. They are often unable to eat evening meals during the week together because invariably one member of the household has another commitment. For Vicky, this involves negotiation between when she eats, the feeding needs of her hungry teenage children, and her husband who might be working late. There is no regular routine for Vicky; sometimes she eats with her children and at other times, if Jeremy has let her know he is going to be late, she waits and eats with him. These activities will be further explored in chapter 5 which will specifically look at activities surrounding cooking/eating.

4.2.4 Points of Comparison

The above two exemplar families' provisioning activities can be shown to be prompted by the need to act by a number of factors. Being a parent for these families, is motivated by their emotional involvement with their children (DeVault 1991, Forbre 2002). The parents of families in both of these case-studies, to a greater or lesser extent, and the practice of mediating involves the project of care in two ways: displays by family members to differentiation between family and others and being able to feed a child in order to ensure the child's physical and mental development. The rest of this section seeks to address how these two projects are done and how this activity is executed, and the impact on time-space and objects that are involved in the activities. In order to do this section has drawn on activities that have drawn on the emotional attachment that ensures a child's physical health, and then move on to explore how families display and mediate the difference between family and others. These examples show how objects and time-space often stimulate and contain the activity, and how there is an emotional atmosphere that is created between a parent and child, which means emotions are a way of parents making sense of what they do. These will be explored by drawing on the exemplar families as described above, but will also draw on further examples from other families.

The two exemplars, above, are represented here through their doings and sayings, and how these in turn involve families in displaying the practice of mediating, and in doing so positioning particular family members as parents. The act of provisioning involves a number of activities, such as procuring, balancing, and compromising as courses of action. As they are motivated by parents' perceived notion of forming relationships with their children, this is displayed and developed through mediations that take place in relation to the family. These activities are created through time-space (different occasions, people's routine, lunch-time), objects (fajitas, produce, Tesco's cheese) and emotions (desires, care). This section therefore draws upon the exemplar families above to compare and contrast them in relation to their doings/sayings and the activities: in so doing there is a need to explore their connections with emotions, time-space, and objects.

In both case studies, the families displayed and mediated their relationships between people through the type of food provisioned. Differentiating between people, identifying them as family or not, is displayed by the food that is provisioned for different occasions. The notion of differentiation was prominent in Ilkley but could also be seen in Szeged. Food as an object has social value and is used in a variety of ways, so that family members distinguish between different people, for instance, family, friends, and other kin relations; or different situations, such as family birthdays, or dinner parties (Lupton 1996, Mellor et al. 2010). The social value of particular foodstuffs is utilised in order for individuals to mediate different social situations. Food seen to have a lesser social value, such as Tesco's branded cheese are seen to display the everyday, banal, and commonplaceness of the way it is consumed in everyday family life, such as making cheese on toast. In addition to this, food can allow the care of others to be seen; the food provided at special occasions may be different from what was originally desired because a guest might not be able to eat the food chosen even though the occasion is seen to be someone else's special day. Families, both in Ilkley and Szeged, showed how they mediated relationships between different people, as displayed through the food that is provisioned for particular times-spaces.

Parents want to feed their children and so sustain their physical and mental development (DeVault 1991, Morgan 1996), and parents can be put into a state of anxiety if a child does not appear to want to participate in eating activities, however, this state of anxiety can often be placated by

objects. There is parental anxiety caused by parents feeling unable to ensure their child's physical development. This anxiety can be caused by the inability to provide their children with what is perceived to be the correct amount of nutritional food, particularly during a child's early years (Birch 1999). A parent's anxiety can be mediated by the use of activities such as giving a supplemental formula, or making a deal with less nutritionally valuable foods. These activities are not seen as negating a parent's responsibility for a child's welfare. These activities do, however, mean that parent's anxiety levels are being negotiated with, the perceived detrimental impact is mediated, therefore reducing the level of anxiety that the parent might be feeling.

Parental anxiety can be seen as something that needs to be accepted and measured against the benefits that taking a perceived risk might bring for both parents and children. These case studies showed that despite the older a child becomes, there is still concern over the level of nutritional value that a child is sourcing; this is, however, mediated by the desire to develop a child's independence. Independence can be granted by parents giving children money to buy food for lunch, and giving children money is seen in a number of the families in both case studies. Although the children do not yet have the responsibility to earn the money that they spend, their parents are mediating their child's growth into an adult. Many of the parents, like Vicky, expressed concerns about the risks involved, namely that their children would not buy anything of nutritional value, or that perhaps they will spend their money on other things, such as cigarettes. Parents mediate their anxiety with the possible benefits that this activity might bring to a child or young person.

Roles within the family are seen to be fluid but still relevant. Over the past decade the term 'family' has often been depicted as being fixed (Morgan 1996 and chapter 2). The above section has sought to examine more closely the similarities between the two case studies. Although there were obvious differences in the activities carried out, the practice of mediating remains important for parents in both case studies. These similarities and differences between families however, still shows that all parents are involved, whatever the activity, in the practice of mediating, negotiating between their own ideas, emotions and a child's actions. These mediations demonstrate how flexible roles are within families, as others have (see Valentine 1999), but that the term 'the family' – far from being meaningless to participants – becomes more significant. Ruptures in the perceptions that parents

have of their children; the moment parents realise that children can provision for themselves, or their acceptance that their child is a 'fussy' eater but he will not starve if he does not eat one meal, parental behaviour is often justified through the way that parents position themselves in the role of authority and control. Parent's perceptions of their role in relation to their child do change, however, this is often supported through their emotional connection to the wider sense of being a parent.

4.3 Adapting

4.3.1 The Social Practice of Adapting in the Family

Both individuals and groups make routines for themselves so that they can render the work more manageable. An individual's routine is created through monitoring, and subsequently placing activities into categories. When provisioning food, people often make a list before going shopping and even the ones that do not make lists, had some idea about what they were going to buy. This level of planning means that amongst other activities, certain days were chosen to do the shopping on, or meals were planned for particular days. Through these activities provisioning can be seen as a routinisation of behaviour (DeVault 1991:73), however, whether planned or unintentional, change occurs, as circumstances alter, people's routines need to adapt to accommodate the changes.

The following two sections aim to show how families which took part in the study are involved in the practice of adapting. The practice of adapting is created through the arrangement of activities which are shaped through particular doings and sayings. When living as part of a family a re-arrangement of an individual's daily routine often has an impact upon the whole family. Parents often want to minimise the disruption this may have on them and other members of the family. Therefore the practice of adapting may be displayed through parents accepting that there is the possibility of change, as well as finding ways to prevent disruption occurring again, or by planning a new routine. For instance, implementing activities such as buying the week's food for the family with extras involve: things (basic ingredients for regular recipes); emotional labour (the personal engagement of a person within the household intentionally knowing what is in store cupboards in order that they themselves, or others, are able to make meals and care for their biological needs); and space-time (the family's routine). These activities start, however, with the perceived need for the

practice of adapting that will need to take place. Therefore, by carrying out doings and sayings in specific ways, individuals are involved in placing themselves as part of the family. These sections subsequently draw on, to begin with, one exemplar family in order to explore in detail through their own doings and sayings, and the activities that they carry out in relation to the daily food activities. At the end of these two sections there will be a section comparing the two study areas for their similarities and differences, where other examples from further families in the study will be drawn upon to further elucidate particular points and suggestions will be given for these similarities and differences.

4.3.2 Szeged

In Szeged, parents can be seen to re-organise and re-arrange parts of what could be perceived to be their daily schedule. Parents saw their approach as maintaining an extra dynamic in their routine behaviour. The practice of adaption is seen as a key way in which all families approached their daily provisioning of food in relation to the family members. As introduced in section 4.2.1, Leon and Helga were experiencing a large amount of change in their life, at the time of this research. They both therefore, see themselves as a couple, continually adapting their routine and finding new routines. As a result of their current experiences and the close links that the practice of adapting has with the practice of mediating (see DeVault 1991:72-76), the couple's experiences are a useful example to examine more closely, in order to understand how these two practices can be seen as distinctive. Therefore the Batha family will be used again so that the practice of adapting can be understood in relation to other families in this research, particularly the ones in Szeged. In this section, the main focus will be on the Batha family.

Since Hungary's accession to the European Union there has been a wide number of economic reforms, but unlike other Central and Eastern European countries, Hungary has managed to maintain high levels of welfare including support for families with children (Fordor 1997). However, women have been the main casualties of this economic transitioning both in terms of initial employment and maintaining employment after maternity leave (Fordor 1998, Glass 2008). At the same time, economic change has seen a social change that has been termed a transitioning to middle class

western ideals, permeating into the role of women in Hungary as the main carers and their role to stay at home, looking after children (Glass 2008). These changes can be seen to affect the Batha family as they have recently been in receipt of state maternity pay. Helga states that she can afford to stay at home with their child because of the welfare entitlement that she receives. While having dinner with the family Helga explains how she understands the system.

“Helga explains to me over soup that for the first 168 days she received 70 percent of her salary and her household did not have to pay tax; tax is 38 percent of income, and up to the first two years she received 70 percent of her salary and the household did not incur the same level of taxes as they might expect to had they not had Remo. After talking for a while about this it is clear that it is Helga, not Leon, who knows about the welfare that she receives; it is her entitlement. Helga asks me about what it is like for new mothers in the UK, I reply that I am not an expert but if women are employed they are entitled to take 6 months paid maternity leave. Helga says that she thinks the Hungarian system is more flexible to her needs and she can go back to work when she wants or she can stay at home.” (Field Diary August 20th 2007)

Just as Helga seems to be in control of maintaining the household's income she has also done the child care, cleaning, and food provisioning. Helga is planning to go back to work as a maths teacher soon, and the work that she does for the family has to adapt to these changes. This section seeks to explore these activities and how they are changing in the family and other activities they do that create the practice of adapting.

The Batha family see their roles in the family as fixed, but the practicalities of their everyday lives show that adapting to changed circumstances is fundamental to them functioning as a family. This means that their roles in the household in relation to changes in their circumstances result in an individual being flexible in their actions, where there is a need for the self and others to be negotiated. Helga and Leon both moved to Szeged to study, Helga when she was sixteen, and Leon in his early twenties when he started to study at the university. None of their extended family lives in Szeged. Helga's family live in Transylvania and although Leon's family live relatively close to Szeged, fourteen miles away, they do not have a car and therefore visit their respective families periodically and for long periods, two or three weeks, at a time. Helga, before having their son, was a Maths teacher; she is on maternity leave⁹ although she does some occasional work translating German into Hungarian from home. Leon is still studying at the University of Szeged but does occasional jobs.

⁹ In Hungary mothers are paid for the first three years a type of maternity pay, it is not a huge amount but it is enough to stay out of work.

This family are going through some changes which only highlight their ability to adapt their seeming fixed routine and gender roles.

Both Leon and Helga, predominantly Leon, are specific about their past and present roles within their family, particularly in relation to food provisioning. Through their own sayings and doings they display change. These changes mean that different members of the family are responsible for different activities, like the washing-up. "I hate that, doing the washing up... now, here [in their new home] no, I don't do it. So, here I haven't even been seized by the force that I should be doing the washing up... However, in the Szivárvány [street] I did, I did wash up." Leon only undertakes housework when he feels or sees the need for it to be done. Leon maintains that his approach to housework is that there is a limited requirement for him to partake in such activities, however, as he states, this has changed at different times and different locations. Both Helga and Leon have had specific roles that each of them has taken responsibility for; for instance Leon is seen to be responsible for buying meat and wine and Helga is seen to be responsible for all the other work that needs to be done for the family. Recently, however, the change in their circumstances has altered some of their seemingly fixed roles within the household. The procurement of food since they had moved to their new apartment shows how this has meant that their routines have had to change and adapt to the couple's new surroundings. In the past the wine and meat was carried out by Leon but the rest of the food provisioning was carried out by Helga. There has been some flexibility where the need of others has shifted their feel for responsibility.

Leon's responsibilities have increased in relation to the new location, therefore impacting upon the family's routine. Helga has been attending German classes recently and has had to do more work from home than before. Leon sees himself as currently having more time than his partner and although he will still consult with Helga, by sitting down with her and creating a list of food that needs to be bought, he now sees it as his responsibility and therefore part of his schedule. Going shopping for food has become more complex since moving; where the couple previously lived the couple could visit a large supermarket with little effort. In their new location, the family would have to travel on the bus, and as Leon states in his interview, a bus ride would be difficult with a toddler; therefore, Leon and Remo go shopping nearly every day at a small store, down the road from their

flat. This change in routine suits all the family; Leon can buy cigarettes, Remo can visit the playground and Helga can finish off her work without interruption at home. Leon has now taken on all the responsibility for the provisioning of food for the family; this involves him integrating previously unaccomplished activities into his routine, therefore adapting how he spends his time. Accommodating these different activities means that not only does Leon have to change his daily schedule but in turn changes the whole family's routine.

In order to satisfy different members of the family, often one or more of them is left feeling unsatisfied because of the changes that they have to make for the family. The family's main source of food provisioning comes from Leon's parent's small holding, which arrives by the bus about once a month. This delivery includes a selection of fruit and vegetables, readymade meals and baked goods, which are all put together, mainly by Leon's mother. Helga still coordinates the meals for the household but often she does not like it if the cooking takes more than ten minutes; this, however is a relatively new change in her attitude to cooking. "Well I used to be however not these days, so I don't fancy either and I don't have the time or energy to cook..., if say the whole thing is 10 minutes.... without doubt such things would have to be liked by everybody." Helga partly sees this as a consequence of her son being a 'fussy' eater and partly due to Leon's stomach ulcer, and so she therefore finds it difficult to prepare something that everyone will like: spending more than ten minutes on a meal that only she will enjoy is seen as a waste of time. This has changed since she was living on her own as a student at the university where she enjoyed cooking for herself, dishes that would take longer to prepare. Helga has to adapt what she wants to eat and when she is preparing food, she makes a judgement to adapt the time that she would have previously spent cooking and therefore what she buys in addition to the delivery.

One of the activities that can take considerable time for the couple is the feeding of their son, which has resulted in them adapting what they eat and how they eat food. There are many ways in which Helga negotiates with Remo to engage him with the food that he refuses to eat. These different methods are not deployed together, when one begins to fail after a couple of days, she employs a new method. For a couple of days it will be hiding food in other more palatable food, and once Remo has

started to pick out the bits of hidden food she changes tack and mashes them. However this constant engagement with food and feeding also identifies her negotiations with time. Helga states -

“When I think that now he eats this permanently it’s not true because if he does not fancy to have breakfast then he doesn’t fancy to have breakfast so then ...I am also not stupid to the whole what do you call it or what’s it to try everything that now maybe he would eat this maybe? ...no. Well I try two kinds of no then good and then goodbye¹⁰ there is no breakfast.”

It takes time to hide or mash food so she begins at breakfast, where time is in shorter supply because there is a need to get to the toddler group. Often she used to be anxious that her son was not eating enough but now she has changed her behaviour, if not her attitude. Helga now limits herself to just offering two items of food and then she kisses her son goodbye, and sends him off without any breakfast. She sees this as teaching her son that this ‘his and her time’ is in short supply in the morning, that there are other things besides eating that have to be achieved, and that if he will not eat what is put in front of him then “there is no breakfast”. At various times for a variety of reasons, parents change the family’s schedule, and these changes are not always satisfactory to all the family members. The implementation of these shifting activities displays the parents’ involvement in the practice of adapting.

4.3.3 Ilkley

Ilkley parents can be seen to re-organise parts of their daily schedule. Parents display these adaptations through particular activities that completely change a family’s routine or temporary change where parents prepare for changes that have previously happened, but the former routine has been resumed. The Davis family are experiencing a large amount of change in their life, at the time of this research. They both therefore, see themselves as a couple, as continually adapting their routine and finding new routines. Therefore the Davis family will be used to explore the practice of adapting, as an exemplar of other family’s activities and practice seen in other families in Ilkley.

The Davis household has two adults Karen and Jeremy, who live with their two children, Mark and June, both in their teenage years. Both Karen and Jeremy have no family living in the locality; the majority of Karen’s maternal family live outside of the United Kingdom. Recently the

¹⁰ kiss on your hand – direct translation of words after saying goodbye

household routine has been changed by both Karen and Jeremy's working lives. Jeremy is working full time but he works away from the household for three days a week and spends the others two days working at home. Karen is in part-time paid employment but through the course of this research, she has changed the place where she works which means that she is in the household at different times. In relation to food, the household's routine has changed recently with Karen being diagnosed with Celiac, and the changes in working patterns have meant that the family has had to change the way that it approaches its routine. However, although these changes have brought to the foreground a flexible approach, they have taken to maintain their family routines surrounding the provisioning of food. This has not been the only way that this household, like other similar households in the locality, maintain flexibility to maintain their household as a family.

Many of the families in Ilkley write some sort of list before they go shopping in the supermarket. Karen does all of the food provisioning for the Davis family. Although she is the only one that physically goes to the supermarket she makes a list with the aid of Jeremy and the children. This is done by having a list on the microwave, where the children can write what they want and attaching labels of food products that have run out. In spite of this meticulous planning, Karen often forgets the list when she goes off to the supermarket. She minimises the impact that this might have on the family by only going on Friday when Howard is at home and can check the list for her. Karen has adapted her weekly schedule because she has reflected on moments of forgetfulness and now goes when she knows Jeremy is at home for her to call and check.

Many of the families in this research bought basic ingredients in order to maintain a degree of flexibility. The Davis family show this particular activity through the maintenance and provision of the shelves for ingredients that could be used in a variety of dishes – the basics. As Karen states - "I'll buy basics without even it being on the list, like onions, potatoes, and tins and tins and stuff, bread, we'll go on because they'll always eat toast." The strategy that Karen uses means that there is not a set menu for the family's meals because if she has the basics, she can always make something that people will eat. She can maintain the ability to adapt to changing circumstances; for example, if someone needs to go to football practices, or there is a need to go to the tutor's house or a friend comes for tea. The maintenance of the household food during the week is about making sure that the

children can maintain their commitments; making sure that the provisioning of food is flexible is one way of doing this.

Eating together gives Karen a sense of achievement, but from the point of view of convenience, it is easier to prepare one meal rather than have food separately. “And it’s just really nice to share the same meal. I mean often if you were to get a takeaway or the children have eaten separately, you know you don’t feel like you’re together but when you are sat down and sharing all the same meal, not just different curries or you know, we are having a curry and the children are having pizzas. You know, there is something about sharing you’re exactly the same food.” Sitting down together is repeatedly seen as an ideal that every family, particularly parents desire. This activity has been often associated with facilitating many social practices, such as social cohesion amongst the members of a family (this will developed further in chapter 5). Eating together is something that Karen feels her family do not do enough of, but she accepts that it is more important for her family to eat something rather than nothing, and she must provision for this eventuality. . Despite the obvious flurry of activity that is involved for Karen in eating together, it is still a pleasant experience for her, but there are times when they cannot sit down together because one or two members of the family are not present in the household at the same time and eating is therefore not going to be possible after a certain time in the evening; eating is a practical activity.

In the Davis family, there are many different needs that are negotiated alongside that of the daily need to feed the family. Along with other households in the case studies, including Karen’s experience, feeding the family – which is a meal but can be other things as well – is essentially created from practicalities. There were equal numbers of depictions from participants that indicated eating together was often seen to be born out of an ideology, but eating together is created seemingly by chance. For instance, in the Chase family each member of the family knows that tea will be served at a particular time because Bethany cares for other children; as a result, they eat together more frequently than other families. For Karen and other participants, it is the practicalities that prevent her household from sitting down to a meal together because of the particular level of flexibility that is required to fit with their children and the variety of after school activities that they take part in.

Karen's husband cooks but because he is away for three days out of five during the week this means that she does the majority of the cooking for the household. Her approach to feeding the people in her household is not unique but she does articulate how she approaches the task.

“Just because I get very ??, if I'm hungry, we all get, and it's just very frantic time and trying to get um, everybody sort of sat down, and, before we've killed each other, you know 'get some food in you if you're hungry', 'stop arguing' and it's sort of, you feel, in a way you feel like you've failed because you know that that's going to happen and I know that it's going to happen, I know it's going to happen to me. So it's a case of well, 'well have this', not spoiling your appetite but just keeping you know blood sugar level, keeping everyone really calm before you can get a decent meal in. Tends, that tends to happen at weekends if we're you know, trying to do something.”

Here Karen's hunger becomes her family's hunger; it is a shared experience one that she identifies through behaviour she associates with a lack of 'low blood sugar level' in the body. Here there is an expression of what this parent feels important, but not at all costs; there is room to be flexible on the ideals of having a particular type of meal if it means being together. The aspiration to have a particular type of meal but the need to have children that behave is essential and by giving the children a snack is seen as an important way in which this meal can be achieved, even if there is a feeling of failure before the family has sat down to eat. The weekend is seen as family time and to facilitate the family spending time together, and Karen feels she can compromised on the amount of food they might eat.

4.3.4 Points of Comparison

The social practice of adapting as represented through these two exemplar families, and other families in the case studies, can be seen by the way that family members change their routines to suit specific circumstances. By examining the families' doing and sayings, this shows that families identify themselves as carrying out activities at different times and spaces. The perception of a daily routine can perhaps be seen more clearly in Szeged, but both show that these daily rhythms are created by daily activities pertaining to food. These activities are created through time-space (shop location, meal times, and routine), objects (pizza, lists, onions, bread, fruit bars) and emotions (care). These daily routines, however, change in order to accommodate a variety of needs and expectations. These can be explored by noting the changes in; the perception of time-space, the utilisation of objects and the construction of emotions.

In these case studies these parents are emotionally dedicated to their family; this both prompted, and is reinforced by, specific activities. For the families the project of provisioning involves the practice of adapting which is prompted by a number of factors. Parents in both locations are being involved in the project of care by minimising disruption to the families' routine in two ways; planned adaptations and improvised adaptations. The rest of this section seeks to show how these two projects are done and how the activities are executed, and the effect of the different time-space and objects that are involved in the activities. In order to do this the emotional need of a parent to ensure a child's physical health and mental well-being must be seen as a constant presence in parents' relationships with their children. The rest of this section will draw on both the exemplar families' activities. The families will be used to illustrate the two types of projects that are seen to create the practice of adapting. In these illustrations objects and time-space are seen to stimulate and contain an activity, in order to better understand why parents do what they do.

The project of provisioning food for the family can be seen as being part of routinisation of behaviour (DeVault 1991:73), not just through the activity of going to the shops but by what types of food are being provisioned. Circumstances may alter meaning that the families' routines are adapted in order to accommodate change. An individual's routine is created through the practice of monitoring and mediating, and therefore needs to be adapted to fit changing circumstances. For instance, the Batha family have moved recently to a location where they can no longer make occasional trips to the supermarket to supplement the delivery that they receive from Leon's parents. Their routine has changed since they have moved to adapt to these changes, to shop nearly every day at a small local shop. Similarly, the Davis family have to adapt their Friday night treat in order to accommodate Karen's condition that makes her intolerant to wheat. The families know that they will have to adapt their routine in advance of an activity taking place, these adaptations are planned for.

Other adaptations are due to ruptures in a family's routine and in order to maintain the same levels of care, therefore improvisations are made. As a part of each family's routine they make some kind of list before going shopping; this routine means that they can make shopping an easier experience. However, despite making a list, behaviour is always adapted when the activity of shopping is carried out; people buying more food than is on the list or making phone calls while in the

shop. For instance, the Davis family all contribute to making the list however when Karen goes shopping two things can happen while she is carrying out the activity. Karen can forget the list, so in order to ensure that the food shopping still takes places, she disrupts this regular activity to call her husband so he can read the list out to her or she will buy basics, she knows she can make a variety of meals from. In addition Karen often buys what she calls ‘basics’ that she knows can provide some kind of sustenance, even if it’s just toast. Families may have experienced these disruptions to their routine before and therefore have practiced adaptations that create solutions.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has explored how families from both Ilkley and Szeged, approach the provisioning of food as part of a weekly routine. Each of the sections illustrated how families’ perform a variety of activities related to the project of provisioning. The chapter develops the idea that families are constructed through a variety of activities to produce family practice, of which parenting is a part. Activities are actions that are executed, behaviour that is performed, deeds that are accomplished because it makes sense for the participant to action. Illustrating these activities using thick descriptions from exemplar families has sought to maintain strength in embodied meaning (Shrove et al 2007), and also demonstrate how a variety of activities can be arranged to present social practices that can expand the term ‘the family’ in relation to food.

By providing an insight into daily life this chapter has sought to argue that parenting, as well as being a sub-practice of the family, is constituted itself by a number of social practices, that are identified by the participants as to what makes sense for them to do in relation to their role in the family. The chapter takes three social practices that can be identified as taking place within families: monitoring, mediating and adapting.

The first section explores the social practice of monitoring demonstrates how parents explicitly: monitor their own children’s development (DeVault 1991), are compelled to scrutinise the food for its potential to mould and threaten their children’s health, and are influenced by national legislation. Entanglement with the activities involved with the social practice of monitoring, highlights how objects such as different foodstuff and date-stamps can force actions to be carried out.

Objects such as food prone to degradation, force a reaction and demand attention; willing a connection to be made (Hetherington 1997). The section draws on practice theory to examine in detail the perceived role that middle class parents play in relation to their families. By parents monitoring their children through a variety of activities, they can gather information about their children, so that they can maintain a connection, understanding and sometimes control. The second section examines the social practice of mediating, and how parents often compromise between two or more ideas. Parents in the case studies were shown to negotiate: their own anxieties about children's development, perceptions of wider social ideologies about parenting and their own needs with that of their children's wants. The depiction of this practice illustrates how parents' emotions are displayed and often suppressed in order for daily life to be accomplished; parents achieve a balance between what they would ideally like to happen with what is practically possible or might be beneficial to the child. By parents carrying out the practice of mediating they engage in number of activities and often have to adapt their daily routines accordingly. The third section picks up the idea of change and demonstrates how parents use the practice of adapting. In relation to the family, routines are constructed in order to manage the domestic tasks. However, these routines are disrupted by changes in circumstances. The section highlights how families adapt their routines to fit with the different circumstances. The section demonstrates how parents position themselves as part of the family; their perceptions of time-space are altered by sets of emotions that control things. This chapter develops the concept of family as practice and challenges the idea that terms such as family and parents cannot be utilised to develop a more fluid notion of social groups that identify themselves as a family.

The practices explored in this chapter can not only be seen in the project of provisioning, but can also be shown through the projects of cooking and eating: exploring the way that families carry out activities, that when arranged can be seen to create and re-enforce the need for parents to adapt their routine. For instance, there is one subtle difference between the ways that household members approach the meal that they feel each member of the family should be present for. In Hungary, lunchtime has traditionally been the main "family meal". With the larger scale social changes first heralded by altered working patterns due to privatization and subsequently through inclusion in the European Union, daily family "lunching" is becoming a thing of the past (Swatridge 2005).

Similarly, in the United Kingdom dinner is seen as the main meal of the day – whether the UK has ever had these meals is questionable (Cheng et al 2007, Jackson 2009), however it is acknowledged that the family meal is seen as something that is declining from people’s daily routine and is perceived negatively. However in Hungarian society the change in meal time is not high on the agenda of social concern. This is not to say that family meals are not important in Hungary but there is not the same moral outpouring against their seeming demise. Meals are an important part of Hungarian culture and ways in which families display how they care for each other. The activities traditionally associated with “lunching” are seen to continue in alternative ways. Through the narrations of these families, food is still being used as a tool through which notions of family caring are taking place, but the circumstances through which this care occurs is changing contextually. There are different ways in which this is recognised but there is still a level of flexibility in each of the above households that show there is a compromise for reasons of practicality. The next chapter develops further on the ideas illustrated here to explore the projects of cooking and eating.

Chapter 5 – Cooking and Eating

This chapter intends to draw upon Finch's (2007) theorisation of 'display' to develop the notion of family as a set of social practices. Family is a matter of doing and not being; relationships between individuals that are identified through blood ties need to be developed and nurtured if the relationship is to be maintained in the present (Morgan 1996). Finch argues that there is a need to recognise that family relationships are enacted by doing, as suggested by Morgan (1996), but in addition the notion of displaying is an important part of distinguishing family relationships. There is an acknowledgement within her argument that sociological tools of performance and performativity could be seen to be sufficient in conceptualising the developments within the contemporary family, and furthermore she argues that display offers a more substantive analysis of the process by which family relations are established. The term display should be used in preference to performance; she argues that performance does not adequately meet the necessary criteria for three reasons. Firstly, that the term was previously and intentionally limited to identifying individual identity, secondly that there is an implied clear delineation between actor and audience, and thirdly that the implicit interaction between audience and actor are face-to-face. For these three reasons Finch argues that performance/performativity does not adequately convey an understanding of 'family meanings'. Display can be seen as an approach to recognise the ways that relationships are enacted and recognised specifically, as family practices in the present, for an audience. This chapter seeks to use Finch's definition of display to address and further develop ideas of fluidity of the meanings and representations that surround 'the family', focusing particularly on parenting practices.

The main aim of this chapter is to explore three social practices in order to illustrate the dynamics of display in relation to family practice. Families in both case studies combine the notion of 'doing family' with 'displaying family' in a variety of social practices; this chapter draws on three of these practices – teaching-learning, demonstrating, and delineating. Each of these social practices further explores how display is distinct and different from notions of performance, as outlined by

Finch (ibid: 76–7). The first section illustrates the social practice of teaching-learning which explores the fluid notion of both actor and audience. The second section characterises the social practice of demonstrating, which seeks to investigate the distance of actor and audiences. The third section aims to deal with the social practice of delineating, where ideas of individual identity are constantly entwined with collective or group identity. Each of these sections draws on one particular aspect that makes the idea of display distinctive; however, this is not to say that there are not other aspects of display that could have been explored. The chapter uses social practices to illustrate that displaying is a way that individuals recognise their own actions and the actions of others as being parents and part of a family practice.

All three sections seek to expand on what Finch terms ‘background features’, items that can be used as sociological tools, such as physical objects, that researchers need to pay attention to when exploring display to include perceptions of time-space and the role of emotions. Each of the sections will examine the use of objects within the context of these practices to explore beyond the merely symbolic to the practical use of objects in order to inform and enable skilled activities to take place (Shove et al. 2007). In addition the sections will draw upon parents’ perceptions of time-space to develop the notion of the positioning of audiences raised by Finch (ibid), and the expression of emotion made by parents when reflecting on the activities that they carry out in relation to these social practices. By expanding on the list of ‘tools’ that can be used, the chapter aims to generate a clearer depiction of how families, specifically parents, use display to establish themselves in their families within a changing and fluid context.

A secondary aim of this chapter is to explore different focus points for investigating the cooking and eating habits of families. The cooking and eating of food, within the context of the family, has previously been examined by focusing on the activities on the table and through the framework of the ‘proper meal’ (Bell and Valentine 1997:59). The family has been seen as a unit of sociological enquiry and food was just another way to examine the nuances of *the family*, for instance marking social and cultural differences, (Hardyment 1995) or the economic conditions of the family (Charles and Kerr 1986). Using this approach, food has largely been seen as a mechanism through which sociologists can see how family is displayed and reproduced as the family. Recently, enabled

by the work of feminist thinkers, the perceived heterogeneous ideology of family life has been challenged as a mode of enquiry and a more fluid frame-worker has been suggested (see Stacey 1990, Katz and Monk 1993). Family has largely been seen as a shifting concept, however, in the context of food and the family, family has still mostly been seen through the lens of being a ‘proper meal’ (Murcott 1997). This chapter aims to destabilise the focus and framework for future research by suggesting the importance of other activities and practices in the understanding of food and family.

5.1 – Teaching-Learning

5.1.1 – The Social Practice of Teaching-Learning

This section seeks to explore the notion of actor and audience in relation to the social practice of teaching-learning. Parents are often depicted as the agent of transfer of information and skills that can be passed on to children. For instance, the perceived current deficiency in culinary skills is seen as an gap in the teaching given to young people. The skill shortage, in part, has been seen by policy makers as the inability of parents to teach their children the necessary basic cookery skills (Lang et al. 2005). These ideas have given rise to government interventions that target and scrutinise women’s, and specifically mothers’, caring and parenting practices by teaching them how to cook healthy food and wanting them to share this knowledge with their children so creating healthy families, such as the ‘Cook and Eat’ programmes (Green et al. 2009:213). The implication of these initiatives is that parents are teachers and children are learners and subsequently receivers of this knowledge. This section seeks to move away from the notion that parents only impart knowledge and that the children are the intended audience.

The following section seeks to illustrate how families that took part in the study are involved in the practice of teaching-learning. The practice of teaching-learning is created through the arrangement of activities which are shaped through particular doings and sayings. The act of cooking and eating in these families involves activities such as: having breakfast together, eating sweets, and reheating of leftovers. These activities are created though time-space (daily routine), objects (chocolate, eggs, and leftovers) and emotions (pleasure, restraint, and trust); these in combination

dictate, shape, and maintain the social practice of teaching-learning. By using these illustrations the section aims to explore the shifting dynamics of relationships.

5.1.2 – Szeged

There are many families who engage in the social practice of teaching-learning through their daily food activities, however, the Gundel family have displayed and articulated this social practice particularly effectively. The activities that they are involved in, although unique to their family, have commonalities with other activities that families in the Szeged case study are involved in, therefore displaying the social practice of teaching-learning. These are activities such as: spending time with children, warming up previously prepared food, and appreciating different ways of cooking. These activities when displayed in the way that the Grundel family and other families in Szeged do, the social practice of teaching-learning can be seen as a practice that both makes and identifies this group as a family. There is a perceived need to teach-learn, simultaneously, so that the group can evolve not only individually but as a group, taking into account others' feelings and making their own daily routine easier, and that of other members. The Gurdel family articulates, through particular activities, the importance of teaching-learning for all of the family members.

In the Gurdel family, Anita, Peter, and their two children, Elizabet and Otto, in fact all the family appear to have a regular daily food routine. Both Anita and Peter are employed; Peter works long hours which mean that he often does not come home until the children are in bed or he needs to bring work home. Anita is employed by the University of Szeged, however, she is only employed on a casual basis. Anita wants to get a permanent contract with the University and in order to do this she often feels the need to work unpaid, and researches in her own time with little or no funding. Due to the couple's employment commitments, the parents in this family need to organise their daily routine to make sure they can spend time and create spaces to care for their children.

The family have a set routine and this reveals something about the practicalities in this family, which speaks to other social practices prevalent in other families in this case study area. The family's normal morning routine starts with both parents rising at six-thirty. Peter will go and wake the children and Anita will start to put breakfast together. Although both the children are at school, Peter

still needs to prompt them to get dressed, make their beds, wash, and brush their teeth. Once the children are getting ready Peter comes downstairs and makes the hot drinks for the family, coffee and tea for Anita and him, and hot chocolate for the children. On each of their plates there is – toast, cold meats or liver paste, peppers or tomatoes, and half a slice of bread with jam. Neither parent would say that breakfast is the main meal of the day, but Peter insists that the family sit down together once a day, and as he works all day and most evenings, breakfast is the only suitable time. The constraints that are placed on Peter together with his insistence that the family eats together, means that breakfast is the only time when both of these requirements can be fulfilled. Peter's instigation of this activity is emphasised by the activity that is carried out by Anita when he is not at home. Anita will take the children breakfast in bed so that she has time for other things. Once breakfast is eaten the family members leave to go to school, university, or to visit clients.

Throughout the Gurdel's morning routine the family are seen to be teaching each other ways in which to behave, learning through these experiences what is seen to be appropriate in the context of being part of this family. Anita, for instance, has learnt that breakfast is Peter's only time with the children. She will spend time in the evening with him; the children are still too young to stay up that late. As a result she has learnt to prepare breakfast for the family so that the children can cultivate a relationship with their father and they all can feel part of a family. The family's routine could be seen to be instigated and maintained solely by Anita; Peter however, is teaching his children how he expects them to prepare for the day ahead, by washing themselves, brushing their teeth, and making their beds. He has also learnt that if he wants to eat and spend time with his children he needs to spend time with them in the morning, and although he does not prepare the breakfast, he does other activities besides that in order that breakfast can take place. The parents both want their children to feel like they are being taught valuable lessons on how to be a correct member of society and that their parents are people with whom they need to spend time. Through this routine, the parents are not just teaching and setting an example, but they are also learning how to achieve what they want, showing that teaching and learning are interconnected and are one social practice.

Anita and the children have their own activities when they come back from the university and school, which display the practice of teaching-learning. After breakfast the family members go their

separate ways and eat separately for lunch. The children eat at school; although Anita is involved in helping to buy the food for the kitchens that provide the food for the children at the school, this is her only involvement. Anita will often not eat lunch, she will forget and although she knows she needs to eat, she has work to complete before she picks up her children from school at five. After Anita has accompanied the children home from school she goes to the gym or an exercise class. If Peter is home he watches the children but if he is not they watch television on their own. During this time they will often eat a small amount of candy.

“They usually eat something, but not too much. Only some sweets; they eat a “túrórudi”¹¹ from the fridge or I usually keep sweets at home; we have a bowl full of all kind of candies, chewing gums. For example they ask if they are allowed eating “túrórudi”, but if they take away a piece of candy, a “Mamba” from that small bowl, then they don’t ask for permission.”

This quote illustrates, along with the Easter Bunnies in the cupboard in September (see figure 5.1), that the children have learnt to moderate their own diet with regard to chocolate. The children appear to have learnt the rules that their parents have taught them regarding the consumption of sweets, realising that they must not only savour festive celebratory sweets, but that they have to ask permission to eat the sweets in the fridge. They do not, however, have to ask if they take anything from the fruit bowl or the small bowl. In spite of being able to take fruit whenever they like, Anita still finds that she needs to put the fruit “in their hands”, washed and peeled, before they will eat it. Anita appears to be teaching them that the items in the fruit bowl and small bowl hold insignificant consequences for them if eaten, however, the sweets in the fridge are more of a treat and their consumption has to be restricted by adults. The children appear to have learnt to limit themselves by the amount they have because they seem to know that Anita observes their behaviour even though she is not there to physically stop them. In return Anita has learnt to trust her children not to eat too many sweets if she is away from the flat.

¹¹ This is a special Hungarian sweetmeat; chocolate coated cottage cheese finger.

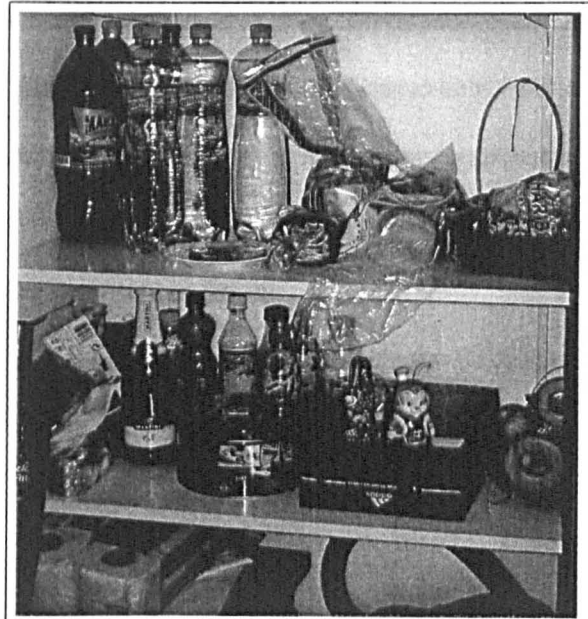


Figure 5.1 – Gurdel’s Store Cupboard

The family’s evening routine is more flexible than in the morning. Their activities, however, demonstrate how different members have been taught-learnt in order to ensure they are all fed in the evening. When Anita gets home from the gym she will prepare a meal for the children. Monday, Tuesday, or Wednesday, Anita serves leftovers; however, when the leftovers are finished she will cook quick meals, such as an omelette. Peter is sometimes at home when his children are eating but he is often working so Anita does not disturb him. Peter is able to feed and look after himself; he has learnt to become the “master of warming” food. Peter has declared that he has no interest in learning how to cook; he is still able to feed himself on the food that Anita leaves him to warm, and Anita has learnt that she wants to get her children to bed at a reasonable time and therefore she cannot wait for Peter. Peter has been taught by Anita how to safely warm his food so that he does not go hungry.

The family’s routine means that they do a number of activities through the project of cooking and eating, the social practice of teaching-learning is one that positions this group as a family. Evidently from the account above, there is a considerable amount of time required by Anita to feed the family, and although Anita says that she feels indifferent to cooking, this does not mean that she does not take pleasure in seeing her family eat as Blake et al (2009:195) state “we must not assume that she is doing these performances on her own and in isolation”. So Anita has time to go to the

gym, she has learnt to cook meals in advance at the weekend, and in addition, Peter and the children have been taught-learnt to carry out other activities in order to help facilitate these family activities. Peter helps to get the children ready for school in the morning to allow her time to put the breakfast together, and the children sit quietly while she is at the gym and do not eat too many sweets. Both parents have created different activities that mean that teaching-learning is practised.

5.1.3 - Ilkley

There are many families in which the social practice of teaching-learning can be seen through their daily food activities. The Chase family, in particular, displayed and articulated this social practice, which is seen to have commonalities with many of the families in the case study. These are activities such as; snacking out of sight, spending time with the children, warming up previously prepared food, learning to cook, and being advised what is healthy. There is a perceived need to teach-learn, simultaneously, so that members of the group can evolve not only individually but as a group, taking into account others' feelings and making other members' and their own daily routine easier. The Chase family articulates, through particular activities, the importance of teaching-learning for all of the family members.

The Chase household consists of Simon and Bethany with their three children Lulu, Mary, and Gregory, who live in a house that they are currently renovating. At the time of the research they had recently completed work on their kitchen with the inclusion of all modern conveniences including a gas cooker with a dedicated wok burner. Simon works in the nearby city and commutes every morning, while Bethany is a childminder who runs her own business from the house. All three of their own children are at various stages in their schooling career. They are active members of their local church which they attend every Sunday.

Bethany runs a child minding business which she operates from the family's house. The children that she looks after start arriving from eight in the morning, and the last child will leave at around six in the evening. Often the children will not have had breakfast before arriving at Bethany's on the understanding that they will be fed before they go to school, or if they are too young to go to school, they will be fed throughout the day. The house is often a busy environment with constant

comings and goings at different points in the day. Bethany does not separate her own children from the ‘minded children’¹². This is particularly prominent when it is mealtime, when Bethany would like space away from the children. “I’ve usually got it [dinner] made by quarter past four, so my own children will usually eat with the minded children and then I’ll eat later when they’ve all gone home cos I want to be able to sit down and enjoy it and the same for my husband.” Having a meal with her husband happens frequently; it is also a frequent occurrence for her husband to find his dinner amongst the leftovers, and he sometimes eats with the minded children. Although Simon says that he cannot cook he tries to support Bethany in a variety of subtle ways around meal time, by getting the children away and making sure they are ready for school before he leaves for work. Simon also needs to fuel his body quite regularly with carbohydrates if he is going running, and will quietly eat a packet of crisps hidden from view when his wife is busy with other children, or he will eat with the minded children so his wife does not feel that she has to provide for him as well.

Lulu their eldest daughter has recently started cooking for herself. This is because Lulu often goes to see friends after school and will not arrive home until later, or at least after the minded children have left. Lulu already knows her way sufficiently around the kitchen and is confident in carrying out tasks on her own, including using new appliances in the kitchen. According to Bethany - “... And stir fries, she’s got the idea of that, cos we got... this new cooker we’ve got erm, it has a wok burner on it which I think is great, it certainly makes a difference.” Although Bethany has tried to guide her daughter on what type of cooking she should do.

“she’s getting the idea of what goes with what, I see her going into the fridge and it’s obviously forming in her mind ‘oh, I can make something out of that’. Things will be coming out and she will be throwing it all together in a pan. It’s still a bit too much frying everything, I do have to keep telling her ‘well you know, just be careful cos there’s a lot of fat in it when you’re frying’, but erm, pasta in particular, she’s sort of good with pasta.”

Despite the guidance that Bethany tries to give, it is still Lulu’s responsibility to maintain her own diet through the week. Lulu has managed through this activity to make her own space within the family, on occasions astounding people in the household by cooking for the whole family.

“She did surprise me the other day, I can’t remember where I’d been when I came home she said ‘I made a meal’. In one of the baking trays, she’d done the pasta and she’d put a tin of tuna in,

¹² This is the term that Bethany uses to describe the children she is paid to look after

sweetcorn in, tomatoes and mushrooms and a lot of cheese on top and it was really good, but she'd obviously put everything together herself. And she was very proud of herself that she made a whole meal, she can be quite spontaneous sometimes."

This sharing of values and apparent pride in the provisioning for others is evidently something that Lulu has learnt, but for her the cooking of a meal is also proving that she could do it for herself.

Two of the children do not cook for themselves and their eating habits are largely controlled by Bethany. In particular Gregory's breakfast is cooked by Bethany at about eight o'clock in the morning. "...[H]e loves eggs, so he'll ask for a fried egg or a scrambled egg most mornings but I'm trying to limit it to alternate mornings because I'm not sure it's good to have that many eggs." Bethany tries to encourage her children to eat more fruit and vegetables and limit the amount of biscuits that they eat. Although she admits that she has no idea what they spend their dinner money on, she does however like to know that they are eating a balanced diet at home, which also means not eating too much food. Balancing their diet by not only providing them with a range of food, she also tries to control how much they eat by controlling what they eat and when. The children have to ask if they want any snack foods such as yogurt or leftover pudding, anything that does not require cooking and is outside their meal times.

Both Simon and Bethany are in agreement that Simon is unable to cook; however, Simon does one off cooking activities. Simon does one cooking activity, which he carries out irregularly, but he has learnt that the activity enables him to spend time with his son. Simon can however cook corn beef hash, which is one of his favourite meals, but not many of his family like to eat corn beef hash. Apart from his corn beef hash, Simon cooks a 'big boy's breakfast' which is cooked for brunch and consists of eggs, sausages, bacon, and beans. Simon describes this as the meal between breakfast and lunch which will often mean that both breakfast and lunch will be missed and replaced by this one meal. This is a treat for Simon and his children to have on a Saturday, although it in no way happens every Saturday. Simon finds this meal "satisfying" to have as he is sitting down and is able to share something that he and his children enjoy and take their time over without anyone else coming and going. By doing the activity of cooking a big boy's breakfast Simon has learnt that he can carry out other social practices that he considers important to the raising of his children.

Within the Chase family there have been things that have been taught-learnt over the years that they have lived together in the household. Some of these things are constantly maintained, such as the children asking what they can eat between meals, and other things evolve from a change in attitude because of age. Different members of the family cook for different reasons and have experimented, some in a more limited way than others, in what not only tastes right together but what will also satisfy them.

5.1.4 – Points of Comparison

The Grudel and Chase families both offer instances where their activities mobilise the social practices of teaching-learning; these activities invoke and express various emotions involving objects and perceptions of time-space. The act of cooking and eating in these families involves activities, such as; having breakfast together, eating sweets, and reheating leftovers. These activities are created through daily routine (time-space), chocolate, eggs, and leftovers (objects) and pleasure, restraint, and trust (emotions). The combinations of these elements create activities, which are dictating and shaping the social practice of teaching-learning. This section aims to draw attention to each specific activity and focus on the emotions that are expressed through, and by, the activities that are done by parents.

Parents in both case studies who were involved in the social practice of teaching-learning, expressed emotions such as pleasure when teaching-learning from their children. In the Grudel household both parents have learnt and are teaching their children to have breakfast and that in order to spend time together, they need to wake up earlier, and they are being taught by their father that getting up, washing and dressing makes them competent social performers (Morgan 1996). The activities that take place at the meal table seem less important to the family, such as civilising appetites (Mennell 1985, Morgan 1996), socialisation (Brannen et al 1994), or learning manners (Bell and Valentine 1997). This is not to say that they are not part of family life, but what is more important is that they all sit down together on time. This gives Peter the greatest amount of pleasure as because of his work commitments this is the only time that he sees his children. This is displayed through the change in the family's routine; when Peter is not home, Anita will take the children

breakfast in bed. Through these illustrations it can be seen that the parents are both givers and receivers of information.

Similarly, Simon in the Chase household will create an informal setting for his children by cooking brunch. The tempting smell and presence of bacon, sausage, and eggs is something that enables Simon and his children to be relaxed and casual with each other. Simon calls this meal 'brunch' as the meal is had between breakfast and lunch; the activity is treated as special because of its irregularity and timing, meaning that he sees the meal as an unformulated space-time. Simon says that he feels contentment when he, the non-cook, provides this meal for his family. Although brunch is described as a meal, it does not necessitate the same manner of monitoring behaviour as other meals, such as the family's Sunday dinner, where manners and appetite are checked and corrected (Charles and Kerr 1988, Grieshaber 1997, Hupkens 1998). The creation of brunch makes a liminal time-space through which what is considered to be the norm, and other formalities can be dispensed with, subsequently meaning that it is distinguishable as not being a *proper meal* (Douglas 1972).

The domestic division of labour can change, however the division of household chores is complex and often an integral part of gender identification (Bowlby 1997: 347). Women perform an important role in providing care (Morgan 1996), and men are often seen to dictate the terms upon which food provisioning takes place (DeVault 1991, 1996; Murcott 1982a, 1982b, 1983; Sobal and Nelson 2003). These two families have what could be described as 'traditional roles' where the fathers financially support the family and mothers have dual roles within the household; they provide financial support and carry out the majority of household chores, particularly the ones relating to food. Anita and Bethany spend a considerable amount of time preparing, cooking, and cleaning for their families, so investing time and energy into feeding their respective families. Both Bethany and Anita say that they mainly enjoy cooking, and that they take pleasure in seeing their families eating, but, because of the daily regularity of the activity it is often mundane and uninspiring. This can be seen in other families where women are the regular cooks, such as Helga in the Batha household who used to enjoy cooking at university, and has come to loath cooking since owning her own house.

However, we cannot assume that these women do these activities in isolation (Blake et al 2009), or that other members of the family feel differently.

In both families the men in the family do little or no cooking. This does not, however, mean that they are not contributing to the practicalities of feeding the family. With Simon's invisible eating habits and Peter's ability to warm food, they are both capable of eating in the evenings without asking their partners to prepare something for them. However their practices are not contained to their own eating habits or routine, they both help prepare the children for school and do other things to ensure the feeding of the family can take place, something which is similar to the shopping trips that Leon takes with his son in chapter 4. The children also play their part in ensuring that they are fed. Although it could be argued that these are idealistic ways of viewing the family, these examples are still undeniable moments when the family is brought together in the practice of teaching-learning, whether that family eats together or not.

The social practice of teaching-learning is more prominently seen away from the table. The practice of teaching-learning evokes feelings of trust and restraint. In both case-studies these emotional involvements are seen in the activities that are carried out by the families. Both of these families teach their children self-control and learn to trust them through their responses. In the Grudel family the children are often left on their own after school whilst Anita goes to her exercise class and Peter is still at work. The children are earning their parents' trust through this activity, in particular, in relation to the food that they do and do not consume. The two children have learnt while their parents are in the house that there are certain bowls that they can eat from and other places that they cannot take candy from. In the Chase household the couple's eldest child, Lulu, is learning that if she cooks for herself she can stay out later and gain more independence over her own diet, despite her mother's disapproval of her choice. Her parents are learning to trust and acknowledge that she is growing up and therefore needs to be treated differently. Drawing on James' work on confection and the idea that the appeal of some foodstuff to children is as a result of the food's positioning away from adult culture, thus being designated as not 'real' food noted from the colour, shape and names (James 2001:76). "Adults continually urge their offspring to eat up their food and lament that they are 'fussy eaters', but children are only picky in adult terms." (James 2001: 84). In this quote James shows

that there is a difference in the perceptions of what is edible and acceptable in adult terms; in both case studies children are learning and being taught by their parents what is seen as 'real' food in adult terms, and learning to integrate themselves into this world. The children's acceptance of these rules builds trust between parent and child, changing the way that household labour is divided. This social practice involves both parents and children, within the context of family, displaying the way teaching and learning are intertwined to form one practice, highlighting the fluidity of family.

5.2 – Demonstrating

5.2.1 – The Social Practice of Demonstrating

Demonstrating is a social practice that parents achieve through a variety of activities that they carry out nearly every day: the practice of demonstrating where a person, specifically parents, acts passively to inform their child. In other words, the practice contains activities that do not intentionally directly influence their children, but display their own values, emotions, or feelings. The parent-child relationship is often depicted as one of power and control (Giddens 1991; Lupton 1997). The practice of demonstrating shows that there are some activities through which parents do not intend to gain control or power over their children, and explores the distance at which display can take place.

The following two sections aim to show how families that took part in the study are involved in the practice of demonstrating. The practice of demonstrating is created through the arrangement of activities which are shaped through particular doings and sayings. Different activities such as restraint involve: things (fruit, vegetables, meat, freezers, a big saucepan); emotional labour (personal investment in time planning and preparing meals in advance for others); and space-time (the family's routine). They start, however, with the perceived need for the practice of demonstrating to take place. And so, by carrying out doings and sayings in specific ways, individuals are involved in placing themselves within part of the family.

5.2.2 – Szeged

There are many families in the Szeged case study that illustrate, through their activities, the social practice of demonstrating, however, the Kis family's activities effectively echo similar doings and sayings of other families. In the context of families in the Szeged case study, there are many activities that different members do in order to demonstrate to other members, and this is particularly true of parents' actions. In the Kis family, June, the mother of the family, demonstrates through activities that she wants the family to show a degree of care for themselves and others, even if these activities appear to go unnoticed by the rest of the family. June is involved in a number of activities that demonstrate to other family members how to behave, including self-restraint, caring for others, and being organised. The families in Szeged and specifically the Kis family demonstrate through a variety of activities how to display the practice of demonstrating.

June sees herself as the only person that is able to cook and so demonstrates care for the different members of her family. June and her husband Kurt live in a detached house with their three sons and Kurt's mother. Kurt's mother lives downstairs and can live relatively independently, the rest of the family occupy the kitchen downstairs and all of the rooms upstairs. June is employed by the university and Kurt owns his own garage which is near the house. June and Kurt's sons often have their girlfriends to stay over during the weekend, which means that the number of people in the house increases from five to eight. She finds that her house is always full of people at various times of the day, and June sees all these people as hungry mouths to feed and in need of a meal no matter what time they come home.

Besides the people that are in the house, June takes care of her elderly father who lives near the family in Szeged. June's father's health is failing and she describes him as 'fragile', and because he is her father she feels responsible for ensuring that he stays in good health. She explains that since her mother died he feels that there is little point in cooking just for himself. She knows that even though he is able to prepare food for himself he will often just not eat. An important way in which June ensures her father's health is good is to make sure he has meals in the fridge/freezer, so that all he has to do is put the meal into the oven. June sees it as her job to prepare meals for her father,

which she delivers every Saturday. Visiting her father not only means that she can put the meals into the fridge, but the trip also means that she can check to see whether he has been eating the meals that she has been leaving with him. The meals give her a reason to visit her father and demonstrate her love for him.

As well as cooking for her elderly father she also cooks for her mother-in-law who lives with the family. June and her husband moved in with her mother-in-law and extended the property so that it has an additional floor. June's mother-in-law says she has mobility problems and therefore cannot go shopping or move around the kitchen in order to cook a meal. June, however, feels that there is "nothing wrong with her legs", she is perfectly able to walk down to the shops to buy her own food, so that she could cook for herself. June, however, is the one that cooks for her and takes the food through to her every day, and she says the reason that she takes the food through to her mother-in-law is because "...she cannot be expelled. She is standing gaping till I go to bed. So that we usually don't [invite her]. So it's just such ... Well, I carry down the food". As June reiterates, she prefers to take her meals through to her mother-in-law, because if she comes upstairs to eat the meal, her mother-in-law stays too long. Although she demonstrates her commitment and care of her mother-in-law's well-being, she does so begrudgingly however.

June displays how she cares for different members of her family even if she is cooking from the same pot. In the previous three examples she sees her activities as providing and demonstrating care for others. These contrasting examples arise from one origin, June's weekly "big cook". June's "big cook" takes place at the weekend when she spends nearly a whole day peeling, chopping and cooking a variety of meals that can easily be reheated. June makes sure that this cooking marathon means that she can prepare meals for her father and the family at least through until Thursday. She sees this project as a way of organising herself and providing care for all of her family both within and outside the household. June sees herself as having the power to provide nutritional sustenance, which demonstrates her love, care, and commitment to family members.

Apart from cooking for everyone else June cooks for herself and demonstrates to the rest of her family the need to control food intake. June has been on a diet which requires a particular commitment and dedication of time. The diet is very exact as June describes;

“June: This is that four-day diet, which means that the first day is fruit-day; you are allowed to eat only fruits. The second day is meat-day. Well, this is such [a day], that meat ... But breakfast is always fruit; lunch is meat, ...

Interviewer: So, the breakfast is, is ...

J: It's always fruit...

I: ...independently of which day it is. Yes.

J: Yeah. Lunch on, on the second day is meat, however it can be – if there is no other - boiled meat or.... It can be anything; cold cuts with one slice of bread, every kind of steamed meat or roasted meat, but not fatty. And then you can eat – I think – fish as well...

I: On these days, dairy products cannot be ...?

J: Or, yes, if I have cheese for lunch at noon, then supper has to be the same; if meat, then supper is also meat...”

Each day June has to eat one particular food group a day and people can only be on the diet for a maximum of four months. June has lost a substantial amount of weight while on the diet. One of her sons has followed her example and joined her in taking part in the diet. June is proud of her son who has lost more weight as he has combined his diet with football and jogging. June has set an example to her son about how to be restrained about the food that they eat. She has also shown how limiting the amount of food that they eat, means they can change the amount their bodies might weight. By dieting June is demonstrating the need to be careful and watchful of the effects of food on their health.

5.2.3 – Ilkley

There are many families in the Ilkely case study that illustrated the social practice of demonstrating, however, the Lee family's activities effectively echo similar doings and sayings in other families. Within the Ilkely case study there were many activities that different members did in order to demonstrate particular values to other members – this is particularly true of parents' actions. In the Lee family, John and Zoe (the parents of the family) demonstrate through activities, to show their care and love themselves, and to demonstrate to their children what to care about. Both John and Zoe are involved in a number of activities that demonstrate to other family members how to behave towards an unknown other, when it is appropriate to eat particular foods, and the changing perceptions of what different genders are expected to do for the family. The families in Ilkley and specifically the Lee family exhibit, through a variety of activities, how to display the practice of demonstrating.

John and Zoe have three children together of ages ten, seven, and four. John and Zoe were married when John started university; the couple decided that they could not afford for both of them

to be in full time education, so when John had finished university and they had a couple of children, Zoe went back to education. They now are both in employment, and from Tuesday to Thursday John works in London or Paris. Part of the family's weekly routine is the family breakfast, where all the family eat cereal together, when John is home.

Both John and Zoe are very conscious about how they source their food and have a fruit and vegetable box delivered every week from a local greengrocer; they specifically ask for food that is not 'exotic' because of the air miles that the food might have flown to reach their plate. The parents in the Lee family often set out to demonstrate to their children, through a variety of activities, appropriate ways in which to behave. The following section will draw on the activities of the Lee family to illustrate how and why parents carry out the social practice of demonstrating.

Having meals together is important to the Lee family, including breakfast. The couple started to have breakfast with their children, as breakfast gives the family an opportunity to eat together while John is at home. Both parents are very specific about what the children are allowed to eat, each of the children have their own cereal that is kept in the store cupboard. Toast is considered not to be substantial enough and is only eaten on special occasions such as Christmas. Toast is seen, however, as a quick snack by many of the families in Ilkely, as something to keep hunger at bay, but very rarely seen as a meal on its own. By denying their children toast for breakfast the parents are also demonstrating to the children what will sustain them through the morning's activities.

Dividing up the household chores is a task that each couple in the research did differently. In some families the mother took on all the household chores related to food; other families were more balanced between the couples. In the case of Zoe and John both parents wanted to take equal responsibility for feeding their children; the times when each parent cooks for their children is decided by the couple's employment commitments. John describes how Zoe and him try and make their relationship "...evenly divided". They also have very different cooking styles and neither one likes the other to interfere. For instance John struggled to recall where he learnt to make cauliflower cheese, and said that he doesn't follow recipes, whereas Zoe cooks from recipes. John sees Zoe's cooking as superior and therefore when they have guests over for a meal Zoe does all the cooking. He reconciles this inequality by doing extra work in the house:

“it’s like an unspoken agreement, you know, she’ll do that therefore, you know I’ll do some, well I’ll be looking after the children the whole time she’s doing it, for example, she’s got preparations to do and I’ll get them to bed, and sort of present them and say ‘kiss your child, goodnight’. Um... and I’ll do all the cleaning up afterwards...”

This division of providing food for different types of people demonstrates to their children that people need to work together. In addition the parents show their children that there is a need to play to their strengths when it involves providing food for others that are not family, because that food should be of a higher standard. Both John and Zoe try and demonstrate that they do not abide by what they term ‘traditional gender roles’, that is the women being solely responsible for feeding the family.

Both parents cook meals for the children throughout the week and both parents want to show their children what healthy food is, and that they have to eat things they do not like. Zoe and John both want to provide meals that the children will eat, as John describes; “the idea that you put in the effort in order to make something nice particularly for the children... not so much for your wife I suppose... (laughter) you’d like to think that you’re giving them a good meal”. He adds that “a good meal is healthy food and that sort of thing and so... so I think that’s part of it as well... you’re playing your part in doing a good job for them and looking after them.” John illustrates how he is not only looking after his children’s present health but is also showing them how to have continued good health; “I don’t necessarily cook the children what they would like and I don’t particularly take into account their likes and dislikes in what I’m cooking so um... they just get what they’re given”. Zoe enjoys cooking dishes that the children will take pleasure in eating, but often finds that she is under pressure. This strain is particularly felt on Wednesdays, when she has been busy at work and John is away in London or Paris; she feels like she does not provide the quality of food that she would like. She makes ‘quick meals’ that she sees as having limited nutritional value. Both parents are demonstrating to their children that they need to be taken care of and that they love them, even if the children might question this when having to eat a meal that they do not like.

5.2.4 – Points of Comparison

The two case studies are represented here through the doings and sayings that display the social practice of demonstrating. The two sections show how families that took part in the study are involved in the practice of demonstrating. The practice of demonstrating is created through the

arrangement of activities which are shaped through particular doings and sayings. Different activities such as restraint, involve: things (fruit, vegetables, meat, freezers, a big saucepan); emotional labour (time planning and preparing meals in advance); and space-time (the family's routine). They start, however, with the perceived need for the practice of demonstrating to take place, and so by carrying out doings and sayings in specific ways, individuals are involved in orientating themselves as a part of the family. This section therefore draws upon the exemplar families above to explore how they both compare and contrast in relation to their doings/sayings and the activities, and in so doing there is a need to explore their connections with emotions, time-space and objects.

The act of caring can be seen to develop a relationship between a person's dependents, superiors and siblings (Waerness 1987, Morgan 1996); in addition to these delineations, care can be seen to be about or for something (Dalley 1988). For instance, people can care about their own values and care for others, and these two types of different caring can be seen in the two case studies. In the Lee family the parents demonstrate through their choice of food their care about things such as the impact of air miles, additives, and the need to support local business. The family care for their children and demonstrate that all the food must be used before it goes off, even if the resulting meal is 'a bit odd' or something that they do not like. In the Kis family, June demonstrates that she cares about her own body and she cares for her relatives, both those residing within the household, and those outside. Parents demonstrate that they care *about* and care *for* their children without involving them directly but also making them understand the importance of the activity.

June in the Kis family feels she needs to care more about herself and what she eats. Orbach states that people feel the necessity to change the self in order to 'make' things right for others (cited in Morgan 1996). By controlling what she eats June is demonstrating that there is a need to act with restraint because food can change perceptions of body size (Heenan 2005; Lupton 1997). June does not intend to teach any of her family her special diet, but through her actions her son has decided to follow her example. Although June is glad that her son is losing weight it was never her intention; her intention was to care about herself. Similarly, in the Lee household, both John and Zoe have specific values that they wish to display and demonstrate to people, in particular their children. Both parents in the Lee family do not set out to directly teach their children about their own values of buying

locally, but by cooking their dinners using locally grown produce they are displaying to them what values they consider worthy of caring about. The social practice of demonstrating means that often parents display, perhaps unintentionally, that they are competent performers that hold particular beliefs and values to care about (Alanen 1990; Morgan 1996; Valentine 1999).

The Kis and Lee families are indicative of what can be seen in other families in the case studies, in relation to how this informs the social practice of demonstrating. In the case of Hungarian families, the Kis family can be seen as characteristic in terms of the activities that take place. A recent survey revealed that Hungarian women are more likely to be in full-time employment and work similar hours to men in comparison to UK women. However, despite the fact that Hungarian women work a similar number of hours, women still do the majority of the cooking (Tang and Cousins 2005). The women in the Hungarian case study often use the weekend to prepare cooked dishes that can be reheated during the week. June is not different in the way that she pre-prepares meals at the weekend for the week ahead; like other families in Hungary she cooks not only for her household but also for older parents. By providing meals for her mother-in-law in particular, she demonstrates to the rest of her family how she manages her emotions, and she sees herself as providing a service for her mother-in-law (Hochschild 1983, James 1989). June sees the arrangement with her mother-in-law as something that she has to intentionally perform. If this service is stopped, then it will have consequences, such as her mother-in-law spending the evening with the family and therefore disrupting her family life. June demonstrates to her family how to manage their own emotions and care for others, balancing self-expression and self-control (Lewis et al. 1992).

In the case of the UK casestudies, the Lee family are similar to other families where fathers seem to be more involved with the cooking of food. Zoe and John have intentionally divided the cooking that the couple undertake for their children between themselves, depending on each other's schedules, despite the fact that John considers Zoe to be the better cook because she follows a recipe. The couple consider themselves to have similar opinions about what should be achieved through providing food for their children – it is more important to cook something healthy and something that uses up the contents of their vegetable box, rather than cooking something that the children like or want. Each of the parents in the case studies might be showing different values, skills or emotions to

their children but they still can be said to be undertaking the social practice of demonstrating. Therefore the families' activities and parenting culture is geographically dependant as seen by Holloway (1998), but also flexible and familiar. Parents in each of the families display their ability to care for a variety of audiences at a range of distances.

5.3 – Delineating

5.3.1 – The Social Practice of Delineating

This section attends to the way in which individuals are involved in displaying personal boundaries and influence over others through the illustration of the social practice of delineating. The section looks at two families in Ilkley and Szeged, taking their sayings about their everyday activities and doings as seen by a guest. These doings and sayings aim to illustrate the activities that act as signifiers of understandings and aid the establishment of relationships through the creation of boundaries. The social practice of delineating is when individuals construct boundaries, both physical and mental, within the context of everyday family life. The section specifically explores the interaction between partners, guests, and other members of the family, before continuing to explore how families from both case studies display family as a set of relational social interactions and more than the creation of an individual's identity.

5.3.2 - Szeged

In Szeged the social practice of shaping was often displayed through activities that happened between couples, and was highlighted by the presence of a guest in the household. There was one particular couple and one occasion, which illustrates this particularly effectively. It relates to the married couple Anita and Istvan who are in their sixties, and have been living in Szeged all of their working lives. Istvan was a train driver and Anita was a technician in the department of anthropology at the University of Szeged, although they are both now retired. Drawing on interviews with the couple and on one particular occasion that I had dinner with them, the section seeks to describe the couples' doings and sayings. The couples' doings and sayings, when carrying out food activities, display how the couple interact and shape each other's actions.

This is the second marriage for both of them, and they both have children from previous marriages; all but one of the children live outside of Szeged, but Anita's son still comes and eats with them regularly. Anita did the cooking throughout the time of this research, and at times had to force Istvan to eat. "I prepare some breakfast, aaa... because, as I say, if I don't prepare any, then Istvan doesn't eat." This is confirmed by Istvan; "I haven't got, my little Annie, I eat up just what there is. Or rather if, if she is not here at home then I am able to "not eat" (even) for a week." Throughout the interviews Istvan frequently said he did not care about food, but he is often very specific about the food that he eats. For instance, Istvan said how he would only eat fresh meat, therefore refusing to eat breaded meat; a common way in which Hungarians use leftover meat and stale bread. These two people have different views over what the daily requirements are for their bodies, and the action or lack of activity towards food means that eating takes a prominent role in the couple's relationship.

The people that took part in this research in Hungary are intensely private people, in particular the men in the household. This meant that my visits to their household were often treated with great suspicion. Istvan was very unsure about me coming to visit. Apparently, it was not just Istvan's personality to be cautious of strangers, according to the Hungarian researcher who assisted with the project this seems to be a typical feature of Hungarian men in general. There are many reasons for this but after discussing this with other Hungarian friends I would say that this attitude of vehemently protecting the home is, in a large part, down to past attitudes and how the home became a place of retreat from the communist regime. A place where you could keep things secret. By excluding anyone but family from your home, you could then protect your family and yourself against the regime. This role of protection and not domination of the household was taken up by Istvan in relation to my visit. This was further illustrated as soon as I walked through the door to their small panel flat. While Anita had already informed me on the telephone that we would be having fish soup, Istvan announced that we were going to have fish soup. By making the announcement, Istvan adopts an air of authority and a position of control over the situation.

As Sofia¹³ and I were greeted by Anita with her warm and welcoming smile, she ushered us quietly into the other room and explained that her neighbour was visiting and that she wanted her to go: Anita explained that her neighbour was being nosy. When the neighbour left and we went into the kitchen, I was offered a drink which I declined. The preparatory work for the cooking; the chopping, peeling and gutting of the fish, had already take place. Everything was laid out in neat white bowls, as according to the interviews, Istvan did the preparation work. While Anita was explaining what goes into the fish soup we were informed by Istvan that the fish was freshly caught that day by a friend, from the River Tizar (the river that runs through the town). My protection was ensured by the control that was maintained over the provenance of the ingredients and the messy food preparation work like the gutting of the fish, the peeling and chopping of vegetables having been done before I arrived, which allowed me to keep my hands and clothes clean and in that way I was drawn away from nosy neighbours. This protectionism was a continual theme and did much to define not only my role within the evening, but displayed the couple's relationship with each other.

After going through the list of ingredients with Anita, Istvan popped his head around the door; "beer?" This time I accepted. Istvan seemed uninterested in what was going on in the kitchen and in meeting me. The onions were fried and the water was added and brought to the boil. Anita was unsure what to do next, and so she looked to Istvan to what went in next. Several times during the cooking process Istvan was called in to tell Anita what went in next and then when everything was added, Istvan tested the dish for taste: seasoning was duly added by Anita. With each visit to the kitchen Istvan became more and more chatty, and increasingly recognised my presence. It started with him explaining further what went into the fish soup and where the fish came from, and what it was going to add to the dish. Once Istvan was talking everyone sat and listened. Throughout the evening there are moments where parts of the couple's relationship with each other are prominently displayed, for example, the instance cited above where Anita is unsure about what next to put in the soup. Although she cooks regularly and is obviously skilled in the kitchen, she constantly seeks reassurances from Istvan, and this could be seen to indicate that she can find comfort in the knowledge and authority he carries within their household.

¹³ The researcher that assisted with the project in Hungary

When we sat down to be served Anita looked up and smiled at all of us: “Shall I be Mum?” and equal portions of fish and liquid were poured into our bowls. As we began eating, the conversation continued, covering topics, largely about their eating habits, but also about crafts that Anita makes in the home to give to people as well as Istvan’s knowledge of the Beatles and Elvis. Then the inevitable happened, I managed to spill soup down my clean top, at which point I went bright red and Anita leapt up saying something, which was later translated as, “I should have put the napkins out!” and returned with kitchen paper. After we finished our second servings Anita cleared the table away and there was a phone call; Anita’s son had finished work and he was coming over to see them. Anita explained that he often eats the same food as them because he lives on his own, and she added that he probably would not eat if he had to cook for himself. Istvan says that this is not the case and seems hostile to this intrusion into their flat every night by her son. When her son arrives however he insists that he is not hungry and he does not want any fish soup, as he does not like fish. Anita ignores him and puts the dish along with a napkin beside him and he duly eats, maintaining her role as his mother. The delineation of who is able to enter and stay in the household is controlled and regulated by the couple, but there are boundaries between these decisions.

On reflection my presence was initially approved by Anita and for at least the first half of the evening it was made clear that I was her responsibility. Anita’s role was evidently to protect and provide for me, away from the prying eyes of her neighbour and from the food. There were moments when Istvan started to play the role of a host by offering me something to drink, and once we found common ground through music things became easier. I was a guest, but I already knew that the couple does not often desire visitors, including their adult children. “Istvan:... however, I’m not worried particularly even if they [their children] don’t come. So... I’m not such a person, that now, sit down, and, and family... I’m like my aunt. Family? That doesn’t mean anything...”. This illustrates the transitional nature of family roles which are linked to the more material circumstances of Hungarian households.

5.3.3 – Ilkley

In Ilkley the social practice of shaping can be seen in all the households that were in the research but were particularly prominent in the relationship between family members. Within the context of Ilkley, two participants from the Bishop family, Jack and Renee, show particularly clearly how the practice of shaping can be displayed. The Bishop household consists of Renee and Jack who are in their sixties, and have been married for a number of years. They have lived in West Yorkshire, and specifically in their current house, for the majority of their lives. The house that they currently own has been shared at various points with their children and grandchildren at a variety of stages of their lives. None of their children lived with them at the time of the research. However, they were supporting their son who could not drive at the time of the research which meant that they assisted him with food provisioning. This section contrasts how they speak of their daily meal and how they interacted with me. Their doings and saying reveal how the couple influence each other's behaviour.

Both Jack and Renee cook, however, Renee does the majority of the cooking. The couple has very strong opinions about food; Jack discusses eating as optional – he says he only needs to eat one meal a day, “[s]ometimes that’s all I’ll eat during the day, one meal and some cream crackers at night. And I won’t think I’ve done any harm”. Renee would be quite happy if there was a pill you could take instead of eating. Renee does the majority of the cooking, although she takes no pleasure in it. Despite not enjoying cooking, and Jack being able to cook, when Renee is away she organises what he might eat on a day-by-day basis, even though Jack states that this is never necessary. He makes all his own meals, and likes trying new recipes when Renee is away. Renee states that she does not like it when Jack cooks, as he makes too much washing-up and does not cook things that she will enjoy.

The couple maintain a polite boundary between guests and their family. This was achieved in a variety of ways. The first indication that there was a polite difference between being family and being a guest is when tea or coffee is offered. This is not an unusual custom in the households that were visited but was something that was given great care and attention; in the case of Renee and Jack there was a plate with a selection of biscuits that were carefully laid out on it. In talking to the couple

it was discovered that having someone around for a meal in the couple's house is something that happens rarely, but having people for a cup of tea or coffee seems quite a common occurrence, as there was even special milk for guests. As Renee says "my close friends know, that er...they come for coffee and afternoon tea and that sort of thing but making a meal with the sit down and all the trimmings I just don't want to do it." Food and meals are often provided for family members because Renee argues that they know her secrets and do not make a fuss. The knowledge of particular practicalities that take place in relation to Renee's cooking activities which she sees as inappropriate for guests, makes the distinction between family and guests by the specific ways in which they are provided for.

There are boundaries between those who are family and those who are not; the couple create physical spatial boundaries or barriers to keep them together or apart. Renee will cook the meal in the evening but often they will eat it separately, Renee in front of the television and Jack at the table with the newspaper. Both of them state that because they are retired and talk to each other regularly they do not need to see each other at meal times. This delineation of their own personal space could be seen as a consequence of the life course, however, it is also about a negotiations of power to assert themselves. Renee discusses her attempts to eat with Jack, or at least to eat at the table, but these attempts are often thwarted by the presence of Jack's newspaper. Renee has found that she enjoys eating her dinner while watching the six o'clock news.

What might seem selfless provisioning on the part of Renee also has its own authority and power. Jack has a sensitivity to particular food types which cause him some discomfort but are not life threatening. Renee wonders whether the sensitivity is more about his dislike for these particular items, however Jack says that "I like them they just don't like me". During the couple's second interview it becomes obvious that Renee enjoys the food that brings on Jack's discomfort, not because they bring him discomfort but because it is food that she enjoys, and she secretly thinks Jack is making a fuss about nothing. As she has control over how and what is cooked for dinner, she blends in food to which she knows Jack is allergic, disguising or hiding them in a variety of dishes. When asking Jack if he has any food allergies, he describes the problem and he leans into the dictaphone and says very loudly "...but I know they're hidden in things": through Renee's activities she shows that

providing food for the family is not always a selfless act and often has its own control associated with it.

5.3.4 – Points of Comparison

The social practice of delineating is expressed and prompted by objects, time-space, and emotions. There are ways and things that the above extracts exemplify, about how relationships can be displayed through cooking and eating, specifically the way that family members shape each other's behaviour. Firstly, how individuals can be seen to react and interact, specifically with their partners, but more generally their family members. Secondly, the ways that both families' members are treated in contrast to guests to the family house. The displaying of these different relationships can be seen in the objects that are used, the influence that the activity has on time-space, and the individuals' emotions.

Antia and Istvan, and Rene and Jack offer various instances where their relationships are displayed, and where each of their actions are shaped and reshaped. In particular, Istvan's interventions with the soup indicate the way in which he displays the role that he plays in relation to Anita. He shows his authority and Anita's acceptance of his superior knowledge in making soup. His actions show him to be the supervisor in front of his guests and his step-son. Jack in Ilkely positions his newspaper so that he can enjoy his meal experience and maintain his silent concentration on the world. Meals are seen to delineate boundaries between people in and outside of the household (Douglas 1972, 1984).

The focus of food activities within the family has often focused on the meal, where family members' roles often appear as fixed and unchangeable (Bell and Valinetime 1999). Sociological research in particular, has become increasingly aware of the nuances of the project of the meal. The examination of family by looking at the relationship between family members and food has done much to highlight the role of women as the focus and source of information for the majority of this research. Women's roles within the space of the home have been scrutinised closely in different class contexts (Oakly 1974; Young and Wilimott 1975; Warde and Hetherington 1994). Although this is not to say that the culinary habits of men have not been analysed (see Adler 1981), this work has

mainly focused on the brief moments of cooking rather than the everyday. This work has largely presented the roles of mothers and fathers as fixed ideology (Ambert 1994; Thorne, 1982; Stacey 1990; Valentine 1997). Recently there have been an increasing number of calls for the term 'the family', and for questions to be asked about the roles that seem to be prescribed to parents by exploring more about family eating (DeVault 1991; Morgan 1996; Sunderland 2002; Valentine 1997, 1997).

Mathee's (2005) work pays closer attention to the space of the kitchen and asks the question of what is the bodily expression of emotions within this space. This work echoes many of the previously held ideologies that surround the interaction of women in this space (Burkitt 1999; Charles and Kerr, 1988; DeVault 1991, 1996; Murrcott, 1982, 1997; Valentine 1997). However, Mathee develops this argument to focus on women's involvement in these activities, highlighting that women are not helpless or uninvolved in the shaping of their own emotions. Mathee understands that the preparation of food is a thoughtful process, where bodies that are occupied with cooking and eating facilitate the altering of space and attend to the shifts in changing social relations. "Women's corporeal participation in cooking and eating practices enables a re-appropriation of space, and a concomitant reorientation to transform relations" (Mathee 2005: 442). Her work acts as provocation to engage with the space of the kitchen and further develop the narrative identities that are challenged, reshaped, and replaced, through the cooking and eating that takes place in households between family members.

Drawing these insights together, I explore the need to see the terms 'parents', 'children', and 'the family' by examining more than the meal, in order to suggest there is potential in looking at food activities so that these terms can be seen as flexible and changing. These activities are constantly changing through different contexts that are positioned by, the perception of time-space, objects, and the different emotions that are experienced by family members. For instance, Anita has different types of relationship with other people – a mother, host, wife – but within these relationships her involvement is often displayed in opposition to that of others physically present. For instance, being a mother for Anita is shaped by her own perception of her son. Anita cooks and prepares a place for her son at the table because she perceives that he is unable to care for himself. Anita does not always see

herself fulfilling this role saying “we are trying to find him a wife, I won’t have to cook for him then”, so she sees her role as having the potential to change if, or when, her son gets married. There are similarities between this and the case study in Szeged such as a control over meals, organisation of space within the household, and the different formalities and informalities that are used by families in relation to guests.

This section has sought to discuss the way in which individuals within the family, in particular the relationship between couples, are often negotiated through the practices of food preparation and eating, through the assertion and influence between people in the same household. Each of the examples shows how relationships between members of the household can and are powerfully displayed. The activities that are carried out by an individual preparing or having a meal are shaped by other’s actions. There are striking similarities between each of the case studies in the way that this delineation and display takes place. Firstly, in both case studies, there is a refusal to be interested in the daily cooking or their daily intake of food and how this instigates the role that is taken on by the partner to provide a meal. Secondly, the control over space within the household is about a negotiation and shift between members of the group in both situations. Thirdly, entertaining or having people round for coffee often mixes and disrupts the everyday but also shows how things could be done differently. By comparing and contrasting these two situations, one can see how couples both in the UK and Hungary often assert their individual influence or submit to authority, and are shaped through the social practice of delineating. The meaning of family therefore is more about social relations than individual identity (Finch 2007).

5.4 – Conclusion

By drawing on families’ cooking and eating activities the chapter has gone some way to showing how and why social practices operate and how the term ‘the family’ and individual’s positions within it are fluid and dynamic, without losing their usefulness. Firstly, with regard to the social practice of teaching-learning, the parents in the case-studies are not only teaching skills to their children to make them competent social actors, but parents are learning from their children. They are learning how to make time to spend with their children and how to enjoy this time. Specifically

fathers are seen to be facilitating activities to enable a meal to take place even if they are not the ones who cook. Secondly, with regard to the social practice of demonstrating, parents are shown to be more than just parents. They themselves are social actors and can often indirectly demonstrate to their children actions that were not initially intended for the child to act upon. In addition parents' actions are more about their own values, and they hope that their children might take up their beliefs although it is not expected. Thirdly, the social practice of shaping shows how the families' actions are not only due to one member's influence. By drawing on the social practices of teaching-learning, demonstrating, and shaping, the chapter shows the importance of looking at each family member's actions.

This chapter has sought to explore the usefulness of the Finch's (2007) term 'display' in relation to defining family practice. The chapter has begun to make sense of the importance of display in relation to fluid notions of audience and actor, multiple audiences at a variety of distances, and dealing with the individual in the context of the family. The first section illustrated how one activity can display both teaching and learning simultaneously. The social practice of teaching and learning explored the entwining of parents being both actor and audience in relation to their children and others in the family; there are moments when a parent intends to teach an activity and learns from carrying out this activity with another. The second section expressed how activities can reveal how family members, parents in particular, visualise multiple audiences when carrying out a task at a variety of distances. The third section explored how the individual is displayed through their social relations and interactions with others. Each chapter demonstrates how practices are performed to an audience and have to be recognised in order for practices to work effectively as family practices. The chapter establishes that as well as 'doing' family, as discussed in chapter 4, families are displayed.

Chapter 6 Remembering

“The nourishing arts have come down to us from the depths of the past, immobile in appearance in the short term, but profoundly reworked in reality over the long term. ...But the everyday work in kitchens remains a way of unifying matter and memory, life and tenderness, the present moment and the abolished past, invention and necessity, imagination and tradition – tastes, smells, colors, flavours, shapes, consistencies, actions, gestures, movements, people and things, heat, savorings, spices, and condiments.” de Certeau, Giard and Mayol (1998: 222)

This quotation, taken from de Certeau, Giard and Mayol’s (1998) renowned and detailed study of food and the everyday highlights how actions that utilise food negotiate the complexities of remembrance. They highlight the past in the present, where actions combine with the experience of senses and feelings. In this chapter I develop the notion of the multiplicity of food and memory, in connection with practice theory; I build on the notion of “collective memory” to develop the idea of memory in practice theory, which opens up the complexity of the practice of the family, specifically the practice of parenting. I draw upon Connerton (1989) and Halbwach ([1941]1992) to explore the notion of memory being a collective experience, which helps establish that people create images of themselves as they relate to their worlds and others in their society, and that memory, as part of society, is not an individual talent.

This chapter draws together three social practices in order to explore the role memory has in them. I begin in section 6.1 by discussing the social practice of preserving, which addresses notions of collective memory, specifically the invention and maintenance of traditions instigated by parents. This section pays particular attention to the materialisation of traditions and objects’ functions as having fixing meanings within the family. However, the section also suggests that the meanings of traditions evolve, and that food as a material object can be seen as being different from other household items. I then explore the social practice of sharing, drawing attention to how members construct other members’ identities. The section considers how family members relate to others within the family through remembering food preferences, and how individuals narrate their own memories in relation to an ‘other’. This section draws particular attention to the emotional labour involved in maintaining relationships, specifically parent’s constructions of a child’s personality. The

final section examines what Sutton (2001) terms “Proustian moments”, exploring the sensual provocation of shared narratives. The section explores the social practice of recounting which emphasises the way that family members draw on exceptional experiences that they have collected together. Seen as one, these sections seek to illuminate how remembering experiences with food could be used to explore what moves or inspires human involvement in practices (Barnes 2001). These sections draw attention to the perception of time-space by exploring the shifting of moments, and the difference, which interactions with food create for families as an everyday object.

6.1 – Preserving

6.1.1 – The Social Practice of Preserving

The role played by food-based traditions within the family cannot be overstated. Traditions are formed from actions; these actions utilise objects to enable specific traditions to take place. Traditions create connections between people across time and space, preserving relationships between both past and present members of the family (Kalcik 1984). These traditions are not fixed; they change over time and space, but if members of the group enact them, they are seen to be relevant to present, and perhaps even future understandings, which are only fully recognised by the members of the group. The group in focus for this research is “the family”. The preserving of particular memories is part of becoming a family and the means by which knowledge is transmitted between members of the group.

The practice of preserving is the enactment of memory; families preserve the group’s values and norms through their actions in this practice. Recent work in anthropology has focused on the multiplicity of “memory work” as encapsulated by encounters with food (Hotlzman 2006). This work has highlighted that food operates on both the banal and extraordinary level, but in addition, individual foodstuff can have a multitude of meanings (Sutton 2001). The idea of collective memory portrays memory as a cultural, not as an individual faculty, and those traditions, displayed through bodies, are a way for groups to convey and sustain their identity (Connerton 1989). A critique of collective memory is that it often portrays memory as static and inert (Sutton 2001); however, if we pay attention to the plurality of food, and the establishment and re-establishment of traditions, therefore the identity of the group, specifically in this section “the family”, can be seen as multiple

and changing (Sutton 2008). To examine the practice of preserving is to examine the family's traditions and its need to explore the implementation of objects (recipe books, hot meals and fruit loaf), time-space (ordinary and existential), and emotions (grief, happiness and pride).

6.1.2 - Szeged

The practice of preserving is seen prominently in the case study of the city of Szeged and, especially, in the Gurdel family, who demonstrate characteristics that can be seen in other families in Szeged. In particular, the practice of preserving is displayed through this family's actions and activities involving food. Anita and Peter met when they moved from areas near Szeged to go to university in the city. After they married the couple settled in Szeged and they had children; they go to visit Peter's parents on a regular basis at least once a month. Anita works at the university, and while there are often no jobs available in her department, she often fills in for other lecturers. She is not under contract and she often does jobs for which she does not get paid, but Anita says this is all good experience and she enjoys her area of research. She sometimes attends academic conferences and this means that she is often away for longer than a week. Peter has a job that requires him to work irregular hours, so while Anita is away the children go to stay with their grandparents.

When Anita is away for shorter periods of time, although it is difficult for Peter, they try to keep the children at home. This is facilitated by Anita's preparation and freezing of enough meals for the time she will be away. As Peter says "...She went away for two or three days. It happened that I was with the kids. Then she always leaves here that many grubs, which she had cooked before and there were no problems." It is Anita's time and pre-planning that ensures that the children do not have to be sent away. However, no matter how much she cooks before going away, the children still have to leave the house and stay with their grandparents while she is away for longer periods, because Peter feels he cannot care for his children as well as do his job. While the children are staying with their grandparents, in particular Anita's mother, the children have start to notice differences between their household and others, specifically the different approaches to food and the types of meals they experience.

Anita explains that Peter was brought up in a family that did, and still does, some things differently from the way in which she was raised. One of those differences is the food that is eaten

and the way it is prepared. During Anita's childhood the main meal of the day was lunch, as it is in many other Hungarian families. Dinner was a relatively quick meal to prepare and eat.

“By us, at my parents - or now only my mother is alive – lunch was always the main meal. We usually had breakfast; lunch was the principal meal, but we didn't lay much stress on dinner. We had cold dinner several times.”

This was not the case in Peter's family. These differing approaches are a result of the way in which they were brought up.

What seems simple and straightforward to one person looks slightly awkward to another. For instance, the dedication and time required to cook a dinner distinguishes it from any other meal (Murcott 1983). Nevertheless, Anita has adapted her own style to suit that of her husband, thus preserving his family tradition of having a hot lunch and dinner.

“Things are completely different by Peter's [parents]; by Peter's dinner is a very important meal, and there is cooked food also for dinner, but not the same as for lunch. So, we can say, they eat warm meal twice a day. And this came over to our family, too, because Peter has become accustomed to have warm dishes for dinner as well. The kids keep sandwich or something like that no “real meal” for dinner.”

During the week no one is at home to eat lunch. They are either at school or at their respective work places where they will receive a hot meal. Anita often sacrifices her own lunch in order to finish work early so she can be at home to cook for her children or go to her exercise class.

The difference between Anita's and Peter's experiences growing-up is further emphasised by their children. When Anita and Peter's children visit their Grandma they display their knowledge and understanding of certain events like lunchtime.

“For them it has to be at least such warm dish like boiled frankfurter or some semi-prepared things because Annie told my mum a few home truths – she has spent two weeks at her place, and my mother gave her - I think she served sandwich or something like that for dinner - and she [Annie] said – ‘why didn't she give her proper food for dinner, as that was not dinner.’ And this... I didn't find this out for myself as I was not used to it, but Peter brought it into our family and so it has got introduced or has become established. By them, dinner has the same importance as lunch.”

The contrasting use of cold meats and hot meals to establish a meal's importance is part of the way that Peter, and now his children, recognise dinner. This is not true for Anita. ‘...I don't find this myself...’ It is something that has almost been forced upon Anita and is now established as part of her daily routine.

The negotiation that goes on between the adults in this particular household is centered around the establishment and preservation of particular activities, and about whose routines become dominant. Family traditions, childhood memories, and other family members' opinions are just some of the ways that the social practice of preservation can be identified in the actions of household members. In this case Peter has preserved the food activities of his family of origin. He is not only preserving the tradition for himself, but for his children as well.

6.1.3 - Ilkley

Lisa and Tony live near the area where Lisa grew up, in a house that has been divided into flats. They live on the top floor, which they are renovating with the help of Lisa's father who lives in the same town. There are no children in the household, and the couple see themselves having a long-term future together. Lisa sees it as some of her responsibility to look out for her brother and father who both live nearby. Lisa is highly involved with her food, and she enjoys reading food magazines for inspiration.

Encouraged by the example of her mother and others, Lisa has kept a personal handwritten recipe book since she was a young girl. Lisa's mother passed away when Lisa was a child, and Lisa has acquired her mother's cookery book with handwritten notes. She has two books that she draws upon when she needs inspiration. The first book belonged to her mother and has her hand written notes, and the second book is a notebook in which Lisa writes out all her favourite recipes. The second book is all about the recipes, and she, following her mother's example, has noted changes that could be made to improve her favourites.

"I remember reading somewhere about somebody's journal, a famous person's journal. And they had recipes interspersed with poetry and letters to people. And I thought, 'That's a nice idea.' So I put in little poems and limericks and things, occasionally. And it's quite nice to sit and read through it, and I'm looking for a nice recipe, and I come across other nice things."

The book's contents, however, are influenced not only by things that Lisa has read about famous people but it is also a connection to, and a preservation of herself: it is an effort to recreate herself, as her mother's book recreated her mother for her. "... After she died, there were cookery books full of, of hand-written recipes. And it was like, it was like... seeing her again, by flicking through and thinking of all the times when we ate that. And seeing her handwriting, that was wonderful for me as

well.” The wonder of seeing her mother through her handwriting, and remembering the food she cooked, is, importantly, a way that Lisa sees herself preserving her mother’s memory.

Lisa’s book is blank but is gradually being filled with new recipes. Interestingly, she has accidentally spilled food on several of the pages, staining them and these stains have become part of the experimentation. In fact, Lisa has started to deliberately mark the pages with different foods. There are other ways in which this second book is different from the first, as things apart from Lisa’s history influence it: there are still recipes, but the new book is more a collection of “nice things.”

Lisa’s book is taking time to put together. Compiling it is a labour of love and is of particular importance to Lisa. It involves her in a cyclical process of perpetuation and preservation of herself, as her first book did of others. “If I ever have any kids, I think it will be something nice for them, to get an idea of who I am, what I like, and what I ate, and the poetry and then the prose I liked reading.” Both recipe books are a part of her history, and they chart her interest in cooking over a period of time. She enjoys thumbing through their pages, feeding off memories, and relating them to present or planned circumstances, or she simply just contemplates her world through the passing of time and the marking of her journey. She sees the books as a source of inspiration for dinner parties or for making “something different” at times when she is bored with the regular meals she cooks for Tony and herself.

Lisa’s mother’s cookbook contains a favourite recipe for fruitcake. It yields two loaves, and this is the way she always prepares it. Not only is making the cake a way to create something out of eggs, flour, butter, cherries, sultanas and raisins, but it is an act of creating something familiar from which she derives comfort. It is satisfying, both when eating it with a piece of cheese, and also when making it and baking it into two loaves. Making fruit cake with her mother is something that Lisa used to do; she was ‘chief stirrer’ because her mother had arthritis, and she could not hold the spoon for long periods. Lisa’s stirring of the cake mixture makes these memories vivid to her, and the act recreates for her one of her earliest childhood memories. It is not only for her benefit that she *creates* these loaves; it is significant also that one has to be *given away*. The second loaf is often given to her brother or her father.

“And I might make one for my dad, if you make two, two loaf-shape cakes. So if I make one for me, I might take one over to my dad, or I might cut it in half and take one to him and give one to my other brother if he comes down to see him. And if he...It’s nice to share, I think, because it’s a heavy, solid cake. You can wrap it up and give it to someone.”

Not only does Lisa recreate memories for herself, but by giving away her fruit loaf, she tries to involve others in this building and displaying of memory (Finch 2007). The decision to bake a cake for a father or brother emulates a particular type of provisioning that was done by her mother, perhaps evoking personal memories for them as well.

Lisa’s story illustrates the different ways in which she not only preserves herself and her own memories *for herself*, but she also preserves them for the people around her. The importance is in the preservation: the family tradition, the childhood memories, and other family members’ opinions. These are just some of the ways in which the social practice of preservation can be identified in the actions of household members.

In another instance, when a family member dies, there is often a desire by one or more of the remaining family to recreate particular acts in order to preserve their loved one’s memory. Recreating a memory may be part of the mourning process, and it can represent part of how a particular family member wishes to address this. One of the ways that a family’s practice of preserving someone’s memory is carried out, is through observing a particular action of the deceased family member, and this may involve re-enacting a specific task or tasks. Elements of this recreation might be adapted and experimented with, but, even so, the practice of preserving someone’s memory is achieved and thus re-established.

Preserving and perpetuating a family tradition can often be seen at times of celebration. For instance, like another family in Ilkley, the Chase family (introduced in section 5.1.3), Bethany, Mrs Chase’s Christmas would not be the same if they did not have ham on Christmas Eve. Bethany attributes this tradition to her Swedish mother who always cooked ham on Christmas Eve. This is a tradition that is continued by Bethany and shared with her family and her mother. Another example is in the making of Christmas cake for the Bishop family (introduced in section 5.3.3). Mrs Bishop’s extended family take it in turns to make the Christmas cake, decorating and giving it to other family members. These tasks, carried out by families, display family traditions on each occasion.

6.1.4 – Points of Comparison

These case studies illustrate the practices, emotions, and time-space elements involved in the act of preserving. Each family unit is making a deliberate effort to preserve, either through continuing, or through challenging particular family rituals, particularly as they relate to food traditions. These activities – making a hot dinner; keeping a personal recipe book; baking and gifting fruit loaves; serving hot Sunday lunch – when arranged in context can be seen as illustrations of the social practice of preserving. The current generation’s practices are informed by their memories and constitute a desire on their part to sustain, protect, and continue (or discontinue) these memories for their children. In addition, the current generation’s activities are assured a place in the cycle because in the eyes of the next generation, it is newly recreated and/or modified memories that are being established.

In another way the social practice of preserving can be described as actions through which families invent and maintain their own traditions through the employment of particular rituals. I draw on Hobsbawn and Ranger’s (1992) concept of ‘invented traditions’ along with Halbwachs’ (1992 [1941]) notion of collective memory, specifically in relation to his conceptualisation of memory within the context of family. Hobsbawn notes the need for groups to create traditions, to establish communities by giving authority to legitimise institutions, and a way to transmit a system for correct behaviour to create socialisation. In order for groups to establish themselves in this way Hobsbawn states that groups invent their own traditions, and that these traditions are “normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past” (1992:1). These invented traditions bring about the creation of rituals that when acted upon are seen to produce cohesion.

Other work suggests that the existence of family traditions continue only in the present, when the various elements that “are retained from the past provide a framework for family memory, which it tries to preserve intact” (Halbwachs [1941]1992:55-59). Family traditions are linked to the past and so exist because of the present action of the family. Should those traditions no longer be suitable for its members, the tradition will cease to exist. Halbwachs states that, “[f]amily traditions would last no

longer than would be suitable for its members.” (Ibid.:55) The notion of collective memory works at a variety of levels, not just at the family or individual level: collective memory can also operate at a national level. For instance, looking at the context of British families, there is collective remembrance of food rationing between 1940 and 1956, both during and after the Second World War. This national remembering has been noted in attitudes towards the relationship between food and thrift even by those who were too young to experience it firsthand – food rationing. Day-to-day living often has aspects that come from past mythologies, and these perceptions are often categorised as ‘myths we live by’ (see Samuel and Thompson 1994). The recognition that the past is seen as part of present action has been developed in relation to the western family by John Gillis (1997) in which he alludes to the distinction made between “the families we live by and the families we live with” (Jackson 2009:5), a notion that each of these sections deal with but, specifically, in section 6.3. This section, however, seeks to address these two insights and highlight how ‘tradition’ is created through a past activity that is maintained and preserved through present actions.

Barnes’ (2001) work helps us develop these ideas further as he poses the question: what compels groups to act and use memory in these actions as part of practice? His interpretation of practice theory, and in particular the use of memory in practice, contributes to our understanding of how families’ actions can be interpreted. He states that practices are not simply enacted because there is the capacity for the practice to be performed: “it must be considered what moves/inspires human involvement” (2001:21). In considering what motivates people to perform practices, it is important to mobilise two parts of Barnes’ interpretation of practice theory. Firstly, there is a need to acknowledge that an action that one person carries out contributes to a practice; however, this practice is not acted out individualistically. Secondly, Barnes draws our attention to the exercise of power that occurs in carrying out actions within the context of practices. When these two ideas are taken into consideration, the role of memory in group activities can be demonstrated to be important, and to better understand how and why activities are performed.

Making sense of families’ actions involves exploring the idea that the family members are concerned with evoking the past in an effort to establish themselves (Hobsbawn and Ranger 1992,

Lupton 1994, Valentine 1999). The families' daily actions are in part informed by memories. These actions create a sense of shared understandings and are treated as secrets that are available only between members (Halbwachs 1992 [1941]). When conserved, these past experiences protect and evolve traditions in order to evoke the values and norms of the particular social group. The Gurdel family have two hot dinners because Peter's family of origin did so. The differences in the activities of the two sets of grandparents are identified by Peter and Anita's children when they stay with their paternal grandparents who serve two hot meals, and with their maternal grandma, who does not. Their mother Anita makes these meals in a way that fits with their father, Peter's, family traditions, and so the children's home experience is of growing up in a family in which a hot meal is served in the evening. This practice creates a conduit for Peter's family traditions to be transmitted to the children while Anita's are not. For the Bishop family, the passing around of the responsibility of making the Christmas cake is seen to perpetuate a family tradition. The weighing, stirring, and baking of ingredients means that each year these actions are carried out is important, not only to maintain a family tradition, but also to keep a connection with each other.

The practices of each of the case-studied families replicate and create events that have specific physical characteristics, that may or may not exactly duplicate the original. However the re-enactment is not *exactly* the same, it is seen by the members as containing and maintaining the values and norms that were originally experienced, thus maintaining a bond between past and present (Kalcik 1984:59). As Gillis (1997) argues, deceased members of the family have often become part of the imagined family and can feel closer to living members (Ibid.:201). I would further develop this argument by stating that it is the action and the closeness to the objects that creates the imminence.

The simultaneous interpretation and deconstruction of practices can be seen to be an important part of the ways in which families use rituals and objects to relive experiences that are relevant to the current values and norms of the group. Work that has been carried out on sites that have been identified as being places of national remembering, has drawn geographers' attention to the different ways in which objects can be interpreted, but still maintain collective meaning (Hoskins 2007, Johnson 1995, Nora 1989). The objects in these interpretations of collective memory are seen as fluid and changeable, but they similarly hold related storylines with which the group can identify.

As Pels asserts, “[o]bjects need symbolic framings, storylines and human spokespersons in order to acquire social lives; social relationships and practices in turn need to be materially grounded in order to gain temporal and spatial endurance.” (Pels et al. cited Hoskins, 2007). Objects, such as fruitcake and hot meals, bring meaning to groups and are vital to the practice of preserving. As mentioned in chapter 4, food is different from other objects because of the process of natural degradation. This means that unlike other objects in households that have had time for the memory to be sufficiently cooled in order to dispose of such as sofas or tables, (Gregson et al 2007), food is often disposed of before the memory has had time to dissipate.

“Preserving” is the best way to describe this collection of actions. The families are involved in creating traditions, and these traditions are often prompted by the memories of past or present members. These actions are re-enacted in a certain way to preserve remembered experiences. Practice theory often discusses the need to remain focused on the embodied experience and “not be tempted into a positivist or phenomenalist, or behaviourist justification for actions” (Barnes 2001:20). However, practice also requires that thought and action be taken together. Theoretical discussions of collective memory draw attention to the notion that memory is seen as a lived experience and exists only as part of present action. In the families in these case studies, members are aware that their actions are re-enactments, and not moments of exact replication; the aim of their action is to preserve the *essence* of the meaning.

6.2 – Sharing

6.2.1 – The Social Practice of Sharing

Sharing has been seen as an integral part of family life and as a predominant part of parenting culture. This behaviour is particularly prominent during pregnancy and breast-feeding when the female body, being shared by a foetus, becomes a source of food (Flax cited in Lupton 1994:45). Parents, and in particular, mothers, are observed in social science research as giving and sharing with their children because of their children’s initial position of powerlessness (Mahoney and Yngvesson 1992). This section highlights the ways in which individuals use memory to make connections and relate to other family members. It draws on the experiences of two families to highlight two of the ways in which remembering is used by individuals to relate to the ‘other’. Predominantly this can be

seen in the way that one person's individuality is connected back into the group, creating collective memory (Halbwachs [1941]1992). In other words, although members make their own, individual choices, such as what food to like or dislike (Valentine 1997), their individuality is contested through the ability of other members remembering these food preferences. A second way in which families use the practice of relating is to make sense of themselves through the process of self-reflection, by remembering their own childhood, to make sense of their own perceptions of childhood in the present. These two acts of remembrance are described through the actions and sayings of two families in order to illustrate the social practice of relating within the context of the family.

6.2.2 – Szeged

In Szeged there were many families identified whose activities could be examined for their ability to speak to the wider social practice of sharing. However, on closer examination, there is one family in particular which exemplifies the experience of the others. The Gosh household narrative illustrates some of the ways in which families in this area are involved in the social practice of shared understandings within households. This family demonstrates the social practice of shared understandings in a number of ways: by the knowing and accepting of the roles of different members regarding cooking activities, by being aware of members' differing tastes, and by acknowledging people's unique reactions to particular activities. The similarities of the Gosh family's activities and those of other families in this case study will be discussed at the end of this section.

The Gosh family are Mr. Gosh (Jenci), Mrs. Gosh (Aurelia) and their daughter Ms. Gosh (Gitta). Jenci will be eighty this year; however his wife is seven years younger and still works as an accountant for a local firm. They have two daughters, Gitta who lives with them after her divorce, and Csilla, who lives in a town outside Budapest. The family live in a detached house situated in the middle of two acres where they grow a wide number of vegetables and fruits, as well as raising chickens. They have a large out-building where they pickle and preserve fruits and vegetables, as discussed in Chapter 5. Gitta helps her parents with the chores, and this is a great help to her mother now that her father's health is failing.

The house is divided into two parts: the lower, main level is where Jenci and Aurelia live, and the upper floor is where Gitta lives with her dogs and cats. There isn't much space, but she is comfortable. The area is treated as a separate space for Gitta, and her parents do not visit her there, but Gitta often spends her evenings with her parents on the main floor. In Gitta's area there is room for a fridge-freezer only, and it isn't possible to cook a meal. Gitta's grandmother used to live in these quarters.

In the Gosh household, as in many households in the Szeged case study, there is one day each week when all the cooking takes place, and then for the rest of the week the food is defrosted, warmed through, and served each evening. Friday is cooking day in the Gosh household after Aurelia and Gitta come home from work. Playing the same role as she did during Gitta's childhood, Aurelia remains the person who is in charge of the food provisioning for the household, and although Gitta does help with the cooking, she is definitely the "deputy chef". There is an unspoken understanding between the women that Aurelia will do the main part of the cooking, even though Gitta is an able cook.

Over a period of time Gitta has learnt from the authority of her mother, and not just through her provisioning of food. Obviously, people who spend time living together as a family learn and remember things about each other, and just as obviously, everyone learns there are things that particular members like and dislike. For instance Gitta's parents both know that she does not like milk. In a conversation with both of them they discuss the specifics of this dislike.

"Aurelia: 'As, as there are different tastes regarding that within the family. As Gitta doesn't like milk in all thing...'

Jenci: 'Sour crème...'

Aurelia: 'Or sour... She likes sour crème, too, sometimes... And sauerkraut, for example; well, it can be imagined only with sour crème.'

It is the particularities that are remembered by both parents, concerning when Gitta will and will not eat sour crème. They still have sour crème, as it is one of Jenci's favourite ingredients, and sour crème is also a frequently used ingredient in Hungarian cuisine, but they are aware of her preferences and sometimes make allowances for it. Similarly, Aurelia will not cook tripe for her husband, despite it being something he enjoys, because she cannot stand the smell or the taste. There is, however, a local restaurant that cooks tripe very well. On occasion when she goes there, Gitta takes along a

Tupperware™ bowl, as is customary in Hungary when getting food from a restaurant, and collects some tripe for Jenci. This brings him great pleasure and it is something he enjoys alone without the other two women.

Csilla, Gitta's sister, runs stables near Budapest, and infrequently she manages to travel to see her parents in Szeged. On the times when Csilla does come home, usually arriving on the Friday to spend the weekend with her parents and sister, Aurelia cooks one of Csilla's favourite dishes.

“Within the family the favourite meals of each is known, though. There are some, sure. Well, whether Csilla just thinks so, she could remember that only, still the thing is that when she comes it's normally, say, Friday evening, and then I cook then peas soup and fry pancakes. And then she is, er, delighted to eat that.”

Over time, members of a household build up understanding through sharing time with other members of the household, and this understanding is further cemented and displayed through other actions (Finch 2007). The knowledge of what each person's personal preferences are is an important part of the way in which household members come together and understand one another. These preferences are sometimes acted upon and honoured; at other times they are rejected by family members.

Aurelia, unlike Jenci, was born near Szeged, and the majority of her family still remain close to the town. She is particularly close to her brother and his family also have a small plot of land on which they grow fruit and vegetables.

“Well, practically I usually get some from my brother. Actu... Because he... he is very precise regarding to garden produce. Thus, what he has is really very nice, since he tends so, thus, as I say, he hasn't got a big garden, still, still he made such a polyethylene greenhouse for himself, and there he... soon, he has lettuce and tomato and green pepper early (in the spring). Thus... and then he doesn't take it to market, so for him, he takes pleasure in giving some to me, giving some to his own daughter... And he often, how to say, offers me things...mmm... I don't dare to refuse, as I don't want to hurt him; still...mmm, well, maybe I have just bought some in the market already. [laughs]”

Her brother has worked hard to grow the vegetables, in particular salad vegetables, and although Aurelia might have recently been to market and bought enough vegetables for their own needs, she knows what it means to her brother to give them some of his produce. She knows that if she refuses the vegetables she will hurt his feelings.

These incidents related by the Gosh family illustrate how the social practice of shared understandings can be seen and practised: there is knowledge and acceptance by the two women in

the household that displays their implicit knowledge of each other's wants and needs with regard to cooking activities, even though both are capable cooks. These and similar activities are shared by other families in this case study. Likewise, the understanding that different members of the family have different tastes, and in some cases the acknowledgment of the specific nature of those tastes, together with the choice to act or not act upon them, is a common factor among all the families in this case study. Arguably, some of the household members had a better understanding than others, but all had some basic shared understanding of each other's preferences. To illustrate the point further, it is worth looking at the Aper family who prepare popcorn for their grandparents when they visit because they know that is a treat for them, and they understand that their grandparents will gain pleasure from this experience. "...it [the popcorn] was still, still next to warm; and so they rejoiced over that. But, these are such... that's not a present either, that's only a kindness." The understandings that are acquired by household members are developed through the remembering of particular details, and that enables the family to display these shared understandings in future events.

6.2.3 - Ilkley

Renee and Jack (introduced in chapter 5) are a retired couple who have lived in West Yorkshire all their lives, apart from a brief time when Jack was away undertaking national service. Their experiences illustrate particularly well the dynamic that takes place while they are talking about an incident. This action (the remembering) brings to mind particular members of their family at a time when they were sharing a household with them. It also reminded them of the various times when their adult children returned home to live there on a semi-permanent basis. Renee and Jack live in an attractive part of the town in a semi-detached corner plot with about half an acre of land surrounding the house. Their front garden is filled with beautiful roses, and a berry-covered wooden fence marks the boundary of their drive. Their front door is encased with glass windows, and filled with indoor plants. Jack is responsible for the plants outside, and Renee is in charge of the household plants. Jack's parents used to own a smallholding where they grew vegetables and kept chickens and rabbits and Jack has tried to "keep his hand in" with the garden, and although he says that he does not grow enough food to be self-sufficient, he enjoys it as long as it doesn't become overwhelming. When

Jack was younger he grew a larger vegetable garden, and often he was helped, and hindered, by his children. The time he spent in the garden is a time that he remembers clearly.

“...since the children... old habits die hard, don't they. When we came to live here, the children would be, oh, well... all of them under ten and the back garden there, I did used to grow vegetables. But they've gone, and the children have been gone for years and years. Tomorrow, the twenty-fifth. Tomorrow? My youngest will be forty-five so they've been gone a long time, but we used to do those sorts of things and I would... I would say that my eldest son can, still does, that. He remembers; the other two, they don't bother.”

He seems glad that at least one of his children remembers the good times they shared in the garden.

Jack himself seems to connect himself to his everyday life by remembering these times and recounting particular stories about them.

The connection of past to present through the stories that he tells is, however, most vivid when he relates stories of his own childhood experiences. For instance, there is the market that his mother and he visited together every week.

“Oh yes, there were two certain experiences. I lived in a small village, and there was one shop with one shop, no streetlights, no social life, very small, in 19... during the war. And I used to go down regularly with a big wickerwork basket to the shop and buy whatever my mother wanted with a little note, and go down and, and do that kind of shopping. And once a week, when I wasn't at school, we would get on the bus from Poolbank down to Otley three miles away with two big wickerwork baskets and do a week's shop. But by and large what we grew at home and what we could purchase at the local shop, the big shop, was for things like meat. Potatoes weren't a necessity; everybody grew potatoes, but you know. You went down to Otley, to the town when things weren't available at the local shop. But yeah, I do remember that, one and a half pence it cost me on the bus, one and a half d; my mother was three pence 3d, and our fare was one and a half. And the buses were all full. They ran about one every half an hour, and maybe one every hour on occasions because of the shortage on diesel for things like that. Yeah, I enjoyed bus rides, and occasionally we would get the train from Otley to Pool, but Poolbank was a mile and a half up hill, and my mother didn't like that very much. I enjoyed, I enjoyed the train rides because, of course, they were steam engines in those days, great, probably more expensive as well. And the line's gone now so...”

He remembers the feeling of freedom at the market and being away from everything normal.

“... You weren't tied to your mother's apron strings in those days, you know, even though I wouldn't be ten years old. I would be six, seven, eight, and so on. But I'd be walking 'round all the stalls on my own and know that we had to meet at a certain place underneath the Jubilee Cross, clock, or on the buttercross, or wherever we were meeting. And I'd go around and be fascinated, not just shopping either. There'd be travelling people who were making their living by stripping down to their waist and balancing one of these big cartwheels on their chin; someone else going 'round with a penny, with a hat for the pennies. You know, fascinating, not just shopping. It was an experience. But we bought things. Basically if we came back with an empty basket we hadn't done what...”

This story, held onto from his own childhood, holds him in at a single pivotal point, but at the same time it connects him to other places and people, particularly his mother. By sharing his memory with

us –allowing connections to flow into the present, not to inform action, or purposely to preserve the past in the present, or even to build an understanding between two or more people, but simply to maintain the memory that he has of that particular event – he allows us the briefest of glimpses into his past, subsequently forming a bond between us.

Renee, however, had a very different upbringing and does not share the same memories that Jack does about the war and rationing, even though they are a similar age. Renee has stories of her own to tell, ones that her children remember. Renee has never been interested in food. In fact, she says she cannot wait for the day when there is a pill that she can take and that would be all she'd need to do to get the necessary nutrition. Nevertheless, when she was raising her family, she thought cooking was an important skill to have, and she required her children to cook once a week.

“I used to give them freedom on a Wednesday. Tom, I think it was Wednesdays that he worked late on a Wednesday always so I allowed them to make their own meal...meal for one. God it was hilarious! I mean sometimes there were just three tins (laughter), but at least they went in there and messed about. Giving them a lot of time to do, you know, while one was cooking, the other two were thinking about what they were having, and I just said ‘just do what you want, whatever’. The mess in the kitchen was phenomenal (laughter). But that was it, yeah, and they did, peeling vegetables and that sort of thing they would do. I think we were quite strict with them really, now I look back. They all had jobs to do, and they were all very good. I didn't have too many problems with them.”

These are memories that she shares about a particular past. When the story is told again, it does not only remind her of it, but also maintains her relationship with her children through the sharing in a story that no one except they will know about, unless, of course, they choose to share it.

6.2.4 – Points of Comparison

The stories of these families chart the progress of individual's experiences of the social practice of relating. Firstly, the descriptions of family life illustrate several ways in which each member's individuality is displayed within the context of family through each one's unique food preferences. Knowing one member's food preferences affords other family members the opportunity to connect and relate to their desires in a way not usually known outside the family. For instance, Gitta knows that her father gains great pleasure from eating tripe. She also knows that her mother will not cook tripe or have the smell of tripe cooking in her kitchen. Gitta buys tripe when it appears on the menu of a local restaurant for her father. She knows that her father will enjoy eating the tripe,

and it affords him time away from both women who live with him. Thus, Gitta is able to express a warm emotion (caring, or even love) to her father in a way that is unique to her *and* to him, something only possible within the context of relationships within the group. Sometimes “group” information is passed on through observation, as in Gitta’s case, or it can be taught through family food rituals (see section 5.1). In either case, the everyday context of eating can be seen as a way – either positive or negative – of reinforcing the “other” (Sutton 2001), and that reaffirms and transforms relationships (Mintz and DuBois 2002).

The social practice of relating can also be provoked by the use of objects, and a family member often creates vernacular landmarks that other members interpret (Halbwachs [1941]1992). The use of specific objects in a particular way is a way of identifying “self,” as distinct from “other”, as depicted by recent engagements with food (see Bell and Valentine 1997). In addition to food, other objects in everyday use have been seen to work as containers for understanding “person histories,” acting as a pivot for reflection and introspection; a way of knowing the self through things (Hoskins 1998). This means that an object such as food is a “container” for a personal history that is drawn upon to reinforce and relate to preferences.

One of the ways in which families make sense of themselves is through the process of self-reflection, by remembering previous experiences as they relate to the current situation. These acts of remembrance are described through the doings and sayings of two families, described earlier, whose stories explore the social practice of relating within the context of the family. Jack, now a grandfather, remembers when he used to grow vegetables when his children were young. He said, “I did used to grow vegetables. But they’ve gone, and the children have been gone for years and years.” Jack interweaves his memory of his children leaving, with the fact that he no longer grows vegetables: the vegetables are something that Jack associates with the period of his life when his children lived at home. The vegetables act as a marker in his memory not only for his own experiences, but as representing a stage in the life of his family. Not only does he do this with memories of his children’s childhood, but he re-explores his own childhood to make sense of his own perceptions of childhood in the present. This is illustrated in his description of going to the market with his mother when he was a child. He was allowed to explore the market on his own, (“...You weren’t tied to your

mother's apron strings in those days"). Jack reflects on the past, noting in two ways things that he perceives to have changed: he reflects back to his change in circumstances, such as the growing of vegetables and his children leaving home, and his observation of these changes that have happened with an outside other i.e. how he sees children in the present day being tied to their mother's apron strings. These examples reinforce the notion that memory in families is a *used* experience and exists in the present, and that objects are often used as markers for these changes.

6.3 – Recounting

6.3.1 – The Social Practice of Recounting

Parents often are seen to engage in sharing, sometimes even from beyond the grave by leaving their children material goods in their will (Mason and Finch 1995). The object of food is different from these material goods, and food's day-to-day functioning within the context of family life displays durable qualities through ephemeral artefacts. Parents in particular share with their children through a number of actions, including the recounting of memories.

This section focuses on the task of telling stories involving food memories, and the ways in which the action of telling these stories brings family members together. The action of retelling is similar to that related in the previous section in that it deals with the topic of memory; however, this section is concerned with memories of "one off" events that will be recreated in the present by the retelling of the stories. One member's telling of these stories displays shared knowledge about other members of the group, and retelling them enables the members of the household to connect with the each other through the shared memory. Note that this is not necessarily a pleasant experience for the person who is being talked about, and often it causes some discomfort, not only for the subject but for other members of the group. Family narratives bring members of the household together in the act of recounting.

6.3.2 – Szeged

The families who took part in this research often discussed culinary disasters and triumphs and the way these informed current actions. There were moments in the telling of these stories that revealed that disclosure of the incident had other ramifications for wider household social practices. While several families could have been used to illustrate this social practice, the Aper family can be

used as one example that draws together multiple actions occurring in other households. There will be a discussion at the end of the chapter in which I will explore other household's expressions and experiences that draw on this case study example.

The Aper household contains Borka, in her early forties, and her two daughters Klara and Mirriam who are in their late teens. Until recently they all lived with Vadas, Borka's now ex-husband and the girls' father, in another part of Szeged. Borka is a hairdresser who works five, sometimes six, days a week. She works morning and evening shifts on alternate weeks. Vadas now has a new partner who has two boys in their twenties. The girls do not go to visit their father at his house, but he does come to see the girls once or twice a month. Borka also invites him to their house on special occasions, such as the girls' name days¹⁴ or All Souls Day¹⁵, when Borka also invites his parents. On such occasions she provides finger food for everyone to enjoy.

Hungarians, like other Europeans, take a month off work during July or August, leaving their hot city apartments for a more relaxed time with extended family or friends. Lake Balaton is a popular place for Hungarian and German tourists to visit during the hot summer months. Borka and her girls went on a caravan holiday to Lake Balaton the year she was divorced, and the girls vividly remember this holiday; their memories are marked by one particular event on the last day, the making of Balaton potato soup.

“Once the... erm, girls were still little, and we camped at the Balaton, and, well, we cooked something every day, and last day, er, all the leftovers were boiled together for a potato soup, and it contained everything, and it was ca... we named it ‘Balaton Potato Soup.’ Though, though that somehow... And then it has always been called Balaton Potato Soup ever since. (Laughs)”

Balaton potato soup is something all the members of Borka's household relate to. They know the story behind the name, sharing in its meaning for them as a memory of the past, an experience of a unique event. The story is not repeated, but every time Borka makes potato soup her children ask, with smiles on their faces, whether it is special Balaton potato soup.

¹⁴ Name days are celebrated like a birthday, but not on the person's birth date. Instead, the celebrations are held on the days on which the saint is honoured.

¹⁵ This is the day when Catholic Hungarians visit the graves of their ancestors and afterward hold a celebration.

The Aper household has no freezer. This means that Borka has to cook everyday and does not like to keep cold cuts of meat in the fridge too long, so she often invents recipes; more so, perhaps, than other families in the case study. Most of the other women interviewed cook all of the things that they need for the week on one day, and they freeze and reheat them as required during the rest of the week. Borka's inventive cooking method has earned her "cooking awards" from her children, handwritten notes that are stuck to the fridge for her to find when she arrives home from a busy day at the salon. The notes say things such as, "You cooked very delicious, Mum." Borka has retained these notes, which are precious to her, and she displays them on the walls of their home (see Figure 6.1).

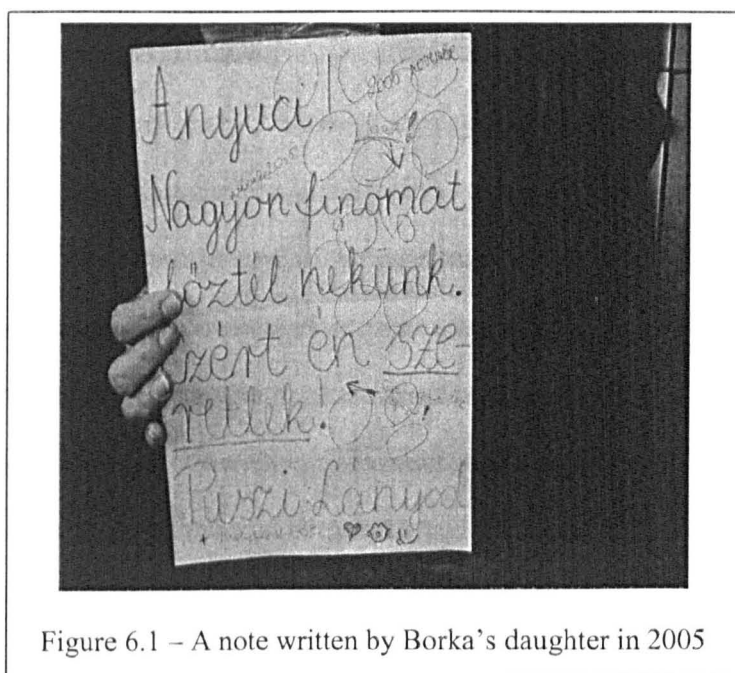


Figure 6.1 – A note written by Borka's daughter in 2005

Despite the awards that Borka has received from her children, she still makes mistakes. One of these was the salty sour cherry pie. As with some other soft fruit, the ripening season for cherries is short. Although they were commonly grown in the United Kingdom until the Second World War, sour cherries are not now part of the UK agricultural market, but this is not the case in Hungary where, during late August/early September, sour cherries are considered a staple component of the diet. As the name suggests, these cherries are not particularly sweet, and so they are picked as late as possible to ensure that they are at the height of their sugar content: "when they are dark red and look like they are about to rot," as Aurelia Gosh once said to me. Even if the fruit is left on the tree until this stage, they usually require sugar to be added if they are going to be included in a dessert. As

every cook knows, there are many ingredients that can be mistaken for other ingredients, resulting in inedible combinations. Borka often cooks or buys ‘favours’ for her children. Even though she is trying to lose weight she enjoys baking sour cherry pie for her children. She recalled that on one occasion when she had prepared the pie she noticed when she took it out of the oven that it did not have the usual delightful aroma. It was not until she took a slice that she realised she had mistaken the salt for sugar. She says, when remembering the experience, “...even its scent was pleasant; you couldn’t smell anything; that I mixed it with salt or...”. It was then that she wept for the pie, saying, “I really did weep for it. It was so beautiful. And sour cherry pie is exactly what, erm, we are fond of, and what I can even... thus, (what) I don't mind making in summer.” Now every time she makes a cherry pie, when she reaches for the sugar, she double checks to make sure she has sugar, rather than salt. When her two daughters see Borka baking, they often tease her, asking whether it is going to be sweet enough to eat. Even though the mishap with the sour cherry pie happened ten years ago, all three members of the family who shared in the experience continue to remember the mistake, despite the fact that since then, Borka has made many other sour cherry pies perfectly.

There are other occasions that illustrate how the remembering of particular events informs the way family members relate to one another. This is illustrated by another Szeged family story when Helga, the wife, recounts that she could not stop herself making and cooking noodles with every meal because she had just recently learnt how to make them. Now Helga and her husband Leone smile at each other whenever they are at a wedding or other social event where noodles are served. Their shared knowledge, the story that brings these individuals together through a particular experience, allows them to share a private glance and polite smiles with each other. There are many other instances that might lead not only to the development of a personal habit, but also to the creation of a set of memories; the actions contained within these memories might not be physically repeated by the person, but the individual is not able to escape their previous triumphs or disasters.

6.3.3 – Ilkley

The Chase family’s narrative brings together issues that were seen in other families in this locality, drawing from the family’s food activities, and signalling the individual’s shared understandings not only of each other, but the particular place they fill for a wider audience. The

ways in which these characteristics can be seen in other families will be highlighted at the end of the section. To begin with, however, we will focus on the way the Chase household members attend to sharing in the context of food.

In the Chase household there are Simon and Bethany and their three children Lulu, Mary, and Gregory. This family were introduced in Chapter 5 within the context of their social practice of teaching and learning. The house is a large, terraced house; in the front garden there are a few toys suitable for a variety of age groups. The house is a space in which Bethany runs her child minding business, and it appears to be a place where there are always children and is full of activity. Certainly as Bethany recounts her daily routine during our interview and diary, there are constantly jobs for her to do in relation to taking care of the children, both her own and other people's children. The minded children and Bethany and Simon's children have breakfast and get off to school; food shopping has to be done to prepare for the cooking that must be carried out before the children go home or go to bed, and there is also the cleaning and tidying to do for a new day. Although there are varying numbers of children at different times, there is hardly any time during the week when there is not at least one child in addition to her own, who shares meal times with the family. The two daughters, Lulu and Mary, seem to have little involvement with the bustling environment of the house. They help out occasionally, but because of their school schedules and their social commitments, they are often not around at the same time as the minded children. Simon, and their son Gregory are however normally around, and are often involved in the activities, not as providers, but as participants.

Bethany aims to save money wheree she can when she is providing meals for people so that when she prepares a meal for the minded children, she cooks only things that she knows they will eat. However, when she cooks for her family, she cooks things she knows that she can cook, and not necessarily food that the children like. At least once or twice a month the Chase family sit down on a Sunday around five o'clock to share a meal together. Bethany strives to ensure the timing of the meal does not conflict with the activities of her children but, occasionally, this is not possible and one of them, usually Lulu the older daughter, cannot be there. As is Bethany's way, she believes that just because it is a special meal they are sharing there is no reason for her to be less frugal. For instance, Bethany knows that chicken is something that will not be left on their plates.

“I’ll do a chicken, er, if I feel I want to make it like a Sunday roast. We rarely go for joints of meat only because they are so expensive, and I feel I might ruin them, not get it cooked quite right. So er I daren’t risk it so I go for something that I know I can cook which is chicken, and they’re more likely to eat that.”

This shared understanding among household members manifests itself mainly in connection with what will be tolerated by individuals. In addition Bethany perceives her own cooking skills as limited. Bethany has previously bought and burnt more expensive cuts of meat. She cooks chicken because it is cheaper than other meats, and therefore if she burns the chicken she will not cost the family so much in financial terms. Bethany understands her particular limitations, specifically what she perceives as the limitations of her cooking skills.

Bethany’s confidence in her cooking abilities is not helped by her family’s memories. On occasions when the family have managed to come together to eat, the event has created memories the family shares. Bethany remembers a particular time when an extra dash of white wine was added at the last moment to white sauce.

“Because Mary’s favourite tale is the time when the sauce was a bit thick, and I poured some more white wine in just before serving, and of course I didn’t cook it off... she was a quite giddy on it, she was only about three or four years old at the time. She was ‘this is lovely, Mummy’, really quite woozy, and I realised I hadn’t cooked off the alcohol.”

This is Mary’s favourite tale, remembering a one-off event that had particular consequences for her; it also has consequences for Bethany every time that Mary remembers and recounts this story. It makes Bethany feel slightly uncomfortable; but it is a one-off experience that simply cannot, and will not, be allowed to fade away.

Frugality, and its manifestation through the need not to waste food, is a custom that features prominently in this household, and in particular in Bethany’s account of provisioning food for the household. Bethany states, “I don’t like to be wasteful with food. I hate having to throw things away because we’ve forgotten it was in there and you know, er, we haven’t used it in time. [I: At what point would you throw something away?] Er, when it’s about to walk out of the fridge on its own.”

Bethany’s sense of determination that food, and subsequently money should not be wasted, requires

particular involvement with a shared understanding of other individuals' tastes. As a child minder Bethany sees herself as being a parent. Although the children are not hers, she is responsible for feeding them when they come in from school. She understands that they might not want a hot meal if they had one at school for lunch so she offers the minded children a choice of either hot or cold food when they arrive. Even so, she has a finite number of things that she offers them although she knows from their parents what they like and dislike. Often Bethany serves things that she *knows* they will eat, such as sausages and mash. As Bethany says, "...[s]o it tends to be those things, repeated. If I try and introduce anything new then suddenly two won't eat it or whatever, so it's best to stick to the things you know they'll eat." Bethany has tried several times to introduce new food into the menu, but most of the new food ended up in the bin. Therefore, sometimes the choice of food she chooses to cook is influenced by the recollection of such negative cooking experiences.

During the week the family find it difficult to eat a meal together, not only because of the 'minded children', as Bethany calls them, but also because both Simon and Bethany are active members of the community, belonging to a variety of clubs and participating in church-related activities. These events are usually in the evening and, if they are to be on time, often they do not have time to eat, especially together. Simon sometimes eats with the minded children, and at other times he reheats something that Bethany has prepared. Only occasionally does he cook for himself, as he prefers eating a packet of crisps or two to cooking something. Bethany usually picks at things while she is cooking for the minded children, to make sure that the food is edible, and she finds herself finishing off what has been left "spare".

"Only so far that I'm tasting it, er, and making sure that it's okay, but then it is very tempting of course to finish what they leave on their plate, you know. There's a spare fish finger left, and it's eaten; it's not thrown away. That's how we mothers put our weight on."

Bethany foregoes her own dietary requirements and ideal weight so that she does not waste any food. Through an action undertaken for her own children, she sees sharing the minded children's food as part of her job as a loco-parentis; sharing the collective responsibility of motherhood.

The details of remembered encounters with food are shared with other family members, and in this way the moments shape present family activities and deepen relationships. Activities such as those

illustrated point to the role memory plays in a family's dynamic., The practice of sharing serves in many different ways, spoken and unspoken, to relive and revisit occasions, creating bonds and deepening relationships among group members.

6.3.4 – Points of Comparison

I mobilise here the notion of 'nostalgia' whereby stories of family life are seen to be a way for individuals to narrate a past. These depictions are seen to construct a harmonious past, wherein a sense of longing and belonging are created (Lein 1995, Lupton 1994, Rutherford 1992), to draw on the idea of nostalgia to expand its current fixed definition. As stated by Pickering and Keightley (2006) nostalgia can be seen as more than just a need to pull back from the present to the past to the future, or merely as an expression of power. "Nostalgia as retreat from the present and nostalgia as retrieval for the future are not mutually exclusive, any more than either impulse is the preserve of dominant or subordinate groups." (Ibid.:938). The family's stories about food disasters can be seen as creating more than a glossy past for the family (Lupton 1994). These narratives can also be seen to be active in shaping the present actions of the family, viz. Borka's salty sour cherry pie and Bethany's habit of burning roasted meats. Borka smelt the pie coming out of the oven, and she knew that there was something wrong with it. Since that moment, despite the fact that she has made a perfect sour cherry pie every time afterwards, she feels compelled to dip her finger into the white crystals to taste them and check that she is weighing out sugar, and not salt. In Bethany's case, since she had filled her kitchen with smoke and subsequently struggled unsuccessfully after this to cook, correctly, an expensive cut of roast meat, she has chosen to concentrate on cooking chicken. These women's experiences are noted and remembered by them, and in turn, the memories shape and influence the continuing actions for both women. As outlined in chapter 2, and illustrated in chapters 4 and 5, food plays an important role in exploring social relationships, particularly with regard to relationships within the family. Food can be seen as an object that can be used to examine the linkages between people, and across space and time (see Kalcik 1984, Lupton 1994, Valentine 1999). The stories related in this section offer a close and detailed examination of the objects, emotions, and time-space factors involved in a specific, nostalgic, food memory.

Work that examines these links often does so by depicting food as a channel through which unique experiences of a particular time and space can be intentionally or unintentionally remembered, through the touch, taste, or smell of particular food. Marcel Proust's work 'Remembrance of Things Past', in which the taste and smell of madelaine crumbs transports the protagonist back to his childhood, has often been quoted as the basis for work on the role of sensory experiences in memory (Sutton 2001, 2008). Proust's work views the senses as a trigger for the recall of an experience. When the individual is shifted through and across time-space to create a reconnection with the past, Lupton (1994) has argued that there is a need to recognise the emotional and sensory response that this moment evokes (Lupton Ibid.:33).

A food memory not only narrates a family's past, but maps the changes that have occurred since then (Sutton 2001, Rose 2003, Warde 1995). Food is a sensory experience for people; a taste or a smell can trigger memories in an individual that transports them back to a moment in the past, and the experience can draw attention to the changes that have occurred since that moment. "[E]ach sensorily evoked memory of a past episode was a chance not just to reflect on the past, but on what has changed in between – similarity and difference again" (Sutton 2007:162). The disasters recounted through the stories of both Bethany and Borka are not allowed to go away, even though Bethany's wine incident happened when Mary was a young child. The event has become part of narrating the family, as although it was Bethany's mistake, it has become Mary's story to tell. Similarly Borka's Balaton Potato Soup has become family legend, an experience that is constantly remembered when the girls smell their mother cooking potato soup: all of their memories are cast back to the moment when they had to eat the original Balaton soup. Food memory does map what has happened. Changes that have taken place between the event and the current moment, however, and the process of remembering them, is often a collective experience that is shared, creating and reinforcing relationships within the family.

6.4 – Conclusion

This chapter started with a quotation depicting the variety of associations that inform interactions with food; "...the everyday work in kitchens remains a way of unifying matter and memory, life and tenderness, the present moment and the abolished past, invention and necessity,

imagination and tradition...” (de Certeau, Giard and Mayol 1998:222). As seen through this quote and the contents of this chapter, remembering is an important component of everyday life, particularly in relation to interactions with food. This chapter has highlighted parents and children’s shifting perception of time-space as experienced moving between moments from the past into the moments in the present. The focus of this chapter has been to examine, primarily, how parent’s memories inform family practices, therefore this chapter has explored three social practices – preserving, sharing, and recounting. Each of these practices illustrates in contrasting ways the role that memory plays in everyday actions. I begin in section 6.1 by discussing the social practice of preserving, which showed how memories of past actions inform present actions in order to establish the self. I then go on to explore the social practice of sharing, where memories are enacted to create identities of other people. The final section illustrates the social practice of recounting, where family members narrate a shared history; where memories manifest meanings within the family. The chapter as a whole draws attention to the role that memory plays in relation to present actions with food, incorporating the connections that are made across time-space.

This chapter develops this notion of time-space by drawing on the concept of collective memory (Connerton 1989, Halbwarch 1992). The process of remembering involves negotiating objective and existential time-space, where *objective time* is defined as time in ‘absolute terms’ (such as a time in the day) or ‘relative terms’ (before World War II or after 9/11) which shares a degree of uniformity but is independent of any one person or *existential time*, ‘rooted in human experience and existence and shape human being in the world’ (Blake et al 2009:190 and chapter 2). In this chapter members of families evoke the past in order to establish the self and others as a group, through preserving traditions, sharing knowledge about each other, and recounting narratives about past experiences. By examining time-space, the duplication of specific events can be seen to take place over time and through spaces, creating and disposing of other memories when relevant. Seen as a whole, these sections reveal the process of remembering as being in the present and as part of the past, and explores how families, –and particularly in relation to these families, parents – position themselves as related not only to their own experience of time, but their perceptions of others experiences.

The experience of remembering is not banal, or devoid of emotion, and each of the sections shows how actions can create and are informed by an emotional atmosphere. The social practices discussed in this chapter show that emotions are not fixed or linked to one social practice. For instance, warm feelings such as humour as evoked by a story are present for one person, whilst for others, it evokes sadder feelings of personal humiliation, both of which demonstrate the social practice of recounting. The emotional connection that is made between family members is used to preserve the group's values and norms through actions in relation to the practice of preserving. The emotions that are experienced by individuals and families can collectively become imbued in objects.

Tasks and projects utilise objects to enable and inform practices; the responsiveness of food to different temporalities and spatialities means that food can be seen to be different from other objects in everyday use. In the context of preserving, sharing, recounting they can be illustrated through a variety of actions, tasks, and projects in each of these families. Food can be seen, to consistently play a role in enabling, expressing, and creating links across time-space and be attributed to the qualities of food. Together, the sections in this chapter emphasise the characteristics of food that enable actions to be reproduced, repeated, and narrated. However, each section may highlight these characteristics with more potency than others. Firstly, food's ability to be both banal and extraordinary displays the multiplicity of meaning of family; this is particularly highlighted by the social practice of preserving. Secondly, the social practice of sharing emphasises the notion that objects are seen as markers in time; both within the life course and in relation to others' experience of this time-space. Thirdly, even in the absence of particular foodstuff the memory can be jolted into focus through a smell, colour, or flavour that creates linkages across time-space to inform actions and relationships (Sutton 2003). In the context of the families in each of the case studies, food can be seen to have a number of meanings that point to the multiplicity of family. Food is an everyday interactive object that creates families, and reinforces and defines parental relationships.

Chapter 7 Conclusions

This thesis has developed the conceptualisation of family and how it could be understood in a wider nexus of parenting social practices, through paying attention to objects, time-space, and emotional connections. It began by adopting the concept of Practice Theory in relation to parenting practices as interpreted through materiality, time-space, and emotional connections (chapter 2). This theoretical underpinning of practice, in turn informed the theoretical approach that was adopted in this project. This explored the 'everydayness' of parents' involvements with food activities (chapter 3). Drawing on this research, I have highlighted some of the social practices that are recognised as being part of parenting as seen through the provisioning of food for the family (chapter 4). This thesis then develops this idea of social practices further, by exploring cooking and eating, questioning whether parents' practices that are readily recognised as taking place in the context of the family meal, can be seen in other activities (chapter 5). Taking these insights further still, I have argued that the remembering of past actions can give insights into parents' present actions and social practices (chapter 6). In turn, everyday interactions with food draw together interactions between objects, time-space and emotions. Together these insights have highlighted how social practices are recognised to be family practices through the notion of parenting. Overall this thesis has shown a way in which family practices can be detailed, with greater significance being paid to the things that families do.

This chapter offers a number of conclusions, and addresses them; firstly, by outlining each of the chapters and by discussing their key points of reference, which contribute to a consideration of parenting and the contextualisation of family. I discuss how each of the chapters has developed an understanding of how parenting is done and displayed through food activities. I argue that each of the chapters mobilises notions of objects, time-space, and emotional connections, which contribute to a more nuanced understanding of practice and, more specifically, parenting practices. Secondly, in light of these empirical findings, I revisit the conceptual framework in order to address the questions expressed at the beginning of this research. These questions were as follows:

1. How might the ways that family members engage with foodways be understood as practices that embody family life?
 - a) In what ways can provisioning practices enable the family to work?
 - b) In what ways can cooking and eating practices enhance the durability of the family?
 - c) In what ways can the remembering of food enable the family to endure?
2. How does the materiality of foodways, e.g. the food itself, but also the things that are used in relation to specific foodways such as fruit-bowls and vegetable boxes, help shape family practices?
 - a) How do families engage with the materialities of foodways as they undertake family work?
 - b) How do families engage with the memory of the materialities of foodways within their everyday family work?
3. How are food-related family practices framed within the context of time-space/space-time?
 - a) How do families experience change day-to-day including within contrasting locations?
 - b) How do families experience and express change over their life course?
4. In what ways are food-related family practices constitutive to the emotional aspect of family practices?
 - a) How do emotions connect to the provisioning of food?
 - b) How are emotions connected to the cooking-eating of food?
 - c) How are emotions connected to the remembering of food?

Thirdly, I offer some concluding thoughts on viewing parenting practices and offer alternative ways of viewing of parenting skills. By doing this I aim to highlight parenting practice offer more than a need for moral panic about family life, as outlined in chapter 1.

7.1 Thesis Summary

This thesis has shown how practice theory can be used to draw attention to what families do, as opposed to what they are imagined to be like. I began contextualising this thesis through the concerns pertaining to defining the family and specifically the concept of parenting. Following this was a discussion on the approach taken with regard to gathering data about family and food. What followed was an empirically-led engagement where each chapter focused on different food projects; provisioning (chapter 4), cooking-eating (chapter 5) and remembering (chapter 6). These

engagements illustrated some of the social practices recognised as being a part of parenting practices in the context of families' daily lives. What follows here is a more detailed summary of what each chapter illustrated and conceptualised.

In chapter 2 previous literatures were engaged with, in order to understand family practice in relation to practice theory. I outlined recent theoretical conceptualisations of practice and how their treatment of objects, time-space, and emotions can be used to develop a more nuanced understanding of how family practices operate and are recognised. Chapter 3 highlighted how data was gathered to explore the everyday food activities in the context of two different locations. The chapter highlights the challenges that doing research in another language can present, as well as undertaking it in an unfamiliar location. Taking these factors into consideration the primary function of the chapter was to highlight the questions that were central to this research and the methods that were used to gather data. These two chapters, together, situate the research in relation to wider concerns of social science research.

The central theme of Chapter 4 was the provisioning of food for the family. An empirically driven account emerges, and proceeds to depict, in detail, how through the project of provisioning social practices are recognised as a part of parenting practice. The chapter explores three social practices – monitoring, mediating, and adapting. The section on monitoring explores how emotional connections are enacted and reinforced through the degradation of food, which often sees parents locate themselves in positions of authority. It also explores through observations of parents, their superior knowledge of how to distort time-space by preserving particular foods, by drawing boundaries of when food is edible for the family to eat and when it is time to go shopping. The second social practice is mediating, where emotional connections with others are negotiated by foodstuff, where food is used to negotiate different situations and cultivate relationships. The third social practice, adapting, can be seen as a result of the monitoring and mediating that has been carried out previously and the changes that take place to the families' routine as a result of it. I argue that these three social practices are seen through activities that are carried out on a daily basis, and are recognised through their emotional connections to be part of parenting practice.

In chapter 5 the central theme was cooking and eating food in the family. A secondary concern was the development of Finch's (2007) conceptualisation of display. This chapter focused on six families, exploring the social practices of teaching-learning, demonstrating, and delineating. The practice of teaching-learning showed how parents are not the only people within the context of families that impart knowledge, but that parents are continually learning from their children. Each family struggles, whether in the United Kingdom or Hungary, to find time to sit and eat together, depending on personal employment circumstances, and therefore the other time that parents can spend with their children influences how important eating together is. This section explored the social practice of demonstrating by examining how parents transmit values, passively, to their children. The third section discusses the social practice of delineating; exploring how family members use different spaces in order to delineate their own space in relation to others as well as in relation to family and guests. This section illustrates how objects, such as biscuits, are used to display different people's position in relation to the family. Overall these sections highlight how social practices that have been associated with a proper/family meal can be seen to take place in other situations and the significance of eating a cooked meal was less important than having the family come together. I have argued that in the case of middle class parents there should not be so much anxiety or guilt about ineffective parenting. In addition families should not be judged on whether they have a family meal or not and more research should take place in order to examine the importance of other activities, such as time spent in the car with children.

Chapter 6 investigated the different ways that families collectively remember food. This chapter drew on the concept of collective memory (Connerton 1989, Halbwach 1992). The chapter explicitly intended to develop the notion of memory in practice theory where actions in the present are formed and shaped by past actions, and where the present creates memories for the future. This chapter explored these ideas by examining the social practices of preserving, sharing, and recounting. The practice of preserving highlights how families create traditions through food rituals, producing cohesion in the family. This section highlighted how families' daily action were informed by memories and shared understandings between family members, a thought that is echoed in the last section. Food and its interpreted meaning are seen to be fluid and changing whilst maintaining

collective meaning. The chapter then moves on to explore the social practice of sharing, which sees family members constructing vernacular landmarks through which others are interpreted. This section highlighted how past knowledge of food preferences, reinforces the other, as well as reaffirming and transforming relationships. The final section explores how the social practice of recounting past events can create emotional connections as well as informing present actions. The chapter overall develops the idea that memory is a tool used in relation to the everyday practice of parting, and so reinforces the notion of family practices.

In summation, this thesis illustrates how the notion of parenting practices could be explored in relation to what it means to do family. Each of the chapters explores an aspect of projects involving food. These illustrations drew attention to: how food can be seen to be more than a static object interpreted once and then discarded, the importance of acknowledging the role played by multiple time-spaces in the family, negotiating the everyday, and the emotional connections that are forged through practices which enable the practice to be differentiated as a parent practice. These three tools of practice theory are the conceptual framework which holds this thesis together, therefore, the next section will revisit the conceptual framework outlined in chapter 1 and which was subsequently developed throughout the rest of the thesis.

7.2 Revisiting the Conceptual Framework

The central concern of this thesis has been to develop a more nuanced understanding of family practice by focusing on parenting practices in the context of family daily food habits. Central to this thesis has been Morgan's (1996) use of the term 'family practices'. I have drawn on the ideas expressed in recent engagements with Practice Theory to develop an understanding of the family as being *seen* as multiple and diverse. The second thread to this thesis has acknowledged the tools that enable actions, tasks, and projects to take place, specifically objects, time-space, and emotions. In this section I outline the significance of these tools in relation to the empirical material. This section illustrates how these terms have been developed in the course of this thesis.

7.2.1 Parenting and Food: refining the food-object

Throughout this thesis food has been treated as a malleable object; whilst not being seen as a unique approach within social science, I have argued that food, in relation to family, is an aspect of

food that has been underdeveloped. As a result, this thesis has challenged the approach taken towards food in relation to family. Central to this argument is the need for a more detailed examination of the properties of food, in relation to its natural qualities (Roe 2006a). This can further challenge the assumptions that are made towards objects in use (Pels et al. 1998, Shove et al. 2007).

The most noteworthy contribution this thesis makes to the existing body of literature is the significance of seeing food as a changing set of objects. By taking notice of reactions to material changes in form, it can be revealed how emotional connections exist within the family. In order to do this, attention and significance has been placed on encounters with matter and materiality that have sought to enliven approaches to the everyday (Anderson 2004, Doel and Segrott 2004, Gregson and Beal 2004, Maycroft 2004, Tolia-Kelly 2004); objects having the capacity to act, disseminate, and attribute agency. Increasingly, however, notions about the capacity of objects to have their own action have been brought into focus (Anderson and Tolia-Kelly 2004, DeSilvey 2006, Edensor 2006). I therefore draw particular attention to food that degrades, and the way that this is made sense of by subjects; as DeSilvey states, “things decay and disappear, reform and regenerate, shift back and forth between different states, and always teeter on the edge of intelligibility” (2006:336). By developing the notion that food provokes action, and by analysing these actions, unnoticed social relations can be seen to emerge in unexpected ways. For instance, chapter 4 illustrates how the family is reflected in parenting practice, for instance how food past its used-by-date determines the role of different household members: food past its used-by-date is acceptable for parents to eat, but not children. The potential for food to be harmful, with adults not wanting children to eat such foodstuff, displays an emotional connection demonstrating what makes sense to parents, their need to protect their child. The idea of food having fluid and changing properties is further emphasised by the preserving of food rituals, as seen in section 6.1.4. As a result, this thesis would argue for more attention to be paid to physical changes to objects and the reactions that they provoke, and not just the symbolic change of household items such as sofas (Gregson et al 2007).

7.2.2 Parenting and Time-space: routines and rhythms

This thesis has shown how families create routines in order to make everyday tasks more manageable (DeVault 1991). These routines consist of actions being carried out time and time again, meaning projects and tasks are completed. Projects draw attention to the importance of time-space (Blake et al. 2009, Hägerstrand 1982, Schatzki 2002). This thesis illustrates the subtleties of time-space, but draws attention to its significance in placing these actions relative to one another. Two different notions of time to be explored in this thesis are objective time and existential time; where objective time is independent of an individual, and existential time is changed by individual perceptions (Schatzki 2005). This thesis has developed an understanding of how these two times interact as they pertain to provisioning, cooking-eating, and remembering food within families. How these two times interact offers an interesting insight into how families interact, create, and maintain relationships between each other, even if one member is no longer present. For instance, this occurs in section 6.3, where the practice of recounting offers links back to the past but maintains resonances of contrasting emotions in the present.

By acknowledging the temporality of family life I recognise how both actions have to be located within space. The location of actions within space gives structure to the organisation of actions within an assemblage and practice. By positioning actions within time and space, the interactions with food and family life root the human experience. This contextualisation of actions means that although family can be seen as both fluid and flexible, the term family can remain meaningful (Morgan 1996).

7.2.3 Parenting and Emotional Connections

This thesis has not sought to address nor define what emotions are felt at particular times, but it has highlighted how emotions are used to connect individuals, sometimes in surprising ways. Being part of a family is an emotional experience and has been seen to involve activities being carried out because of the emotional investment that is being made, often and initially by parents (Daly 1996, Folbre 2002, Hallman and Benbow 2007, Hochschild 1983). Frequently, these activities are not acknowledged by the actor but they can still display feelings of love and care (Miller 2004). This

thesis therefore has endeavoured to show how emotions can be displayed, but there must be some understanding of the motivation behind the action. In this way, emotions are expressed within the context of the present but acknowledge the significance of the past (Schatzki 2002).

The work that is involved in being a parent is evident in all of these families. As outlined in chapter 2, the literature that discusses the work that is involved in feeding a family has been labelled as emotional labour (DeVault 1991). Emotional labour means carrying out work, waged or unwaged, for others, work that is often seen and described as a caring role. Previous research has connected these two words to describe the engagement of the people that carry out these types of roles, such as nurses, childcare workers, and mothers. As previously discussed in chapter 5, in connection with parents eating and cooking for their children, it is shown to be emotional, with parents feeling there is a need to nurture their children. This research has shown that nurturing children for these parents is more doing something because it is expected of them. For parents in this research, feeding their children was more than just putting something on a plate and their children in turn eating what was put in front of them. Parents were highly engaged with the projects of provisioning, cooking-eating and remembering of food for, and with, their children. By being engaged in these projects parents displayed their own heightened emotions through their actions, displaying care and love; these acts of display are often in ways that the parents themselves would not often necessarily recognise.

Previous research has highlighted the significance of women in carrying out the emotional labour both in and outside of the household (Milkie et al 2004), and this research has gone some way to understanding the way that men are involved emotionally in carrying out food related tasks with respect to their children. This research would suggest that men are involved in household work, even in the most traditional of households suggesting that there is still the possibility for change, even in the seemingly most 'traditional' family (see section 5.3). The engagement of emotions involved in raising a child can often, over the course of time, be dismissed as something that parents just do. It is not necessarily the child that takes this emotional labour for granted, but the person performing that labour that often dismiss their own actions as unimportant and of no consequence. Many of the families in this research were aware of the work they were doing, but often, the primary motivating factor of feeding children, becomes imbued with other social practices, such as monitoring behaviour,

mediating challenging food preferences. The motivation and emotion become complex and hidden from view and the connections that it forms display an emotional presence.

7.3 Concluding thoughts on family and family practices

As outlined in the introduction to this thesis there is a widespread perception that families are in crisis and parents are largely responsible for these problems with food having been, increasingly, the focal point for moral panic about families and, in particular, parenting practices (Green et al. 2009). Jamie Oliver is not the only campaigner making families sit down and eat a meal; family and food literature has focused on *the family meal* as being a symbol of all that is good about family life. By viewing family as a recognised set of practices one can start to question not only the physical construct of the family, as others have done, but to draw attention to how families are seen to be such a pervasive notion in social life. In seeing the family as practices there is an awareness that families are complex, unique, and something of a contradiction.

In comparing Hungary and the UK there are practices that are different because of the different material, time, space, and historical framework, but the same challenges that are faced by parents in the UK are faced by those in Hungary; some of the solutions might be different but there is much that could be shared between families.

I have recognised that food can become not simply a lens through which to view family life, but also a unique object with the potential to display connections between people, time, and space. This thesis has been built on a vast existing body of literature that has drawn similar conclusions. This research, however, has reminded me that family practices are not just shaped by food but by a range of objects, and this thesis contends that family is something that is done continually and cannot be captured in one meal, although one object can suggest and hint at some of a family's practices.

Chapter 8 - Appendices

8.1 – Interview Schedule

Interviews:--brief description of ethics procedures—what material is for and how it will be used.

1. Basic information about the household, family—number of residents, ages, sex, relationships, and relatives live near by? Far away?
2. Participants ask to think about what their favourite food it and what something they might eat regularly is and if possible bring in a recipe.
 - a. Why favourite/why regular
 - b. When is it made or how often
 - c. Is it made for a special reason?
 - d. Do you think it is made for one particular family member?
 - e. Where did this recipe come from?
 - f. Is this something you eat with other people or something you would typically eat on your own?
 - g. How do you feel when you eat this food?
3. Everyday: Can you describe a normal eating day?
 - a. Self:
 - i. So starting when you get up and tell me what you might eat or drink, where and with whom you would do this.
 - ii. Probe for extra elements—e.g. Cup of tea with a biscuit? Coffee first thing—where? Snacks, drinks at the end of the day?
 - iii. How much of your eating do you do on your own? With others?
 - iv. Do you have very specific meal times? Why these times?
 - v. Do you cook for yourself/family members? How often? Which meal?
 - vi. Do you enjoy cooking? Is there ever a time when you don't enjoy cooking?
 - b. Household family members:
 - i. Starting with your partner—where when does he/she eat? / Children?
 - ii. Who cooks their food?
 - iii. What kinds of things do they eat?
 - iv. If you cook for the children—do you cook different food than you would cook for yourself? Do you make them different food if they have friends over?
4. Attitude/relationship with food:
 - a. Are there any particular meals that you might feel all the family should be present for?
 - b. What would you say your attitude toward or relationship with food is?
 - c. Do you have any food allergies or things you try to avoid?
 - d. Do you feel you have to watch what you eat? What do you watch for?
 - e. Are there any foods you dislike?
 - f. Do you ever feel that you have to deny yourself things you would really like to eat? Why?

5. Special occasions: Tell me what you would do for Christmas? Your birthday? Children's birthday?
6. Entertaining:
 - a. How often do you have people around? For which meal?
 - b. What sorts of things do you make?
 - c. Do you enjoy entertaining? Does your partner enjoy entertaining?

Diary — optional. Explain how it works. Ask if can come back for second interview in a weeks time. Ask if other family members would be willing to be interviewed—if over 16.

Signature consent form—one box indicating anonymisation preferences.

IV2: reminder of ethics elements.

1. Reflections on the diary process. Anything different happening? Than expected?
2. Shopping experience:
 - a. Where like to shop and why
 - i. Thinking back over the last 7 days,
 1. When and how often did you buy food?
 2. Where? (shop name, restaurant, etc)
 3. How did you find that experience?
 4. How much do you think you spend each week on food shopping? Eating out?
 - ii. With reference to groceries (only if the person did any grocery shopping)
 1. Who typically does the shopping in your family? Do other family members sometimes do the grocery shopping?
 2. Do you go to the shop or do you have it delivered or a mix? Why?
 3. Did you find everything you were looking for?
 4. Did you buy more than you expected or anything you did not expect?
 5. Did you have a list when you started? Who made that list?
 6. How long did the food you bought last? Did you expect it to last longer? Did any of it have to be thrown away?
 7. When you buy food what are you looking for? (freshness, ease, fair trade, organic)
 8. Do you grow any of your own food? Do you preserve or make jam?
 - iii. Do you shop for anyone else? Describe this.
 - iv. Do you remember shopping as a child? What was this like?
3. Food as gifts
 - a. Do you ever give food as gifts—in what circumstances, when was the last time? Who? What?
 - b. Do you ever receive food as gifts—in what circumstances, when was the last time, who? What?
 - c. Do you think you ever make special food or meals as a way to express love? Examples of this?
4. Would you mind if I took a couple of photographs of your kitchen—get if possible (refrigerator, cooker, pantry, freezer if separate)?

Diary 2:

Third interview: remind them of ethics procedures, ask

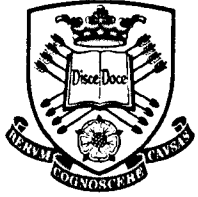
1. Focus on elements in diary
 - a. Participants reflections on diary process
 - b. Participants reflections own eating
 - c. Contradictions between first iv and diary not discussed already

2. Expand on family eating practices, e.g. How is eating part of the families routine or not? How much does food pay a part of the family? (omit if discussed already)
 - a. Who does what when the family eat together?(cooking/setting the table/washing-up etc)
 - b. What are the important elements of this meal?
 - c. Why do the family eat as a group?
 - d. Does this happen regularly?
 - e. Particular frustrations?
 - f. Particular concerns re: family eating/communication?

3. Do you regularly eat with or cook for someone who does not live with you? Why?
4. Expand on memory:
 - a. Do you have good food memories? Bad food memories? Get stories.
 - b. Can you remember learning to cook? Who taught you? What sorts of things did you learn to cook first?
5. Other topics missed from earlier interviews
6. Follow-up on missed probes from other interviews.

Ask if possible for Lucy to come spend one evening with the family based on selected criteria

8.2 Diary



The
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Changing Families,
Changing Food.

Feeding the Family:

UK and Hungary

Research supported by the Leverhulme trust and the Soroptimist International clubs of Ilkely and Szeged

Please fill in and complete this diary every time you eat. The period of the diary is one week. At the end of the week we will collect the diary and provide you with an additional diary for week two. If you have problems filling in the diary or need additional pages, please contact Megan Blake (01943 608097 or M.blake@sheffield.ac.uk) or Lucy Crane (l.crane@sheffield.ac.uk).

a global voice
for women

Soroptimist  International

The Leverhulme Trust

Name: _____

Start Date: _____ End Date: _____

Please circle as appropriate

Sex: Female Male

Age group: 16-18

19-27

28-40

41-54

55-64

65-75

76 and over

Initial comments:

Day: Mon Tue Wed Thu Fri Sat Sun

Time: _____

Description of food item(s) consumed:

Made by/Sourced From:

Activities during consumption:

Others present:

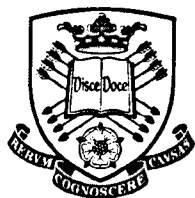
Location:

Feelings experienced:

Additional comments:

Final reflections:

8.3 Consent Form



The
University
Of
Sheffield.

Changing Families,
Changing Food.

Consent and Copyright Transfer Form (14/07/2006)

FEEDING THE FAMILY: UK and Hungary

Principal investigator: Megan Blake

Co-investigator: Lucy Crane

Informed consent

Please initial box

- I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.
- I agree to take part in the above research project.

Anonymisation

According to copyright law, as the interviewee participating in this research you retain ownership of your words. As part of this you have the right to have your name attached to these words or you may request that the interview transcript and other related research materials be anonymised.

Written materials

Please indicate which you prefer by initialling the appropriate box

- I give permission for my name to be used in relation to materials collected about me.
- I request that interview transcripts and other materials associated with me be anonymised.

Recorded materials

Please indicate which you prefer by initialling the appropriate box

- I agree to the full use of my voice recordings by the research team for dissemination and my name may be publicly associated with this recording.
- I agree to the full use of my voice recordings by the research team for dissemination but I do not want my name to be publicly associated when it is used.
- I prefer that the research team contact me for permission prior to using elements of my voice recording

Clearance note and deposit instructions

If researchers wish to publish large extracts from an interview, or put transcripts into an archive for future research this copyright must be transferred, so that the researcher becomes the owner.

1. I understand the information above and agree to transfer copyright of my interview recording(s) to the 'Feeding the family: UK and Hungary' research group subject to the conditions set out above.

2. I understand the information above and agree to transfer copyright of my interview transcript(s) to the 'Feeding the family: UK and Hungary' research group.

| | | |
|--------------------|------|-----------|
| | | |
| | | |
| Participant's Name | Date | Signature |
| | | |
| | | |
| Researcher's Name | Date | Signature |

(2 copies: 1 for researcher, 1 for participant)

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