Evaluating the impact of digital content on consumers' practices: the phenomenon of cooking videos

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Abstract

Title	Evaluating the impact of digital content on consumers' practices: the phenomenon of cooking videos
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Authors	Alejandra Herrero Garçon & Nantli Soto Guerrero
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Keywords	Theories of practice, digital food, consumer practices, new media, online cooking videos.
Thesis purpose	This study investigates the implication of online cooking videos on consumers' everyday practices.
Methodology	The research has employed a qualitative approach, specifically, in-depth interviews to investigate the phenomenon.
Theoretical perspective	This study belongs to the field of consumer research and is based upon theories of practice and consumer culture theories.
Empirical data	The textual data collected through eleven in-depth interviews, outlined different ways in which online cooking videos create, intensify, substitute, interrupt and merge everyday practices performed by consumers.
Findings/conclusions	Online cooking videos create a synergic effect that affect several everyday practices as they constitute an object, a doing and a practice that modifies other practices' elements and forge new relationships between them. The concept of unintentional tastemakers is introduced.
Practical implications	Independently of the producer of online cooking videos, this content has an effect in the consumption of food related products in which consumer practices are a key lever that generates purchases in the short or medium term.

Acknowledgements

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1   Introduction

This chapter will offer a synopsis of the role of digital technologies in the cooking world and the phenomenon and increasing popularity of online cooking videos. These sections will be followed by the problematization, which revolves around the ambiguous nature of online cooking videos, and how they have been disregarded in the literature. The outcomes of the problematization are the research question and the positioning of this research. Lastly, after presenting the intended contributions of the present thesis, we will provide an overview of the thesis' structure.

1.1   Background

1.1.1 The Role of Digital in the Cooking World

According to Lewis (2018), the worlds of food and digital are now intertwined. Both worlds seem to have a reciprocal relationship, as while "the world food is being quietly colonized by an array of electronic devices, online content, and information and communication technologies" (Lewis, 2018, p. 213), the digital universe has been filled with all kind of food content, from a giant amount of food snapshots in social media, such as Facebook or Instagram, to the rise of food channels and "how-to" cooking videos (Lewis, 2018). The centrality of food in our lives contributed to the fact that a huge proportion of online content is about food (Mouritsen, Edwards-Stuart, Ahn & Ahnert, 2017). New technologies have allowed the appearance of new consumer's behaviors in the domain of cooking, such as taking and sharing pictures of plates (Lewis, 2018; Mouritsen et al., 2017), share recipes or videos of how to cook something online (Lewis, 2018; Mouritsen et al., 2017) and establish online relationships with brands and with other customers through online communities (Lewis, 2018).

Moreover, according to Lewis (2018), the ubiquity of mobile phones in our lives is contributing to the normalization of certain cooking practices among millennials, such as bringing their mobile devices into the kitchen. In most cases, mobile phones accompany millennials through all the phases of the cooking journey, from deciding what they want to cook, obtaining the recipe to prepare it, and cooking (Cooper, 2015).

To sum up, as suggested by Lewis (2018, p.212), "food is a particularly generative space through which to understand the evolving but often hidden role of the digital in our everyday lives". In other words, cooking is a practice that allows us to understand the everyday and hidden impact that digital has in our lives.

1.1.2 Online Cooking Videos

One of the ways in which the realms of digital and cooking have come together is through online cooking videos. This phenomenon has grown rapidly on YouTube (Kantchev, 2014), and on Facebook, this type of content is the one with which users interact the most (Dent, 2017). According to Delgado, Johnsmeyer and Balanovskiy (2014), there is an increasing trend among consumers to access YouTube for culinary inspiration, recipes, or tips on cooking techniques. In 2013, "views of food and recipe content grew 59%, and social engagement (such as likes, comments, and shares) on food channels rose by 118%" (Delgado et al., 2014, n.p.). Another interesting finding of Delgado et al. (2014) is that while a proportion of half of all adults watches food videos on YouTube, on average, the demographic group viewing the most food content on YouTube are millennials (according to the authors, ages 18-34), who watch 30% more food content on YouTube than other demographics.

For the aim of this thesis, we define online cooking videos as instructional videos that essentially have the objective of showing how to prepare a recipe for a digital audience. As new media has opened the opportunity for different market actors to produce their own food content, there are many different formats. Some resemble the traditional cooking TV shows with a chef that shows step by step the process, some others look like recorded PowerPoint© presentations with energetic and upbeat music in the background, and some others only show a pair of hands preparing a dish in a fast speed motion.

The producers of these videos can be individuals who like to share their cooking skills, others are produced by kitchenware brands who use them as a way to show the functionalities of their products. Food brands also create videos to suggest consumers new ways in which they can use their ingredients in recipes. Similarly, influencers publish videos to show how certain dishes are cooked in different parts of the world and make a mix of food and traveling advice.

It is interesting to observe that even though these videos show many food ingredients and kitchen appliances in the cooking process, they generally do not show any brands or make use of product placement to promote certain products. This will depend on the producer of the content. For example, the videos of a food brand will show the product as the star of the recipe while recognized chefs would avoid mentioning particular brands if there is no previous monetary agreement with the brand. However, even if the videos do not show specific brands, certain online cooking videos can be part of a marketing strategy by allowing the brands to accumulate data about the practices and behaviors of consumers. At the same time, researchers have claimed that this online phenomenon is changing our understanding and perception of food (Mouritsen et al., 2017) and our consumption habits and lifestyle (Lewis, 2018).

1.2   Problematization

The irruption and unstoppable spreading of the digital world in our daily lives constitutes a highly interesting domain to investigate the potential new practices and behaviors that consumers may be adopting in their day to day activities. To this respect, cooking, due to its interconnection with the digital world (Lewis, 2018) and its nature as a routinized act performed on a daily basis, appears to be an ideal area of study.

In the previous sections, we signaled the key role that new media has played in the diffusion of content related to food. Today, brands, chefs, "influencers", and individuals have become producers and publishers of images, videos, blog posts, and they can even have their own cooking channel. Among all this content, we have seen that the visualization of online recipe videos, independently of their origin, represents an increasing trend among consumers, especially among millennials, to look for ideas, recipes, or inspiration (Delgado et al., 2014).

Despite the fact that online cooking videos have flooded social media (Kantchev, 2014; Delgado et al., 2014), it calls our attention that, as it will be outlined in chapter 2, it is difficult to find in the literature an analysis of the possible implications, especially in terms of consumer practices, that this type of content may have on viewers. Most of the research that discusses the connection between food and cooking and the digital environment comes from different disciplines like medicine, psychology, and nutrition. These research papers have put attention on the causal effect of new media content on people's consumption of high-calorie food, especially on the effects on adolescents and young adults (Buchanan, Kelly & Yeatman, 2017; Buchanan, Kelly, Yeatman & Kariippanon, 2018; Fleming-Milici & Harris, 2020; Freeman, Kelly, Vandevijvere & Baur, 2015; Kelly, Vandevijvere, Freeman & Jenkin, 2015; Qutteina, Hallez, Mennes, De Backer & Smits, 2019; Scully, Wakefield, Niven, Chapman, Crawford, Pratt, Baur, Flood & Morley, 2012). Moreover, to analyze the impact of advertising on food consumption, academic research has mainly used advertising content. In other words, current research is based on content that clearly features a product and a brand. However, as described in the previous paragraphs, new media have diversified the formats and channels in which commercial messages reach audiences. For this reason, little has been said about the implications of messages that do not have the common elements of an advertising ad but which can still be part of an integral marketing strategy. That is the case of online recipe videos. Bragg, Pageot, Amico, Miller, Gasbarre, Rummo and Elbel (2019) have hypothesized that the absence of the brand in social media posts may help brands to connect more easily with consumers as this content is not regarded as messages from a company but from a friend. The same authors suggest looking better at this trend.

Another reason why we believe research has overlooked the analysis of online cooking videos is their ambiguous nature: Are they simply entertainment? Purely instructional? Do they have any commercial purpose? This in turn can make this topic unworthy of analysis from the discipline of marketing. In the digital era the line between what is advertising or other kind of content, such as

entertainment or education, gets blurry very often (Kelly et al., 2015). Yet, some of these videos belong to a cross-media marketing strategy and they have a function that serves brands (Kelly et al. 2015) or the producers who generate this type content, as they can obtain insights about the preferences of consumers and their cooking behaviors (Lewis, 2018; Mouritsen et al., 2017).

To sum up, even though cooking videos are one of the online content that consumers visualize and interact the most with, and they belong to the food domain, which is a central area in our everyday lives, they have been overlooked by researchers. Existing research has mainly focused on the effect of food advertising in the acquisition of unhealthy behaviors by consumers.

1.3   Research Purpose and Research Question

Based on the gap identified in the problematization section, the aim that we pursue with this thesis is to gain a deeper understanding of the possible implications of online content in consumers' everyday lives, specifically in their practices. We believe an underlying phenomenon under online cooking videos may be the acquisition of new daily practices among consumers, therefore we want to explore and investigate, from a consumer perspective, which kind of practices, if any, are being normalized among them due to their interaction with "how-to" cooking videos. To fulfill this purpose, we will answer the following research question:

RQ: In which ways online cooking videos are influencing consumers' everyday practices?

1.4   Aimed Thesis Contributions

It is often said that the digital world has changed people's lives. However, some experts, such as Lewis (2018), have claimed that we still do not know exactly the implications of new digital technologies, platforms, and content in people's lives. Still, millions of videos show people how to do something like cooking, exercising, decorate their houses, use make-up, and so forth. Experts and amateurs share their knowledge and create videos that suggest others how to do something.

This exploratory study intends to contribute to the broader understanding of the implications of digital media on the everyday lives of people by examining the particular phenomenon of cooking videos and how they are used. We believe that this content plays an important role in modifying consumers' practices but we want to investigate in which ways this may be happening. We want to contribute to the broader domain of consumer culture research, specifically theories of practice.

This provides our research with an element of novelty, as "how-to" cooking videos have still not been considered in this study field. Having a clear understanding of the possible effect of online cooking videos on consumer practices, could help future research in this domain.

1.5 Outline of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into six different chapters. In this first chapter, the reader has been provided with an introduction to the overall research topic. The second chapter consists of a literature review of academic research that covers the topics of the influence of food marketing on food consumption and perceptions, both in traditional and new media. Furthermore, in this chapter, we will present the main theoretical approaches that underlie this study such as consumer's identity projects, globalization, taste and distinction, and theories of practice.

The third chapter explains in detail the methodology chosen for this study and how the empirical data obtained from participants has been analyzed. The fourth chapter presents the findings of the data collected and leads to the fifth chapter, in which the analysis of the gathered data is developed. Finally, in the sixth chapter, we present the conclusions, the theoretical and practical contributions of this research, and suggestions for further research.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Influence of Marketing on Food Consumption

In order to make a comprehensive literature review, we searched for academic papers related to the influence of marketing on food consumption and perceptions in general. In the search, we found that the majority of the studies were conducted from different fields that are not related to marketing. Such disciplines include psychology, medicine, nutrition, health promotion, and education. It is difficult to find extensive research about this topic from the perspective of marketing and business. Moreover, the studies that cover the topic of online videos are concentrated on the efficiency of these marketing techniques.

In order to understand how researchers have approached the issue of the impact of food marketing on consumer behavior, we have to look at the research that has been conducted in the last decades. In the review, we noticed the first studies analyzed advertising in traditional media like television, and later, with the irruption of the Internet and digital technologies, research has focused on new media and contents.

2.1.1 Traditional Media

In marketing, traditional media are represented by television, radio, and print media (Kelly et al., 2015). These channels are the ones through which traditional forms of advertising are communicated (Kelly et al., 2015). Traditional advertising in these channels have been and still is, highly popular among companies, being TV commercials the most used form of this type of advertising (Buchanan et al., 2018; Cairns, Angus, Hastings & Caraher, 2013; Fleming-Milici & Harris, 2020).

Traditional media is characterized by enabling mass communication, that is, the commercial message that companies want to transmit reaches a high number of people, however, in contrast to new media, there is no possibility to individually personalize the message (Pribanic, 2018). The type of communication that traditional media facilitates is unidirectional, meaning that consumers have a passive role, they are only receptors of the information (Fleming-Milici & Harris, 2020). With regards to the content, the messages communicated through traditional media certainly originate from companies (Fleming-Milici & Harris, 2020), and can have an important emotional component (Fleming-Milici & Harris, 2020; Qutteina et al., 2019). In financial terms, a lot of companies dedicate a great part of their advertising budget to traditional media, specifically to TV advertising (Fleming-Milici & Harris, 2020).

Traditional media portrays food through different types of content like advertising, TV cooking programs, culinary cultures documentaries, the publication of recipes in magazines, etc. Several studies from disciplines, such as psychology, medicine, nutrition, health promotion, and education, have shown interest in this field, specifically on the marketing of unhealthy food through TV and its impact on consumers (Buchanan et al., 2017; Fleming-Milici & Harris, 2020; Nelson & Fleming, 2019; Scully et al., 2012). The aim of these researchers is mainly to investigate the impacts of these advertisements on consumers' health, by discovering the changes they promote in their eating behaviors and preferences and indicate the need for regulations to protect consumers against this content. According to several authors (Buchanan et al., 2018; Buchanan et al. 2017; Kelly et al., 2015; Fleming-Milici & Harris, 2020), most of the existing literature investigating the effects of the marketing of unhealthy food is concentrated in traditional media, principally television, instead of new media.

Among these studies, children and adolescents have received special attention, to the detriment of other demographic groups, which have been less studied (Buchanan et al., 2018). The reasons why these two demographic groups have received extreme attention are their vulnerability to food marketing (Fleming-Milici & Harris, 2020; Kelly et al., 2015), their high exposure to television (Bragg et al., 2019), and to unhealthy food content (Cairns et al., 2013). Apart from that, in the particular case of children, there are other additional factors that have made researchers focus their attention on them. These are the fact that they constitute a central target for marketers "because of their [...], influence on household purchases and potential as lifelong brand consumers" (Kelly et al., 2015, p.38), and the fact that food promotion directed to children is higher in proportion to that directed to adults (Cairns et al., 2013). In the particular case of adolescents, another aspect that makes them interesting for researchers is that they are in an age in which they start earning their first income and start making purchase decisions on their own (Scully et al., 2012).

Research has contributed to the field of (unhealthy) food marketing in traditional media, basically of TV commercials, by exploring and indicating the implications of this kind of advertising in consumers, specifically in children and adolescents. The effects range from influencing eating cognitions, preferences, and attitudes to promoting changes in eating behavior (Qutteina et al., 2019; Scully et al., 2012). Exposure to media food marketing increases the consumption of unhealthy food among children and adolescents (Qutteina et al., 2019; Scully et al., 2012). Moreover, food marketing also affects purchase behavior. Kids for example self-report that they buy food without the supervision of their parents and parents self-report that they accede to buy their kids' marketing-influenced purchase requests (Cairns et al., 2013).

Having discussed traditional media, and how and from which point of view research contributed to the study of food marketing in this area, in the next section we will focus on digital media.

2.1.2 New Media

With the diffusion of new technology, the Internet, and the emergence of social media networks, new communication channels and types of content started to appear in consumers' lives. Although the definition of new media is constantly changing due to the invention of new technologies and devices, from a marketing perspective, new media refers to digital technologies, encompassing the Internet and mobile devices (Kelly et al., 2015). A shared characteristic of these new technologies is their capacity to connect people globally and generate interactions among them (Liu-Thompkins, 2019; Kelly et al., 2015).

In contrast to traditional media, the participatory character of new media (Confos & Davis, 2016; Kelly et al., 2015), has enabled bi-directional communication (Liu-Thompkins, 2019). This has translated into online interaction among customers and brands, which is highly valuable for companies and marketing practitioners for several reasons. First, the interaction occurring online generates data (Mouritsen et al., 2017) that brands can use in order to personalize and customize the content that they transmit to consumers (Kelly et al., 2015) and they can also benefit from this information by selling it to other companies or advertising agencies (Lewis & Phillipov, 2018). Second, as brands achieve personalization and closeness with consumers, it is possible for them to generate a stronger connection with their audience and then produce a stronger affinity, positive attitudes and emotions towards the brand (Bragg et al., 2019; Confos & Davis, 2016). Moreover, the interactive environment of social media has allowed the development of new types of consumer socialization and relationships with brands, for example, through online communities. Through these communities, individuals intentionally grant permission to receive information from the brand by following the page (Bragg et al., 2019; Confos & Davis, 2016; Nelson & Fleming, 2019). Third, this participatory environment enables the co-creation of brand messages from user-generated-content (Kelly et al., 2015). A consequence of this is that it can become a way of consumer free labor for brands (Lewis, 2018).

Digital media has also enabled new forms of marketing, such as viral marketing (Reichstein & Brusch, 2019) and social media influencer marketing, which, in line with marketing scholars, is a more influential and efficient tool compared to traditional advertising (Qutteina et al., 2019). Moreover, new media has brought the emergence of new types of advertising, by encompassing communication, education, and entertainment (Kelly et al., 2015). Consequently, commercial messages can be camouflaged (Confos & Davis, 2016; Fleming-Milici & Harris, 2020), as the line between commercial and non-commercial content is blurred (Kelly et al., 2015).

The increasing use of social media and mobile phones among all demographic groups, but especially by young people (Qutteina et al. 2019), has incentivized companies to increase their expenditure in online advertising, including food advertising (Bragg et al., 2019; Kelly et al., 2015). An advantage of increasing marketing in some media platforms is that its cost is relatively low, especially compared to TV advertising (Kelly et al., 2015). Apart from that, it may be a more efficient and influential marketing tool, compared to traditional advertisements (Fleming-Milici & Harris, 2020).

From the marketing perspective, new platforms and devices mean new opportunities to create integrated marketing campaigns that increase the potential engagement with thousands of consumers (Cairns et al., 2013; Kelly et al., 2015). This possibility is greater than that of traditional media like television, magazines, or the radio (Kelly et al. 2015).

The importance of digital technologies in our everyday life has increased the interest of researchers in this matter, and, therefore, several studies have been conducted to understand the emergent role of the digital in influencing our relationships, everyday domestic activities, and consumer practices but also to examine other aspects such as the digitization of society, governance or democracy (Lewis, 2018). Yet, although the food realm and the digital world are closely connected, a huge proportion of online content is about food (Mouritsen et al., 2017), and food has a great potential to help researchers understand the impact of digital technologies in our daily lives, the research in the specific area of food marketing and digital media is scarce (Lewis, 2018).

The existing studies written in the domain of food marketing and digital media, like in the case of traditional media, belong to different disciplines, such as psychology, medicine, nutrition, health promotion, education, and additionally, information and communication technology and marketing.

Among the studies, adolescents and young adults have received special attention for a number of reasons. These are, their strong online presence (Buchanan et al., 2018), the fact that they spend more hours in social media compared to other demographic groups (Fleming-Milici & Harris, 2020; Qutteina et al., 2019), their higher engagement with food and beverage brands in social media (Fleming-Milici & Harris, 2020), the fact that they begin to have their own disposable income and make independent decisions (Buchanan et al., 2018; Scully et al., 2012) and the fact that they are in process of constructing their personal identity (Freeman et al., 2015), which make them vulnerable to marketing effects (Kelly et al., 2015). In the case of young adults, an additional factor that makes them interesting for researchers is that they are in a transition age to become adults (Buchanan et al., 2017).

The contribution of the different disciplines to the field of food marketing in digital media has been varied. From a health and regulation perspective, authors have mainly investigated the marketing of unhealthy food through social media and its impact on consumers. The aim of these researchers has been to investigate the influence of these advertisements on consumers' health, by discovering the changes they may promote in their preferences and eating behaviors (Qutteina et al., 2019; Scully et al., 2012), attitudes towards brands (Buchanan et al., 2017), purchase behavior (Buchanan et al., 2017), the pervasive techniques used by brands to attract consumers (Bragg et al., 2019), and indicate the need of regulations to protect adolescents and young adults against this content.

From a marketing and information and communication technology perspective, the focus has not only been in online food advertising, but on other types of online food content, such as culinary blogs or recipe websites. The contribution of these studies ranges from investigating how the online relationships established in a culinary blog can positively influence the eating behavior of

their participants (Guèvremont, 2019), to indicate the potential of the food and cooking world in understanding how the digital technology is changing our everyday life, by creating new consumer behaviors and practices, and how these changes can be monitored through the big data generated by consumers when interacting with online food content (Lewis, 2018; Mouritsen et al., 2017; Salampasis, Paltoglou & Giachanou, 2014). However, these authors suggest that further research should be performed to understand these implications in detail.

Current research in the domain of food marketing and digital media overlooks online cooking videos. We believe that this specific type of food content presents several characteristics that make it interesting for study. They have an ambiguous nature as they cannot be easily classified as entertainment or advertising. Additionally, they are extremely popular on the Internet and may have the power to influence consumers' behavior and everyday practices.

2.2   Consumer Culture Theories

Many people assume that eating and cooking represent extremely ordinary acts, based on repetitive habits and rituals (Lewis, 2018). However, these acts have extraordinary importance for three different reasons. First, eating guarantees the survival of human beings; second, our eating and cooking choices have an impact in our health, which in turn can have societal health consequences, such as overweight and obesity (World Health Organization, 2018); and, finally, these acts are part of individuals' culture, which makes them a topic of interest from an anthropological and social point of view (Mouritsen et al., 2017). In this section, we will focus on the cultural, social, and practical dimensions of food and cooking.

2.2.1 Individual and Collective Identities

In contemporary consumer culture, people create their identity with the aid of the market which offers a "set of props and practices that can be deployed separately or in combination to self-present, or perform identity" (Schau, 2018, p.21). In the case of cooking, people need ingredients, kitchenware, a place in which they can perform the practice of cooking: a kitchen. By the use of these market resources, individuals can perform identity work and social roles like mother, children, chef, cooking apprentice, host, guest, among others. According to Schau (2018), identity projects form self-narratives that allow organizing projects and performances into relatively cohesive and holistic identity. In other words, it is through the regular performance of practices that individuals create their identity.

Traditional media and new media have become sources of images, shows, role models, brands, and more, that fuel the imagination of people and lead to new resources to create identity projects

and understandings of the world (Schau, 2018). Technology and the Internet have potentialized information about market resources to cook. With cooking videos, for example, people now have more information about how to use ingredients and kitchenware. The recipes of national cuisines can be accessed by different people around the world and the videos can be made by different actors, not only experienced chefs.

Apart from the array of information related to cooking on the Internet, food by itself helps consumers create individual and collective identities (Boutaud, Becuţ & Marinescu, 2016; De Solier & Duruz, 2013; Wilk, 1999). By means of food one can express his/her "personality, social class, lifestyles, gender roles and relationships, from family, to community, to ethnic groups or nationality, changing through time and place" (Boutaud et al., 2016, p.1). Food helps individuals feel part of a community and can offer them comfort and security. For instance, individuals can associate childhood food with good memories and ties with their families (Le, 2017). Moreover, food reflects and can help to analyze socio-historical and political events (Boutaud et al., 2016; Le, 2017).

As food and culinary practices are connected to society, they are not exempt from changes. It is true that there is certain continuity as in each community exists a food heritage that is transmitted from generation to generation. However, certain social changes, like for example, migrations, the industrialization of food production, mass media, and technological progress, have contributed to the globalization of food (Boutaud et al., 2016). The result of this globalization is an increasing trend towards an international cuisine (Belk, 1996). According to Belk (1996), although the globalization of food can imply the disappearance of some cultural differences, produced by homogenization of practices, "the existence of international mixed cuisines depends not on an obliteration of cultural differences but on their highlighting" (Belk, 1996, p.32). In other words, the popularity of determined dishes or types of food is totally dependent on their association with their place of origin and roots.

Considering the globalized reality in which we live nowadays, the relation of food and culture represent a tension in the identity construction between sticking to our origins, our culinary traditions and practices, and, the opposite, going beyond what we know and experimenting, discovering and mixing different types of cuisine (Boutaud et al., 2016). This can produce the rise of anti-globalization movements, which can be represented, for example, by consumer resistance to certain brands and a wish to return to the traditional (Belk, 1996; Ger, 1999; Ritzer, 2009; Thompson & Arsel, 2004; Wilk, 1999).

2.2.2 Taste and Social Distinction

In the world of food and drink the term taste makes reference to the sense which helps us to identify flavors (Arsel & Bean, 2018). However, "across cultures and social classes, taste is an inseparable component of even the simplest everyday practices" (Arsel & Bean, 2018, p.276). From a sociological point of view, taste constitutes an activity that reaffirms social hierarchies as it reveals

"how members of a society have differential access to economic, cultural, and social resources" (Arsel & Bean, 2018, p.277). According to Arsel and Bean (2018, p.278), "taste is not idiosyncratic, personal, and subjective", in contrast, taste is a result of socialization and no one, independently of their position in the social hierarchy, can escape its effects (Arsel & Bean, 2018). Taking doing the groceries as an example: Do you decide to buy in an ecologic store? Do you choose products that are locally produced? Are you acquiring special products from other gastronomic cultures in a specialized shop? Do you bring your own reusable bags to the store or do you pay to get plastic bags? All these choices, although mundane, can constitute a big deal, not only for the individual doing the grocery and making the decisions but also for the people who see and judge the different decisions and the person making them. Considering this, taste is a way through which it is possible to establish symbolic boundaries and determine who can be considered to be part of a group or not (Arsel & Bean, 2018).

Considering taste as an essential mode of distinction, it can be considered that it is difficult for individuals to escape their class position (Arsel & Bean, 2018). From this point of view, individuals do not decide what they like, but "what they like is decided for them by way of rigid social mechanisms reinforced by the market" (Arsel & Bean, 2018, p.280). However, some phenomena including globalization, digital culture, and increasing mobility suggest that taste may be considered as a fluid phenomenon instead of a static category (Arsel & Bean, 2018). For example, considering digital culture, it has increased both, the consumption of immaterial objects such as images or videos published in social media, and the flows of information (Arsel & Bean, 2018). Furthermore, the digital environment allows consumers to express taste even if they do not spend any money (Arsel & Bean, 2018).

In theoretical models of taste, it has been argued that determined people, or groups of people, also known as tastemakers, exert an extreme power concerning the ideas and aesthetic patterns regarded as desirable in a particular culture (Arsel & Bean, 2018). These people constitute a referent for other individuals, who by means of market resources are willing to develop their taste abilities (Arsel & Bean, 2018). Tastemakers establish normative references and can shape fashion systems and their symbolic boundaries (Arsel & Bean, 2018). Traditionally, tastemakers were a limited number of individuals who achieved status by being outstanding in their fields or who attained this status through birth (Arsel & Bean, 2018). In their work about fashion bloggers, McQuarrie, Miller and Phillips (2013) argue how the Internet has allowed the ordinary people to overcome the traditional barriers defining who can be a tastemaker, and how now everyone has the possibility to acquire an audience, and, consequently, have cultural influence. With the arrival of the Internet and social media, "taste has become far more participatory than ever before" (Arsel & Bean, 2018, p.288).

Additionally, taste is closely linked to the concept of cultural capital. In line with Bourdieu (1984 cited in Henry & Caldwell, 2018), the term cultural capital apply to knowledge and skills that are acquired through individuals' primary socialization during the first steps of their life, as a child and young adults – via family, education, media, and peer groups – and secondary socialization by means of latter life experiences and personal interests.

Cultural capital can take three different forms: *embodied* state, *objectified* state and, *institutionalized* state (Bourdieu, 1986). *Embodied* cultural capital refers to "long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.243). An example would be learning to cook. This type of cultural capital is skill-based and determines the way in which one acts in any given social situation (Henry & Caldwell, 2018). In the *objectified* state cultural capital is expressed in the form of cultural goods, such as pictures, books, instruments, etc. (Bourdieu, 1986). These objects "signal one's taste or possess certain knowledge or cultivated skill" (Henry & Caldwell, 2018, p.159). And, finally, *institutionalized* cultural capital, which is a type of objectification that includes "things like certificates and degrees that demonstrate one's educational and professional credentials" (Henry & Caldwell, 2018, p.159).

According to Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital can be converted into other types of capital, such as economic or social capital. For instance, by using their knowledge in a given domain, individuals can start conversations and build bonds with others sharing interests and similar social backgrounds, which is a way to convert cultural capital into social capital (Henry & Caldwell, 2018).

2.3   Theories of Practice

Theories of practice have been applied for the study of consumption as an alternative to social and cultural theories (Warde, 2014). Although the major influence of this theory has been in organization and science studies, its impact on studies of consumption is not irrelevant (Warde, 2014).

The application of theories of practice into empirical studies of consumption has been performed in specific research fields, being sustainability and climate change the most important (Warde, 2014). A second area that has attracted the attention of researchers is the subject of eating, as it combines ordinary and socially symbolic characteristics (Warde, 2014). In words of Warde (2014, p.288), "eating is a propitious area for investigation because it can incontrovertibly be characterized in terms of the material, the corporeal and the mundane, and by repetition, routine and convention". Several authors have applied theories of practice to analyze mundane food and kitchen related matters, such as cooking (Halkier, 2009) and temporal routines around meals (Southerton, Díaz-Méndez & Warde, 2012), among others. Finally, a third area in which practice theories have resulted to be an interesting framework to perform analysis is that of brand communities (Warde, 2014). This is because brand communities constitute groups of people that are self-organized and share an interest in activities that have both a practical and an aesthetic dimension, most of the time involve manual work and, of course, are socially organized (Warde, 2014).

2.3.1 Conceptualization of Practices

Practice theory, also known as theories of practice or theories of social practices, is a type of social theory outlined by several authors like Bourdieu, Giddens, Taylor, Foucault, and others (Reckwitz, 2002). For instance, the concept of *habitus* outlined by Bordieu (1984) remains an indispensable notion to explain why individuals engage in particular practices. This concept is defined as a set of schemas and preferences that are transmitted by the family, school, or other institutions that become internalized by people.

Due to the variety of exponents of this theory, and the differences among them, there is no robust or definitive theoretical resolution available (Warde, 2005, 2014). Hence, as this is not a fully integrated theory, we will only consider some conceptualizations developed by Reckwitz (2002) and Schatzki (1996) that can be relevant for this study.

"Practice theory is presented as a conceptual alternative to other forms of social and cultural theory, above all to culturalist mentalism, textualism and intersubjectivism" (Reckwitz, 2002, p.243). In line with Reckwitz (2002), the elementary difference between the practice theory and the cultural theories mentioned before is that, in the case of practice theory, the social is located in a different domain from those of the other cultural theories. Instead of situating the social in mental qualities, discourse or interaction, practice theory locates the social in "practices", and therefore, practices are the smallest unit of social analysis (Reckwitz, 2002). At this point, it is essential to clarify what are practices and indicate the distinction between "practice" and "practices". This is clearly summarized by Reckwitz (2002, p.249):

> 'Practice' (Praxis) in the singular represents merely an emphatic term to describe the whole of human action (in contrast to 'theory' and mere thinking). 'Practices' in the sense of the theory of social practices, however, is something else. A 'practice' (Praktik) is a routinized type of behavior which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge.

The existence and interconnection of the different elements constituting a practice are essential for its existence, given that a practice "cannot be reduced to any of these single elements" (Reckwitz, 2002, p.250). Moreover, a practice can be considered a pattern that can be completed by plenty of single and usually unique acts recreating the practice (Reckwitz, 2002). As an illustration, a particular way of cooking goods can be completed by multiple actual acts of cooking (Reckwitz, 2002). The single individual is the bearer of practices, not only of bodily behavior patterns, but in addition to "certain routinized ways of understanding, knowing how and desiring" (Reckwitz, 2002, p.250). Taking this into consideration, and in line with Schatzki (1996), practices can be considered a "nexus of doings and sayings" (Schatzki, 1996, p.105). In order for this manifold of doings and sayings to constitute a practice, its members should be able to express a variety of "understandings, rules, and structure" (Schatzki, 1996, p.106). This implies that practices are not only understandable for the individual or individuals who execute them, on the contrary, they are

comprehensible to other individuals, at least to the ones from the same culture (Reckwitz, 2002). It can be said then that practices have a social nature, as they represent a way of behaving and understanding that emerges in different locations, different moments in time and are completed by different agents (Reckwitz, 2002). However, this social aspect does not strictly imply interactions, but primarily refers to intersubjectivism (Reckwitz, 2002).

According to Schatzki (1996), there are two types of practices, the ones that he calls "dispersed" and "integrative". Dispersed practices are those that, in contrast to integrative practices, "are widely dispersed among different sectors of social life" (Schatzki, 1996, p.91). Some examples of this type of practice are the practices of ordering, describing, questioning, and following rules (Schatzki, 1996). In contrast, integrative practices are "the more complex practices found in and constitutive of particular domains of social life" (Schatzki, 1996, p.98). Cooking, among other practices such as religious or business practices, is an example of integrative practices (Schatzki, 1996).

Practices are among the things that are obvious to us, however, they are worth to be considered in more detail (May, 2001). In words of May (2001, p.2), "we are our practices". Consequently, by understanding the function they represent in our lives, we can be able to have a clear picture of who we are, how we think, and what we do (May, 2001).

2.3.2 Elements of a Practice

To study social practices like cooking, researchers have proposed theoretical conceptualizations of the different elements that integrate practices. Warde (2005) discerns three elements: understandings, procedures, and engagements. Similarly, Shove, Watson and Pantzar (2012) propose using elements like materials, competences, and meanings. Other researchers like Torkkeli, Mäkelä and Niva (2018) decided to use all six concepts to analyze at home cooking practices and propose an integrative scheme. Both conceptualizations (Shove et al., 2012; Warde, 2005) have been used to conduct empirical work and they are based in Reckwitz's (2002) and Schatzki's (1996) definitions of social practices (Torkkeli et al., 2018). An additional conceptualization of the elements of a practice is that of Magaudda (2011), who determines the following three elements: objects, doings, and meanings. Table 1 shows a summary of the three constitutive elements of a practice according to different authors.

Shove et al. (2012) point out at the apparently simplistic reduction of social practices into a few elements, but the authors argue that this simple formulation provides means to describe how practices are performed in society and how they change with time. The relationship between the elements of practices is complex as they are both flexible and situational, and at the same time, they allow us to recognize practices that prevail in time.

Table 1: Elements of a practice
Source: adapted from Torkkeli et al. (2018) and complemented based on Arsel and Bean (2013)

Elements of a practice			
Author	Conceptualisations of elements	Element	Definition
Warde (2005)	UPE	Understandings	Knowledge represented as text and talk
		Procedures	Rules, principles, know-how
		Engagements	Emotional and notmative orientations, motivations
Shove et al., (2012)	MCM	Materials	Bodies, things, tools, objects, infraestructure
		Competences	Skills, know-how and techniques
		Meanings	Social and symbolic significances
Magaudda (2011)	ODM	Objects	Tools, objects, materials, bodies
		Doings	Bodily activities or embodied competences and activities
		Meanings	Social and symbolic significances

2.3.3 Relationships among Practices

According to Shove et al. (2012), in a similar manner, as elements (materials, meanings, and competences) link together to constitute a recognizable practice, practices can also link among them, generating complexes or bundles. In contrast to bundles, which are defined as "loose knit patterns based on the co-location and co-existence of practices" (Shove et al., 2012, p.81), complexes "represent stickier and more integrated combinations, some so dense that they constitute new entities in their own right" (Shove et al., 2012, p.81). The relationships among practices can have emergent, accumulated, and frequently, an irrevocable influence in individual practices, the elements that compose them, and the temporal and spatial composition of everyday life (Shove et al., 2012).

In their conceptualization of the relationships among practices, Shove et al. (2012) only consider the elements of a practice (materials, meanings, and competences), practices itself, practitioners, who are the agents or carriers of practices, and the connections between them. However, they do not use categorizations developed by other authors, for example, the differentiation between integrated and dispersed practices proposed by Schatzki (1996), nor Schatzki's discrimination "between doings, sayings, activities, tasks, and projects on the one hand, and practices on the other" (Shove et al., 2012, p.82).

The elements of a practice constitute tools of coordination, as they can play the role of "aggregators, accumulators, relays and vehicles" (Shove et al., 2012, p.112). And therefore, they are not only the constitutive elements of practices, but they are also important to determine how practices relate with one another and how these relationships can change over time (Shove et al., 2012). At the same time, the elements themselves can be also generated and transformed by means of their combination "both in individual practices and in different sets of practices at once" (Shove et al., 2012, p.114).

An example of the importance of elements to the constitution of practices can be the study of De Wit, Van den Ende, Schot and Van Oost (2002), in which they analyzed the office as an innovation junction, highlighting the importance of material and spatial arrangements for the reorganization

of the administrative practice. As the authors showed, the typewriter fulfilled a coordinative role among different office practices. This material, jointly with carbon paper, allowed the creation of the new practice of typing, which combines writing and copying (De Wit et al., 2002). Equally, the practice of typing was also important for the development of other activities like filing and storing (De Wit et al., 2002). Thus, according to the authors, the typewriter "became the center of an administrative organization in which the technologies employed in producing, reproducing and storing documents were increasingly linked" (De Wit et al., 2002, p.58).

In order for relations between practices to be maintained in time, they should be constantly reproduced (Shove et al., 2012). The bonds among practices can arise or be formed through co-location, shared elements of meaning, and temporal relationships of sequence and synchronization (Shove et al., 2012). As Shove et al. (2012, p.86) argue, the interactions among some practices can derive "in mutual adaptation, others in destruction, synergy or radical transformation". Moreover, not all the connections between practices end up generating new hybrid entities (Shove et al., 2012). For instance, concepts such as lifestyle or habitus help to explain detached compilations of what result to be different activities, such as drinking, eating, or holidaying (Shove et al., 2012).

New practices, in some cases, appear at the "expense of others which are no longer performed, or not performed as frequently as before" (Shove et al., 2012, p.83). Others exert dominant forces that derive in the perpetuation of distinctive aggregations of several resources, including human ones, and, in consequence, they mold the paths of future development (Shove et al., 2012). Therefore, there can exist a relationship of collaboration or competition between different practices (Shove et al., 2012).

2.4   Theoretical Lens and Positioning

In Figure 1, we express graphically how this research is looking at the intersection between cooking, digital content and consumer practices. We will investigate this intersection with the help of the theoretical lenses introduced in the previous sections, like consumer culture theories and theories of practice. The theoretical framework will help us to identify and explore possible practices that the digitalization of the cooking world, through online cooking videos, may be promoting.

Positioning of this research

Cooking

Digital World

Consumer Practices

Theoretical lenses:
- Consumer culture theories
- Theories of practice

Figure 1: Positioning of this research

3 Methodology

This chapter describes the methodology that we used to get primary data regarding the everyday practices that online cooking videos may be generating and modifying among consumers. First, it clarifies the approach we have chosen. This includes the ontological and epistemological assumptions and the settlement of an abductive approach. Secondly, it outlines the data collection method, the rationale behind the sampling, and later, it presents the data analysis procedure. Finally, the quality and limitations of this study are presented.

3.1 Research Approach

The aim of this research is to explore how people are incorporating new practices from watching online cooking videos. In order to achieve this research goal, the type of data collected was textual data about daily practices, mainly cooking. In the following sections, we will present the details of the research project.

3.1.1 Research Philosophy

In order to answer the research question and clarify the methodological decisions and steps taken, we will briefly describe the philosophical assumptions that helped us design this study. First of all, this project is based on a relativist ontological perspective. This means that reality should be analyzed from different perspectives in order to have a deeper understanding of a phenomenon, as there is no single reality (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, Jackson & Jaspersen, 2018).

Furthermore, in terms of epistemology, this study seeks to gain knowledge through a social constructionist approach. This epistemological view uses the language of reality for a better analysis of a phenomenon (Easterby-Smith et al. 2018). In other words, the starting point of this study is that "'reality' is determined by people rather than by objective and external factors, and hence it is most important to appreciate the way people make sense of their experience" (Easterby-Smith et al. 2018, p.69). This is critical for our research as we want to investigate consumers' practices and opinions to get a better understanding of the ways the digital world may be changing consumers' everyday life.

3.1.2 Research Design

As our aim is to explore the changes that online cooking videos may be causing in terms of practices, we considered that a qualitative research design is the most adequate to investigate this matter. One of the reasons to choose this approach is that qualitative research allows the researchers to interact closely with participants and get an in-depth understanding of how they construct meanings, which in this case is highly important since we are interested in consumers' practices.

Moreover, using qualitative methods is valid when the subject matter requires, for instance, knowledge about the context of a situation or when a phenomenon is new and one needs to explore it for the first time (Nilsson, 2020). Another argument to support our election is that qualitative methods allow researchers to gather data in a non-numeric form (Easterby-Smith et al., 2018) that help describe "how" something happens. In words of Rennstam and Wästerfors (2018, p.11), qualitative research "serves to understand social interactions and the meaning social phenomena in the context in which they are created". This type of method also requires that the researcher crafts and structure the data rather than just collect it (Easterby-Smith et al., 2018). Finally, qualitative research is in line with the philosophical assumptions that we considered for this study, and that were previously explained.

In this research project, we used an abductive approach as we are more concerned about investigating, describing, and understanding how consumers are changing their lives. Abduction requires a "continuous interplay between theory and initial (unexpected) empirical observation" (Nilsson, 2020, p.7). This approach is crucial to generate new theory rather than confirm or deny existing concepts (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Jackson, 2015). Therefore, for the purpose of this thesis, we used theories of practice and consumer culture theories as our starting point but we remained open to new theoretical approaches that could be considered after analyzing the data.

By using an abductive approach, it was possible to use established concepts and perspectives and still create new concepts that add, supplement, or oppose those established views (Rennstam & Wästerfors, 2018). We considered the following conceptualization of theorizing as expressed by Rennstam and Wästerfors (2018, p.145):

> ...theorizing does not have to involve confirming this or that already finished and complete theory. It could just as easily - or rather - involve building theory on our own: presenting an approach or concept, proposing a perspective, showing from which point of view something may and ought to be explained.

In other words, we intended to propose a different point of view from which we can comprehend the phenomenon of digital content and how it may change practices. To accomplish our research objective, we used semi-structured online individual interviews to gather textual data. After this step, we analyzed the data using the methodology proposed by Rennstam and Wästerfors (2018), which will be presented later in this chapter.

3.2 Data Collection

In this section, we describe the first steps of the data collection process, which include the development of a sampling strategy that determines the selection of participants, the details of the method we chose to collect empirical data, as well as the preparation activities before collecting the data. As it will be further developed in the next sections, we decided to apply a combination of an ad-hoc and snowball sampling strategy together with qualitative interviews.

3.2.1 Sampling

We decided to select our first participants using an ad-hoc sampling strategy. This sampling method is "based on availability and ease of access" (Easterby-Smith et al., 2015, p. 138). Therefore, the invitation to participate in this project was posted on our social media accounts to use a list of friends. Additionally, in order to find more respondents, we asked the first selected respondents to recommend "other participants from among their acquaintances" (Easterby-Smith et al., 2015, p. 138). This strategy is known as snowball sampling and it ensured that the interview participants were not only our acquaintances but still were adults who cook frequently with the aid of online cooking videos.

To be considered an eligible participant for this study, individuals needed to meet certain criteria. The first one was that interviewees had to be people who truly like to cook because that would ensure that the conversation and the responses were rich and they would be enthusiastic to participate. The second criterion was that they needed to be the kind of people who commonly use online cooking videos to prepare dishes for themselves or others because that would help us get information about practices while cooking. The last criterion was that they needed to speak English, as the interviews were conducted in this language.

The invitation posted in our social media feed called for people who love to cook and who would be open to talk about their experience using online cooking videos to perform such task.

It was important for us to create a heterogeneous sample in terms of individuals' nationality, ages, and gender in order to get different perspectives about this phenomenon. There are several reasons why we made this decision. The first one is that online cooking videos are a global phenomenon, therefore, we wanted to obtain a broader perspective of the object of study which could not be done by choosing a homogenous group of participants. We considered it could be interesting to include people from different nationalities to increase the richness of the data. Additionally, the range of age for participants was opened and did not have any limitations to ensure that we could have as many different perspectives as possible.

3.2.2 In-depth Interviews

Considering the explorative purpose of this study, we chose semi-structured interviews as a technique to gather language data from respondents, as this method allows researchers to capture the interviewees' perspectives on topics and phenomena and also the reasons why they hold those viewpoints (Easterby-Smith et al., 2018). By using this method, we aimed to obtain detailed information about interviewees' cooking understandings and more contextual details about the materials they use, the meanings they generate and the procedures they follow by viewing online cooking videos, so that we could identify their practices.

The questions of this type of interviews are intended to stimulate conversation rather than short yes/no answers, as in structured interviews. These conversations are more spontaneous but still, we tried to remain focused on the objective of the interview (Easterby-Smith et al., 2018).

It is important to clarify that the interviews were conducted remotely through communication software like Skype or Zoom. These software programs allow synchronous video and audio communication so it is still possible to gather some data from non-verbal cues from respondents compared to e-mail, telephone, or chat interviews (Easterby-Smith et al., 2018). Additionally, by using Skype and Zoom, it was possible to record the audio and video of conversations. One of the reasons to conduct remote interviews was the public health issue happening in 2020 caused by the coronavirus. Researchers and respondents needed to follow the general recommendation of the Swedish Government of avoiding social meetings and reunions to decrease contagion rates.

One advantage of remote interviews is that they offer flexibility to interviewers and interviewees to set up a time to have a conversation. Similarly, an additional advantage of remote interviews is that they facilitate and make possible the communication with participants that may not be located in Lund, Sweden, like us. This was a key factor for this research as the participants included were from different nationalities and, therefore, in some cases, they were not physically located in Lund.

3.2.2.1 Preparation and Conduction

In order to start our research, we designed a semi-structured interview question guide (see Appendix 1) with open-ended questions which helped us ladder-up or down to capture the meaning and understanding of participants' opinions. This topic guide helped us investigate the issue but it was common that we had some deviation from the sequence (Easterby-Smith et al., 2018) as some answers from respondents needed to be explored more in-depth. However, we intended to cover the totality of the topics during each conversation and have rich discussions.

As we mentioned before, participants were invited through our social media accounts. Our first respondents were acquaintances. After that, we asked them to refer to other potential respondents who may be open to have a conversation with us.

Once the participants were selected, and before conducting the interviews, we sent all of them a consent form (see Appendix 2) via email, and we waited for them to send us back the format signed to our Lund University mail account. Through this consent form, we informed participants about the research and their right to withdraw from the project at any time, while at the same time we detailed how their confidentiality will be protected (Easterby-Smith et al., 2018). When they signed, they agreed to grant permission to use their comments and opinions for the purpose of this research (Easterby-Smith et al., 2018). In general, we did not ask for personal information other than the name, age, and nationality. Moreover, the topic that we explore is not considered sensitive as we focused on practices, which does not represent a risky situation for respondents. Once the consent form was signed and sent back to us, we set up a meeting via Skype or Zoom with them and we conducted the interview, which lasted between 40-60 minutes.

We divided the interview into three main sections that sought to gain knowledge on the interviewees' understandings, use of materials, and procedures of cooking by using online cooking videos. The first section solely intended to 'break the ice' with the interviewees and start the conversation about their relationship with cooking and how they have learned some cooking practices through previous experiences. Secondly, respondents were asked about their familiarity with online cooking videos. This section was intended to obtain spontaneous responses linked to this topic and the content they have watched and how they watch it. Last, we discussed their cooking procedures and how they are intertwined with the digital realm.

During all interviews, we bear in mind the theories of practice, specifically the elements considered by researchers such as objects, doings, and meanings, to identify and explore practices that consumers perform in their everyday lives and which are derived from watching online cooking videos. However, we also remained open to new approaches.

After conducting the interviews, we used Otter, a voice meeting notes system available online that allowed us to transcribe audio and video files into text. This helped us save time, but it was still necessary to go through the transcript as the system was not precise at all times and it was very important to ensure clarity and fidelity to respondents' answers. The transcripts resulted in 141 pages of textual data for eleven interviews.

3.3 Data Analysis

By transcribing and reviewing the interviews' transcriptions, we were able to start getting familiar with the empirical data while it was still fresh in our minds, and it was possible to detect themes and topics that repeated or were new and relevant. We present these themes in Chapter 4. To do this step, we used the three main methodological steps to analyze data described by Rennstam and Wästerfors (2018) and which will be described below.

3.3.1 Sorting, Reducing and Arguing

The first step, *sorting* refers to the process in which researchers try to find order in the chaos of empirical information (Rennstam & Wästerfors, 2018). This means that at this stage, it is necessary to read several times the notes and transcriptions to see topics that repeat frequently. Some of the recurring themes will appear evident during the data collection process, but Rennstam and Wästerfors (2018) suggest that researchers must read several times the data to see if there is information that represents new insights for previous theories rather than just data that confirms common understandings of the phenomenon. In fact, research is even more valuable when it offers new perspectives about common theoretical assumptions and that challenges dominant perceptions about certain topics (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011).

After sorting the data, it is possible to identify categories or patterns that Charmaz (2006) calls *initial* codes. In this project, we used 61 initial codes to order the information. This first analysis can happen several times before arriving at more specific and final categories (Rennstam & Wästerfors, 2018). Later, researchers can start noticing links with theoretical concepts and they can put more abstract labels on the data. These labels are called *focus codes* which can be found in theory (Rennstam & Wästerfors, 2018). We used 16 focus codes that helped us reduce the themes for this project. However, Rennstam (2020) mentions that even if researchers use concepts from theory in this stage, it is important to remain open to new ways to understand the information. Therefore, the categories and labels can change as the data is sorted and organized.

The second stage of the analysis of data is *reducing* and refers to the purposeful selection of information that the researchers will use and present in their paper to answer the research question (Rennstam and Wästerfors, 2018). The same authors, refer to this as dealing with the problem of *representation* as it is not possible to include all the data in the final paper, but only the data that is pertinent and exemplifies, or illustrates the point of the discussion. In other words, it is necessary to reduce and select the most useful and interesting categories that offer new knowledge about the research topic. For the aim of this project, we decided to keep the themes that were relevant and new and which could also reflect the impact of online cooking videos in everyday practices.

After this selection, it is possible to reduce the information and notes by noticing important illustrations, relevant stories, or critical incidents that offer new perspectives of the phenomenon (Rennstam & Wästerfors, 2018). In the following chapter, we present the most relevant data collected during the interviews.

Finally, after sorting and reducing, we will present and discuss the empirical data in the light of concepts and theories of the field that we are contributing to (Rennstam, 2020), and at the same time, it will be possible to introduce new, different and better concepts (Rennstam, 2020). By putting creativity to work during the presentation of data, researchers can guide the reader to see the other "invisible threads" in the issue (Rennstam, 2020). At the same time, they must prove the reader why their interpretation of the data must be believable (Egan-Wyer, 2019). In that sense, arguing means establishing a dialogue with experts of the field and showing them that there is a

different, more comprehensive, or necessary way to look at the phenomenon of study (Rennstam & Wästerfors, 2018). In other words, arguing means dealing with the problem of *authority* as researchers face experts in the field with empirical findings from their research (Rennstam & Wästerfors, 2018).

For this thesis, in particular, we want to take a critical analysis of the data because we are interested in obtaining new perspectives on the issue. In words of Egan-Wyer (2019, p.80) "being able to interpret more than the obvious meanings in texts is an important skill for the critical researcher" and this paper has the intention to contribute with a more critical perspective on the topic of online cooking videos and their implications in everyday practices. We want to question the normalcy and the "taken-for-grantedness" of these videos and share a different perspective on the topic.

Empirical data will help us find these new perspectives on this topic and argue for our propositions related to previous research. As it will be shown, we developed the concept of unintentional tastemakers and we contributed to the refinement of theories of practice by considering online recipe videos as an object of practices and the emergence of a new practice, which is watching online cooking videos.

3.4 Quality

When assessing the quality of research it is very common to use vocabulary like reliability, validity, and generalizability, but as Easterby-Smith et al. (2015) suggest, these concepts can have different meanings depending on the research tradition in which the project is settled from the beginning. Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability as criteria to evaluate the trustworthiness of qualitative research, and which we discuss in the following paragraphs.

Credibility refers to the coherence between the social reality that is described in the study (researchers' observations and descriptions) and what happens in real life in order to make the study believable (Bryman & Bell, 2015). One way to increase credibility is by obtaining respondents' validation (Bryman & Bell, 2015) as a way to prove that researchers' descriptions reflect what is happening. In our case, we strengthened validity by offering detailed descriptions of the most relevant aspects of the interview related to our research problem by asking questions like "What do you mean by…?", or confirming respondents' answers with questions like "Is that what you are trying to say?", in order to obtain immediate interviewees' validation. Credibility could also be enhanced by demonstrating different points of view until researchers find data saturation or relevant consistency in the empirical material collected that allows them to offer a credible vision of what is happening. We reached data saturation at the end of the eleventh interview.

Transferability is one criterion that is linked to the concept of generalizability. The question about transferability is how likely it is to apply the findings of the study into different settings. However, Bryman and Bell (2015) point out that qualitative studies are focused on depth rather than breadth, therefore transferability should be ensured by offering rich descriptions of particular settings that account for the phenomenon studied. Easterby-Smith et al. (2005, p. 216) express this idea with these words: "qualitative research usually aims at internal generalizability (capacity to explain what has been researched within a given setting)". Therefore, we do not intend to propose generalizations from this research, but to explore and explain how online cooking videos are changing people's everyday life. To ensure transferability in this research project, we used in-depth interviews to obtain detailed descriptions of the practices of respondents, and additionally, we offered a relevant description of the method design and decisions made throughout the process.

The third criterion proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985) is *dependability* which refers mostly to the availability and transparency of the data collected. In this way, others can look at records, notes, transcripts, and account for data analysis decisions. One way through which we ensure dependability in this study is by means of regular external audits, represented by the supervision sessions we had with our supervisor. The valuable comments received have helped us to improve this thesis. Additionally, it was possible to transcribe the totality of the conversations and the document is available for review.

The last criterion is *confirmability*, which is very close to the concept of objectivity in research. In qualitative research, objectivity is impossible to accomplish as researchers are actively involved in the process, but researchers can account for their process and act in good faith in a way that prevents personal values or theoretical point of views to determine the outcome of the research (Bryman & Bell, 2015). To give this study confirmability, we applied open-ended questions in our in-depth interviews. We reduced the chances of bias by letting the interviewee guide the discussion, and develop his or her opinions without being influenced by us (Easterby-Smith et al., 2015).

Overall, quality depends on the reflexivity of researchers about the way they decided to proceed and "their willingness to account for the research process" (Easterby-Smith et al., 2015, p.217). Therefore, for this purpose, we described the research approach, methods, type of data gathered, the sampling and limitations of the project with transparency, and justify our decisions.

3.5 Limitations

One of the main limitations of the research design is that the data collected is textual data gathered through in-depth interviews. As we are interested in practices, it would have been ideal also to conduct observations while our participants use online cooking videos for preparing different dishes or how they use the online platforms to interact with online content. Therefore, the data

collected describes the individual opinions of respondents but not their actual behavior. Additionally:

> "Interviews are based on a short period of interaction between an interviewer and an interviewee, and they usually do not give the interviewer much opportunity to fully assess the background of the interviewee, or the motivations of the interviewee to respond in a certain way" (Easterby-Smith et al., 2015, p.215).

As we are aware of this limitation, we tried to put the focus on descriptions and explanations that interviewees gave us during the conversations. For that, we agreed to ladder-up and down to help respondents give richer descriptions, examples, and illustrations about their statements. In this way, we intended to understand the way participants are interacting with online content and how this may be changing their practices.

One disadvantage of remote interviews is that using audio and video communication software can reduce the level of detail of the context of each participant, which could be gained through face-to-face interviews in the participant's environment. An additional risk is that technical issues can impede the right flow of the conversation and constant interruptions may happen. In order to prevent technical problems, our contingency plan consisted of having the interviews by phone call.

Fortunately, we did not face any technical issues, but one respondent had a strong accent that was sometimes difficult to understand. However, we constantly asked her to repeat the information or confirmed her response.

An additional limitation of this thesis is the sampling strategy. Due to the time constraints, it was necessary to apply an ad-hoc and snowballing technique. These types of sampling can represent potential negative effects, such as biases and repetitive answers, due to the similar characteristics of participants (Easterby-Smith et al., 2015). However, with the help of the criteria previously described, we were able to determine whether or not an individual was eligible to participate and provide enriching information to this study.

4 Empirical Data

This chapter presents the relevant empirical data collected from the eleven interviews conducted. We structured and classified the data in themes based upon practices that have emerged, intensified, been substituted, interrupted, or merged by online cooking videos. These themes, which include various subtopics, will be analyzed in the next chapter and will help us answer our research question: *In which ways online cooking videos are influencing consumers' everyday practices?*

We have structured this section in this way, so the reader can understand better why these videos have implications in the everyday life of consumers. The themes encompass similar opinions, statements, and thoughts that we detected within and across the different interviews. Before we present the data, we will provide a brief description of each participant.

4.1 Participants

In this section, the participants are briefly introduced by presenting them and explaining a bit of their relationship with cooking. By doing this, the reader can familiarize themselves with the different vital circumstances of the participants and also get a better understanding of their thoughts and opinions. All participants agreed on having their names, age, and nationality included in this thesis. The reader can consult Appendix 3 to see a table with key data of participants.

4.1.1 Agni

Agni is a 36 years old Mexican woman who migrated to New Zealand five years ago. She lives with her son who is 10 years old. She likes cooking, but she admits that she learned to cook mostly by necessity when she had her baby, and when she migrated to New Zealand. She soon realized that in New Zealand the variety of food products was different from that of Mexico, and she needed to cook with what she had. She sees her mother as a reference for tasty and well-done home-made food. She cooks extensively by using online cooking videos, and she has an app installed on her phone that is a basic tool for her. She prefers the videos that are short, with easy instructions and with not many ingredients.

4.1.2 Bonnie

Bonnie is a 20 years old undergraduate student at Lund University, in Sweden. She is from Los Angeles, California and her parents' families are originally from China. She loves cooking for herself as well as for others. Cooking helps her connect with new people; for instance, she bakes cakes in order to share them with her neighbors as an aid to socialize with other students who live in the same building. She considers that she has a diverse knowledge of cooking cultures as Los Angeles is considered a cultural hub. She started cooking when she moved away from home, and she wanted to be skilled in cooking as she did not want to be identified as the typical college student who only eats pasta.

4.1.3 Daniel

Daniel is a Mexican man living in Limoges, France. He is 37 years old, and he currently lives with his girlfriend. He started cooking several years ago, but when he moved to France he started cooking with more interest, and as a way to distract himself and relax. He cooks regularly on weekends, but he has started to cook more often during the 2020 pandemic quarantine. He considers his parents' style of cooking as a reference for good and tasty cooking. He has modified his preference for sweet desserts since he arrived in Europe, and he uses online cooking videos to improve his skills and cook more traditional dishes from Mexico.

4.1.4 Diana

Diana is a 31 years old Mexican woman living and working in Atlanta, US. She lives with her husband and she usually cooks for both of them. Her relationship with cooking started because her mother used to ask her for help when she was a child. Since she moved to the US, she started cooking more often because she missed Mexican food, and the Mexican food available in the US is not the same, and also, due to her interest in healthy eating and exercising. Therefore, in order to eat authentic dishes, she started cooking frequently and she realized that she enjoyed it. She considers cooking her hobby. Food has also represented a way to socialize for her as since she arrived in the US, she has had weekly reunions with Mexican friends to offer them Mexican food, but also to expand her circle of acquaintances, with whom she has thematic gastronomic reunions on Fridays. Thanks to these reunions, she learned how to prepare dishes from different cultures and increased her interest in other cuisines. She uses online cooking videos to learn how to cook new plates and have new ideas.

4.1.5 Erik

Erik is a 31-year-old Mexican student living in Lund, Sweden. He enjoys cooking, and he learned some basic cooking skills when he spent the summer holidays with his grandmother and aunts. He got so interested in cooking that he even thought about becoming a chef. Today, he tries to cook traditional Mexican food, meat, and he follows well-known chefs. He likes to watch videos that show technical tips for making barbecues.

4.1.6 Iva

Iva is a master's student living in Lund, Sweden. She is 24 years old and comes from Croatia. Since she is in Sweden, she cooks every day, normally just for herself, because she lives alone, but at least once a month she reunites with friends to cook for them and eat together. Her cooking role models are her mum and the Internet. In her country, she only cooked on the weekends because during the week students can have very cheap meals eating in students' restaurants. She loves cooking as she considers it is a relaxing activity, but also an art, a way to create something new. She likes experimenting and improvising, and also enjoys cuisines from different cultures.

4.1.7 María José

María José is from Ecuador. She is a 30-year-old woman doing her masters at Lund University in Sweden. Her mother tried to give her some advice on basic cooking a few weeks before she moved to Sweden, but her cooking has improved by using online cooking videos. Specifically, she searches for traditional Ecuadorian dishes, but she also follows fitness influencers who offer advice about healthy nutritional habits and weekly meal planning advice.

4.1.8 Paola

Paola is a 24 years old Spanish woman who studied a degree in publicity and works in this field. She lives in Barcelona with her family (mother, father, and brother). She did not like to cook until a few years ago when she started being interested in nutrition and clean eating. At that point she started cooking for herself on a daily basis, preparing her meals, which are different from the meals that her mother cooks for the rest of her family. Her cooking references are her grandma and her mother, and she usually uses online cooking videos in order to find ideas on how to prepare healthy meals. She enjoys healthy food and food from different cultures. She likes mixing and using original and innovative recipes. Besides, she likes cooking for other people, for instance, when she cooks for herself, she asks her family whether they want her to cook for them.

4.1.9 Rohit

Rohit is a 27 years old Indian student studying a master's degree at Lund University. He lives in a student dorm and he enjoys both, cooking for himself and cooking for others, however, he normally cooks for himself. Although he has always been interested in cooking, given that in India there is no culture of men cooking or being in the kitchen, he learned to cook for himself when he arrived in Sweden. His cooking role models are his mother and online cooking videos, and he considers that cooking is a relaxing activity. He mainly cooks Indian food, but he also tries to prepare "Western food". He is not a fan of mixing different cuisines and prefers preparing authentic plates. He spends a lot of time cooking, and he usually prepares lunchboxes in order not to need to cook every day.

4.1.10 Sophia

Sophia is a 29 years old Hong Kongese student living in a student dorm in Lund, Sweden. She cooks every day for herself or her boyfriend when he visits her, and sometimes she also cooks for her friends. Her cooking role model is her mother, from whom she learned to cook some recipes. She loves cooking, and she uses online cooking videos when she wants to bake something or if she does not know how to prepare a certain dish. She mainly cooks Chinese food.

4.1.11 Vilma

Vilma is a 48 years old woman living in Atlanta, United States. She is Salvadoran, but she moved to Los Angeles at a very young age. Vilma does not know very traditional Salvadoran dishes, but she enjoys cooking different styles that are common in the United States. She knows many recipes by heart, and she uses online cooking videos and TV shows to perfect her baking. She loves cooking for herself and others. Due to the coronavirus pandemic, she has started baking more often, and she has borrowed kitchenware from a friend. She thinks recipes are more like a guideline than a set of rigorous instructions.

4.2 Findings

Through empirical data, we detected everyday practices that have been modified by online cooking videos according to our respondents' testimonies. In the following table we describe the categorization of practices that we formulated to organize the data and explore in which ways online videos are influencing consumer's everyday practices:

Table 2: Data classification

Created	We classified in this category those practices that are either entirely new or that consumers started performing as they initiated the practice of watching online cooking videos.
Intensified	The practices included in this category are the ones that consumers performed but that they have intensified as a result of watching cooking videos.
Substituted	In this section, we presented the practices that have been substituted by others since the viewers started watching online videos.
Interrupted	These practices are being disturbed by the practice of watching food videos online.
Merged	These are practices that are bonded together through the visualization of online cooking videos.

4.2.1 Created Practices

Online cooking videos have facilitated the emergence of practices that were not existent or which were very distant from the cooking practice in general. Moreover, we observed that some everyday practices were not performed by our participants until they started watching recipe videos. In the following paragraphs, we present the new practices that we identified from empirical data.

4.2.1.1 Watching online cooking videos

Watching recipe videos has become an everyday practice itself. Most of our participants watch these videos regularly for two main reasons: 1) to determine what to cook, especially by choosing the best recipe, or by finding new ideas on how to use ingredients they have in their fridge, and 2) to entertain themselves.

First of all, respondents dedicate time to watch videos in order to select the right recipe when they are about to cook. Many of them mentioned that they watch at least three to five videos before choosing the recipe they will follow. These are examples of common answers:

> **Diana:** *I need to invest time to watch them, and I'm saying invest instead of waste because at the end I will eat it, and it is something that is worth it.* (Interview, April 24th, 2020).

Daniel: *And also what I like doing is taking a look into at least two recipes to compare the ingredients and the steps they follow. So, I get a better idea of what I should do.* (Interview, April 30th, 2020).

Paola: *I could say that, watching it or searching for it, fifteen minutes maybe. Because there are days in which I spend two hours and then days in which I spend nothing, but normally every day I see something I like, and then I save them, and I cook them another day.* (Interview, April 26th, 2020).

During their daily or weekly routines, they dedicate certain periods of time to search and select the recipes to determine what to cook. In previous years, consumers had a relatively short number of versions of the same recipe compared to the digital era, where there are several versions of the same recipe and from which the person needs to pick up only a few. This time spent in the selection takes time, but it is regarded as a natural step in the cooking process itself.

Even though they spend time watching videos, almost all interviewees denied having a direct engagement with them in terms of liking, sharing, or commenting. Instead, they admitted saving some of these videos in their social media accounts. They enjoy watching the full process from beginning to end and that is one of the reasons why they prefer this format over text in a blog. For example, Daniel and Agni refer to being able to watch what needs to be done:

Daniel: *Sometimes when I read a recipe, it's hard for me to picture what to do. Sometimes they write a verb and it is not easy for me to imagine what I should do. So, I look into the videos and they give me both: the text and meaning of the speech, and also the picture that tells me what to do, and sometimes I understand better, what I should be doing when cooking.* (Interview, April 30th, 2020).

Agni: *To me is not the same just to read the recipe and try to imagine, […], and I'm not an expert, the fact that I can see actually how it's done, how the ingredients have to look like and if they say […]chop in an specific way and you can just see how it's chopped, which size and stuff. So, to me, it is the fact that it is really easy to follow and […] that's kind of inspiring for what you're going to do yourself.* (Interview, April 30th, 2020).

The second reason why our respondents watch online cooking videos is entertainment. In other words, interviewees do not only agree on the instructional function of these videos, but they also agree on the entertaining nature of this content. Therefore, we found that watching these videos as entertainment has also become a regular practice of spending spare time or as a way to distract themselves without having the purpose of cooking something in particular.

Paola: *They are super useful, but they are also an important part of my entertainment on social media. Because I think that in the way that they are done, with the music, with the tempos they have, with the lighting and everything, they are thought to entertain. […] Obviously, the main part is for you to cook it, but they have a big component of entertainment, because […], if you get, for example, a YouTube video, it's not like only the*

recipe, it's like they entertain you, they tell you jokes, they tell you… it goes like further always from that. I think they have a clear component of entertainment, and for sure, it does entertain, in my case. (Interview, April 26th, 2020).

Production elements like music, lights, and the speed motion are resources commonly used in certain types of these videos, which also make them visually appealing and entertaining. Answers like Paola's were frequent and indicate how these videos have become a new way of entertainment not only for cooking.

Additionally, cooking videos have shown to have other benefits for our respondents. For some of them, these videos are a source of inspiration but also of information related to new ingredients and different types of cuisines. The following practices were classified as *new* in terms of the way they became routinized practices for our respondents. In other words, online cooking videos have played a role in influencing interviewees to start performing new practices that were not part of their lives before.

4.2.1.2 Learning how to cook with videos

One of the basic functions of these instructional videos is showing people new ways to cook. In empirical data, we noticed that participants used this content to learn how to cook dishes from other international cuisines, how to use new ingredients available in the market, and learning about cooking techniques.

Firstly, by watching videos, participants have become acquainted with different types of cuisines and also, they have started trying out diverse recipes very different from their national cuisines. An example of how cooking videos are useful for our respondents in this sense is Diana, who expresses that these videos has been beneficial for learning and incorporating new types of cuisines to her everyday cooking:

> **Diana:** *I'm learning new cuisines, as I told you, the Thai food, also the Indian food and, yeah, just get out of my comfort zone to try new things.* (Interview, April 24th, 2020).

Like in Diana's case, the Internet and social media have allowed millions of viewers to become acquainted and try cooking different types of cuisines that otherwise would be inaccessible for them. All participants in this study describe themselves as people who like to learn new cooking techniques constantly and who are also very open to try out new dishes and flavors. After some time of practice, some of them have incorporated dishes from different cuisines in their everyday cooking.

For example, Rohit indicated that normally he cooks Indian food, however, this is not the only type of cuisine that he considers. Flavors have a special meaning for him, and is what he looks for when looking for things to cook:

> **Rohit:** *The flavors I'm used to are different, so that's what I'm looking for. I'm not looking for Indian food but more like flavors and spices. So, it doesn't make a difference if it's something else which has these flavors, I will still appreciate it. So I'm just looking for the flavors when I'm looking for things to cook.* (Interview, April 29th, 2020).

He stated that he likes to search for "Western food" recipes to obtain these new flavor experiences, and for him is a normal practice to try new dishes from the traditional cuisine that he is used to. Erik, for instance, has started to learn how to cook Italian food.

> **Erik:** *Another one is Italian food. I also search for recipes. If I want to prepare carbonara I look for some recipes.* (Interview, April 23rd, 2020)

Diana, Erik, and Rohit cases are examples of similar answers that we obtained from interviewees who refer to cooking with these videos as a practical way to try out new flavors and expand their culinary experiences.

Additionally, participants mention a second use of these videos which is learning how to use new ingredients available in the market. Ten out of eleven interviewees are individuals who are currently living in a different country from theirs. Watching videos online is a way for them to get new information about cuisines and also ingredients. They referred many times about how the Internet and the videos have helped them to get information about ingredients available in the local markets. This is the case of Agni, who lives in New Zealand, she stated:

> **Agni:** *Well, when I came to this country I needed to adapt to the new food and veggies and what I could find in this country. [...] There are so many spices, and seeds and everything, that you can't get back in Mexico and make the food taste different. When you are like myself in this country, there are just different flavors.* (Interview, April 30th, 2020).

Like many of the participants, she looks for information on the Internet about ingredients that are unfamiliar to her, but these videos are also more useful, practical, and faster to get acquainted with new ingredients. Agni even mentioned that she does not like very long videos and she prefers to watch the short ones that go to the point. Another example is María José, who recalls how she became acquainted with steel-cut oats:

> **María José:** *I found them on Pinterest as well. It was a recommendation from following this diet, healthy diets and stuff [...] Then I saw it in the supermarket and I was like "Oh! This is the one!" and then I grab it. I brought them home and then I look for recipes on Pinterest. [...] I found one simple recipe like "Three minutes steel cut oats" or something like that. I cooked it. I accessed the site and I saw there was this small video embedded on the site and I was like "Oh! Perfect! I can watch the video and jump to the recipe!".* (Interview, April 27th, 2020).

In this case, the information was found on a social media platform called Pinterest. In this platform, María José discovered a new ingredient that, later on, she found out in the supermarket and decided

to buy. What is interesting, is that she was not really familiar with this ingredient, and after making the purchase she needed to came back to the Internet to learn how to prepare it. This shows that online content can accelerate the consumption of certain products, even if the consumer does not have a lot of information regarding the product.

Finally, similar to incorporating new market offerings, participants also use cooking videos to learn and practice new cooking competences. This is an example:

> **Daniel:** *I think mostly when I look into videos, I pay attention to the techniques they're using and sometimes the tips they mention. Like sometimes they say "Oh!, you should cook this for five minutes in a frying pan, and then you should lower the heat and you should wait 15 minutes" and those kinds of tips, I think it's what I enjoyed the most. And most of these videos I find on social networks and some websites.* (Interview, April 30th, 2020).

Similar to this case, Rohit mentioned following Gordon Ramsay to get inspired by his cooking, slicing and cutting techniques, and Erik, who learned how to cut a lobster from a video.

Various participants such as Rohit, Iva, Daniel, and María José mentioned the term control when talking about cooking for or with other people. In the case of Rohit, he mentioned control in the sense that he normally offers dishes that he feels more confident with because he perfected the technique to make them. This allows him to adapt the dish to his friends' preferences, for example, making the dish less spicy:

> **Rohit:** *So I can give an example, I'm cooking food for four friends this Saturday, so three of them would be having it for the first time, my cooking.[...] The things I want to cook are the things I cooked many times and perfected. So, I know how it tastes, so I can make it less spicy, for example, I have more control on these things. So I would often cook things I'm more comfortable with. So even if I cook five things, I would have cooked them multiple times before, I know the cooking times, I know the flavors and, yeah, I'm more comfortable.* (Interview, April 29th, 2020).

We noticed that online cooking videos give more confidence to our respondents because they help them to train and develop new techniques in order to feel confident to cook for someone else or make a dish to share with friends or family in a dinner. The technique and the confidence derived from using these videos to cook are elements that kept constant in almost all interviews even if they were not explicitly stated. Some of them remembered feeling accomplished by cooking something delicious or took a picture of their creation.

4.2.1.3 Experimenting with cuisines and ingredients

As the Internet is flooded with cooking videos, the recipes, processes, and ingredients vary in infinite ways. During the interviews, respondents mentioned that they try new recipes, and with time and practice, they become familiar with different ingredients or techniques that they use again in other dishes. For instance, they try to memorize the flavors of new ingredients to use them in a

different recipe later or give a personal touch to their creations. Additionally, they do so to optimize their recent food acquisitions. An example is Daniel who has started to accumulate different spices from trying out different recipes:

> **Daniel:** [The spices] *They are very particular and some of them I don't know, but they are contained in the recipe. So, I bought them and what I do is, when I cook them, I try to memorize the taste.* (Interview, April 29th, 2020).

An additional example is Agni, who has incorporated oyster sauce as one of her regular ingredients to cook but which is not used in Mexican food:

> **Agni:** *Yeah, yeah, definitely, there will be things that I see on a repeated way. So, I try just to get them and find recipes that add those kinds of ingredients. Like the oyster sauce, it used to be a thing that I've never used. I didn't even know that existed. So, then I started watching all these videos that included it and tried it. And I can even cook without looking for a recipe that includes that, like I just know how it is now, and I know how I can use it for cooking different other things, even if it's not on a recipe, so yeah, I have incorporated this new ingredient.* (Interview, April 30th, 2020).

As people try new ingredients that are shown in these videos, they often keep these ingredients in their cupboards and then search for more videos to try to use them again and avoid waste. Later, these ingredients can become part of their repertoire of regular ingredients as in the case of Agni.

Participants become acquainted with new ingredients and try to experiment but with certain limits. Rohit, for example, when asked if online cooking videos gave him ideas to mix particular ingredients from different cultures, he stated:

> **Rohit:** *I know some friends who do it* [mixing ingredients from different cuisines]*, but I don't like doing it. So if it's something which is supposed to be made one way I just stick to it, and maybe like perfected them or change it in that things, but not, never mixing, I'll never try that.* (Interview, April 29th, 2020).

In the case of Rohit, even if he cooks different types of cuisines, he wants each to be authentic, not creating "weird" mixes, such as mixing Italian pasta with Indian spices. National cuisines and taste are a reference for authenticity for many of them. This means that even if they try new ways of cooking and ingredients, they would still remain attached to certain practices in cooking.

Nevertheless, some other participants mentioned that in general terms they follow the recipe, but they also like to make their own interpretation of them to exploit their creativity and experiment with flavors and styles. Paola, for instance, indicates how she looks for online Mexican recipes but with some particular characteristics in order to be in line with her healthy eating lifestyle and also include fun or original elements.

> **Paola:** *Yeah, as I love Mexican food, but I take a lot of care of my alimentation and the food I eat and everything, I prefer to cook it myself than going outside, which I do, but not*

that often, but I prefer to do it myself by searching on the Internet recipes to do the tortillas without gluten, for example, or how to do them vegan, without meat, so I search for all the recipes with innovations to not do them like they normally do it, or with fun things, different things, maybe doing guacamole in another way or whatever, to change a little bit. (Interview, April 26th, 2020).

4.2.1.4 Creating personal cookbooks

A common practice among participants consists in saving the cooking videos that they like or want to cook in specific lists in their social media or web pages like YouTube, that they check when they want to prepare something. This constitutes what we call a new cookbook, a digital list of video recipes, instead of the traditional paper cookbook. They are able to create their own cookbooks including all kinds of recipes that they like with almost no limits and very fast. We found in the empirical case that called our attention. This is the case of Paola, who apart from saving videos, like the rest of participants, she created a specific profile in social media to create her cookbook:

> **Paola:** *As I do a lot of recipes […], and I then wanted to do them again and I didn't have everything written down, so I decided to create an Instagram page just for me, with no one following, like closed and just for me, and then, I post there the pictures with all the process. But then, […], my mum says "please let me follow you, because I love it", and I'm like "ok, you can follow". But it's like, I don't know, ten, fifteen people, that's it. But yeah, I do it because then I remember how I did it, and a close group of friends, who are interested, well, they follow me there.* (Interview, April 26th, 2020).

Moreover, it was interesting to discover that some participants, like Rohit and Diana, also write down the recipes in paper, so they also create their own cookbook in paper, in a more traditional way:

> **Rohit:** *I look for the dish on YouTube and watch a complete video about how it's made traditionally. And then, I look how it can be made with the ingredients I can get or I can have, and I usually write it in my cookbook, […], so I have a lot of recipes in this one.* (Interview, April 29th, 2020).

> **Diana:** *Yeah, I have my list, I saved them and I have the category of food and desserts, and in YouTube, I just started to use YouTube because I told you I use more Facebook. […] If I have a recipe that I really love and I don't want to miss it, I write it down in a notebook. So, I also have my notebook there, so I just copy and I write down all the recipes just in case I lost the video.* (Interview, April 24th, 2020).

The practice of writing a personal cookbook was something that called our attention. Apparently, the recipes that are written in these cookbooks have become special for the cooks as they have enjoyed making them and also tasting them. It is also relevant because it may point out that this is

a physical confirmation when a new cooking style or technique has been integrated into consumers' cooking practice.

4.2.2 Intensified Practices

The practices that we classify as intensified practices are those that existed before and that respondents also performed, but they have magnified by watching online cooking videos. Overall, the practice of cooking has intensified itself by the array of food content on the Internet. We noticed that now cooking is a practice that can be performed by people of different ages, genders, and with different purposes in mind. In this section, we present additional everyday practices that have been intensified by online cooking videos.

4.2.2.1 Using the Internet to learn how to cook

The Internet now is a source of knowledge and techniques to solve many everyday problems. Millions of videos are available to show us "how-to" do something by searching on Google or YouTube. However, even though this is now a normal practice, we noticed that searching on Google is basically the only way our respondents find information related to cooking. Almost no one considered magazines, TV shows or cookbooks, as sources of information or ideas. However, they did mention relatives like parents, grandparents, or other relatives as their reference for good taste and authentic cooking. When asking participants about from whom their relatives learned to cook, they mentioned almost female figures like grandmothers like in the following example:

> **María José***: Living with my grandma was cooking the whole day and she loved to cook, and she loved to cook for a lot of people, so then they learned* [she means her mother and aunts]. *Because my grandma was very strict about how something should be cooked: "Like the taste needs to be like this and this and this". She was very picky in that sense. My mom, also, is very picky about food.* (Interview, April 27th, 2020).

In contrast, interviewees claimed that the Internet has played an important role in their cooking abilities which is something very different from previous generations. An example would be Iva, who started googling for things and also recipes when she was twelve. Similarly, Rohit and Agni also expressed the important role that the Internet played as a source of cooking knowledge:

> **Rohit:** *From my mother mostly and then just by myself looking at videos and trying things out.* (Interview, April 29th, 2020).

> **Agni:** *Yes, I would probably everything was through videos either YouTube or apps. I never really paid attention when my mom or anybody else cooking and I didn't have the need when I was young until my son was born. So, I started just seeing or watching videos and tried to put them together.* (Interview, April 30th, 2020).

The Internet has become a reliable and normalized source of cooking knowledge for younger generations. Its presence has increased in the lives of our respondents. The transmission of knowledge in this area is partly moving to the digital environment, where any kind of knowledge about cooking can be found. However, cooking still has an important element of tradition and connection with the family, in the sense of the oral transmission of recipes and the preparation of familiar cookbooks passing from generation to generation. Yet, younger generations are characterized by incorporating the Internet as a source of knowledge to perform their everyday practices, and parents or grandparents are consulted after.

Additionally, older generations seem to have a different attitude toward foreign cuisines and new technologies. When asking Iva about if she has ever proposed her family to cook something that she found out on the Internet, she claimed:

> **Iva:** *To be honest my family didn't like it because they're like...They don't like it when I introduce new things because they just like their own traditional way of making things and eating and when you suggest, like, "oh let's make Chinese" they're like, "ahhh Chinese" like, "we don't like too spicy, blah blah blah". So they're not into that, no not really, they just like traditional.* (Interview, April 30th, 2020).

Previous generations are not that open to other cuisines and can be reluctant to use new technologies as a source of knowledge. A possible explanation to this is that for them, cooking with videos implies learning how to use technology devices and search in platforms like YouTube, a practice that may be common for our respondents but not for their older relatives.

4.2.2.2 Sharing pictures and recipe videos

Most of the respondents expressed that they share pictures of their final dishes, as well as the cooking videos that they watched in social media. We will first present the empirical data about sharing pictures, and then, we will continue with sharing "how-to" cooking videos.

On the one hand, taking pictures of the outcome after cooking is a common everyday practice that was mentioned several times by the participants of this study. What called our attention was that they do not necessarily share these pictures on social media as we first thought (since the recipe was found online). Instead, they share the pictures mostly with their mothers, or close relatives or friends, to get feedback from them. This is visible in the case of Iva, as she is talking more frequently with family members about her cooking interest. She commented:

> **Iva:** *Definitely, I do it with my aunt, for example, because we both like this YouTuber. And sometimes if she makes something that's super easy, and you know, tasty, then she sends it to me or like, she shares it in our family group, and then we're like, "oh, wow, this thing that you make" and then she sends the recipe and the video, yeah.* (Interview, April 30th, 2020).

Rohit mentioned that he barely shares pictures of something he cooks on social media but he often sends pictures to his mother after preparing something to get her opinion as she is more experienced. In this way, Rohit can improve progressively his skills.

For Diana, these images become a trigger for holding conversations with family and friends, and at the same time, these pictures become a stimulus for the receptors to replicate the recipe.

> **Diana:** *Yes, actually, yes, that happens, they reach out me by, via direct message or also ask me for the link, so I either share the link, I share the recipe, I just text them the food recipe, and last week I baked some muffins and I just posted the recipe in my comments of the pictures. But, yes, people ask me.* (Interview, April 24th, 2020)

Vilma mentioned something similar:

> **Vilma:** [I do not share them] *necessarily on social media but, I have, you know, a couple of WhatsApp groups with friends and stuff, and so a lot of times, yeah, especially the finished product. I'll send the picture and then I've [...] gotten like, "oh, how did you do that?" and you know, and gotten other people interested in making like, [...], just because you encourage people to, you know, to do the same. So not on social media so much, but at least with closest friends.* (Interview, May 2nd, 2020).

By sharing pictures with close friends and family, interviewees admitted that then they are asked how they cook the recipe. Almost involuntarily they acquire the role of "experts in cooking" to the eyes of their acquaintances:

> **Paola:** *Yeah, I'd say that yeah, a lot of people ask me advice, or "I want to do this, how would you do it?", and that stuff.* (Interview, April 26th, 2020).

> **Daniel:** *I just did that* [sharing a picture]. *It was, it was because I made a dessert and I shared the photo on my WhatsApp status. And I got like three or four replies asking me what it was, and asking me also if it was me who cooked it. So, I was impressed, in my opinion. And yes, I shared with them the recipe and, then I shared the recipe on Twitter.* (Interview, April 30th, 2020).

To put it briefly, the practice of sharing pictures after finishing a dish has increased, and at the same time, this practice has become a trigger to generate conversations with close friends and family about recipes and cooking. As people cook more aided with online videos, they share their recipes and pictures which in turn inspires more people to do the same. Therefore, the practice of socializing intensifies.

On the other hand, sharing recipes with close friends and family is a practice that has increased as people engage with online cooking videos. We noticed that participants share recipes even if they have not prepared them. Yet, they share these recipes almost involuntarily as they consider that these videos could be of interest to other people.

Paola: *If I see something, for example, a YouTube video, [...] if I like it, [...], I share it with my mum, and I send a link to her to see it. But, I don't usually write comments or give feedback.* (Interview, April 26th, 2020).

María José: *I think I would probably send it to my friend, she really likes to cook. I don't think I'm posting, like sharing them on Facebook or something.* (Interview, April 27th, 2020).

We considered that this practice is important because the information about new recipes can be communicated from person to person in a spontaneous way and in a one-on-one way. This makes the diffusion very extensive as it functions as word-of-mouth which is very powerful in terms of influence.

4.2.2.3 Meeting with friends for cooking

Another way that participants use cooking to self-present themselves as good cooks and socialize is by preparing food for others aided by online videos. All of them indicated that with more or less frequency they gather with friends to share food and eat together:

Bonnie: *We have our neighbor dinners, consisting of like, Erik, his roommate, our friend next door, a few other neighbors, every week. We would cook food and eat together and play games. And that's, I think it's like one of the most important things to me right now.* (Interview, April 28th, 2020).

An additional example is Diana's who cooks with the purpose of sharing with friends aided by online videos. This also has helped her to learn about international cuisines:

Diana: [...] *the other thing is that, last year along the summer, we cookout dinners every Friday with the friends, so we had a theme, so, for example, one night it was Mexican food, the other night was Middle East food, then Italian food, then French food, so that helped me to think or to find another dishes in order to prepare them. And also, here in the US, we have a lot of types of food, like Thai food, like Indian food, Italian…I mean, a lot of types of cook. I tried new dishes, and actually, I tried to recreate some of them, so I can tell you that I learned how to prepare hummus, and also falafels, some Indian rice, Thai food… Yeah, I have tried another type of cuisines.* (Interview, April 24th, 2020).

The practice of watching and cooking aided by online videos seems to increase the interaction and strengthen bonds with family and friends by creating a common interest:

Erik: *Yes, it helps* [to socialize]. *First, I get along very well with my roommate* [they enjoy cooking together]. *And also, to meet new people in the building. I am not like a big social person, so it is a good way to make some social contact or get along with people. It happened that, for example, I was in charge of the dinner and people liked the dish, they*

told me "Oh it was really good" and then I tried to explain to them the recipe [...] So, in that case, you can start making some connections. (Interview, April 23rd, 2020).

As it is exemplified in these quotes, cooking and sharing food have always been means of socialization, but today, the practice and the variety of cuisines have expanded in a way that allows people to improve and broaden their personal relationships in a practical way. The more and the better they cook, the easier it is to have an excuse to engage in the social practices of meeting, sharing, and communicating.

4.2.2.4 Food consumption while and/or after watching online videos

Constantly watching videos online can have an influence on the eating habits of viewers. During the interviews, we did not ask directly if watching these videos make them get food cravings or eat more, but participants sometimes mentioned the wish to eat something or snacking during or after watching videos. Iva, for example, when talking about the visualization of recipe videos for entertainment purposes, said:

> **Iva:** *It's a bad idea* [to watch online recipe videos] *if you're hungry, then it makes you feel more hungry and you have to eat, like sometimes even if you're not hungry, they just make you like, want to eat something.* (Interview, April 30th, 2020).

As this was interesting, we ladder up and ask if she snacks due to these videos, and she added:

> **Iva:** *Yeah, I usually make popcorn. [...] Most of the time I actually do make something.* (Interview, April 30th, 2020).

Rohit mentioned that he also ends up preparing some food after watching some videos and similarly, María José considers that it is not a good idea to watch this content as a leisure activity if one is hungry:

> **María José:** *Yes, so it's not only with a utilitarian purpose or something. [...] if I'm not hungry, because if I'm hungry, then I wouldn't watch the cooking videos because that would make me much hungry.* (Interview, April 27th, 2020).

Therefore, according to some participants, these videos make them hungry or increase their desire to cook something after watching them, even if they did not have plans to do so. Additionally, they also snack something while watching the videos.

4.2.2.5 Shopping ingredients and kitchenware

One of the main consequences of watching online cooking videos is engaging in the practice of buying (or wanting to buy) new ingredients or kitchenware. From the interviews, we noticed that it was normal for respondents to include new ingredients in their shopping lists in order to be able to prepare the recipe that they have watched. They admitted that if they do not have one ingredient

to make the recipe, they would not go out to the supermarket to buy it immediately. They would substitute it for something else. However, if the ingredient is very important for the good outcome of the recipe then, they would wait until they go again to the supermarket, get the ingredient, and then cook the recipe.

Considering this factor, these videos seem to have a commercial function, as in many cases, they have an influence on the purchasing decisions of consumers in a short or medium term. Some of the respondents also had ideas about what type of things they would buy if they had money or enough space in their kitchen.

It was interesting that these videos were never evaluated as ads or content with an advertising purpose. Except for Paola who works in the advertising industry:

> **Paola:** *I noticed that I'm really influenced by... well, I work in publicity and that stuff, so when they try to sell it to me, it's like "I know what you're doing", but I noticed, even though I'm conscious about it, I noticed that I'm really influenced about what I see. […] And I know that it's there because they probably pay them, but I'm really susceptible to that kind of things.* (Interview, April 26th, 2020).

With the aid of online cooking videos, shopping becomes a practice that is performed regularly and in a shorter period of time. It is also more feasible to introduce new products or transform one-time purchases into a regular purchase as new ingredients become part of the culinary repertoire of people.

We can see that as practices around cooking are changing and growing, new resources are needed and therefore, new consumption habits appear. This point will be described in the following sections as this magnified shopping practice is not only about buying new food or appliances, it also merged with other everyday practices.

4.2.3 Substituted Practices

In this section, we will identify practices that have been replaced by the visualization of online cooking videos. This particular content seems to have motivated the interviewees to prioritize the visualization of these videos and cooking over other practices.

As we previously mentioned in the section *Created Practices,* the visualization of online cooking videos has become an everyday practice itself among participants, not only for cooking purposes but also for entertaining purposes. And this, as we will show in this section, has had an impact on the performance of other activities carried out by participants.

4.2.3.1 Using digital resources instead of traditional ones

Online cooking videos and the practice of visualizing them have also played an important role in the replacement of several cooking practices that used to be performed using traditional media, such as watching TV cooking shows, reading or checking a printed cookbook before or while cooking, and bringing them to the kitchen. In a similar manner, the traditional practice of directly asking a family member for a recipe is also substituted by using new media and watching online cooking videos:

> **Erik:** *On YouTube there is also one channel from a lady in Mexico that is called "De mi rancho a tu cocina". It is a lady that shares the Mexican, countryside Mexico recipes. I like it because some of them remind me of my grandmother. She makes really simple dishes, sometimes I watch those.* (Interview, April 23rd, 2020).

This reflects how Erik, trying to recreate his grandmother's cuisine, access online recipe videos which allows him to reconnect with his roots and be able to enjoy authentic Mexican food. As this quote exemplifies, by engaging in the cooking practice of watching recipe videos from his country, instead of engaging in the practice of directly asking her grandma, Erik is able to get recipes with a special meaning for him.

Similarly, Sophia also indicated that she follows Hong Kongese cooking online content, as she normally cooks Chinese food or María José who also follows an Ecuadorian recipe channel:

> **Sophia:** *Some of the online webs that I follow come from Hong Kong, some Hong Kongese teach how to cook something, it's a specific Hong Kongese website.* (Interview, April 28th, 2020).

> **María José:** *K-W-A* [the name of the channel] *It is very funny. They are from my city, if I'm not mistaken, and I feel like I'm back home whenever I see those videos, and it's really nice. Those are the kind of videos that I've been watching a lot lately because I've been craving a lot of food from back home.* (Interview, April 27th, 2020).

Considering this, the performance of the practice of visualizing online cooking videos, in these cases from their national cuisines, helps them reconnect with their roots and makes them feel like they are at home. At the same time, however, by engaging in this practice, as it was the case of Erik, the traditional practice of asking a family member for a recipe is being relegated to second place in participants' everyday life. Grandmas and mothers continue to be traditional cooking references; however, these videos have made participants consider other cooking referents and make them more prone to engage in the use of new technologies and platforms to access this knowledge.

Another finding that we noticed is that participants engage in the cooking practice of using electronic devices, such as cellphones, laptops, or tablets, to check recipes while cooking, bringing them to the kitchen:

Sophia: *Sometimes, if I want to bake something I will take my phone* [to the kitchen]. *Yeah, because I need a recipe.* (Interview, April 28th, 2020).

Paola: *Yeah, because as I need to follow it closely, if I have to place the computer in another place it would be very tiring, so I put in the kitchen, wherever I can see it, I stop it, and I cook, and I just go following everything.* (Interview, April 26th, 2020).

This fact is closely related to the new practice of creating their own digital cookbook by saving videos, which we exposed before in the section *Created Practices.* In general terms, we noticed that the traditional practice of writing down the recipes in a notebook is being changed by saving the videos online:

Rohit: *Yeah, I have a channel. I have a channel for saving videos. Channel like a... do you know like a section where you can watch later, for example? So I have something called "food" where I save these things. So those are things like cooking techniques or things I want to make, or things I constantly make where I can like quickly refer.* (Interview, April 29th, 2020).

As we exposed previously, in the case of Rohit and Diana, the practice of saving the videos online in order to have their own digital cookbook composed by a list of recipe videos, does not replace the practice of writing down the recipes in paper, on the contrary, in their case, these two practices seem to be complementary.

However, as now participants have their own digital cookbooks saved online, they need to have their electronic devices in the kitchen with them to be able to follow the recipe. We can affirm, then, that new media and the use of electronic devices seem to have become normal in the cooking process of participants. The practice of bringing electronic devices to the kitchen to use them to cook has replaced other cooking practices, such as bringing printed cookbooks to the kitchen to check them while cooking or watch a cooking TV show while cooking to get the instructions.

Finally, to conclude and summarize this section, from the different answers that we obtained from participants it can be said that these videos have an instructional purpose, and their visualization helped participants to gain new know-how, techniques, and skills that make them more competent in the ambit of cooking:

Rohit: *I think you can learn new dishes, new cooking techniques and using the same things to make different things, using up more of the pantry, like wasting less things, and also just constantly improving cooking as well.* (Interview, April 29th, 2020).

Therefore, this reinforces the idea that visualizing these videos constitutes a practice that has set aside other practices that have the same function and that used to be performed by using traditional media, such as reading or checking a physical cookbook and watching a cooking TV show, or asking traditional cooking role models, such as family members.

4.2.3.2 Cooking as a way to spend free time

In line with what participants told us, it seems that online cooking videos have had an influence on their routines and in the leisure practices that they usually perform:

> **Paola:** *Sometimes I'd watch a Netflix when I got home from work, but now it's like, no, I'm not going to do it because I prefer to spend 40 minutes cooking for tomorrow's meal rather than watching a film, or whatever. So, yeah, it definitely, it has more priority for me, and if it has to move things, other activities, it does for sure.* (Interview, April 26th, 2020).

Paola illustrates how the practice of preparing her meals aided by videos, have been prioritized to the detriment of other leisure practices such as watching Netflix or watching a film. Similarly, the motivation to cook promoted by visualizing these videos and the confidence gained in cooking for oneself and other people, have also had an impact on the leisure practice of eating out:

> **Paola:** *We, I think that we twice got together for cooking something, not for cooking, but, we get together to have lunch, and instead of going to a restaurant, we say "well, come home and we can cook and whatever", and we get together and we cook our food and that stuff.* (Interview, April 26th, 2020).

Again, Paola exemplifies how by acquiring the everyday practice of cooking for oneself, the leisure practice of going to a restaurant can be replaced by meeting with friends in a house to cook and eat together. In this case, we can say that the practice of meeting people and socializing keeps unchangeable, however, what changes is the environment and how this socialization takes place.

4.2.3.3 Watching videos instead of sleeping

Sleeping is another practice that seems to be deprioritized in favor of using YouTube and Netflix to watch online cooking videos:

> **Iva:** *I think I just sleep less, to be honest, because of YouTube and Netflix. Mmm, yeah, I think I learned something from those videos, I'm not just like... I think there's a way to learn things from it, so it's not like just wasting your time, in my opinion.* (Interview, April 30th, 2020).

The result of considering that watching online cooking videos is not a waste of time is the prioritization of performing this practice to the detriment of others. In the particular case of Iva, instead of dedicating more time to the everyday practice of sleeping, she prefers to engage in watching this type of content by using several platforms.

4.2.4 Interrupted Practices

In this section, we present the empirical material which shows that online recipe videos can also disturb the performance of other everyday practices.

4.2.4.1 Sleeping interruption

Due to the ubiquity of electronic devices and the fact that cooking videos can be watched at any time, they can interrupt other routinary activities or cause modifications in everyday routines. For instance, María José spent time looking at cooking videos in the middle of the night:

> **María José:** *The other day I also found that… it was in the middle of the night, and I woke up, I can't remember why. And then I went on YouTube and then I found Gordon Ramsay's videos. And I thought, "I can look for breakfast videos" because it was one in the morning and I thought "Well, I'm going to wake up in a couple of hours…".* (Interview, April 27th, 2020).

In this case, although the cause of interrupting the practice of sleeping was not watching online cooking videos, it turns out that instead of trying to continue sleeping, María José decided to engage in the practice of looking for this content and going through it. Thus, she decided to completely interrupt sleeping and spend the time she should be resting to watch online cooking videos.

4.2.5 Merged Practices

Finally, in this section we will present the different types of everyday practices, such as cooking, spending free time, shopping, eating, and socializing, that we found out that online cooking videos bring together by creating synergies among them.

There are some everyday practices that resulted to be common among participants, such as googling about things in general, shopping, both groceries or kitchenware, writing shopping lists, eating, and sharing these videos with family and close friends. And, as will be shown in the following lines, online videos are a nexus between these practices.

One practice that is normalized worldwide at a general level, and also among our participants, is "googling" or searching for things on the Internet:

> **Iva:** [...] *since I was a teenager, like when I was 12, I really liked googling about things in general, but also like with food, like how to make... I don't know, when I was little I would be like how to make ice cream and then I would make my own ice cream and that kind of things.* (Interview, April 30th, 2020).

In this case, online cooking videos represent a nexus between the everyday practice of "googling" and the practice of cooking and eating, as by googling for specific recipes or plates, or watching cooking videos for entertainment, participants usually end up cooking and eating something:

> **Rohit:** *Like, most of the time, I usually end up making it, I think. So I think I watch more when I am like sort of getting hungry and if it's something I can make I sometimes make it, or at least get something like closer to that.* (Interview, April 29th, 2020).

Additionally, online cooking videos also merged the practices of using electronic devices such as tablets, cell phones, or laptops and preparing a dish. Bringing their electronic devices to the kitchen and using them while cooking has become a normal part of the cooking process of participants:

> **Diana:** *Yes, I have it handy* [her cellphone]. *[...] if I have questions or I want just to remember exactly how was the process or the order of the ingredients, I just return back to my cellphone, [...] I have it handy just in case I need it.* (Interview, April 24th, 2020).

Another way in which online cooking videos seem to link the practices of cooking, eating, and shopping, is by introducing the viewers with lifestyles presented by influencers. As the number of influencers increases and the information diversifies, different trends and lifestyles and understanding of cooking become popular. Respondents mentioned some of them like clean eating, meal planning, intermittent fasting, or high-protein regimes.

> **María José:** *I like watching meal planning videos from these fitness influencers, so they go, for instance, on Sunday they fix a meal organized for 3 days, so it's kind of like "Oh, that's perfect. That's how things could work! It's easy! It's organized!" and you're eating healthy and balanced and everything.* (Interview, April 27th, 2020).

María José admits that she has changed or adapted her diet to a more "Mediterranean based" diet following the advice of YouTube and Instagram influencers:

> **María José:** *I see these fitness influencers that I follow on YouTube and also on Instagram, they like to prepare the recipes. Most of the things they consume are chicken and fish, and I've noticed that lately, I've been eating a lot of fish and chicken other than red meat. It's kind of like the easy lighter choice for high protein in guess.* (Interview, April 27th, 2020).

Thus, by following and watching this kind of videos, she is varying her shopping in order to adapt it to the new eating lifestyle that influencers propose and cooking in the way they suggest. Therefore, the three practices, shopping, cooking, and eating, are closely linked and influenced by online cooking videos.

However, the initiation into new eating habits or practices can be due to different factors and sources of information, not only through digital food videos. Books, friends, and relatives are also part of the information ecosystem that surrounds a person and together they may generate a change eventually. For example, Diana practices intermittent fasting with a group of friends and that has

become a habit since she does it twice a week and videos have played only a part in this new practice:

> **Diana:** *Well, I read a book that is from a doctor that explains why is healthy for the body to do this because it helps also to release, and to absorb better, and burn better all the fats, the sugars, everything, and also I have an accountability group, so sometimes we do that, so it's part of the habits and actually is a habit that I have, I do it twice a week.* (Interview, April 24th, 2020).

Another example is Agni, who was first introduced to vegan products by her friends, and later she used cooking videos to learn more about how to prepare such ingredients. Yet, in some other cases, the influence comes directly from videos.

In general terms, and continuing showing how online cooking videos connect the practices of shopping, cooking and eating, we noticed that writing the shopping list is an activity, or in the case of several participants as Sophia, Vilma, Rohit, Paola, Agni, Iva and Daniel, a routinized activity, and therefore a practice, that online cooking videos have integrated with their visualization. For example, when asked about if she prepares shopping lists while watching online cooking videos, Bonnie stated:

> **Bonnie:** *Yeah, especially because I don't have a lot of ingredients like I don't necessarily eat butter every single day but a lot of recipes, require butter, and especially onion. Very common. And I have to get it every single time, I want to get, make food.* (Interview, April 28th, 2020).

Similarly, other participants also expressed similar behaviors with regards to writing shopping lists while watching online cooking videos. Online cooking videos combine the practice of watching them with the practice of making the shopping list, which in turn has an impact on the things participants finally acquire in the grocery store and end up eating. As illustrated by some participants, one of the most immediate ways in which online cooking videos are changing consumers' shopping practices today is in the growing number of ingredients and kitchenware that they acquire. Participants admitted that they have bought new ingredients or kitchen appliances when they started to cook more often with the aid of online videos. Some of them would like to do it in the future like Vilma, who is limited by her kitchen space, or Bonnie and Iva, who are limited by her student budget. However, if they had the possibility they would buy more and cook more often.

> **Daniel:** *I think I have been starting a space where I can put everything that I bought for when [I cook] a specific recipe. So, this place has started growing with ingredients that I used in the last recipe. And then another one, that I used in the recipe I did before, then I am accumulating a lot of ingredients that I hope to use in another time.* (Interview, April 30th, 2020).

Paola: *Yes, if I see that is something that I don't have and that it would really save me time or that I could really use quite a lot, I buy it, yeah. And if it's not super expensive. [...] For example, the noodles I told you, the vegetable cutter and that stuff, they say like "oh I just bought this vegetable stuff and I love it, I'm going to leave the link in the description", and then I'm like "buy" [...].* (Interview, April 26th, 2020).

As Paola indicates, online cooking videos can integrate the option of buying online the products displayed in the video by simply indicating a link in the description of the video that the viewer can easily access and that allow him/her to acquire the product online. So, these videos are also bonding the practice of buying online with the practice of visualizing them, making both activities happen at the same time.

Similarly, to the "buy" option, online cooking videos also offer the option of sharing the content with other people. For instance, Paola indicates that if she likes a recipe online, she regularly shares it with someone that she thinks can like it, for example, her mother.

Paola: *Oh yeah, if I see a recipe that I like I share with someone that I know is gonna like it.* (Interview, April 26th, 2020).

Thus, it can be said that online cooking videos also combine their visualization, both for cooking or entertainment purposes, with engaging in social practices, such as sharing their content online with others, which again, is simultaneous with the visualization of the videos.

Sharing, however, can also be a physical social practice, which usually happens when meeting with friends to offer them food and eat together. As Bonnie illustrates with the following quote, watching online cooking videos links cooking with physical and online socialization practices and eating:

Bonnie: *Share with the friends, took a picture of it, eat it, become full. Think that it's amazing. Want to do it again.* (Interview, April 28th, 2020).

And, as she indicates, these different practices, which are cooking, socializing (physically or through online platforms), and eating, which has been always related, are carried on in a sequential and effective manner which facilitates its repetition over and over. And, online cooking videos and visualizing them are now part of this process.

An additional example of how several practices melt together is when cooking, shopping, and socializing mix in a synergized way like in this example:

Diana: *I also did research of recipes with the insta pot in order to see if it was worthy to buy it or not, so I found that I could do a lot of things, like "Ok, I will buy it", and I bought it, like [...] two years ago [...] I started to use it and I started to share the benefits of that and another two or three friends bought an insta pot because of the recommendations that I gave them. And, with the air-fryer, I used to live with another couple, [...] she started to share with me some videos that she learned about the air-fryer, so I got curious about it,*

and then I started to find, to look for recipes with the air-fryer, and I realize that, yes, it is worthy. (Interview, April 26th, 2020).

We classified these examples as synergized practices because they work together to generate a cycle of consumption. As we can see, one important factor is word-of-mouth which plays a key role to increase awareness and pass on information about certain dishes or kitchenware available in the market, and then, watching cooking videos give consumers more information about how to use it or prepare it; and then cooking with newly purchased appliances becomes an element of socialization.

Finally, due to the fact that these videos can appear at any time in the mobiles of people and they are entertaining they can be used as a way to relax or pass leisure time like in the following example:

> **Rohit***: I'm kind of used to it, so this is like a break for me. So I'm quite used to watching it, so it doesn't really affect me in that way. So, if I'm just really stressed, and if I go to YouTube, I sometimes watch something else or often watch something like leisure to cook. So it's kind of like a break for me.* (Interview, April 29th, 2020).

Considering this last quote, the practice of watching online cooking videos is also integrated into the practice of relaxing or spending free time. As Rohit signals, engaging in the visualization of cooking videos is something that he, and other participants, do in their spare time.

5 Analysis

This chapter displays the analysis of the empirical data gathered. The findings presented are empirically driven but they are also connected with previous academic literature to contribute with further knowledge to the existing body of consumer research. As stated previously, this dissertation aims to discover in which ways online cooking videos are influencing consumers' everyday practices.

At the beginning of the project, we considered the main concepts established by theories of practice such as the elements that conform them and the relationships between them. After analyzing the data, we noticed that many of the relationships described by previous research were applicable to the case of online cooking videos, but additionally, we suggest that videos can be an object and a practice itself, as it will be presented in the next sections.

For this reason, we took theories of practice as a starting point and a framework to discuss how videos can modify everyday practices among consumers. We took analytical concepts from different authors from this school of thought.

5.1 Online Cooking Videos' Functions

Before examining our main findings, we will present the functions that participants attribute to recipe videos. Based on the empirical data, we noticed that our respondents share a common understanding of the multiple functions of this content. This is modifying the way in which people use these videos to perform different daily practices. And this is happening effectively, as consumers are conscious about how these videos can help them engage in different practices, both dispersed and integrative (Schatzki, 1996). It was through the definition of these functions that we were able to detect which everyday practices are affected by this content. Logic would indicate that cooking would be the only relevant daily practice that may be affected by this content, however, we noticed that it also affects other everyday integrative practices: shopping, socializing, eating, and spending free time (Schatzki, 1996). There are five main functions that participants attributed to these videos, which are: instructional, entertainment, inspirational, socialization, and commercial.

First of all, the videos offer descriptions and information about how to make a dish. This instructional character is identified as the first and most basic function of these videos according to participants. However, these videos function many times just as guidelines for cooking and not as strict recipes. This is interesting because taking videos as a guideline gives much more space

for practitioners to experiment, try and create new ways of making a dish and, consequently, eating it. They can also watch several videos of the same recipe and mix different ingredients or techniques in order to get what they consider the best result. Therefore, the instructional function of the videos is significant for the performance of the everyday practices of cooking and eating (Schatzki, 1996).

Secondly, we noticed that watching these videos is a common way to spend free time or relaxing for our respondents. They reported that they spend regular periods of time watching them, even if they do not have an intention to cook at that moment. In other words, cooking videos are a common resource for performing the everyday practice of spending free time (Schatzki, 1996).

Additionally, cooking videos have become a source of inspiration to cook: to try new ingredients and new cuisines. Not only these, but they are also a source to get ideas on what to eat or diet regimes. Hence, again, recipe videos affect the everyday practices of cooking and eating (Schatzki, 1996).

At the same time, and as stated by several respondents, learning and mastering new cooking techniques has become an excuse and a tool to meet with people and make new connections. Thus, social connections are established by cooking more and sharing more, so cooking videos become an element influencing the everyday practice of socializing (Schatzki, 1996).

Last but not least, an additional function that we noticed is that watching recipe videos is an activity that can have the purpose of finding information about how to use an ingredient or a kitchen appliance before buying it and not necessarily cooking. The quantity of videos available online is an indicator for the consumer about the possibilities of usage that he or she can give to an ingredient or appliance. This is a decisive factor before making a purchase. Similarly, some of these recipe videos have a clear commercial function as they promote the use of certain products and, in some cases, facilitates their purchase with direct links to shopping websites. Therefore, videos become an important part of the everyday practice of shopping (Schatzki, 1996).

Building on the empirical data collected, we determined that studying the relationships between these practices will help us find the most relevant implications of watching online videos related to consumers' everyday practices. We detected how new practices emerge, intensify, are substituted, interrupted, or merged to create synergies. This change in the relationship between practices coordinated by an element (online videos) led us to see how this content generates, accelerates, and modifies everyday practices.

5.2 Relationships Between Practices

By taking theories of practice as a lens to analyze this phenomenon, it is possible to explore better how online cooking videos have played an active role in generating changes among the elements

of practices. In our analysis, we use Magaudda's (2011) conceptualization of the constitutive elements of a practice, which are objects, doings, and meanings. Our decision is based on the fact that this terminology "allows for a clear distinction between the three categories with respect to concepts familiar to the academic discourse of consumption" (Arsel and Bean, 2013, p.901). Another framework that we build on and complement is the one of Shove et al. (2012) regarding the relationship between everyday practices. However, in contrast with Shove et al., (2012), we use Schatzki's (1996) conceptualization of integrative and dispersed practices to complement this framework. Thus, in our analysis, we propose a combination of these three conceptualizations.

As was described in the previous chapter, new practices started to be performed by respondents, and also new relationships between several practices have emerged. These new links between practices, facilitated by online cooking videos, have resulted in the creation, intensification, substitution, merge, and interruption of practices. This finding is in line with Shove et al. (2012), who argue that the interactions among some practices can derive in reciprocal adaptation, destruction, synergy, or drastic transformation.

In the following sections, we will briefly explore these relationships in order to be able to present our main theoretical contribution which is the generator role of online videos.

5.2.1 Create

Based on the empirical results, we found out that the respondents started to perform certain practices based on what they see on the videos. Most of them are practices related to cooking, such as creating one's own digital cookbook, mixing new ingredients, or learning new cuisines, among others. We categorize all of these practices as dispersed practices of the integrative practice of cooking (Schatzki, 1996). However, one of the new practices of our special interest is the visualization of online cooking videos. This practice is very important by itself, especially for the role that plays in bonding other practices. In order to justify why we categorize this activity as a practice, we will briefly use the conceptualization of the elements of a practice defined by Maggauda (2011). In other words, we will briefly describe the objects, doings, and meanings that constitute this practice.

Concerning the objects, our viewers perform this activity with the help of technology devices like mobile phones, laptops, or iPads. Regarding the doings, practitioners have learned how to search, select, watch, and act upon these videos, which are competences that not everybody has acquired, even if it may look very simple and routinely. Additionally, and concerning meanings, watching this type of videos is referred to by our respondents as something fun, practical, easy to do, fast, instructional, and modern. A few decades ago, watching cooking videos on the Internet was an activity that was not possible as the Internet did not exist, and the practice of cooking had a different meaning since it was closely linked to taking care of the family, and it was a task mainly performed and associated with women.

We determined that watching online cooking videos is a dispersed practice, which, as will be shown later on, is also a doing of several other integrative practices (Schatzki, 1996), such as cooking, spending leisure time, shopping, eating and socializing. And the videos themselves are one constitutive element of several practices, particularly objects (Magaudda, 2011). Although we agree up to a point with the proposition of Magaudda (2011) about objects being materials, tools, and bodies, we propose that objects of a practice should also include digital resources, such as online videos. In the discourse of theories of practice, there is no explicit mention of digital content as an object. We build in this proposition to refine the definition of the elements of practice. This differentiation is very important as it allows to consider online cooking videos as an object that plays a coordinating role (Shove et al., 2012) among practices. We will develop this in the *Merge* section.

5.2.2 Intensify

We detected that some practices are related to each other through a collaborative relationship between them, and this concurs with what Shove et al. (2012) propose. For instance, watching videos have inspired people to cook more and this, in turn, has intensified the practice of socializing through food, eating while or after watching online videos, buying different ingredients and kitchenware, and sharing pictures of finished dishes with friends and family, among others. All these dispersed practices (Schatzki, 1996) existed and were performed by cooking practitioners before, but the difference is that the video format and the digital platforms have played an important role in intensifying them. In order to make this simpler, we claim that in general terms, online cooking videos, and their visualization, have intensified the integrative practices of cooking, eating, socializing, and shopping that include the dispersed practices mentioned in the example above. This increase in the reproduction of certain practices implies a change in people's routines, as they dedicate more time to engage in these practices.

5.2.3 Substitute

Some practice carriers who were interviewed admitted that they have prioritized watching videos, with cooking or entertainment purposes, instead of doing other activities. Therefore, we detected that this practice has dominated others. We suggest that this relationship of domination can be equivalent to the relationship of competition among practices proposed by Shove et al. (2012). For instance, participants prefer to watch a video instead of consulting a close relative about a recipe, or they prefer to spend their spare time cooking instead of watching a movie.

An interesting fact here is that, although there is a relationship of dominance among some practices, it cannot be concluded this relationship between practices is only based on dominance (Shove et al., 2012). For instance, like in the example above, we could think that watching videos steal time from family relationships, but as seen in the previous point, *Intensify*, watching cooking

videos also generate a collaborative relationship with family life by increasing the sharing of recipes with family and increasing conversations, which results in stronger family ties (Shove et al., 2012).

The maximum expression of a dominant relationship that we found out in the empirical data is the interruption of a practice. As it was previously exposed, one respondent mentioned interrupting an activity (the practice of sleeping) in order to engage in watching online cooking videos. This case was interesting because the respondent woke up in the middle of the night and preferred to watch these videos to plan her breakfast instead of going back to sleep.

This was the only case registered in the empirical data, but we believe that there may be other practices that could be interrupted by watching these videos, however, they have not been reported during the interviews.

5.2.4 Merge

Among all the effects that online cooking videos and their visualization produce in everyday practices, we consider that there is one that is very interesting and which is the bonding of practices. Similar to what happened in the case of the intensified practices, in *Merge*, we suggest that there is a collaborative interaction between practices, which facilitates that they are bonded, synergized or effectively sequenced (Shove et al., 2012). The empirical material gathered suggests that this interaction is motivated by online cooking videos, which we consider a generator of relationships between everyday practices. As it will be shown in the following lines, online cooking videos coordinate the performance of practices.

5.2.4.1 Online Cooking Videos as an Object and as a Coordinator of Practices

To illustrate the role as a generator of relationships that recipe videos play, we propose the conceptualization presented in Figure 2. We argue that online cooking videos represent a constitutive element of different integrative practices (Schatzki, 1996), specifically of cooking, eating, socializing, shopping, and spending leisure time.
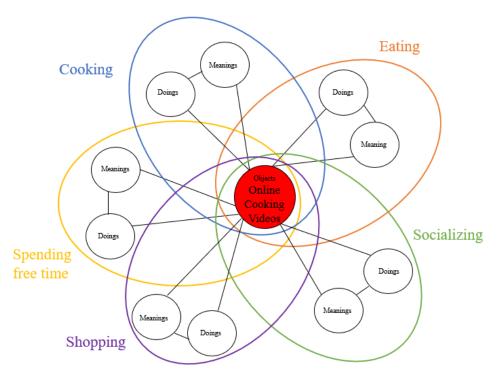
Figure 2: Online cooking videos as a generator of practices

In everyday life, these practices have been always closely linked together as consumers need to buy groceries to cook, then they prepare meals and after that, they enjoy the meal either by themselves or with friends or acquaintances. This is the general trajectory of the practices as generally understood.

However, we state that online cooking videos have reconfigured the different integrative practices of cooking, eating, shopping, socializing, and spending free time, in terms of objects, doings, and meanings. To illustrate this effect, we will consider one of those integrative practices which is cooking. As respondents answered, the videos become a new object in their cooking process from which they get information to prepare a recipe. Similarly, they modify the doings associated with cooking, as they cook frequently aided with these videos, they learn new techniques, acquire new competences, and appreciate new flavors and cuisines. Moreover, the meanings of cooking change as these videos show that cooking can be easy, fun, and many times is a way to take care of one's physical shape, among other new meanings.

Therefore, in the digital era, recipe videos have become a common object in all the different everyday integrative practices (Schatzki, 1996) indicated in Figure 2. This common element modifies each practice in terms of doings and meanings. However, we claim that this common object not only modifies the practices individually but fixes them together and generates relationships between them.

If we look at the videos as an element that holds different practices together, it is possible to have a clearer idea of how this common element facilitates their synchronization. For example, the

videos can be an element for cooking but give information about products at the same time (they are used to define what to cook and define immediate or future purchases of groceries). As an additional example, videos are a resource for spending free time (just by watching them on social media) but they can also make consumers cook something even if they did not have plans to do so (as it was shown in the previous chapter). The synchronization of practices can vary depending on the context and it can link two or more practices.

So far, we have described online cooking videos as an object constitutive of different practices and as an element that can fix different practices together and create synchronizations. Moreover, beyond the conceptualization of videos as a constitutive element of different practices, the emergence of these videos in digital platforms has created a new practice itself that is watching cooking videos (for amusement or with other purposes). This proposition is similar to the one done by De Wit et al. (2002) in their study analyzing the office as an innovation junction and the role played by the typewriter (see Chapter 2). The practice of watching online videos has become an additional task or a "doing" in the performance of different practices such as cooking, eating, socializing, shopping, and spending free time. Following Schatzki's (1996) conceptualizations, we can say that watching cooking videos has become a dispersed practice of different integrative practices such as cooking, spending free time, shopping, among others.

The practice of watching this content has allowed the establishment of effective sequential relationships among practices. For instance, watching videos, cooking, and socializing with friends are practices that interviewees often referred to, and which have become part of a similar cycle that is repeated constantly and periodically. In a similar way, watching videos routinely can have an impact on cooking and eating practices, as the videos sometimes connect cooking with lifestyles and become a source of inspiration for shopping the ingredients as these videos propose. Subsequently, there can be a change in eating practices.

Moreover, the visualization of this content has also facilitated that relationships of simultaneity between practices emerge. In other words, allowing the performance of two practices at the same time. For example, cooking and shopping, or spending free time and shopping, can be performed together due to the incorporation of links to access online pages to buy products that cooking videos incorporate.

5.3   Unintentional Tastemakers

The changes in practices, as it was outlined in the previous sections, have consequences for the practitioners and their routines. Shifting the focus from practices to practitioners helps us see how this video content has implications in people's lives.

From the empirical data collected, we determine that online cooking videos function as provisional support for those people who want to learn how to cook and also to improve their cooking skills.

In other words, these videos help them increase their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) in the area of cooking. Moreover, the cooking videos allow consumers to get new aesthetic and taste competences in a short period of time allowing them to increase their own cultural competence, that is, their capacity to master specific skills (Maciel & Wallendorf, 2017). Following Arsel and Bean (2018), and considering our empirical findings, consumers often use images to show their taste expressions, especially in social media, and without the need of spending money.

As the practitioners acquire cultural capital by cooking with videos, they develop skills and additional knowledge, which makes them become some sort of experts, or according to Arsel and Bean (2018), tastemakers. As new experts, they are capable of converting the cultural capital acquired into social capital (Bourdieu 1986, Henry & Cadwell, 2018). For instance, it was through empirical data that we noticed that they trigger conversations by sharing pictures of their finished dishes in their social media accounts, or most of the time, in WhatsApp groups. Similarly, in the physical world, they can use food as an excuse to talk, share, and to discuss ingredients, techniques, cuisines, or kitchen appliances.

By socializing with their inner circle of friends and family, viewers become a source of knowledge and are recognized by others as good cooks or experts (Arsel & Bean, 2018; McQuarrie et al., 2013), and are subsequently consulted by others on cooking matters.

Moreover, empirical data showed that the primary reason why participants share pictures on social media is to display their skills and aesthetic competences. In a similar fashion, they share their dishes with friends and family in gatherings to show their newly acquired skills aided by videos. This sharing practice helps them self-present and perform identity work (Schau, 2018) as competent cooks. However, we argue that in addition to help with identity construction, there is a secondary consequence of becoming an expert, which is involuntarily influencing others' cooking, eating, and shopping practices. To put it differently, the new cooks can modify or increase the others' consumption in order to be able to replicate a recipe or try out new cooking techniques.

This is relevant, as, in the digital era, the new cooks can have as much authority and legitimacy as professional productions and chefs. This is in line with Arsel and Bean (2018) and McQuarrie et al., (2013), who claim that in the digital world, the approach is more democratic and individuals can share their tips as well as experts without consequences for not having a professional background. In this study, we noticed that viewers do not necessarily see themselves as influencers but as individuals with a passion for cooking.

Therefore, we propose that viewers can become unintentional tastemakers within their inner circle of acquaintances. The reader may think that this is similar to the common process known as word-of-mouth in which information is shared through oral conversations or the buzz generated by brands on social networks. However, we think that the difference is that this transmission of information is not done because of marketing reasons but instead, it is impulsed by the performance of practices.

Additionally, these unintentional tastemakers are capable of reaching people in a targeted and in a spontaneous way. For example, when someone watches a video and thinks about a person who may like to prepare the recipe and send the link immediately to this person. This makes online cooking videos a tool to trigger the performance of cooking and recruit new practitioners (Shove et al. 2012) faster since the tastemakers can share this content in a selective and targeted way.

Today, the unintentional tastemaker role helps reinforce new cooking, eating, shopping, and even taste and aesthetic practices. This could represent a risk since new and fragmented cooking and eating regimes start gaining track such as intermittent fasting, clean eating, meal planning, or high-protein diet shown by empirical data collected in the interviews. In other words, the unintentional tastemaker, with the help of online cooking videos, also plays a relevant role in changing the common understanding of cooking and eating, among other practices.

To conclude, after the analysis of the data and the argumentations of the results, we suggest that the result of this new dynamic between practices and the emergence of unintentional tastemakers can result in an acceleration of consumption of cooking market resources (ingredients, kitchen appliances, apps, cookbooks, and more). This implies that the consumption cycle of materials related to cooking is reinforced not only by new meanings of practices but also by consumer agency. In other words, the outcome is the accelerated and increased commercialization of products and ingredients by means of changes in practices and new practitioners.

6 Conclusions

This chapter summarizes the results obtained by providing an answer to the research question that has guided the development of this thesis. In addition, it also presents the theoretical and practical contributions of the findings presented in previous chapters. Finally, suggestions for future research are provided.

6.1 Research Outcomes

The aim of this study was to investigate the phenomenon of online cooking videos by determining their effect on consumers' everyday practices. The development of this project, therefore, has been guided by the following research question: *In which ways online cooking videos are influencing consumers' everyday practices?* In order to be able to answer this question we have implemented a qualitative study based on in-depth interviews, which have allowed us to obtain rich data and gain a deeper understanding of the role of recipe videos in consumers' daily practices, and in turn in their everyday lives. After the gathered empirical data was adequately organized and analyzed, we were able to discover the main findings.

The main insights discovered have partly emerged from the empirical data but also partly from theory, and provide an answer to the research question. From the data presented, we can conclude that online cooking videos, which are both a constitutive element (object) of practices and the origin of a practice itself (watching online cooking videos), influence the way consumers engage in the practices of cooking, eating, socializing, spending free time and shopping. These are the five integrative everyday practices that we considered the most relevant in consumers' daily life according to the data obtained. We suggest that online cooking videos act as a generator and impact these practices by creating, increasing, substituting, interrupting, and merging them or their dispersed practices. Relationships of collaboration, domination, synchronization and sequencing, and simultaneousness are established between practices, resulting in a modification of the habits and routines of consumers.

Further, as already mentioned, the videos are not only a new object to perform the practice of cooking but also a new practice itself that has changed the meaning of cooking, especially as cooking is regarded as something easy and fun to do. This content also helps viewers to perform identity work by helping them gain cultural capital in the ambit of cooking. Acting as a provisional support, this content allows viewers to master the integrative practice of cooking and the associated dispersed practices of cooking, which in turn makes them feel confident and therefore willing to share their creations. Consequently, this results in viewers being perceived as "experts" or tastemakers, principally in the eyes of their friends and family.

6.2 Theoretical Contributions

The findings of the study contribute to the research field of theories of practice, specifically to the not extensive area of relationships between practices. By building on three different conceptualizations in this area, specifically regarding the elements of a practice (Maggauda, 2011), relationships between practices (Shove et al., 2012) and typologies of practices (Schatzki, 1996), we developed a framework to integrate these existing conceptualizations and shed some light on how different everyday practices are combined. Our theoretical proposition helps to explain how relationships among different integrative practices are established and the role that online cooking videos play in between them.

According to our proposal, recipe videos act as a generator by creating and modifying practices. We argue that online cooking videos are a shared constitutive element (object) of the integrative everyday practices of cooking, eating, socializing, shopping, and spending free time. Therefore, they facilitate changes in the different constitutive elements of the different integrative practices (meaning, objects, and doings), and they also act as a fix and link in between them. Apart from that, online cooking videos in combination with electronic devices generate a practice, watching online cooking videos, which also helps to bond several practices, by becoming a doing of the different integrative everyday practices (cooking, eating, socializing, shopping, and spending free time), or, considering Schatzki (1996), a dispersed practice of the different integrative practices. Online cooking videos, both, as a constitutive element of practices, and as a practice itself (watching online cooking videos), allow the establishment of collaborative, dominance, sequence and synchronization, and simultaneousness relationships between practices.

Additionally, building on Maggauda's (2011) conceptualization of the constitutive elements of a practice, which is also similar to other conceptualizations such as the one of Shove et al, (2012), we propose digital content to be explicitly considered as an object or material.

Furthermore, there are several other theoretical implications derived from this study. First, by influencing the creation, intensification, substitution, interruption, and merge of several everyday practices, online cooking videos, and their visualization are, to a certain extent, shaping the routines of viewers and determining some new patterns of behavior.

Second, the empirical data from this research provides concrete examples of how different daily practices are being affected by this content. Third, as it has been shown, online cooking videos can be produced by brands or influencers that have a commercial purpose, or by people who do not have any commercial intention. Independently of the producer of the video, and even though they do not have a marketing purpose, all these videos are part of a consumption phenomenon in which consumer agency is the main lever that generates purchases in the short and medium-term. Thus, although this content in many cases seems neutral in terms of marketing purposes, it is through involuntary tastemakers that they increase and influence the practice of shopping, and more generally, consumption.

Fourth, these "how-to" videos, in the particular area of food and cooking, are helping to detach the practice of cooking from its traditional meaning of being a task associated with women. This content motivates viewers, independently of their age and gender, to engage in the practice of cooking, which in turn allows them to acquire knowledge and confidence in this field which translates in the acquisition of new roles in the eyes of their families and friends. Therefore, at a macro level, these videos can be considered a tool that is helping to evolve consumer culture into a more open and gender-equal.

Lastly, and in relation to the previous point, by gaining cultural knowledge and confidence in cooking, participants became some sort of unintentional tastemakers on a small scale, mainly for their friends and family. However, in the long run, and if they start engaging in online socializing practices, they can become influencers and produce their own content.

6.3 Practical Contributions

Although this study does not intend to make generalizations or offer research outcomes that help predict possible consumer behaviors, we think that managers should keep in mind that online content can have an impact on peoples' lives, especially when it is about practices that are rooted in the domestic world like cooking, as empirical data showed in this project.

Instructional videos can help people solve issues or have better ideas on how to do a specific task, but they can also change routines or practices in different areas of life, and being part of a consumption phenomenon by intensifying the practice of shopping. In particular, online cooking videos make people cook and eat more upon what they see, and not only that, but they share these recipes with other acquaintances generating a powerful tool to promote cooking and eating trends.

Some food brands create this type of video to showcase their products like kitchen appliances or ingredients, and in some cases, consumers generate their own food creations using those products. For managers who work in the food industry, this can be an excellent sign of a marketing campaign success as consumers share those recipe videos or even create by themselves other videos in which their products appear. In other words, they promote the brand for free and are capable of reaching a high number of people.

However, it is necessary to raise the attention that these cooking videos can be watched by thousands of people and not only by the brands' target group. Therefore, the capacity of diffusion on the Internet may have implications for people as they become highly exposed to this type of content even if they are not actively looking for it. An example of these implications is when they change their shopping lists to prepare a meal, and therefore, it changes what they cook and what they eat. This can be for good in case people improve their eating habits, but it can also work in the opposite way.

Additionally, due to the several functions that this content has, like entertainment, it can be difficult for the viewers to distinguish the commercial objective in some cases. Therefore, managers need to take into consideration that marketing strategies that use this ambiguous content should be easily identified by consumers as commercial and not entertainment in order to avoid consumers' rights issues or ethical implications.

Moreover, the viewers are not aware that they are promoters of brands while sharing this content with friends or family, which in turn can affect the everyday practices and routines of these other people. Thus, this gives brands a bigger responsibility in terms of producing content that can bring positive changes in society.

As shown in this study, and due to the potential of "how-to" videos in modifying consumers' everyday practices and habits, marketing campaigns can help people eat better by promoting healthy eating lifestyles, make better decisions when shopping to avoid overconsumption of food and consequently food waste or reinforce gender equality discourses. To sum up, sustainable consumption marketing initiatives that use this sort of format can have a positive impact on issues related to food consumption and eating behaviors.

6.4 Limitations and Further Research

This exploratory thesis offers a theoretical framework illustrating how different practices are combined. However, it has to be noted that this framework results from an investigation focused on online cooking videos. Hence, we suggest conducting extensive research in the field, looking at specific types of online cooking videos, for example, produced by brands, specific platforms, or other kinds of producers. In doing so, this framework can be expanded. Apart from conducting extensive research in the field, we also suggest investigating other consumption fields different from cooking, which are also being colonized by the digital world, such as physical activity or music. This could also help to extend or apply modifications in the framework proposed.

A limitation of this study is that the empirical data has been uniquely obtained through in-depth interviews, however, as practices and the relations among them are the object of study, we suggest further studies to combine observational data with in-depth interviews, in order to get a clearer picture of the activities consumers' engage with and how. Another limitation of this study is the limited amount of time in which it has been conducted. In order to have a real idea on how online cooking videos influence the everyday practices of consumers it would be interesting to perform a study for a longer period of time, for example, some months or even years, in order to evaluate the evolution of the relationships among the different practices and conclude whether daily life is influenced in the long run and how.

Moreover, we are conscious of the difficulty and complexity of determining relationships among several practices. By considering many different practices, as it is the case of this study, it is more difficult to get a deep understanding of how the relationships among them work at a micro-level. Thus, we suggest future research on the field of theories of practices and consumption to focus on a smaller number of practices, for example, two integrative practices such as cooking and shopping, in order to get a deeper understanding and a simpler picture of how they are related. Besides, we encourage other researchers in the field of theories of practice and consumption to build on Schatzki's (1996) concepts of integrative and dispersed practices, as it facilitates the categorization of practices and the establishment of relationships between them.

Another limitation of this study is that we basically focused in practices, however, as we indicated in the previous section and also shown in the empirical data and analysis chapters, online cooking videos, or similar content from different fields, has an impact in consumer culture, by facilitating the acquisition of new roles, symbolisms, etc. Therefore, it would be interesting to investigate this phenomenon in depth from other consumer culture perspectives, such as taste, identity, brand communities, or consumers' free labor, for example.

Finally, further research regarding "how-to" videos and theories of practice can look into the potential risks that this content can imply for consumers, such as health issues, produced by physical injuries, in the case of "how-to" videos related to exercising, or produced by the promotion of unhealthy diets, in the case of "how-to" cooking videos.

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Appendix 1: Interview Guide

Interview questions guide

Section 1–Ice-breaker

Name:
Age:
Nationality:

What do you usually do on a normal day?
Do you cook often?
What type of dishes do you cook?
Do you cook only for yourself or for others as well?
Do you spend a lot of time cooking?
How did you learn to cook?
  ★ Have you ever talked to your mom/aunt/roommate/father about how they learned how to cook?
  ★ You have mentioned your mom/aunt/roommate/father as people who you have seen cooking. Can you describe to us the way you cook? Where do they get the recipes? Do you remember any day when they taught you how to prepare a certain dish?
Do you enjoy cooking your meals? How much would you say?

Section 2–On online cooking videos

Since you are familiar with online cooking videos, I would like to ask you some questions about them:

About online cooking videos

What do you like about these types of videos?
What kind of videos do you like to watch?
From which device do you watch these videos? Mobile? computer?
What platform do you use to watch the videos? Facebook? YouTube?
How do you access online cooking videos? Do you actively look for this content? Or do you just interact with the ones that appear in your feed in social media or YouTube?
When do you normally watch these videos? (lunch time, dinner time, etc)
What do you do when you like one of the recipe videos?
    Do you share the recipe videos in your social media?
    Do you save the videos in your social media accounts?

Have you tagged your friend in the comments so they can also watch the video?

What is the reason why you interact with this content?

Do you think these videos are a source of entertainment or information? Why?

What do you think are the benefits of using online cooking videos regularly? (clarification: in the sense of dedicating more or less time to other daily activities, or doing things that you do not use to do before)

Cooking procedures

Can you please describe the cooking process you follow (since looking for inspiration to eating)?

Did you buy additional ingredients that you didn't have at home?

Do you do the shopping from your mobile phone?

Check if they make shopping lists.

What do you do when you are not familiar with one of the ingredients they use in the videos?

Have you tried new products by cooking a new dish shown in the videos?

When you are ready to cook one of the recipes, do you take your phone to follow the steps or how do you watch them?

Since you use online cooking videos, have you changed your eating habits (in the sense of eating with people (family, friends, workmates, partner…)?

How does your cooking process change if you cook for yourself or for other people?

Would you cook every day in the style of these videos?

That is it. Thank you a lot for your time.

Appendix 2: Consent Form

LUSEM Master Thesis Consent Form

- I, XXX, voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.
- I understand that even if I agree to participate now, I can withdraw at any time or refuse to answer any question without any consequences of any kind.
- I have had the purpose and nature of the study explained to me in writing and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.
- I understand that I will not benefit directly from participating in this research.
- I agree to my interview being audio-recorded and visually-recorded.
- I understand that all information I provide for this study will be treated confidentially.
- I understand that the information I provide will be used for academic purposes and will be a part of a study published online.
- I understand that I can freely contact any of the people involved in the research to ask for further clarification and information.
- Nationality: XXX
- Age: XXX
- Gender: ☐ Female ☐ Male ☐ Other

Signature of participant   Place and Date

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Appendix 3: Participants Overview

Name	Age	Nationality	Living in	Gender
Agni	36	Mexican	New Zealand	Female
Bonnie	20	American	Sweden	Female
Daniel	37	Mexican	France	Male
Diana	31	Mexican	United States	Female
Erik	31	Mexican	Sweden	Male
Iva	24	Croatian	Sweden	Female
María José	30	Ecuadorian	Sweden	Female
Paola	24	Spanish	Spain	Female
Rohit	27	Indian	Sweden	Male
Sophia	29	Chinese	Sweden	Female
Vilma	48	Salvadorian	United States	Female