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**An Account of Championing Food for Vulnerable Households and
Hungry Children in Aotearoa New Zealand**

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree
of
Master of Management Studies
at
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Kahurangi Jean Dey



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Abstract

Global food security became the focus of policy and media attention worldwide following the 2006-2008 food price spikes. In 2013, food security issues in Aotearoa New Zealand relate to access to food, ability to access food, food supply, food distribution and income poverty. I ponder issues of food (in)security and access(ability) to food for vulnerable households and hungry children; and debate the universal benefit to be achieved from various food initiatives. My surveillance of these issues includes consideration of ways people and planet are disadvantaged by, and within, food systems as they are currently determined. Deprivation of secure access to nutritious food, diversely explained, justified and challenged elsewhere in practice and in literature, is a reality for many families in Aotearoa New Zealand. Current remedies, here as elsewhere, seem not to be making a radical impact.

Advocacy for an approach to organisational research filled with words, imagery and rich descriptions by leading contemporary critical theorists Alvesson & Gabriel (2013) emboldens my intention to creatively engage in what I consider to be a meaningful and socially relevant story about championing food for vulnerable households and hungry children in Aotearoa New Zealand. Aspirations to a society with well-fed children, secure family life, and healthy populations are my focus in this research. In a creative engagement I seek to persuade and argue, to address and debate, “to analyse and to make conscious such naturalized ‘common-sense’ patterns of domination” (Schüssler Fiorenza, 2001, p. 102).

Considering the vast array of systems and organisational arrangements that together constitute the production, distribution and consumption of food, I have craft three theoretical conceptualisations to organise my thoughts. They are:

1. those already ‘determined’ notions which follow existing dominant neo-liberal systems, forms, and mind-sets;
2. those ‘improved determined’ ideas considered as alternative approaches to existing ‘determined’ ones but that involve some intention to achieve positive adaptation to a ‘determined’ configuration; and
3. those ‘indeterminate’ perspectives where alternative initiatives or propositions could be considered but outcomes are unknown or yet to be determined.

Through these three conceptualisations, I illuminate the many ways vulnerable individuals and households are disadvantaged through and by current ‘determined’ systems, forms and mind-sets. I argue increasing corporate control over global food production and distribution is evident. I address academic debates around food context and I question the veracity and efficacy of food assistance programs and systems as a remedy for hunger. Specifically in Aotearoa New Zealand I deliberate on the impression being left by the elephants in the paddocks, the giant corporates whose footprints can be followed well beyond the farm gate.

The extent to which any social researcher can contribute to transformative change while unintentionally participating in a system that dominates, marginalises or oppresses is a contemporary challenge for all activists with critical intent. In this thesis I have characterised stories of domination or marginalisation within food systems and given a space for these stories of the positioning of the vulnerable to be told.

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Thanks to Dad – for your senses of social justice, fairness and consideration, and for teaching us to stand up for what we think is right.

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I dedicate this thesis to my beautiful children – Miharo, Olly, Putiputi.

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1 Mihi

*Ko Mataatua te waka,
Ko Kopukairua te maunga, ko Mauao te maunga,
Ko Tauranga te moana,
Ko Waitao te awa,
Ko Ngāti Pūkenga te iwi, Ko Ngai Te Rangī te iwi,
Ko Whetu-o-te-rangī (Whetu) te marae, ko Tahuwhakatiki
(Romai) te marae, ko Tamapahore te marae
Ko Kahurangi Jean Dey ahau*

My Māori ancestors trace their voyages on the Mataatua canoe from the mythical lands of Hawaiki to the Bay of Plenty region of the eastern coast of the north island of New Zealand. They settled below the mountainous peaks of Kopukairua and Mauao (Mount Maunganui), beside the coastal waters of the Tauranga harbour and the inland waterways of the Waitao. I am a descendant of Ngai Te Rangī and also of Ngāti Pūkenga. They are my people; I am of them. Whetu, Romai, and Tamapahore are places where we organise our lives. I am formed with this knowing. I am named Kahurangi Jean Dey.

My Pākehā ancestors trace their voyages here on fleets from parts of England and Scotland to the Otago region of the south island of New Zealand. They settled in Dunedin and Mosgiel, below the peaks of Saddle Hill, on the inland plains of Taieri where the waters of the Taieri River flow. In these families too, I have relationships of belonging.

1.1 Stories of History

In Māori cultural history it is important to cite your origins, to make connections to ahi kaa (a place where the home fires burn), and to place yourself within the context of entities surrounding the places where you (and your ancestors before you) are from. By sharing these relationships, I introduce my ancestors and offer an opportunity to make acquaintance with my ahi kaa (these places where home fires burn) also. Honouring a traditional form of Māori communication through these statements, I am contesting “academic writing [as] a form of selecting, arranging and presenting knowledge” (Smith L. T., 1999, p. 36), challenging western academic formulaic research patterns (Alvesson & Gabriel, 2013) and offering an alternative to prevailing positivist forms of scholarly writing. I am replacing one traditional form of communicating with another, as well as seeking

to use “a dialogic rather than monologic writing style” (Alvesson & Gabriel, 2013, p. 255). Acknowledging relationships and appreciating networks of influence are important in my way of knowing, my thoughts and values. This recognition of self in community resonates also with the works of English poet John Donne:

No man is an *Iland*, intire of it selfe; every man is a peece of the *Continent*, a part of the *maine*; if a *Clod* bee washed by the Sea, *Europe* is the lesse, as well as if a *Promontorie* were, as well as if a *Mannor* of thy *friends* or of *thine owne* were; any man’s *death* diminishes *me*, because I am involved in *Mankinde*; And therefore never send to know for whom the *bell* tolls; It tolls for *thee* (Donne, 1623/1923, p. 98)

In my living of this idea, I ponder no wo/manⁱ is an island, entire of themselves; every wo/man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main. This world in which we live (for whom the bells toll) is a shared humanity (it tolls for thee) and you and I are part of this toll. I consider there is value in looking at the world this way; that we are all connected in ways beyond our knowing.

As Myles Horton and Paulo Freire (1990) have said, I believe ‘we make the roads in walking them’. Although I grew up in a fairly traditional two-parent-working-dad-at-home-mum environment, we grew up in a household in which gender stereotypes were not strictly followed. This diversion from the typical was not because our parents were feminists, but more an outcome of pragmatics. There were three daughters and no sons in our household to do the ‘boys work’. Our parents were from ‘working class’ stock, in as much as class distinctions existed in New Zealand. Everybody worked or contributed in some way. While I am sure he did not think of himself as a ‘sensitive new-age Dad’, our Dad did believe girls could do anything - and we did! My sisters could punch harder than most of the boys in our street, and I could match those kids for pace. We ran, rode, and wrestled like the best of them.

We were growing up (part) Māori, in white-middle-class-suburban 1970s New Zealand. Ours was a household where racial stereotypes were not tolerated, recreated, or duplicated. While some of my teenage friends would bemoan ‘the Māoris’ for all manner of social ‘wrongs’ⁱⁱ, my family and I escaped such categorization and were perhaps seen by those friends as an anomaly. My mother,

however, grew up (wholly) Māori. While I gleaned that to be one of ‘the Māoris’ might be problematic in my community, I also gathered that my mum and her family seemed like some of ‘the good ones’. In hindsight I consider that as children, we were perceived of as ‘white enough’ or perhaps ‘only part Māori’.

As a child growing up, I felt secure and included in my immediate community. As a family, we were in an interesting position. We grew up in a world, and at a time, where acts of overt racism were illegal. Long-held racist ideas, however, were still present. We saw racist worldviews re-presented in the conversations and casual comments of our friends. I would say we were witness to racist values and expression, rather than being targets of racist hostilities ourselves. As insiders (in my perception), racist comments and ideas were expressed in our presence but we were largely exempt as the comments and views weren’t directed at us. This world of complex representation, inclusion or exemption from privilege or discrimination, I recognise as a social creation not a necessary characteristic of human communities. My ‘mixed-race’ family participated in this creation in ways that were different from similar ‘white’ families or from those Māori families who were somehow seen as not as ‘good’ as us. My reflection on this past illuminates for me the way some aspects of social context is always ‘under construction’ while other aspects are always there; a social world, somehow external to ourselves.

My living of this reflection was in the consideration that the ‘world out there’ is not the same for everyone. This belief also underpins critical reflections on another aspect of growing up Māori in white-middle-class-suburban 1970s New Zealand. In our family, race was not the ‘explanation’ or ‘reason’ for the social ‘wrongs’ that affected many Māori families in our community. We, the three daughters of Peter and Putiputi Dey, knew these social wrongs weren’t caused by being born Māori, contrary to general public opinion at the time. In the world in which we were nurtured, being born Māori didn’t mean you were necessarily going to end up drunken, violent, unemployed or on welfare. Our whole whānau (extended family) was filled with lively, loving, educated and employed Māori individuals and families. In considering the many things that could happen which might mean you would end up drunken, violent, unemployed or on welfare, it was easy to see, from our point of view, that these wrongs afflicting Māori families in

seeming disproportion to the rest of society, were not caused by being born a certain racial grouping. It wasn't only Māori families who experienced such 'wrongs', and as our family, and my experience of being a Māori family made clear to me, it didn't mean that being born Māori this would be my destiny too.

Our wider whānau (extended family), my many relations who are both Māori and Pākehā, was, and still is, filled with educators and teachers. For them, each and every one of us is a 'tabula rasa', a capable blank slate. Through education and work, it was firmly believed, anything is possible. Thus to me, people less fortunate, or less privileged, than us were no less capable or had no less contribution to make; there was to be something else responsible for establishing and maintaining these situations without advantage – but we knew that it ought, and believe that it could, be different. Understanding the existence of this 'something else', and forming a response to the possibility that there might be an 'external cause' for such 'wrongs' informed the sense of social justice and responsibility that runs deep in my whānau (extended family). Though addressing social 'wrongs' is a deeply contextualised notion, our lives were underpinned by a sense of balance and fairness, a commitment to equity and justice, and a notion of living and contributing to a just life drives my research, my parenting, and my living, inquiring, life (Marshall, 1999).

In all chapters in this thesis I tell a separate story. I use the term 'story' and its many synonyms loosely in a very basic sense throughout this work i.e., an account of some happening, a tale, a narrative designed to interest, amuse or instruct. Each chapter is introduced, has unique detail and is designed to stand alone, while being part of the main. Conclusions are drawn separately and also reviewed together in the final chapter 7.

2 Shaping a Flow

*Gone are the gardens in nearly every backyard;
gone are the dads working those gardens nearly every evening;
gone are the mums bottling and preserving nearly every weekend
and;
gone with them are the days of old where we swapped yarns and
produce over the back fence*

Reflection drawn from my research notes.

Growing up in small town New Zealand in the 1970s, in a family and community I experienced as secure and normal, the reflections about my world sketched out above are taken from my research notes. They are a reflection on a world as I knew it then. When I think of that time, I think of Dad growing corn and tomatoes, and Elsie across the street with a pantry full of peaches. I think of Mum leaning on the front fence chatting with the neighbours and sending us with a bowl of strawberries to Nanny Lucy two doors down. I understand that this imagery of what I experienced was not so for many people. My imagery however, is very similar to an image that has been romanticised and universalised in the telling of ‘life in Kiwi NZ’. Frequently idealised as ‘the past norm’ this image is often falsely portrayed as a universal – however it was not ‘the norm’ for all people. While my imagery indeed reflects ‘*our* norm’, my parents moved my sisters and I in wide circles of relationships. Our family spent time in some households with gardens and in many without. Thus long before tertiary education motivated sociological investigations, I was aware that *our* norm was not *the* norm for everyone.

There are many stories to be told of Kiwi families. I have begun this work with a prologue – an introduction to my ancestors, my family, and myself – a tale about my family as I choose to tell it. Above I use words and rich description that, while about my own experience, they also draw imagery of an ‘ideal’ Kiwi family; imagery still strong in our collective memory. In the now romanticised and idealised accounts of days gone by, this imagery can be evoked by policy makers, politicians, and various social reformers to remind some that hard work, resourcefulness, and neighbourliness are virtues that once fed families, kept them housed, warm, and safe. There are other stories to be told about Kiwi families – past and present. Looking into families of southern Dunedin from 1980-1920 for

example, New Zealand historians Cooper and Horan (2004) acknowledge a pattern repeated internationally of “the vulnerability of women, children, the sick, the disabled, and the old” (p. 109). Walker (1990) shows Kiwi families in Māori communities from the 1950s as disrupted, fragmented, pulled and pushed from rural existence to eke out a living in a rapidly urbanising New Zealand. Child advocates note that vulnerable families in Aoteroa in the 21st century are sole parent families, families who are dependent on various benefits, and Māori and Pasifika families, and over half of these vulnerable families in New Zealand now live in poverty (Child Poverty Action Group CPAG (St John & Craig), 2004).

There are many meanings to be made of the various renditions presented as histories, and the nuanced interpretations that are used to explain concerns of the present day. How some stories, and not others, come to be understood as reported truth or necessary reality is significant and important to the theoretical orientation of this research. In terms of food security and justice, I begin from a reported truth or necessary reality, not shared by all analysts, that humanity can produce enough food to feed all the people now on the planet. There is already enough food (Bailey, 2011; Cunningham & Cunningham, 2009). The connection between food and the people who need it however, is disrupted, and sometimes corrupted. The quantity of food supply is not a point I will belabour in this thesis. I am shored in this view by Oxfam (Bailey, 2011), United Nations Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization José Graziano da Silva (UN News Service, 2013) and environmental scientists Dr. William Cunningham and Dr. Mary Cunningham.

Despite the fact that human populations have nearly tripled in [the last century], food production has increased even faster, and we now grow more than enough food for everyone. Because of uneven distribution of food resources, however, there are still more than 850 million people who don't have enough to eat on a daily basis (Cunningham & Cunningham, 2009, p. 193)

This claim draws my mind to those who would see meeting the needs of the hungry of the world as an outcome best left to the free market. The majority of world's food production is organised for global markets (Bailey, 2011). These markets have been increasingly deregulated by those supportive of ‘free market’ ideology. A global marketplace ‘free’ of state intervention is heralded by

proponents as an efficient and proficient arrangement that will provide benefit for all. I question however, if 'free markets' are providing universal benefit, how is it that there 850 million people on the planet don't have enough to eat on a daily basis, and many more consume diets that lead to obesity and heart related diseases and starve through want of adequate nutrition at the same time? In Chapter 3 I visit with several critical social and organisational theorists and find the ideas of those who work in this genre helpful in understanding the ability to access food. I explore various social theories and ideas surrounding knowledge, truth and social order and outline ideas around the neo-liberal basis that pervades the organising we do in being human.

Shining light on methodology and method, I carry my critical approach through to the processes of this investigation in Chapter 4. I begin with an exploration of how critical theories could be applied to social research that would fit with my life's circumstances. There I delve into the manner in which critical investigations of language use, and the expressions of stories and narratives of various kinds opens to scrutiny layers of texts, discourses, and social practices. Critical Discourse Analysis, Orientational Metaphors and Theories of Justice are three bearings given consideration. As part of the chapter, I discuss a trial of textual analysis.

I conclude Chapter 4 with a discussion of three theoretical distinctions I found useful to make in organising my thoughts: 'determined', 'improved determined' and 'indeterminate' as possible conceptualisations to contemplate challenge to pervasive neo-liberal ideas. As a form of scholarly activism, I chose to rename and reify the usually termed 'conventional' or un-named configuration to 'determined' food systems. While acknowledging a multiplicity of possible alternative arrangements, I conceptualised 'improved determined' notions as those that may offer improvements to 'determined' systems but would likely still "produce and re-produce neo-liberal forms, spaces of governance, and mentalities" (Guthman, 2008, p. 1171). "Indeterminate" perspectives may challenge a neo-liberal form, space or mentality and offer outcomes unclear, vague, uncertain or undefined. To my mind these perspectives offer a path unknown, a path in which there is no one ideal way but many radical opportunities.

After viewing literature in Chapter 5, I note aspects relevant to my inquiry into food as it relates to well-fed children, secure family life, healthy populations and a nurtured planet. Rejecting a typical “find-and-fill-the-gap logic” (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2013 as cited in Alvesson & Gabriel, 2013, p. 248) style of reviewing literature, I followed a more “nomadic” (Alvesson & Gabriel, 2013, p. 248), intuitive or *wei wu wei* (Capra, 1988) approach. In going where my interest and energy took me, I report on understanding food and disadvantage, in different ways, through systems where all things are never equal.

In the first decade and a half of this century, food programs and food banks have regularly made the news. Wary of the complex food banking system that operates in the United States, I considered the ‘case’ for food banks in New Zealand worthy of investigation. Winne (2008) proposes the ‘growth’ in this food bank industry be viewed paradoxically: the increase in efficiency, scale and competitiveness will not reduce the need for the food banks and in the United States the system now seems self-fulfilling. Corporate donors to food banks in the US, and proposed for New Zealand at the time of writing, have protection in legislation. In America these organisations also have tax advantages available to them. In a world where a commitment to social responsibility is being proposed by many businesses, assisting with food banks seems like good thing to do. In a world filled with inequality, individuals who want to help the disadvantaged consider food banks a win-win also. So much industry and effort is going into propping up these systems – yet the situation of increasing numbers of food insecure households seems only to become more severe.

I refine my focus in Chapter 6 to close attention to matters of access to food for vulnerable New Zealanders as necessary to my view of a just society. Justness, however, as does history, can be given many meanings. By restor(y)ing food I consider the many things that affect access(ability) to healthy and affordable food for the vulnerable, who include the young, the elderly, the unwell, the disabled and the women, and increasingly in New Zealand, Māori, Pasifika and those with low incomes (Child Poverty Action Group CPAG (St John & Craig), 2004). The ‘prevailing neo-liberal depiction’ of food systems is, I contend, couched in terms of productivist benefit for all and is more critically understood as a system of privileging a few (Rosin, 2013). I tell several stories of the damage being done by

the current determinations, starting with a critique of intensive livestock systems and the detrimental impressions livestock effluent is leaving on New Zealand land and water resources. Vulnerable families are often misrepresented in media and under-served in policy and practice. I consider recent New Zealand studies regarding ability to access food for vulnerable households and food programs for food insecure children, and give food assistance programs some contemplation. From a critical perspective I suggest ALL food relief should be questioned. I conclude the chapter with a few short threads around initiatives that hold potential to serve people and planet before profit, but that are beyond the scope of this thesis.

Acknowledge the mihi, revisiting critical theorists, highlighting methodology and method, reviewing literature, and restoring food stories for the vulnerable in Aotearoa New Zealand is my task in Chapter 7.

I started my journey into food exploration a few years ago. I wanted to understand why people from lower income households in the suburb I currently live weren't vegetable gardening. I now know this situation is not unique to New Zealand which led me to understand the reasons as structural and systemic in nature. On this journey I have become more comfortable with the ideas of critical theorists, and the application of these ideas in the world in which I live. I find critical ideas useful in understanding how social justice is negotiated in the fields of a 'determined' neo-liberal global food system, and in the consequences for food security for the vulnerable in Aotearoa. I have formed some questions, which are the subject of this research. Are systems of access to food socially just for the vulnerable, in this case including Māori, Pasifika and low income families? How is a food system dominated by global corporations providing for these families? What alternatives are there for families with limited resources? I am pleased to have the opportunity to explore the works of theorists who are concerned about social justice and care about living a productive life together. I firmly believe in human creativity and our ability to care and feel empathy for the lives of others – in being human we can feel what it is to walk those miles in another person's shoes. I appreciate the opportunity to think creatively about the generative contribution I can make to transformative change.

3 Visiting Theorists and Context

You must be the change you wish to see in the world - Gandhi

3.1 Introduction

Here I visit theorists (and theories) whose influence I find myself under and a neo-liberal context I find myself in. Those notions of balance and fairness, and equity and justice that influenced my early years are formative still now. Vulnerability and resilience of knowledge is explored, in Section 3.2 Knowledge, Truth and Social Order, along with ideas around real and social worlds, and the part that language plays in producing knowledge, not just representing it. The words and creativity of many critical theorists flow through this thesis. In Section 3.3 I introduce the works of Freire, Spivak, Schüssler Fiorenza, Humphries and Deetz as a few of the critical theorists whose ideas I am inspired by. The words and creativity of 17th century English philosopher John Locke also flow through this thesis but with a different intent. Rather than the emancipatory liberating intent I trust to the critical theorists, in section 3.4 Neo-liberal Notions, I charge Locke with founding the tenets of neo-liberalism; the ideas and ideals that furnish the underlying world view, from which vested interests have produced the 21st century neo-liberal approach. In sections 3.5 I briefly discuss the application of neo-liberal ideas to contemporary New Zealand respectively and I conclude in section 3.6.

3.2 Knowledge, Truth and Social Order

In everyday life, thoughts, beliefs, values, and actions are always informed by 'theory'. This dynamic may be seen in the uncritical or even naturalised adherence to the doctrines of any community (such as family, church or corporation) by newly engaged, as well as regular members, or on a much wider scale (as I will argue neo-liberal economic [un]reasoning to be). Often people continue to operate with theories long demonstrated as 'less than valid' but do not realise this till they come across a misfit of theory with practice that cannot be ignored. What any human community, or individual, takes for granted as 'truth' (for them) is perhaps more accurately thought of as 'theory in practice'. Such 'truth' is represented as valid 'knowledge' on which community members can base secure decisions.

Appreciating the influence of (perhaps redundant) ‘theory in practice’ in my own life is part of my living, inquiring, life (Marshall, 1999). How any such ‘truth’ is created and maintained, challenged, or transformed is an abiding research interest that in this thesis, I apply to issues related to fair and just systems of access(ability)ⁱⁱⁱ to food.

In discussing ‘truth’ and theories of meaning, I find interest in the idea that none of our knowledge, is incorrigible, unchangeable, or certain, “not even our science; ...all of it is fallible, and in principle improvable, even replaceable” (Magee, 2001, p. 188). The wide and very diverse range of social theories about experiences of, and possibilities for, being human illustrate both the vulnerability and resilience of certainty, ‘knowledge’ and ‘truth’ over time. Magee (2001) suggests the stories of history bear this out, such that “[c]omparatively little that is “known” in any one age continues to be regarded as unquestionable by later generations” (ibid).

Organisational theorists Burrell and Morgan (1979) suggest a four ‘paradigm’ framework – functionalist, interpretive, radical humanist and radical structuralist – to illustrate that there can be more than one way to make sense of the world. Social researcher Crotty (1998) separates social theories into three general categories based on differing epistemological stances: objectivist, constructionist and subjectivist. For example, objectivist theorists operate as if there is an absolute social world where there is ‘a truth’ out there to be identified and established. Others, like constructionist theorists, posit that there is no absolute social world to observe. They contend that any perceived social world (or social reality) is humanly created, and that engagement with and interpretations of a selection of related ideas, values and practices are what create the order that then becomes observable. Yet others, such as subjectivist theorists, suggest that understanding of a social world “is imposed on the object by the subject” (Crotty, 1998, p. 9).

From a constructionist view point, ‘truth’ or meaning (as a human fabrication) is brought into existence in and through our engagement with the realities in our world. My understanding is that “there is a real world ...which exists irrespective of whether or how well we know and understand it” (Fairclough, 2010, p. 4). This

‘real world’ does not depend on human construction for its existence (Fairclough, 2010). In the most basic of examples, I assume that the river Waikato or Niagara Falls will continue to pour water regardless of human observation – even though this is impossible to test empirically. Crotty (1998) cites Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty as scholars who “frequently invoke a ‘world always already there’” (p. 10) and says himself “the world is there regardless of whether human beings are conscious of it” (ibid). Humphries (2013, personal communication) suggests social theorists might consider these specific worlds differently in terms of:

- i) a world that is not dependent on our consciousness: Waikato and Niagara will pour forth their waters no matter if there is anyone to see or hear;
- ii) an interpretation of, or response to, that world which *is* dependent on our consciousness: how we understand Waikato or Niagara to be a river, a waterfall, an ancestor, or a living entity is conceptualised by our social construction of her.

In the ‘linguistic turn’ in philosophy, evident in the organisational studies literature from the later part of the 20th century, language replaced consciousness as a basis for philosophical investigation. Deetz (2003) argues a political agenda of the linguistic turn was to give ‘voice’ to the disenfranchised. He posits that now the term ‘voice’ has been reduced to “having a say rather than a more radical engagement in the formation of groups and interests to find their ‘voice’” (2003, p. 426). Deetz (2003) contends open conflict and participation are necessary features of communicating in contemporary society which result in “producing both voice and inventive ways of living together” (ibid). Deetz (2010) terms this attention to the dialogic along with understanding and intervening as ‘the relational turn’. He advocates a relational constructionism which features: a relational encounter; perception originating from a standpoint or subject position; and perceived positions are social and systemic rather than personal, psychological, or subjective (Deetz, 2010). Importantly in relational constructionism, the research language is generative rather than representational (Deetz, 2003) and “the social and historical precedes the personal” (Deetz, 2010, p. 40). Deetz (2003) suggests organizational theorists embrace the relational turn and

[focus] attention on the dialogic processes of social formation rather than assuming a particular formation as completed ...[and centre] commitment

on not simple representations of the disadvantaged, but the harder and less popular tasks of understanding and intervening in the systems and structures that produce and reproduce the disadvantage (p. 426)

Rather than objective representations that exist independently, knowledge, facts and social order are outcomes of social and historical relational communicative processes, and are produced with language, not merely represented by it (Deetz, 2010).

In this work, therefore, I acknowledge a world that exists outside the meaning I make of it, but the sense I make of that world is creatively of my own making! In a relational constructionist stance that weaves through my research, I progress my work from an underlying assumption that all knowledge is constructed, there is no such thing as an objective ‘truth’, and the way I go about interpreting the various worlds I encounter and choose to engage with cannot be separated from the person I am now, the years of coming to be this person, and the millennia of ancestry (introduced in my Prologue) that situates me as part of the main, the continent that is my life.

3.3 Critical Appeal

Critical theory as I express it is somewhat different from those who come to it from class politics or labor processes. Critical theory is expressed differently by a white male farm kid than by a person of color, woman or child of factory laborers. Our biographies as they are constituted by larger social historical processes enable differences to be brought to the larger discussion both limiting and helping enable a fuller discussion. ...I suspect that everyone coming to critical theory has some degree of anger at social injustice and some love of the potential in human sociality (Deetz, 2005, para 12-13)

Deetz (2005) suggests “[a]ll cultures have a tendency to produce themselves as the culture, the world as nature intended, but in contact with others we know each is only a culture and begin to understand its oppressions” (para 5). Working from many different backgrounds and cultures, where “there are lots of ways of being “other” Deetz (2005, para 3) and other critical theorists illuminate the social worlds outside the mainstream, acknowledge larger social and historical processes contribute to a world that does not suit us all, and recognise the ways in which people are disadvantaged, oppressed, excluded, marginalized, and not seen or heard. Fletcher (1998) deems the processes in which knowledge is produced are problematic and suggests focus is needed to identify “where only some voices are

heard and only some experience is counted as knowledge” (p. 164).

Acknowledging there is no one worldview that is shared by all, Fletcher (1998) suggests rejecting the notions of objectivity, comprehensiveness, binary opposition, and the hierarchical arrangement human logic is often given in text. She cautions “textual representation is never neutral but is instead a powerful means of constructing an ideological worldview that furthers the interests of dominant groups” and posits that by challenging unexamined dichotomies in text, revealing suppressed contradictions, and calling attention to what has been hidden, obscured, or made invisible, textual representation can be used to deconstruct the constructed social reality (ibid). My understanding is the value in a critical theory perspective is in acknowledging the dominance in many hierarchical arrangements which advantage a select few and an understanding of a plurality of interests may contribute to a fairer and more just social world.

For example, from a decolonizing perspective, L. T. Smith (1999) argues that Western ways of knowing and researching are assumed and privileged within traditional research paradigms and other cultural ways of knowing are marginalized. She highlights an indigenous project of self-definition, such that

[e]very issue has been approached by indigenous peoples with a view to *rewriting* and *rerighting* our position in history. Indigenous peoples want to tell our own stories, write our own versions, in our own ways, for our own purposes (p. 28).

For L. T. Smith (1999) the act of resistance to the ‘Othering’ of the West is to represent indigenous peoples on their own terms rather than through representations of Western ways of knowing. From a feminist perspective, Fletcher (1998) identifies a “masculine nature of the metanarrative of knowledge production ... [such that] the feminine as a voice has been silenced or obscured” (p. 165).

Hammersley’s (1997) critical discussion of the word ‘critical’ suggests that “the term seems to function as an umbrella for any approach that wishes to portray itself as politically radical without being exclusive in its commitment ... [thus] what *could* legitimately shelter under this umbrella is very diverse” (p. 244 emphasis in original). Rather than defend against his reproach that critical researchers pay insufficient attention to founding assumptions (Hammersley,

1997), I take cover in the safe haven of the umbrella which shelters many of the foundations which cause me concern about injustice but not at the expense of rigorous analysis – analysis generated from a critical appreciation of social and organisational theory. Implicit in most general constructionist theories are an everyday version of psychological reductionism, a humanist agenda and a notion of liberal democracy (Deetz, 2010). Deetz (2010) notes this un-discussed consensus is widely shared but often remains invisible. Fundamental to my critical ideas are notions of social justice and issues of marginalisation and exclusion, oppression and domination, advantage and disadvantage, the way some people have, and some have not and making visible that which is hidden or offering voice to those who are silenced.

There are both moral and pragmatic reasons why these unequal relationships and their consequences benefit from greater critical scrutiny. In terms of a pragmatic response, Wilkinson and Pickett (2009) argue that equal societies do far better, on a whole range of health and social scales, than more unequal societies. From their research, they argue that “the vast majority of the population is harmed by greater inequality” (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009, p. 181). Mindful of space, I note a wider discussion, and showing further ‘evidence’ of such claims, to be beyond the scope of this project. I recognise inequality is not a marker for social injustice in all thoughtscales. As is the case in hierarchically organised societies, inequality of wealth or power may be deemed a right with related duties and entitlements allocated due to rank, status or class. Tribal people may deem inequality to be a birth-right, with duties and entitlements accorded due to lineage, gender, and birth order. Followers of neo-liberal ideas may deem inequality to be socially just due to the workings of the ‘free market’ as it delivers fair and objective outcomes (in terms of influence and wealth) according to individual labour. From this neo-liberal approach, inequality from hierarchical or tribal allocation (of advantage or disadvantage) may be deemed unacceptable as influence, power and/or wealth have not been earned on merit.

With regards to inequality, from a moral perspective, Mertens (2012) suggests critical analysts perceive “that different versions of reality are given privilege over others and that the privileged views need to be critically examined to determine what is missing when the view of marginalized peoples are not privileged” (p.

806). The work of Paulo Freire allows deeper reflection on this proposition. Critical transformation is central to the work of Brazilian liberation educator Freire. Freire (1998) was clear in his view that education was not a neutral instrument. For him, education was always being used by people – if not for the liberation of the oppressed, then for the continued subjugation of the oppressed by their oppressors. In the next section I explore Freire’s ideas, belief and faith in the ability of marginalized people to be the masters of their own transformation.

3.3.1 Understanding People: Critical Transformation

In working with pre-literate people in Latin America in the 1960s and 1970s, Freire (1998) adopts a critical approach to human consciousness, conscientização^{iv}, recognizing “human beings as active agents who transform their world ... [using] cultural action in order to break the existing “culture of silence” (p. 499). The process of conscientização, an essential part of Freire’s cultural action for freedom approach, is one in which people “as knowing subjects, achieve a deepening awareness both of the sociocultural reality that shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality” (Freire, 1998, p. 493). Being a knowing subject involves coming to an understanding of the social construction of a reality, and the willingness to transcend that reality. For Freire, the starting point for an understanding of conscientização is that it is a human process centred on the individual as agent, “a subject (that is, a conscious being) ... able to achieve the complex operation of simultaneously transforming the world by their action and grasping and expressing the world’s reality in their creative language” (1998, p. 499).

van Gorder (2007) asks “[h]ow do Freirean ideas apply to contexts where people may be well-intentioned but are often protected by layers of wealth, social status and privilege?” (p. 9). Freire described how education systems “shared some complicity in the maintenance of an unjust status quo of oppression” (van Gorder, 2007, p. 8). van Gorder (2007) suggests an individual, through a conscientização of education, “comes to learn of the social, economic, and political contradictions of the world and to address those elements with either passive acceptance or active resistance” (p 12). As a contemporary critical theorist, van Gorder’s ideas are helpful as I try to figure out how we can all contribute to improving these contradictions of the world – the places, positions, and valuing of those with

privilege and those without. My interest in social theories is seeded in the transformative abilities I perceive for us all, the advantaged, the disadvantaged and those variously in between.

3.3.2 Understanding Systems: Subaltern; Kyriarchy; Reification

In many analyses, aspects of meaning making such as “race, gender, heterosexuality, class and ethnicity” (Schüssler Fiorenza, 2001, p. 211) are overlooked. A subaltern studies lens brings into light the ways in which systems and institutions, practices and discourses within our modern societies comply to oppress, dominate and silence the marginalised. In rethinking Indian colonial history, Guha (as cited in Spivak 1988) constructs definitions of certain groups of people and proposes a type of stratification in order to understand the relationships between these groups. The groups were identified as:

1. [Elite] Dominant foreign groups.
2. [Elite] Dominant indigenous groups on the all-India level.
3. [Elite Buffer] Dominant indigenous groups at the regional and local levels.
4. The terms “people” and “subaltern classes” have been used as synonymous throughout this note. The social groups and elements included in this category represent *the demographic difference between the total Indian population and all those whom we have described as the “elite”* (Spivak, 1988, p. 79 italics in original).

In considering the interlocking systems and structures of domination, and the functional nature of the categorization of the different groups, Spivak (1988) notes

Taken as a whole and in the abstract this [third, Elite Buffer]...category ...was heterogenous in its composition and, thanks to the uneven character of regional economic development and social developments, differed from area to area. The same class or element which was dominant in one area ...could be among the dominated in another (ibid, italics in original).

When Spivak (1988) argues that “the subaltern cannot speak” (p. 104), I understand her to be saying that a subaltern person doesn’t have the words or know the discourses of the elite, so s/he has no voice or speaks in a language indecipherable to the dominant groups. From this perspective, a person who speaks a prevailing discourse knows their own language – as a subaltern person know theirs. A privileged person cannot know the oppression in the same way the oppressed knows. Should a person in a dominant position desire a more equal or just society, a society in which a subaltern person’s views are not diminished, a

subaltern person must gain, or be granted, a space and opportunity to contribute to their own social, and/or a wider structural, transformation. Freire and Shor (1987) contend a subaltern must “learn how to command the dominant language ...not exclusively in order to survive, but *above all* for fighting against the dominant class” (p. 73). But Spivak’s (1988) point is that representation of the subaltern position by other groups is not an authentic account i.e. it is not a subaltern speaking, and once a subaltern learns to command the prevailing discourse, they are no longer subaltern. Once a person has Freire’s conscientização, there is no going back to the person they were before. Freire and Schor (1987) describe this as they reflect on transformative processes, offering:

Dialogue is a moment where humans meet to reflect on their reality as they make and remake it, we are able *to know that we know*, which is something *more* than just knowing, and we human beings know also that *we don’t know*. Through dialogue, reflecting together on what we know and don’t know, we can then act critically to transform reality (pp. 98-99 italics in original).

My contention is that once a person can speak a discourse of dominance, knows that they know or *knows that they don’t know* they are no longer the same person without a voice or knowledge. In Freirian terms, people through processes of conscientização reflect together and lead the challenge to the institutions, mechanisms and practices that dominate. Humphries and McNicholas (2009) posit TSV, The Subaltern Voice, as a heuristic by which a place and space can be made to represent the subaltern.

According to Schüssler Fiorenza (2001)

Kyriarchy is best theorized as a complex pyramidal system of interacting multiplicative social structures of superordination and subordination, or ruling and oppression. Kyriarchal relations of domination are built on elite male property rights as well as on the exploitation, dependency, inferiority, and obedience of wo/men. ...The different sets of relations of domination shift historically and produce different constellations of oppression in different times and cultures (p. 118)

In complex systems, structures of domination “are not parallel but multiplicative. The full power of kyriarchal oppression comes to the fore in the lives of [those] living on the bottom of the kyriarchal pyramid” (Schussler Fiorenza, 2001, p. 122) and position holders at the top of the kyriarchy work to maintain their power over those below.

The ways in which social entities are generated and vested with meaning is another aspect worthy of note in a critical exploration. I have an awareness of the ways through the use of language and discourse, variously obscured ‘script writers’ (through processes such as nominalisation, reification, personification and metaphor) create, manifest and vest social entities with specific (though not necessarily uncontested) meanings, entitlements, rights and duties. These linguistic notions are actively used in language as abstract concepts and are given, or seen to take on, the roles and functions of human actors. Fairclough (as cited in Merkl-Davies & Koller, 2012) warns of the use of nominalisation, reification and personification as they “not only render representations of social reality seemingly more factual, but also make social actors obsolete, thus absolving them from responsibility and accountability” (p. 180). In contemplating the current world order, Deetz (2010) notes “[u]nfortunately, metaphors have been reified into properties of people and society” (p. 35). I do use words to reify, nominalise, personify and metaphorise, but I note to take care to understand the actions of real actors as opposed to words that attribute human actions to non-human abstractions.

By focussing on the 'already supposedly made real' and experienced as such (in seemingly material or concrete forms), as in the racist categories I was aware of in my youth, I give examples of some of the more readily seen fictive entities in the specific groupings of people with (in-vested) entitlements and responsibilities in our kind of society called 'family', 'community' and 'corporation'; each social fabrication is relational and has their constituent entities: ‘cousins’, ‘members’, and ‘workmates’ – as do ‘good’ Māori and ‘other’ ones. As social fabrications, these types of entities are all culturally determined and dependent on our human enaction of them to ensure their manifestation as reliable and taken for granted ‘truth’. Humphries (2013, personal communication) illuminates the nature of this socially constructed world

in which 'children' can trust that the ‘adults’ in their lives will be or can be made responsible for them. Thus 'reality' is materialised and can be 'trusted' or made more trustworthy, but the entities are no more 'real' than a unicorn is real.

Lamdin Hunter and Humphries (2011) give the example of the use of the term ‘globalisation’ as a real and necessary entity, a “reification used to depersonalise

individual responsibility by its allocation of responsibility to an inanimate force” (p. 103). While Humphries and Grant (2005) suggest that ““the free market” as an organizing metaphor, has been taken up by, or imposed on, many countries to inform all trading activities” (p. 41), Humphries and St Jane (2011) personify as The Master the collection of “capitalist practices reified as The Market” (p. 27). It is in this realm of thinking that I believe there is room to make a contribution to theorising, consciousness raising and scholarly activism.

3.3.3 Understanding Productively Moving Forward Together

Deetz (2010) contends the 18th century fundamentals of personal freedoms, free speech, market ideals, psychological ways of thinking and individualism, are insufficient to meet the needs of people in a 21st century society. In being critical of modern democracy, he suggests that it is a place where “[p]ublic discussion is often replaced by rapidly reproduced opinions..., and thoughts and knowledge... are often replaced by commercially produced and massively reproduced knowledge artefacts” (Deetz, 2010, pg. 37). Barber (1984 as cited in Deetz 2010) indicates in focusing on ‘freedoms from’, modern democracy is more about protected division than productive unification.

Deetz (2010) seeks to articulate theories of interdependence, and ideas for living productively together. He suggests robust democracy, as an alternative to modern democracy, is a place with space and means for “productively resolving conflicts and making choices together” (p.37); a place and space where conflict and difference are critical. In an increasingly interdependent world, collaborative processes of negotiation, and renegotiation, which require human interactions, are necessary to live productively, and make satisfying and just decisions together (Deetz, 2010). Deetz (2010) calls for a Declaration of Interdependence more suitable for the pluralistic, interdependent late-modern world with “concepts of collaboration, community rights, and freedoms in-order-to, articulated within 21st century conceptions of the person, communication and governance” (p. 38). Negotiation, collaboration and fostering constructionist conceptions are the tools necessary to understand and address the social ‘wrongs’ and opportunities of contemporary society (Deetz, 2010).

Habermas (1984, 1987 as cited in Deetz 2010, p. 43) offers a general symmetry of open communication as the basis for free speech – the requirement that all

relevant positions are heard, rather than the notion that every individual gets an opportunity to have a say. Expression of different positions is sought and valued equitably. In saying ““voice” relates to open processes of meaning construction rather than free expression of formed meanings”, Deetz (2010, p. 43) proposes being aware of communication distortions and amplification of prevailing ideas and “open [to] the possibility of a more open and productive discourse” (ibid). In understanding meaning, for Deetz (2010, p. 44), the challenge is to “reclaim indeterminacy” that has come from silencing of voices in a modern democratic chorus. This indeterminacy and open creative self/other formation requires greater encounter with variety, difference and “distantiation” (ibid). In considering truth, Deetz (2010) argues relational constructionism move understanding beyond being ‘fair’, where being fair means every opinion is treated as equal and this equality means letting everyone have their say. ‘Voice’ is when difference and conflict are negotiated, not when opinions are acknowledged and disregarded. Deetz (2010) argues that letting everyone have their say is not giving ‘voice’; the marginalized may still be silenced in this system of ‘equality’. For Deetz (2010) reclaiming knowledge from the popular focus on information is the key, illuminating the knowledge construction process through contestation ensures information is explicitly tied to the nature of its production.

Deetz (2010) sees emphasis on consensus or recourse to the common ground as unnecessary in a contemporary social context. Rather than choosing to “reason to conclusions, or dialogue, where we try to understand each other” (p. 45), Deetz contends that the contemporary challenge for those seeking justice is not in understanding but in “commitment to a joint course of action that enables us to productively live in the world together” (2010, p.46). My understanding of Deetz in this context is that moving forward together is more important than agreeing where things are at. Humphries (2013, personal communication) disagrees with Deetz here. She contends there is a depth of difference in worldviews that goes unrealised and the contemporary challenge of our time is to comprehend how these views are not shared.

For Deetz (2010) though, the paths to a productive social life together are achievable through consideration of the possibility of creative production in interaction. Conflict and the possibilities of human creativity are keys to

invention. Contestation and deconstruction, recovering the indeterminant from its various determinations, will enrich social life with communication more about transformation through invention than empathy and dialogue (Deetz, 2010).

3.4 Neo-liberal Notions

As a paradigm of values and practice, a neo-liberal philosophy can be understood to have roots in the liberal ideas of 17th century philosopher Locke. There are three fundamental canons to Locke's liberal theory:

1. That all human beings have the potential for development (Magee, 2001, p. 105)
2. That society develops based on voluntary transactions of free individuals (Magee, 2001, p. 108); and
3. That the preservation of an individual's rights and their freedoms is the only legitimate purpose of government (Magee, 2001, p. 108).

These ideas are the tenets of neo-liberalism; they furnish the underlying world view, from which vested interests have produced the 21st century neo-liberal approach. According to Magee (2001), Locke proposes the view, much like my family as introduced in the Prologue, of human beings as a *tabula rasa*, - that every person comes into the world with a mind like a blank sheet of paper – no one person, race, culture or creed, is superior by birth. Locke believes “that the mass of people could be liberated from social subjection by education and all on an equal footing” (Magee, 2001, p. 105). The outcomes of your life, the paradigm suggests, depend on the decisions you make.

The primacy of the market is based on Locke's ideas about the freedoms of the individual, who has the right to do what s/he likes with her/his own property, and who “willingly come together to create society” (Magee, 2001, p. 108).

According to Magee

Locke believed that what gives us the right to our property is, first of all, the labour we put into it; and then, following on from that, our freedom to do what we like with our own. If I work to produce something, and in doing so do no harm to anyone else, then I have a right to the fruits of my labour. If someone seizes it from me he is, literally, stealing my labour. Given, then, that I have this right to it, I can dispose of it as I wish: I can give it to someone else if I so choose, or sell it to a willing buyer (2001, p. 108)

The limited role of government is also based on the rights, and voluntary actions of the free wo/man. According to Locke “the social contract is seen as being not

between the government and the governed” (Magee, 2001, p. 108) but between free wo/men. The governed retain “their individual rights even after government has been set up. Sovereignty ultimately remains with the people. The securing of their rights - the protection of life, liberty, and property of all – is the sole legitimate purpose of government” (Magee, 2001, p. 108). Former US president Thomas Jefferson was profoundly influenced by Locke, so much so that the second and third sentences of United States Declaration of Independence^v, ratified on July 4, 1776, are said to mirror Locke’s intent (Magee, 2001). Though looming large, a discussion on rights is beyond the scope of this thesis and will remain unaddressed.

Dominant conceptions of modern democratic society are based on these 18th century liberal notions of personal experience, individual psychology, free speech and markets (Deetz, 2010). Nations and individuals the world over hold fast to these liberal individualist roots, as evidenced in a reflection that we are all equal and largely responsible for our own plights. Such is the penetration that the dogma of individual self-responsibility, society based on business success, and a reduced government permeates all lives in the 21st century. Neo-liberal supporters follow a market-driven approach that stresses the efficiency of private enterprise, growth focus, comparative advantage, competition and profit maximisation, liberalized or ‘free’ trade, open markets, privatization of public resources, reduction of the state ‘interference’ in markets, and maximization of the role of the private sector in determining the political and economic priorities of the society. Neo-liberal ontology pervades socially, culturally and politically through language, policy and practice in Aotearoa, and throughout the world, based on these specific ideas about competitive individualism, market freedoms and limited government. Such is the penetration that New Zealanders, and many others, now live our lives, are organised and have 'normalised' this way of thinking and being, so much so that we don’t recall that not so long ago life wasn’t this way, and perhaps are immune to the possibility that life doesn’t have to be this way.

3.5 New Zealand Environment

Widespread neo-liberal changes have occurred in New Zealand over the last 30 years, first following the election of the David Lange led 4th Labour Government in 1984, and with each successive National-led and Labour-led Government since.

A structural adjustment program, usually imposed on countries seeking support from organisations such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, was undertaken voluntarily in Aotearoa by the Lange Government (Easton, 1997; Kelsey, 1993, 1995, 1996). Protections, regulations, and state dominated systems were all transformed in favour of ‘open-ness’, ‘deregulation’, ‘competition’ and ‘free-market’ operations. For example, income and company taxes were reduced; a Goods and Services Tax (GST) was introduced; the New Zealand dollar was floated, and foreign exchange controls removed; farm export subsidies were removed, import tariffs were abolished or reduced; State owned organisations were corporatized, some were later privatised, and others sold. The State was rolled back and the Market set free (Easton, 1997; Kelsey, 1993, 1995, 1996). The justification and legitimation of neo-liberal market ideals in New Zealand now extend to “flexible employment relations, increasing openness to international developments in trade, production and investment and an economic and institutional environment facilitating exploration of links into the globalising world” (Le Heron, 2003, p. 111). With neo-liberal ideas pervading government policies and planning, it is no surprise that central government, staffed with many strongly neo-liberal organisations, has a persistent focus on “continued growth and increasing exports year after year” (Acres, 2011, p. 85). Many food systems in New Zealand emphasize “large-scale, export oriented farming systems and processing and distribution chains” (ibid). Political and policy responses, often reactive and supportive of specific industries, result in fragmented, imprecise and uncoordinated approaches to food systems issues in Aotearoa (Acres, 2011).

Neo-liberal tenets are at the root of government policies and planning in Aotearoa today. Proponents of these ideas promote equality as an ideal – all humans are born equal, no one is superior by virtue of gender or race for example, and people all have the same opportunities for success or greatness. A neo-liberal public resistant to support campaigns and programs deemed ‘welfare’ (Winne, 2008) and the New Zealand Prime Minister John Key noting “I’d like to make one thing clear – the Government believes parents have the responsibility for providing their kids with the basics, including a decent breakfast and a pair of shoes” (Chapman & Rutherford, 2013) are examples of Locke’s ideas around society being based on

the voluntary transactions of individuals and the purpose of government being the preservation of individual rights and freedoms (Magee, 2001).

3.6 Conclusion

Theorists (and theories) can provide very useful ways of understanding the world; their thoughts and words express experiences of being human in different ways. I like how Deetz (2005) describes critical theorists coming to social research with “some degree of anger at social injustice and some love of the potential in human sociality” (para 12-13). I consider myself to have both. In Chapter 4 I share with you my toil with methodology, my circumstances and options for method. I seek the safe haven of a critical umbrella; again finding “what *could* legitimately shelter under this [methodological] umbrella” (Hammersley, 1997, p. 244 emphasis in original) was also very diverse.

4 Shining Light on Methodology and Method

Not all those who wander are lost - J.R.R. Tolkien

4.1 Introduction

The theorists and theories I am currently influenced by and my understandings of the neo-liberal context I find myself in were reviewed in Chapter 3. The question that arises for me now is how I might bring these ideas forward into my research in ways that my circumstances could accommodate. I had to figure out a way for my research to make a transformative contribution to social justice as I currently understand it. I wanted to be able to answer Reason's question (2000 as cited in Foster 2007, pp. 24): "What injustice and suffering does my research address?" Foster (2007 citing Reason, 2000) adds a call to reflection by asking whether any research findings can be considered "'true' and valid if the process of their production has disempowered people" (p. 25). The methods, by which I sought to enact a research project with transformative intent and to answer the types of questions drawn to my attention by Foster, are discussed in this chapter. I begin with an exploration of how the critical theories I have reviewed could be applied to social research that fitted with my life's circumstances and yet be consistent with the transformational ideals of critical theorists. I then delve into the manner in which critical investigations of language use, and the expressions of stories and narratives of various kinds opens to scrutiny layers of texts, discourses, and social practices through methods of research which together make up the discipline of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 2010) to which I give closer attention in section 4.4. In section 4.5 and 4.6 respectively, I examine Orientational Metaphors and Theories of Justice as two other bearings from which to think about critical social research. I share the story, in section 4.6.1, of A moment of panic and trial of project as I dallied with textual analysis in a trial project. I discuss Making Distinctions, in section 4.7, where I outline three theoretical distinctions I found useful to make in organising my thoughts – and from which I set my path for the work that forms the remainder of this thesis: 'determined', 'improved determined' and 'indeterminate' as possible characterisations of systems of organisation and their relative conduciveness to transformation. I conclude with section 4.8.

4.2 On Methodology

Quantitative research methods are not my strong point. Choosing a qualitative orientation for this research however, has also exposed some vulnerability in my theory-in-practice as a researcher. In reflecting on the skills I need as an emerging critical social researcher I am almost paralyzed with fear of unwittingly presuming false essentialisms or generating my work from well ingrained but never-the-less invalid conceptual assumptions. I am concerned also about perpetuating many of the social fabrications that have been instilled in my own thoughtscapes through the securely reified, personified and metaphorised ideas that are well embedded and perhaps naturalised in generalised common-sense attitudes to wellbeing, justice, truth, or meaning, but which may harbour the very dynamics of injustice that are of such concern to me. Mindful that in my own work I may unknowingly contribute to the silencing of other voices as I amplify my own, I speak cautiously. I am alert to the temptation and the risks of using inadequate qualitative definitions in order to justify my own use of quantitative measures whose qualities have been unexamined. Because in this chapter I explain my understanding of the issues surrounding qualitative methodologies, it is a chapter that is more about methodology than method.

I understand methodology to be the study of method. In social research, as in any other field, such analysis has many theoretical orientations and possibilities – each with its own conventions and validity claims. Methodology and method are a package that includes the abstract theoretical assumptions and principles that underpin a particular research approach (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Methodology is a guide to how a researcher chooses and justifies a specific framing of the research activity and decides on the processes and methods to use, These choices in turn are guided by, and guide, an understanding of what can be used as legitimate support claims for any form of reasoning i.e. the work of epistemology and theoretical perspective (Crotty, 1998). Research methods are the practical means chosen for conducting a particular research project. What is deemed as a legitimate research process and valid analyses or interpretations, are thus always ‘paradigm specific’. For example, researchers using objectivist or positivist methods are likely to have a specific, measurable, achievable, realistic and testable research question to inform a solid proposal with clear goals and

objectives. Alvesson and Gabriel (2013) suggest that a critical methodology allows for research processes that are iterative and dialectical and allow for a much ‘messier’ approach. I am attracted to this orientation that enables me to move back and forwards between the literature reviews and information collecting I have completed, and the emerging critical analysis that has become the focus of my attention. I undertook this research with a guiding programme of study, and complete it with this thesis in which I convey my thoughts about the topic, theories I considered, and the processes I devised in my *researching* through the stories of food (in)security. I hope a critical transformative intent guiding my methodological orientation is clear, as outlined in my review of the critical theories in Chapter 3. The ideas reviewed there underpin my approach, and through those ideas I seek to use transformative research to “promote greater social justice” (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003, p. 87). Knowingly, I consider the benefits and risks of a more conscious embrace of “ambiguity, messiness, theory-impregnated data, and leaps of intuition [and the tendencies of researchers to progress their work] with a post-facto invention of rational methodology” (Alvesson & Gabriel, 2013, p. 249). I do so mindful as to how, through my work as a researcher, I can ‘make a difference’.

Hammersley (1996) cites Kress, 1996, and van Dijk, 1993, as advocates for the move of critical research beyond theoretical illumination to an activist approach in which a more equitable social order is achieved. Participatory, action, and activist research all fall within approaches to research that are expressions of transformative intent. An action orientation to a field project was an attractive option for me, given my interest in critical transformative research for social justice. The many and varied calls on my time in my commitment as a parent and from my personal inclination to be close to home, ruled out this option. As a *philo* of the *sophia* at heart, and as an at-home-mum by day, I considered that my desire to stay at-home with my pre-schooler and two schoolboys would (more often than not) limit my options to undertake ‘field’ research. My previous post graduate study had been part-time due to the time commitments of my full-time day (night 24/7) job. I was aware, however, that as a full-time student I would be eligible to apply for a University of Waikato Masters scholarship for desk-based research^{vi}. Some income or cost recovery would be welcome in the family budget. I enrolled

as a full-time student knowing the time commitment would now be far greater than my workload in previous years. These factors are prominent among those I chose to influence my ultimate research design but not its critical orientation or intent.

I might have chosen a focus on any number of issues accessible to me from my decision to be desk-bound for this research degree. Access to food as a necessary means to life for all people however fitted well with my wider interest in providing nourishing food to my family and my concern that such nutrition is not accessed by all families. The growing public awareness of the wider social implications of a malnourished population on practical and moral grounds at the time I began this research ensured plentiful and accessible public discourse about food and justice for me to engage with. In the context of this research study therefore, I sought to understand food security in Aotearoa New Zealand, particularly for vulnerable families. I sought to find theories that would help explain how it comes to be that many low-income families do not have food security and apparently come to rely on systems of support devised by the government and public welfare initiatives and policies, food banks, and other third party sources to ensure sufficient nutritious food. I pondered what it would mean to do valid or meaningful research on these matters, under the circumstances of my situation.

4.3 Critical Theoretical Investigation

Researchers who generate their insights from various genres of critical theory examine the ways of being human that might explicitly or implicitly generate what they perceive to be unjust or unfair situations with a view to their transformation. Early examples of such theorising were crafted in systemic metaphors, often categorising groups of people (women, ethnically ‘othered’, disabled people, the elderly, and so on) to demonstrate their exclusion from or limited access to the benefits of the prevailing systems of social organisation. Such categories of people came to be collectively labelled as ‘the marginal’ or ‘the other’ (Smith, L. T., 1999). While such categorisation could perhaps be politically useful, inadvertent homogenisation of the people corralled within the categories generated new challenges to the social landscape and the policy senses. Women (treated as a homogenous category) could be differentiated from men

(also treated as a homogenous category) and be made the target of well-meaning liberal policy directives aimed at achieving greater equality between women and men (Kedgley, 1993; Spender, 1993), a form of equalisation that Verbos and Humphries (2012) and Thomas and Humphries (2011) expose as a limited and limiting liberal notion of human emancipation for all wo/men. The repercussions of the conceptual limitations of the liberal lexicon are illustrated in the confines of this equalisation (Humphries, 2013, personal communication).

Deetz (1996) describes how processes of modern language, through labelling and categorization, are used to constitute marginal or other, “but only as given by the opposition pole in the dominant group’s conceptual map ... They acquire a type of autonomy but only in a language/conceptual game not of their own choosing” (p. 192). ‘Vulnerable families’ might be a group of this ordering, and as such social researchers may be tempted to homogenise and marginalise, diagnose and offer remedies that promote inclusion, integration or assimilation back into the fold of the dominant group that will continue to marginalise new ‘others’ as it seeks to preserve systemic privilege. Thus the ‘would be transformer’, becomes a [perhaps unwitting] redeemer of the dominant group. Foster (2007) reminds me to be cautious of such work and to remember that “marginalized groups are neither internally coherent nor homogenous” (p.17). There is no universal woman, man, or vulnerable family. Wo/men’s lives, notes Foster, are “diverse, as are their social and political realities” (ibid) – as is the case for all humanity. I heed Fletcher’s (1998) counsel: to examine dichotomies within texts that may reveal unwitting homogenisations, suppressed contradictions, or unexamined stereotypes in order to call attention to what has been hidden, obscured or made invisible. I am made alert to the risk of speaking for the other, when that other has been so categorised from a world view to which I am often an unconscious or unwitting enabler. My experiences as a woman of mixed race descent form the basis for this analysis and a belief in a potential for a different kind of theorising.

For L. T. Smith (1999) the act of resistance to the ‘Othering’ of the West is to *represent* indigenous peoples on their own terms rather than through representations of Western ways of knowing. Similarly, Deetz (1996) describes how marginalised groups’ identification of their own position, on their own terms,

would have been defined differently “if each had had definitional authority” (p. 192). Can an examination of a variety of stories told of, and by, those people increasingly categorised as vulnerable families as they seek food access(ability) contribute to transformation – for whom and of what?

In considering transformative methodology, I ask what does my chosen transformative paradigm assume, offer, and hope to explicate in contribution to a social research discussion. I am interested in how justice and/or injustice is represented and communicated. In this tale of food, with a variety of different perspectives, I find it curious that ‘things’ (concepts grammatically represented as ‘objects’) can appear now to be so ‘real’ and ‘necessary’ to our ways of being. Humphries and Grant (2005) examine the materialisation and at times naturalisation of such ‘conceptual objects’ in their critical analyses of a system of concepts manifested in practice *as* “the free market” and its kin (p.41). This ‘object’, according to Humphries (2007), is invested with almost deified powers to command fealty and even human sacrifice in its enactment. As a consequence of such empowering of economic objectifications, what of activist or policy makers’ well intentioned focus on ‘vulnerable families’ and their prevailing ideas that salvation is to be found in ‘the markets’? In order to be able to purchase the necessities of life and thus be a contributing member of society, the vulnerable should participate in ‘the labour market’. The promise of market-based opportunities and outcomes is demonstrated and acclaimed by supporters who focus on individuals who *are* able to function well through participation in various markets. Most loved are good-news stories of people who, from a very difficult start in life or from some significant set-back, have been able to ‘overcome adversity’, enter the race with courage and determination and become healthy, wealthy and/or politically influential. The already well off and successful can select freely from ‘the market’ to ensure they have what they need. Those who are not financially so able can be ‘helped’ [back] onto ‘free markets’ by the well-intentioned. The intention behind the direction of the help to be given can be deemed reasonable in the paradigm from which both the problem was framed and the solutions were formulated. Equality of opportunity, however, is the focus of the liberal concern. Outcomes are interesting only in so far as they may point to a

tilted playing-field or unfair obstacles. So how now, might I examine equality and intentions?

To understand equality and intentions, I turn to discourse and discourse analysis, mindful of Alvesson and Gabriel's (2013) caution against making "grandiose statements ...[inflating] routine textual analysis into discourse analysis" (p. 249). I follow Fairclough (1992) who also deems discourse to be more than text. He guides critical discourse analysts to appreciate three layers of Discourse: texts (the textual elements), discourses (the production and interpretation of texts) and social practices (the situational and institutional context). Gee (2011) proposes discourse analysis is "the study of language at use in the world, not just to say things, but to do things" (p. ix). Foucault (1970, 1972 as cited in Humphries-Kil 1999) reveals discourse as the use of symbols, words and actions to delineate a universe of sense making, to order and organize human activity. I take note of this delineation; on the closing off of possibilities and the meanings of the demarcation. Foucault (as cited in Abercrombie, Hill & Turner, 2000, p. 99) argues,

the world is constituted by discourse ...ways of talking and thinking ...and associated practices, [thus] our knowledge of the world is discursively determined. For example, to identify someone as mad is a discursive product, because it only makes sense within a set of classifications that is established by a particular discourse of madness. [Analysts, through o]ther discourses might see quite different behaviour as mad ... [such] that the designation 'mad' only has meaning within a specific discourse. All this implies that discourses [provided the framework through which researchers] made certain things say-able, thinkable and doable but others not.

My understanding of discourse is the wide and broad ranging contexts in which human (and other entities') communication takes place. I signal a caution to the uncritical reification of discourse and its investment with creative powers. People are central to the critical context of communicating. It is people who create, use, impose, critique and can change discourses and their use. In this study, I am concerned with systems and processes of transmission and reception of information fundamental to my understanding of discourse also. In this piece of social research, the creation, generation, fabrication and elevation of discourse is ultimately a human endeavour; discourses exist in meaning making and are produced by language users, as *representations* of language at use.

4.4 Critical Discourse Analysis

In terms of analysing language at use, many social researchers use critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a framework to investigate the focus of their concerns for analysis. Fairclough (2010) suggests that CDA has three basic properties: it is relational, dialectical, and trans-disciplinary. By using CDA, a critical researcher has the opportunity “to analyse pressures from above and possibilities of resistance to unequal power relationships that appear as societal conventions” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 3). According to Wodak and Meyer (2001), dominant structures stabilize these societal conventions and naturalise situations of unequal power relations, such that relationships of dominance, discrimination, power or control are masked or hidden and “the effects of power and ideology in the production of meaning are obscured” (ibid), appearing as natural or taken for granted. A critical approach to discourse analysis has scope for the critical researcher to examine unequal relationships, dominance and marginalisation, and listen for loud and noisy voices, while being mindful of the perspective of the voices of those who are silent.

Humphries (2013, personal communication) suggests the CDA researcher has an ambitious task in noting “the limitations of the uncritical re-iterations of reifications endemic in CDA that purport to be alert to language use”.

Hammersley (1997) tasks the CDA researcher with “an understanding of discursive processes, ...[an understanding] of society as a whole, of what is wrong with it [in their view], and of how it can and should be changed” (p. 245). I find his comments thought provoking and helpful in my attempt to clarify my position in this study e.g., that critical research “often involves the adoption of a macro-sociological theory in which there are only two parties – the oppressors and the oppressed – and allow only one relationship between them: domination” (Hammersley, 1997, p. 245). While Hammersley makes the comments about only being ‘two parties’ as a criticism, I am mindful that a critical social researcher is generally not examining situations of equality – where different groups are equivalent, considered on par or differentiated on some criteria thought to be ‘just’. The work of critical social researchers is to illuminate the circumstances of inequality and systems of domination (Schüssler Fiorenza, 2001), and in so doing, to highlight injustice or suffering. Schüssler Fiorenza (2001) in illuminating kyriarchy, her neologism for multi-oppressing systems of domination, notes

dominance is layered, thus there may be a multitude of various people and peoples who are subjugated, controlled or governed and as this is a relational system, there will always be a related dominator, controller or governor. Schüssler Fiorenza's (2001) kyriarchy, along with subaltern theories, posit that some people and peoples are multiply oppressed. In these certain circumstances, one party is oppressed by more than one oppressor and as Guha (as cited by Spivak, 1988) highlights we can be dominated in some positions but elite in others.

Hammersley (1997) makes a critique which I find note-worthy, that critical intent requires that researchers understand situations of injustice "but also, more or less directly, [contribute] to a transformation of it" (p. 245). Schüssler Fiorenza's (2001) interlocking systems of domination are significant to this task of transformation also. This view holds that there may be many differing positions of dominance; therefore there will be many equally plausible readings of a dominated or subaltern situation and a just transformation for one dominated group may not guarantee a just transformation for all.

I am interested in the layers of Discourse as outlined by Fairclough (2010), as I consider it is in, and through their conception and implementation, imposition or negotiation that the expressions of values and intent of certain human actors are made real and their ideas come to prevail. As discussed in previous sections, I am guided by a transformative intent as put forward by theorists such as Mertens (2007, 2010, 2012) and Deetz (2010), and in critical discourse analysis I have scope for an examination where unequal power is assumed to exist and the task of a researcher is to uncover it; where dominator and dominated are not framed in a binary dualism but where multiple realities are assumed and many plausible critical alternatives may be considered; where care is taken to understand the actions of human actors as opposed to words that attribute human actions to non-human abstractions. My analysis draws on Fairclough's (1992) discourse of texts, discourses and social practices, but where I pay scant attention to textual elements and concentrate on the production and interpretation of texts and their situational and institutional context. I now turn to metaphors - the social fabrications human actors often use to attribute their actions to non-human abstractions.

4.5 Orientational Metaphors

Metaphors are figures of speech with which we can use to carry over meaning from one idea to make sense of another. Metaphors of a wide variety are used pervasively in everyday life, often hiding their powerful associations in plain sight,

...not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. The concepts that govern our thought are not just matters of the intellect. They also govern our everyday [being], down to the most mundane details. Our concepts structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people. Our conceptual system thus plays a central role in defining our everyday realities. If we are right in suggesting that our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, then the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 3)

Lakoff and Johnson (2003) offer an orientational metaphor as metaphorical concept through which human beings organise “a whole system of concepts with respect to one another. Most of these metaphors have to do with spatial orientation: up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-peripheral” (p. 14). The physical form of the human body and the way we are, in being human, in our physical environment gives rise to these spatial orientations (ibid). Lakoff and Johnson (2003, pp. 15-17) give examples, such as

HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN
CONSCIOUS IS UP; UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN
HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP; SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN
HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP; BEING SUBJECT TO
CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN
MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN
HIGH STATUS IS UP; LOW STATUS IS DOWN
GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN;
VIRTUE IS UP; DEPRAVITY IS DOWN;
RATIONAL IS UP; EMOTIONAL IS DOWN.

Lakoff and Johnson (2003) note such spatialization metaphors are “rooted in physical and cultural experience” (p 18) and so with the above examples, though the UP concept is the same, the experiential basis for each metaphorical concept is unique. According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003), the fundamental metaphorical concepts in a culture can be understood to be consistent and coherent with the fundamental, deeply embedded, values from that culture. In so doing, they contend values and metaphorical concepts are consistent in reinforcing each other

(Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). Thus the metaphorical concepts in a system are consistent in representing and reinforcing the values in a cultural system. So the manifestation of human values, creativity and its assumed/attributed properties, I posited to myself, are likely to be demonstrable in a story of food in New Zealand.

My interest is in tales of food in Aotearoa and, particularly in this thesis, is in the justification of the existence of food programs and the distribution of food through them to those without food access(ability), but deemed to be in legitimate need. In considering method, from my chosen transformative paradigm, I wanted to explore the way verticality of the UP metaphor is [re]produced in food stories. I let my mind wander/wonder/pander/ponder on the possibilities of exploring the discourses and social practices of tales of food and 'showing the ways' food stories are told from diverse perspectives. I hoped to illuminate the ways in which options for achieving universal food security can be of benefit to some interests and not others. For example, the difference between those who think that increasing the number of food programs, and quantity of food supplied from them, will feed those without food security, those who think this way of being will destroy much, and those with a position somewhere in-between. The increasing systemisation of food of last resort may actually be more disadvantageous, for those already disadvantaged, in the long term. In this instance, MORE IS UP but may not be BETTER in the long run. As I undertook this exploration, questions would arise with regard to 'who for', 'how' and 'why' and the issues of justice that underlie such questions. It is to these notions of justice that I now turn my attention.

4.6 Theories of Justice

Six 'common worlds' are proposed by Boltanski and Thévenot (1999) as a framework which people engage in making sense of justice. They are the world of *inspiration*, the *domestic* world, the world of *renown*, the *civic* world, the *market* world, and the *industrial* world. Subsequent authors' works have added to, expanded and further scrutinized the original six world framework. Boltanski and Ciapello (2005/1999 as cited in Fairclough, 2010) in writing about the spirit of capitalism in France revealed a *project-connectionist* world and Thévenot, Moody and Lafaye (2000 as cited in Patriotta, Gond & Schultz, 2011) have identified the *green* world as an additional 'common world'.

For Boltanski and Thévenot (1999) the underlying rules of agreement and disagreement in communication rely on “an imperative of justification” (p. 360); these underlying rules are such that if I am critical I produce justifications to support my criticisms, or if I am defensive, do the same to support my defensive position. They distinguish social situations interpreted through a regime of justice as different from those based on “regimes of love, of violence or of familiarity” (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1999, p. 359). In moving to reconcile disagreement discourses, people, social practices and things, and the relationships and connections between them must all be considered. In seeking agreement, a “critical appreciation” (Grant & Humphries, 2006) of different items, facts, versions of a truth is necessary in order to reconcile different positions. I seek recourse to a widely shared notion of justice. Boltanski and Thévenot (1999) term this transcendence from a singular position to generality, the appreciation of different versions of a truth, as “the establishment of equivalence” (p. 359). In their exploration, Boltanski and Thévenot (1999) acknowledge situations of mutual agreement as well as those where agreement is reached by force, favour, domination or deceit but distinguish these from situations where people justify their position; the regime of justice then is the equivalence I lay claim to, that “ordinary sense of justice” (p. 364) I use as I make sense of the world. The modelling of a sense of justice encompasses a person grounding their stance as Boltanski and Thévenot (1999) argue in general frameworks which people lay claim to and use as the basis as they make claims about truth, value and worth every day in different situations. Boltanski and Thévenot (1999) argue their framework is not to be seen as utopic, there is no one ideal situation but nor is there unlimited pluralism. Boltanski and Thévenot (1999) note the different worlds are sufficient

to describe justifications performed in the majority of ordinary situations. But this number [of common worlds] is not, of course, a magical one. These worlds are historical constructions and some of them are less and less able to ground people’s justifications whereas other ones are emerging. One can wonder, for example, whether a green worth, or a communicative worth is not being set up at the moment (p. 369).

As with Magee’s (2001) discussion of ‘truth’, theories of meaning, and knowledge, Boltanski and Thévenot (1999) document the uncertainty and changeability of these worlds. Researchers note the appearance of worlds

previously unidentified or silent (Boltanski and Ciapello, 2005/1999 as cited in Fairclough, 2010; Thevenot, Moody and Lafaye 2000 as cited in Patriotta, Gond & Schultz, 2011) while others wax in significance and yet others wane (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1999).

Boltanski and Thévenot's (1999) theories of justice are founded on notions of political and social equilibrium, equality, and a common humanity. People are understood to be equal in their connection to a common humanity, but the ground that is understood to be the common good for each world is different. Tensions come to exist as people shift between orders of worth as they build their arguments and justifications. Boltanski and Thévenot's (1999) reference to different kinds of common good is based on worth in a given situation, not based or related to the value according to different groups. Thus any one person can make claim to all sorts of different values of worth as they move through different situations

The different principles of equivalence are formally incompatible with one another, since each of them is recognized in the situation in which its validity is established as universal. It follows that the persons must have the ability to ignore or to forget, when they are in a given situation, the principles on which they have grounded their justifications in the other situations in which they have been involved (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1999, p. 365)

In a dispute, disagreement or situation of uncertainty, to reach resolution “a judgment, rooted in the situation, is necessary” (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1999, p. 367); an appeal to some common ground, the generally agreed upon ‘neutral territory’ to which both parties can lay claim to the domain of the ‘reasonable’ person, “expressing in this way their will to converge towards a resolution of their disagreement” (ibid: p. 366). The way forward in a dispute, disagreement or situation of uncertainty is compromise; a way to reach agreement where the common good is the common ground.

In a compromise, people maintain an intentional proclivity towards the common good by cooperating to keep present beings relevant in different worlds, without trying to clarify the principle upon which their agreement is grounded (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1999, p. 374).

Justified criticisms, based on this appeal to the common good, are “made possible by connecting two (or more) of the different worlds” (Boltanski & Thévenot,

1999, p. 373). Thus a person can rely on a civic principle of equivalence to denounce the personal links of the domestic world. It is the case, for example, when unionists denounce paternalism in the workshop (p. 374). They give the example of workers' rights as a compromise between the civic world (where citizens have rights) and the industrial world (where workers are relevant and worthy) (p. 375). Other 'rights' movements, such as women's and civil, can be understood to use the democratic ideals of the civic world to challenge the dutiful, honour-bound benevolence of the domestic world.

In exploring legitimacy, orders of worth, and public justifications, Patriotta, Gond and Schultz (2011) investigate the use of socially accepted definitions of the common good by social actors. They suggest

Whenever controversies arise, actors engage in public debate and purposefully develop arguments out of available pieces of evidence in order to pragmatically determine the appropriateness of a given set of arrangements. Concepts of worth become particularly salient during controversies because these bring into focus how social actors handle disagreement and how higher order principles sustain or constraint their claims to justice (Patriotta, Gond, & Schultz, 2011, p. 1809).

In seeking recourse to the common good, critical scholars propose individuals mobilize various rationales to advocate their positions, build convincing arguments, or demonstrate that a situation is fair or unfair (Boltanski and Thevenot 2006/1991 as cited in Patriotta et al 2011). In this notion of common good, I see parallels with Deetz' (2003, 2010) contention that in order to make satisfying and just decisions together, individuals pledge allegiance to interdependence. Rather than seek consensus, or agreement on common ground, Deetz (2010) contends that the contemporary challenge for those seeking fairness and equitability is acknowledging conflict, and creatively committing to joint action to overcome injustice.

4.6.1 A moment of panic and trial of project

In a moment of panic, following time spent on theories of justice, I diverted from my embryonic interpretivist inquiry as a novice critical researcher and set out on an empirical quantitative counting exercise as a possible and more easily justified way to explore food stories in Aotearoa New Zealand. I thought about identifying the discourses used in the telling of these stories, to understand how some discourses could, as I saw it, dominate a story, to understand how some discourses

remain unheard, and if I could, the manner in which these dominant discourses were held in place. To do this, I used a Newztext Plus New Zealand database. Accessible through the University of Waikato library online, the database includes various newspaper sources including Fairfax, NZ Herald and The Independent UK. I selected to identify articles within the database that included the words 'food bank' for the period from 1 January 2012 to 31 December 2012. This was an arbitrary choice to make the search manageable and quantified the 'media traffic' during the period under consideration for press coverage of reported stories regarding 'food bank' in New Zealand. The search produced database results which I copied into Microsoft Word documents for pasting into N-Vivo. Any duplicates from the initial search were not entered into N-Vivo.

I conducted a trial systematic coding of 16 press articles (attached as Appendix 1) with the N-Vivo software. I used the 'common worlds' descriptors, as identified by Boltanski and Thévenot (1999), as a coding system in which I classified sentences in the newspaper reports according to their match to the semantics for each common world. These descriptors are based on a rudimentary list of semantic descriptors set out by Patriotta et al 2011, who in turn based their list on semantic descriptions as reported in the margins of pp. 159-211 of Boltanski and Thevenot's (1999) schematic account of common worlds. I also included the Project-Connectionist world of Boltanski and Ciapello (2005/1999 as cited in Fairclough, 2010) as described by Fairclough (2010). In creating these lists, by combining the work of previous researchers I was struck by how malleable the lists were. In examining the spirit of capitalism, Boltanski and Ciapello (2005/1999 as cited in Fairclough, 2010) identified the discourse of the Projects-oriented world. In examining an industrial nuclear power controversy, Patriotta et al (2011) expanded greatly their understanding of the discourse of the Industrial world. I had not read Thevenot, Moody and Lafaye (2000 as cited in Patriotta, Gond & Schultz, 2011), but wondered if in examining a study with an environmental context, they quantified the discourse of a Green world? Really, I was wondering if they found what they were looking for.

Putting aside my questions about the conditions under which researchers will find what they seek, the combination of all this previous research provided a solid foundation for the examination I undertook. During the course of my post-

graduate studies I have regularly been reminded that some measure of qualitative work will always come before anything quantitative. So here it was! To quantify the existence of any worlds, I first had to qualify what those worlds were to be, and as Humphries (2013, personal communication) reminds me “what concepts and values were to be given further endorsement by the very ability to count them”. I chose to include all eight worlds as categories, though would later find a few were barely there at all. My intention was to capture a broad picture of the particular ‘common worlds’ appealed to in the discourses of food stories by identifying the presence of different worlds within the text and starting with all eight seemed a good place.

My interest in the social construction of food stories, and my belief that the neo-liberal construction of New Zealand particularly since the 1980s, meant I considered identifying prevalent ideas. In an initial trial with data from the 16 articles, I had made 55 connections with coded reference to 5 of the common worlds: civic (51%), market (31%), domestic (14%), connectionist (2%), and industrial (2%). Inspiration, renown, and green worlds did not feature in this trial sample. In doing the sample I became aware that it was my qualification of the words related to each world that was creating these references, for example, if a word from the civic list was in the context of ‘civic duty’ then I coded it as such, words such as ‘demand’ I coded to the market world, and if words from the domestic list were in the context of ‘benevolence’ then I coded them to the domestic world. I’m not sure if there were times when word and context did not match, but I was conscious that I was adding in an additional layer of qualification! The results from this sample were interesting, if not surprising – civic, market and domestic discourses rather than competing were consistent in their presence, with civic and market discourses dominant. The trial findings did seem to reinforce my original notion – that language around food banks was being couched in specific discourses of collective, contribution and markets. On some other day, or by some other analyst, this research could be taken further.

In sampling and thinking about the coding process I became aware of the absence of another world. Words, such as those below, were not included in any of the lists:

Community, build, volunteer, serve, give, need, team, appeal, reward, help, collecting, generous, generosity, appreciate, goodwill, support, coordinate

For example, I was attributing most of these intentions to the civic world. I wondered if I was to include a different ‘community’ world, would I *find* this category I perceived but was defining in other ways?

A final thought about the coding from the sampling process was about another way of examining the information through considering how the associated people in these food bank stories are portrayed in New Zealand media. Is a focus on food banks, a lack of food, and the various social wrongs surrounding food insecurity seen as being located in a failure by many in society to accommodate all members of the population fairly and in a just manner? Or perhaps is the focus on the people in these food stories through a neo-liberal ‘functionalist’ lens where vulnerable families, as a group of individuals, are deemed ‘dysfunctional’ in a society, operating according to the ‘natural’ rules of ‘the market’?

Having experimented with an exercise in ‘identifying’ discourse, I was disheartened. What really was the point of the identifying exercise? Would completing the larger project provide ‘valid’ results given my own transformative social justice standard? As I mentioned above, such a positivist methodology with clear goals and objectives, cast iron method, measurable calculations, and conclusions that answer the clear goals and objectives would meet the many empiricist requirements of the academy. What of critic and conscience though, and my desire to be affective in my social research? What of the situations of disadvantage and marginalization, and making space to give people voice? In this, I understand Alvesson and Gabriel’s (2013) warnings about potentially inflating “routine textual analysis into discourse analysis” (p. 249), and Fairclough’s (1992) contention that in doing Discourse analysis, social researchers consider texts, discourses and social practices. I recovered from my panic, put the ‘worlds’ trial down to ‘learning experience’ and returned to my exploration into the determination of access(ability) to food in Aotearoa New Zealand.

4.7 Making Distinctions

I spent much time thinking about food, and processes, theories, and organising in the course of this thesis. I discuss here three theoretical distinctions I found useful to make in organising my thoughts – ‘determined’, ‘improved determined’ and ‘indeterminate’. It was only possible to make these distinctions *after* reviewing much scholarly literature, mass media, and public debates; the distinctions are an outcome of the process. But in writing a review of literature, these distinctions must be made *before* the literature review – evoking Alvesson and Gabriel’s (2013) “post-facto invention” (p. 249) – as the distinctions influence how I organise my critique. It was logically impossible to make these distinctions before the review for this project. However, I think they will be invaluable as a lens or organising frame for any future work! Thus, as was the case in this work, literatures must be re- re- and re-viewed based on the crafting of different ways of looking at things – which must begin with a first review and a consciousness of the paradigm through which this initial review is undertaken.

In re-re-reviewing food systems, I came to an understanding, there is no single global neo-liberal food system; rather there are multiple ways in which neo-liberal ideas pervade the current arrangements with regards to food. As there are multiple ways and many places in which neo-liberal ideas prevail, there are many perspectives evident in the literature from which to promote improvements, fix or transcend existing systems. Terms such as alternative, quality, local, regional, and community can all be used to represent aspects of critique with respect to the way the global production, distribution and disposal of food is currently ‘determined’ (Hendrickson & Heffernan, 2002; Whatmore, Stassart, & Renting, 2003). There were some significantly different attitudes to what I had deemed ‘alternative’ within narratives of food production, distribution and (in)access(ability). As is often the case with pervading neo-liberal ideas, their application (to food systems in this thesis) was implied or assumed but rarely spelled out as such; if there was any reference to an existing dominant system, it was usually termed as ‘conventional’ or ‘industrial’. As a form of scholarly activism, I decided to re-name and reify this previously ‘conventional’ or un-named system as ‘determined’ – a fitting description as I thought of synonyms such as settled, and decided with an etymology of meaning ‘limited’ and ‘characterised by resolution’, and with a nod to Deetz (2010) call to “reclaim indeterminacy” (p. 44).

Consistent with Deetz' (2010) call to leave behind dualities, I take a small step and move past simple dichotomies, recognise multiplicity and acknowledge the notion that there is more than one way to approach social wrongs. As disillusionment with current 'determined' industrialised food practices intensifies, I thought the many alternate food approaches appearing can be considered in terms of the extent to which they attempt to improve or fix the various current determinations, or offer something different altogether. Allen, FitzSimmons, Goodman and Warner (2003) suggest considering these alternate initiatives in terms of either "alternative" or "critique", where advocates of alternative perspectives want new initiatives to operate "alongside conventional food systems and fill gaps where those systems are seen to be failing" (p. 61) and critique perspectives are in opposition to the existing food system and seek to transcend the current determinations of the systems through which food is produced, distributed, consumed and disposed.

As my scholarly activism surfaces, I appreciate many initiatives may 'improve', for some people some of the time, currently 'determined' food systems but not challenge the pervading neo-liberal basis. Thus in my theoretical distinctions I added 'improved determined' to my earlier 'determined' conceptualisation 'Critique' perspectives I envisaged may make transformative changes, moving beyond or outside existing arrangements and these I deemed 'indeterminate', again with a nod to Deetz (2010) as it is these notions that transcend what is known and are thus not yet 'determined'.

Going forward, I will use and reify these concepts as grammatical shortcuts to bound certain types of impressions. Rather than conventional, for example, as the way in which food systems are currently arranged, I will use 'determined' to illuminate the current arrangements through which neo-liberal ideas prevail; 'improved determined' where I consider approaches are alternatives to current systems and would produce some form of change, improvement and/or address social 'wrongs' within current arrangements through which neo-liberal ideals prevail; and 'indeterminate' where I consider ideas and concepts cannot be fully established through current systems and practices, and thus would result in transformative change that would transcend the dominance of existing neo-liberal understandings. In Table 1 below, I illustrate how different authors perspectives

can be understood according to my 'determined', 'improved determined' and 'indeterminate' scheme, and how ideas around improving current systems as they are presently moulded are different from ideas around transcending these determinations and seeking alternatives to the prevailing neo-liberal tenets.

Table 1: Improved Determined and Indeterminate Schemes

Improved Determined	Indeterminate	Authors
'Alternative' perspectives where new initiatives operate alongside the current 'determined' food systems and fill gaps where those systems are seen to be failing.	'Critique' perspective where new initiatives are aimed at changing the established neo-liberal conventions of the current 'determined' food systems.	Allen, FitzSimmons, Goodman and Warner (2003)
'Alternative' ways to reform food systems as they are currently 'determined'	'Oppositional' ways of thinking and acting to transcend the established determinations.	Kloppenburger, Hendrickson and Stevenson (1996)
'Reformist' re-localisation seeks to incorporate marginal activities into existing economic development where neo-liberal ideals prevail	'Radical' re-localisation perspective on local food, driven by a political agenda aimed at establishing food economies based on social justice and environmental sustainability	Fonte (2008)
'Reactionary' farmers' markets underlying 'market' ideology that appreciates sale of cheap battery-farmed eggs	'Alternative' farmers' markets encompassing underlying ideology that is organic and welfare friendly	Holloway et al (2007)
'Sustainable' agriculture with sustainable farming practices.	'Biodynamic' cultivation with labour-intensive forms of ecologically sustainable farming	Shiva (2009a)
Hunger reaction programs that treat hunger as a symptom of poverty	Long-term sustainable food security	Winne (2008)

In proposing a scheme as I have, I face my fear of positivist categorisations and present a table of sorts, wanting to ensure the table is not framed as ‘the model’ for the way things should be but offered as a useful way for thinking, “a way of focusing attention rather than as a means of classification” (Deetz, 1996, p. 191). Deetz (1996) recommends social researchers “fight the tendency to reduce conceptions to categories or reduce sensitizing concepts to definitions” (ibid) so while repeating my organising scheme I am mindful to keep fluid and flexible the notion of each conception and resist them becoming things that are fixed and rigid (i.e. categories and definitions).

Prominent in my thinking as I undertook this exploration was the feeling that ‘improved determined’ perspectives appeared to reinforce established neo-liberal norms, working alongside, within and filling gaps in currently ‘determined’ systems. Guthman (2008) in discussing the politics of the possible, gives an analytical overview of neo-liberalism as applied to a food system. She cautions researchers and scholars, practitioners and policymakers to be mindful of how alternative possibilities “seem to produce and reproduce neo-liberal forms, spaces of governance, and mentalities” (Guthman, 2008, p. 1171). In chameleon fashion, neo-liberal ideas have appealed to the politics of the left, as equally well as to the politics of the right (Guthman, 2008).

As outlined above, going forward, I will use the following grammatical shortcuts to bound certain types of conceptions: ‘determined’ for the current arrangements through which neo-liberal ideas prevail; ‘improved determined’ for enhancements and fixes; and ‘indeterminate’ for potential, and often hypothetical, possibilities for transformative change. An interesting feature of this conceptualisation is that I don’t see these concepts as mutually exclusive. As there are many various determinations, so there are many ways to improve or fix existing systems or arrangements, and many ways beyond our knowing in which these ideas and notions could be radically altered.

4.8 Conclusion

In figuring out a way for desk-based research to make a transformative contribution to social justice, I wanted to consider injustice and attempts to address suffering in the stories of food security for vulnerable families. Given my transformative intent, critical methodologies were of interest to me. My

methodological exploration involved a canvass of critical theoretical investigations to illuminate how critical theories can be applied to social research. As a desk-based project, a critical study of language in use was a good fit and highlighted the manner in which critical theories as applied to discourse analysis open up the field to emphasize the layers of texts, discourses and social practices which make up Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 2010). Two other bearings to critical social research, orientational metaphors and theories of justice, help me as I paved my way on this ambiguous, messy, theory-impregnated path. Finally, I presented three theoretical distinctions I found useful to make in organising my thoughts. I now consciously and intentionally reify these distinctions and use them as fluid and flexible grammatical shortcuts for the next stages of my research. The path I continue on now is one of contemplating these ‘determined’, ‘improved determined’ and ‘indeterminate’ situations in the representation of food systems.

In Chapter 5, I find stories from a wider literature about different aspects of food access(ability) – describing what is being written about food systems, about the environment, about corporations and their influence, about people and their ability to make transformative change, and about food programs as elements in the tales of achieving food security.

5 Viewing Literature, Characterising Food Systems

Tell a tale of cock and bull, Of convincing detail full - W.S. Gilbert

5.1 Introduction

Various authors and activists with a critical interest in universal food security raise broad ranging concerns that many destructive outcomes for people and planet have resulted from the systemisation and industrialisation of processes related to food (Donald, Gertler, Gray, & Lobao, 2010; Kneafsey, 2010). In the review to follow I will take up some of the discussion of these concerns in the scholarly literature, in the mass media and in the public debates. Following the theoretical distinction I made in Chapter 4, I begin with a rendition of the effective rhetoric that has legitimised ‘determined’ approaches to food systems. In section 5.3, Telling Tales and Listening for Undertones, I contemplate many of the ways planet and people are disadvantaged by, and within, food systems as they are currently determined. Considering Commodification and Ideology, in section 5.4, involves illuminating a critical perspective on the extent to which corporations, and the people charged with responsibility for them, are controlling much of a ‘determined’ food system. I wade into the Nuance of Local in section 5.5, scour academic debate about ‘local’ and review the discussions about the different contexts through which ‘local’ is proposed as a ‘solution’. Finally, contemporary issues around food provision and access(ability) through food banks concern me. I provide a rough sketch of A Paradox of Food Banking as I see it currently determined in America, in section 5.6, and conclude in section 5.7.

5.2 Determined Food Systems

Over recent centuries, the ways food is grown, shared, eaten and excesses, if any, gotten rid of, have been affected by processes of industrialization and mass production in most countries. Systems from food production to disposal, and relationships from grower to consumer, have been reorganized (Kneafsey, 2010). Long supply chains now exist (Chiffolleau, 2009; Kloppenburg, Hendrickson, & Stevenson, 1996). Whole foods are reconstituted into a variety of components for other processed foodstuffs. From a reductionist approach, Hendrickson and Heffernan (2002) note how components of complex foods are identified so the parts can be obtained from the cheapest global source. Numerous intermediaries

are evident in a previously exclusive relationship between producers and consumers; they are joined in the food system by harvester and picker, processor and packer, shipper and distributor, marketer and retailer (Kloppenborg, Hendrickson, & Stevenson, 1996), brokers and ‘commodities’ traders.

Determined food systems operate today “according to neo-liberal allegedly ‘natural’ rules of efficiency, utility maximisation, competitiveness and calculated self-interest” (Kloppenborg, Hendrickson, & Stevenson, 1996, p. 37). The effective use of neo-liberal industrial productivist rhetoric may be used to justify and legitimate the value and methods of ‘determined’ systems in many ways including: the assembly of evidence that increased amounts of food are produced; the assertion of the usefulness and safety of homogenized and standardized practices; the promotion of many benefits of improved efficiencies in processing and distribution; and the articulation of the many common benefits to be enjoyed through economies of scale (Caton Campbell, 2004; Feenstra, 2002; Halweil, 2005; Wartman, 2012). Technological innovations have also included claims to supposed benefits from seed improvements, and chemical inputs such as fertilizers, pesticides, fungicides, herbicides and genetic engineering developments (Wartman, 2012).

Private, government and corporate funding of large-scale approaches has led to substantial investment in production, harvesting, processing, distribution and retailing processes and equipment such as silos, multibillion-dollar transport networks, highway systems and other corporate and public infrastructure (Caton Campbell, 2004; Winne, 2008). Governance, ownership and control have been centralized into systems of elite corporations (Halweil, 2005; Lang, 2007; Lyson & Raymer, 2000; Shiva 2008, 2009a, 2011a, 2011b). With an increasing level of size and complexity in food distribution and processing channels, businesses also increased in size and complexity – large agribusiness firms grew to become multinational corporations (Acres, 2011; Hendrickson & Heffernan, 2002). In terms of economic gains, Hendrickson and Heffernan (2002) note these corporations benefit through multiple sources of income and capital and a single economic focus on the bottom line. In their integration, strategic alliances and diversification, dominant organisations are able to spread their risk and take losses from certain parts of their operations while being buoyed by profits from other

parts of their operations (Hendrickson & Heffernan, 2002). A focus on an economic bottom line has been very profitable for the shareholders of successful food corporations. “[I]n an incredibly efficient manner, by at least one criterion of efficiency” (Feenstra, 2002, p. 100), ‘determined’ food systems work well at being efficient, productive, and maximising profits and returns to shareholders

5.3 Tales and Undertones

In this section I contemplate a few of the ways disadvantage pervades neo-liberal food systems as they are currently determined: food insecurity, food gaps, food (un)democracy, food deserts, and misunderstandings of home food production.

The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) define food security as when:

All people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life (Food and Agriculture Organisation, 2003)

Focus on food security for global organisations such as the United Nations has addressed issues of global food provision and distribution of food in the many countries the world over where supply and access are pressing issues. Other food security viewpoints have addressed issues of national food supply and distribution. Caton Campbell (2004) describes food insecurity as “the lack of access to healthy, affordable, culturally appropriate, nonemergency food sources” (p. 341) and Winne (2008) suggests it is “where people regularly run out of food or simply don’t know where their next meal will come from” (p. xvi). Hunger, food insecurity, and severe food insecurity are increasing for many individuals and families in countries the world over, including in so-called ‘western’, ‘first-world’ or ‘developed’ nations (Pothukuchi, 2004). Universal access is achieved when all persons have reliable access to food when they need it. Food access(ability) affects food security as changes in how food is distributed and where it is distributed from have altered ease of access to wholesome, nutritious and affordable food for many (Caton Campbell, 2004). Income poverty affects food security because as a result of failure of ‘the market’, situations arise where “a person or household simply doesn’t have enough money to purchase a sufficient supply of nutritious food” (Winne, 2008, p. xvi). Boardman (2010) highlights how in fuel poverty, vulnerable households are the most likely to be

living in energy inefficient housing thus their homes are expensive to heat, and then “the poorest people have to buy the most expensive warmth” (p. xv). In these situations, the vulnerable are “never keeping up with the marketplace, [as] the poor get less, pay more or simply go without” (p. 23). Food access(ability), levels of income, and accommodation and medical costs all disproportionately impact the food security of vulnerable households because food, housing and medical costs account for a significant portion of a low income (Winne, 2008, p. 23). Winne (2008) offers the term ‘the food gap’ as the difference between those who do have access to, and can buy, wholesome, nutritious and affordable food, and those who do not and cannot.

The term ‘food democracy’, coined by Tim Lang in the mid-1990s, was formed as a response to the increasing corporate control and lack of consumer participation in the food system, and referred to the long process of striving for improvements in food for all not the few (Lang, 2007). In the 21st century from a social justice perspective food democracy is where, according to Lang (2007) ‘the people’ have, and exercise, control over the whole food system, including elements as varied as food sourcing, supply, wages, working conditions and internal equity - a sustainable system with decency and social justice applied throughout. In most systems, varying values and interests will come into play. A common element of ‘improved determined’ and ‘indeterminate’ food systems is relational angles. Feenstra (2002) proposes initiating ‘community democracy’ by encouraging people to become active ‘food citizens’ and suggests various ‘space’ options (social, political, intellectual and economic) in order to influence food systems change. Winne (2008) promotes food policy councils as a way for competent food-citizens to advocate for food democracy, food justice, and sustainability. Kneafsey (2010) notes the growing interest in ‘alternative’ models of food provision with scale, space and connection as their bases, for example, farmers’ markets, Community Supported Agriculture, the Slow Food Movement, and public procurement initiatives. For example, in the successful community food projects Feenstra (2002) studied community leaders had created a new community or social space; and in other successful projects, community leaders had carved out their own political space and were competent in policy and administrative arenas. Democratic or relational perspectives offer a basis for managing the

conflict that arises in situations of differing values and interests and when decision outcomes are uncertain (Hassanein, 2003 as cited in Caton Campbell, 2004, p. 352).

In seeking to maximise profits, where all things are never equal, ‘determined’ food systems are un-democratic by Lang’s conceptualisation. Producers, chasing returns, choose to grow fruit and vegetables with the peak earnings such as high-end foods (Winne, 2008). He says, eventually, farmers choosing to target high-end foods will mean fewer regular fruit and vegetables, and higher prices for lower-income consumers. This kyriarchal arrangement is a continuation of an “historic pattern of putting the farmer first while ignoring or segregating the lower-income shopper” (Winne, 2008, p. 177). The same theme shows through in different “relativistic” (ibid) relationships which see any small gains made by lower-income groups matched by an equal or better improvement by middle or higher-income groups; and food policies, justified and legitimated by corporate interests, evident so that meeting the needs of food insecure lower-income families “have always been joined at the hip with attempts to help farmers, promote national security, or serve another interest or constituency” (Winne, 2008, p. 175). I contend these profit privileging situations are un-democratic in Lang’s terms, instead of improving the food situation for ‘the people’, ‘a fortunate few’ are consistently put first and their needs taken into consideration while ‘a vulnerable few’ are ignored, segregated or left without a voice.

The rise in fast food and convenience outlets has resulted in a phenomenon known as ‘food deserts’ in which supermarkets and fresh produce markets are only sparsely distributed in urban areas compared to ‘ready to eat’ or ‘junk food’ outlets (Pothukuchi, 2004). Critical of the neo-liberal market ideology pervading food systems, Winne (2008) observes food deserts are an example of the existing ‘determined’ system in action –

the marketplace is functioning rationally (as economists would say) by going to where the money is. In short, if communities weren’t poor, they would have supermarkets, and ...the best and healthiest food available (pp. xvii-xviii).

Woodham (2011) takes the food desert analogy further suggesting “food swamp” (p. iv) areas abundant with unhealthy food options. A food swamp is also an

example of ‘the market’ working – there is demand for unhealthy food so there are abundant food outlets to supply that demand. Food swamps demonstrate another form of relative disadvantage as Woodham (2011) showed they are evident in low-income areas. Suburbs with vulnerable households are more likely to have few, if any, supermarkets and fresh produce outlets and many fast food and convenience outlets offering expensive healthy food and cheap unhealthy food.

From personal experience, I found home gardening can be a successful response to the concerns with the existing neo-liberal food system, and through growing my own food at home I could also provide my household with a continuous supply of food. I am also mindful that, in my experience, it took time and money to garden and produce food at home. In her research on three low-income American communities, Carney (2012) found households using various strategies to address their food security including “diversification of procurement, adjustments to a reduced or limited food budget, reliance on food assistance, and revitalization of the home as a site of domestic food production and preparation” (p. 192). However, though there was a ‘revitalization’ of home-grown food, many households significantly were *not* growing food at home, and the very poorest were least likely to participate in growing food at home (Carney, 2012; Schupp & Sharp, 2012; Teitelbaum & Beckley, 2006). Both Schupp and Sharp (2012) and Teitelbaum and Beckley (2006) refer to mixed findings with regard to home food production as a potential adaptive response to increased economic hardship. Similar to Carney (2012), Teitelbaum and Beckley (2006) found low income was not the main motivation to produce food at home. Schupp and Sharp (2012) comment that households with gardens were also found to have, on average, higher income levels, reinforces Teitelbaum and Beckley’s (2006) suggestion that home food production does not appear to be a strategy used by low-income households to secure food or increase their food security. Economic situation, then, is a driver behind self-provisioning for wealthier households, but not so lower, or the lowest income, households. In promoting gardening as a remedy to food security for low income households, well-meaning advocates appear to misunderstand the situation, perspective or position of vulnerable households.

5.4 Commodification and Ideology - Growing Bottom Lines

As well as a local and seasonal way to satiate hunger and nourish our communities, food is now a commodity in the global marketplace (Shiva, 2008, 2009a). Commodification is the process of turning something into an item of trade or commerce. Critics warn of the dangers in this commodification and the implications throughout the entire food system (Ikerd, 1993; Kloppenburg, Hendrickson & Stevenson, 1996; Shiva, 2008, 2009a).

Seed is turning to nonseed. Seed multiplies and reproduces. GMO and hybrid seeds are non-renewable. Food becomes non-food. Food is nourishment. Corporate-controlled food is no longer food, it becomes a commodity – totally interchangeable between biofuel for driving a car or feed for factory farms or food for the hungry (Shiva, 2009a, p. 18)

Corporate control of food has meant global changes in the number and variety of organisations in food systems. Power and control over the means of production is unevenly distributed between producers and consumers (Patel, 2009).

Conglomeration has occurred so five “Gene Giant”^{vii} corporations dominate seed globally (Hendrickson & Heffernan, 2002; Oligopoly INC, ETC Group Report, 2005 as cited in Shiva, 2009a) and five “Food Giant”^{viii} corporations dominate the processing and trade of food globally (Dan Morgan, 1980, as cited in Shiva, 2009a). Joint ventures and strategic alliances between globally dominant organisations, such as Cargil/Monsanto, DuPont/Conagra, and Novartis/ADM, are blurring the corporate delineation between these gene and food giants (Hendrickson & Heffernan, 2002).

A similar division is happening on the retail side with sovereignty and influence held by an elite corporate few (Halweil, 2005). The appearance of a diverse range of products and variety in selection choice in our modern day food purchases is illusory; more a matter of clever marketing than product difference. In 1998, the top 10 food corporations, only 138 individuals, controlled an empire that accounted for half of the sales of food and beverage in the United States (a population at the time of some 270 million people) (Lyson & Raymer, 2000). By 2000, the top five food retailers^{ix} accounted for over 40% of US retail food sales. Cole (2007) offers similar findings in the United Kingdom with regards to the extent of the influence held by a corporate elite there, with the 4 largest supermarkets controlling 80% of British food retailing. These retailing elite are

now able to plan and control products to exact specifications, timing, dates and quantities (Halweil, 2005). Hendrickson and Heffernan (2002) similarly note that no matter how big the gene and food giants are “they must go through a food retailer to ultimately reach consumers” (p. 358). Thus retail conglomerates are jostling to assert dominance within the food system.

An often discussed example of appropriation by neo-liberal corporate business models is the organic food system which has the standardization, large scale, industrialization, structures and frameworks of ‘determined’ food systems (Guthman, 2008; Hendrickson & Heffernan, 2002; Renting, Marsden & Banks, 2003). Organic food systems also show similar degrees of concentration of power and control in retailing to those of ‘determined’ systems, with 70-80% of organic foods traded through traditional non-organic retailers (Henderson, 2006; Renting, Marsden, & Banks, 2003) and 80% of organic food organisations owned and operated by “the same companies that sell ‘conventional’/chemical-grown produce” (Sligh and Christman, 2003 as cited in Starr, 2010, p.479). Thus organic agriculture is an example of an alternative approach, initially aimed at transforming the current food system, now seemingly producing and reproducing the neo-liberal forms of food systems as they are currently ‘determined’ rather than offering radical alternatives to the neo-liberal arrangements.

With regards to matters of domination and control, Hildred and Pinto (2002 as cited in Hendrickson & Heffernan, 2002, p. 358) note the possibility of anti-competitive aspects due to the high levels of vertical and horizontal integration. Anti-competitive concerns are visible in organic food systems also – the same companies that dominate the ‘determined’ systems also control and regulate the organic systems. Philanthropic efforts by private individuals are also now being aligned with corporate interests and objectives (Morvaridi, 2012). From a critical perspective, Morvaridi (2012) points out the hegemony in this altruism. Morvaridi (2012) draws the few mega-rich philanthropists into a group of corporate elite. He questions the “paradox that exists between neo-liberal capitalist philanthropy and business interest” (p. 1207) and the system-preserving hegemony of private notions such as the ‘Giving Pledge’ and the ‘California Consensus’. The project and programmes promoted and supported by these wealthy philanthropic

individuals, and their all-powerful corporate partners, who are “unregulated and unaccountable” (p. 1208) are becoming embedded in neo-liberal food systems.

Eco-feminist Vandana Shiva (2011a) is critical of corporate hegemony. Shiva contends Monsanto GM seed is the opposite of self-determination, it is a lifetime corporate dependency. Monsanto’s website (as cited in Morvaridi 2012) explains their market-based approach -

When farmers purchase a patented seed variety, they sign an agreement that they will not save and replant seeds produced from the seed they buy from us. ... They understand the basic simplicity of the agreement, which is that a business must be paid for its product. The majority of farmers understands and appreciates our research and is willing to pay for our inventions and the value they provide.

Indian farmers contracted to corporations with GM seed agreements are impressed with the promise of increased profits, and thus are sold on liberation from small-holder farming through the capital to make an investment in something else. In India this simple legal noose offered by Monsanto to willing GM seed planters is the proverbial deal with the devil - when you plant the Monsanto seed you agree not to save seed, thereby agreeing to forever buy GM seed! According to Morvaridi (2012), “[t]he expectation is that over time, as farmers gain wealth, a class with property to protect will emerge and will increase demand for political participation” (p. 1198); thus the world for the farmer is supposed to be changed for the better. However, many issues arose where no corporate responsibility was taken when these supposed changes did not eventuate, crops failed and farmers were left with no livelihood and large debts. Sometimes farmers found themselves in the noose unknowingly. Morvaridi (2012) gives the example of farmers being sued by Monsanto despite the farmers claiming the seed was self-sown through cross-fertilization. With over 200,000 farmers having committed suicide in India since 1997 (Shiva, 2009b), these ‘suicide seed’ agreements seem inconsistent with a nation grounded in ideas around reincarnation and regeneration. In India, while many argue that the high-tech agricultural Green Revolution saved the country from regular famines, critics maintain the high tech approach and the systems that promote the use of fertilisers, pesticides, and genetic engineering increased farmer debt and lead to poverty and desperation not prosperity (Morvaridi, 2012; Shiva, 2009b, 2010). Shiva (2009a, 2012) contends there will be no remedy to the environmental costs in our lifetimes. As inputs to ‘determined’ food systems,

competing uses for land and food will interweave benefits for some, with costs for others.

5.5 Nuances of Local

There is much academic debate about ‘local’ (Acres, 2011; Born & Purcell, 2006; Feagan, 2007, 2008; Giovannucci, Barham, & Pirog, 2010, Kneafsey, 2010).

Kneafsey (2010) notes inconsistency in the literature in the use of the terms ‘regional’ and ‘local’, and the way in which both terms are equally as nuanced with being ‘alternative’ to existing approaches. Local can mean many things, such as perceived taste or freshness benefits due to knowing where the food comes from, and who is growing, producing it; perceived community benefits due to support for the local economy and traditions; perceived environmental benefits due to reduced transportation and processing; perceived cost benefits due to no, or shorter, supply chains; perceived food safety benefits due to relationships with local farmers, producers, retailers (Giovannucci, et al., 2010; Pearson, et al., 2011). There is also a plethora of ways ‘local’ is defined. For example, Fonte (2008) discusses ‘local’ through being produced, sold or consumed in a specific area. Similarly Winter (2003) considers ‘local’ in terms of consumer motivations and understandings in food purchasing. Local can mean a certain geographic proximity, e.g., within a 100 mile radius of where you live (Harris, 2009) or geographic product-place relationship (Giovannucci et al, 2010) i.e. supporting products from a particular ‘local’ region e.g. New Zealand lamb or Atlantic salmon. Kneafsey (2010) examines ‘local’ as an appeal coming from urban consumers addressing “a whole range of desires” (p. 185) and Hadjimichialis and Hudson (2007, 100 as cited in Kneafsey, 2010, p. 185) consider ‘local’ in terms of spaces where people, through food projects, can be the co-producers of social, cultural and economic transformation.

‘Local’ support can be more about rejecting some other focus, e.g., the ‘Heart of Devon’ campaign which emphasised localism as a reaction to a perceived incompetent national response to the 2001 Food and Mouth epidemic in the UK. In this instance, local ire was raised as national responses were perceived to lack consideration of the local position, and ‘local’ became the challenge to national parochialism and the environmental and sustainability concerns that were raised at the time (Winter, 2003). Supporting ‘local’ can be about social benefits such as

the many food projects which offer ways to influence social exclusion/social cohesion, community food networks and community democracy (Kneafsey, 2010; Winne, 2008); or as food policy perspectives to economic innovation and/or rural regeneration (Little, Ilbery, Watts, Gilg, & Simpson, 2012).

Selling 'local' can be perceived as a neo-liberal appropriation due to the marketing, placement or positioning such as 'local' and/or 'sustainable' products within a 'determined' food system. Giovannucci et al (2010) note global food giant Wal-Mart has a 'locally grown' option on-line. Carnes and Karsten (2003 as cited in Acres, 2011) suggest this co-option alternatives terms and ideas can be problematic for proponents because 'determined' organisations "can deliver local foods effectively and efficiently, yet the profits of such activities are often going out of the region or offshore to wherever the shareholders may live" (p. 27). In this lens 'local' or 'local food' becomes another input or commodity in the 'determined' system and systemic alternatives become established by the particular context in which 'local' is defined.

Born and Purcell (2006) argue against conflating a globalized food system with a capitalist, industrial and ecologically destructive food system, saying

Local is assumed to be desirable; it is preferred a priori to larger scales. What is desired varies and can include ecological sustainability, social justice, democracy, better nutrition, and food security, freshness and quality ...[thus local is] equally likely to be just or unjust, sustainable or unsustainable, secure or insecure (p. 195).

Similarly, DuPuis and Goodman (2005, as cited in Kneafsey, 2010) argue against idealizing 'the local' with a set of socially constructed "inclusive, altruistic and caring" (p. 180) norms. Kneafsey (2010) concludes that spatial terms such as local, regional, and alternative are socially constructed thus each is used differently according to context in the literature. While many social, economic, or environmental outcomes are possible, from any given spatial connection perspective, no specific results are pre-determined because they are 'local' or 'regional' (Born & Purcell, 2006; Giovannucci et al, 2010; Kneafsey, 2010). Local perspectives can thus be part of 'determined' systems, can be notions of a fix in a 'improved determined' conceptualisation and also can represent an unknown or 'indeterminate' perspective.

5.6 A Paradox of Food Banking

Historically, emergency food assistance programs were initiated in the United States because citizens were concerned about changes in levels of government support and aware of growing numbers of individuals and families facing the ‘wrongs’ of being unable to eat regular meals (Winne, 2008). Today, many food banks operate other food services such as soup kitchens, community gardens, and meals for the elderly as well as after-school programs for low-income children (Winne, 2008). In America in 2013, food for food assistance organisations comes from private and corporate food donations; funding also comes from many sources such as individuals, private organisations, government sources, and fund-raising. Larger food banks, originally opened to increase overall food supply, now have the capacity to receive, manage, hold and distribute considerable volumes of food (solicited from the food industry) efficiently and quickly (Winne, 2008).

As an example of the size and complexity of these organisations, non-profit organisation Feeding America has annual budgets in the hundreds of millions of US dollars (Khare, 2011). More than 200 regional food bank systems in the United States are networked through Feeding America, the nation’s largest network of food banks and the leading domestic hunger-relief charity (Feeding America, 2013). Feeding America serves as a link between food banks in its network, and can assist with moving food out of one bank and into another thus helping to control inventory and minimize waste.

Food bank advocates in the US lobbied to encourage more donations from companies and succeeded in improving the situation for organisations through tax legislation, the Tax Reform Act 1976, where corporate donors can take advantage of tax deductions for their contributions of surplus food — not only for 100 % of production costs, but also for 50 % of the difference between the product cost and the normal sale price. The San Antonio Foodbank (San Antonio Foodbank, 2013) gives a simple example of the working of the Tax Reform Act 1976:

Selling Price: \$4.00; Production Cost: \$1.00; Gross Profit: \$3.00
 $\frac{1}{2}$ of \$3.00 equals \$1.50. The maximum deduction can never exceed two times cost (\$2.00). Therefore, the deduction for the gross profit element is limited to \$1.00.

Total Deduction: \$2.00 (\$1.00 for the 100% of the cost of producing the item + \$1.00 for the 50% of the difference between the production cost and the selling price but not exceeding two times cost)

Corporations are encouraged to donate unsold food to public charities, such as Feeding America or one of its networked food banks, or private operating foundations in order to claim the tax deduction for the contributions. Companies in America were thought to not be contributing food to food banks because of the possibility of being sued. In 1981, US Congress passed the Good Samaritan Act to directly address corporate liability for donated goods. Donors are not subject to civil or criminal liability for the safety of donated food as long as they do not voluntarily and consciously donate while knowing that their donations will, or are likely to, be harmful to the health or well-being of others.

Funding goes into this food banking system from governments, both local and federal. Organizations that receive food, such as networked food banks, are also charged handling or shared maintenance fees; while perishable items are sometimes given away, most items moved through food bank networks incur a cost to the food bank provider (a small amount to help cover the cost of handling the product, not based on the value of the food). Because these organizations often struggle for funding, any connection to a food assistance funder is usually “zealously defended by a select group of program interests and their associated networks” (Winne, 2008, p. 184). My thoughts are that throughout the food banking system, money and resources enter to prop it up and keep it going as it is currently determined.

International and national academics and activists are calling for an examination of the role of food banking in a sustainable, equitable system in which everyone is free to enjoy universal food security (Brodie, 2007; Winne, 2008; Wynd, 2005). Foodbanks and supplementary food programs are a sign of real need, but must also be recognized “as a symbol of our society’s failure to hold government accountable for hunger, food insecurity, and poverty” (Winne, 2008, p. 185). Winne (2008) contends political supports, such as the Tax Reform Act and the Good Samaritan Act legislation, contribute to paradoxical counter-productivity within the systems of food banking in America. Paradoxical counter-productivity in food banking systems holds that certain attempts to solve a social wrong only provide an incentive to make the issue worse. He calls for transformation of the

existing systems because “the expansion of food banks and their on-going solicitation for food will never get us any closer” (ibid, p. 184) to universal food security and is only providing an incentive to keep contributing money and resources into the ‘wrongs’ of the current social situation. Winne (2008) calls on food banks, and other organizations and agencies to work together and move on from hunger-reaction programs. Examining the role of food banking in a sustainable, equitable system that provides nutritious food for all, Winne (2008) argues it is “time to organize effectively against this kind of wrong-headedness” (p. 25) because

[growing food banking systems are] not a sign of our generosity and charity, ...[the challenge now is to] to reduce the size and scope of food banking. ...Ultimately, food banks should return to their original role of addressing genuine short-term community emergencies, such as natural and man-made disasters. They should cease their role as a dumping ground for the waste and surplus of America’s food industry and instead secure and distribute only food that promotes good health (p. 185).

Originally an emergency food movement, then a domestic hunger relief arrangement, food banking in America is now a highly co-ordinated, federally supported, food waste management system (Winne, 2008). Winne (2008) has spent 35 years working in community food systems and the comments he makes regarding the United States, I think, hold true for New Zealand. The praise for food banks must cease and the embedding of food banks and other similar food assistance programs within ‘determined’ food systems must be seriously examined.

5.7 Conclusion

Following the theoretical distinction I made in Chapter 4, I began this chapter with a rendition of the effective rhetoric that has legitimised ‘determined’ approaches to food systems. I consider a focus on an economic bottom line has been very profitable for the shareholders of successful food corporations and that the current ‘determined’ food system works well at being efficient, if profit maximisation is the only criterion of efficiency.

In telling tales and listening for undertones, I pondered current determinations of disadvantage as it pervades neo-liberal food systems through food insecurity, food

gaps, food (un)democracy, food deserts, and misunderstandings of home food production.

Considering commodification and ideology involved illuminating a critical perspective in which I deem corporations, and the people charged with responsibility for them, to be controlling much of the ‘determined’ food system. A corporate few, a handful of elite people and organisations, govern and guide much of the decision making with regards to food globally – control is centralized and crystalized yet responsibility and accountability are separated and made opaque.

I waded into the academic debate about ‘local’ only to recover and repeat the much heralded storyline – there is much inconsistency in the literature. I agree ‘local’ should not be conflated with a capitalist, industrial and ecologically destructive food system, or with an ecological, sustainable, socially just and democratic food system (Born & Purcell, 2006; DuPuis and Goodman as cited in Kneafsey, 2010). Local can mean many things, and alternatives become established by the particular context in which ‘local’ is socially constructed and defined.

Issues of food provision and access(ability) through food banks concern me. Originally temporary hunger relief, food banking in America has grown to become a highly co-ordinated, federally supported, food waste management system (Winne, 2008). After contemplating this change of fortunes for food banks, I suggest the praise for food banks must cease and the embedding of food banks and other similar food assistance programs within ‘determined’ food systems must be seriously examined. I urge that growth in food banks, and food banking systems, is not to be championed.

Given my comprehension of wider issues surrounding access(ability) to food, I turn, in Chapter 6 to the specific situation of vulnerable households in Aotearoa New Zealand.

6 Stor(y)ing Food in Aotearoa New Zealand

Community involves being, doing and having together - Alastair McInstosh

6.1 Introduction

My examination in this thesis of food access(ability) in Aotearoa New Zealand entails the recounting of stories about access to food and abilities to access food. I outline, in section 6.2 Counting a History, how the ‘prevailing neo-liberal depiction’ of food systems is couched in terms of productivist benefit for all, but I contend, is more wisely understood as a system of privileging profits. I tell several stories of the damage being done by the current determinations, starting with The Elephants in the Paddocks and the detrimental impressions their business is leaving on New Zealand people, land and water resources in section 6.3. Many things affect access(ability) to healthy and affordable food. Vulnerable families are often misrepresented in media and under-served in policy and practice. In section 6.4 and 6.5 respectively, I consider the Under-serving the Vulnerable receive in New Zealand and discuss studies regarding food access(ability) for vulnerable households and Confirming the Outcomes from School Food Programs for food insecure children. I Question Food Programs Overall in section 6.6 given my theoretical conceptualisations around improving and/or transcending ‘determined’ systems. From a critical perspective ALL food relief should be questioned. I conclude the chapter with a few short threads around Serving People, Serving Planet initiatives, in section 6.7, that hold potential to serve people and planet before profit, but that are beyond the scope of this thesis.

6.2 Counting a History

The prevailing neo-liberal storying of food access(ability) in Aotearoa New Zealand is founded on interwoven accounts of productivity and profit as significant and productivist ideas around ‘nation building’ (Rosin, 2013). Food, productivity, and profit in New Zealand currently derive from three natural resources: pastures, arable land and horticulture, and seafood (Coriolis Research Ltd, 2005). Land uses within this unique constellation are mainly production, conservation, and urbanization; the majority (just under two-thirds of total land stock) is used for primary production (agriculture, forestry and horticulture)

(Statistics New Zealand Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2009). Acres (2011) outlines the basics of a New Zealand food system that produces a wide range of food products from a wide range of regions through a wide range of distribution and retailing systems. Campbell et al (2009) argue that the primacy of agriculture as the dominant land use in New Zealand has led to the “cultural positioning of pastoralism as the unquestioned norm for New Zealand land use” (p. 92). Rosin (2013) suggests their alignment with a productivist ideology has fared well for New Zealand farmers. He recognises though a moral justification has changed slightly from ‘feeding the nation’ (and the mother land) to ‘feeding the world’ and the agri-business emphasis has changed from quantity to efficiency, the primacy of a productivist ideology remains intact (Rosin, 2013). “[T]he valued role of pastoral farmers in society” (Rosin, 2013, p. 56) remains a pervasive justifying and legitimating influence. Rosin (2013) credits the social legitimacy of the productivist ideology to farming’s “significant contributions to socially valued projects – that is, support of the mother country’s food security and war efforts” (p. 56). Rosin (2013) notes that while the discourse remains focused on sufficient quantities, demand, and levels of food, the prevalent response is to ensure these quantities and levels of demand are met; thus further reinforcing the prevailing neo-liberal ‘determined’ food system and the crucial role of farmers in “meeting the growing global demand for proteins” (p. 57). In recounting this rendition of the primacy of productivist land use, I acknowledge I am drawing on a selective lens which underpins and normalises certain ways of valuing. I know in this rendition many stories are left untold and many voices silenced or left unheard. It is to these stories I now turn.

6.3 The Elephants in the Paddocks

Farming in New Zealand has many critics. Domestic Fish and Game campaigns concerned about the impact of dairying on fresh water resources, a New Zealand Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment report concerned about the impressions of dairying on the environment, as well as a Greenpeace campaign to highlight the use of palm kernel meal as a feed source for the dairy sector, are just a few of critiques aimed at farming and the dairy industry in the first two decades of the 21st century (Campbell, et al., 2009). Lang (2009 as cited in Acres, 2011, p. 66) suggests “New Zealand is efficiently overproducing the ‘wrong foods’, in that we are aiming to produce dollar unit values, rather than strategically evaluating

nutritional return per unit of energy, water and other environmental capital invested”. While overproducing, and focusing on efficiency, a contentious issue with this productivist focus is the externalisation of costs. “Evidence of declining freshwater quality, increasingly threatened native biodiversity and a changing climate” (Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, 2004 as cited in Rosin, 2013, pp. 56-57) are a few of the issues arising from intensive agriculture. Environmental impacts of a ‘determined’ food system, as well as issues surrounding packaging and disposal, include

pesticide, herbicide and nutrient leaching into soils and waterways, water shortages due to high levels of irrigation, loss of biodiversity in agricultural regions due to habitat loss, pollution, and monoculture based ‘agricultural deserts’ as well as significant emissions of greenhouse gases coming from agriculture, food processing and distribution systems (Harris, 2010 as cited in Acres, 2011, p. 21).

The way we use the land in New Zealand for production has direct environmental impacts. Production agriculture is output oriented, fertiliser intensive, with a monoculture focus on rye grass. A productivist focus has seen land for dairying use increase, the land stock of soil with the most versatile uses decrease; and excesses of nitrogen and phosphorous in soil (Statistics New Zealand Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2009).

Between 1989 and 2009 levels of nitrogen at monitored sites in rivers and streams increased from 1,000 parts to 1,200 parts per billion (micrograms per litre) (Statistics New Zealand Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2009). While nutrients such as nitrogen occur naturally in fresh water, increased nutrient levels affect the ecosystems ability to maintain a healthful balance. Dairy pollution, animal effluent and/or fertiliser run-off, has polluted 90% of lowland waterways, leached into underground aquifers, and impacts other factors such as soil erosion, water use, nutrient leaching, organic waste generation, and greenhouse gas emission levels (Statistics New Zealand Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2009).

The living of these figures is told through an account of a small dairy farm in the Taupo region. Because Sharon and Mike Barton’s farm drains into Lake Taupo there are a maximum number of stock animals they can run on their land (Barton & Barton, 2013). They realise that caps were required on livestock numbers as stock numbers directly affect the water quality in the waterways, which in their

case is New Zealand's premier Lake Taupo. As stock numbers around New Zealand increase, the nitrogen problem is increasing – Mike Barton refers to nitrogen as “the elephant in the paddock” of dairy farming systems (Barton & Barton, 2013). He thought he and his neighbours were in tune with nature, but science has shown them their farming contributed 90% of the manageable nitrogen going into Lake Taupo (Barton & Barton, 2013). “Our grass fed livestock system has been our strength, but it is becoming our Achilles heel” says Mike Barton (Barton & Barton, 2013) of the primary production industry's beguilement with dairy farming. Will grass fed livestock farming prove to be our small but fatal weakness?

6.4 Under-serving the Vulnerable

Households pursue access to food in many different ways - through graft in soils at home or in community gardens, through money earned from paid employment of various types, through different kinds of barter or trading, or through re-distribution and transfers into the household from exogenous sources such as friends, relatives, charities, other private sources (some of which may be deemed criminal), and from state agencies. Thus, in describing food access(ability) in Aotearoa, elements such as household resources and resourcefulness, household location and accessibility of food outlets, preferences and pragmatic posturing of governments and other agencies are important in the securing of food by particular families and in the attainment of food security in Aotearoa New Zealand overall.

Vulnerable households use exogenous services such as food banks, soup kitchens, food assistance programs, charity food parcels as well as emergency assistance grants and benefits from government agencies to secure food. All these initiatives provide fleeting hunger relief but will not mark sustainable changes in the household circumstances. Wynd (2005) notes New Zealand has had “meteoric growth” (p. viii) in foodbank use in the early years of the 2000s despite a period of improved economic growth nationally. Foodbanks and similar initiatives are becoming entrenched as part of the strategies and methods that vulnerable households use to ensure adequate sufficient supplies of healthy nutritious food. Though the very poorest are least likely to participate in self-provisioning or growing their own food, (Schupp & Sharp, 2012; Teitelbaum & Beckley, 2006),

Parnell (2005) notes those on the lowest incomes are most significantly affected by food insecurity in New Zealand. McNeill (2011) describes “an observable imbalance in power between those who ‘provide’ and those ‘receive’ food support” (p. 218) and a difficulty to garner political interest in the issue of households who are uncertain, or unable, to acquire food because the household lacks income or other resources for food. She notes a reluctance of government “to fully realise its role in affirming the right of citizens to be free from hunger, ...[and] evidence of a corresponding willingness to delegate provision of food aid to charity based third sector organisations that receive no state funding” (p. ii). Rather than reinforcing the media stereotype of helpless takers, McNeill’s (2011) participants were resilient in their resourcefulness exercising “a range of endogenous strategies ...[as well as] either informal exogenous strategies (through social networks), or particularly where there were limitations on social capital, formal exogenous strategies in the form of service use” (p. iii). Though community service, academic, planning and policy discourses prevail through New Zealand research on food security (McNeill, 2011), McNeill’s participants indicated their own ideas about transformative change. The most obvious theme from the ‘recipients’ of food support was “around increase to income and purchasing power” (pp. 212-213). McNeill (2011) concludes

[the] assertion that the answer to food insecurity was simply increasing levels of personal income and reducing essential costs was reiterated in some form by almost all respondents (pp. 213).

The individuals in receipt of food insecurity offered other transformative ideas, such as

adjustments to benefits, additional forms of benefits or special assistance, making processes to apply for food assistance more user friendly, further funding of community meals, and home delivery of food (pp. 214-215).

Research into food accessibility has identified ‘food deserts’ – locations high in fast food and convenience outlets and where healthy food is virtually inaccessible – in low-income areas and communities (Woodham 2011). People who live in, or near, these ‘food deserts’ tend to be poorer and have fewer healthy food options, which in turn contribute to their high overweight/obesity rates and diet-related illnesses such as diabetes (Winne, 2008, p xvii). We have ‘food deserts’ – places abundant with takeaway, deep fried, ‘fast’ and convenient food outlets yet absent of healthy and fresh food options – in low income suburbs and communities. It’s a

double bind – low income and few healthy food choices. Food deserts are an example of the ‘determined’ food system in action - “the marketplace is functioning rationally (as economists would say) by going to where the money is. In short, if communities weren’t poor, they would have supermarkets, and ... the best and healthiest food available” (Winne, 2008, pp. xvii-xviii).

Woodham (2011) explored local food environments in the Wellington region of New Zealand. She compared two “socioeconomically disparate” areas in the region – Eastern Porirua and Whitby and concluded Eastern Porirua, the lower-income suburb, to be a ‘food desert’. Eastern Porirua had “more ‘unhealthy’ outlets, fast food outlets and convenience stores; bread and milk was similarly available across both suburbs, but was more expensive in convenience stores, which there were more of in Eastern Porirua; and ‘healthy’ varieties of bread and milk were most often more expensive than ‘less healthy’ options (Woodham, 2011). Woodham (2011) spoke to Eastern Porirua residents who were the main food shopper or were involved. They identified a number of barriers: access to transport, lack of a neighbourhood supermarket, prevalence of fast food outlets, attitudes and beliefs about food, promotion of food, cultural values/obligations, fast food is a societal norm, availability of skills, knowledge and training, welfare policy, lack of consumer information, church food policies, cost of food and income (Woodham, 2011, p. 89). Woodham’s (2011) participants identified a number of suggestions for improving accessibility including: a local food market, neighbourhood supermarket, help with home gardening, healthier fast food options, community gardens, better promotion of healthy food for children, community/church health promotion programmes, free healthy food in churches, improved food labelling, lower price of basic foods, more income and vouchers for healthy food (p. 114). She notes:

The most resounding message, in terms of both barriers and solutions, was that the participants believed if they had more money available for food, healthy food would be much more accessible to them and their families/whanau (p. 119).

In her research study with 136 New Zealand families, C. Smith (2011) found food insecurity was significant for low-income households, also the absolute spend on food shopping was significantly lower for these food insecure households compared to food secure households, and the absolute spend was lower again for

low-income households. She notes a similar amount of time spent on meal preparation and cleaning up for main meals across income groups (low, medium and high). C. Smith (2011) advised “[p]hysical access to food shops was not a barrier to food security; however lack of money was” (p. iii). As part of her research, C. Smith (2011) conducted a Spend Study which involved providing a group of participant households with supermarket vouchers for the duration of the study. C. Smith (2011) concludes

There were no statistically significant differences found between the voucher group and the control group for the individual food groups examined. Results showed that when provided with additional money in the form of supermarket voucher food insecure households spent most of it on food. Addressing financial barriers in public health initiatives is critical to ensure that they are successful (p. iv).

Māori and Pasifika families, and children in low-income households are all disproportionately affected by food insecurity and health related social ‘wrongs’ (Agencies for Nutrition Action, 2005). From the 2008/09 Adult Nutrition Survey, Stevenson (2012) identified an increase in the number of moderately food secure and low food secure New Zealanders since the previous survey in 1997, noting the challenges of food insecurity are more significant for Pacific and Māori populations. A similar anecdote is told by Mangere Budgeting Services manager Darryl Evans, who is regularly in the media advocating for Māori, Pasifika and low income households (Ihaka, 2013). Who can feed a family of five on a weekly budget of \$83, he asks? According to Evans, \$83 is the amount the average family that sees Mangere Budgeting Services has as discretionary income after all other expenses have been paid (Ihaka, 2013). Evans’ notes an Otago University study that indicates \$200-\$300 per week, depending on region, is needed to feed a family of four a healthy and nutritious diet (Ihaka, 2013). In a food story that plays out in Aotearoa, Māori and Pasifika families are more adversely affected in their inability to access sufficient and nutritious food than other than-Māori and Pasifika, and single parent Māori and Pacifica households most adversely so (Wynd 2005). Food insecurity, low vitamin and mineral intake, high fat and sugar intake, obesity and diet related health wrongs all disproportionately affect Māori, Pasifika and children in families with a low socio-economic status.

Cheap food available throughout much of the world is often insufficiently healthy; people with diet and health related concerns are starving of lack of nutrition. Other people are starving of lack of food. Consumption of unhealthy foods that are processed, high in fats, sugars, salt and other additives is being increasingly related to rising obesity and diet-related health complications (Campbell & Campbell, 2006). Currently income, geography and race affect access(ability) to healthy and affordable food.

6.5 Confirming the Outcomes from School Food Programs

Government, community groups and private philanthropists are responding to growing concern that many children are going to school hungry (New Zealand Government, 2013). This response indicates a wider recognition of child hunger and malnutrition as both an indicator of wider social need and a future challenge as large numbers of children are unable to learn because they are hungry (Agencies for Nutrition Action, 2005; Anscombe, 2009; Chapman & Rutherford, 2013; Dunlop, 2012; Walters, 2012). Research is clear and consistent that there is a relationship between nutrition and academic outcomes for children in the long term – hungry children do not learn (Anscombe, 2009; Wynd, 2005, 2009). Overall, students who are well nourished are more likely to attend school, have better behaviour at school and have better long term academic outcomes (Agencies for Nutrition Action, 2005; Wynd, 2009).

Many private agencies now argue for a re-prioritisation in social spending so that additional resources can be provided to fund school food programs to low-decile schools. According to the Agencies for Nutrition Action (2005), children in schools in New Zealand with many low income households live where “poor nutritional status may be the norm rather than the exception” (p. 36). While the evidence for benefits of breakfast programs for older children is mixed, for younger children the evidence is clear - breakfast provides a number of benefits (Gerritson, 2005 as cited in Wynd, 2009). Universal direct provision, rather than targeted programs, is recommended in order to ensure resources get to “nutritionally at-risk students” as in industrialised countries, participation in school breakfast programs will result in significant nutritional benefit for the subset of children whose intake is poor (Agencies for Nutrition Action, 2005).

Anscombe (2009) describes food in school programs in terms of contemporary political dynamics with competing ideas around child rights, parental responsibilities, bureaucratic limitations, current practices and differing ideologies and attitudes. In his research, government participants were unsure whether food assistance programs and initiatives “were necessary, effective or sustainable”, (Anscombe, 2009, p. ii) while school principals and charity leaders considered hungry children an outcome of systemic ‘wrongs’ that required structural and functional solutions. Anscombe (2009) notes

some New Zealanders favour feeding children in schools and others don’t, while many children remain hungry to some degree throughout each school day. The facts surrounding hungry children in New Zealand are surprisingly little publicised; instead it is common for people to blame the parents of these children” (p. ii).

Attesting this approach Anscombe (2009) suggests it is New Zealand children who are suffering the consequences of this discrimination and inaction. He concludes in New Zealand it is the benevolence of school staff, parents and communities which determines whether school food programs are run (Anscombe, 2009). Though some say tamariki in Aotearoa are ‘skipping’ meals I contend these children are not skipping meals by choice; many children in New Zealand do not have food in their cupboards to choose to forgo. In many cases, the nutrient intake of these children is inadequate because their food intake is inadequate (Parnell, 2005). The provision of regular nutritious meals would ensure those children who currently miss out would do better at school (Anscombe, 2009). Improved nutrition will result in improved attendance at school, behaviour at school and long term academic performance. As daily headlines shout of intellectual capacities and knowledge economies; why are we bemoaning a brain drain yet doing nothing about ensuring the brain capital of the future gets fed today?

6.6 Questioning Food Programs Overall

New Zealand experiences of food security, in the first two decades of the 21st century because, are such that despite an abundant food supply, not all people in this jurisdiction have been able to access enough food to live an active healthy life (Bruce, 2011; Child Poverty Action Group CPAG (St John & Craig), 2004; McNeill, 2011; Mulqueen-Star, 2009; New Zealand Government, 2013; Parnell,

2005; Smith C. , 2011; Woodham, 2011). An interest in food access(ability) goes back at least as early as the 1990s, a period in which New Zealand politicians made an explicit commitment to rapid and wide-reaching policies based on principles of neo-liberal economics (Easton, 1997; Kelsey 1993, 1995, 1996). Public interest in matters of access to food, and media attention, has surged again as many foodbank operators advise that they are, in the first two decades of the 21st century, struggling to meet the growing need for emergency food assistance (Brodie, 2007; Wynd, 2005). Various charitable, non-profit and government assistance services provide immediate and temporary hunger relief because households lack the means to buy adequate, nutritious food (Wynd, 2005). Advocacy and charity have moved policy and pennies to effect breakfasts in many schools from 2013. Fonterra, New Zealand's largest dairy co-operative, have expanded their own separate milk in schools program nationwide – from the middle of 2013 a 300ml carton of UHT milk will be free to every school child. In May 2013, the government announced up to \$9.5million in funding over 5 years, matching funding from private companies Fonterra and Sanitarium so that all low decile schools (those with a decile rating of 1-4) can take up the KickStart breakfast programme currently being offered by the two organisations and expand it from two days a week to five days (Chapman & Rutherford, 2013). In announcing a 2013 joint National Government-Fonterra-Sanitarium initiative, Prime Minister John Key noted “I’d like to make one thing clear – the Government believes parents have the responsibility for providing their kids with the basics, including a decent breakfast and a pair of shoes” (Chapman & Rutherford, 2013, n.p). Similar to the justification and legitimation by corporate interests in the United States, I am arguing we are seeing exactly this type of ‘joined-at-the-hip’ food policy in Aotearoa in 2013 with the National Government-Fonterra-Sanitarium breakfast in schools. Is the \$9.5million over five years being allocated by the government helping to create two New Zealand Breakfast Giants? If the schools had a choice might they have opted to do something small scale and local, and work with their communities to affect changes in their families, not just changes in their families’ circumstances?

Foodbanks and supplementary food programs provide hunger relief for some, but are not a remedy for poverty so can only be considered temporary respite from the

wrongs of food insecurity. Brodie (2007) in considering centralized food bank supply systems, highlights that much energy and effort is going into ideas and programs that while addressing hunger, will not make a sustainable change to the situation of food insecurity for individuals and households. Winne (2008) calls on food banks, and other organizations and agencies to work together and move on from hunger-reaction programs. He considers it paradoxical that energy and resources go into food programs and as a result these programs increase and grow but the underlying problems of income poverty and food insecurity get no closer to resolution.

“Ultimately, food banks should return to their original role of addressing genuine short-term community emergencies, such as natural and man-made disasters. They should ... secure and distribute only food that promotes good health” (Winne, 2008, p. 185).

We need to change our focus from hunger-reaction programs to long-term sustainable food security. In Aotearoa New Zealand, Susan Dunlop (2012), principal of Decile 1a Yendarra School, Otara, and the school staff have worked with families, the community and outside agencies since 2006 to change the food culture at the school. Dunlop speaks of the situation before their years of intervention; times when children bought a big bag of chips, bottles of cola or no food and were badly behaved and hyperactive because they were hungry or because of the unhealthy food they were eating. The start of their journey was the change to a ‘water only’ school. “The behaviour problems disappeared overnight. It was amazing. Overnight, it was more peaceful, kids were feeling happier, teachers were feeling happier” (Dunlop, 2012, para. 17). Freirean ideas contribute to an understanding of individual transformations and also changes through functional, structural and systemic interventions needed. Dunlop (2012) believed their teaching community could change the lives of their school children “outside of the school gate ...to use our position of influence for the better” (para. 12).

6.7 Serving People, Serving Planet

In serving people and planet, political and policy responses are often supportive of specific initiatives to food systems issues in Aotearoa. In this thesis I have explored many different perspectives, initiatives and suggestions that may result in improving the current ‘determined’ systems or contributing to transformative

change. Many other ideas are beyond the scope of this thesis but I consider are worthy of a mention so I will summarize these ideas below.

Acres (2011) appeals to systems approaches, role for government and national policy strategies. He is critical of the fragmented, imprecise and uncoordinated approaches to food systems planning in Aotearoa New Zealand. In considering food production and supply chain issues, Acres (2011) promotes inter-agency coordination and support for a systems approaches to policy making because the current lack of perspective “has led to the creation of many ‘solutions’ which actually just move an issue to another location, or delay the inevitable consequences of unsustainable use of non-renewable resources” (Acres, 2011, p. 24). The production, retailing and consumption of food happens differently in different communities throughout New Zealand because of structural elements within the overall food system. Therefore, where inequality and injustice are evident, a system-wide approach is necessary to address these issues. He advocates a weighty role for government, along with a change from “food safety, and providing support for large-scale, export orientated production and distribution systems” (p. 163) to initiatives such as national policy statements, national level coordination, and a national food strategy. Citing the Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand’s Food Policy, Acres (2011) recommends establishment of food policy type arrangements and a “Food Commission to oversee a variety of elements of food production, distribution, consumption and waste disposal systems through a lens of sustainable development for New Zealand as a whole” (p. 165). In respect of the for-profit crown research centres, citing the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, Acres (2011) suggests a re-purposing and notes “project outcomes which are aimed to be profitable and increase yields or product values [are prioritised under these profit oriented centres, yet many] solutions for sustainable agriculture are not profitable innovations to share” (p. 166) and recommends an extension service which could transfer the findings and knowledge throughout the food system for the benefit of all.

Rosin (2013) appeals to a utopian perspective “that promotes social justice and environmental sustainability as well as a sufficient quantity of food” (p. 57).

Campbell et al (2009) build a strong argument for “biological economies” which take into account perspectives other than financial or economic. According to Rosin (2013), “[a] more appropriate critical response necessarily requires a utopian perspective that accounts for the cultural, social and environmental qualities of food, is oriented towards a more resilient global food system and greater food security and provides a critical perspective on the productivist ideology” (p. 57).

Winne (2008) appeals to social democratic ideas and ideals where we approach healthy food access(ability) like we do schools and “ensure in every community that geography, income, and race are not barriers to securing a healthy and affordable diet” (p. 186). He urges political space, food systems planning and food policy councils, and ways for social justice advocates to have an influence on food systems should be “as common as any other feature of civic life” (Winne, 2008, p. 190). In this I understand an advocacy for food systems to be like other widely accepted civic and social systems.

6.8 Conclusion

In this thesis I argue that privileging profits by following a productivist ideology and intensive agriculture is justified as the most efficient and thus necessary way to ‘feed the world’. Implied is another story, widely taken for granted, a narrative that tells how the rising tide of a flourishing dairy industry will lift all boats, and that in looking after the best interests and economic fortunes of this industry, the businesses of production industries will look after the “biological economies” (Campbell, et al., 2009, p. 91) of Aotearoa New Zealand. The people of this ‘land-of-plenty’, I argue are being under-served in a ‘determined’ economic system that continues to privilege profit over the wellbeing of people and planet. The primacy given to intensive agricultural land use is inconsistent with these “biological economies” (ibid) – much harm is being done, to both New Zealand’s land and her reputation, while innovations are touted to try to improve the current determination.

Currently income, geography and race affect access(ability) to healthy and affordable food. Vulnerable families are often misrepresented in media and policy, but when spoken to directly come across as resilient, resourceful and

thoughtful about their situations. Following McNeill (2011) and Woodham (2011) I take this opportunity to amplify their subaltern voices. Income levels for vulnerable households in Aotearoa New Zealand are insufficient to live a healthy and secure life. These households want, but cannot afford to provide sufficient healthy and nutritious food. C. Smith (2011) demonstrates that given supermarket vouchers, households suffering food insecurity spent most of the additional money on food.

I outline in this chapter also recent New Zealand studies with regards to food access(ability) for vulnerable children. From this work, my findings are that contemporary foods in schools programs are beneficial in providing food relief for hungry children. Results are consistent for primary school age children but mixed beyond that. Universal programs, where food is offered to every child, are more effective than targeted programs. Thus, universal programs which offer food to primary school aged child in Aotearoa New Zealand are an effective way to ensure that vulnerable children can access the food they need to grow into awesome kiwi adults.

While supportive of food in schools programs, they are the exception and I take issue with other types of food relief programs. As Brodie (2007) points out - food banks will not make a long term sustainable change to the situation of food insecurity for individuals and households. And in listening for the subaltern voices, nowhere did I hear the vulnerable calling out for more food banks. The time, energy and resources going into ‘determined’ systems in which vulnerable people and households are positioned as ‘recipients’, ‘receivers’ or ‘clients’ of food ‘distributers’ or ‘providers’ should be challenged.

It is now time to revisit, highlight, review and re-store food stories in Aotearoa New Zealand.

7 *re*Visiting, *high*Lighting, *re*Viewing, *re*Stor(y)ing Food

Nothing is impossible, the word itself says 'I'm possible'! - Audrey Hepburn

7.1 Beginnings Acknowledged

In my mihi I reflected that being nurtured as a ‘tabula rasa’ by my encouraging and supportive family in my living, inquiring, life (Marshall, 1999) is very different to the way a ‘tabula rasa’ might be developed in a contemporary 2013 neo-liberal context. The idea of a worthy person in my family was quite different to that in a neo-liberal individual thought-scape. For me, seeing everyone as capable means valuing every life and the gift that each is. My parents instilled a sense of community and care for others. We were also made to notice that not all lives were as secure as our life was – and that this noticing brought responsibilities. As an adult, and now a researcher with aspirations to contribute to a world that is secure for all, I sought ways to understand the living of the different worlds I was familiar with. I sought ways to explain social justice as I understand it, and ways to justify my prioritisation of the needs of the vulnerable. My path on this quest was to be illuminated by Pearl Kirton, a kuia in my ether also of both Māori and Pākehā parentage, who in conversation with Pākehā about her chosen prioritisation of her Māori identification, explains “my Māori side needs my energies most”. I have taken Pearl’s explanation for the ebbs and flows of energies and priorities as critical for the orientation of my work in this thesis. At times, different sides will need my energies more.

In place of a traditional academic introduction, I began this thesis by introducing some of the Māori entities who are significant in my life. I sought to demonstrate that a simple act of calling a different perspective ‘to the fore’ is a social, perhaps activist, process that can be embraced to make a valuable contribution to academic scholarship. My early comprehension of social constructs of gender, race and social ‘wrongs’ were difficult to live as a child. As an adult I consider that my early awareness of these social constructs were significantly liberating. My examination of them now forms the basis for my growing understanding of interlocking structures of domination (Schüssler Fiorenza, 2001) and subaltern

positioning (Spivak, 1988) theories that focus on the inconsistencies to be found in prevailing scripts for human organisation. My appreciation that my understanding of our shared humanity is different from that of many others continues to grow – I believe there is value in nurturing these ideas and sharing them.

Fletcher (1998) calls for researchers to challenge unexamined dichotomies in text, to reveal suppressed contradictions, and to draw attention to what has been hidden, obscured, or made invisible. Conscious that there is no one worldview shared by all the people who together make up the social world I occupy, I find solace in Fletcher's (1998) ideas that through language in use, dominant groups often *represent* their privilege or hierarchical position and consider that an examination of this *representation* is a valuable activity if *repositioning* is to be a possibility. In this call, to represent, I found justification for my project – the detection, examination and challenge to falsely universalising stories that intensify domination, marginalisation and oppression, and the potential of a critical research process to contribute to transformational possibilities.

7.2 *re*Visiting Critical Theorists

Calling to the fore an ideal of a 'common ground', in this research, is an attempt at understanding injustice in an unequal or inequitable world. This 'common' ground is likely to be riddled with paradox, contradiction, and conflict. Drawing on some key ideas from critical organisational theory, I have sought to understand where such paradox, contradiction and conflict are not to be assuaged or deflected but to be acknowledged and "critically appreciated" (Grant & Humphries, 2006). Critical inquiry entails *noticing differences* between ideal and actuality but not calling for the imposition of one view over another. As suggested with my introductory mihi rather than a naïve replacement or imposition of one form of privilege with another, I posit that a critical appreciation of a Māori introduction in place of a traditional academic one offers an opportunity for an indeterminate transformation in academic research.

The differences between a neo-liberal rendition of the values and aspirations of prevailing social and economic systems and actuality revealed in paradoxes, contradictions and conflicts that critics deem to be unfair, unbalanced and unjust were discussed in Chapter 3. In my *reviewing* of these differences I now see that

the roots of this discourse lie in the concerns with justice that occupied those theorists in western thought who resolved to liberate the human being from the overlords of their time. The work of John Locke is a good example. Magee (2001) explains Locke's ideas. In summary: in the neo-liberal rendition of the liberal(isation) agenda of Locke and his peers, my labour is my own and as long as I do no-one any harm, and if I am operating within my rights, without infringing on the rights of others, and remain within the boundaries of the law, I can claim all benefits that accrue from my efforts to belong to me. These rights also imply responsibility – to take care of my own needs, and a duty or responsibility not to get in the way of the freedom and responsibilities of others to care for themselves. Examining this story from a neo-liberal point of view invites faith in the potential for each us in being human to make the most of our own situation. All persons can better themselves. Each can [and probably should] improve their own position. Applying this thinking to my own life, if there is no food it is up to me to do something about it; if there is no supermarket in the neighbourhood it is up to me to lobby or politicise the situation; if there is insufficient income in my household it is up to me to increase that income. Issues or wrongs are shared or suffered equally as are the opportunities (even the duty) to rectify these. From this point of view, if I can overcome the barriers in my life, then so can you. Thus in the case of food, the responsibility falls to each individual to do something about accessing a sufficient nutritious supply of food. Failure to access food can soon be seen as a significant moral failing of individuals. Locke's ideas have proved appealing to many. They are implicit in policy work the world over, and have an empowering basis – I can do better for myself if I want to, I can change if I want to, everyone is born equal with the same rights and freedoms. This, I suggest, is a reliable summary of the neo-liberal position as outlined in Chapter 3.

More critically orientated analysis of neo-liberal ideologies demonstrate that the existence of many systemic and structural barriers in this system of human organisation mean that not everyone can 'do better' for themselves, not everyone can change their situation. Such analysis demonstrates that everyone is not born into the same social world with the same rights and freedoms. The world is *not* the level playing field that is implied in this rhetoric. My work in this thesis has been

to retell stories that illustrate the playing field is not level and highlight the uneven nature of the competitive framing of this version. In Chapter 3 I introduced the work of Paulo Freire as an example of an activist scholar whose work shows that many among us do not have access to this liberally inspired world of equal rights and freedoms. In Freire's experience and in his writing he demonstrated that those without privilege (in his case the pre-literate, those who could not yet read and write) lived their lives without comprehending the extent their personal lives were moulded by a world they could not access. Freire (1998) wrote about the process of illumination, or *conscientização*, through which the pre-literate co-enquirers he worked with came to be literate and to know something more of the world that they did not previously know. I introduced too, Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza who illustrates the ways in which access to this purported world of equal rights and freedoms is structurally and systemically unequal (Schüssler Fiorenza, 2001). She contends people demonstrate, and experience, domination in multiple ways through privilege of aspects of our humanity over which we can have little or no personal control such as parentage, skin colour, gender, class, sexuality, and religion. For example, in the 'Western' world, rather than all accessing the same rights and freedoms, being white is privileged over being other colours, being male is privileged over being female, being wealthy accords a certain high status, being heterosexual ensures that life is easier than it is for those of other sexualities, and being Christian is heralded as the right way to practice spirituality (Schüssler Fiorenza, 2001).

After reading organisational theorists, such as Stanley Deetz (2003) argue for social researchers to give 'voice' to the silenced (see Chapter 3), I gained a lexicon for thoughts long held. Silent voices in my younger years often belonged to bodies of brown boys; and in my more recent years, silent voices often belong to bodies of coloured women. Democracy, when it is acted out as a numbers game can be a silencing and unfair process for those without the numbers to assert their preferences. This is most obvious in the disparate experiences of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand when compared to the population as a whole. Despite decades of Māori focussed policy, Māori remain disproportionately represented among those who are poor, suffer from food insecurity and the many other life diminishing dynamics of contemporary life in Aotearoa New Zealand. Having to

win the supportive vote of the majority, be that to do with economic justice, social inclusion, or political clout, remains a contradiction to the espoused values of equality (or opportunity). Such competitiveness is presented as a great way to bring out the best in each individual and as a result, the best for the community, the nation, and the world. This representation of the common good in the rhetoric of neo-liberals, articulated through many proclaimed social, educational and organisational frames, is unjust (Humphries, 1998).

Deetz' (2003) posits that 'voice' in a story of our humanity must be more than just 'having a say' at election time. He writes that all stories are relational and contends that there is benefit in seeing them as adversarial (Deetz 2010).

Acknowledging conflict means accepting things such as different interests, variously preferred processes or incompatible hoped for outcomes. Deetz (2010) suggestion is to place adversity back into communication – because in seeking recourse to win-win, many an interest may be forgone, or many voices silenced. Rather than adversity for competition, Deetz (2010) adversity is to strengthen and support the position of the marginalized, dominated or oppressed or to give voice to the subaltern. Applied to my story(ing) of food access(ability) as individuals and families are increasingly pressed to rely on charity, charities, and governments to survive, their situations are marginalized and their voices go without amplification. To listen for the voices of vulnerable families, not as voices to be systemically assimilated, but as voices of insiders knowing of and refusing submission to a system that destroys, is a reformulation of The Subaltern Voice proposed by Humphries and McNicholas (2009). The privileged cannot speak *for* the subaltern. An assimilated subaltern cannot speak *as* subaltern. Both may serve to improve a situation as currently determined, to serve as a conduit for system-preserving assimilationist remedies. But these are not the only positions open to the currently privileged, peripheralised or subaltern. A space and place must be made for the voices from the periphery to be heard – not so as to further domesticate those on the margins but to learn with them what systemic transformations can be found so that the widely espoused values of equity, fairness and justice are universally manifest in our humanity.

The stories that explain, impose, or negotiate the means of survival, beliefs about the needs and desires of the vulnerable for adequate incomes and the capacity for

those incomes to achieve food security, become joined-at-the-hip narratives with storylines devised to serve other interests – the needs of the country to promote its tourism industry internationally, the needs of major businesses to be profitable, the needs of farmers to ‘feed the world’. Thus we end up with ‘capitalism +’. Capitalism, which suits the selective interests of some, + a ‘minimum life sustaining income’ or in an ‘improved determined’ situation it would be capitalism + a ‘living wage and a public education addendum’. So while food systems supposedly increase in size and complexity to *feed people*, a critical theory approach sees this benevolence joined-at-the-hip with organisational interests (and the people who run these organisations) to *increase profit*. Thus, in this purported unitary sense, food systems are deemed systems devised to generate money for many, and much money for a select few. There is much to be gained for the select few in promoting a false belief that there is universal benefit for all in these systems.

Freire’s (1998) notions of conscientização have been useful to growing my understanding of situations where people are motivated to grow in their awareness of marginalization and exclusion in their social worlds and are committed to challenging these oppressive structures and systems. Spivak’s (1988) work invites listening for the voices of the subaltern classes. Her ideas provoke much thought about positioning. I posit Spivak as arguing that once the subaltern can speak, they are no longer subaltern. The position of individuals and groups is rarely a matter of clear dualisms. Schüssler Fiorenza (2001) provides illustration that most human situations are multi layered with advantage shared amongst many. But I will leave an exploration into privilege for another day as potential future projects emanating from this work. In this work, I place the vulnerable center stage. I have presented a tale from Aotearoa New Zealand with international relevance. As New Zealand historians Cooper and Horan (2004) have stated “the vulnerability of women, children, the sick, the disabled, and the old” (p. 109) is a pattern repeated internationally in social research. Helping these individual and households from a neo-liberal market approach can mean calling on the ideals of individual freedom from state intervention and being able to purchase what one desires/prioritises on the ‘free market’. Locke’s (as cited in Magee, 2001) ideas demonstrate how social enterprises, charitable and non-profit market initiatives

then become appropriate ‘solutions’ from a neo-liberal market approach – every individual is assumed to have the opportunity to earn an income thus provide for their families; individuals make voluntary transactions in a ‘free and fair’ marketplace; and private and non-governments agents and agencies, not governments, are providers of assistance. From a critical theoretical perspective, these ‘solutions’ are further helpings of deprivation and marginalisation, and more worrying, they may contribute to further domination and subjugation of vulnerable families.

7.3 *highLighting Methodology and Method*

My tall order for methodology and method included that my research could contribute to addressing injustice and suffering, that my social research methods fitted with my life’s circumstances and that my overall approach was consistent with the transformational ideals of critical theorists. As I had my moment of panic and trial of method, I thought I could achieve statistical verification for a project, but I questioned the extent to which such results would address injustice and thus the ‘validity’ of a social research project in which I heralded the importance of ‘voice’ but did not have a space to represent the vulnerable. In my opinion, then, following that particular statistical process in this project I could *not* produce ‘valid’ results by my own critical transformative criteria. I sought other ways to validate my insights.

Guthman (2008) highlighted the notion that neo-liberal ideas have appealed to the politics of the left as well as to those of the right; thus the difficulty in offering alternatives to neo-liberal organising is that many alternatives “produce and reproduce neo-liberal forms” (p. 1171). Along with other social researchers who distinguish between current systems and alternatives, I found it useful to make three theoretical distinctions in organising my thoughts, taking into account Guthman’s caution. The three theoretical conceptualisations I considering given the vast array of system and organisational arrangements (in this case within food systems) are:

4. those already ‘determined’ measures which follow existing neo-liberal systems and forms;
5. those ‘improved determined’ ideas considered as alternative perspectives to existing ‘determined’ ones but that involve some measure of

improvement, a matter of fixing or changing the ‘determined’ system for the better; and

6. those ‘indeterminate’ perspectives where alternative initiatives or propositions could be considered but outcomes are unknown. However, I note that the intention of ‘indeterminate’ changes would be to challenge the neo-liberal basis of existing ‘determined’ arrangements.

I reason the extent to which any social researcher can contribute to transformative change while unintentionally participating in a system that dominates, marginalises or oppresses is the contemporary challenge for all activists with critical intent.

7.4 *re*Viewing Literature Characterising Food

For Paulo Freire (1998) education was not a neutral instrument. I apply Freire’s ideas to food systems, and my own theoretical distinctions, such that they can be deemed as ‘indeterminate’ and contributing to liberation or ‘determined’ and ‘improved determined’ which contribute to existing arrangements of domination. Contemporary critical theorists can help us consider the extent to which any initiative is system-preserving, working alongside and consistent with an existing systems, filling gaps and making improvements, or which any initiative is transformative in a Freirean sense (Guthman, 2008). People produce and reproduce neo-liberal ideas throughout many food systems, which I have reified and called ‘determined’; and people are variously disadvantaged throughout these ‘determined’ systems. For instance, I have given the example of major supermarkets offering ‘local food’. Local food in this supermarket context can be understood as system preserving – another cog in a ‘determined’ neo-liberal global food machine. Local food in a different context, of shorter supply chains, however can be understood as improving a ‘determined’ system. In an ‘improved determined’ local food approach, the goals for local are access to the neo-liberal marketplace; for example, valorisation of origin, marginalized food communities or practices are supported in getting ‘to market’ (Fonte, 2008). Initiatives such as farm gate sales and farmers markets might be deemed ‘indeterminate’ if in returning to historical arrangements and buying directly from the producer neo-liberal individual fundamentals of market relationships are radically transformed; aspects of a ‘determined’ food system are abandoned.

Corporations increasingly control food globally, from genes to seeds and production to consumption (Acres, 2011; Cole, 2007; Halweil, 2005; Hendrickson & Heffernan, 2002; Lyson & Raymer, 2000; Patel, 2009; Shiva, 2009a). Hildred and Pinto (2002 as cited in Hendrickson & Heffernan, 2002) note the pervasiveness and anti-competitive nature of global dominance by a corporate food elite. Alternative arrangements to a neo-liberal food system, such as an organic food approach, are often appropriated into the currently ‘determined’ system (Guthman, 2008; Hendrickson & Heffernan, 2002; Renting, Marsden & Banks, 2003; Sligh and Christman, 2003 as cited in Starr, 2010); thus becoming system-reinforcing, producing and reproducing the neo-liberal forms of ‘determined’ systems, rather than radically transforming a current determination to a system where sufficient, nutritious food is universally available for all.

Being fair and treating everyone as equal are important in my notion of just processes; where being fair means every opinion is treated as equal and this equality means hearing what is said. Deetz (2010) reminds us that letting everyone have their say is not the same as giving ‘voice’ to the vulnerable; the marginalized are still silenced in systems of ‘equality’ which do not adequately consider equity. Humphries (2013, personal communication) notes that the conceptualisation of ‘equality’ in neo-liberal discourse may be the Trojan Horse of our times, if in respecting ‘equality’ attention is focused on ‘making the same’ rather than respecting ‘equity’ in which difference is crucial. She contends ‘equity’ is a much more difficult social conversation to have. Currently the focus on ‘equality’ and sameness is dominating attention over ‘equity’ and fairness. From a neo-liberal approach, every vulnerable household has an ‘equal’ opportunity to gain employment; the ‘purportedly’ free market ensures fair reward for effort; thus vulnerable families are the masters of their own destinies, markets reward merit, and the neo-liberal outcomes which sees an increasing underclass of vulnerable families is a ‘fair’ indication of the workings of ‘the market’. Under these prevailing ideas, ‘market outcomes’ are not equitable, but may be considered equal as a measure of opportunity.

The contribution and offerings many food initiatives make to transformative change can be many and varied. For example, food citizenry initiatives offer

improved food systems planning and food policy, provide the foundations for community development, and through them involved individuals can make personal transformations (Feenstra, 2002; Kneafsey, 2010; Winne, 2008). But it is clear that the most significant contribution is to community democracy and representation and not to universal food security per se. These types of community initiatives can improve lots of things, but if they provide universal food security or improve food security for the vulnerable; it is done so as a side effect of improving the positioning of other groups. Through the ideas of Schüssler Fiorenza (2001) in this thesis I have come to understand a commitment to a joint course of action holds true for some people and communities, and not for others; for some people and communities, the most important word in community garden is community, while for other it is garden. People come to these places and spaces with different ideas, ideals and motivations and often do not want, and cannot take, the same things out of these interactions.

Time and money are required to garden and produce food at home, and lots of both to do it productively. Self-provisioning, through community and urban agriculture, is a method available to vulnerable households but studies show growing food at home is more often used by wealthier households to manage their food security (Schupp & Sharp, 2012; Teitelbaum & Beckley, 2006). Households with the lowest incomes are least likely to produce and prepare food at home (Schupp & Sharp, 2012; Teitelbaum & Beckley, 2006). The studies I reviewed showed gardening, self-provisioning, producing and preparing food at home is not a strategy preferred by vulnerable households to achieve food security. I suggest advocating these initiatives to alleviate food security for vulnerable households, in effect is not listening to the marginalised voices, and is a means by which wealthier households capture and further maintain their privilege. Based on my work in this thesis, I am now of the view that suggesting these initiatives as solutions may demonstrate approaches that offer equal opportunities and 'improve' systems but will not provide equitable or transformative outcomes. By all means, advocate and support gardening if vulnerable households are seeking this conscientização. However, 'teach us how to garden' was not the voice that I heard in my review.

Changes in how food is distributed and where it is distributed from have altered accessibility to wholesome, nutritious and affordable food for all (Caton Campbell, 2004) but disproportionately impact those with the lowest levels of discretionary income in our communities. Neo-liberal market (and many times, government) vagaries often change access to goods and services, which from a critical perspective means these goods and services are *less* accessible for those vulnerable households e.g., the closure of local supermarkets or fruit and vegetable shops, and changes to, or ceasing to operate, ‘uneconomic’ bus routes. Low-wage workers and low income households are the ones who suffer disproportionately from the social ‘wrongs’ of markets. Accommodation, food and medical costs are a significantly greater proportion of a lower income. Poor quality accommodation with heating issues, poor quality food with access issues, and inability to pay for medical expenses are some of the social ‘wrongs’ vulnerable families suffer. These ‘wrongs’ are shared equally among all families; they are borne largely by the vulnerable. Food desert and food swamp situations exist in low income suburbs, so that healthy food is virtually inaccessible for the vulnerable and when healthy food is available these items are more expensive than unhealthy options. Food deserts are an example of a ‘determined’ market system – there is insufficient ‘demand’ for supermarkets or healthy food outlets in low income suburbs and communities (Winne, 2008). For vulnerable households food deserts are a double bind – insufficient income to run a healthy household and less healthy food places to spend that limited income. The position of the privileged must be questioned in this continuing capture and maintenance of systems of ‘equality’ by those with access, skills and incomes.

The situation of Indian farmers contracted into GM seed arrangements (see Chapter 5), is an example of unjust corporate dominance and the privileging of neo-liberal ideology and market based approaches. Recalling Locke’s ideas, a corporation (as a legal individual) and a farmer enter into a contract voluntarily. The corporation has their rights (as legal owner of the GM seed) and their freedoms are protected by government. Liberation from small-holder farming is to be gained by making greater profit through small-holder farmer. The ideas of critical theorists help explain the subjugation of Indian farmers with GM seed agreements; the promise is of increased profits, which will lead to more capital,

which will lead to investments in income producing assets, which will free the farmer from the land; thus the world for the farmer is changed for the better and the capitalist system preserved. However this is no liberation from the yoke of prevailing neo-liberal ideals, nor is it emancipation from the type of capitalist systems that pervade societies globally; rather it is a move up the current 'determined' system and the system remains intact. While the vulnerable farmers who do not achieve this level of success may be left with failed crops, large debts and minds unable to contemplate an end to the misery, in their own lifetime.

Food programs are another way initiatives can improve the situation for some, and be system reinforcing and oppressing for others. Legislation, programs and people all contribute to the creation, and continuance, of food assistance programs that are questionable in an equitable fair system of food for all, such as the recently announced Food in Schools in New Zealand. As Fonterra, New Zealand's largest dairy co-operative, expand their milk in schools program nationwide, from the middle of 2013; is it timely to ponder if this initiative is an efficient, cost effective, and legally prudent way for such an organisation to dispose of surplus milk? Schüssler Fiorenza's (2001) theoretical approach illuminates this situation as one where the dominant parties in society, such as influential corporate or lobby groups, in being joined-at-the-hip to government funding, protect their position at the top of the kyriarchy. Vulnerable children, families, households and schools, remain as recipients of this corporate, government or charitable benevolence without control or autonomy. Instead, money and resources, time and energy should be put into food systems that are resilient and sustainable and that support the subjugated parties who are dominated within the kyriarchy. The paradox is that these programs through growing food banks and food assistance, and embedding systems of inequality are at the same time putting food in schools.

When profit seeking agents within the systems, be they growers, producers, processors, distributors, brokers and/or financiers, opt for products that attract premium returns, they prioritize growing produce for higher-income (profits) over growing produce for lower-income households (people). In profit seeking, joined-at-the-hip corporate interests also benefit from government initiatives to assist vulnerable families. Critical of industrial and chemical processes which have been devastating for some of the people of India, Shiva (2008) warns of the yoke that

has come with genetically engineered seeds agreements and the commodified, interchangeable nature of food. Schüssler Fiorenza (2001) shows us how these multiple stratifications for uses of food and neo-liberal ideals play a part in systems of domination – food for biofuel is prioritized because it is economically beneficial over food for factory farms which although economically beneficial is not as profitable as biofuel, whereas food for universal food security is left to struggle behind these more aggressive pursuits. In a neo-liberal food system everything is in competition, and the competitiveness of options is measured in terms of profitability. According to neo-liberal ideology, commodification of food is a simple matter of supply and demand – where there is a demand for food, the solution is to increase stock; in effect political and economic support should focus on increasing production and supply, reinforcing a productivist discourse (Rosin, 2013). In reflecting on differing interests, in this case of farmers and producers and eaters and consumers, the rights and needs of farmers and shareholder are often put first, prioritized over those of the consumer and the planet. Ideas from critical theorist Schüssler Fiorenza show us how in a system of self-preservation it is appropriate for wealthy individuals and organisations to benefit and protect their own place at the top; the interests of maximum profit are prioritized over all other interests, often to the detriment of people and the planet.

7.5 *reStor(y)ing Food in Aotearoa New Zealand*

I am concerned about things in life being re-balanced for those who currently live it unequally. For me the ideas of critical theorists help explain the situation in Aotearoa where ‘advantaged’ New Zealanders don’t appear to understand the position of those without advantage living lives not of their choosing that may be unjust and difficult to transform personally. So consciously and/or unconsciously the ‘advantaged’ chose to protect their own position at the expense of the ‘not-advantaged’ who have a disproportionate burden to bear in contending with social ‘wrongs’. Prevailing neo-liberal ideas about ability, access, equal rights and freedoms relieve those with advantage. And those without advantage struggle on under the weight of all the ‘shared’ barriers in this world where rights and freedoms are not equal.

This thesis was never intended to be about income poverty, but access to food, and the ability to access food, let alone healthy and nutritious food is inextricably

linked to income. Food insecurity exists for many families in New Zealand. At times, some people do not have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food or to any food at all. Some people are unable to live active and healthy lifestyles because of insufficient food or because the foods they eat lack adequate nutrition. The ideas of critical theorists help frame this notion of ‘cheap food, there for all’ as something of a falsehood. I still believe that money won’t solve all the food wrongs in these stories, and that increasing the income levels of the lowest income households may illuminate different social ‘wrongs’. But I have come to believe that increasing the income levels of the lowest socio-economic groups in Aotearoa will directly impact the food security of those households because level of income into the household is a significant determinant of the capacity of the household to produce or buy food. Thus income poverty is a fundamental consideration in the context of food insecurity in New Zealand.

Aside from housing, land in Aotearoa New Zealand is critical to the country as the base for primary production and tourism industries. Economic costs incurred in food production are often externalised. Accounting for the economic benefits that may accrue from food production does not take into account the impressions of the use of land on the wellbeing of some of the most vulnerable. All New Zealanders, and recent supply chain issues have shown potentially all global residents, are impacted by these externalities. To question the integrity of the intensive agriculture and dairy industries would mean challenging the doctrines of established neo-liberal ideas of scale, efficiency, competitiveness and profit maximisation. I argue here that the commons of land and water are being permanently and detrimentally affected by the extent to which neo-liberal ideals are being followed by profit seeking organisations in productivist industries in Aotearoa New Zealand. My contention is that intensive production agriculture, forestry and horticulture are harmful to many of the lands, waters and peoples of New Zealand

Much food that is accessible and available in Aotearoa New Zealand is unhealthy. Many people are suffering health related wrongs through lack of nutrition. Others are suffering through lack of food. Many agents and agencies provide hunger relief because many households do not have sufficient income to afford adequate,

nutritious food (Wynd, 2005). Research is clear and consistent – fed children do better at school than hungry children and improved nutrition will result in improved attendance at school, behaviour at school and long term academic performance (Anscombe, 2009). I consider there are many opportunities to improve the brain capital of the future. I do see providing food as part of addressing the “wrongs” of the current situation – providing immediate and temporary hunger relief will improve the current ‘determined’ arrangements which see no, little, or unhealthy food in the homes of New Zealand’s vulnerable.

In this discussion of unhealthy food in homes, I am not talking about the eating habits of those New Zealanders who can access healthy food but for other reasons do not do so, e.g. as I rush to submit this thesis, I am a time poor parent for whom unhealthy takeaway food has been an easy and affordable option. I am talking about the lives of vulnerable families who may not have the ability, skill and/or capability to access and provide healthy food. I argue a role for ‘advantaged’ adults; they are the ones with incomes and the numbers to create consumer pressure, they are the ones with the skills and abilities to understand and change politics and policies and to challenge existing institutions and their rules and regulations. I ponder the sense of injustice that ‘advantaged’ New Zealand feels when seeing television programs on poverty, and the misplaced advocacy that sees that sense of injustice relieved by a credit card donation to an associated charity placed or an extra can of food for the food bank. I am convinced that many among us (yes, I count myself among the fortunate, as I enjoy many advantages) need to respect our positions of comfort, influence and privilege for the better of all New Zealanders. As previously mentioned, there is potential for an exploration into privilege as a future project emanating from this work.

Recent attention has been given by private agencies, charities and advocates, and government to a re-prioritisation in social spending and food redistribution systems; ways that food is redistributed within New Zealand society to get to where it is needed most. Government and charitable assistance services provide unreliable food relief for households suffering the social wrongs of not having enough food. The approach taken to these ‘wrongs’ does have an impact as illustrated in the stories of Michelle MacArthur (2013) and the school lunch program^x she runs, and the Yendarra School community change (Dunlop, 2012). I

applaud Michelle MacArthur's sincerity – she runs that program at her own expense, nearly bankrupting herself in the process of providing free meals for hungry children. A critical lens applied to these differing perspectives highlights one as system transcending, and the other as system-preserving, and in this I am critical of the approach taken by many well-meaning citizens and companies providing food to New Zealand schools. Freire wrote about a conscientização, where people transform their own realities, and the contrast between such an approach and a 'helping' mindset is evident in the examples of MacArthur and Dunlop. I am in no doubt the lives of the children in MacArthur's school are enhanced by the healthy school meal her program provides, and the 'improved' approach to a current determination. But if MacArthur leaves, no change has occurred in the families who are part of the social 'wrong'. However, the families involved with Yendarra School have made an 'indeterminate' change themselves, from no food or unhealthy lunches to 98-100% of children bringing a healthy school lunch (Dunlop, 2012). A paradox is posed though as this transformative 'indeterminate' change from dependent to resilient families in effect is also an 'improved determined' change as it reinforces the neo-liberal ideal of self-reliance and reduced support from society and government. Breakfasts and milk will appear in many New Zealand schools from 2013 due to collaboration between corporate interests and government. I argue in this thesis the same type of 'joined-at-the-hip' practice evident in the United States is appearing in Aotearoa. The allocation of government funding to connected corporates will aid in the creation of the same system that may see New Zealand with our own Breakfast Giants. If the school communities had been given a choice might they have opted to do something small scale and local, like Susan Dunlop and the staff and families at Yendarra School, and work with their communities to affect changes in their families, not just changes in their families' circumstances?

From a neo-liberal approach, foodbanks and supplementary food programs are not appropriate 'solutions' to current social wrongs as third parties share responsibility for individual hunger. Individuals are deemed to be on their own to provide for their own needs, which they can all do in this system which sees everyone as having equal access and opportunities. The existence of foodbanks and supplementary food programs can be recognized as a government failure,

only if the government is deemed responsible for looking after the food needs of its' citizens. From a critical perspective though, hunger, food insecurity and poverty are needs of the vulnerable that are not being met under the current 'determined' system, and our critical challenge is to work together and move on from hunger-reaction programs to long term sustainable food security (Winne, 2008). I consider the place for food banks in a socially just Aotearoa is one of *emergency* food assistance, for disasters and circumstances of misfortune or plain bad luck. The meteoric rise of foodbank use in times of prosperity leads me to argue that food banks are becoming institutionalized within New Zealand society. I argue foodbanks and similar initiatives are becoming embedded as part of the strategies that governments use to forego responsibility for vulnerable and food insecure households because of neo-liberal ideology and because they are a suitable avenue for the time and resources of 'advantaged' New Zealanders. I think even financially prudent parents, with skills and discipline, would find it difficult to feed a family of four on a weekly budget of \$83. Inadequate income, or income poverty, is affecting the ability of families in New Zealand to achieve food security. We need to increase incomes, not the size and scope of foodbank systems

7.6 Conclusion

In being mindful of the uncritical use and further embedding of limited and limiting categorisations (Deetz, 1996), I have provided a conceptualisation and applied this conceptualisation to neo-liberal market approaches that prevail and pervade currently 'determined' food systems. Through this conceptualisation, I have illuminated the many ways vulnerable individuals and households are disadvantaged through and by current 'determined' systems and arrangements. In this thesis I have characterised their food stories and given a space for these stories of the positioning of the vulnerable to be told. These conceptualisations can also be used as guide to considering the extent to which initiatives or alternative approaches can improve or fix existing arrangements or potentially transcend a current determination.

Critical to the outcomes of this thesis was the openness and fluidity with which I approached the process. This flexibility and uncertainty enabled my focus to broaden, an aspect usually seen as negative for 'good' research, and was

positively a benefit for what I set out to do. I hope to have honoured the work of critical researchers who came before me, and to have laid and turned some soil for those who will come after me.

Ngā mihi. Kia ora.

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9 Appendix 1: N-Vivo Articles

SOUTHLAND TIMES — 04 DEC 2012 Edition 1, Page 6

Boxes ready for food donations

Mosgiel Community Food Bank co-ordinator Michelle Kerr, pictured, is looking forward to filling plenty of boxes with food donated during the Mosgiel Community Food Bank Christmas food drive, which is scheduled for Monday, December 10.

The door-to-door collection will start at 6pm.

Emergency vehicles and club volunteers will move through the streets gathering the donated food.

The drive will cover Mosgiel, East Taieri, Kinmont, Allanton, Outram, Brighton, Green Island, Abbotsford, Sunnyvale and Fairfield with people asked to listen for the sirens in their street.

Mrs Kerr said there would also be a drop-off point at PGG Wrightson Outram for people in the outlying areas of Henley, Berwick, Lee Stream and Middlemarch.

The food bank always appreciates long-life staples such as baked beans, spaghetti, canned tomatoes, fruit and pasta, as well as Christmas treats.

Milo, coffee, tea, biscuits, soap, toothpaste, toilet paper, sugar, flour and baking powder are also needed.

The food bank, which caters for the greater Taieri area, has a client base of 300 households and on average, distributes about \$60,000 of food parcels each year.

Demand is high at the moment with the food bank distributing, on average, more than 50 parcels a month.

A food parcel for a family of four contains about \$100 of food and is designed to last five days. PHOTO: MICHAEL BEAUMONT

Part: 0

Section: NEWS

Sub-Section: NATIONAL

) Fairfax New Zealand Limited 2010, Southland Times

Merivale homestead where violent

In the heart of one of Christchurch's most affluent suburbs lies a halfway house for New Zealand's most violent criminals. The Salisbury St Foundation hit national headlines last month when two residents escaped. OLIVIA CARVILLE reports.

The men who live at the Salisbury St Foundation look fearsome.

Most bear facial tattoos and scars and have missing teeth. They often speak in broken English and walk with an institutionalised swagger learnt in a life where weakness is despised.

The men who live at the Salisbury St Foundation carry their histories on their faces.

Some are recidivist offenders. Some are rapists. Some are murderers. They have spent years behind bars.

The men who live at the Salisbury St Foundation know their crimes are too heinous to forget.

They come from horrific backgrounds and they have been hardened by the prison culture.

Many of the men appear irredeemable, but their defiant attitudes are being diluted; they have walked away from all that was once familiar and they have called out for the help to change.

Salisbury St Foundation is a residential centre founded by a former inmate who saw the need to support prisoners as they reintegrated into an ever-changing society.

Rather than freeing prisoners and sending them back to their old neighbourhood, their old friends and their old ways, the foundation provides a therapeutic transition into a world that many of the residents had never known existed.

Grown men are told to brush their teeth twice a day, to wear deodorant and to wash their clothes. They are taught how to cook and clean.

And they are given an identity - many have never had a bank account, held a driver's licence or applied for the benefit before.

Within the two-storey white homestead, some of New Zealand's nastiest men are born again.

The 11-bedroom halfway house is unexpectedly on the fringe of Merivale's upmarket shopping precinct and, in the past three decades, hundreds of notorious killers, sexual predators and recidivist criminals have called the upper-class suburb home.

Most of the residents are in the high-risk classification.

But they have all committed to change, graduated from violence prevention programmes in prison and been screened by the Corrections Department before being accepted into the suburban centre.

Upon arrival, they are forced to abide by the foundation's "zero tolerance to violence", are supervised 24/7, live by daily rosters, fulfil their cleaning and cooking responsibilities and attend group therapy sessions.

They are not allowed cellphones or computers.

If any resident threatens violence, they are discharged and usually sent back to prison immediately. There is no leniency when it comes to violence.

Lyn Voice has sat at the helm of the foundation for more than a decade and has weathered many storms.

She is a large woman with a formidable presence.

"You know what these guys have done but when they sit down and talk to you, you can't believe they did it," she says.

The director endured a similar childhood to many of the residents and has earned the respect of her colleagues and the parolees.

Her chosen line of work has exposed her to some "pretty hardcore thugs" and she has feared for her life at times, but never from the residents she works with - it's the men who are rejected from the centre and sent back to prison that she fears.

Voice says the residents at the foundation usually try to keep a low profile while they carry out their parole term.

"The guys don't hang out at the gate or down the driveway. They don't want to frighten people and there are guys in the group that you would just look at and feel intimidated by," she says.

But when two high-risk residents allegedly absconded from the property in the dead of night on November 7, a national spotlight turned on the halfway house.

Ivan Campbell, 46, and Jaydon Galland, 18, were on the run for almost a week before being caught by police in Arthur's Pass. Campbell was jailed in 2001 after chaining up a teenage boy in a wardrobe and tattooing and sexually abusing him.

Campbell had been at the foundation for a few months and when Voice heard he had left, she was not only "gutted" for him but also for his family, the other residents and her staff.

The residential centre quickly attracted headlines such as "residents live in fear of crims" and Voice says the attention was "horrible for everyone here".

A few weeks after Campbell's arrest, he wrote to Voice from prison apologising and thanking her and the foundation for "treating him like a human being".

Before Campbell and Galland, there had only been one other resident who had breached his parole conditions and fled the centre, and that was in the past year. He was caught within 20 minutes, Voice said.

It was unusual for residents to abscond from the property because of the rigorous process they had to go through to get accepted.

"Most of the guys are proud to be here. A lot of them say it's the best thing they have ever done and that without this place they would not have made it. Their ultimate goal is to get out of here," she says.

Voice has no fear challenging the residents to live with their labels.

"For someone who has taken a life or is a sex offender, they will be seen as a violent person forever and they need to accept the facts - they won't be able to get rid of those labels."

One paroled murderer read a newspaper article about his victim's family calling for him to be sent back to prison and he told the group that the family needed to "get over it, it's 18 years ago".

Voice had silenced him when she asked: "Who is it for you to say when someone should get over their grief? Especially when you caused that grief."

She knows the crimes these men have committed, she knows the extent of their violence, she knows what can make them snap, but she is also privy to their vulnerabilities, fears and regrets.

Voice recalled shopping at The Warehouse with one "lifer" who was freed a few years ago. He had spent 18 years in prison, it was his first week out and she was helping him buy underwear.

When the shop assistant approached him to ask if he needed help, the man had recoiled and begged Voice to "please get me out of this shop".

Once outside, she asked him what had happened and he said he couldn't understand the underwear sizing and was too embarrassed to ask for help.

Another former "lifer" had walked out of a bank asking "what the hell is an eftpos card" when the teller refused to give him a bank book.

Others used to go grocery shopping at 2am to avoid crowds, she says.

On group outings some residents have been recognised and screamed at by strangers in public; residents have also been asked to leave restaurants because they were scaring other customers.

When the residential centre was damaged in the September earthquake, no motel would accept the men. Their gym was closed down after the quake and no other gym in Christchurch will give the group a membership.

"We know we are a minority. We know what it feels like to be rejected and we understand why," she says.

Any public group outings are planned in advance and the residents are never taken anywhere near children. They often go mountainbiking through the forest or tramping around the South Island, she says.

Several of the foundation's residents work fulltime during their parole, and Voice says a few work for demolition companies in the red zone.

The residents also work at food banks and support the local church by setting up Christmas and Easter decorations each year.

Two staff members are former residents who now act as role models, and graduates are often invited back for dinner to catch up with staff.

One former resident is a well-known Christchurch businessman who sponsors foundation graduates. The Corrections Department and part of the residents' dole payments help fund the centre.

Living in a safe community is not necessarily about "locking people up and throwing away the key", Voice says. It's important not to hide away "what doesn't look good or behave the right way".

"Most of the men in prison are damaged, so how do you expect them to live in your community and not damage others? These are the men that will potentially hurt our children and if they haven't got the skills or values to care for children, what more can you expect from them?"

Sixty-five per cent of the men who graduate from the foundation's programme do not go on to reoffend, and Voice believes the residential centre makes the community a safer place.

"This is about giving them a chance rather than throwing them to the gutter like they always have been." She hopes that one day residential centres such as the Salisbury St Foundation will be part of New Zealand's prisoner release programme.

CAPTION:

Gained respect: Salisbury St Foundation director Lyn Voice in the courtyard outside the Merivale residential centre. She has met some "pretty hardcore thugs" in her line of work.

Picture: DON SCOTT/FAIRFAX NZ

The basics: The residents at Salisbury St Foundation are taught how to cook, clean and brush their teeth. One resident cooked a stir-fry for dinner week.

Part: A

Section: NEWS

Sub-Section: NATIONAL

) Fairfax New Zealand Limited 2010, The Press

Helpers needed to keep Kaikohe in the pictures

A small group of dedicated Kaikohe residents urgently needs more volunteers to help keep the town's cinema open.

When Castle Duo shut down two months ago a determined group of townspeople banded together to re-open the twin-screen theatre as a community cinema.

Their first screening on November 7 was a sell-out Watties Cans Festival, at which 250 cans of food were donated to go to the Salvation Army's food bank; while on November 22 more than 70 women dressed in their finest to attend a ladies' night featuring the movie Magic Mike and bubbly served in pink glasses. And thanks to the volunteers' efforts Kaikohe residents will be among the first in the world to see *The Hobbit*, with the first screening at 12.01am on December 12.

The building's owner, Lynn Burson, said she had been amazed by the amount of work a small core of volunteers had put in to keep the cinema open for the Kaikohe community.

“Their teamwork plus their faith in Kaikohe is very humbling to witness. Between them they've worked relentlessly to try and keep your Castle Duo open,” she said.

The volunteers had had to learn a huge amount, from the best form of legal entity for a community cinema to the specialist skills of the cinematography trade, and were digging into their own pockets to get it under way.

However, the volunteers, who also had their own businesses to run, desperately needed more help to run the front-of-house and the projectors. Currently the cinema was open for 20 sessions a week from Friday to Sunday, a workload that needed to be shared.

Mrs Burson said the former operator, Ben Wilson, had allowed his equipment to remain in place and had been training the volunteers to use the “ancient” 1970s projectors.

By mid-2013 35mm films would no longer be supplied and the cinema would have to upgrade to digital projectors. The new technology would mean a wider range of movies, allowing the cinema to cater to more mature audiences as well as young people's insatiable appetite for blockbusters, but it didn't come cheap.

Mrs Burson said plans were in place to upgrade the entire building, starting with an initial digital projector in May 2013. Quotes were still being gathered but it was expected to cost around \$80,000.

Plans were also afoot for better seating but patrons would have to be tolerant of the slightly uncomfortable seats for a while longer.

Many places around New Zealand were in a similar situation, she said. Some fortunate areas had councils financially able to make their cinemas part of their town assets, while in other places, such as Kaikohe, citizens were banding together, fundraising or volunteering to keep their cinemas open.

Several fundraising initiatives were under way, such as the \$110 club, which gave buyers discounted rates for movies and confectionery. Loyalty cards were already available.

With more than 30 per cent of Kaikohe's population under 15, it was important to keep the cinema open, Mrs Burson said.

If you can help email Waa Whareaitu of Trumps Cafe at waa@castleduocinemas.co.nz or call (09) 401 2816. You can also call Carolyn Penney at Kaikohe Panelbeaters on (09) 401 0155. To see The Hobbit on opening night, December 12, the cinema recommends pre-booking to avoid queuing on the night. Go to www.castleduocinemas.co.nz and follow the link.

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01-cinema

Salvation Army and Tranz Metro team up

Press Release: KiwiRail 29-11-2012 11:42

(Culture; Newsworthy; Charities;)

Media release

Salvation Army and Tranz Metro team up to deliver the Goodwill Express

The Salvation Army's Christmas food bank appeal is being backed by KiwiRail's Tranz Metro staff who have volunteered their time to provide a special train for collections this Saturday 1 December.

After a break last year, the Express is back and members of the public are being asked to bring their non-perishable contributions and hand them over to the "Sallies" at one of the stations.

"The Goodwill Express train will be stopping for a few minutes at every station between Wellington and Upper Hutt, Wellington and Waikanae, and Wellington and Johnsonville on Saturday to collect food donations for those less fortunate. Tranz Metro staff have volunteered to man the special train for collections.

KiwiRail are also providing support by paying for the operating costs of the Goodwill Express.

Tranz Metro Manager Scott Brooks says the Goodwill Express began as a simple idea by Tranz Metro train staff to collect some contributions to improve the Christmas of those in need and use one of the trains to help.

"Their enthusiasm and determination has been such that it quickly grew into the Goodwill Express, using the distinctive old red English Electric units. This year however, instead of the older red English Electric units used in the past, the Goodwill Express will be a four-car Matangi service," Mr Brooks says.

Tranz Metro Train Managers Wayne Bedford and Gary Innes are the driving forces in the staff initiative which will see dozens of volunteers working to make the appeal a success.

"Having been involved in similar projects with The Salvation Army over a number of years, I am pleased to have the Goodwill Express back after having last year off," says Wayne Bedford. "It's all about people helping people."

ENDS

Generous spirit alive and well in Rotorua

ONE OF the best things about our annual Christmas Appeal is seeing first-hand the generosity of locals willing to help out those less fortunate. This year we're supporting the Salvation Army food bank.

From the appeal recipients and their tireless work for the needy, to the volunteers _ including fire staff and Richies staff _ who pounded the streets on Tuesday night, and our appeal co-ordinator Abbey Hartevelt, people are somehow finding that extra bit of time needed to make a difference for others they, for the most part, wouldn't even know.

And that's just one side of it.

To say the generosity of those who gave to the appeal was astounding is perhaps a bit unfair. Because year after year, appeal after appeal the people of Rotorua consistently give generously. It's no surprise when you do so again.

Behind nearly every door I knocked on the other night was a resident who managed to find something in the cupboards, often a full shopping bag's worth of goods.

Others didn't even let us get to the doors, hearing the whoop of the fire siren and rushing out to meet us at the kerb with their donations.

But best of all were those who jumped in their cars and raced up the street to find us in our distinctive fluoro vests, making sure we didn't miss their contribution.

We couldn't get to every suburb so there's a good chance we didn't come down your street, but you can still give to the appeal.

Donations can be made at our Hinemoa St office between 8am and 5pm on weekdays. People can donate money or non-perishable food. Food donations can also be made at the Salvation Army's Community Ministries at Community House on Haupapa St.

If any organisations or individuals are organising a can drive or fundraising event, please let us know by contacting Abbey on (07) 348 6199 ext 57049 or email abbey.hartevelt@dailypost.co.nz.

Hero medals for volunteers

A community-minded pair from Nelson are being celebrated as local heroes.

Michael Gibson who manages Nelson's food bank and Coral Haussmann who volunteers for Nelson organisations are among 13 regional winners of the Local Heroes category which is part of the Kiwibank New Zealander of the Year Awards 2013.

They received their awards at a function in Marlborough last night.

Kaikoura MP Colin King congratulated them saying it was vital the community continued to acknowledge the contributions they made.

Mr Gibson was acknowledged for putting his heart into the Nelson food bank's growth and development.

He started as a volunteer but now manages the centre fulltime, unpaid.

He organised a move to new premises and co-ordinated a food drive to help with increased demand.

"In the words of his nominator, Nelson needs people like Michael Gibson as they help build a stronger community. Michael has always been passionate about his community and has volunteered at nursing homes, reading and being a friend to many," Mr King said.

Mrs Haussmann was toasted as an energetic and lively senior citizen, who spends most of her week working, mainly voluntarily, for various organisations including the Nelson Music Theatre, the Nelson Hospice, and is an active member of the Seniors Club in Nelson.

In the past two years following the Christchurch quakes and the subsequent relocation of the Get Smart Youth Conference from Christchurch to Nelson, she had risen to the challenge to provide food for up to 100 youth for five days at a time.

"What makes Coral's contribution to the greater community so outstanding is not one big thing but rather the ongoing accumulation and the sum of many contributions where she quietly serves day after day, week after week and year after year.

"She has just celebrated her 70th birthday and there is no sign of tiring or slowing down."

Golden Bay Plunket community nurse Helen Bracefield is also to receive a Local Hero Award but was not at last night's function.

Mrs Bracefield, of Takaka, is described as a local icon, going above and beyond her role as a Plunket community nurse and never turning away anyone in need of help. She had served the Golden Bay community for a long time and had to overcome dyslexia.

Her nominator said, "She has a real passion for the safety and well-being of all people in her care."

Next month a judging panel will announce the 10 Local Heroes semifinalists with the three finalists to be announced in the New Year.

CAPTION:

Special honour: Michael Gibson and Coral Haussmann with their local hero awards.

Picture: SCOTT HAMMOND/FAIRFAX NZ

Part: 0

Section:NEWS

Sub-Section: NATIONAL

) Fairfax New Zealand Limited 2010, Nelson Mail

Wattie's Cans Film Festival Nets 43,000+ Cans!

Press Release: Wattie's Cans Film Festival 21-11-2012 16:20

(Culture; Retail; Film; Events; Charities; Community NGO Sector;)

21 November 2012

Wattie's Cans Film Festival Nets 43,000+ Cans!

Movie goers around the country provided a helping hand to fellow New Zealanders when they donated a total of 21,532 cans for The Salvation Army at the annual Wattie's Cans Film Festival held on the 7th of November.

Around 20,000 people flocked to local movie theatres around the country, where they swapped a can for a movie ticket. Wattie's then generously matches this donation with cans of its own, making a total of 43,064 cans. All cans go towards helping The Salvation Army stock up its food banks to assist New Zealanders in need over the busy Christmas period.

"We have been overwhelmed with the support the Festival has received," says Salvation Army Secretary for Social Services Major Pam Waugh. "This Christmas with increasing financial hardship affecting a wider cross-section of the population the need for our services will be greater than ever before," she says.

"We'd like to thank each and every person who took part in the Wattie's Cans Film Festival, and who donated food to help our food banks meet the expected demand over Christmas. In the last 12 months (financial year end figures as at 30 June 2012) 30,938 families and individuals received food parcels, so this generous donation of cans will help us ensure that all Kiwis are well looked after during the Christmas period."

Movie fans were treated to family blockbuster movies generously donated by EVENT Cinemas, Hoyts Cinemas, Reading Cinemas and independent cinemas, at over 40 locations across the country.

www.watties.co.nz | www.facebook.com/wattiescansfilmfestival

ENDS

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Accounting firm spreads Christmas cheer

By: Collette Devlin

WHK offices in Southland, Otago and the Queenstown Lakes District will donate \$16,500 to food banks in the region instead of giving clients Christmas gifts.

WHK Southland managing principal Neil McAra said the accounting company's clients were happy to support the initiative, which was now in its fifth year.

Christmas was a time to help Southlanders in need, who were less fortunate than others, he said.

WHK donated the value of client gifts, plus extra cash to food banks.

"WHK and its clients see this as a way of supporting and giving back to the community we are involved with, especially in these difficult financial times," said.

He said food banks had said they were delighted with the donations because they were getting early requests for food parcels.

Southland food bank charitable trust chairman Peter Swain said the donation of \$3500 to his food bank would take the pressure off.

In September the food bank supplied 162 parcels to 486 people and during October, it gave out 182 parcels to 546 people.

Last December the food bank gave out 182 parcels to feed 546 people. Mr Swain expected to see the same pattern this Christmas.

Each parcel cost about \$130 to put together, he said.

"Each month we have to buy \$3000 more than the canned food donated, to buy perishable food such as meat, which is expensive."

Mr Swain said there was a high demand for food parcels at Christmas and all food banks in the region were experiencing some surge in demand.

He urged people to look out for food bank baskets in supermarkets and make a donation coming up to Christmas.

Winton Lets Link Food Bank (Salvation Army Winton) were given a donation of \$500.

Volunteer Ken Galt said about 20 food parcels were given out each month in Winton. Extra Christmas cheer parcels were also given to help struggling families.

The WHK donation would help with the yearly costs, he said.

Alexandra Salvation Army community ministry support worker Deidre Snodgrass said the army was grateful for the \$1000.

Last Christmas 94 parcels were given out around Alexandra, Ranfurly, Cromwell and Roxburgh.

WHK donated \$500 to Wanaka Alpine Community Development Trust.

Heartland Services co-ordinator Barbara Jungen is based at the trust. "The money will go towards meat, fruit and vegetables for the food parcels and Christmas hampers," she said.

There were many families in the Wanaka region in need. Last year the trust gave out 60 Christmas hampers and food for a Christmas meal, she said.

Other WHK donations were made to Queenstown Salvation Army (\$2000), Gore Salvation Army (\$500), Fiordland Community Care Fund (\$500), Dunedin Anglican Family Care food bank (\$4000), Mosgiel food bank (\$1000), Milton Taieri Christian Care Trust (\$1000) and Oamaru Churches food bank (\$2000).

collette.devlin@stl.co.nz

CAPTION:

Time to help: WHK Southland managing principal Neil McAra, left, and Southland food bank charitable trust chairman Peter Swain get ready for the Christmas rush.

Picture: JOHN HAWKINS/FAIRFAX NZ 627341901

Part: 0

Section:NEWS

Sub-Section: NATIONAL

) Fairfax New Zealand Limited 2010, Southland Times

Foodbank needs year-end top up

By: Lucy Townend

FOOD DRIVE INFORMATION

The food drive runs from 4pm to 6pm. Items such as the following are needed:

Dried and tinned food such as cereal, rice, pasta, flour, sugar, tea, coffee, drink sachets, milk powder, dried fruit, vegetables, fruit, meat, fish and baking ingredients.

Soap, hair products, sanitary protection.

Items for babies, including food, nappies, wetwipes.

Household cleaners, toilet paper, lunchwrap.

Please double-bag donations if it is raining. White New World shopping bags with orange food drive stickers will be delivered to households by the end of this week, but any plastic bag put out will be collected. Collectors will ring bells and sirens to alert households that they're in the neighbourhood.

Palmerston North residents are being advised to check their letterboxes because plastic bags with a bright orange stickers showing the slogan, "get in the mood . . . fill me with food", should be arriving this week.

They're being delivered courtesy of Palmerston North's food banks, which are encouraging people to give generously for their annual food drive on Saturday.

The Salvation Army and Methodist Social Services are teaming up once more to refill and restock their supplies to help the city's most needy.

Salvation Army community ministries manager Kevin Richards said normally 150 parcels get handed out every month, but the demand in December increases to nearly 500 food parcels.

He has appealed to people to spare a few items from their cupboard to help others this Christmas.

"If you eat it and if you use it, then people who are struggling to feed their families will too.

"They're not any different to us, they're just having a hard time putting food on the table."

The drive has been rewarding in the past, with more than 50,000 food items collected last year.

Mr Richards was hopeful this year's haul would top that number.

"People are happy to support the food drive because we all understand that people need to eat.

"When times get tougher, people want to help more and they dig a little deeper and giving to the food bank is a relatively easy way to help," he said.

Come rain or shine, more than 200 volunteers will be trawling the streets sounding sirens and collecting bags.

Mr Richards said any non- perishable items would be accepted.

CAPTION:

Make a difference: Salvation Army community ministries manager Kevin Richards makes room in the store cupboard for the annual food drive on Saturday.

Picture: DAVID UNWIN/FAIRFAX NZ

Part: 0

Section:NEWS

Sub-Section: NATIONAL

) Fairfax New Zealand Limited 2010, Manawatu Standard

Thanks

Anglican Care South Canterbury would like to take this opportunity to thank the very generous people within our communities of Timaru, Geraldine, Temuka, Fairlie, and Twizel for their continued support for our services within these areas.

Our programmes and counselling services continue to work to capacity and we, like many community, not-for-profit organisations, continue to appreciate and to some point rely on donations from the wider community.

In recent months we saw a significant increase in donations to the Brown Paper Bag Appeal, run in partnership with the Christchurch City Mission and New World.

In recent weeks we have run our annual Street Day Appeal, which saw a 10 per cent increase, raising the total this year to \$1636 on the day. By the time this goes to print, we will have participated in the Toot For Tucker Food Bank Appeal.

We would again want to thank the Timaru Suburban Lions Club for organising this in support of the food banks in Timaru.

Well done, South Canterbury!

GWENDA KENDREW

Divisional manager

Anglican Care South Canterbury

Part: 0

Section:FEATURES

Sub-Section: LETTERS

) Fairfax New Zealand Limited 2010, Timaru Herald

No headline: talkie16

The spirit of giving has already hit the Western Bay.

On page A3 today, we report that the Tauranga Chamber of Commerce has thrown its support behind the Bay of Plenty Times Christmas Appeal 2012, which aims to raise funds for the food bank and assist those who are in need this festive season.

The business development organisation is spear-heading the efforts of businesses while challenging other companies to get involved too.

One business that has already jumped on board is Tauranga law firm Cooney Lees Morgan, which donated a van load of food last year.

An information panel detailing how you too can get involved can be found on page A3 of today's paper.

Thank you for your support.

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talkie16

Lions' initiatives benefit community

Middle Districts Lions Club Palmerston North has been working for the community for more than 40 years and has 50 members.

Between them, they present an amazing skill set that helps to get things done.

They've made some significant contributions to the local community and also for disaster relief, such as the Christchurch earthquake.

They've been big supporters of Palmerston North's Relay for Life and have also contributed substantially to Ronald McDonald House in Wellington.

The Middle Districts Lions Club is also the initiator of annual Palmerston North Food Bank drives.

The considerable donations Middle District Lions have raised during four decades have been achieved through some strategic thinking. By investing in their mobile food caravan, for example, they've had a valuable resource to participate and fundraise at many local community events.

The Middle Districts Lions food caravan sells hot chips, coffee, tea and cold drinks. It has attended 15 events this year, raising about \$16,000 to return to the community.

By partnering with UCOL's trade students, the Middle Districts Lions Club is able to make even more funds for reinvesting in the community, auctioning the finished house through JVL Prestige Real Estate.

"The proceeds from this auction will be split in three ways," says Russell Gibson, Middle Districts Lions Club president.

"Some will go towards providing the drapes for Ronald McDonald House in Wellington, some to help pay for the recent eye operation for Terrea Lucas, a young local lass who needed an urgent eye operation to prevent her going blind and didn't qualify for government funding.

"A portion also is to help upgrade our food caravan."

Russell says the caravan is seen regularly at the Central Districts Field Days, Relay for Life and at the many market days, but is in need of refurbishment or replacement.

CAPTION:

To market: Middle Districts Lions Club Palmerston North is involved in market days in The Square.

Part: 0

Section:FEATURES

) Fairfax New Zealand Limited 2010, Manawatu Standard

Can film festival food for thought

By: Mathew Grocott

Film-goers will help Palmerston North's poor families put food on the table when they head to the cinema tomorrow night.

The annual Watties Can Film Festival at Downtown Cinemas sold out in the weekend with nearly 1100 tickets snapped up.

Rather than paying cash for their tickets movie-goers bring in a can of tinned food, which is passed on to the Salvation Army's food bank.

Cinema chief executive Paul Wood said the response this year had been fantastic, with most people bringing in more than one can.

Mr Wood said people appreciated the opportunity to come to the movies for little cost while helping the community. For the company, it was an opportunity to give something back to the community.

Salvation Army community ministries manager Kevin Richards said events such as the film festival were vital for keeping the food bank stocked.

"These events make a huge difference to our food bank, it's a great thing that people can help us on the one hand, and get to see a movie on the other. It's going to help us to meet the high demand of needy families in our community."

The food bank provided on average 150 donations a month; this increased to 500 during December.

To help with the high demand at food banks at Christmas, the annual Palmerston North food drive is being held on November 24. Mr Richards said people should keep an eye out for the arrival in their letterbox of plastic bags to be used on the day.

CAPTION:

Hot ticket: Cans of chilli beans are among the food items swapped for movie tickets at Downtown Cinemas, says chief executive Paul Wood.

Picture: MURRAY WILSON/FAIRFAX NZ

Part: 0

Section:NEWS

Sub-Section: NATIONAL

) Fairfax New Zealand Limited 2010, Manawatu Standard

Stunning food bank response

The Nelson Community Food Bank Trust wishes to express its heartfelt thanks to all the people of Nelson who so generously donated food and money during the recent New World Food Drive. The food drive came at a time when stock was low and the donations are a much needed boost to our operations.

The response was overwhelming. Over 700 bags of non-perishable food were donated as well as over \$1000 in cash. The food bank shelves are looking good and as the demand increases in the build up to Christmas, we are confident we will be able to meet those needs.

As many will be aware in the current financial climate the demands on the food bank have been steadily increasing every year. In September the food bank distributed 115 parcels feeding 293 people. As you can appreciate over the period of a month a lot of food leaves the food bank shelves.

Thank you, people of Nelson. It is great to be part of a community that looks after those in need.

MARY HOLZ

Secretary, Nelson Community Food Bank Trust,

Nelson, October 24.

Part: 0

Section: FEATURES

Sub-Section: NATIONAL

) Fairfax New Zealand Limited 2010, Nelson Mail

Airport celebrates Kaibosh and community volunteers

Press Release: Wellington Airport Limited 19-10-2012 10:55

(Regional; Newsworthy; Charities; Wellington)

19 October 2012

Wellington Airport celebrates Kaibosh and community volunteers

Wellington Airport, in association with Wellington Community Trust, awarded the Supreme Award for voluntary work in the community last night to Kaibosh Food Rescue at the 2012 Wellington Airport Regional Community Awards.

Kaibosh is New Zealand's first dedicated food rescue organisation. They coordinate with local food retailers to collect food that while good to eat, is no longer deemed suitable for sale. They then coordinate with other local community groups to identify where food is needed and what sort of food is most suitable and distribute this to them accordingly.

Because volunteers collect and distribute daily, Kaibosh can deal with food not traditionally found in a food bank (such as fresh fruit and vegetables, breads and baked goods).

Since its inception in August 2008, Kaibosh has rescued over 157,000 meals/55,000 kg of food and redistributed where it's needed most in the community.

"The Community Awards celebrate and support the volunteers who provide a vital service to our region's communities. We hope these awards also provide inspiration for people to volunteer or give back to their local community in some way," said Steve Sanderson, Chief Executive of Wellington Airport.

Wellington Airport also awarded the Wild at Heart Spirit Awards to five students from local high schools who demonstrate self motivation in service to their community and college. The recipients receive a scholarship towards furthering their education.

The Airport has been involved with The Community Awards for nine years. The awards begin at the municipal level with the greater Wellington region's five councils awarding volunteer organisations in their local community under the following categories: Heritage and Environment, Health and Wellbeing, Arts and Culture, Sport and Leisure, and Education and Youth Development.

The finalists from each region then go forward to the Wellington Airport Regional Community Awards for the overall award in their category and the Supreme

Award. Kaibosh Food Rescue receive an all expenses paid trip to the TrustPower National Awards to be held in the Far North District in March 2013. The TrustPower National Community Awards started in 2000.

Wellington Airport is also proud to sponsor other community organisations and events such as Life Flight Trust, The International Arts Festival, Wellington High Performance Aquatic, Life Flight Trust, Maranui and Worsler Bay Surf Lifesaving Clubs and the Community Service Award at the Wellingtonian of the Year Awards.

The four other finalists for the Supreme Award were:

Kapiti - Kapiti US Marines Trust
Hutt City- Hutt Safe City Group
Upper Hutt - Orongomai Marae
Porirua - Porirua Vikings Rugby League Community Club

Category Winners for the Wellington Airport Regional Community Awards

The 2012 Category winners are:

- A. Arts and Culture: Pablos Art Studios
- B. Education and Child/Youth Development: Orongomai Marae
- C. Health and Wellbeing: Kaibosh Food Rescue
- D. Heritage and Environment: Wellington Marine Conservation Charitable Trust
- E. Sport and Leisure: Special Olympics Wellington

Citations - Category Winners

Art & Culture - Pablos Art Studios

Pablos has provided mental health service users with the opportunity to participate in a safe, structured art focused studio and gallery for nearly 20 years. They provide free access to art tuition, materials and workshops along with opportunities to exhibit work. By developing the artistic skills of members they aim to assist people to further integrate into the community with improved social cohesion, reduced isolation and practical life and employment skills.

The Pablos Art Auction is a significant event in the studios year, showcasing over 100 artworks and raising over 20% of the groups annual income. This year has

seen Pablos form exciting new partnerships with Community Probation, Volunteer Wellington and AEISEC International Exchange programme

Congratulations Pablos Art Studios!

Education & Child/Youth Development - Orongomai Marae

Orongomai Marae is a community urban-based marae that provides for all iwi away from their u-kaipo, and runs a range of community wellness programmes.

Orongomai Marae have developed and run successful intensive men's and women's wellness programmes that focus on three key components: healthy lifestyles, healthy homes, happy whanau and exercise for life. The structured sessions include growing your own food, cooking healthy, budget conscious meals and pool and gym visits.

They also run Te Hikoitanga, a reintegration programme for regional prisons focusing on working in partnership with agencies and employers to support participants develop employment skills, find job placements and reintegration into the community.

Congratulations Orongomai Marae!

Health & Wellbeing - Kaibosh Food Rescue

Kaibosh is New Zealand's first dedicated food rescue organisation. They coordinate with local food retailers to collect food that while good to eat, is no longer deemed suitable for sale. They then coordinate with other local community groups to identify where food is needed and what sort of food is most suitable and distribute this to them accordingly.

Because volunteers collect and distribute daily, Kaibosh can deal with food not traditionally found in a food bank (such as fresh fruit and vegetables, breads and baked goods).

Since its inception in August 2008, Kaibosh has rescued over 157,000 meals

/ 55,000 kg of food and redistributed where it's needed most in the community.

Kaibosh is good for our community, the environment and the businesses who work with sustainability and social justice values in mind.

Congratulations Kaibosh!

Heritage & Environment - Wellington Marine Conservation Charitable Trust

The trust inspires wise stewardship of New Zealand's marine ecosystems and resources for present and future generations through hands-on public education.

Volunteers are the heart of the Trusts visit programme and the Public Open Days, held every Sunday at the Island Bay Marine Education Centre's Bait House Aquarium. Here visitors, over 25,000 of them in the past year, and over 265,000 since the centre began in 1996, have a hands-on experience and unforgettable education in marine conservation.

Congratulations Wellington Marine Education Conservation Trust!

Sport & Leisure - Special Olympics Wellington

Special Olympics Wellington volunteers fundraise and organise sports training and competition for people with intellectual disabilities.

They promote understanding, acceptance and inclusion between people with and without intellectual disabilities. Through year-round sports training, athletic competition and other related programming they have created a model community that celebrates people's diverse gifts.

In Wellington approximately 130 athletes are involved in a number of different sports, with around 30 volunteers supporting this activity. Highlights in the past year include introducing a new sport, hosting three tournaments for other regions and several athletes competing nationally and two athletes selected to compete at the World Summer Games in Greece.

Congratulations Special Olympics Wellington!

ends

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Oxford St gardens need your help

A community organic garden that once flourished along Oxford St now needs the attention of some dedicated volunteers to help it return to its full glory.

The Oxford St Community Garden, occupying a large section near the intersection with Raymond St, has previously supplied bountiful produce to Timaru residents and South Canterbury's food banks.

While plants and herbs still grow lush in some areas and fruit trees are bursting with blossoms, other plots are now bare or overgrown with the remains of earlier plantings.

Maintaining the large space was a lot of work, said Kate Elsen of Transition Timaru, the group that oversees the garden's care.

That's why they're now seeking people from the community to "adopt" small plots within the garden, so that the workload can be divided among individuals or groups of volunteers.

"We're trying to open it up to more community involvement," Ms Elsen said. "We'll take people with or without experience - we can help teach organic gardening techniques for those who're interested to learn."

The garden was previously tended by volunteers led by Dave Schofield, who spent many hours there doing much of the work himself, she said. He had since moved from Timaru.

The garden is expected to get a major overhaul in two weeks, when students from Aoraki Polytechnic are scheduled to spend a day working there as a school project.

Property owner Derek Ramsay said he was optimistic the students' work would help to put the garden back in full bloom.

Prospective volunteers should contact Kate Elsen of Transition Timaru on 03 688 6064.

CAPTION:

Overgrown: Kate Elsen, left, and Jenny Walker examine the Oxford St Community Garden. Transition Timaru is asking for community volunteers to "adopt" and tend plots.

Picture: MYTCHALL BRANSGROVE/FAIRFAX NZ

Part: 0

Section:NEWS

Sub-Section: NATIONAL

) Fairfax New Zealand Limited 2010, Timaru Herald

ⁱ “A way of writing proposed by Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza meant to indicate that the category “wo/man-wo/men” is a social construct. Wo/men are not a unitary social group but are fragmented by structures of race, class, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, colonialism and age. This destabilization of the term “wo/men” underscores the differences between wo/men and within individual wo/men. This writing is inclusive of subaltern men who in kyriarchal systems are seen “as wo/men” and functions as a linguistic corrective to androcentric language use” (Schüssler Fiorenza, 2001, p. 216).

ⁱⁱ “Critical social research[ers] aim to contribute to addressing the social ‘wrongs’ of the day (in a broad sense – injustice, inequality, lack of freedom etc) by analysing their sources and causes, resistance to them and possibilities of overcoming them” (Fairclough, 2010, p. 231).

ⁱⁱⁱ I introduce the neologism access(ability) to illuminate there are many inherent issues with accessing food and the ability to access food.

^{iv} *Conscientização* is a Portuguese word, with many contextual layers of Portuguese-ness that were meaningful to Freire. I am mindful that to use an English translation is problematic – as even a quick Wikipedia search uncovers translations of conscientization, consciousness-raising and critical consciousness. Also by giving conscientização an English translation, I frame it within an English-speaking culture and context with attached definitions and meanings. However, in this work it is my intention, even though I speak and write in English, to use the Portuguese word, conscientização, where I can to acknowledge that the reader may have their own interpretation of the word and to give voice to those contextual layers that can get lost in translation.

^v The second and third sentences of United States Declaration of Independence are: “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed”. Accessed 29 April 2013 from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Us_declaration_independence.jpg

^{vi} I am incredibly grateful to the University of Waikato Scholarship committee to be a recipient of a generous \$12,000 2013 Masters Scholarship, which met fees and other costs.

^{vii} Monsanto, Dupont (Pioneer), Syngenta (Novartis and AstraZeneca), Aventis (acquired by Bayer) and BASF (Dow) are the five “Gene Giant” corporations who control seed (Hendrickson & Heffernan, 2002; Oligopoly INC, ETC Group Report, 2005 as cited in Shiva, 2009a).

^{viii} Cargill, Conagra, ADM, Louis Dreyfus, and Bunge are the five “Food Giant” corporations who control the processing and trade of food (Dan Morgan, 1980, as cited in Shiva, 2009a).

^{ix} Kroger, Albertson’s Wal-Mart, Safeway (U.K) and Ahold USA

^x The school, in which MacArthur ran her program, was not named in the news story.