"Tell me what you eat

and I will tell you who you are

(and where you are from)."

Food, culture and re-membering in New Zealand:

A case study approach.

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Abstract

This thesis focusses on processes of re-membering and the transmission of culturally patterned food-related practices across generations. Of particular interest is how the preparation, serving and eating of food acts to keep cultural traditions and memories alive. The theoretical framework for this research is informed by social constructionism, with ethnographic and hermeneutic traditions influencing methods used. The domestic space of the home provided a highly relevant research site where everyday food practices were enabled and enacted. Three dual-heritage, multi-generational households took part in a series of emplaced biographical 'go-along', 'eat-along' and photo-elicitation interviews. These went beyond just conversing and included the use of mapping, participant observation, photo-elicitation and go-along interview techniques, gridding (of photos), and the sharing of meals. The analysis considers each case in turn. The tension between past lives and current lived reality in the Marton household requires both Amy and Paul to construct their identities and sense of self on a daily basis. The shared cultural values of the Barrett household mitigates their differing ethnic heritages and food traditions, contributing towards emotional harmony within the home. The Linton household exemplifies the time scarcity common to many modern-day families. This lack of time directly impacts their everyday food-related practices. This thesis demonstrates that food – and its surrounding practices – acts as a tangible, visceral nexus for abstract concepts such as culture, class, and identity. Food related practices are deeply connected to processes of re-membering, identity construction, a sense of place and social relationships. The case studies in this thesis showcase the fluidity of culture, the hybridic nature of individual and group membership, and the changing nature of familial practices. The key themes of time, tradition, culture and change and further discussed. Essentially, food is interwoven into our everyday practices and embodies who we are and where we are from.

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Chapter one: Introduction

It goes without saying that around the world people grow and buy food, store it, prepare, eat and share it. Our physical and social selves require food for sustenance and growth. Countries grow and export food. Multi-nationals make billions of dollars selling pre-packaged and pre-cooked food. Yet, food is more than mere nutrition, a source of income, or a contributor to a nation's Gross Domestic Product. The ways in which people source, prepare and eat food reflects their social and cultural identities. What we eat reflects our social class, ethnic heritage, place, associated identities, memories, and belief systems. Despite the increasing globalisation of food, we do not have a global cuisine. Instead local cuisine still takes pride of place as people identify with their heritage through the way in which food is prepared and eaten. The food we eat, along with the way we eat it and who we eat it with, signifies who we are and where we are from. This thesis explores the ways in which food-related practices within the domestic space of the home contribute to a sense of self, invoke cultural heritages and identities, and processes of re-membering.

This chapter is divided into six sections. The first locates this thesis within the existing social science literature on food. As the literature is extensive and spans many disciplines, I have chosen to focus this section on scholarship that has been instrumental in creating an understanding of the relationships between food, culture and identity. Following on from this, section two outlines key aspects of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) in order to provide a framework for discussion of the multiple connections between people, place, culture, identity and food. ANT is especially salient when discussing wider cultural processes of re-membering where the group is enacted by the individual. In the third section I focus on the cultural aspects of re-membering and how these processes occur and

influence wider social practices. I then move on to discuss the relationship between food and place. Particular attention is paid to the significance of place (and food) with regard to belonging and social interaction. In the fifth section I discuss the many and varied social aspects of food preparation and consumption. Ideas of ritual, meaning and representation are connected to, and embodied within, the social practices surrounding what we eat and who we eat it with. Lastly I consider how each of these sections and the theories and concepts discussed within them relate specifically to my chosen thesis topic.

Food, culture and identity

The dominant approach to food research in the physical and health sciences focuses on nutrition and reduces food to the provision of fuel for the body and mind (Hoffman, 2003; Scrinis, 2008). Attention is given to dissecting food types into calorie counts and issues relating to recommended daily intakes. Whilst food is about sustenance and nutrition, researchers increasingly recognize that food is also about social interaction, cultural reproduction and issues of heritage and place (Bell & Valentine, 1997). Practices shaping and surrounding food refract cultural ways of being (Caputo, 2011). In comparison to the reductionist approach of nutrition-based research, anthropological and sociological literature has considered the connection between food, culture and identity. French writer Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin wrote in *The Physiology of Taste* (1826/1949) "Tell me what you eat, and I will tell you what you are." His words are still highly relevant, with food-related practices continuing to significantly contribute towards our understandings of who people are.

Reflecting the increased engagement with the social and cultural aspects of food, Lévi-Strauss (1970-1981) draws on the work of Brillat-Savarin in relating categories of food, such as raw, cooked, and rotten to cultural values embodied within South American mythologies. Lévi-Strauss utilises food as a conceptual tool in the formation of abstract notions of taboo and social system. The idea that what we eat reflects who we are is

a key concept woven into Volume One of his *Mythologies: The Raw and the Cooked.* This connection between food and cultural belief systems and values is also explored further in subsequent research (see Table 1), with food-related practices interrogated and interpreted with regard to abstract notions such as culture and identity.

Table 1: Processes and phases of food. (Source: Goody, 1982, p. 32)

Process	Phase	Locus
Growing	Production	Farm
Allocating/storing	Distribution	Granary/market
Cooking	Preparation	Kitchen
Eating	Consumption	Table

For Goody (1982) the transition of food from the garden to the table can be separated into four distinct loci, as shown in Table 1. Each of these loci are tied to processes and phases that interact with notions of cuisine and class, simultaneously separating and connecting groups of people in society. Goody's work marked a turning point in anthropological literature, with food becoming a popular way for researchers to examine large and varied theoretical concerns (Mintz & Bois, 2002). For example, Mintz (1985) in *Sweetness and Power* used sugar as a case study to illustrate the broad societal processes of political and economic value creation. He discussed the way in which sugar production and consumption reflected wider societal changes caused by the industrialization of food production and distribution. The increasing length of time for food storage, and the increasing globalisation of the food market has had significant effects on Goody's first and second processes – growing, food allocation and distribution. However, it is the processes involved in the third and fourth phases and loci which are of primary interest to this thesis. As Goody (1982, pp. 32-33) writes:

[It is] the consuming of prepared food, both the cooked and the raw, where the identity and differentiation of each group is brought out in the practice of eating together or separately, as well as in the content of what is eaten by different collectivities; this is the arena of feasts and fasts, of prohibitions and preferences, of communal and domestic meals, of table manners and modes of serving and service. (1982, pp. 32-33)

It is not just notions of class and culture that are reflected in food consumption, but also idealised representations of the family unit and notions of gender. The gendered nature of domestic food preparation and consumption has been extensively studied and discussed (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Mattingly & Bianchi, 2003). In particular, the way in which the 'traditional' preparation and consumption of the home-cooked dinner meal within a British domestic setting expresses and maintains patriarchal authority (Charles & Kerr, 1988; Murcott, 1982, 1983). While a more thorough discussion of the genderization of food is beyond the scope of this thesis, I am briefly mentioning it here as gender plays a role in the formation of self-identity and in the various social roles that people identify with. The social, political, and the sexual are all linked to both food and our sense of self (Probyn, 2000). Creating a sense of self is complex and multi-faceted, and this is reflected in the multitude of foodstuffs we purchase and the myriad of ways in which we prepare, eat and share food with others.

There is considerable identity work involved in the preparation, cooking, and serving of domestic dinners (Bugge & Almås, 2006). The choice of foods purchased and prepared contributes towards the expression of identity and culture at individual, family and larger group levels (Dowler, Kneafsey, Cox, & Holloway, 2009). Groups can also project their identities through methods of food preparation, as well as where and with whom the food is consumed (Lokuruka, 2006). The ways in which food is produced, handled, cooked, served, and eaten, inform and

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construct collective identities about self and the other, as well as contributing towards notions of the self (Jansen, 1997). These notions of the self, as well as the way in which people identify with a particular group through food choice, preparation and consumption is a key area of interest in this thesis.

The presence – or absence – of certain foodstuffs also serves as distinctive cultural and religious markers. Strong links exist between religious belief, food and memory, with eating, re-membering and religious belief related in many parts of the world (Feeley-Harnik, 1995). Ancient traditional (religious) practices are exemplified in food practices (Feeley-Harnik, 1995) and adapted to modern day life (Bahloul, 1992). Practices such as Ramadan and Lent, kosher and halal, are reminders of the links between religion and food (Desjardins, 2004). They reflect the material dimensions of social boundaries, both within and without the domestic space of the home (Bahloul, 1992).

Within Pasifika nations, prayers are often given before the communal consumption of food, serving to "reinforce the status of food as an element within an overall structure of sacred life sustaining, meaning giving relationships" (p. 16). In this context, food becomes symbolic of the physical, emotional and spiritual relationship with the land and with other people (King et al., 2010). Food also functions symbolically in other religious settings, such as when the Passover meal is celebrated in commemoration of past stories, or when the Arabic coffee ritual calls on the divine, or in the remembrance embodied within Christian communion rituals (Desjardins, 2004; Fortier, 1999). The consumption (or not) of particular foods reminds us of a religion's ethnic roots, while simultaneously serving to distinguish between specific religious, ethnic, and cultural groups (Desjardins, 2004; Dodson & Gilkes, 1995; Feeley-Harnik, 1994; Van Henten, 1999).

The common ground of food prohibitions transcends historically particular definitions of specific religions and instead acts as a vehicle

through which social relations are fostered and social identities formed (Feeley-Harnik, 1995). Rules surrounding what is considered edible - and what is not - reflect wider cultural beliefs, attitudes and values (King et al., 2010; Montanari, 2006). The ways in which food is produced, prepared and eaten are inherently cultural, and transmit cultural messages about who people are (Kohn, 2013). The tools used in sowing and harvesting food, the transformation of food through cultural practices in the kitchen, and the rules surrounding what is deemed edible and what is prohibited all provide pathways through which food takes shape as an element of cultural identities, and becomes the expression of said identities (Montanari, 2006). The material nature of food, and its associated practices and taste formations, thus plays a key role in the creation and maintenance of socio-cultural identities based on elements of ethnicity, nation, gender and class (de Solier & Duruz, 2013).

Depending on a person's specific ethnic and cultural background, the way in which particular cultural dishes – for example stuffed turkey and pumpkin pie – are enacted may be adapted and changed in order to better represent their shared identities (Kohn, 2013). Where these dishes are modified and changed, the resulting hybrid tastes evoke a sense of wider connectedness beyond the here and now (Supski, 2013). Take, for example, the ubiquitous sponge cake in New Zealand, which not only admits the baker into a wider Antipodean cultural cooking tradition, but also creates a link between current everyday practice, colonial British origins, and early settler heritage: to taste the sponge cake, then, is sense its meanings, stories and histories (de Solier & Duruz, 2013; Supski, 2013). Our understanding of specific dishes, the way in which we think about them, and our approach to eating them is inherently cultural (Ferguson, 2005).

As well as reflecting individual and group identities, ethnic backgrounds and cultural values, food can also bridge cultural gaps within communities. Sharing a meal together provides a simple way of cultivating social inclusion (Jones, 2002), fosters community amongst disparate

groups of people (Harper, 2006), and contributes towards positive social interactions between different social groups (Watland, Hallenbeck, & Kresse, 2008). The act of coming together and sharing a meal creates a hybrid space whereby people can build community by forging connections with each other (Ruby, 2012). For students from a variety of disparate cultural backgrounds, eating dishes together from different ethnic heritages created social harmony and community cohesion (Harper, 2006). It is not just eating meals together that increases positive social interactions – the act of cooking together also facilitates community cohesion and provides opportunity for creating understanding between people from different cultural groups (Gatenby, Donnelly, & Connell, 2011).

This section has outlined key historical works related to the cultural representations of food, and situated this thesis within past research with regard to notions of class, culture, gender, religious belief and ethnicity. Each of these dimensions of life contributes towards a sense of self and the construction of our identities. The ways in which food is sourced, prepared and consumed all reflect various identities and are intricately connected to our cultural beliefs. This understanding is a key precept to this thesis, and is one that has been built on over time. Following on from Brillat-Savarin, we see the use of food by Lévi-Strauss as a way to explore the embodying complex mythologies, Goody's notions of class and food, Mintz's use of sugar to show economic and political change, Charles & Kerr and Murcott identifying multiple cultural elements embodied within the dinner meal, and more recently, a wider body of literature from multiple disciplines discussing aspects of gender, religious belief, and shared histories. It is within these ideas of culture, food and identity that I situate my thesis and look to further explore them with regard to concepts of social connectedness, material culture and re-membering in everyday life.

Actor-network theory

Actor-Network Theory (Latour, 2005) orients us towards one way of ordering complex social processes. It looks to stabilise social order within time and space, and treats all categories of actors (natural/social, local/global, and economic/cultural) as symmetrical effects of relational practices (Jóhannesson & Bærenholdt, 2009). With regards to this thesis, ANT provides us with a cohesive framework for considering the role of material objects, relational networks, time and space in relation to the complex, layered, and multi-faceted concepts of memory, processes of re-membering, and food-related practices.

As a theory of social interaction, ANT considers all objects in our life-worlds to be actors within that world and as indisputably connected to our social and relational networks (Latour, 2005). Material objects, through their interactions with people, become actors in our lifeworlds (Jóhannesson & Bærenholdt, 2009), solidifying social relations and allowing these to endure through space and time (Murdoch, 1998). We constantly use material objects to signify social orders, relationships, shared practices and identities (Latour, 2013). The division between active human beings and passive material objects become blurred as material objects are worked upon, practiced, enacted and re-enacted in our social worlds (Jóhannesson & Bærenholdt, 2009). As a result, our social practices are not easily separated out from the objects we use to enact these relationships (Latour, 2005), making material objects in our life-worlds not neutral, objective components, but rather actors that effect durable social interaction(s) (Jóhannesson & Bærenholdt, 2009). The lack of distinction between people and objects in ANT is particularly salient in consumption-related studies (Duff, 2012), given that food is consumed and in doing so becomes physically inseparable from ourselves.

Actor-Network Theory provides us with a useful way of conceptualising spatial relationships and the way(s) in which they are woven into complex networks (Murdoch, 1998). Social, technical and

natural objects mix seamlessly within networks, framing our interactions, shaping our activities, directing our movements, and infiltrating our very selves (Murdoch, 1998). Networks draw actors into new configurations (Murdoch, 1998) and through processes of negotiation, representation, and displacement establish connections between, and associations with, actors, material objects and places (Jóhannesson & Bærenholdt, 2009; Murdoch, 1998). These actor-networks can render distant things proximate and vice versa: things that are close together, in terms of cultural affinity, can seem to be very far apart with regard to (unilinear) time passed, and things that are close together in time may be very far apart in terms of their relationships (Jóhannesson & Bærenholdt, 2009).

Central to ANT are notions of space and time. Actor-Network Theory connects places and specific sites to people, to social practices, to time and to space (Latour, 2005). Of particular interest with regard to framing processes of re-membering food traditions (discussed below) is the way in which ANT articulates aspects of place, time and space. Rather than progressing in a unilinear fashion, time is conceived of as polychromic and multitemporal (Serres & Latour, 1995). It can be compressed, slowed down, or sped up (Latour, 2005), and both effects, and is affected by, the relationship between objects, events and places (Serres & Latour, 1995). An example of this is when one returns to the place (grandparents' home) of childhood Christmas dinners with one's own children. In contrast, places exist as anchor points in both time and space, connecting the past with the present (Latour, 2005). Times and spaces can be folded into complex geometries and topologies through a series of connections and disconnections, creating a number of co-existing space-times (Serres & Latour, 1995). This means that diverse places and times can be gathered together by actor-networks, which draw from common frames of (cultural) reference (Murdoch, 1998). It also connects neatly with concepts of re-membering, as I will discuss in the next section.

Re-membering

Memory is not just an individual occurrence (Simandan, 2011), but rather is both individual and social, embodied and cultural, conscious and unconscious, and encompasses an awareness of the past as something meaningfully connected to the present (Cubitt, 2008). Memory is both vertical and horizontal, containing cultural heritage and the transmission of memories over time through familial discourses and wider cultural narratives (Pickering & Keightley, 2013). These memories bring a sense of self-identity and connectedness to others (Cait, 2008). The interconnectedness that encultured individuals have within wider social networks (Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010) is reflected in the interdependence of social, cultural and individual memories (Cubitt, 2008). It is about recalling the past and actively reconstructing a version of events for the presence.

At a collective level, memory is both social and cultural and intimately connected to time, place and material objects. Collective memory is a reconstruction of the past in the light of the present, and commemorates - and is strengthened by - calendar events and celebrations (Halbwachs, 1992/1925). It is (re)constructed by repeating and restoring selected events from the past, events which symbolically (re)connect people to the original time and place of the event (Lev-Aladgem, 2006). Collective memories reflect the culture of the society within which they exist through the re-membering of certain events, and their re-making through the re-telling and re-fashioning of historical events to fit within the dominant narrative of the society of the story-tell-er (Whittaker, 2009).

Notions of cultural memory and social memory intertwine and overlap. Social memory implies that accumulated wisdom, knowledge, skills and experience are passed on within a community, and that histories of decision-making come to bear on current pathways (Wilson, 2013). Like cultural memories, social memories reside in people, institutions and

places (Adger, 2000). It is the combined effects of knowledge, skills and experience that make up a community's memory (Adger, 2000). A lack of re-membering social memories can negatively impact communities after natural disasters, as previously learned (such as in New Orleans when Hurricane Betsy flooded the city in 1965 and historical records neglected, as shown in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in 2005) or not yet learned (for example, the 2010 earthquake in Christchurch, New Zealand) lessons are forgotten and/or discarded (Colten & Sumpter, 2009; Wilson, 2013). Contributing to this 'forgetting' may be the dominant cultural approach in both the United States and in New Zealand of storing memories in institutions and places rather than people, neglecting the transmission of social memories to subsequent generations (Colten & Sumpter, 2009), and the discarding of engaging in acts of re-membrance (Wilson, 2013).

Re-membering is more than just the process of recalling specific, individualised memories. It is the "…calling attention to the reaggregation of members, the figures who belong to one's life story, one's own prior selves, as well as significant others who are part of the story." (Myerhoff, 1982, p. 111). The process of re-membering involves drawing from wider social and cultural memories, adding them to our present day narratives, and utilising them to inform and make meaning of our everyday practices (Pickering & Keightley, 2013). This process involves actively (re)constructing one's engagements with the world (Keightley, 2010) and (re)connects social, cultural and individual memories of past events, people and relationships with present lived lives (White, 1997, 2007). Such navigating of complex temporal narratives involves ascribing meaning to the past in relation to the present (Keightley, 2010), and allows for significant relationships to be lived out in everyday mundane routines (Carlson & Erickson, 2000; Sax, 2006). These (re)constructions take place through the narratives that people tell:

> The repository of memories is kept open and enriched through stories, stories that in turn become part of history, transforming the collective, even the official record of events (Knepper, 2006, p. 84).

Embedded in these re-membered stories are the often invisible systems and structures that make up aspects everyday life, which can be explored through examining said narratives (Keightley, 2010). Where memories are part of one's history they contribute towards a sense of community (Morgan, 2013). It is in the (re)telling of their histories and stories that individuals (re)connect to wider social and cultural narratives (Casella, 2012). This community of memory (Shenhav, 2002) is not fixed and eternal, but rather an on-going, fluid construction that is engaged in by people living in the present (Lev-Aladgem, 2006) as they (re)tell their collective stories, their 'constitutive narrative(s)' (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, & Tipton, 1985).

The ways in which memories are expressed, transmitted and re-membered differs according to the cultural practices of each society. Cultural memories are re-interpreted according to the beliefs and values of the culture within which they exist (Whittaker, 2009). For some societies, museums represent a culturally significant way of re-membering and imaging the past (Field, 2012). In museums, memories are contained within artefacts deemed important and placed on display (Andermann & Arnold-de Simine, 2012). Other forms of re-membering such as art (Valensi, 1995) and theatre (Rokem, 2000) symbolically reconnect the viewer and the performer to historical narratives (Lev-Aladgem, 2006). Story-telling, along with songs and singing in one's own language, is predominantly utilised within oral cultures, and is particularly effective where memories do not 'fit' within dominant cultural and historical narratives (Lev-Aladgem, 2006; Troutman, 2009). The use of audio-visual equipment, and the re-membering of history though the form of movies (Field, 2012), represents a modern-day form of story-telling.

Significant memories can also become attached to specific objects, giving them social and cultural meaning (Olsen, 2003), such as an heirloom from a loved aunt in the form of a recipe book. These material objects can come to embody both familial and cultural memories

(Whittaker, 2009). These objects, and their symbolic associations, are at once anchored in tradition and ritual, but also reconfigured on occasion in relation to memories distant and near (Kohn, 2013). As such, a prepared dish becomes an 'artefact of culture in the making' – a cultural site of fragmentation and the reconstruction of wholeness through the evocation of memory (Kohn, 2013). Through the process of re-membering, material objects, such as recipe books, can become durable texts that incorporate everyday life with cookery writing and recipes (Supski, 2013). In doing so they are transformed into objects of remembrance – repositories for family memories – that embody a sense of connectedness to family members no longer present (Supski, 2013). After all, people are tactile beings existing in a material world, and as such our memories are intimately connected to our senses and to material objects (Olsen, 2003). Mundane acts like cooking dinner require the use of things such as cooking utensils and recipe books. These material objects can come to embody specific memories, both individual and cultural, transforming them into sacred artefacts, elevating mundane habits and routines into rituals of remembrance.

Memory is collectively (and ideologically) determined in that histories are collectively re-membered and also collectively forgotten (Billling, 1990; Lev-Aladgem, 2006). Just as community re-membering creates a shared sense of history and contributes towards the construction of community (Morgan, 2013), so too does the act of forgetting. Cultural memories can be discarded or actively ignored when they do not fit with the dominant narrative of who we are or want to be (Kovacs, 2008; Lev-Aladgem, 2006).

Memory, culture and place are deeply intertwined (Simandan, 2011). Ceremonial or celebrated places of memory are those systems of preservation that institutionalize the collective memory in the form of rituals, statues, commemoration places, albums, school books, ceremonies, and so on (Lev-Aladgem, 2006; Shenhav, 2002). The construction of specific places as repositories of cultural memories is in

itself a cultural act (Whittaker, 2009): for some cultures, museums are considered to be the appropriate place for the repository of memories (Andermann & Arnold-de Simine, 2012). Specific people may also be entrusted with songs and stories of significance, and given the responsibility for the preservation and transmission of these cultural memories (Attwood & Magowan, 2001; Brown, 2012; Bucher, 2001).

Despite the (European) cultural construction of museums as 'sites of memory', significant sites often exist outside of these specified places. These sites can provoke powerful emotions and memories: in South Africa for example, sites such as the pass office, police station, and migrant worker hostels can serve as triggers of memories of a life under Apartheid (Field, 2012). In countries such as Australia and New Zealand, large stone buildings are read by members of the settler societies as markers of settlement and progress and by many indigenous people as markers of oppression, confiscation and domination. These sites become incorporated into our being, recreating "into our awareness a number of past episodes that carried a significant emotional weight for us" (Simandan, 2011, p. 23). The visceral nature of these places of significance is (re)produced through people's imaginations, memories, emotions and feelings (Thrift, 2009; Trell & Van Hoven, 2010).

As a visceral act, the eating of specific foods of significance can (re)connect the past with the present (Supski, 2013), prompt one to look forward to certain events (Sutton, 2001), and still time by recreating past occurrences (Seremetakis, 1996). Processes of re-membering also involve the more intimate spaces of domestic homes such as kitchens and outdoor barbecue areas. The experience of food evokes recollection through emotional and physical sensation (Holtzman, 2006). This parallels notions of Bourdieu's (1977) habitus, Connerton's (1989) notion of bodily memory and connects to ANT in that food is conceptualised as a concrete object that embodies relational networks in space and time. Eating facilitates re-membering by anchoring people in socially significant places (Dodson & Gilkes, 1995) that can contain and order our fragmentary

sensory knowledge of events, allowing us to recall them together through communal acts of re-membrance such as eating together (Feeley-Harnik, 1994, 1995). Even where cultural memories of places and sites has faded and fragmented, knowledge of specific dishes may still be retained, acting as repositories of social memory (Dodson & Gilkes, 1995). I turn now to discuss more specifically the connection between place and food, with particular emphasis on the importance of place in identity construction at both personal and collective levels.

Place and food

Re-membering is not limited to individual narratives and recollections that are solely generated by people's internal worlds. The *places* where memories occur, as well as the places where memories are re-membered, contain collective markers of identity and culture. The association between memory and particular locations contributes towards a sense of connection, belonging, and history (Hodgetts, Stolte, et al., 2010; Yuen, 2005). Particular landscapes can be evocative of collective memories, with certain sites such as war memorials and battlegrounds set aside as commemorative places for cultural re-membering (Landzelius, 2003). These specific places for commemorations allow memories to be relived and reprocessed in a ritualised pattern of continuity that reinforces a collective sense of belonging (Fortier, 1999). Places often signify shared histories and experiences, locating culture within particular terrains (Fortier, 1999). Even where specific cultural memories are vague or lost, places can become anchor-points for memories and emotions through the process of re-membering and the piecing together of pieces from the past for use in the present (Davies, 2012).

The place(s) where food is grown and produced (Goody's first phase) is also of social and cultural significance, often comprising key aspects of the landscape of national identity in many parts of the world – rice patties in Asia, sheep on the hills in New Zealand – these speak to the collective identities of these societies. The significance of place can be

seen in the value that migrants place on foods from 'back home' (Collins, 2008; Hsiao & Wan, 2007; Mellin-Olsen & Wandel, 2005). If foods from their homeland are unavailable, cooking and eating locally grown familiar foods are an acceptable substitution – it is in both the consumption and the preparation of familiar food and drink that everyday life from another place is recreated (Brah, 1996; Hage, 1997). The polysensual and visceral nature of food preparation and consumption reminds people of their cultural heritage by evoking childhood memories and initiating nostalgia of another time and place (Hayes-Conroy & Hayes-Conroy, 2008; Rosenbaum, 2005). These tangible sensations and reminders provide migrants with a connection to their cultural home, and thus the act of eating specific dishes becomes an act of re-membrance (Collins, 2008).

The association between food, place and people is epitomised in conceptions of national, regional and local cuisines, and in the use of foods as emblems and markers of national, regional and local identities (Blank, 2005; Cook & Crang, 1996). The provision and subsequent consumption of a dish provides a nexus between bodily functions, social interaction and place (Bell & Valentine, 1997; Probyn, 2000). Identifying with a place helps provide a sense of stability and continuity (Yuen, 2005), taking shape over time through social practices, bodily placement and social interactions (Hodgetts, Stolte, et al., 2010). Place and proximity to others are deeply connected to social interaction (Probyn, 2001), and it is these social practices that give meaning to places and situations (Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010), contributing to the construction of identity and belonging (Fortier, 1999). The way in which people tell others where they are from when telling them who they are showcases the importance of place in identity formation (Hodgetts, Stolte, et al., 2010).

As a place of consumption and production within which people dwell, the domestic space of the home is related to identity, security, trust, routine and care (Mallett, 2004), and is a key space where relationships and structures are enacted in the social organisation of everyday life (Saunders & Williams, 1988). The rhythms of everyday family life in turn

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shape the physical space of the home (Charles & Kerr, 1988), and together with elements of materiality and social relationship, the home becomes interwoven with a sense of self (Hodgetts et al., 2011). For many people, the home is a site for a myriad of food-related practices, with dining rooms and kitchens typically hubs of daily activity (Dowling & Power, 2012). Food flows into, around, and out of the home as it is sourced, stored, prepared, eaten, and shared. The ways in which food is sourced, prepared, and consumed within the home, along with the choice of food, contributes towards the social and cultural identity of those who live there (Probyn, 2000). It is a cultural and material space where domestic and family practices, social norms and consumption practices influence and shape the everyday lived experience (Dowling & Power, 2012).

The social and community life of food

Across various societies, the eating of food is recognized as an essential social activity that binds and reminds people of the broader socio-cultural universes to which they belong (Lokuruka, 2006). What people eat, how they prepare and offer it, how they behave at the table, with whom they eat, and when they eat are central to the definition and redefinition of social relations and broader traditions (Jansen, 1997). The social practices around food are just as important and significant as the food itself, in that they reflect familiarity and a shared sense of belonging (Collins, 2008). Cultural values can determine whether food items are sacred, taboo, or regularly consumed at the dinner table (Bell & Valentine, 1997). The types of food eaten at the dinner table solidifies identity and membership with a cultural group, and sets people apart (Mintz & Bois, 2002). Everyday practices around food preparation reflect the value of daily food as a way of understanding social cohesion (Smith, 2006). The art of cooking and the act of eating express and establish class, religious, or ethnic differences (Goody, 1982). The selection of foods, their volume and ways of preparation, their composition and presentation, the use of

utensils, the seating arrangement and eating manners, all confirm a bond to a social group, effectively drawing a social boundary (Jansen, 1997).

Everyday food consumption can be regarded as a "psychological internalisation of socially acceptable foodstuffs and in which it should be said that domestic meals are a metaphorical extension of the ritual feast" (Smith, 2006, p. 481). However, not all food and meals are considered the same. People distinguish between everyday meals, convenience foods, and special occasions which are associated with distinct and often time-consuming food rituals. The concept of ritual is commonly used to describe the ways in which interactions are structured and events observed (Bewley, 1995). Food is an integral part of many rituals, with particular foods often associated with specific ritualised events (Feeley-Harnik, 1995). It is not just specific foods and their ritualized preparation that is of importance. The visceral act of eating together is also highly significant as it reaffirms and transforms relationships with others (Mintz & Bois, 2002). The sharing of food shapes and alters social settings, increasing positive social interactions across a broader range of people than would otherwise interact (Desjardins, 2004).

The choice of foods eaten is not just related to availability, quantity and quality, but also to meaning and representation (Caplan, 1994). Just as health-related activities acquire meaning and significance on the basis of their relationship to broader social practices (Mielewczyk & Willig, 2007), so too do food-related activities acquire meaning and significance because of their relationship to social practices. According to Hodgetts et al., medications are "complex, socially embedded objects with histories and memories that are ingrained within contemporary relationships or care and home-making practices" (2011, p. 353). The same can be said about food and the way in which it is brought into the home from 'outside', rearranged through culturally determined cooking practices, and consumed while being woven into relationships, identities and meanings. The social life of food, thus, means that it is representative of individual

and group identities, care, and relationships as well as health and moralities (Miller, 1998).

Chapter discussion

The social and cultural meanings and representations of food are difficult to distinguish from food-related practices; the cultural values, attitudes and beliefs associated with food are embedded within the social practices surrounding food (King et al., 2010). This enculturation of food into our everyday practices creates a challenge for me, as the researcher, to see and to tease out said sociocultural practices. We are all encultured beings, enacting our culture in mundane ways as part of our everyday life, constantly navigating and re-negotiating collective and shared understandings and practices (Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010; Sonn & Quayle, 2013).

Culture is central to identity negotiation (Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010). Cultural identities are the product of shared histories and related to specific environmental and geographical places of origin (Montanari, 2006). Notwithstanding, attempts to group foods into tidy regional, national or 'ethnic' cuisines ignores both the hybridic nature of food geographies and of cultural practices (Cook, 2008). While place is important, it is the connection to a sense of place, the identities and shared historical stories contained within – and carried by – particular foods and food-related practices that are of interest in this thesis. Culture is a part of everyday life (Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010) and is messy, changing, heterogeneous, embodied, diasporic, leaky and fluid (Cook, 2008; Duncan & Duncan, 2004). It is neither static nor fixed, but rather changes across time and space and is influenced by socio-historical and political-economic events (Hulko et al., 2010).

A useful framework for considering the multiple ways in which food interacts with culture, identity, and a sense of self is that of Actor-Network Theory. This theory allows us to explore the ways in which the visceral

nature of food can transport us in time and space, (re)connecting us to people and place(s) no longer present. The concept that material objects become actors in our lives, embodying memories and relational networks, provides us with one way of discussing food-related practices and their connection with processes of re-membering, culture, and the webs of relational networks within which we enact our everyday lives.

In this thesis I move beyond the individualised social cognitive approach to memory that dominates psychological research into areas of community, material, and cultural memory in order to unpack broader forms of re-membering. These broader processes highlight the relational and interactional nature of re-membering and its importance in enacting cultural ways of being. Re-membering is not just about recall or understanding events. It is about re-joining a group and tradition through material practices. These practices are the memories and provide a means of re-enacting one's membership within groups and traditions. Re-membering is fundamentally communal and through its practice we see the group in the individual.

Place, and where things are from, is intimately connected with food – where it is grown, bought, prepared and eaten, all embody representations of place. Dishes eaten are emplaced within specific locales; associations between people, food, and place all converge in dishes consumed. This can be seen in the way migrants often maintain their food traditions from their countries of origin. Maintaining food traditions allows for the maintenance of boundaries and a sense of ethnic identity whilst still providing space to embrace new ways of being in the country of choice. Food traditions also reflect social and cultural belief systems.

The way in which people identify with a particular group through food choice, preparation and consumption is a key area of interest in this thesis. Processes of re-membering facilitate the construction of identities through the connection of past events to present relational network and

everyday food-related practices. The preparation and consumption of food is thus deeply connected to social groups and individual identities. These identities determine the way in which food is eaten and who with, setting apart and solidifying membership with particular groups.

In conclusion, food, and its surrounding practices, evoke taste, memory, feelings and emotions and is deeply connected to social relations, identity and selfhood. The consumption of food relates as much to notions of culture, identity, place and belonging than it does to ideals of health and nutrition. In telling what, how, and who they eat with, people are also telling who they are and where they are from. This thesis explores the multitude of ways in which individuals and families weave food into their relationships and identities, giving practices surrounding food meaning and value.

Chapter Two: Research approach

This chapter outlines my research approach, which is designed to ensure an ethical and participatory process, whilst still capturing the everyday nature of food-related practices. Of central concern are the way that these practices act as a nexus for processes of re-membering, the enactment of cultural values and identity formation. To begin with, I outline theoretical assumptions underpinning my research. Particular attention is given to social constructionism, hermeneutics, and symbolic interactionism as frameworks for understanding how people make sense of their everyday lives. Following on from this I justify utilising an ethnographic case study approach for exploring these processes and practices. The next section outlines the empirical procedures used in the construction of each ethnographically-orientated case study. Particular attention is given to providing a rationale for the use of photo-elicitation and go-along interviewing techniques. In the building of each case, multiple interviews were conducted whereby participant's revealed how food came into their homes, what they did with it once it was there, and who they ate it with. Section four describes my endeavours to ensure that my research was conducted in an ethical manner. It includes how participants were recruited, informed consent obtained, active participation encouraged, and my sensitivity to issues of diversity. I consider reflexivity as one way of enhancing culturally responsive research. The final section discusses the analysis process during which aspects of everyday life were interrogated and interpreted. The conceptualization of the researcher as bricoleur informs this process.

Theoretical framework

Social constructionism provides the epistemological basis for this thesis. Constructionism posits that meaning comes into existence through our engagements with the world (Crotty, 1998). Thus, meaning is not

simply discovered, but rather constructed through on-going engagements. Social constructionism offers an explanation of how the world is constructed through social practices (Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010) and acknowledges the social origin of meaning (Crotty, 1998). It proposes that our knowledge of the world is an imperfect representation (Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010) and is primarily an interpretative endeavour that seeks to provide the best possible explanation (Polkinghorne, 1983).

Ethnographic and hermeneutic traditions that are also informed by social constructionism inform my research orientation and influence the methods used. Social constructionism, ethnography, and hermeneutics all seek to understand how people make sense of their everyday lives and the mundane social practices in which they are engaged. This is done by examining the meanings that people construct of their world, their place in it, how they interpret it, and how they act upon it (Gordon, 2007; Gordon, Holland, & Lahelma, 2001). These are all inherently embedded in socio-cultural traditions, and specific to particular times and places (Lock & Strong, 2010). A key objective is to explore the taken-for-granted order of everyday life (Gordon, 2007). It is assumed that there is an on-going dialogue between the 'real', and the ways in which what is 'real' is interpreted by people in their everyday lives (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) and, in turn, researchers.

A hermeneutic approach suggests that any knowledge claim will always be partial, and related to some historical tradition, however rigorous, complete or encompassing that tradition may be (Lock & Strong, 2010). Similarly, Polkinghorne (1983) has argued that social researchers need to seek the most appropriate explanation rather than a fixed and universal truth. From this perspective research becomes an interpretive endeavour, where shared understandings are arrived at and transformation of meaning occurs (Lock & Strong, 2010). This does not mean that the researcher supplies the understandings and transformative meaning for participants, but rather that the participant interprets their world for the researcher. In this thesis I seek to interpret the social world of

the participants by seeking to understand, interpret, and analyse their everyday practices and associated understandings.

A key focal point in psychological research into everyday practice is people's use language to make sense of their lifeworlds. This is often referred to as the discursive or narrative turn. Recently, scholars have pointed to the limitations of a sole focus on language. Although language is often important for meaning making, there are also embodied practices that are never fully reflected in talk (Lock & Strong, 2010). We are presently seeing a competing materialist turn in psychology focused on objects and places as sites for meaning making that informs my discussion below.

According to Heidegger (1969), understanding occurs in largely taken-for-granted ways that reflect both history and current participation in culturally-shared practices and ways of being. Tradition and culture can act in unseen ways to blind us to their potential meanings. Yet, through interpreting and analysing the everyday we can interrogate our world and call these taken-for-granted meanings into question (Crotty, 1997). The hermeneutic approach taken in this thesis acknowledges that the interpretive endeavours do not encompass a complete and full understanding of the social world being studied. Instead, I offer one interpretation, a partial understanding, with the knowledge that this is influenced by my history and cultural perspectives. As such, my analysis is not presented as a fixed and universal truth, but rather as my interrogation of the taken-for-granted meanings contained within participant's cultural and social practices.

Informed by key tenets evident in the hermeneutic approach, symbolic interactionism is an approach to understanding social practices that has its roots in the early writings and teachings of American pragmatic philosophers and psychologists such as William James and George Herbert Mead (Gordon, 2007). The focus is on the ways in which people construct meanings, including self-concepts, and the ways in which those

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meanings shape, and are shaped by, processes of social interaction (Stryker, 2008). Research methods of observation and/or participation are generally used by researchers employing symbolic interactionism in their research (Gordon, 2007). I have chosen to use participant observations, photo-elicitation and qualitative interviews as primary methods, in particular interviews that are focussed on creating a participatory research paradigm. This strategy allows me to interpret the ways in which meanings are being constructed, and their influence on the social interaction within the home.

From a symbolic interactionist perspective material objects (and other people) in a person's world are viewed as having both a physical and a social existence (Lock & Strong, 2010). We approach objects and people in our lives in terms of the meanings they hold for us (Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010). Thus, meaning shapes the nature of our interactions. These meanings exist, are created and are revised through our on-going social relationships (Mead, 1997/1934), becoming an integrated part of our self-concept (Belk, 1988). Material objects are often a taken-for-granted aspect of everyday practices surrounding food. Objects such as recipe books, cutlery, crockery, and kitchen utensils are typically used in preparing, cooking, serving and eating food. What elevates these items into material objects are the meanings attached to them (Fuller, 1990). Where material objects are used by participants, I will be exploring their meanings in terms of the social relationships that they represent, and the ways in which they are woven into the lifeworlds of participants.

An ethnographic case study approach

Overall, I draw from an ethnographic methodological understanding that emphasises the importance of doing research within the context of participants' everyday lifeworlds. An ethnographic approach focusses on a specific site, and the people associated with that site (Gordon et al., 2001). For most people specific places (such as their household and their neighbourhood) and objects (such as pots and serving dishes) are

associated with the ways in which they eat, think and live (Probyn, 2001). These sites and objects also influence the interactions between people (Housley & Smith, 2011). For the purposes of this thesis, the domestic space of the home is an ideal research site for exploring the ways in which participant's interact with food and each other, and the ways in which these interactions that involves the use of particular objects have meaning and importance.

The domestic space of the home illustrates the intimate relationship between self, place and objects, and the cultivation of a sense of belonging, familiarity and comfort (Mallett, 2004). Homes have a distinctive social organisation and are the place where everyday food practices are enabled and enacted (Saunders & Williams, 1988), making them a highly relevant research site for investigating the symbolic meanings and social practices around food (Mallett, 2004). Each case is located within the domestic and social space of that particular household. The sit-down and photo-elicitation interviews (discussed later in this chapter) take place within participant's homes. Particular attention will be paid to the kitchen and dining areas, along with the places from which food is sourced. We also moved out from the home into the broader landscape of food sourcing and exchange in go-along interviews. Locating interviews within the sites that participant's regularly frequent in order to source, prepare and eat food increases the context of the conversation and reduces the separation between the interview and everyday life.

Households as case studies

As part of my ethnographic-orientated methodology, I utilised a case-based approach. The case study has its origins in the social sciences and in evaluative research (Creswell, 2007). They are generally designed to produce nuanced, particular and practical orientated knowledge about specific contexts and human actions (Bryman, 2004; Hodgetts & Stolte, 2012). This is usually done by collecting a variety of information through interviews, observations and document analysis

(Petty, Thomson, & Stew, 2012). The accumulation of these multiple sources of insight allows researchers to show how macro-level events and relationships are interconnected and embedded in the micro-level lives of individuals and families (Hodgetts, Stolte, et al., 2010). This is done by creating a situated narrative that allows the reader to imagine themselves in the social world of the case being studied (Kemmis, 1980; Radley & Chamberlain, 2012). Cases are strategically selected and constructed in order to generate and communicate findings of significance beyond the specific case (Radley & Chamberlain, 2012). This requires understanding what is distinctive about a particular case, as well as the provision of sufficient detail in order to illustrate its unique features of a specific situation (Stake, 1995).

Case studies provide a way of bringing mundane, everyday practices to life to the centre of an investigation, whilst still keeping their context, complexities, and contradictions intact (Bryman, 2004; Hodgetts & Stolte, 2012; Small, 2009). Cases can enrich our understandings of particular social practices and give insight into underlying societal issues and processes (Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010; Small, 2009; Swanborn, 2010). As food-related practices are both complex and embedded, utilising case studies is an effective way of exploring underlying processes shaping everyday practices in a contextualized manner. This allows for analysis and discussion with regard to their application to theories of relevance whilst still retaining the connection to the everyday lives of participants.

As it is the social and cultural aspects surrounding food that are of interest in this thesis, I chose to focus on dual-heritage multi-generational households. Each case consists of one household, with each member of the household considered a participant and contributing towards the construction of the case.

I selected each of the three households as cases exemplifying the nexus between culture, memory, food and identity. The transmission of cultural practices between generations, as well as processes reflecting the

cultures represented within the home, are thrown into sharper relief in dual-heritage multi-generational households (Howard-Grenville, Golden-Biddle, Irwin, & Mao, 2011). Cultural processes exist within the taken-for-granted background aspects of everyday life (Caplan, 1994; Johnston & Mangat, 2003). In particular, everyday food-related practices manifest cultural meanings and values (Caputo, 2011). Within dual-heritage households each member brings their own particular set of culturally defined food preferences and intolerances into the home (Bove, Sobal, & Rauschenbach, 2003). This necessitates the continual negotiation by household members as they each seek to (re)create previously taken-for-granted practices, effectively foregrounding the relationship between food and cultural practices. With regard to processes of re-membering, the multi-generational nature of households provides a liminal space within which re-membering and the process of (re)creating memories for their children can occur. These then create an avenue for me, as the researcher, to investigate and explore material practices of re-membering that involve the use of particular objects in particular settings.

The concept of liminal space (Bhabha, 1994) provides a means of examining how re-membering processes are utilised in the formation of identity. Practices surrounding food embody and reflect the liminal spaces between generations and cultures (Caputo, 2011). This 'third space' exists in the ways in which household members articulate, enunciate and negotiate a wide range of domestic practices, including the sourcing, preparation, serving and eating of meals. Asking participant's about their food-related practices is one way of accessing this space and processes of re-membering.

Ensuring an ethical approach to this research

Ethics approval for this research was granted from the University of Waikato's School of Psychology Ethics Committee. This necessitated following the School of Psychology's procedures and guidelines with regard to ensuring an ethical approach. A useful document when

considering my research approach was the *Code of ethics for psychologists working in Aōtearōa/New Zealand* (Code of Ethics Review Group, 2002). Although researchers are not bound by the *Code*, I conducted my research in accordance with its principles. Key areas of relevance to this project were obtaining informed consent, ensuring appropriate privacy and confidentiality, and encouraging active participation. Steps taken with regard to each of these are more fully explored in the following paragraphs.

Participants were recruited through mutual acquaintances who knew of the nature of my research and that I wished to interview dual-heritage multi-generational households from within the Hamilton area. Where a representative of the household expressed an interest I provided an information sheet (see Appendix 1) through our mutual acquaintance. Where interest was on-going, I arranged a mutually agreeable time to meet with each potential participant face-to-face. At this meeting I outlined my thesis topic and explained in greater detail the nature of each interview and the approximate time commitment required for each. This gave us both the opportunity to meet with each other before determining if we wished to proceed with the interview process. If we were all agreeable, I proceeded in obtaining informed written consent (see Appendix 2) and commenced with the interview process. Participants were reminded of their right to withdraw at this initial meeting and after the first interview.

I took appropriate steps to keep participants' responses confidential. This meant using pseudonyms for each case study and obscuring faces in photographs. Records were kept in a safe place, accessible only to those involved in the research project. No actual names of participants were used in research presentations or publications. Information from the research project was not used for any other purpose and personal information was not disclosed to any other party. I ensured security by making certain that records were not left in public view, and that computer records were password protected.

Section 1.4 of the *Code of Ethics* for registered psychologists requires sensitivity to cultural and social diversity. As I worked with dual-heritage families, this meant being sensitive to the cultural and social experiences of participants. This also meant treating their experiences with dignity and respect, as well as seeking guidance from cultural advisors where appropriate in order to ensure that my research was culturally competent and safe. One aspect of this involved seeking advice with regard to interpreting cultural values and processes. When engaging with participants who identified as Māori I sought advice and guidance from kaumatua known to my (in-law) family with regard to both my research practice and analysis. Where appropriate I also sought advice with regard to culturally diverse participants. This sharing of knowledge occurred over food during face to face meetings; I provided the food in exchange for increased understanding of cultural competency.

One aspect of engaging in culturally appropriate research is the concept of reciprocity. Given the generosity of participant's in sharing both their time and their stories with me, I considered it appropriate to bring a small gift of food (for example, homemade brownies) to interviews (discussed further in the following section), to eat food and drink offered (predominantly cups of tea and biscuits), and, on the completion of the research, to give a small gift as a token of my appreciation and thanks: a selection of favoured food and drink items. The final interview was not the end of my engagement with participants. Over the course of the interviews, conversations engaged in led to friendships and increased social contact, especially where we had mutual friends. This contributed to a more ethical research paradigm as empirical procedures were not a drive-by process and ensured a degree of accountability to participant's with regard to my writing about their household. As part of ensuring both an ethical approach and culturally competent research I engaged in processes of reflection and reflexive practice. This next section outlines key areas of reflexivity.

Active participation was fostered through the choice of research methods. Once written, I emailed each participant a draft copy of 'their' case study. This gave room for participants to point out any errors or incorrect assumptions and to make comments with regard to the research. I found that each household thoroughly enjoyed reading 'their' chapters, particularly the connection between their experiences and wider societal issues, and were all quite delighted to be asked for their thoughts and considerations on my summation of our interviews. Participants will also be emailed the final version of my finished thesis, along with my sincere thanks.

Empirical engagements with participating households

I compiled each case through a series of semi-structured qualitative interviews. These went beyond conversing and included the use of mapping, participant observation, photo-elicitation and go-along interview techniques, gridding (of photos), and sharing of meals. For each interview I used an interview guide which covered topics of interest (see Appendix 3). However, as my aim was to engage in a more conversational style of interviewing, rather than follow it explicitly I used it more as a prompt for continuing conversation. After each interview I made notes (see Appendix 3 for the template used). The first interview conducted was a sit-down interview in the domestic space of participants' homes. At the end of this interview mutually agreeable arrangements for subsequent interviews were made. Over the course of the interviews overlapping layers emerged, creating a more in-depth exploration of participants' everyday lived experiences. This rest of this section gives a rationale for the interview techniques I employed in the building of each case study, with particular attention given to the use of go-along and photo-elicitation interview methods.

Engaging in a series of emplaced interactions and in-depth qualitative interviews with households is useful for studying in detail how people conceptualise a topic, in particular, the different meanings or ideas

that people attach to their social world (Nielsen, 2011; Thomas & Hodges, 2010). Meaning is not automatically present in objects or social situations, but instead has to be constructed by individuals (Dyson & Brown, 2006). These meanings are usually formed through interactions with others, often within particular cultures (Petty, Thomson, & Stew, 2012a). Utilising in-depth and longitudinal qualitative methods provides a way to unpack and explore the different socially and culturally constructed meanings that people attach to various domestic practices. These methods are highly appropriate for an in-depth exploration of social practices surrounding the procurement and use of food in everyday settings.

Qualitative interviewing is essentially conversational in nature (Berg, 1998; Petty et al., 2012). Interviews can reveal people's constructions of themselves and their worlds as symbolically developed and rendered (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973). They are ideal for exploring people's biographies and perceptions of self, others, and place (Carpiano, 2009), particularly where the researcher wants to explore the experiences or views of individuals in-depth (Petty et al., 2012). With an ability to go beyond what is immediately visible and observable (Kusenbach, 2003), interviews are able to generate the kinds of descriptions that render culture more concrete and local (Karasz & Singelis, 2009). They are a useful tool for exploring concepts of culture and memory, and the way in which these concepts are both embedded in, and have influence on, people's everyday practices.

The single 'drive-by' interview seldom does justice to the complexities of the social science research (Darbyshire, MacDougall, & Schiller, 2005). Limitations of one-off (sit-down) interviews include possible limits on trust in the relationship between researcher and participant (Kusenbach, 2003), a reduction of context-sensitive reactions by both the interviewer and interviewee (Carpiano, 2009), and the separation of the interviewees from their routine experiences and practices in their everyday lives (Kusenbach, 2003). This is somewhat problematic where the focus of the research is based within the everyday experiences of the participants.

In the use of the traditional sit-down interview important aspects of the lived experience may remain invisible, or if they are noticed, unintelligible (Kusenbach, 2003).Having multiple conversations with each research participant provides a greater depth of material and increased insight (Chamberlain, Cain, Sheridan, & Dupuis, 2011). It also creates a sense of familiarity between the researcher and participant's (Gordon, 2007), locating the researcher more firmly and more easily into the life-world of each participant (Mannay, 2010). Meeting multiple times with each household enabled me to develop a sense of familiarity with regard to participant's everyday food practices. The sharing of food also contributed towards this, allowing for a greater depth of sharing over time.

The go-along interview method is a variation on qualitative interviewing that creates a greater depth for exploring, and gaining understanding of, peoples' emplaced experiences (Carpiano, 2009). It provides a way of combining field-interviews with observational methods (Kusenbach, 2003). During the go-along interview, the researcher accompanies the participant on their regular everyday outing(s), and through asking questions, listening, and observing, actively explores the interviewees' experiences and practices as they move through, and interact with, their physical and social environment (Kusenbach, 2003). Such processes are emerging as useful strategies within the social sciences, particularly within health psychology (Carpiano, 2009), ethnography (Kusenbach, 2003; Ross, Renold, Holland, & Hillman, 2009), and sociology (Housley & Smith, 2011). The value of this method is evident particularly where the emphasis is on participants' everyday lived experience. While interview aids or props such as photographs, maps, and drawing exercises can be useful in triggering thoughts and reactions, these are unable to fully compensate for the fact that sit-down interviews separate participant's from their routine experiences and practices in the participants' contexts (Kusenbach, 2003). Routine experiences and practices are two key facets for understanding the relevance of place for well-being (Carpiano, 2009).

Being present together in a place highlights the links between place and history, helping to uncover ways in which people lend depth and meaning to routines, revealing memories, anticipations, and the reflexive aspects of lived experience (Kusenbach, 2003). It is also a way of encouraging free-flowing conversation, offering a means through which people can share past memories, associations, and future imaginings (Ross et al., 2009). This provides a way for the researcher to examine participants' interpretations of their contexts while simultaneously experiencing these contexts, making it an ideal method for exploring the connection between place and memory (Carpiano, 2009; Housley & Smith, 2011; Kusenbach, 2003). The place(s) visited become prompts for the interviewer, creating space for the researcher to call attention to, and explore in detail, aspects of the environmental experience which can escape attention in off-location interviews (Kusenbach, 2003).

Go-along interviews provide unique access to particular food-related practices. In particular, they provided me with insights into participants' personal biographies:

> Go-alongs can unearth the personal, biographic experiences that underlie participants' present engagements with their environments. They can also give clues as to how they integrate memories of past events, and anticipations of the future, into the on-going stream of their spatial experiences and activities. In comparison, these themes are very difficult to retrieve through interviews and almost impossible to observe (Kusenbach, 2003, p. 472).

As I am looking to explore processes of re-membering, go-along interviews provide insights into the integration of past events and traditions in current household practices. The process of 'journeying together' creates a more enabling research environment, where participants and researchers co-generate and communicate meaningful understandings of everyday lives (Ross et al., 2009). Journeying with the participant as they source food uncovers the more personal and meaningful aspects of this

mundane task, revealing the taken-for-granted rhythms and routines of everyday life. The go-along adds a layer of depth (Trell & Van Hoven, 2010), making it ideal for revealing otherwise unnoticed aspects of food sourcing practices.

Having an initial meeting with participants, where the nature of the interviews was outlined, consent obtained, and engaging in a sit-down interview before arranging the go-along gave both myself and the participant's opportunity to withdraw from the interview process. As all cases had children who were minors, their involvement (and consent with regard to minors) was discussed well before embarking on the go-along process. One unforeseen complication was the failure of the voice recorder to record during one of the go-along interviews. Fortunately, due to the multi-sensory nature of the go-along, I was able to re-capture from memory much of what was discussed, neatly illustrating the strong connection between place and memory.

Arranging a mutually agreeable time for a go-along interview was difficult at times. For one household, finding time for a go-along interview was not possible. In this instance, I replaced the go-along interview with one based around mapping and photo-elicitation, with the participant's photographing stores frequented and items purchased. These photographs were used in a photo-elicitation interview, alongside marking stores visited on the map. While a go-along interview was not possible, replacing it with these methods meant that a depth of information around food sourcing processes was still able to be gathered. For the two cases where the go-along did occur, the interview began at the participant's home. Each participant preferred to drive their car from their home to each of stores visited and I 'went-along' as a passenger in their vehicle. I began recording as we were in transit to the grocery store(s). Each participant chose what store(s) to visit and in what order. Our conversations were recorded as we walked around each store, during travel between store(s), and as we unpacked the groceries on returning to the participant's home. While using a hand held digital recorder allowed for a minimum of intrusion

during the sit-down interviews (as it could be placed on a table and left to record for the duration of my visit), having to ensure that the recorder was pointed firstly in my direction and then in the direction of the participant was at times unwieldy and awkward, and I was conscious of the curious glances coming our way from passers-by and store staff. For future go-along interviews, outfitting both myself and interviewees with a small directional microphone would reduce said awkwardness, allow for a greater clarity of recording, and be less visible to passers-by.

In conjunction with the go-along interview, participant's marked on a Hamilton City map the physical location of their home and stores visited. Mapping provided a representation of physical locations, creating an opportunity for participant's to express their perceptions of place and space (Mannay, 2010). Using a map to mark these places revealed food-sourcing practices not evident from the go-along interview alone, for example, household members purchasing items during their journey home from their place of employment.

Map, images and photographs were used to evoke deeper elements of human memory than words (Kelley et al., 1998; Zaidel, 2001). In particular, using photographic images allowed for a wider range of memories and meanings to be addressed (Harper, 2002). These visual aids were also particularly useful for gaining a deeper understanding of practices embedded within social and cultural contexts (Koenigstorfer & Groeppel-Klein, 2010). The interpretation of the audience is not always the same narrative that the image-maker sought to communicate; indeed it can often be markedly different (Mannay, 2010). Therefore, asking participant's to explain the visual image that they created becomes important in creating a comprehensive understanding of the narrative contained within the images.

During a photo-production exercise participants are invited to photograph their world in order to communicate meanings, understandings, relationships, or events in a visual rather than verbal

manner (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, & Radley, 2007; Pink, 2009). This method generated information, memories and emotions (Harper, 2002). Reflexive photography similarly worked to reduce the distance and engages participants in an active meaning-making process (Hurworth, 2003). Images taken by participants are used as a starting point in a reflective interview in which the meaning behind the image is interpreted and explored. Reflexive photography involves more than just taking of images. Capturing scenes just as they are allows symbolic meanings and highly emotional elements, which can be difficult to address using traditional interviewing techniques, to become more evident (Collier & Collier, 1986). Or, as Harper more poetically states:

> I believe photo-elicitation mines deeper shafts into a different part of human consciousness than do words-alone interviews. It is partly due to how remembering is enlarged by photographs and partly due to the particular quality of the photograph itself. Photographs appear to capture the impossible: a person gone; an event past. That extraordinary sense of seeming to retrieve something that has disappeared belongs alone to the photograph, and it leads to deep and interesting talk (2002, p. 23).

When participants produce and then talk about the images they have taken, they are seeking to make sense of their everyday experiences, and look to make sense with, rather than of, photographs (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, et al., 2007; Pink, 2009). This method orientates participants to see their world from a different perspective, and with a focus on things worth showing (Hodgetts, Radley, Chamberlain, & Hodgetts, 2007). The images become communicative and generative; communicative because they provoke and convey meaning, and generative because through the discussion and analysis of the photographs new understandings and deeper insights are created (Close, 2007). The processes of picturing in photo-production allows the links

between personal experiences, local contexts and social practices to be invoked and revealed (Harper, 2002).

Participant's expressed a preference for using their smartphones (mobile phones with cameras and internet connection) to photograph their 'world of food'. They felt that doing so would segue more easily into their everyday lives than using stand-alone camera. Participants emailed me their photographs which I printed in preparation for the photo-elicitation interview. At the start of each photo-elicitation interview I asked participant's to sort their images into groups, deliberately giving no other instructions. Leaving sorting decisions to the participants revealed aspects of importance and categories of interest. Once the images were categorised and displayed, I photographed the group, labelled each image and ensured verbal references included its number (for example, Group2-Photo 3). This ensured clarity during transcribing and analysis as each image was clearly identified whilst being discussed. I found that the presence of images placed the focus of the interview on the photographs, resulting in participant's discussing their everyday life-worlds more easily. The images prompted shared memories in a way that the sit-down interview alone did not. The images contained evoked different stories than the sit-down interviews, facilitating more in-depth questioning and contributing significantly towards the richness of each case.

Taken together, the qualitative interview techniques outlined in this section worked to create a more equitable, enjoyable and meaningful research process (Close, 2007). Indeed, all participants in this current study expressed their enjoyment of the process and have an interest in reading the finished thesis. For the participants in this study, reading about their household was both fascinating and meaningful. In terms of the research process, each household particularly enjoyed taking and sharing images of their 'world of food'. The photo-elicitation and go-along interview's created a way to bridge the space between researcher and interviewee (Close, 2007; Hodgetts, Chamberlain, et al., 2007; Koenigstorfer & Groeppel-Klein, 2010), effectively reducing the power

dynamics that can exist in research (Carpiano, 2009; Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010). This both facilitated research interactions (Hodgetts, Radley, et al., 2007) and reduced the likelihood of socially desirable responses by respondents (Collier & Collier, 1986). When discussing food this was particularly helpful as food choices are often embedded in social contexts and involve implicit motives and unconsciously guided responses (Koenigstorfer & Groeppel-Klein, 2010). This next section outlines the specific processes involved in interrogating and interpreting the empirical materials from each case.

Analysis process

Empirical engagements with each household were comprised of observations, interviews, photographs, and fieldwork. To make sense of these, field notes were taken, interviews were transcribed, and photograph grids were compiled from each photograph set (see Appendix 4). For instance, photograph grids allowed me to analyse the themes coming through from each photograph set and to make comparisons across sets (see Appendix 4 for a completed photo grid). This exercise ensured that I treated pictures as more than just illustrative devices for talk with participants (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, et al., 2007; Mannay, 2010). When constructing each grid I laid out each household's 'world of food' photographs. Initially photographs were kept as grouped by participants during interviews. Over the course of several days, images were re-grouped and re-viewed multiple times. Creating novel combinations of images effectively disabled previous pathways of thought, forcing new linkages between images provided and their representations (Wagoner, 2008). In this instance, the process of (re)viewing and (re)gridding the images created novel links and revealed emerging themes for each case and across cases. Next I related photographs to the interview transcripts, comparing text and images for each participant, between participant's and between households. This connected transcripts and photographs in the creation of cases that exemplified aspects of re-membering, identity and culture in everyday life. Interviews with participant's, ethnographic notes,

photographs and maps were analysed thematically and interpretively with respect to processes of re-membering, cultural values, identity construction and social relationships.

Accounts given by participants were considered with regard to the ways in which mundane tasks are rendered meaningful. This necessitated moving away from the images and accounts provided by participants in the development of my own account of their everyday practices, relating these to identity constructions and cultural values. This process resulted in the development of three case studies (see Chapters 4-6). With each case, I focussed on what was unique to each household. Themes that arose from these cases were identities, place, values, class, belonging, and dis(re)membering. All quotes from interviews with participants in the analyses (see Chapters 4-6) are italicized. The intention here is to distinguish participant's words from my own and that of the literature.

Case studies are usually analysed in terms of generalisation to theoretical propositions, rather than to specific populations (Bryman, 1988). Cases have the ability to link the general and the specific, exemplify key points of concern and to ground societal processes in concrete events (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2012). In this research, each case study, both individually and as a whole, is analysed with regard to theories surrounding cultural and societal practices. This approach is congruent with an ethnographic case-comparative method, which involves drawing from key features from several case studies in the building an argument (Small, 2009). As covered in the previous chapter, the socio-cultural issues and processes that are of interest relate to the process of re-membering, the transmission of cultural heritage between the generations, the social life of food, and the way in which food embodies social and cultural practices, contributing towards a sense of self. These complex, abstract processes are grounded and explored throughout the analyses through specific, concrete examples from each case.

In considering my analysis I draw from Lévi-Strauss' (1962) concept of researcher as bricoleur. This approach can be seen in *Mythologies*, where Lévi-Strauss acts as bricoleur in rearranging mythical texts in such a way that they become meaningful and intelligible for his readers (Dumont, 1985). The researcher as bricoleur creatively and critically engages with the world in interpreting and constructing its meaning, introducing new possibilities and reconfiguring notions of time, place, and identity (Knepper, 2006). In this sense, it enriches Bhabha's (1994) notion of 'in-between' space as ideas and concepts are brought together in the creation of new discourses. This involves interrogating the meanings of memories, in particular, "using and repurposing the artefacts of memory, the stories of the past, and the drifting of history" (Knepper, 2006, p. 85). In acting as a bricoleur, the researcher operates inter-disciplinarily and innovatively, combining methodological and analytical strategies in the needs of a specific project (Groot, 2010; Kincheloe, 2005).

Interpreting and analysing the empirical materials required attention to the often invisible detail of everyday life (Mannay, 2010). This necessitates transforming the invisible in order to render it visible (Sheringham, 2000). Transformation occurs through focusing on what usually goes unheeded or is dismissed as trivial (Sheringham, 2006); that is, attention is paid to mundane routines and taken-for-granted everyday life events (Hodgetts, Stolte, et al., 2010). Unravelling the meanings invested in these practices involves interrogating minor events and accumulated moments and linking them to wider patterns of social relations (de Certeau, 1984; Perec, 1974/1997; Sheringham, 2006). Briefly, empirical materials were analysed thematically and interpretively with respect to social and symbolic aspects of food preparation and consumption. This foregrounds processes of social construction contained within specific food-related practices, revealing the nexus between the activities of the body, the natural world, and social rhythms (Lefèbvre & Régulier, 1985).

Reflexive practice

Reflexivity is a key part of qualitative inquiry, and the use of multiple methods facilitates a greater depth of reflexive work by the researcher (Chamberlain et al., 2011). Being reflexive requires researchers to continually engage in considering and reviewing their assumptions and practices (Yanchar, Slife, & Warne, 2008). This enables researchers to be better informed about the ways in which methodologies and methods shape and constrain the knowledge generated from their research (Stronach, Garratt, Pearce, & Piper, 2007). Reflexivity is one mechanism for reducing the possibility of mindlessness with regard to acting as if there is only our own cultural reality (Yanchar et al., 2008).

In order to facilitate reflexive practice, a reflexive journal was kept throughout the research process. Notes were made following interviews and analysis. This provided a way of recording my thoughts and reactions while simultaneously allowing for ideas to be considered and reviewed. An example of this reflexive work is outlined below. I wrote the following on 25 June, 2012, and it neatly summarises my response: "I cannot believe how much food is connected to EVERYTHING!!" This comment was partly written in response to interviews where participants were surprisingly open about their personal lives. Even though the interview questions were focussed primarily around food, our conversations revealed many personal details about the lives of each household. The depth of sharing on a wide range of topics that occurred during our conversations was unexpected. Yet, it revealed how much the food we eat is connected to who we are. As well as the connection between food and participants' lives, I found myself re-examining my everyday food practices, underlying health assumptions, and notions of what constitutes culture.

During this research practices previously taken-for-granted took on new meaning. The act of cooking a simple dish became a form of re-membering as I became more aware of my own taken-for-granted routines. My 'go to' recipe for when I needed to make a quick easy dinner

was laden with memories of my childhood – conversations with my father, cooking for my ill mother, gathering tomatoes from the vegetable garden, the smell of freshly chopped parsley, images of food-stained cookbooks – all contained within the tangible physicality of creating spaghetti bolognaise and re-visited when feeding my children. I felt more connected to my family of origin as I became aware of the ways in which I had incorporated elements of re-membering into my everyday life.

My beliefs around healthy diet ideals are strongly influenced by my middle-class Pākehā upbringing. In re-examining my assumptions about food I realised that I had internalised the belief that everyone else ought to eat like me. Comments by participants and articles read highlighted underlying issues of class, and challenged me to re-examine and re-formulate my ideals. Changing food traditions is not as simple as 'just' choosing different foods; what people eat is deeply connected to who they are and where they are from. This research revealed the extent to which many healthy eating studies and promotions can be patronising and classist, especially where it is believed that particular food traditions are contributing towards detrimental health outcomes.

As a Pākehā member of a dual-heritage (Māori-Pākehā) household, my ability to pass on Māori culture to my children is limited. Engaging with this research project showed me the ways in which my in-laws have provided cultural memories for my children. Every time my mother-in-law takes her mokopuna to the beach to collect pipi, or when they visit the markets for watercress and pork bones to make a boil-up, or eat Nana's steamed pudding and custard, they are creating polysensual experiences. These contribute towards shared cultural memories and consolidate their understanding of who they are and where they are from. I began to understand that I had unwittingly absorbed the idea that culture is contained within specific expressions of ethnic practices such as dancing and singing. In contrast, culture is contained within the everyday lived experience; collecting pipi, picking watercress, and eating steamed pudding with custard.

In sum, the process of keeping a reflexive journal gave space for engaging in a review of my assumptions and practices. This worked to increase my awareness with regard to my own cultural reality and foregrounded the meanings constructed and contained within my everyday practices. This, in turn, encouraged a greater awareness of my cultural beliefs as played out within the familiar and taken-for-granted activities of everyday life. It is these activities that are interpreted with regard to their meanings and wider societal beliefs with regard to participants' lives in each of the case studies (Chapters 4-6).

Chapter summary

Acknowledging that we actively construct our knowledge about who we are, especially with regard to our social selves, opens a space from which to then explore the way in which everyday life informs and influences social practice – and vice versa. Taking an ethnographic case study approach to this research allows for an examination of the everyday, especially of mundane, taken-for-granted practices. The use of multiple interview techniques created a rich set of empirical material which could then be interrogated and interpreted with regard to processes of re-membering, cultural values, and identity. Guiding the analysis process was the concept of researcher as bricoleur. Seemingly disparate ideas and themes are drawn together in the construction of new discourses where specific food-related practices are examined with regard to wider socio-structural contexts and patterns.

Chapter Three: The 3 case studies

This brief chapter outlines the three households that comprised my three case studies, and how they are related to one another. It provides some integration across the chapters and signposts the general orientation of my analysis, which is anchored in each particular household. In Chapter Seven, the thesis discussion, I will refer to the cases through an exploration of the general theoretical concepts that were detailed in Chapter One, the introduction. For example, the ways in which each household engages in forms of re-membering through the preparation and serving of dinner dishes. The following three chapters are primarily about the ways in which food comes into, flows through and around the three households, is eaten and consumed. The representations of food for each household are explored, with particular attention paid to expressions of self-identity, processes of re-membering, and the way in which food embodies social relationships and cultural identities. As noted in the introduction to this thesis, the food we eat represents who we are and where we are from. Identity, place, a sense of home and of belonging, and connectedness to others and one's cultural heritage are all key concepts explored through the case studies.

Chapter Four introduces the Marton[1] household: Amy, Paul, and their two daughters aged ten and twelve. A migrant from Singapore, Amy has spent over two decades living in New Zealand and has created a new life for herself here. Paul's mother is of Irish descent and his father has links to Whānau-A-Apanui and Ngai Takoto. Food choices, what we eat, how we eat, where and with whom are all part of the way in which identities are created and sustained (Genoe et al., 2010). Amy and Paul relate to food in differing ways. However, food remains central to both their processes of identity construction. Both food and cultural heritage are woven into their sense of who they are and where they are from. There is

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[1] Pseudonyms used (for all case studies)

a strong relationship between food and culture in general (Furst, 1997). This case study explores how Amy and Paul's food-related practices reflect their individual cultural heritage, and its connection with identity construction. Amy actively constructs her identity as a mother, a care-giver, as a Singaporean in diaspora and as a Kiwi through her interactions with food. Her food-related practices also reflect cultural values such as care for others and the importance of passing on traditions from her parents to her children. In contrast, Paul separates himself from his family's food traditions, constructing a new identity for himself that is more congruent with his contemporary, urbanised experience.

The second case study is discussed in Chapter Five. The Barrett household has three generations living together in a four bedroom home situated in north Hamilton. Aran and Tineke are a married couple, with a young baby. Tineke's sister Sandra and their mother Paiya complete the household. Paiya is a migrant from Sri Lanka and has lived in New Zealand since her daughters were pre-schoolers. Consequently Tineke and Sandra identify as Kiwi's, having spent the majority of their life in New Zealand. Aran identifies as Māori. As with the previous case study, the underlying cultural values between Aran and his in-laws are highly congruent and are evidenced in their everyday routines. Paiya maintains her daughters' links to their cultural heritage through the regular provision of dinner dishes from 'back home', and the consumption of these dishes provides a way for Tineke and Sandra to be Sri Lankan, whilst embracing their life as Kiwis in New Zealand. For this household, food becomes the vehicle through which links to cultural heritage and harmony in relationships are maintained. The division of food-related activities creates a way for household members to contribute and feel valued. More than just a chore, however, the sourcing and provision of food predominantly reflects underlying cultural values of hospitality and connectedness to others, values which are of importance to both cultures represented in this household. These values are regularly affirmed through the eating of a family meal at the end of the day, connecting family members with one another and significantly contributing towards patterns of familial harmony.

The third case study considers the Linton household: Evan, Katarina, and their two boys. Evan spent part of his childhood in the United States, returning to New Zealand with his mother after his parents' divorce around the age of twelve. He has his own Hamilton-based IT business, which at times requires travel to Auckland to complete contracts. Katarina is currently a full-time student, with plans to complete her degree at the end of 2012, returning to full-time employment during the following year. Katarina identifies as Māori and has links to Te Aupouri and Ngati Porou through her father. Her early years were spent with her birth mother, whom she refers to as Karen. Katarina reserves the use of the word 'Mummy' - and its attendant association with love and affection - for her paternal grandmother who raised her from the age of seven. As a busy couple, Evan and Katarina have multiple and competing demands on their time. Their ideals of a 'proper' meal are influenced by Northern European traditions (Charles & Kerr, 1988), and are at odds with the reality of their everyday busy lifestyle. This case study explores the effects of time scarcity on the household's food-related practices and the way in which Evan and Katarina manage competing demands for their time and energy. Contributing to their desire to provide an idealised domestic home are Katarina's early childhood memories of food insecurity and overall poverty. Food insecurity is a growing issue for many New Zealand families, with increasing numbers of children going without food on a regular basis (Carne & Mancini, 2012). Even though Katarina's days of food insecurity are long gone, the memory of that time in her life is still vivid. These memories impact on her sense of self, her decision-making, her identity as a mother, and are particularly connected to certain foods. The concept of 'dis(re)membering' as outlined by Landzelius (2003) is explored through the way in which Katarina distances herself from certain memories and intentionally creates a different set of food-related memories for her sons.

Considered together, these cases reflect both diversity in food-related practices, and the ways in which approaches to food inform and influence our sense of who we are and where we are from. Common to all

three cases is the way in which participants construct their sense of self through the food that they eat, prepare, and serve. The food-related practices of all three cases reflect the cultural heritages of participants as expressed in the routines and rhythms of everyday living. Sourcing, preparing and eating food connects each household to the past, enabling participants to re-member people not present or to actively dis(re)member parts of their heritage that they find distasteful. The highly visceral nature of food strongly connects each household to their memories, effectively relocating them in time and place through their senses. These cases showcase the importance of the everyday mundane routine in creating a sense of familiarity and belonging through the creation of place and identity.

Chapter Four: The Marton[2] household

Food and identity are deeply connected, with different foodstuffs linked to regional and ethnic backgrounds (Lindenmeyer, 2006). For migrants in diaspora, the consumption of foods associated with home becomes a tangible connection to their heritage, evoking memories of the past (Choo, 2004). There is a strong relationship between food and culture in general (Furst, 1997), with food choices, the way we eat, and with whom we eat all part of the way in which identities are created and sustained (Genoe et al., 2010). Yet, despite this strong relationship, culture and food geographies are not easily delineated, stubbornly refusing to be neatly tidied away into a homogenous, bounded, separate 'thing' (Cook, 2008). Instead they are "messy, changing, non-essential, heterogeneous, embodied, diasporic, hybrid, everyday, leaky, viscous 'cultural' practices" (Cook, 2008, p. 824). It is these messy, embodied, leaky everyday practices that I seek to explore more fully in relation to the Marton household.

The Marton household is comprised of Amy[2], who moved to New Zealand from Singapore twenty-four years ago, her husband Paul[2], a New Zealand Māori with links to Whānau-A-Apanui and Ngai Takoto, and their two daughters (age ten and twelve at the time of the interviews). Since the birth of her first child, Amy has been a stay-at-home mother. She is primarily responsible for the sourcing and provision of food within the home; she purchases breakfast items, snacks, makes lunches for the children and cooks dinner for the family.

This chapter is primarily focussed on the function of food in the construction of identities within the Morton household. Amy and Paul bring very different approaches to food, their cultural heritage, and their construction of self. Despite their seeming differences, the visceral nature

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[2] Psuedynoms used

of their individual food-related memories feature strongly, connecting them to who they are and where they are from. Their senses of self are woven into the fabric of their everyday life, with cultural beliefs around food and eating becoming mundane, familiar and taken-for-granted. For Amy, as a migrant in diaspora, these taken for granted cultural beliefs are more clearly delineated. In section one she compares and contrasts her previous life in Singapore with her current life in New Zealand. This then gives room to make the familiar unfamiliar. As discussed in section two, Paul constructs his identity as a Māori person living in modern-day suburbia. The underlying values between the cultures present in this household become visible in householder's everyday experiences. These values are discussed further in the last section, specifically, the creation of carefully crafted cakes that reflect shared cultural values of generosity and caring for others.

Identity construction, relationship enactment and belonging through food - Amy

For Amy, food is strongly connected to the ways in which she actively constructs her identity as a Singaporean in diaspora, as a Kiwi, mother and caregiver. Amy maintains her sense of self from 'back home', by using food as a mechanism for strengthening familial links. She identifies with her new Kiwi self and her role as caregiver here in New Zealand. People are emplaced beings, so migration and movement can invoke unfamiliarity and the disruption of taken-for-granted social supports, cultural values, daily practices and meanings that are central to personhood (Hodgetts, Drew, et al., 2010). One of the ways in which migrants adapt and respond to the disruption of their everyday lives is in establishing new routines, restoring a sense of normality, stability and predictability (Li, Hodgetts, & Ho, 2010). Daily routines, such as the preparation of meals, provide a way for migrants to maintain cultural links while forging new identities. One way in which continuity between the country of origin and the new country is maintained is through the preparation and consumption of foods associated with 'home'. The

importance of food for connecting with home will be explored throughout this case study.

Amy talked at length about the many cultural differences between New Zealand and Singapore regarding food. Food - and its surrounding practices - embodies the cultural differences between the two countries that consititute 'home' for Amy. The differing approaches to food and taste regularly come to the forefront of discussions whenever Amy meets fellow Singaporeans:

> *… if I meet a fellow Singaporean now, without doubt, within the first five minutes they go 'Oh, do you miss the food?' And we can talk about it for the next half an hour to an hour, just food. And they laugh and the conversations always goes 'Oh, Singaporeans always talk about food!' And it's true. It is so true.*

Engaging in discourses around food offers Amy a way of maintaining her identity as a Singaporean while at home in New Zealand. Like other migrants, she defines herself in terms of her relationship with where she is from. Her place-based identity manifests through a sense of belonging, ownership and specific daily routines that are congruent with her new life in another country (Li et al., 2010). This allows her to feel 'at home' in New Zealand whilst still retaining a significant identities as Singaporean (Walter, 2000). For Amy, engaging in discourses and sharing memories about Singaporean food offers a way to stay connected with her cultural heritage. In the same way, the sharing of food and the act of cooking offers a way for diasporic communities to remember 'home' (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Longhurst, Johnston, & Ho, 2009).

Amy's experience of eating in Singapore is that everyday meals occur in public spaces and in conjunction with face-to-face social interaction. These public places of consumption are as much a part of Amy's polysensual memories as the taste and flavour of the dish itself. We can see an example of this in the following quote:

And you can't get [food dish] *here* [in New Zealand]. *You can get varieties of them here, but they're not the same … And also it's the environment. You go out to eat. And I like the hustle and bustle, and the choosing and everything.*

This quote illustrates how Amy misses specific food dishes and the socio-cultural interactions involved with eating food. Engaging with other people in public places is a cultural norm in Singapore, and places for eating are often intertwined with everyday places (Wang, 2006). The places where people partake of food and drink are just as culturally important as the dishes themselves (Bell & Valentine, 1997). When Amy is in Singapore, eating out is the container for social practices and cultural norms (Bell & Valentine, 1997). This contrasts with her experiences in New Zealand where the domestic space of the home is more typically the site of social interaction (Bailey & Earle, 1999; Utter, Scragg, Schaaf, & Mhurchu, 2008).

Developing a taste for a particular food occurs within a lived context, with tastes and aromas playing an important part in creating and triggering cultural memory (Hayes-Conroy & Hayes-Conroy, 2008). Whenever Amy returns to Singapore, she takes the opportunity to seek out familiar tastes and textures and to engage in social practices that reaffirm her cultural memories. These reaffirm Amy's sense of belonging and her Singaporean identity. The following quote illustrates the lengths which Amy will go to in order to fulfil her desire to re-member and re-experience particular dishes:

… when I go back to Singapore I have a list. I actually write – and my list is like this long – of all the foods that I want to eat. And I tick them off as I eat them, so that I'm not disappointed. I remember one year we went back to Singapore and Malaysia and I had my list, and there was one thing I didn't get and, I was in Singapore and Mum was in Malaysia. The one thing I couldn't get was Malaysian,

so she snuck it on the plane for me. Cause she met me in Singapore to fly back to NZ so I at least had that so I could tick my last thing off.

It would seem that biosecurity regulations at Malaysian and Singapore airports are not as strict as those in New Zealand. While food smuggling is commonly associated with food insecurity and poverty (Hutson & Long, 2011), it also occurs within the context of 'ethnic' foods. Immigrants have historically found ways to smuggle foods of cultural importance, despite government bans (Carman, 2012; Hilary, 2003). Even where food items can be purchased domestically there is "something about bringing it back from your homeland, directly from the source" (Sugarman, 1984, p. 18). As Amy engages in the physical act of eating food sourced from a place laden with cultural memories she is re-membering with her cultural 'home', reaffirming her sense of belonging and connection with a sense of place.

Sometimes it is not possible to source foods from back home, in which case substitutes may be found. Amy uses modern technology as a way of maintaining social connectedness with her family and friends, sending and receiving images of various foods on her smartphone. Given the importance of traditional foods for Singaporean people, a simple image of an everyday food items represents many different things. Amy's cousin in Singapore sent Amy a picture (Figure 1) of herself eating a Durian – which is not available in New Zealand:

This photo [Figure 1], *this is a Durian. You know Durian, the fruit? I love it. A lot of people hate it. This is my cousin who just texted me this the other day to make me jealous! Which made me laugh and I thought, because I miss my local food. You know, so this to me is just a funny one because that's what I want. Driving here I thought, I'll go to the shop on the way home and see if they have frozen ones, you know. Because it's something I miss.*

Figure 1: Eating Durian

The image of the Durian (Figure 1) allows for a humorous exchange, but it also represents a reminder of the aspects of the country and culture Amy has left behind. Images of food tend to evoke emotional responses associated with memories and nostalgia (Rosenbaum, 2005). The image of food being consumed, in particular an unavailable food, acts as a reminder of a life left behind and serves to reconnect Amy with her friends and family in Singapore (Collins, 2008). The subsequent decision by Amy to search out an alternative exemplifies the way in which the visceral act of eating becomes a ritual of remembrance (Choo, 2004; Law, 2001). The corporeal familiarity of the taste of a frozen Durian allows Amy to find a way of eating with her cousin, despite the geographical gulf between them.

The consumption of foods that have been grown 'back home' also provides a way of bridging the sensual gap between 'here' and 'there' (Ahmed, Casaneda, Fortier, & Sheller, 2003; Collins, 2008). Such food provides "a clear intimation of familiarity in that people know what to do with it, how to cook it, how to present it and how to eat it, thus promoting a multitude of homely practices" (Hage, 1997, p. 109). Here, familiarity is not just material, but also social. It is the engagement in social practices with

friends and family that makes familiarity with objects such as food significant (Collins, 2008). The banter between Amy and her father, as outlined in the quote below, represents how images of familiar foods are used to embody familial connectedness and as a vehicle for remembering shared cultural heritage:

So that was my mangosteens. I just took a photo [Figure 2] *of that to show my Dad. Again, food: 'Hey look what I found! Click! Email!' And Dad, interestingly, Dad emails us all the time, mainly recipes 'Hey, who thinks they're going to make this for me?' That kind of thing. 'Hey, look what I found, this looks yum.' Or restaurant reviews. A lot of those. So my family is really food based.*

Figure 2: Mangosteens for sale

The end of the quote reveals how specific foodstuffs, and discourses surrounding food, reaffirm familial bonds. Food is the vehicle through which the love, care and concern that this family have for one another is expressed. It provides a sense of shared identity as 'us' and facilitates the enactment and reproduction of family and community connection. Emailing an image of food becomes shorthand for "I'm thinking of you" or "Wish you were here". It allows the sender to convey a message of love and care without having to articulate their emotions in words.

Another way that Amy enacts her sense of self as a care-giver is by cooking particular dishes for her father. Before her mother died Amy learnt how to cook certain foods, including her father's favourite Singaporean style meals and traditional Chinese New Year treats. It is important to Amy that she is able to continue caring for her father. She does this by maintaining certain food traditions, as the following quote reveals:

This one here, well there's two dishes that Mum used to make all the time that Dad requested. 'Cause Dad requests me make them now … So that's a sweet and sour [Figure 3: top] *and that's a crème caramel* [Figure 3: bottom] *that were Mum's specialties ... My Mum taught me how to do those.*

Figure 3: Amy's father's favourite dishes

In cooking the dishes shown in Figure 3 for her father Amy is able to maintain a continuity of care and her identity as a caregiver. Her father's request for particular dishes goes beyond an immediate need for sustenance, reflecting a need to be connected in a visceral way with family. In providing meals for her father, Amy is caring for both his physical and social wellbeing.

Connectedness to family support systems and social networks are important in maintaining good health, especially amongst immigrants (Li, 2006). A sense of connectedness to home contributes to the formation, maintenance and preservation of ethnic identities (Li et al., 2010). The physical act of creating a favourite dish reflects Amy's care for her father,

contributing towards her sense of identity, as well as reinforcing her father's sense of belonging (Li et al., 2010). Amy is providing him with a tangible connection to his cultural home and reinforcing familial links. This enables Amy's father to also maintain his identity as a Singaporean in diaspora, while enjoying the connection to his family here in New Zealand. In sharing a meal that her mother used to make, Amy and her father both re-member her and create a new context within which they can grow together, strengthening the links between them.

Figure 4 shows a selection of the traditional treats that Amy makes for her family for Chinese New Year: pineapple tarts, fruit buns, and almond biscuits. It is possible to purchase these treats pre-made in urban centres with larger Asian populations. However, Amy prefers to make these delicacies the 'traditional' way, which is more time intensive, but which is the way that her mother taught her. This results in a taste that is more familiar with her childhood memories of home-made pineapple tarts. Amy explains:

So these things here I make now because of my Dad. I make these goodies because he's still so cultural, you know, you can't buy them here. Oh, I suppose you could go to Auckland and buy them, but I make them for him, because it makes him happy! I can surprise him and go 'Ta Dah!' … My Mum, she used to make these and now I do. So these [images] … *are food for cultural celebrations and stuff. So that's the goodies that I make … Things like Chinese New Year, um you know, pineapple tarts … when we were in Singapore you'd just buy the whole pineapple and then you'd grate the whole thing, and now you just buy it in a can … Even in Singapore they're getting lazy and they just buy it or get it pre-made which just is not the same. Yeah. And so I try and still do the traditional, cause it's nicer.*

Figure 4: Traditional Chinese New Year treats

This quote offers insights into the social roles that Amy has adopted as a mother, daughter and caregiver in her New Zealand life. She acknowledges that things are changing in Singapore too, and that people are becoming 'lazy' as they increase their use of convenience foods. Another explanation is that with the increasing number of women in the workforce that there is no longer the time to spend in grating pineapple and baking tarts. Food provisioning practices are shaped by a trade-off between preferred practices and time constraints, resulting in practices which demand convenience in food provisioning to minimise time and cognitive effort (Bava, Jaeger, & Park, 2008). There is also the increased expectation that being in paid employment is the most valid adult activity (Schor, 1991) and source of legitimate identity for women today. Amy actively constructs her own identity in a way that is counter to this trend. The Singapore she remembers from her childhood is the cultural 'home' she seeks to reconnect with through eating traditional Chinese New Year treats.

So far in this section I have focussed on the ways in which Amy maintains her identity as a Singaporean living in New Zealand. In particular, I have explored the use of food in affirming Amy's familial bonds and connections with her cultural heritage. I turn now to discuss the ways in which food-related practices enable Amy to participate in social interactions, reaffirms her identity as a good mother, and the connection of these practices to material objects and processes of re-membering.

Going along with Amy to the supermarket I noticed a strong positive element of social interaction: the supermarket staff knew her name, took time to chat, suggested suitable specials, and were generally friendly and helpful. For at-home mothers, such as Amy, frequenting a supermarket with friendly staff becomes one way of engaging in the social interaction that employed parents often take for granted in their workplace. Supermarket shopping provides Amy with positive social interactions and contributes towards meaning making with regards to her identity as a 'good' mother (Dowling, 1993). When Amy purchases commodities she is doing more than just meeting the physical needs of the family. She is reaffirming familial bonds and her identity as a good parent (Hodgetts, Hayward, & Stolte, 2013). The provision of foods that household members enjoy eating transforms Amy's mundane chore into an act of care (Hodgetts et al., 2011) and .

After Amy has brought her purchases into the family home she still needs to prepare and cook the food items in order to transform them into a suitable meal. Amy avoids time-consuming dinner routines, preferring to make quick easy dinners. Figure 5 shows Amy preparing chicken parmesan with home-made chips, a dinner meal that her children specifically requested. Culture and tradition are important, but Amy is also pragmatic. She does not have the time for lengthy dinner preparations, and it is quicker and easier to prepare meals that her daughters will eat with a minimum of fuss. When discussing this image, Amy drew my

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attention to a recipe book with the pages half-falling out (see bottom right-hand-corner of Figure 5):

> *… and this recipe book here, it was my high school one when I was in Singapore. I've written all, I don't want to throw it out, cause it's all broken, but it's got all my Mum's recipes in there that I've copied. And one day I'll have to transfer but it's just sentimental. So I don't want to chuck it out.*

Figure 5: Preparing a typical dinner meal

The symbolic meaning of the recipe book transcends its materiality as an object in a physical world (Hodgetts et al., 2011). The significance of this material object (with its pages falling out and a broken spine) goes beyond its outward appearance as it allows Amy to maintain connections with the past and her late mother. We are so intimately connected with material objects that we often do not see unless they call attention to themselves by breaking down, or being in the wrong place, or missing (Olsen, 2003). The practice of using a familiar recipe book allows for a kind of shorthand to take place; the material habitual competence permits Amy to move in

ways that are faster and quicker (Olsen, 2003). In this case, it increases the ease and the speed with which recipes are accessed and used, contributing to the sense of a 'quick easy dinner'. Habitual memories are stored in the body as habits, and are lived and acted (Casey, 1984). Using an 'old tatty recipe book' transforms the mundane activity of dinner preparation into a ritual of re-membering where Amy lives and re-enacts memories of her late mother. The recipe book contains Amy's memories within its pages and is representative of past experiences. Using her recipe book transports Amy through time and space, creating a way for her to (re)connect and (re)affirm relational links.

As a full-time at-home mother, Amy's role as primary caregiver for her children was an all-consuming one. Now that Amy's children are at school, her identity is changing. Although Amy still identifies strongly as a mother, there is now space for her to explore other identities and social roles. While she contributes administratively to Paul's IT business and volunteers at her local church, she also finds time to cook and bake for others. For Amy food-related processes provide a way to fulfil her caregiving role, build social connections and contribute towards a satisfying family life in New Zealand. I explore the nature of care-giving and identity construction with regard to the cooking of specific dishes and the baking of cakes further in section three. For now, however, I turn my attention to the role of food in the construction of Paul's identity as a contemporary suburban Māori man and father.

Identity construction through changing food traditions - Paul

In contrast to Amy, Paul's identities as a father and as the primary income-earner have remained relatively constant. Paul does not have the same need as Amy to connect with others through food. Paul has more opportunities for a wide range of social interactions through both his whānau network and his daily work routines. The banter between Amy and Paul below outlines Pauls differing views on the importance of food:

Amy: *Do you like food?*

Paul: *Meh.*

Amy: *See! Why do you eat?*

Paul: *Because you'd die otherwise.*

In contrast to Amy's cultural perspective of everyday food as a vehicle for social interactions, Paul is more concerned with convenience and speed of preparation, particularly during his work day. In terms of dinner meals, he will eat what has been prepared, regardless of whether it is a meal that he enjoys eating or not. This pragmatic approach to food can be seen through the following comment by Paul:

> *When I say I don't like* [boil-up], *it's more I wouldn't cross the room to eat it, you know? If it's what's for dinner, you eat it. That's all there is to it. But if someone said to me 'What do you want to eat today?' Boil-up wouldn't be on it. Honestly, I've arguments or discussions with the guys in the office next door to me, and he says 'Oh you eat so much crap!' Well, it's convenient. It's not because I like it. I'm not sitting going to Burger King next door because it's nice, it's because it's next door. If they had put in a vegan salad bar right next door to my office as well I'd be eating that. It wouldn't bother me.*

The lack of time available to Paul for lunch means that it becomes a rushed intake of fuel instead of an enjoyable, social event. A defining characteristic of the modern era is reduced time, particularly during the working week.. Evening dinner parties with friends and social lunch meals have been replaced with grazing and fast foods (Schor, 1991). Contributing to the devaluing of everyday meals is the reductionist research paradigm whereby food is seen only in terms of calorific content and nutritional components (Hoffman, 2003). Time constraints, in conjunction with the rise of fast-foods, have seen a reduction in the importance of taste and social interaction around food consumption during the working week. Paul does not go to the fast food chain because he

enjoys how it tastes, but because he is being pragmatic: the conveniently located Burger King provides him with sustenance without the added cost of time.

The time pressures Paul experiences during his working day contrasts with the more time intensive and socially interactive food traditions of his family 'back home', where dishes such as rotten corn (kanga pirau), kina and shellfish are regarded as delicacies. In the quote below, Paul contrasts the way his family 'back home' live with his contemporary, urbanised experience.

> *It's backblocks though, it's not really Māori-dom anymore … right where the corner of the Motu hits the sea, and … they just jump up into the bush and go shoot a pig or two, or someone will bring down a beast, or, you know, they'll be out fishing and they'll bring back kahawai and all that, so it's real old school. When I say old school, I'm talking about a hundred years ago sort of thing. It's a weird place. It's not indicative* [of being Māori], *I don't think, anymore. Well, I don't actually think that there's anywhere else in New Zealand, other than maybe far North, where um, they still live in a Māori first language environment, and English is the secondary language.*

Paul's characterisation of the 'backblocks' as 'old-school' reveals the changing nature of both food and culture. Although he identifies as Māori, the more traditional Māori food sourcing methods that he outlines above are no longer a part of his everyday lifestyle. Interestingly, the foods mentioned (bringing a beast, shooting pigs) were mostly introduced to Aōtearōa/New Zealand by Europeans during the late 1700's. Foods such as corn, flour, pigs and mutton were subsequently absorbed into the Māori diet to such an extent that dishes such as kanga pirau (rotten corn) and rewana paraoa (sour-dough bread) became associated more with Māori than any other cultural group (Burton, 2009). Even the ubiquitous boil-up (pork bones boiled together with watercress, pōhara, or pūhā - sometimes

with the addition of motumotus or doughboys, and usually served with boiled potatoes, tomato sauce and salt) evolved from a working-class European dish based on boiled sausages, cabbage and potatoes. These changes in food consumption reflect the changing nature of culture and food traditions. We can see another example of this in the relative speed with which the widely eaten fern root was abandoned by pre-European Māori once other foods become widely available (Burton, 2009). The absorption and transformation of introduced European foods into Māori dishes such as kanga pirau, and Paul's subsequent characterisation of these foods as 'old-school', again showcases the fluidity of food-related practices over generations.

Even where Paul does not like or rejects certain foods, he still invokes food as central to being Māori. The gentle teasing by his family that 'he's not a real Māori because he does not like seafood' references foundational food traditions central to such bonding practices, despite Paul's reluctance to partake in certain (seafood) delicacies. We can see in these exchanges the centrality of certain foods (in this instance, seafood) in solidifying Paul's identities and membership with a cultural group (Mintz & Bois, 2002). Characterising a group with particular food-eating habits, such as 'all Māori like seafood' ignores the plurality of other food preferences and assumes the dominance of one particular cultural experience over others (Meredith, 1999a, 1999b). It also fails to address the multiplicity of identities, experiences, aspirations and hybrid connections that make up Paul's lived reality (Meredith & Parr, 2001). Categorising Māori into one homologous group overlooks regional variations (Meredith & Parr, 2001; Stokes, 1998) and subsumes the differing lived experiences of urbanites (Meredith, 2001). As an urbanite who is married to an immigrant, Paul's daily lived reality is different to the members of his wider family who live in more isolated, rural areas of New Zealand.

From these examples I have shown how Paul works to construct his identities as a Māori man living in an urban, cross-cultural space. He

retains traditional Māori cultural values such as *manaakitanga*, the importance of caring for others through the provision of food, and *whānaungatanga*, the importance of staying connected to whānau and wider familial links. He bonds with his children through shared urban experiences, just as his ancestors bonded with their children through shared hunting experiences. These elements are highly congruent with Amy's cultural values evident in her care of others and her maintenance of strong familial connections. I discuss these more fully in the next section, as I look at the construction of cake as a metonymic gift of care, representative of generosity and connection to others.

Gifts of cake and care

Amy has continued her mother's tradition of baking cakes for birthdays and special occasions. The process of creating and decorating cakes is time intensive and involves the sourcing of specialist ingredients at stores such as Nosh (Hamilton) or Farro's (Auckland). The time involved means that cake baking is a special event, one that is specifically employed during celebratory occasions. When considered within the context of Amy's busy life, the time and effort required to source, make, and decorate these special treats enhances their status as a gift of care (*cf.*, Hodgetts et al., 2013). The special nature of baking and decorating cakes sets it apart from the mundane everyday routines of the Marton household, elevating the time spent from routine to ritual. Just as the Linton household (Chapter 6) makes time for coffee, Amy makes time to create gifts of care that reflect her identity as a care-giver. In doing so, she re-connects with her memories of her late mother, ensuring that her mother's legacy of giving is recreated in the present day. Amy's daughters also enjoy the 'special time' of baking and decorating cakes.

Figure 6 shows Amy's daughters using icing nozzles to decorate cupcakes. The quote below reveals how baking and decorating have become a link connecting Amy to both her mother and her daughters:

Learning from my Mum; my kids are doing the same thing. So they are watching me and they wanted to make the cupcakes and play, because they saw me using my nozzle, so they wanted to do it. So that was me guiding them. And then, for Mothers' Day I went out all day and when I came back they had made me cake balls. All by themselves, just watching me. They made the cake from scratch, they made everything from scratch. So, I'm passing on what I've learnt from my Mum.

Figure 6: Decorating cupcakes with icing

This transference of cake decorating skills is another example of the way in which re-membering is integrated into everyday life. Re-membering is an on-going process (Keightley, 2010) and provides a way of bringing the past memories into the present, thus keeping forms of culture and identity alive in the future (Fortier, 1999). This process of learning (and enjoying) cake decorating highlights that memory is not a collection of discrete past episodes, but rather an on-going interpretative process of reconstruction, where memory is located as a part of everyday experience (Cubitt, 2008). Amy reconstructs her memories of her mother by continuing on her cake making traditions. Although Amy's mother is no longer present, Amy ensures that her daughters still receive the gift of a carefully crafted cake on their birthday. This tradition brings their collective memories of a mother

and a grandmother into present day birthday celebrations. The transference of cake baking and decorating skills also reflect the way in which Amy's daughters are learning important cultural values.

The rituals involved in cake baking and decorating can be seen to represent ideals such as the importance of giving, of contributing to the well-being of others, and of using food as a vehicle for care. In this family cupcakes are just as significant as the traditional 'Asian' or 'Māori' foods in conveying the values of generosity and sharing in a culturally meaningful way. The idea that only certain ethnic foods can convey cultural identities is an assumption that can lead to the stereotyping of food practices (Fortier, 1999). As discussed in the earlier section, the hybridic and fluid nature of food – in this case, cupcakes – reflects the multiplicity of connections and experiences that contribute towards the on-going construction of cultural identities.

The process of baking and decorating cakes for others adds another facet to the way in which Amy constructs her identity as a care-giver. During the photo-elicitation interview Amy showed multiple photographs of the expressions that cake recipients had on their faces when they saw 'their' special cake. It was a source of pride to her that her creations made others happy. One image was especially meaningful to Amy. This image was of her Irish mother-in-law receiving the special cupcakes that Amy had baked and decorated for her 60th birthday. Amy explains:

I love this photo [Figure 7], *because she* [Paul's mother] *does not show a lot of emotion, very much. And um, and so when I made her these for her birthday this year, um, she's Irish and her birthday's on St Patrick's Day, and so I made little over the rainbow cupcakes with a pot of gold and, you know, stuff. She was 60. And she was absolutely blown away because no-one had ever done that for her before … So that is why that photo* [Figure 7] *is so cool for me, because the joy in her face … 'cause it just showed she was so happy ... And all the siblings were so excited because no one has ever done that before for them. Yeah. So I really love that photo.*

Figure 7: St Patricks Day birthday cupcakes

In making time to bake and decorate special cupcakes for her mother-in-law, Amy expresses her role as care-giver and strengthens familial ties. Despite the often rushed nature of their everyday meals, Amy and Paul ensure that they take time as a family to celebrate important events such as birthdays, Christmases and Chinese New Year. Food is a central part of these events. To celebrate birthdays a special menu is made for the birthday person, who chooses what they would like for breakfast in bed. Amy remarks:

It's just what we do ... This is our own family thing, I mean, a lot of families do it. Well, not my family … Paul's family didn't really celebrate anything. Um, yeah, they were kind of on a budget.

The implication is that Paul's family were unable to afford the extra costs (such as gifts and festivity foods) associated with celebratory events. Other comments during the interview process, such as Paul's '*If it's what for dinner, you eat it*' also point towards a childhood where food was seen as primarily utilitarian. This utilitarian approach to food of Paul's family background fits well with the prevailing Western biomedical model, where food is viewed as merely a source of nutrition and only important in contributing to physical well-being (Ikeda, 1999). It is congruent with an English working-class approach, whereby the provision of simple, filling, inexpensive foodstuffs was prioritised over the more time-consuming elaborate dishes of the wealthy (Goody, 1982). Also congruent with a working-class approach is the ability of Irish immigrants to promote upward mobility amongst their children, primarily as a result of hard work (Walter, 2000). Paul's university education, his subsequent work ethic in starting his own IT business, and his decision to stop at two children (both Amy and Paul come from larger families with more siblings) suggests that he has internalised the desire to create a 'more enjoyable' life for his family. Amy's daily routines demonstrate a strong focus on food as a means of making people happy. Yet, it is Paul's provision for his family that creates the gift of time and resource needed in the creation of foodstuffs for others.

Chapter Summary

Identity construction is an on-going process. The tension between past lives and the current lived reality requires both Amy and Paul to construct notions of who they are on a daily basis. For Amy, maintaining certain food traditions allows her to maintain her identity as a Singaporean and her connectedness to her family. Since it is not a New Zealand custom to eat most meals in public spaces, Amy's grocery shopping expeditions are important in providing social interactions beyond the home. Baking for others is one way in which Amy is able to enact her role as care-giver, and to express her and Paul's shared cultural values of generosity and care. The connectedness with Amy's mother allows for

elements of memory and re-membering to be enacted, as well as providing opportunities for Amy to pass on these memories to her daughters. Paul has found ways to construct his identity as Māori and as an urbanite who has married an immigrant. Although he no longer partakes in many of his family's food traditions, he has retained the underlying core value systems such as *manaakitanga* and *whānaungatanga*, which are congruent with many Singaporean food related traditions. These underlying values are regularly expressed by Amy and Paul through non-traditional foodstuffs, showcasing the hybridic nature of both food and cultural identities.

Chapter Five: The Barrett[3] household

This chapter brings the reader the second of my three case studies: the Barrett household. This household comprises of an extended family grouping: Paiya, an immigrant from Sri Lanka and the matriarch of the household, her daughters Sandra and Tineke, her son-in-law Aran (who is married to Tineke), and her grand-daughter Jasmin. Jasmin is the daughter of Tineke and Aran and at the time of the interviews was six months in age. As a result of the widespread civil unrest, Paiya and her husband left Sri Lanka, initially settling in Germany before emigrating to New Zealand in the late 1990's. Tineke and Sandra were pre-schoolers when they first arrived in New Zealand. Both are now in their twenties, and consider New Zealand home. Aran identifies as Māori and has links to Ngati Tūwharetoa and Ngati Konohi through his mother and maternal grandparents. He has strong connections to his wider whānau network, many of whom, live within Hamilton and its surrounds.

This chapter is primarily focussed around food-related practices as reflective of cultural values, social worlds and ethnic heritage. In the first section I focus primarily on Paiya, in particular, the way in which she maintains her cultural identity and ethnic heritage as a Sri Lankan in diaspora through the preparation of authentic dishes from her homeland. The ubiquitous 'curry and rice' meal is examined and unpacked with regard to notions of ritual, feeding the family, cultural significance, and the translation of traditional practices into contemporary everyday life. Following on from this, I discuss the importance of the dinner meal to this household. In particular, its significance as a social ritual in affirming family relationships and solidifying group membership. Attention is also paid to anxiety around ideals of health and nutrition when time pressures result in the consumption of take-out meals. The final section unpacks and explores cultural notions of hospitality and its practice. Acts of hospitality

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[3] Pseudonyms used

provide a way for this household to solidify their social relationships with wider family networks, reinforce their bonds with each other, enact cultural values and engage in processes of identity construction and re-membering. For this family, food is a vehicle through which they are able to reaffirm their familial links and shared cultural values.

Curry and rice: the construction of identity in diaspora

All social groups create, transform and reproduce cultural representations of foods that make them distinctive from other societies (Fox & Smith, 2011). Paiya's identity as Sri Lankan is strongly connected to the distinctive tastes of the curry of her childhood. However, the food preferences of her daughters are less linked to their ethnic heritage, with their food preferences having been adapted and transformed through socialisation and changes within consumer society (Fox & Smith, 2011). Despite the clear differences that Paiya perceives in the types of curry cooked by the different cultural groups, Tineke and Sandra view Sri Lankan curries as being similar to Indian dishes. The following quote highlights their differing attitudes towards curry flavours:

> *Sandra:*   *It's pretty much all the same though.*
>
> *Paiya:*   *No, it's not … The Indian stuff is different to like the stuff in Sri Lanka. But mostly I just go get the Indian spices* [here in New Zealand]*.*

For Paiya, as with many of her compatriots, there is a clear distinction between Indian and Sri Lankan food traditions. However, Paiya's pragmatism and flexibility is related in her using what is readily available (in this case using Indian spices due to the difficulty in sourcing Sri Lankan spices). The importance that Paiya places on differentiating between Sri Lankan and Indian tastes, one that her daughters do not share, is unsurprising, given that Paiya has many cultural memories of growing up in Sri Lanka. These cultural memories are not shared by her daughters, who grew up in diaspora – first in Germany, then New Zealand. Another

way that we can see the importance of differentiating between Sri Lankan food traditions and those of nearby countries is in the efforts that Paiya goes to in order to source authentic Sri Lankan flavours. When she is able to travel to Sri Lanka she will return home laden with spices and other ingredients that are difficult to obtain in New Zealand. We can see these in Figure 8.

Figure 8: Pantry in a Sri Lankan/New Zealand household

Paiya regularly cooks curry and rice for the family's dinner meal. Like Amy in Chapter 4, Paiya maintains her identity in diaspora through the creation of dishes from her homeland. These tend to include spices

such as mustard seeds and tamarind, making dishes sweet, sour and heavily pungent (Harvey, 2011). These smells, tastes, and visceral sensations reconnect Paiya to people and places left behind. These sensations are easily visualised in Figure 9, which depicts Paiya preparing the dinner meal. She has just finished pounding the ginger and garlic and is adding these to the beef.

Figure 9: Paiya preparing the dinner meal

This photograph encapsulates one of the processes involved in preparing a (meat) curry. This routine, mundane event enables Paiya to engage in food preparation processes not too different to those of her homeland. In spending time cooking day-to-day meals, Paiya is also maintaining the cultural significance of food and its consumption, a significance shared by many South Asian women (Bush, Williams, Bradby, Anderson, & Lean, 1998). The process of meal-making, of 'feeding the family' means two things: providing nourishing and satisfying foods for the family, and maintaining the family unit – keeping the family together (DeVault, 1991). In cooking for the family, Paiya is not just contributing towards their physical hunger, but is also providing a space within which the family can engage in familiar conversations and rituals. These rituals work to cement the family bonds between family members and contribute towards their shared cultural identities (Frantz, 2010).

Processes of food preparation incorporate elements of ritual when they speak to notions of identity and heritage (Frantz, 2010). Paiya mentions the highly time-intensive rituals associated with coconut preparation (a staple ingredient in many curries) in the following quote:

It was a different way of cooking. We used to, at the beginning they used to cook with the outside pot. Outside pot, outside, like ah, fire … Over there [in Sri Lanka] *it is a big preparation cooking. Cause you've got to scrape the coconut, get the milk out, it's like, yeah. But again, just rice and curry every day. There will be two or three vegetables, like all the kind of, I don't know, leafy vegetables.*

In comparison to the long preparation times required by many traditional Sri Lankan foods (Senauer, Sahn, & Alderman, 1986), the wide availability of coconut milk, rice, meat and spices in New Zealand makes curry and rice a quick, simple, inexpensive dish to prepare. This makes it easier for Paiya to continue cooking rice and curry as the staple meal for the family, despite her work schedule outside the home. Another contributor to decreased food preparation time is being able to purchase meat already pre-cut. Aran explains:

Cause normally at the meat shop the meat comes like, they've got like meat already chopped up and stuff. So then you just, it's already cut, so you just make the curry and just chuck that in.

We can see that time is an important factor in decisions around food. With all (adult) members of the household working outside the home, there is less time to spend scraping coconut and pounding spices. Although Paiya's food preparation rituals may look different when engaged in outside of Sri Lanka, the process itself creates a way for her to re-connect with her ethnic heritage (Frantz, 2010). Using tinned coconut milk and pre-cut meat provides a way of recreating the rituals associated with authentic Sri Lankan dinner dishes within the time constraints of work and family life, thus maintaining her, and her daughters' links to their shared ethnic

heritage. 'Traditional' culinary practices are maintained in contemporary ways, such as eating meals together where the meals conform to the families' indigenous regional culinary habits (Laungani, 2005), or eating out at ethnic restaurants (Collins, 2008). For this household, the traditional meals which required all day to prepare are translated into an urbanized environment, where the tastes of Sri Lanka are maintained without the need for the surrounding time-consuming rituals.

Aran has happily embraced eating curry and rice as a part of his new life with Tineke. He is mostly responsible for the family's regular supermarket shop, and in the previous quote we see that he ensures pre-cut meat is purchased so that Paiya is able to prepare curry dishes for the family meal. This relatively simple act evidences Aran's support of Paiya and her food traditions, while also contributing towards emotional harmony in the home (Li et al., 2010). In providing meat for curry dishes Aran is acknowledging the important role that Paiya plays in their lives and ensuring space and security for Paiya to continue to engage in meaningful food-related practices. Cooking as a form of everyday domestic practice can evoke feelings of familiarity and continuity, despite changes in living arrangements (Li et al., 2010). The changes due to the addition of Aran, and later Jasmine, to the family group are mitigated through the continuation of curry and rice dishes for dinner.

The eating of curry and rice as a part of their everyday life offers a context for Paiya, Tineke and Sandra to reaffirm their Sri Lankan connections whilst living and working as New Zealanders. Maintaining one's food traditions allows immigrants to retain their cultural links (Law, 2001) and ethnic identities (Mintz & Bois, 2002). The preparation and consumption of familiar foods represents one way in which familiarity in everyday life can be recreated (Collins, 2008). The transference of these food traditions to the next generation becomes the form with which memories of the past are mediated with present living conditions, thus keeping some form of ethnic identity alive in the future (Fortier, 1998, 1999). In cooking for the family, Paiya both recreates her food traditions

and transfers to her daughters a sense of connectedness to their country of origin. In sharing her cooking with her daughters, Paiya is also ensuring continuity of relationship. Food and eating patterns mediate strong bonds between mothers and daughters, even where biographical narratives and societal structures change and move in diverse directions (Bugge & Almås, 2006). For women, especially women in diaspora, cooking certain foods is way of retaining gendered cultural capital and reaffirming ethnic identities (D'Sylva & Beagan, 2011).

While I have focussed primarily in this section on the preparation of curry as the main contributor towards identity and heritage, it is worth mentioning that rice is also an important part of everyday life within many South East Asian cultures (Kratoska, 2008), including Sri Lanka (Senauer et al., 1986; Smith, 2006; Weerakoon et al., 2011). Rice has significant social status and ritual importance (Smith, 2006), is important to the Sri Lankan economy (Weerakoon et al., 2011), and contributes towards notions of culture and identity (Senauer et al., 1986). For the Barrett family rice is the staple ingredient of many dinner meals, with their bench-top rice cooker allowing for a quick, easy method of cooking and serving rice. It is assumed that rice will be served at most meals. The ubiquitous term 'rice and curry' is used to describe dishes, whether referring to childhood meals "that's all I remember eating, just rice and curry" or special occasions "like for barbeque we also make barbeque and also rice, curry". The simple, everyday nature of rice, in terms of both its availability and its ease of preparation, make it easy to overlook. Yet its presence is as much a cultural marker as the flavours and tastes of (Sri Lankan) curry.

The following section moves now towards the consumption of meals, specifically, the social practices surrounding the dinner meal. I will outline and discuss the importance of the everyday evening meal to the Barrett family, and the way in which their social practices surrounding this meal contribute towards harmonious relationships within the home.

Everyday dinner meals: fostering family togetherness

The way in which families eat together is being altered by the increase in eating pre-prepared meals, both inside and outside the home (Bailey & Earle, 1999; Caplan, 1994; Mintz, 1985). Alongside this change is a decrease in the amount of leisure time that many modern families have, resulting in fewer home-cooked meals and less time spent in enjoying leisurely meals (Schor, 1991). According to Caplan (1994), this has resulted in the structure of the meal "dissolving into a pattern of ragged and discontinuous but frequent snacks" (p.28), with Mintz (1985) also expressing concern that these types of eating habits are alienating families due to the erosion of the social relations fostered by eating meals together. The decrease in leisure time, subsequent time scarcity and their relationship to food choices is still being fully explored (Jabs & Devine, 2006). Yet despite increasing time pressure on families, the evening meal still retains importance within the family unit (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Bugge & Almås, 2006).

Dinner meals are full of complex cultural, social and emotional interactions, making them more like a ritual than just a routine meal (Bugge & Almås, 2006; Douglas, 1998). They reflect physical and psychological internalizations of socially acceptable foodstuffs, making them a metaphorical extension of the ritual feast (Smith, 2006). Food can be ritualistic even if it is not laden with symbolic meaning. The eating of wedding cake in parts of the Western world is an important part of the wedding ritual even though it no longer retains as much significance for many wedding goers (Charsley, 1992). In a similar way, the act of eating together at the end of the day can also be seen as an important family ritual. The evening, or dinner, meal is full of cultural, social and emotional connections, thus elevating it from a routine meal to that of a ritual (Bugge & Almås, 2006). It often has special meaning as a family meal (Bove et al., 2003; Murcott, 1982) and is viewed as an important time to be with family members (Blake, Bisogni, Sobal, Jastran, & Devine, 2008). The social context of the evening meal is highly significant in influencing food

choices, with family relationships valued more highly than specific foods eaten (Blake et al., 2008).

The Barrett household routinely eat the dinner meal together at the end of their working day. In contrast to breakfast, which is an individual, rushed event, and lunch, which is primarily eaten at work, eating the evening meal is viewed as an important part of the family's everyday life. It represents a time where, despite their busy lives, important familial and social rituals are enacted. As with many urbanites, the cultural importance of breakfast and lunch has diminished, and dinner has become the most important meal (Mellin-Olsen & Wandel, 2005). The value of the evening meal can be seen in the many images of dinner dishes within the Barrett's 'world of food' photographs. Ingredients, food preparation, and final dishes were all photographed. Figure 10 shows an example of this:

Figure 10: Dinner meal and ingredients.

In the top image we can see Paiya preparing the ingredients. Although family members acknowledged that cooking was a shared chore, Paiya often prepares and cooks the dinner meal. During the working week take-out was often purchased for dinner meals, as shown in the following excerpt:

Sandra: We also have a lot of take-away actually.

Tineke: Recently, we have.

Sandra: Just Monday to Friday.

Interviewer: Is that because you're working and you don't get home until half-past-five?

Tineke: 'Cos I cook all the time [laughs]. I never cook [laughs].

Sandra: But yeah, so we eat take-away.

The purchasing of take-out for the family's dinner meal is perceived as not very healthy. Healthy meals were seen as ones that were cooked from scratch using fresh produce. However, with all four adults working outside the home, often everyone is too tired at the end of the working day to then spend time creating a meal in the kitchen. This tendency of working parents to 'send out' for food is long-standing and common across cultures (Goody, 1982). What is more recent is the manipulation of the culture around food and eating by marketers seeking to promote profitability over local customs, resulting in an abundance of generic fast-food take-out places and a subsequent reduction in other forms of pre-cooked dinners (Duff, 1999). The effects of these time pressures are common to many working parents and are discussed in more depth with the Linton household case study (Chapter 6). The Barrett family mitigates the effects of increased time pressure by purchasing generic dinner options that are speedily and easily available. After work is also the time of day when snack food is eaten – around five pm when people arrive home and are hungry, but before dinner is ready:

Aran: We have snacks all the time. She'll come home after work and just eat.

<blockquote>

Sandra: *Five o-clock is the worst time.*

Aran: *In the fridge, or chips, chocolate, biscuits just whatever is there. Come home after work and.*

Paiya: *That is why sometimes I make those small snack type of things … I don't think that they are bad snacks.*

Tineke: *But they're deep fried*

Paiya: *Because it is fried but it is made with the protein. It has got salt as well.*

[Tineke brings the snacks out for me to taste. They are delicious.]

Paiya: *There is a sweet one. You might like the sweet one I think. It is fried in oil but it is much better than the chips. Because the flour is like Channa flour. It is like the protein flour or whatever. Channa is like, Dahl. Ground chickpea. Because the people who are like vegetarian people that is what they eat for like protein stuff, Dahl and all that. But it's good though.*

</blockquote>

This exchange reveals Paiya's belief that her homemade snacks are 'better' than commercially prepared ones. The discourses of the Barrett household around snack and take-out consumption, ostensibly framed as a concern for health and nutrition, reveal both the importance of and the taken-for-granted nature of home-cooked foods as a symbolic expression of care. Home-cooked food is often constructed as a moral expression of appropriate care for the family (Jackson et al., 2006), with at-home meals associated with the provision of healthier and more nutritious foods (Blake et al., 2008; Hage, 1997; Murcott, 1982).

The physical provision of a dinner meal reflects care for the family's emotional and social well-being (Bugge & Almås, 2006), with mothers in particular often expected to take much of the responsiblity for caring for the family through food (Fox & Smith, 2011). However, caring through food involves a lot more than simply choosing the 'healthiest' option (Jackson et al., 2006). The social context surrounding food is often more influential on food choice than supposed health benefits (Blake et al., 2008). Economic

factors also play a role (Fox & Smith, 2011), as do notions of cultural 'taste' (Bourdieu, 1984). Nevertheless, the hurriedness of everyday life does generate some anxiety over the increasing use of convenience foods which threaten the symbolic expression of care in cooking family meals 'from scratch' (Warde, 1997). This anxiety is expressed in the Barrett household through concerns over health and their use of take-out as a substitute for a home-cooked meal. The effects of this hurriedness can also be seen in the tendency to snack after work, and the reluctance of family members to spend time in cooking meals during their working week.

Despite the busy lifestyles of many contemporary urban families, eating together remains an important component of family life, to be enjoyed whenever circumstances allow (Dickinson & Leader, 1998). More important than the specific foods provided is the social aspect of gathering together and the fostering of family relationships (Blake et al., 2008; Mintz, 1985). Eating communally, as a family, transforms a mundane meal into an occasion of social renewal (Dickinson & Leader, 1998). Even where the 'cooked dinner' is a generic take-away meal, the symbolic value of the meal, and its ability to bring the family together, remains (Dickinson & Leader, 1998). This means that eating dinner at home is still an important everyday ritual for many families (Bugge & Almås, 2006). Even when sharing generic take-out dinners, the Barrett household still fosters family togetherness through eating the meal at home. Eating together at the end of their working day provides an opportunity for enjoyable social interactions, thus strengthening relationships within the family group.

Food plays an important role in everyday life in the creation and maintenance of group identities and affiliations (Collins, 2008). It serves both to solidify group membership and to set groups apart (Mintz & Bois, 2002). For families, their identity as a family is maintained by eating together (Dickinson & Leader, 1998). Food consumption in the form of a family meal serves to socially construct the family and cement the relationships within it (DeVault, 1991). This can be seen in the Barrett household where the dinner meal provides a context within which

connections are made and relationships reaffirmed. The sharing of a meal as a family becomes a metaphorical representation of the sharing of domestic spaces and lives within the household.

In this current section I have focussed on the everyday routine dinner meal, its contribution to family harmony and importance in solidifying relationships within the household. I turn my attention now to 'special meals', that is, meals where the Barrett household are hosting guests and enacting processes of hospitality. In comparison to their everyday 'curry and rice' meals, extra effort and attention is paid to both foods provided and the comfort of their guests. This coming section unpacks and explores the underlying cultural values and beliefs guiding these acts of hospitality. Particular attention is given to identity construction, processes of re-membering, and the way in which being hospitable acts to strengthen social bonds.

Hospitality: ensuring cultural and social well-being

Food embodies deeply held values and beliefs (Mintz & Bois, 2002), and particular practices of hospitality are indicative of both cultural values and ethnic heritage (Marsden, 2012). Hospitality goes beyond mere physical provision and the offering food to guests; it requires freely giving time, attention, consideration and effort to ensure that guests are welcomed and comfortable (Jansen, 1997). It reflects and articulates the complex relationship between the domestic space of the home, the social bonds between host and guest, and the mutual obligations of both (Shryock, 2004, 2009). Hospitality is a taken for granted aspect of this household's everyday life. It reflects wider values and belief systems, is deeply interconnected with a sense of self, ethnic and cultural identity, and is central to their social world.

The provision of hospitality and the care taken in providing plenty of food for guests is an important and longstanding tradition of this family. Part of this is the shared assumption that the household will provide a

variety of plentiful food dishes, as shown in the following exchange between household members:

Aran:	*I guess even, even when people come over, we sort of like make food different to what we normally make. Um,*
Tineke:	*Like we'll go out of our way to make sure we have a proper dessert, or something, not just chocolate. […]*
Paiya:	*And there will be a lot of variety ... like more and more, like for barbeque we also make barbeque and also rice, curry, and*
Aran:	*Yeah, instead of just making the normal you know meat and vegetables and rice* [others agreeing] *we'll make a couple of different vegetables and stuff. […]*
Tineke	*Actually one time Mum invited one of her friends to dinner, just one person, and she made so much food.*
Sandra	*Like when someone else comes Mum always makes lots of different dishes.*
Tineke	*And it's just like so much, so much variety, to make sure that they go away satisfied.*

Here the household are comparing their everyday dinner meals to those provided to guests. We can see the different approaches between everyday meals, and meals with guests, in that meals with guests entails the provision of many types of dishes. The abundance of food provision can also be seen in the Figure 11, in the photographs taken from the birthday celebration meal that the Barrett family hosted for a member of Aran's extended family.

Figure 11: A selection of birthday dinner dishes.

From top left are vegetable bake; lamb chops and sausages; chicken dish; seafood salad; lamb curry; rice, curry, steak. While not all of the dishes provided were photographed, the images still showcase the wider selection of dishes on offer when compared to their everyday 'curry and rice' dinners.

When discussing the family barbecue, the Barrett family talked about the importance of ensuring that people had enough to eat:

Aran	*… you always want … to ensure that they're had enough and to ensure that*
Tineke	*It kind of backfires though, cos at the end of the meal they're like 'Oh, I've gained, another day I've eaten too much.' Like after the barbecue they're all like, 'Whew!'*
Sandra	*But they still do it.*
Tineke	*I love that. Like when people do that, it's a good feeling. Like it's good when they stuff themselves. It means, I don't know … like it's a good feeling when people are like full. When, they you know? And they don't feel comfortable. It's actually a good feeling.*
Aran	*So like they're comfortable enough to come and like just eat all the food, eat whatever they want and then, you know.*
Tineke	*Well, like, I guess we've done our job, like, we've fed them up properly, you know, we've invited them to eat.*
Sandra	*And we've made sure that they are stuffed! They didn't just, you know, they're not just content.*

This exchange between family members reveals their shared belief that 'proper' hospitality is not just the provision of more than enough food, but encompasses elements of care and comfort. Caring for one's guests and ensuring that they have plenty of food is an important part of both Māori (Nikora, 2007) and Sri Lankan culture (Mellin-Olsen & Wandel, 2005). The act of providing for their guests, and the provision of many types of food, is one way that the Barrett household strengthens their shared Māori-Sri Lankan identity.

In ensuring that his guests are fed, welcomed and looked after, Aran is enacting the principle of *manaakitanga* (Gilgen, 2008; Johnston, 2008). The Māori cultural concept of *manaakitanga* foregrounds the

importance of paying heed to the needs of other people as a basis for building reciprocal and trusting relationships (Johnson, Hodgetts, & Nikora, 2013) and is enacted through processes of reciprocity, hospitality, and acts of kindness (Nikora, 2007). In this household, the values and strategies for everyday life underpinning the concept of *manaakitanga* have been translocated from traditional customary practices and adapted to an urban space (Groot, Hodgetts, Nikora, & Leggat-Cook, 2011).

The well-being of his extended family is important to Aran, and he ensures this through the provision of more than enough food. In preparation for hosting guests, Aran will undertake an extra food (meat) sourcing journey in order to ensure that there is a plethora of dishes to eat. The abundant provision transcends mere physical sustenance and is representative of the caring and reciprocal nature of the relationships between Aran and his wider family. Although the practice of *manaakitanga* may look physically different to the practice of his ancestors, the underlying values of care and reciprocity underlie many of Aran's suburban celebrations, thus allowing for the continuation of core cultural values and contributing towards what it means to 'be Māori'.

Hospitality is always partially unseen (Shryock, 2004). As a social performance, many of its most important elements are time-delayed or acted out elsewhere (Shryock, 2004). The bulk of the food preparation, for instance, occurs prior to guests arriving, the abundance of food can last the host family for several days after the event, and decisions about who to invite or who attends may not be plainly stated. In the provision of hospitality we see the division between public and private, the secret and the shown, and the home and the not-home (Derrida, 2000). These elements are encapsulated within Māori culture through the concepts of *mua* (front) and *muri* (back) (Groot et al., 2011). Within the context of the marae these concepts designate the spatial zones related to those working to provide for guests ('out the back'), and the formal roles assigned to those who occupy the space 'out front' (Groot et al., 2011). The Barrett household translocate these concepts to their domestic

practice of hospitality. The work typically done 'out the back' in a marae setting is now done before guests arrive or after they have left, with the family moving into the role of host 'out front' while guests are present.

In the above examples of everyday practice, Aran has created a context within which he can continue his cultural traditions. These socially inherited traditions contribute to both his sense of self and his cultural identity (Jansen, 1997; Rosenblatt, 2011). The provision of food for guests enacts cultural belief systems that value generosity and care for others, enabling Aran to retain a sense of 'being Māori' within an urban setting. The transformation of traditional protocols into contemporary urbanised lifestyles occurs when the underlying values and meanings are translated into everyday practices (Shryock, 2004). It is the meaning behind these practices that is of significance, not the actual practices themselves (Rosenblatt, 2011). The family barbecue celebration showcases an example of this in the lives of Aran and his wider whānau. Despite being displaced from their traditional homelands, they have found ways of reconfiguring the practice of *manaakitanga* through retaining key underlying values. These values of caring for others, hospitality and generosity are woven into Aran's everyday practices and give these practices value and meaning.

The performance of everyday hospitality is also an important part of the identities of many South Asian peoples (Marsden, 2012). The provision of specific types of hospitality are reflective of particular ethnic identities (Jansen, 1997), and speak to a sense of national identity (Cash, 2013). In the provision of many types of Sri Lankan dishes, Paiya is both constructing and reinforcing her, and her daughters', identity's as Sri Lankan. South Asian cultures in general view hospitality as important, with the provision and consumption of food considered essential for any social gathering (Mellin-Olsen & Wandel, 2005). The responsibilities of the host are interwoven into aspects of everyday life and are often unseen and unremarked upon. We can see these taken-for-granted aspects in the following excerpt:

Tineke	*Actually when other people do come over we make an extra effort to go out of our way to make extra food … I think one of the first things I say when someone's coming over is 'Oh god do we have enough food?' […]*
Sandra	*And that's the other thing, yeah, just having lots of food for random people coming over as well.*
Aran	*Just like having leftovers in the fridge so like if people come over they can have those.*
Paiya	*Especially like when you were small having people over after school and stuff, having something there to eat. So they've grown up there like that … They come after school and you don't want to say that if they're hungry, they wouldn't ask, but you know that they might be hungry and just like,*
Tineke	*Like feeding people when they come in is like a thing we have to do.*
Sandra	*I guess to make them feel welcome, cause you, you know, when you,*
Tineke	*Yeah, to make them feel at home.*
Sandra	*To make them feel like it's their house as well because they can eat, sort of thing, I dunno, it just like brings you together.*

In this quote we can see how the provision of food is a natural and normal element of hospitality in the Barrett household. The social practice of offering home-cooked food textures their domestic space (de Solier & Duruz, 2013; Hodgetts, Rua, King, & Te Whetu, under review). This culturally-patterned provision of care for guests transforms their domestic dwelling into a home (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Groot & Hodgetts, 2012). In creating an atmosphere of care and ensuring that guests feel 'at home', the Barrett household are cementing their own feelings of belonging.

In the provision of hospitality to related family members, Aran is connecting with his whakapapa and re-membering his cultural heritage. Past occurrences of hospitality, as enacted by elders and other (older) family members, are brought forward into the present, connecting both providers and recipients with past generations (Cash, 2013). This contributes towards a sense of identity, belonging and connection with the heritage groups that Aran is entitled to be a part of (Nikora, 2007). Despite being somewhat removed from the immediacy of his tribal homelands, substance is able to be given to his identity as Māori through participating in social events with wider family members (Nikora, 2007). In engaging in these social events, including acts of generosity, Aran establishes concordance between traditional cultural practices and contemporary everyday life, forging deep links between his personal and national identities (Cash, 2013).

The generous provision of food at the birthday barbecue reinforces the family's social bonds with Aran's extended family and exhibits mutual care (Cash, 2013; Jansen, 1997). It also contributes towards building bonds of trust between Aran's extended family and his in-laws, allowing them to find mutual commonalities despite their differing social backgrounds and contrasting group identities (Marsden, 2012). Connectedness to, and care of, wider family groups is an important part of both Māori and Sri Lankan cultures. Sri Lankan people are typically family orientated and maintain close family ties with extended family members (van den Berg & Ball, 2008). Extended family households within East Asian cultures are highly prevalent, with parents often living with their married children and/or grandchildren (Cheal, 2008; Laungani, 2005; Sarwono, 2008). Even where families live in separate residences, strong familial ties are still maintained by living nearby (Cheal, 2008), participation in regular collective activities (Laungani, 2005), and involvement in decision making processes (Sarwono, 2008) or business activities (Adams, 2001).

As an immigrant to New Zealand, Paiya has less opportunity to maintain her wider familial links. Although she returns to Sri Lanka on occasion, and enjoys these opportunities to reconnect with her family, it is not the same as living nearby. Being able to create new familial links through her son-in-law and her grand-daughter provides a way for Paiya to participate in social interactions with family in a manner that is congruent with her cultural values. The connectedness of people through kinship ties within a Māori cultural framework is encapsulated by the value of *whānaungatanga* (Johnson et al., 2013; Nikora, 2007). *Whānaungatanga* ties people together in bonds of association and obligation and gives meaning to relationships across time and place (Nikora, 2007; Ritchie, 1992). Within the Barrett household, *whānaungatanga* acts as a cultural driver to ensure a sense of connection and belonging to Aran's wider family. In attending a family barbecue hosted by Aran, his wider family are effectively extending their connectedness to Aran's in-laws. By ensuring that Paiya, Tineke, and Sandra have opportunity to contribute meaningfully towards the celebrations, they are creating a sense of inclusiveness and belonging. Thus the gathering together to celebrate a birthday provides a relaxed and congenial way of reaffirming shared cultural values and wider familial links.

I have discussed above how the act of giving food reinforces social bonds to wider family groups. While the facilitation of social relations is typically constructed in terms of host and guest, in enacting generosity to others, the Barrett family is also contributing towards harmonious relationships within their home. The photographs and associated commentary from the family barbecue reveal the taken-for-granted assumption that both cultures represented within the home will also be represented on the dinner table. The dinner table thus becomes symbolic of the combined heritage of the hosts, the value accorded to both ethnic groups, and contributes towards harmonious social relations within the home. In engaging in acts of hospitality, Tineke and Aran are able to show support for each other's heritage and culture. The provision of Sri Lankan curry and rice alongside steak, lamb chops and sausages – 'typical' New

Zealand barbecue fare – symbolises the shared value of *manaakitanga*, evokes memories of past events, and celebrates the equitable contribution of both cultures.

The act of providing food for guests is an act of ethnic and cultural identity (Cash, 2013). In providing certain types of food for guests the Barrett household strengthens and (re)constructs their shared identities. The compatibility of the underlying values from two cultural groups leads to a new hybrid (third) space for their children. This third space allows room for their children to access, in this instance, three distinct cultural identities – and associated foodstuffs. The hybridic nature of shared identities challenges the idea of culture as being fixed, static, and neatly bounded. The seamless weaving together within the Barrett household of differing food traditions provides us with a tangible illustration of the ways in which cultural identities can be hybridic, fluid and interconnected.

In this section I have discussed both the importance of providing curry and rice in the construction of Paiya's ethnic identity, the way in which of hospitality acts to reinforce Aran's cultural identity, and how Tineke and Sandra engage in acts of everyday hospitality as a way of linking their ethnic heritage with their cultural identity as New Zealanders. In coming together to provide for guests, the sharing of household tasks 'out the back' creates a sense of shared identity amongst family members. In engaging in mundane tasks such as purchasing extra food, preparing dishes, and cooking together, the Barrett family is contributing towards a sense of cohesion as a family that transcends a sense of 'being Māori' or 'being Sri Lankan'. In coming together to enact processes of hospitality, the Barrett family are not just enacting shared cultural values, but are also re-articulating their individual and shared identities' and identity spaces (Marsden, 2012; Shryock, 2009).

Chapter summary

In this chapter I have explored cultural values, social worlds and ethnic heritage as reflected in the preparation of familiar foods, and the way in which tastes, smells and textures connects people to specific places and times. In particular, how Paiya reconnects with her homeland through the use of particular spices and food preparation activities. Following on from this, the act of consuming the dinner meal is unpacked with regard to its wider symbolic value. The use of familiar foods and social practices around eating the evening meal makes it possible for the Barrett family to reground themselves at the end of a busy day, while maintaining a sense of group identity and strengthening their family unit. Their dinner meal becomes a metaphorical extensions of the ritual feast, where the Barrett household come together to enact social worlds that are familiar. And lastly, I discuss in-depth the wider social and cultural processes encapsulated within the provision of hospitality by the Barrett family when hosting a family barbecue. In providing many dishes for people to eat, from both heritages represented in the household, the Barrett family are honouring the generosity of their forebears in being generous themselves. This congruence of values between the differing cultural backgrounds present in the Barrett household significantly contributes towards both household harmony and the overall well-being of all family members.

Chapter Six: The Linton[4] household

This chapter introduces the Linton family, which is primarily characterised by time scarcity. Katarina and Evan juggle multiple roles and responsibilities in managing careers, domestic duties, their relationship with each other, and caring for their sons. As with many working parents, they face the daily pressures of integrating demanding work and family lives (Devine et al., 2006). One of the ways in which parents cope with these competing demands is to reduce time spent in domestic chores, including reducing time spent sourcing, preparing, cooking and eating food (Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer, & Robinson, 2000; Jabs & Devine, 2006). For the Linton household, incorporating food sourcing into other daily activities, eating out, purchasing ready-made foodstuffs, and eating in transit reflect ways in which Evan and Katarina manage reduced time for food-related activities. These strategies, while helping with regard to time pressures, are often at odds with messages from health professionals regarding healthy eating ideals (Parnell, Scragg, Wilson, Schaaf, & Fitzgerald, 2003). Health messages around food are often strongly linked to middle-class notions of healthy and unhealthy foodstuffs (Crotty, 1999), increasing feelings of guilt and contributing to the pressure felt by working parents to provide 'good' family meals. This case study highlights aspects of class implicit in assumptions around healthy eating ideals. These aspects are made visible in the Linton household as they negotiate their daily lives, including the provisioning of meals for two hungry boys. Contributing to aspects of food and class are Katarina's experiences of food insecurity and her desire to ensure that her boys always have plenty of good food at their disposal. I begin now with a discussion of Katarina's experiences.

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[4] Pseudonyms used

Food insecurity and processes of dis(re)membering and change

In this section I discuss Katarina's memories of her early years with her birth mother, Karen. Particular attention is given to the way in which Katarina's experiences of food insecurity are connected to processes of dis(re)membering, identity formation, her determination to be a 'good' mother who ensures 'proper' meals for her family, and the subsequent contribution that this has on her time.

Katarina's memories of her years with her birth mother are characterised by hunger, poverty and feelings of unhappiness. The food that Karen provided is so intertwined with food deprivation and unpleasantness that Katarina is still completely unable to eat, cook or serve these foods, as shown in the following exchange between her and Evan:

> *Evan*   *It's delicious! It's bread and jam on a little bit of cream*
> *[Laughter] It's because I don't have the psychological*
> *hang-ups so I can think about the flavours! [Laughter].*
> *Katarina*   *It's true! Whereas he just thinks of the flavour and*
> *goes 'Oh this is delicious' and I go, 'I remember being*
> *in the dark eating this with no light bulbs!'*

It is not just the food that Katarina is responding to here, but the association between the visceral taste and the re-membered feelings of deprivation. As outlined previously, the ability of polysensual memories to convey a feeling is powerful. Taste, smell and texture are all highly visceral, and have the capacity to embody memories, bringing them forward from the past into the present. Here food acts as a vehicle for specific memories and feelings: particular tastes, textures and flavours instantly transport Katarina back to being an unhappy, hungry child who is eating bread and jam in the dark. For her, re-membering this period of her childhood is a negative, unpleasant process. Avoiding certain foods

provides a way for Katarina to dis(re)member the unpleasant parts of her heritage.

Not all memories are welcome. Official commemorations and memorials of tragic societal or community level events are common, and suggest that unfortunate events of the past should not be forgotten. However, sometimes past memories are too painful, resulting in people choosing to actively ignore and disassociate themselves from previous events. Landzelius (2003) applies the term 'commemorative dis(re)membering' to attempts to minimise painful cultural memories. Objects and landscapes relating to the preservation of national heritage often provide only limited representations of past events. The emphasis on solid and static memorials ignores the reality that memories are socially and culturally constructed, and involve identity struggles in the present (Keightley, 2010; Landzelius, 2003). Katarina's attempts to dis(re)member are highly personal, involving her daily practices and routines in relation to food. Certain foods are literally, as well as metaphorically, dis(re)membered as Katarina seeks to create a new heritage for herself and her children. The food landscape Katarina seeks to leave behind is one that reflects poverty, hardship and food insecurity.

The health and well-being of the entire household is intimately connected with issues of food (in)security (Belsky, Moffitt, Arseneault, Melchior, & Caspi, 2010). For children, food insecurity is associated with lasting emotional distress, regardless of whether or not other factors are present (Belsky et al., 2010). It is also difficult for parents who are struggling to find ways to feed their children. Food is often regarded as the only 'discretionary' item in their budgets as other costs such as rent need to be covered first, leaving little left over for food (Presbyterian Support Otago, 2008). Parents of low-income families report going without food and heating in order to find ways of providing enough for their children to eat (Presbyterian Support Otago, 2011). Trying to feed the family on very little is highly stressful, with food shopping in particular becoming very difficult and time consuming (Presbyterian Support Otago, 2008). Parents

repeatedly outline the lengths they go to in order to try and protect their children from the worst of this deprivation, but even with their best efforts their children sometimes go hungry (Fletcher & Dwyer, 2008; Turner & Asher, 2008).

When discussing food insecurity in families, it is important to consider the wider societal framework within which such insecurity exists. Food insecurity occurs in conjunction with poverty and poverty-related issues. Increasing income inequalities in developed nations has resulted in growing poverty amongst lower-income families, despite overall increases in gross domestic product (GDP) (Kacapyr, 1998; Offer, Pechey, & Ulijaszek, 2010). The reality is that growth in GDP is simply not shared across the entire population and increases in poverty are the result (Hodgetts, Chamberlain et al., 2013). In consequence, developed nations are seeing increased levels of food insecurity (Carne & Mancini, 2012; Melchior et al., 2009; Roustit, Hamelin, Grillo, Martin, & Chauvin, 2010; Smith, Parnell, & Brown, 2010), with households living in more deprived areas more likely to report food insecurity, as are Māori and Pacific households (Parnell et al., 2003; Presbyterian Support Otago, 2011; Ramsey, Giskes, Turrell, & Gallegos, 2012). In many families, food insecurity occurs alongside other forms of social inequality, with issues such as domestic violence (Power, 2006), substance abuse (Dunn et al., 2002), mental health (Melchior et al., 2009), and limited social support prevalent (Belsky et al., 2010; Boon & Farnsworth, 2011; Coldwell, Pike, & Dunn, 2006). Even so, economic factors still remain the most significant influence on food poverty (Parnell et al., 2003; Ramsey et al., 2012; Warde, 1997). This includes distance to shops and transport issues (Webber, Sobal, & Dollahite, 2010), and the unavailability of cooking and storage facilities (Dachner & Tarasuk, 2002).

These wider issues surrounding food poverty as outlined in the preceding paragraphs are often ignored in dominant discourses surrounding food (in)security. Also ignored are the contributions of things such as food preferences, time pressures and cultural issues (Smith et al.,

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2010). It is worth noting that where there are increases in the incomes of low-income families, the extra money is mostly used for buying better quality food (Brimblecombe, 2010) and extra fruit and vegetables (Gregg, 2005). While a full discussion around poverty and food insecurity is beyond the scope of this thesis, I briefly mention it here as it relates to the overall themes of this thesis. There are wider societal and cultural implications for food traditions, in that traditions may be lost or discarded when there is no longer the money available to purchase food laden with cultural value. We can see hints of this in the foods (un)provided by Karen. In this case, Katarina's paternal grandparents were able to provide new food traditions and to create meaningful memories for Katarina to draw from in providing for her own children.

Much of the research on food insecurity focusses on easily quantifiable aspects such as household income levels (Ramsey et al., 2012), nutritional values (Strolla, Gans, & Risica, 2006; Webber et al., 2010) and physical health (Drewnowski & Specter, 2004). Less easily quantifiable aspects, such as feelings of love and care despite levels of food availability, are more challenging to measure and discuss. Yet, as Katarina shows in the quote below, it is these more intangible elements which are salient for her.

> *But she was also an abusive mother. So it wasn't, you know, poor food cooked with love, it was poor people's food cooked with hate.*

The above quote showcases that, for Katarina, it is the perceived absence of psychological care that is materially manifested in the meals (un)provided. The psychological elements of attentiveness, kindness and concern are inseparable from more material acts such as the provision of food and medicine (Hodgetts et al., 2013). For Katarina, the materiality of having working light bulbs and food to eat are tangible expressions of love and care; to her their absence is indicative of a wider lack of concern for her well-being within the household.

When Katarina was around seven years of age she went to live with her paternal grandparents. Katarina refers to her paternal grandmother as 'Mummy' and her paternal grandfather as 'Pops'. I have continued this phrasing throughout the case study, using Mummy to refer to Katarina's paternal grandmother, and Karen for her birth mother. When Katarina went to live with her Mummy, the "*food got much better*". Everything else got much better too, but it is the improvement in the food that Katarina comments on in the following quote:

> *When I got home from school I was home alone for about half an hour between Pop finishing work and the bus getting back. And in her lunch break Mummy would go downtown to the bakery, pick up something for afternoon tea, drop it off at home and then go back to work, so that when I got home I had afternoon tea. And, that just felt like Christmas. I'd never had anything like that before in my life. And it was happening every day. And I was like 'Oh my God! What is this?' … it was something really special to get home to after not having anything.*

The effort taken by her Mummy to ensure that she had a small snack to eat after school was equivalent, in Katarina's eyes, to having a gift every day. The material act of providing something as simple as a custard square for afternoon tea, represented and embodied something much more meaningful and intangible. Just as Katarina equates the absence of food to an absence of care, so too the abundance of food becomes equated to an abundance of care.

It was not just her everyday lived experience that changed, but also her experience of special occasions. Here Katarina compares her memories of Christmas with her birth mother, Karen, with memories of Christmas with her Mummy:

… I remember Christmas when I was with Karen it was never a big thing. It was, you know, obviously it was Christmas, but they would drink a lot, um, so memories from Christmases' with them, um, were my cousins sleeping next to us and stinking of alcohol and things like that, and you know, not really having Christmas. And then Mummy and Pop, we'd have huge Christmas. It was just massive. Um, different kind of roasts and ham and salads and we'd bring the dining room table into the lounge and set it up, because it was one that could extend. Um, set it up, and everyone sit around and things like that. And so it was just a much different Christmas experience.

While in both homes Christmas was connected to having extra people to stay and different routines, from this quote we can see that it is Christmas with her Mummy that is associated with an abundance of food and positive memories. Holidays are important times for reconnecting with family and friends, for renewing relationships, and for the change in pace from everyday busy lives. Having special foods at times of celebration is one of the key ways in which the differences between ordinary and special are acknowledged. Holiday times are more likely to be associated with eating for pleasure as well as sociable eating, in part because there is more time available to enjoy the food, and more people around to enjoy it with (Williams, 1997). There tends to be a relaxation of the usual restraints around eating, with a greater focus on enjoying one's food and a tendency to indulge in treats (Williams, 1997).

Christmas indulgence is income dependent. It assumes a surplus of finances at some stage during the year, which can be put aside for holiday treats. For low-income families, and children in particular, poverty brings continual barriers to social inclusion (Boon & Farnsworth, 2011). This is not necessarily due to a lack of connection with others, but rather a lack of similar experiences at times of celebration and renewal, such as birthdays and Christmas. Not having money for extra food or presents generates a social barrier that is difficult to overcome. As a consequence, these annual

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cultural markers of festivity and joy can become translated into times of anxiety and despair (Boon & Farnsworth, 2011). We can see aspects of this woven through Katarina's memories of Christmas-time, and the contrast between the way in which the two families were able to celebrate and acknowledge this time of festivities.

Katarina's desire to provide for her own children is also borne out through food. The association of certain foods as markers of a lack of maternal care is such that, in order for Katarina to adequately express her love and concern for her own children, it is necessary for her to provide a high level of quality and quantity. Serving the dishes of her early childhood is equivalent in her eyes to not providing for her children, as outlined in the following quote:

> *… a lot of those types of food just make me feel like I've failed as a parent if I feed them to my kids. Because um, yeah, I just think you know, 'No, we can afford better than that!' … It goes back to the feelings of, I guess you know as a child I always said 'I'm not going to be like Karen. I'm not going to do that. I'm not going to raise my children like that.' And so I always have, um, it's almost like I can't eat that cause then I'm being like Karen. I can't not give my children what they want to eat because otherwise I'm withholding food from them and that's like Karen. So, yeah. It's more not wanting, you know, not wanting to repeat aspects of my childhood and it often comes out in food.*

Here it is Katarina's determination not to be like her birth mother that is the primary driving force behind her rejection of particular foods. Food has long been used as a way of demarcating social groups, identifying social classes, and solidifying a person's membership of a particular group (Goody, 1982; Warde, 1997). Class differences in diet can be seen in a number of ways, as differences in food nutrition or in food choice, or as symbolic consumption (Crotty, 1999). Households from wealthier classes are more likely to have higher spending on food, to eat out at restaurants,

and to get take-out (Crotty, 1999). Katarina's determination to provide a better life for her children is intertwined with changes in her social class, and the relationship between food and communicating love and care.

So far in this section I have compared Katarina's time with her birth mother to her time with her 'Mummy', and considered the ways in which Katarina actively distances herself from Karen. Alongside dis(re)membering her early childhood, Katarina also engages in re-membering her Mummy. Re-creating dishes from her Mummy's cookbook showcases one of the ways in which Katarina re-members this time in her life:

> *Yeah, and I've got* [Mummy's] *cookbook. It was like the thing I wanted from her when she was sick and, you know, dying and stuff. Um. She had a cookbook that was written in … all of Mummy's handwritten recipes. So I like making things from that … Mummy made feijoa sponge… you couldn't beat Mummy's feijoa sponge … now, you know, I like to make some of the things that Mummy used to make.*

As this quote shows, the cookbook, together with the aromas and sensations of cooking particular dishes, re-creates the feelings of warmth and love that Katarina felt when living with her Mummy. Cooking feijoa sponge becomes an act of re-membrance, transporting Katarina to times past (Morgan & Pritchard, 2005). As with Amy in Chapter 4, the metonymic nature of the cookbook transcends its materiality as an object in a physical world and embodies Katarina's connection with her late grandmother (Hodgetts et al., 2011).

In contrast to Katarina, Evan expressed fewer polysensual memories associated with food from his childhood. Evan primarily views food as an interesting source of taste and sensation. He spent parts of his childhood in America. Upon return to New Zealand Evan's mother returned to full-time employment, and Evan began to be primarily

responsible for cooking the evening meal. He would arrive home from school before his mother finished work, and, being hungry, would prepare and serve dinner. The sorts of dinners that 12-year-old Evan cooked were the same kind of simple, inexpensive fare that Katarina's birth mother made for Katarina and her siblings. However, Evan's family environment was vastly different. Their contrasting backgrounds have at times created conflict between Evan and Katarina. In his desire to cook and provide for his family, Evan will serve meals that, for Katarina, embody memories of being unloved and uncared for.

The following exchange between Evan and Katarina reveals their conflicting attitudes towards meals for their children:

Katarina	*… There is stuff that he likes and I just won't make or won't have really anything to with it you know because I don't.*
Evan	*Or yell at me because I've made it for the kids!* [Laughs]
Katarina	*Yup.*
Evan	*'What's for dinner?' 'Oh, some sausages on bread with some mixed veggies from the freezer.' 'WHAT???!!!'* [Laughter].
Katarina	*'It's not a balanced meal rar rar rar' And I just go nuts … I've just got this 'Meals must consist of this, this, this.' Even their lunches. He'll make their lunch and I'll walk in and look at their lunch box and go 'That's morning tea, where's their lunch?' And we have had, in the past, a few heated words about him not putting enough food in their lunch box, um.*
Evan	*Even though when we do it her way, they come back full!*

The above discussion about what a 'proper meal' does or does not consist of is highly connected to issues of culture and social class. Many Northern

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European cultures consider meat and potatoes essential dinner items (Bugge & Almås, 2006; Charles & Kerr, 1988; Murcott, 1982). This reflects a cultural tradition that, as a result of the influx of Northern Europeans, has heavily influenced New Zealanders' perceptions of dinner meals (Burton, 2009). Katarina's view of dinner needing to consist of certain items reflects this influence. Her constructions of what consists of a suitable dinner for her family are deeply connected to constructs of both social class and her desire to not repeat unpleasant aspects of her childhood.

More affluent households often construct their social ideals of food as 'healthy' and 'nutritious' in comparison to foods eaten by lower socio-economic status groups (Crotty, 1999). This is despite food choices at all income levels having good and bad points, resulting in nutrient intakes that are ultimately not very different (Roos, Prattala, Lahelma, Kleemola, & Pietinen, 1996). Subsequently, nutritionists and other health professionals may inadvertently be 'doing class' when advising people on food choices (Crotty, 1999). For Katarina, it is not just the provision of more than enough that is important, but also the provision of the 'right' sorts of foods. This can be seen in the following section, in both the discussion around packed lunches, and in later quotes around the suitability of hot pies for breakfast, as discussed in the section on time scarcity.

For Katarina, a 'proper lunch' closely resembles the sorts of lunches that Katarina's Mummy used to make for her, and can be seen in Figure 12. While the home-made biscuits have been replaced by a muesli bar, and cheese and crackers with the pre-packaged and heavily processed equivalent, the lunch still contains buns with ham or cheese, fruit, and yoghurt/dairy food. Some days, Evan and Katarina's children finish their lunch on the way home from school. Other times lunch items are swapped in the playground for more appetising fare, eaten, or return home untouched.

Figure 12: A typical packed lunch

Katarina and Evan are more concerned that their children have enough to eat during their school day, than they are with whether or not each child eats all of their lunch every day. This attitude has at times been in conflict with attitudes by school teachers, as shown in the following quote:

Katarina   *I sometimes never had lunch when I was with Karen. Um, and, if I did have lunch sometimes, you know most of the time it was two pieces of bread with some jam. And that was all. And so the kids have two sandwiches, a yoghurt, some fruit, bars, LeSnax, chips … they have like these massive lunch boxes full of food so if they get lost in the bush they'll be fine for a week!* [Laughs] *And then, the funniest part was when* [the school] *started going through this whole, we must make sure the children are eating all their lunch thing … And so, our kids would come home and say 'Can you not give us so much lunch because the teacher makes us eat the whole thing?' And then*

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	they'd start hiding food and stuff like that because the teacher was making them eat it all. Um, so we had to..
Evan	*So I called up the principal and yelled at him.* [Laughs] *'What are you doing? What?'*
Katarina	*Because it's also important to me that my kids have options. Because I never had options and things like that. It's just weird how in that, I'm almost obsessive about being excessive with my kids, because I don't want them to go 'Oh, we must be poor because so and so has more lunch than me.' That's weird now that I think about it. But I probably won't stop.* [Laughs].

Here we can see elements of a wider health belief system, and the tension over who is in control when it comes to what children eat. This is in addition to the tensions highlighted in the earlier quote between Evan and Katarina with regards to food provision. It reveals how the simple act of packing a child's lunch box can be loaded with cultural beliefs around food and issues of control. The quote also highlights Katarina's determination to break away from her past and create a different understanding around food for her children. Her memories of food poverty are intertwined with a lack of lunch and indicative of a lack of care.

Katarina is aware that she overcompensates when it comes to providing food for her children. However, this is unlikely to change. Overcompensating is one way that Katarina is able to provide different food-related memories for her children. In creating a household where food is always plentiful and readily available she is in effect erasing her early childhood experiences of food poverty and supplanting them with new memories of food abundance.

In this current section I have discussed the connection between food, care, and processes of (re)membering. I have also highlighted the ways in which aspects of class and control interact with food insecurity

and poverty. In this next section I turn my attention to the impact of reduced time for food-related activities, including the way in which Evan and Katarina alter and adjust mealtimes and renegotiate food provisioning. Class ideals continue to be explored through expectations of the idealised healthy meal, as are considerations of power and control over notions of 'health'.

Time scarcity and healthy living

Although having a surplus of food is important for Katarina, there are also other priorities in terms of the particular food items chosen. The items that Evan and Katarina purchase for their children's lunches are chosen for the ease with which they can be packed, as Evan explains in the quote below:

> *They're just so much easier. Like, I'm awake. We've got to be out of the house in like seven minutes if we're going to get to school on time. I can do this, you know. All I really have to do is throw some things in a box and make a sandwich.*

This quote highlights how the time scarcity felt by many employed parents gets translated into everyday living. Even the fruit for lunches is selected on the basis of how quickly it can be put into a lunch box in the morning, with fruits that require delicate attention or pre-slicing or wrapping (such as kiwifruit or strawberries or melon) discarded in favour of apples and mandarins.

The sharing of domestic chores is fairly equitably split between Evan and Katarina, as are their practices around food provisioning and preparation. Nonetheless, it is Katarina who articulates feelings of responsibility for the family's health and well-being. In particular she identified feelings of guilt when the household engaged in what she perceived as unhealthy food practices. She compares and contrasts her

memories of the provision of 'healthy' food by her Mummy with the reality of her everyday life in the following quote:

> … [Mummy] *always had fruit salad out and often grated apples into like porridge and put raisins in and stuff like that and add, um, fruit to her cereal or cut a banana into it or something like that. Which, I just, you know, we don't do. And even Mum's fruit salad, she'd buy a can of fruit salad but then chop fresh fruit into it as well. Um. Whereas I don't do that either, if I'm having fruit salad I just have the tin. Tinned fruit salad which is not particularly good for you either. I mean, my Mum was a nurse, and so, she was all about trying to keep things as fresh as possible and not really eating as much tinned stuff as what we do. We're all about convenience.*

The end of this quote indicates the need of the Linton household for meals that are quick and easy to prepare, and points towards the time scarcity evident in their everyday life. This time scarcity is common to many working families, and, as with this household, is the result of increasing work hours, work/family conflict, and work schedule inflexibility (Devine et al., 2006). Subsequently, many working parents report being unable to have the time or energy to be 'good' parents and struggle to enjoy food and/or cooking with their families (Devine et al., 2006).

While all employed parents face the daily pressure of integrating demanding work with family life, it is often mothers in particular who are caught between the traditional and the contemporary; between wanting to recreate their mother's routines and rituals and the time pressures of modern day life (Bugge & Almås, 2006). Food preparation is altered by the trade-off between preferred practices and the need for convenience to minimize time and effort (Bava et al., 2008). One way in which mothers cope with multiple demands on their time is to reduce their expectations for food preparation, eating time, and meal quality (Devine et al., 2006).

However, just as Katarina says in the earlier quote, these food coping strategies can elicit guilt and dissatisfaction with parental and spousal roles as well as with personal nutrition choices (Devine et al., 2006).

Katarina's construct of the idealised mother as healthy food provider conflicts with the reality of her everyday lived experience. This is reflected in her comments on food choices and the household's eating habits. Figure 13 shows a collection of images of her and/or Evan's lunch meals over the course of a two-week period. Most of the food (sandwiches, green curry, sushi, tuna, and yoghurt drink) could be classified as reasonably healthy. However, Katarina's remark on seeing the grouped images was *'Man, we eat a lot of crap!'* This comment reflected the lunch meals being neither home-made nor showing large amounts of fresh fruit and/or vegetables. Consequently, Katarina feels that they are not living up to an idealised standard of healthy eating.

Figure 13: Images of lunch meals

Social ideals for eating and health can be at odds with daily demands on parents' time and energy, making it difficult to fulfil the social construct of 'good' food provision (Devine et al., 2006). As a result of this decreased time and energy, changes such as decreased food preparation at home, increased consumption of fast foods, fewer family meals, and increased consumption of convenience or ready-prepared foods occur (Devine et al., 2006; Jabs & Devine, 2006). Time scarcity becomes a significant barrier to healthy food-related practices (Furst, Connors, Bisogni, & Sobal, 1996).

The results of time scarcity in the Linton household can be seen in a number of ways. The speed with which Evan packs lunches, the use of ready-to-go meals, and the purchasing of meat pies on the way to school (see following paragraphs). For Evan and Katarina, time, convenience and location are more salient when selecting a store than the price of the goods. Although the cost of goods is a factor in determining where to shop, they find that smaller stores are quicker and faster to navigate. Corner stores, or dairies, are frequently used for quickly purchasing items such as bread and milk. Another way in which the Linton household manage competing demands is in eating out on a regular basis. This provides a way for them to enjoy a family dinner together without the added time-cost of food preparation and clean-up.

Managing work and family commitments is more challenging, however, for low income families who cannot afford to 'buy time' by hiring household help or eating out as often as higher income people (Cohen, 1998). Occurrences of purchasing ready-to-eat meals from any source are similar for low and high income households (Smith et al., 2010), although high income households spend more on eating at restaurants and cafes (Drewnowski & Specter, 2004), with low income households purchasing cheaper take-away foods (Smith et al., 2010). The least expensive, time saving food options are energy dense and high in fat, sugar, and calories (Drewnowski & Specter, 2004). Dietary and health standards are often based on the assumption that all food is purchased in a grocery store and

prepared from scratch at home. This does not match the experience of employed parents who often lack the time and energy to meet these social expectations (Devine et al., 2006).

As discussed earlier, time scarcity for the Linton family is most intense during the morning routine on school days, and sometimes things do not go to plan. Figure 14 shows Evan and Luke eating mince savouries for breakfast in the car, with a gingerbread-man ready for eating afterwards in a white paper packet. Evan outlines the events of the morning which led to this take-out breakfast:

> *… that's about 8:40 in the morning. I've dropped off Jay, Jay had had time for breakfast, but Luke hadn't, so yeah, Jay had eaten. I'd managed to get him to school on time by virtue of the fact that Luke wasn't able to have breakfast. So I said to Luke 'I'll get you something for breakfast, what would you like?' And he said 'I'd love a pie.'*

Figure 14: Meat savouries for breakfast

The effects of time scarcity means that certain domestic routines, such as making breakfast, become a rushed, on-the-go affair. Whereas previously mealtimes favoured social interaction around the dining table, today meals often involve the quick snatching of convenience foods (Mintz, 1985; Mintz & Bois, 2002). The eating of breakfast in the car on the way to work or school has been part of their everyday routine for many New Zealanders for some time (Bailey & Earle, 1999). In New Zealand, options for purchasing quick, easy foods prior to 9am are limited. Supermarkets are open, but bakeries, with adjacent parking and short wait times offer a fast, inexpensive solution. The selection of baked goods, meat pies, and

sandwiches provide a filling and tasty meal. Bakery items, in particular meat pies, are perceived as being unhealthy due to their high saturated fat, salt, and cholesterol content (Wilson & Mansoor, 2005). Health professionals can be rather dismissive of these types of food items (Utter, Schaaf, Mhurchu, & Scragg, 2007). However, there are few other quick, easy, inexpensive options for breakfast on the go. This leaves busy parents caught in a no-win situation, something that Katarina experienced a few months earlier:

> *… One day Liam was home and I had to take him to the doctor. And, when … we were at home, he didn't want breakfast yet, and then we left and* [he was saying] *"Oh, I'm hungry, I'm starving, I'm dying." So, um. I said alright, okay I'll get you something, and we went into the dairy and all they had were pies. So, I bought him one, and then we went into the doctors, and the doctor gave me a massive growling about bad food habits … it made me feel like a bad parent, for giving my child a pie for breakfast, so yeah, that makes me feel really guilty, looking at that picture.*

Current pricing of convenience foods favours the consumption of higher saturated fat content, providing another explanation for inequalities in health in New Zealand (Wilson & Mansoor, 2005). It also suggests the need for policy responses beyond existing approaches being considered by the Ministry of Health. The Ministry recently stated that the 'greatest issue remaining to be solved is how to persuade at-risk populations to make necessary changes' (Matheson & Feek, 2005, p. 2). This suggests that senior Ministry officials believe that the focus of obesity prevention should remain on getting individuals to change their behaviour, rather than also considering legislation and policy which will change our 'obesogenic' environment (Scragg, 2005). In Katarina's experience, the way in which health professionals 'persuaded' her to change was rather demeaning, involving the use of shame and guilt as motivators for change. Being made to feel like a bad parent increases levels of parental guilt, but is otherwise

unhelpful since it does nothing to increase the time, resources and options available to parents.

Notions of what constitutes nutritious, and healthy food is more linked to class ideals of consumption than actual nutritional benefits (Crotty, 1999). For example, studies in Finland, England and Australia indicate that 'traditionally' healthy foods such as potatoes and bread have higher consumption in lower socioeconomic groups (Dobson, Porteous, McElduff, & Alexander, 1997; Roos et al., 1996; Warde, 1997), whereas higher classes consume more fruit juices, cheese and candies. This suggests that there are desirable and undesirable aspects of eating patterns across all incomes, a point which is usually not recognised in health promotion campaigns or media stories (Crotty, 1999). Issues of class, along with social and economic factors, are often ignored by health promotion efforts constructing diet and obesity as a moral issue (Fox & Smith, 2011). They also ignore the classism that exists in the way in which the 'healthy' diets of higher social classes to be held up as the recommended ideal (Crotty, 1999). The unhealthy dietary aspects of higher status groups are rarely subject to the same levels of scrutiny as the perceived failures of lower income groups (Fox & Smith, 2011).

This section has illustrated some of the ways in which the Linton household experience time scarcity, and the ways in which both Evan and Katarina renegotiate food-related practices as a result. Included in this are notions of healthy eating ideals, which are socially constructed and influenced by class and socioeconomic status. These ideals are at odds with the reality of employed parents, who often lack both time and energy to purchase, prepare, cook, serve and eat meal items on an everyday basis. Katarina's efforts to distance herself from the poverty of her early years results in both increased time scarcity and increased levels of guilt as she struggles to reconcile her ideals of health and eating with the reality of her everyday life. Her treatment by health professionals as well as the prevailing societal attitudes towards food do nothing to alleviate the tension she feels. Despite this, Katarina works hard to ensure that her

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children have plenty of food to eat so that they need not share her experiences of food insecurity. I now compare and contrast this with the way in which Evan and Katarina, despite their myriad of daily tasks and busy routines, find time to spend with each other through food rituals.

Coffee rituals

The Linton household is to a large extent characterised by time pressures and the effects of Katarina's background of poverty. Yet, Evan and Katarina's morning coffee ritual provides a point of contrast. The usual time scarcity is cast aside to allow time to prepare coffee and a conscious effort is made to sit down with each other, rather than consume coffee 'on-the-run'. Time-stretched working parents tend to reduce 'couple time' in order to maintain employment, domestic duties, and time with their children (Bianchi, 2011). Despite their busy schedules, Evan and Katarina create special time together without their children. Figure 15 captures the intimacy of their morning coffee ritual.

Figure 15: Morning coffee in bed

This image was taken while Evan and Katarina were sitting in their bed to drink their coffee. The significance is evident in the quote:

> Evan   *I like having coffee … It's also kind of almost a therapeutic thing to focus on. I'll plug my phone into the speakers and turn on some chill out music and just make coffee for ten minutes and it's a nice way to start the day and then I get another nice way to continue the day by drinking it.*
>
> Katarina   *We quite often also have like, a routine, um, where he takes the kids to school and I come out and prep it. So I make sure the, cause he likes the bench to be tidy, and..*
>
> Evan   *Yeah, I can't make the coffee if the bench is messy cause I got to treat my coffee right, so, um, if she doesn't clean it I have to spend 20 minutes cleaning the bench before I start making the coffee.*

As Eliade (1957) suggests, it is profane time which makes sacred time possible and vice versa. Consequently, the drinking of coffee is elevated from a mundane practice into a sacred ritual. The experience of time together is significant, as is the place where they drink the coffee. Rather than remain in the kitchen or living areas, Evan and Katarina instead retire to 'their' domain – their bedroom. In a household filled with the detritus of everyday family life, and subsequent on-going needs and demands, their bedroom offers a welcome retreat, a domestic space that is purely focussed on the two of them alone. As Katarina explains in the following quote, it is not that they necessarily talk; it is simply the being together that is important:

> *It's just because quite often we interact more. You know, we're sitting next to each other having our coffee together and looking out the window. We open the curtains up and stuff … we don't even need to talk, whereas out here* [in the living area] *if we're not*

interacting I get really bored. I don't know why but I do. So it's just a really good, I don't know, I just enjoy it. It's nice.

The time and care taken to prepare the coffee beforehand also reflects the couple's efforts to create sacred time amongst the profane. Evan emphasises the importance of creating the 'perfect' coffee from a combination of skill, beans, and the espresso machine . He sources his beans from a specific supplier and enjoys finding ways to perfect his coffee technique. Evan explains:

… You know like being able to understand the different variables that affect how the coffee comes out and how it tastes and the things I can do to change it. How tightly I can pack the beans and this and that and the other thing. And trying to get nice pretty latte art …

Evan's emphasis on using a particular brand of beans, on learning how to use the espresso machine, and the cost involved all elevate the routine of making a coffee into a sacred experience where taste, time and ritual intersect. The ritual of coffee preparation is in resonance with the time required to savour it, creating a moment of sacred time where, in contrast to the largely taken-for-granted and ordinary day, time is instead noticed and claimed (Ger & Kravets, 2009). This simple, everyday ritual stands in stark contrast to the time scarcity evident in much of the rest of their daily routine. It points to the importance that both Evan and Katarina place on their relationship in finding time to be with one another without the constant intrusions of family demands, domestic chores, and work commitments. In a household where time is a precious resource to be conserved, spending time in a sacred ritual provides one way of maintaining marital harmony.

Chapter Summary

Re-membering is not always a positive experience and is not always embraced. Where memories are painful people may seek instead to dis(re)member. Katarina does this using particular food practices that emphasise abundance, variety and choice. Her efforts to be both a mother and a student also reflect her desire to secure upward social mobility and to avoid poverty for her family. Yet, the pursuit of these goals means that one key trade-off is time scarcity as the couple juggle the competing demands of family commitments, Katarina's studies and Evan's business. Katarina has an aversion for certain foods that she associates with the poverty and neglect of her early childhood. These concerns about particular foods are personal and specific to Katarina. This can lead to conflict when her husband or other people (i.e. teachers, doctors) have different ideas about what her children should or should not eat. Katarina also sets herself some very challenging goals in terms of being an 'ideal' parent in the context of time scarcity. Her ideals with regard to healthy eating are heavily influenced by societal expectations, and are often at odds with the reality of managing competing demands. The coffee ritual is a significant feature of the Linton household since it is such a juxtaposition with the usual time scarcity. It is also likely to be a way in which Evan and Katarina mitigate the tension between them resulting from their very different backgrounds and the pressures of their hectic daily routines. It provides a quiet space for them both to be together amidst the noise and competing demands of work, children, and study. This allows them to, despite their busy modern day life, find a way of connecting as a part of their everyday routine.

Chapter Seven: Discussion

Food is all-encompassing. No matter where we go in the world, food is an essential part of life. We need to eat for our physical survival. But food is also an important part of our social world; in sourcing, preparing and eating food we engage in social interactions, enact belief systems, and connect with broader group identities. The material nature of food acts as a tangible, visceral nexus for the enactment of culture, class, and identity. Following in the tradition of Brillat-Savarin (1826/1949), Lévi-Strauss (1970-1981), and de Certeau (1984), this present study documents the mundane and easily overlooked practices surrounding everyday sourcing, cooking, serving and eating of food. I did this through exploring how everyday food-related practices are enacted in three dual-heritage, multi-generational households, and in considering the many and varied links between culture, identity, memory, place and food. Each household – each case study – draws us into a discussion of the relationship between tangible everyday food-related practices and wider, more abstract concepts of culture, class, the self, place, and the functions of material objects. Throughout the analysis of each case, I paid particular attention to the ways in which household members actively re-member the food traditions of their families and construct their identities and familial events accordingly. The cases in this study showcase the notion that culture is fluid, interwoven into our everyday practice, and embodied within what we eat, how we eat, and with whom we dine.

This final chapter returns to the key theoretical concepts covered in Chapter One and expands and develops these ideas in relation to my analysis. Firstly, I briefly discuss Actor-Network Theory (ANT) in terms of framing the above concepts. I then reconsider key issues from the analysis (Chapters 4-6). Specifically, I discuss the impact of time scarcity on food traditions and the fluid and changing nature of identities and culture. The cases in this thesis are offered as examples to illustrate the

complex, abstract processes outlined. As mentioned in Chapter Two, I offer my thoughts, interpretations and conclusions as one possible understanding and interpretation. Notions of culture and identity, of who we are and where we are from, are intangible constructs, difficult to quantify and even more difficult to separate into tidy boxes. Instead, they are woven together in complex relational webs, both locating us within specific times and places and simultaneously transporting us in time and space. This chapter, and thesis, then concludes with suggestions for future discussion.

Actor-Network Theory (Latour, 2005) is useful in orientating us to see the connections underlying food, related material objects, and people within the networks that populate participants' lifeworlds. In particular, I focus on food as an actor in everyday life. ANT moves us beyond specific practices, such as purchasing diced meat for the creation of a curry dinner meal, into the connections such acts have with wider cultural narratives, the market economy, and the related social patterning of contemporary urban life. Utilising ANT reveals the extent to which memories, identities, and belonging are woven into everyday food-related practice. Specific dishes associated with one's parents or grandparents can work to bridge time and space. In preparing a dish one can relive a relationship with, for example, a mother who has since passed. The folding of time and space in such instances also reveals re-membering as a material practice through which people renew wider group memberships, cultural traditions and relationships. To re-iterate the points made earlier in this thesis (Chapter 1), here re-membering is considered as a broader socio-cultural practice that is enacted in everyday life.

Notions of inter-connectedness and relational networks, as discussed in this thesis, are somewhat at odds with the currently dominant understanding in psychology of people, which is predicated on the notion of 'the lonely thinker' (Jovchelovitch, 2007). This means that with, for example, Social Identity Theory, group membership is simply understood from the perspective of an autonomous individual, how they may belong to

certain groups and/or be distinct from others. Tajfel's (1981, 1982) original understanding of this theory was, however, not this narrow. Instead, identity was seen as "fluid and contextual" and embedded in broader collective and structural processes (Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010, p. 199). This original understanding of SIT fits well with ANT whereby identity and meaning are constructed through intersecting webs of relational networks that occur as a result of membership with various groups. These networks build up individual identities, connecting the individual to wider groups through their relational connectedness in time, space and cultural practice. In this way, the narratives, practices and traditions exist within an interconnected person who is shaped by – and shapes other – social actors in their networks. These ideas of connectedness, relational networks, and group membership are explored more fully in the latter half of the next section. Firstly, however, I turn my attention to issues surrounding time and tradition.

Reconsidering key issues

In Chapters 4-6, we can see the role of food in the interrelated issues of time, tradition, culture and change across each of the three cases. In this section, I argue that food-related traditions invoke the re-articulation of identities and belonging. Time scarcity impacts on these food-related practices, disrupting and compressing family traditions. Following on from this, I explore the role of culture and change in the creation of identities. Particular attention is paid to individual food practices as signifiers of connectedness to wider group membership. Of interest is the way in which the fluid and hybridic nature of cultural identities are reflected in the many and varied ways food is sourced, prepared, cooked and consumed.

<u>Time and tradition</u>

As covered in the Introduction (Chapter 1) and throughout the analysis (Chapters 4-6), food-related traditions invoke identity and belonging. The visceral nature of food effortlessly lends itself to processes

of re-membering, whereby wider social memories and cultural narratives are re-membered. The taken-for-granted aspects surrounding the sourcing, preparing and eating of food make visible the often invisible systems and structures that make up everyday life (Pickering & Keightley, 2013). It is in engaging in ordinary practice that people (re)connect to their cultural heritage and (re)create a sense of belonging (Hodgetts et al., under review).

In this research, it is the domestic space of the kitchen that provides a physical location within which participants transform their domestic dwelling into a home. As food is prepared for consumption, memories, identities, past narratives and daily practice are woven together in culturally-patterned ways that integrate people, material objects, and relational networks (Li et al., 2010). As an ordinary practice, preparing and consuming meals encompasses past traditions in the present, both anchoring and transporting people in time and space (Hodgetts et al., under review). These food-related traditions invoke identities and reaffirm a sense of belonging. We can see examples of this in each of the cases in this present study. The Barrett family comes together at the end of their working day in the communal eating of their (take-out) dinner meal. In this family, it is not the dinner meal per se that is important, but rather that eating together provides a way to (re)connect and (re)affirm past and present relational ties. Within the Marton home, Amy cooks a familiar dinner from her recipe book. This mundane, routine act (re)connects Amy to past events and people no longer present. Even the Linton household, which is characterized by chronic time scarcity, enacts a daily (shared) coffee ritual. This ritual creates a sacred space in the midst of their busy lifestyles for Evan and Katarina. Within this space marital and emotional harmony in the home is maintained and restored, mitigating the effects of time scarcity. In each of these households, it is in these ordinary, everyday events that re-membering is enacted, familial bonds reaffirmed, and connections (re)made to broader socio-cultural networks.

However, as shown in the analysis chapters (4-6), there is not always the available time to spend in the preparation and consumption of meals. Each of the families who took part in this research juggle multiple and competing demands on their time; caring for children, domestic chores, paid employment, and maintaining family relationships and social ties. In managing these competing demands, each household 'creates' time by reducing time spent in the sourcing and preparation of meals. Amy Marton, for example, eschews preparing Singaporean-style meals in favour of much quicker 'Kiwi' dinners. The Linton household purchases ready-made and convenience foods, while the Barrett family picks up take-out at the end of their working day. The use of take-away meals is a reasonable course of action to claw back time in sped up lives (Devine et al., 2006). Acts such as these provide a way for time-poor families to engage in the social and relational aspects of eating together. However, the time spent in everyday food-related activities is still shortened and reduced. These necessary shortcuts in meal provision can result in feelings of parental guilt, as expressed by Katarina Linton (Chapter 6), or manifest as a concern for 'health', as outlined by Tineke and Sandra Barrett in Chapter 5.

Considering health concerns, the use of take-away meals is often framed as an (un)healthy choice (Caplan, 1996). This ignores wider issues of time scarcity and devalues class traditions (De Certeau, Giard, & Mayol, 1998; Fox & Smith, 2011; Goody, 1982). Here in New Zealand, the Ministry of Health consistently presents (predominantly white) middle-class food traditions as the idealised health standard to which we should all aspire (King et al., 2010). The patronising treatment of Katarina by her GP (Chapter 6) is one such example of these class-based assumptions masquerading as 'health concerns'. Framing food choices and traditions within biomedical notions of health also ignores the inherently cultural aspects of eating, the (un)availability of certain foods, and everyday time pressures as experienced by many employed parents. Contrary to much of the dominant individualistic and biomedical discourse (cf. Morgan & Simmons, 2013), food is not just fuel. Rather, food – and its surrounding

practices – embodies past narratives and cultural identities. Perhaps concerns around 'health' might be better reframed as concern for steadily decreasing time and money, the resulting flattening out of food-related traditions, and reduced time for maintaining networks of belonging.

Increases in everyday time pressures can also be connected to our current economic climate. People are working harder than ever just to manage the costs of housing, utilities and food for the family. The resulting time scarcity means that there is a flattening out of food experiences and a side-lining of food traditions. What was once a commonplace, everyday routine is now reduced to a shorter moment of time or reserved for special occasions. Changes in the preparation and consumption of meals due to economic realities results in the "silent collapse of networks of belonging" (Giard, 1998, p. xl). The effects of this are two-fold – social exclusion and the disruption of links to past traditions. As discussed more fully in Chapter 6, families who cannot afford extra food and 'treats' as a part of culturally important celebrations (for example, Christmases and birthdays) experience social exclusion (Boon & Farnsworth, 2011). For families who are experiencing financial insecurity or underpayment, this social exclusion extends to their everyday lived experience. Those who are poor can only afford the cheapest food, often subsisting on quick, cheap foodstuffs and there is little left over. As we saw in Katarina's case, once people get more money they often discard the foods of poverty (Brimblecombe, 2010; De Certeau et al., 1998). It is worth noting here that notions of cuisine are predominantly the prerogative of the wealthy, who can afford to choose, match, and prepare foods (De Certeau et al., 1998).

In sum, if we consider the effects of time scarcity in conjunction with ANT and processes of re-membering, we can begin to see how seemingly insignificant changes in food preparation and consumption affect the transmission of cultural memories across generations. Where food traditions are disrupted, so too are the memories that are contained within these practices. Questions to consider for future research include asking how the everyday consumption of take-out food impacts on family

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connectedness and the transformation of a domestic dwelling into a home. If we consider the changing nature of food traditions in the everyday, as home-cooked meals become reserved for special occasions, how might this disrupt a sense of belonging in the construction of a home? Do people identify with families where the kitchen no longer encompasses past traditions, where meals are just fuel and memories of other times and spaces are discarded and forgotten? The potential social ramifications from the flattening out of food traditions are worth exploring further in that our everyday food-related practice reflects our sense of who we are and where we are from.

Having strong familial links can help mitigate the effects of time scarcity and ensure the continued transmission of cultural practices across generations. I discuss this further in the next section. Prior to discussing this, I first explore the importance of food in the creation of identities and in the making of meaningful connections to broader social groups, the ways in which food reminds people of their homeland, and the role of food in the transmission of cultural memories.

Identities, culture and change

The food we eat is mobilised in the construction of hybrid, fluid, and reflexive identities (de Solier & Duruz, 2013). The eating of food interweaves with Bhabha's (1994) notions of liminal space, in that we construct our identities when choosing what to eat, how to eat, and whom to eat with. Within the cases outlined in this thesis, each family group negotiates salient aspects of the heritage groups with which they have an affinity. In doing so, each household effectively creates a third space, within which new, hybridic identities are created and maintained. The eating of food also interrelates with Actor-Network Theory (Latour, 2005). As mentioned throughout this study, the relational networks surrounding everyday food-related practice (re)connect people to their wider cultural memories. This reaffirms a sense of belonging to broader social groups

and weaves together past cultural practice with identity construction in the present.

Having meaningful connections to broader social groups is an essential part of having healthy social identities (Nikora, 2007). These connections occur in a myriad of ways, changing and developing over time. What is important in the construction of healthy social identities is the meaning given to certain practices. In particular, the way in which specific acts connect people to other times and places. If we consider the food-related practices of the cases in this study, we can see ways in which their identities are maintained through meaningful connections in the everyday. For example, despite displacement from his traditional tribal homelands, Aran (Chapter 4), maintains key underlying Māori cultural values such as *manaakitanga* and *whānaungatanga.* This is done through ordinary food-related acts such as carefully preparing dishes for guests and purchasing extra meat for family barbecues. The generous provision of food items and the care taken in ensuring the well-being of others reflects underlying belief systems, effectively translocating pre-colonial tribal ways of being into the domestic space of his contemporary, urban home. In retaining a sense of connection to wider social groups, Aran's social identities and his sense of connectedness to broader cultural groups are sustained and maintained.

As is evident throughout this thesis, the material culture of food plays a key role in the creation and maintenance of social and felt identities (de Solier & Duruz, 2013). Dishevelled recipe books, handwritten cookbooks, spices from Sri Lanka; each of these are representative to participants of other places and different times. As material objects, these items both anchor and transport people in time and space (Casella, 2012; Duff, 2012), bringing people and places that may be considered to be very far apart near once more (Jóhannesson & Bærenholdt, 2009). Considering the mundane and careworn nature of Amy's recipe book (Chapter 4), its use in the everyday belies its metonymic function as a sacred object of re-membrance. Meanings invoked by this recipe book (re)connect Amy to her

late mother and homeland (De Certeau et al., 1998; Supski, 2013). This relational network draws the past into the everyday, and contributes towards the construction and maintenance of Amy's personal and social identities (Li et al., 2010; Nora & Kritzman, 1998).

The visceral nature of food preparation and consumption also reminds people of their cultural heritage by evoking memories of other times and places (Hayes-Conroy & Hayes-Conroy, 2008; Rosenbaum, 2005). This is especially salient in the lives of migrants. Considering Paiya's (Chapter 5) food-related practices, by engaging in familiar food traditions Paiya gains access to relationships and places of significance. This enables her to maintain identities connected to her country of origin (Li, 2011; Longhurst et al., 2009). Although Paiya has left her birthplace behind and has adapted to her new home, she is able to re-member aspects of her homeland through the consumption and preparation of particular dishes. For Paiya – and her daughters – specific foods act as a repository for social memories and cultural practices (Dodson & Gilkes, 1995). In the (re)creation of these dishes, Paiya (re)creates a sense of home and (re)connects with a wider network of socio-cultural memories (Collins, 2008; Li, 2011). The re-membering of her homeland is a personal and fluid process that is a key to sustaining identity in the context of cultural adaptation and hybridity.

As family members articulate and negotiate the food-related practices of their household, they are determining the aspects of their cultural heritage that they wish to maintain and/or discard. Where certain practices are discarded, so too are the associated (cultural) memories, social practices and relational ties. In the changing nature of food-related practices and the construction of new, hybrid identities, we can begin to see how food traditions get disrupted and (potentially) lost. Where families have active links to wider familial networks, the transmission of cultural memories and food traditions is less reliant upon individual parents – who may well be busy working and providing economically for their children. We can see examples of this within the present study. Katarina's paternal

grandmother disrupted her unpleasant memories of her early childhood, providing her with new, more positive memories of abundant food and care. Paiya, in the provision of everyday curry and rice meals, ensures a continuity of a sense of connection to Sri Lanka for her daughters and grandchild(ren). Aran, in inviting wider family members to his home, provides opportunities for his daughter to make future familial links. Amongst my own family, as mentioned in Chapter Two, it is my mother-in-law who is active in the transmission of food-related traditions – and associated cultural values – to my children.

However, where familial links are weakened through migration, movement, and/or social distance, the transmission process can be disrupted. This disruption in the transmission of food traditions can result in a weakening of social and cultural identities (De Certeau et al., 1998). If there are no (familial) links to people who can transmit culturally laden and meaningful food-related practices, these practices – and associated cultural memories – can be forgotten, lost, or actively discarded as too 'time-consuming'. This occurs most often where an individualised approach to family life is emphasized and ties 'back home' are rendered unimportant. The current economic climate in New Zealand, which requires ever-longer work hours and time away from family life in the everyday, also contributes towards this disruption and weakening of family ties.

To summarize, identities are neither static nor fixed. Instead, identities are fluid, change and develop over time, and are intricately connected to social relationships, food, and life stages. Eating, and surrounding food-related practice, is inherently cultural in nature. It is in the preparation and consumption of food that cultural memories are transmitted. These memories are constantly being (re)interpreted and (re)negotiated in accordance with the beliefs and values of individual households. The participants in this present study are constantly (re)negotiating, (dis)establishing, and (dis)emplacing connections between themselves, material objects and places. In the creating and eating of

specific foods they transcend time and place, render distant things proximate, construct identities, and contribute towards the creation a sense of belonging and home.

Concluding remarks and areas for future research

Considering the households in this thesis, we can see emerging a trade-off between time and traditions, resulting in increased feelings of parental guilt and inadequacy over the purchasing of ready-made and convenience foods. We also see the reserving of time-consuming cooking and baking practices for weekends and special occasions. This suggests that the cultural fabric of our society is changing, and raises more questions regarding the (future) impact of these changes. How might we mitigate the effects of these changes? Considering the relationship between food traditions and economic climate, how might we address these wider sociocultural issues? Is it necessary for people to have to work so hard that there is only time for cooking and eating together on special occasions, if at all? These questions, as well as ones raised earlier in this chapter, require further exploration and consideration. In exploring these ideas we contribute towards a greater understanding of who we are and the nature of the society that we live in.

We often overlook and fail to see the social significance in the ordinary, the mundane, and the familiar. But it is in the minutiae of everyday life that we live out our lives. In exploring the everyday use of food, I seek to contribute towards a wider understanding of the culturally patterned, everyday lived experiences of contemporary New Zealanders. Locating this thesis within the tangible, concrete, and easily available construct of food allows for a more accessible exploration of abstract concepts such as identity construction, culture, and processes of re-membering. It also countenances an investigation of times and places not present in the construction of a sense of home and belonging. Throughout this thesis I have argued that what we eat, how we eat, and who we eat it with are all inherently cultural, reflecting our identities, locating us within

specific locales, and connecting us within wider social networks. To extend on Brillat-Savarin's insights, what we eat is inextricably linked to what we are, who we are with and where we are from.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Information sheet for potential participants

What is the project about?

This project is about the process of remembering and how our memories connect us to our past and to the future. It is also about food, specifically how practices around food (like what foods we cook, where we go to purchase supplies, how we prepare and serve food) are associated with our memories, and how these memories and these practices are transmitted from your parents to you, and from you to your children.

Who are the researchers?

I am a Masters student from the School of Psychology at Waikato University. I am working under the supervision of Dr Ottilie Stolte and Professor Darrin Hodgetts. This project has been given ethical approval under the University of Waikato's Human Research Ethics Regulations.

Why are you being asked to participate?

You and your household will be able to provide valuable insights into the research topic by sharing your memories and your everyday practices around food.

What about other people who are a part of this household?

The people I am most interested in talking to are the adults in the household, however, everyone who is a part of the household is most welcome to take part in the discussions. Everyone over the age of 16 will need to sign a consent form before engaging in the research project. If you have children who are under the age of 16, then it is up to you, as the parent, if you would like them to participate or not. If you are happy for their responses to be included in the research, then you, as the parent, will need to sign a consent form on their behalf.

How many interviews will there be, and what will we be asked?

There will be 4 interviews for each household. The first interview will be a household discussion around food, who cooks what, who sources the food and where from, what memories people have associated with certain foods. The second interview will be a 'go-along' interview where I will go-along with you as you source food, and I will be asking you about what you are doing. The third interview will be a photo-elicitation interview. You will be asked to photograph your world of food, and then we will look at the photos and talk about what is in them. In the fourth and final interview we will reflect on what has happened during the course of the research and discuss anything else you would like to add.

What will happen to my information?

I would like to record the interviews. The interview summaries and transcripts will be used in my analysis along with the photos. If you like, I can provide you with a summary of the transcript for you to review. I will be submitting my research to my supervisors, and the University of Waikato who will retain a copy of my completed thesis for the

Research Commons. The main use of the photos is to assist my analysis. I will not use photos in a way that would identify you or members of your household.

Will other people know who I am or what I say?

No. You will be given a pseudonym so you cannot be identified in the final report. I will take all possible care to protect your privacy – I will be the only person who knows what information came from which person.

What if I agree to participate and then change my mind?

You may withdraw at any stage prior to being interviewed. You may also withdraw by contacting the researcher within two weeks of the first household discussion interview. After this time it would be very helpful if you could commit to the three further interviews.

How can I find out the results of the study?

I can send you a summary of the project findings if you would like. A bound copy of my Master's thesis will also be available at the Psychology Office at the University of Waikato, and online at the University of Waikato Library in the Research Commons.

Who can I speak with about my participation in this project?

If you have further questions or concerns, I would be more than happy to speak with you. You can also contact my research supervisors, or speak to the Chair of the Ethics Committee (contact details below).

Will I be asked to sign anything?

Yes, everyone in the household who is over the age of 16, and participating in the research, will be asked to sign a consent form agreeing to be interviewed before we start. This is a standard requirement of research.

What do I need to do now?

Nothing. The researcher will follow up with you in a few weeks to see if you would like to be interviewed. The interview will be held at a time that is convenient for you and your household.

Contact information:
Rebekah Graham (Researcher), Phone 078474535, email rsw9@waikato.ac.nz
Dr Ottilie Stolte, (Research Supervisor), School of Psychology, University of Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton. Ph. 838 4466 ext. 6454, email ottilie@waikato.ac.nz
Professor Darrin Hodgetts, (Research Supervisor), School of Psychology, University of Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton. Ph. 838 4466 ext. 6456, email dhdgetts@waikato.ac.nz
Dr Nicola Starkey, Chair of the Research and Ethics Committee, School of Psychology, University of Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton. Ph. 838 4466 ext. 6472, email nstarkey@waikato.ac.nz

Appendix 2: Consent forms

FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

School of Psychology

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

[Participants copy]

Research Project: Remembering and food - How food related practices are transmitted across generations in dual-heritage households.

Name of Researcher: Rebekah Graham
Researcher contact details: phone: 0226215740, e-mail: rsw9@waikato.ac.nz

Supervisors: Dr. Ottilie Stolte (phone: 838 4466 ext. 6454, e-mail: ottilie@waikato.ac.nz)

Prof. Darrin Hodgetts (phone: 838 4466 ext. 6456, e-mail: dhdgetts@waikato.ac.nz)

I have received an information sheet about this research project and the researcher has explained this study to me. I have had the chance to ask any questions and discuss my participation with other people. Any questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to participate in this research project and I understand that I may withdraw at any time. If I have any concerns about this project, I may contact the convenor of the Research and Ethics Committee, Dr Lewis Bizo (phone: 838 4466 ext.6402, or 856 0095, e-mail: lbizo@waikato.ac.nz)

Participant's Name:

_____

Signature:

_____Date:_____

(Where applicable) I am happy for my children to participate in the household discussions, and I agree to their responses being included as part of the data set for this research.

Parent / Legal Guardian's Name:

_____

Signature:

_____Date:_____

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PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

[Researchers copy]

Research Project: Remembering and food - How food related practices are transmitted across generations in dual-heritage households.

Name of Researcher: Rebekah Graham
Researcher contact details: phone: 0226215740, e-mail: rsw9@waikato.ac.nz

Supervisors: Dr. Ottilie Stolte (phone: 838 4466 ext. 6454, e-mail: ottilie@waikato.ac.nz)

                           Prof. Darrin Hodgetts (phone: 838 4466 ext. 6456, e-mail: dhdgetts@waikato.ac.nz)

I have received an information sheet about this research project and the researcher has explained this study to me. I have had the chance to ask any questions and discuss my participation with other people. Any questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to participate in this research project and I understand that I may withdraw at any time. If I have any concerns about this project, I may contact the convenor of the Research and Ethics Committee, Dr Lewis Bizo (phone: 838 4466 ext.6402, or 856 0095, e-mail: lbizo@waikato.ac.nz)

Participant's Name:

_____

Signature:

_____**Date:**_____

 (Where applicable) I am happy for my children to participate in the household discussions, and I agree to their responses being included as part of the data set for this research.

Parent / Legal Guardian's Name:

_____

Signature:

_____**Date:**_____

Appendix 3: Interview guide and notes template

Food and remembering: how food-related practices are transmitted across generations in dual-heritage households
Household Interview Guide – Background Sheet

Household: _____

Participant A: _____

Male / Female   Age: _____   Occupation/Livelihood: _____

Heritage: _____

Participant B: _____

Male / Female   Age: _____   Occupation/Livelihood: _____

Heritage: _____

Participant C: _____

Male / Female   Age: _____   Occupation/Livelihood: _____

Heritage: _____

Participant D: _____

Male / Female   Age: _____   Occupation/Livelihood: _____

Heritage: _____

Other household members: _____

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Other (demographic) household information:

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Interview Guide – Researcher Checklist

(1st interview) Introduction and household discussion

- ☐ Thank participant for their time and their interest in participating
- ☐ Introduce self/background
- ☐ Review aims of research and interviews from information sheet
- ☐ Give opportunity for questions / comments / feedback
- ☐ Provide consent forms and explain importance of informed consent for all participants
- ☐ Gain consent for recording interviews – explain conditions

Themes

- Memories associated with particular foods
  - o Remembering foods from childhood
  - o Generational transmission
  - o Cultural practices
- NZ traditions – what are they?
  - o How do 'typical' NZ'ers celebrate with food?
  - o What are their 'cultural practices'?
- Description / explanation of food within the domestic space
  - o Flow of food into the home
  - o Sourcing of food
  - o Social organisation of everyday practices around food
- Food related practices within the household
  - o Everyday
  - o Special occasions
  - o Food as a social object with symbolic meanings / demonstrations of care

Summarise main points of interview and encourage further input from the participant

- ☐ Would that be an accurate synopsis?
- ☐ Is there anything you would like to bring up or thought should have been discussed?

Mapping – go-along
- □ Provide map of Hamilton
- □ Ask participants to map where they get food from, where their house is
- □ Go-along interview – explain/review
- □ Arrange time (within 7 days if possible) to do go-along interview

Digital Photos – photo-elicitation
- □ Photo-elicitation interview – explain/review
- □ Ask participants to photograph their 'world of food'
- □ Check participants have access to a suitable digital camera, and if not:
- □ Arrange for the use of a digital camera for participants
- □ Arrange time (within 14 days, ideally after go-along) for photo-elicitation interview

Notes from interview:

Interview Session: _____

Date: _____ Time**: _____

Location: _____

Duration of interview: _____

Impression of how interview went:

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Initial themes to emerge from the interview:

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Potential revisions for interview guide:

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Other notes from interview:

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Go-along food sourcing conversation
- ☐ Clarify questions/doubts/comments from last interview
- ☐ Bring map / review map from last interview
- ☐ Bring digital camera to photograph trip

Themes

- Observations and perceptions of social and physical environments
    - o Participant's interpretations of these
- Processing and navigation by participant of these environments
    - o Social features / topics
    - o Physical features / topics

Suggested questions for creating conversation around themes:

- How often do you source food from here?
    - o Who usually comes with you?
    - o Why else might you come here?
- Do you remember when you first starting coming here to source food?
    - o When was that?
    - o Who else was there?
    - o What was different about this place then?
    - o What else do you remember about that?
- Do you always source this item from this place?
    - o Where else do you sometimes source it from?
    - o What is it about this place that makes it your preferred source for this food?
    - o Who else that you know likes to source this item from this place?

Summarise main points of interview and encourage further input from the participant

- ☐ Would that be an accurate synopsis?
- ☐ Is there anything you would like to bring up or thought should have been discussed?
- ☐ Do you have any further questions concerning this study?

Next interview: Photo-elicitation
- ☐ Photo-elicitation interview – explain/review
- ☐ Review how participants are progressing with photographing their 'world of food'
- ☐ Arrange time to pick up camera to print photos for photo-elicitation interview
- ☐ Review time (ideally within next 7 days) for photo-elicitation interview
- ☐ Next interview date/time/place

_____

Interview Notes

Interview Session: _____

Date: _____ Time**:** _____

Location: _____

Duration of interview: _____

Impression of how interview went:

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Initial themes to emerge from the interview:

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Potential revisions for interview guide:

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Other notes from interview:

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Photo-elicitation discussion

□ Clarify questions/doubts/comments from last interview

Give participants printed photos

Ask

□ How did the task go?
□ What did you photograph?
□ What is your favourite photo(s)? Why?
□ What photo isn't so good? Why?

Lay out photos to story

- What does this image show?
- Can you tell me why you chose to photograph this item?

Other questions to create discussion:

- If you can think back to the beginning, when I asked you to photograph your 'world of food', can you tell me about how you got started and what you photographed?
- How did you find taking the photographs?
- Were you able to photograph everything that you wanted to? What else was there?

□ *Social and cultural embeddedness of food*

- What does this [image] mean to you?
- Who else was there when you were preparing / eating this [image]?
- Who uses this [image] to cook / what do they cook?
- Where do the ingredients for this come from? How do you get them?

□ *Food and the process of remembering*

- When was the first time that you remember eating [image]?
- Who else was there at the time? What else was happening?
- What other memories do you have around this [image]?
- How did you learn to cook this [image] / learn to use this [image]?
- Who taught you? Who else was there?

Summarise main points of interview and encourage further input from the participant

□ Would that be an accurate synopsis?
□ Is there anything you would like to bring up or thought should have been discussed?
□ Check if there is a photo of the kitchen / cooking area, if not, ask for one

Reminder

□ Next interview date/time/place

_____

OR move straight to exit interview

Interview Notes

Interview Session: _____

Date: _____ **Time**: _____

Location: _____

Duration of interview: _____

Impression of how interview went:

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Initial themes to emerge from the interview:

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Things to change / note in interview schedule for next time

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Other notes from interview:

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Exit interview
- □ Clarify questions/doubts/comments from last interview
- □ Cover and review project processes
- □ Review what has happened
- □ Review what has been shown and discussed
- □ Participants reactions and comments
- □ Giving of koha
- □ Formally disengage from the project

Summarise main points of interview and encourage further input from the participant

- □ Would that be an accurate synopsis?
- □ Is there anything you would like to bring up or thought should have been discussed?
- □ Do you have any further questions concerning this study?

Reminder

- □ Address/contact details for feedback of final interview
- □ Address/contact details for providing research summary
- □ Check if household would like to have and/or read a full copy of finished thesis

Thank all participants and all household members for their time and for sharing

Appendix 4: Photograph grids

Gridding of all photographs taken

	Barrett	Marton	Linton
Total number of images	34	30	26
Dinner meals	26	8	2
Lunch meals	-	1	7
Breakfast	-	3	5
Drinks	-	Cider 1	Coffee 7
Ingredients	10	2	1
Dishes ready for eating	16	10	4
Food made at home	26	23	18
Restaurant food	3	5	7
Images with people	1	12	15
Other	Pantry 8	Recipes 2	-
Baking	-	10	-
Celebrations	Birthday BBQ 9	10	-
Leftovers	2	-	-

Gridding of photographs by the Linton family

Linton family	Dinner	Lunch	Breakfast	Coffee	Total
Total #of images	7	7	5	7	26
Food only images	3	4	2	2	11
Images with people	4	3	3	5	15
Eating in car	0	0	2	0	2
Eating at home	6	1	3	7	17
Eating at café/restaurant	1	6	0	0	7

Gridding of photographs by the Marsden family

Marsden family	Images with people	Food only images
Family members	9	-
People eating food	3	½ eaten food 4
Celebrations	Baking / birthdays 6	Baking 7
At home	8	16
Out	3	2
People only	3	-
Total images	12	18

Gridding of photographs by the Barrett family

Barrett Family	Home cooked meals			Other/Notes	Total
	Ingredients	Food prep	Final dish		
Dinner meals	3	7	16	Images of pantry 8	34
Curry & rice dinners	3	7	10	Prep includes image of rice cooker (1)	10
BBQ Dinner	-	-	9	Inc. curry & rice (3) Images of leftovers 2	11