

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

The lived experiences of food insecurity
within the context of poverty in Hamilton,
New Zealand.

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Psychology

at Massey University, Albany, New Zealand

Rebekah Graham

2017

This thesis is dedicated to Bobbie Wills,

For whom the respect and dignity of all people was always paramount

“For I was hungry and you fed me...”

Abstract

Aotearoa/New Zealand is seeing increasing levels of hardship amongst the citizenry. Such developments can be traced to the implementation of neoliberal-based policies and the retrenchment of state-sponsored welfare and associated social safety nets. Food insecurity is central to experiences of hardship. This thesis explores food insecurity as a symptom of broader neoliberal reforms. In particular, this thesis considers the ways in which experiences of food insecurity within the context of material deprivation affect everyday food-related practice. To examine these processes, I took an ethnographically oriented, immersive research approach. Specifically, I attended a community meal for fifteen months and became involved in preparing food, engaging with various people in conversation, taking field notes from direct observations, and writing fundraising applications to support the meal. From the meal I established trust with diners to the point that I could recruit seven people from five households to participate in further aspects of this study. These seven participants were engaged through a series of emplaced interactions regarding the ways in which they source and prepare food for themselves and their respective households. Taken together, my engagements with meal attendees alongside participant interviews supported by go-along and visual techniques enabled me to build up a detailed picture of experiences of food insecurity. Through taking an analytical approach based on the researcher-as-bricoleur, my interpretive endeavours examine aspects of hardship, agency, making-do, and hegemonic silencing as they play out in the everyday lives of participants. This thesis is presented in four publications. The first publication critiques the nutritionistic, deficit-orientated literature on community meal provision. In response I offer an alternative approach that emphasizes food as a social determinant of health. In doing so I argue for moving food insecurity research beyond considerations of individual behaviours and lifestyles as primary influences on food choices. In the second publication I spatialize the community meal and surrounding activities. Particular attention is given to the way in which the provision of a meal in a humanizing and dignifying way works to provide an enclave of care for meal attendees. This enclave of care fosters agency, solidarity, and a sense of community, which in turn helps to counteract the internalized distress of poverty. The third publication draws from a series of emplaced interviews, including photo-elicitation and supermarket 'shop-along' excursions with five families across four households. Participants detail the ways in which they respond to hardship and navigate precarious foodscapes to procure resources and food for themselves and their families. Ongoing food insecurity sees these householders utilize practices of passing and food

rationing in order to circumvent the shame and moral accusations associated with poverty. In the fourth publication I present an in-depth case study of one household, the Kopa family. Through social practices such as tactical supermarket shopping, accessing charitable food grants, sharing surplus food items and distributing food-provisioning tasks, the Kopa family is able to provide a variety of dishes to eat despite limited resources. By detailing their strategies for survival, I facilitate a deeper understanding of the complexities, ambiguities, and contradictions of hardship. The mimetic nature of their accounts highlights the need for research methods that are sensitive to the ways in which poverty and food insecurity are invoked and inferred rather than addressing directly. In conclusion, food insecurity shapes people's social practices surrounding the procurement, consumption, and sharing of food. Dominant neoliberal narratives work in concert with hegemonic shaming to silence everyday lived experiences of poverty and hardship. We can address food insecurity by implementing policies that address the underlying drivers of poverty and which prioritize citizen's well-being. Crucial to this is the cultivation of non-stigmatizing public narratives regarding hardship.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, thank you to everyone who participated in this research and who so generously shared their stories, time, and food with me. Thank you for making me one of your own and for opening your lives to me. I am also deeply thankful for having had the opportunity to meet Bobbie, who organized and ran the community meal for many years. Her wisdom, inexorable insistence on social justice, and her humour remains deeply appreciated and warmly remembered.

I am incredibly grateful for the guidance of my supervisors, who kept me on track despite my many tangents and always encouraged me to persevere. Darrin, you always challenged me to think beyond the obvious and refused to accept mediocrity. Otilie, your unceasing encouragement and insightful comments taught me how to logically structure my ideas for the benefit of the reader. Kerry, your attention to detail lifted my writing game, and your questions clarified my thoughts. Together, the three of you taught me how to articulate my thoughts clearly and concisely, my work is all the better for your input. Thank you.

There are a number of people whose acts of kindness and words of encouragement over the past three years were instrumental in finishing this thesis. In particular I must mention the hard work of my long-suffering husband, Joe, who has been a source of strength and care throughout this PhD. Our children, Emile, Kenan, Isabella and Lily, have managed tremendously despite my constant distractedness over the past three years. I am so very proud of you all. I also owe a debt of gratitude to my mother-in-law Margaret, and my sister-in-law Andrea, who showered love and care upon our children and more than made up for my own absences over the past three years. Lastly, to my fellow PhD students, Shemana and Kimberly, you have been a source of sanity during this journey. Thank you both, from the bottom of my heart, for ensuring I wasn't alone as I navigated each phase of this work.

Lastly, I wish to acknowledge the Massey University Vice-Chancellors Doctoral Scholarship, whose financial contributions made it possible for me to focus on writing this thesis. I also wish to acknowledge the Massey School of Psychology, specifically the CHASP and EPIC research clusters who organized writing retreats, gave ongoing writing encouragement, and included my work within research dissemination projects. The Institute of Community Psychologists Aotearoa (IComPA) also contributed towards research dissemination and provided ongoing support. I am deeply thankful for all the assistance I have received, and which meant I could concentrate on doing the hard work involved in completing this thesis.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	1
Acknowledgements.....	3
Table of Contents.....	5
List of Tables	7
List of Figures	7
Chapter 1: Introduction	9
Chapter 2: Research Approach	23
Chapter 3: Food in health research	41
Chapter 4: The Gateway community meal	51
Chapter 5: Responding to food insecurity	75
Chapter 6: Food insecurity in everyday life	103
Chapter 7: Conclusions	125
Reference List.....	139
Appendices.....	155

List of Tables

Table 1: List of interviews with each participants30

List of Figures

Figure 1. Grocery items from weekly supermarket shop. 47

Figure 2: Exterior spaces of the meal and charity shop..... 55

Figure 3: Main dining area of the Gateway Community Meal, looking towards the entrance and
servery area. 57

Figure 4: Photographs depicting kitchen facilities, food preparation and break time 61

Figure 5: Main dining area in use on a Wednesday evening. 65

Figure 6: Reading the newspaper after dinner 69

Figure 7: List of additional food items 83

Figure 8: Ginny's kitchen..... 85

Figure 9: Supermarket trollies showing weekly purchases 91

Figure 10: Rationed foods. Images from top: Weekly fruit portions, portioned meat, purchased
meat, donated ground beef, tinned tomatoes, cheap pasta. 95

Figure 11: Left to right by Row; Row 1: Breakfast meal items, noodles, bacon and egg pie; Row
2: creamed mushrooms, peeling potatoes, potatoes ready for boiling; Row 3: mince
stew and mashed potato, preparing mince stew, brisket boil-up. 117

Figure 12: Hangi fundraiser meal..... 121

Chapter 1: Introduction

Aotearoa/New Zealand is seeing increasing levels of hardship amongst the citizenry (O'Brien, 2013; Rashbrooke, 2013). Such developments reflect international trends, and can be traced to the implementation of neoliberal-based policies (Rashbrooke, 2013; Schrecker & Bamba, 2015). Within the current socio-economic and political climate, state-sponsored welfare provisions and associated social safety nets have been retrenched (O'Brien, 2013; Wacquant, 2008). In addition, the implementation of a low-wage economy has resulted in suppressed incomes which have not kept pace with the rising cost of living for many New Zealanders (Ongley, 2013). Subsequently, many New Zealand families are finding it increasingly difficult to get by on a daily basis (Dale, O'Brien, & John, 2014; Morton et al., 2014; Perry, 2017). Food insecurity is central to the experiences of hardship. In response to these developments, this thesis explores food insecurity at a micro level as symptomatic of broader neoliberal reforms at the macro level of society.

The overarching aim of the thesis is to explore how experiences of food insecurity - within the context of material deprivation and poverty - influence the everyday food-related practices of five households. More specifically, I seek to contextualize experiences of food insecurity and document both individual and collective responses to the absence of enough to eat. While I have no 'research question' that will be answered per se, I did hold several key questions in mind when conducting this research:

- 1) How does food insecurity materialize within everyday household practices?
Specifically,
 - a) How do people understand and manage their food insecurity?
 - b) What responses and strategies do they employ in response to food insecurity?
- 2) How are experiences of food insecurity connected to broader societal systems and structures, and what are the broader implications for everyday life in participating households?

Taking these questions into account, this chapter introduces the context for my thesis. Specifically, I outline existing research regarding poverty and inequality in Aotearoa/New Zealand, along with the existing neoliberal-based policy approach that has contributed to increasing levels of hardship in Aotearoa/New Zealand. I give particular attention to the narratives of neoliberalism and in doing so offer a theoretical orientation for this research. Following on from this, I examine food as a central aspect to everyday life and literature regarding food insecurity and service responses. The chapter is completed with an outline of

the structure of this thesis. Following this is my methods chapter, four peer reviewed publications and an overall discussion chapter.

Aotearoa/New Zealand neoliberal narratives

In this section I outline the impact of neoliberalism as a global force driving inequalities, and increasing poverty and food insecurity in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In doing so, I consider the role of neoliberal narratives and hegemonic silencing in obscuring the hardship. Particular attention is given at the end of the section to the role social narratives play in this process.

Over the past thirty years, increases in poverty and hardship in Aotearoa/New Zealand can be traced to the growing dominance of neoliberal thought and associated economic and social policies. Beginning in 1984, successive New Zealand governments have rapidly implemented a series of economic and social changes based on the neoliberal belief system that market forces, competitive globalization and individualized choice would better promote individual freedom and wellbeing (Humpage, 2015; Larner, 2000). The subsequent introduction of welfare reform and budget cuts in 1991 saw people's state support drastically reduced (Rashbrooke, 2013). These reforms were solidified in 2013, with additional policies that reinforced a punitive, residual welfare system, minimal state spending, and a focus on economic participation through employment (Humpage, 2015). This punitive approach exacerbated already stressful life situations for households living in hardship, and has done little to decrease rates of poverty (Rashbrooke, 2013). Indeed, when housing costs are taken into account, low-income families have less available income now than they did 30 years ago (Rashbrooke, 2013). In addition, the prioritization of market-orientated systems has seen the implementation of employment policies that have created a harsh and unstable workplace environment for workers (Ongley, 2013). Such neoliberal-inspired policies prioritize the needs of capital and competitiveness in the marketplace at the expense of workers and wages (Ongley, 2013).

Subsequently, inequality and poverty in Aotearoa/New Zealand has grown at an extraordinary rate (Kelsey, 1995; O'Brien, 2013). The divide between the wealthy and everyone else has grown faster than in any other OECD country, despite sustained economic growth (Rashbrooke, 2013). Even with multiple reports detailing experiences of poverty and hardship (Carne & Mancini, 2012; Dale, O'Brien, & John, 2011; Pierse, Carter, Bierre, Law, & Howden-Chapman, 2016), there remains a persistent public belief that absolute poverty is 'real' poverty; that is, poverty only exists within so called 'third-world' contexts and is concomitant with slum housing populated by malnourished, starving bodies at risk of

premature death. Such constructions ignore the reality that Aotearoa/New Zealand has a growing occurrence of people in transient, overcrowded, inadequate housing (Morton et al., 2014), which causes distress (Pierse et al., 2016) and negatively impacts health (Hobbs et al., 2017; Tin et al., 2016). Poverty-related poor health results in premature deaths in adults (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017) and also impacts significantly on child mental health (Gibson et al., 2017). Poverty in Aotearoa/New Zealand is one of the leading factors contributing to childhood illness, disease, disability and death (Turner & Asher, 2014). The hegemony of neoliberalism in Aotearoa/New Zealand has seen a decrease in the social rights and civil participation of its citizens who are living with poverty (O'Brien, 2013).

Within the context of this research, neoliberalism is used as an umbrella term for the range of economic and political approaches that broadly reflect classic liberalism as applied to today's modern, global, and advanced capitalism (Hall, 2011) that has given rise to chronic inequalities and insecurities for a growing number of people (Standing, 2015). Like a pandemic, neoliberalism has spread across the globe (Schrecker & Bamba, 2015). Neoliberal thought subverts, cannibalizes, and incorporates alternative approaches (Gramsci, 1971; Hall 2011). As such then, neoliberalism is not a fixed, bounded ideology, but has many variants. Hall explains "Neo-liberalism...combines with other models, modifying them. It borrows, evolves and diversifies." (2011 p.708). This constant shifting means that neoliberalism has unfolded as a series of complex, hybrid tests and trials (Larner, 2000). Even so, the overarching theme is one of further shifting power and wealth from the majority of citizens to an already wealthy and powerful minority, reducing social supports, and the diminishing of democratizing civil institutions (Hall, 2011).

While neoliberalism is mostly utilised as an umbrella term in this thesis, Harvey's (2005) tight definition of neoliberalism provides a useful framework within which to more clearly scaffold my ideas. For Harvey, neoliberalism stems from a political and economic theory asserting that freeing up individual entrepreneurial skills and reducing state intervention is the key to economic and social wellbeing. Emphasis is placed on the functioning of free or unregulated markets. In the extreme form of neoliberalism, the role of the state is to ensure the freedom of entrepreneurial activities and the functioning of the free market unencumbered by regulation. The state is responsible for police, defence and legal structures that protect private property. The state is not supposed to be a provider of welfare as this is thought to promote dependency and to hinder the functioning of the market:

Furthermore, if markets do not exist (in areas such as land, water, education, health care, social security, or environmental pollution) then they must be created, by state

action if necessary. But beyond these tasks the state should not venture. State interventions in markets (once created) must be kept to a bare minimum because, according to the theory, the state cannot possibly possess enough information to second guess market signals (prices) and because powerful interest groups will inevitably distort and bias state interventions (particularly in democracies) for their own benefit (Harvey, 2005 p.2).

Harvey's conceptualisation of neoliberalism as both independent of classic liberalism and as an interdependent contributor to political and economic values and policies is useful in acknowledging the wide-ranging influence of neoliberal belief systems.

As Thorsen (2010) notes, neoliberalism is a “loosely demarcated set of political beliefs which most prominently and prototypically include the convictions that the only legitimate purpose of the state is to safeguard individual liberty, understood as a sort of mercantile liberty for individuals and corporations”. Thorsen (2010) explicitly recognizes the oft-hidden influence of wealthy citizens and private corporations, and that neoliberalism as a political and economic theory works to benefit these at the expense of less-wealthy individuals. Thorsen also explicitly acknowledges the moralising perspectives associated with neoliberal belief systems. There are a conglomeration of moral theories regarding individual and state actions under neoliberalism (Blomgren, 1997). Notably, the virtuous person is one who participates competently in the markets, and who is solely responsible for the consequences of the choices and decisions they freely make, and who is independent of the state (Friedman, 1980). Failed citizens are those who rely on others and are dependent on the state. In a neoliberal state, inequality and social injustice are construed as the natural result of poor decision-making by individuals, and are thus considered morally acceptable. This moralizing narrative positions people experiencing hardship as the perpetrators of their own situation (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). These narratives also work to absolve the state of responsibility for improving equality and providing social justice, with the causes of poverty framed as personal deficits in morality, education and motivation (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017).

Subsequently, the broader structural processes that enrich the already wealthy and impoverish growing numbers of people are invisibilised or ignored (Schrecker & Bambra, 2015). This depoliticalization of poverty and subsequent construction of poverty as a mysterious obscure ‘thing’ that ‘just happens’, invisibilises the societal systems and structures causing poverty while concurrently undermining efforts to address the underlying drivers (Giroux, 2004). In reality, the proliferation of the new urban poor in OECD nations is the direct result of corporate greed and influence on politics and government policies (Kaika, 2012). The agenda

of wealthier interests is achieved in part by positioning people in need as different from and inferior to more affluent citizens. In the process neoliberal narratives characterize members of less affluent groups in ways that erase or dismiss their lived experiences. Hall (2011) writes:

Neoliberal discourse promoted two popular discursive figures: the 'taxpayer' (hard-working man, over-taxed to fund the welfare 'scrounger' and the 'shifters' who lived on benefits as a 'lifestyle' choice); and the 'customer' (fortunate housewife, 'free' to exercise her limited choice in the market-place, for whom the 'choice agenda' and personalized delivery were specifically designed). No one ever thinks either could also be an honest citizen who needed or relied on public services. (p.715-716)

The construction of people as either legitimate (honest) or illegitimate (dishonest) citizens acts as a form of hegemonic silencing (Gramsci, 1971). Such constructions also invisibilise political and economic contributors to increased hardship in society (Schrecker & Bamba, 2015). In doing so, the narratives of neoliberalism work in concert with political power to create a powerful form of hegemonic silencing. Neoliberal narratives thus perpetuate inequality, and uphold unjust systems that benefit the already wealthy at the expense of most other people (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017).

Having discussed neoliberalism and appraised its narratives, I now highlight the value of narrative as a central human means of making sense of the world (Polkinghorne, 1988). The use of stories in the shaping of an overarching narrative brings coherence to life experiences and gives order and meaning to mundane activities (Polkinghorne, 1988). Narratives provide a coherent, causal account of events, giving them shape, structure and meaning (Murray, 2003). This form of knowing provides a way of making sense of the world through connecting events over time (Ricoeur, 1979). The use of narrative brings a sense of order to a rapidly changing world, providing "'shape' to what remains chaotic, obscure, and mute" (Ricoeur, 1979 p.115). In this way, narratives play a key role in constructing and organizing everyday social experiences (Halbwachs, 1950/1980) and in warranting broader neoliberal shifts in society.

Narratives function at both deeply personal and broader societal levels, each influencing and shaping the other dialectically (Murray, 2003). Broader ideological assumptions about 'the way things are' and how 'things should be organized' pervade all aspects of everyday life and texture the stories people and institutions tell (Murray, 2000). The societies people live within provide multiple narratives with which to make sense of, and give meaning to, their experiences (Murray, 2003). Through sharing stories, people construct a mutually intelligible world (Halbwachs, 1950/1980). In doing so, a dialectical interplay occurs between the storyteller and their world (Murray, 2000). This interplay between personal narration,

positionality, and broader sociocultural assumptions conditions everyday thought and practice (Murray, 2000). Investigating social narratives provides one way of making explicit the sociocultural assumptions permeating our society (Murray, 2000). Dominant or hegemonic narratives influence everyday language in a way which is difficult to resist (Bakhtin, 1981). This centripetal force ‘pulls’ us towards compliance with the prevailing neoliberal narratives of today (Bakhtin, 1981). Finding ways to resist, subvert, and counter harmful and oppressive societal narratives is an important aspect of socially-responsive research (Rappaport, 2000).

Of particular interest to this thesis is identifying and challenging the societal narratives held at an individual and societal level that justify food insecurity. The macro narratives of individual choice, blame and responsibility are played out in the everyday life of individuals. In considering the ways in which macro narratives are reproduced in the micro, I also draw on Simmel’s (1903/1997) *principle of emergence*, which cogitates grounded local engagements as a way of understanding broader systemic elements. Of particular interest to this thesis is the way in which everyday events reproduce the social relationships and inequities that texture the lives of people living with poverty. Macro level processes of narration and policy reform are played out in the everyday lives of people experiencing hardship. Simmel’s (1903/1997) orientation is concerned with the social structures and shared narratives that surround and shape everyday events and gives them social significance. Simmel offers one example of how scholars try to bridge the local (personal) and the general (social). This positioning affords a way of conceptualizing and responding to issues of inequality and food insecurity. In doing so, I aim to build situated knowledge regarding people’s experiences of (and responses to) food insecurity through detailed accounts of specific situations such as attendance at a community meal, shopping expeditions, and cooking an evening meal.

Food insecurity and related social practices

As a country that rapidly implemented neoliberal reforms, and has seen rising poverty and inequality, Aotearoa/New Zealand provides a unique context within which to situate poverty and to link the micro of experiences of food insecurity in the everyday to broader societal manoeuvres. In this section, I provide the research context for examining food as a central aspect to people’s lives, with particular attention to food insecurity as a central element of the experience of poverty. I address the promotion of charity as a neoliberal response to hardship, conceptualize food insecurity, and summarize recent New Zealand-based research. Attention is given to works that acknowledge the broader societal context

within which food insecurity exists. Lastly, I consider the social nature of food, including social practice theory as it relates to everyday food practices.

Intertwined with the implementation of neoliberal policies and the undermining of social welfare is the promotion of charity as a solution for people experiencing hardship. Charitable organizations have become essential in meeting the shortfall between income, housing and food costs (Hamelin et al., 2002; Lindberg, Whelan, Lawrence, Gold, & Friel, 2015). Initially a form of emergency relief (Poppendieck, 1998), foodbanks, food pantries, community meals, soup kitchens, and homeless shelters are becoming necessary fixtures in people's lives (Biggerstaff, Morris, & Nichols-Casebolt, 2002; Wakefield, Fleming, Klassen, & Skinner, 2013). Charitable food providers are predominantly voluntary and reliant upon donated foodstuffs (Rock, 2006), which limits both the quantity and nutritional quality of items (Loopstra & Tarasuk, 2013). Despite the constant quest for more donations, emergency food providers continue to report that demand for their services exceeds available supplies (Tse & Tarasuk, 2008; Wynd, 2005). The charity sector is finding it ever more challenging to meet the growing shortfall between provided resources and the cost of keeping people housed and fed (Silvasti, 2015; Wakefield et al., 2013).

For people experiencing food insecurity, efforts to access food through charities and emergency food systems are often time-consuming (Silvasti, 2015), can produce uncertain results (Lindberg et al., 2015), and require exceptional tenacity (Buck-McFadyen, 2015). It is not uncommon for welfare recipients to expend an entire day fulfilling bureaucratic administrative requirements in order to access a food parcel (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Groot, & Tankel, 2014). Criticisms of this sector include that it maintains unequal relationships between donors and recipients (Lindberg et al., 2015; Silvasti & Riches, 2014), is harmful to the self-esteem of food receivers (van der Horst, Pascucci, & Bol, 2014), and perpetuates dehumanizing attitudes towards the food insecure (Silvasti, 2015; Tse & Tarasuk, 2008). While charitable aid does alleviate immediate hunger, it does not address the multiple manifestations of poverty that food insecure families are experiencing (Loopstra & Tarasuk, 2013). Instead the provision of food aid works to mask the extent of food insecurity, its root causes and its long-term consequences (Rock, 2006).

In conceptualizing food *insecurity*, I utilize the most commonly used and accepted meaning of food *security* in developed countries such as Aotearoa/New Zealand (Parnell & Grey, 2014): "Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life." (FAO, 2008, p.1). Food *security* thus implies

sustained access to enough food for an active, healthy life (Dowler, Kneafsey, Lambie, Inman, & Collier, 2011), without needing emergency food supplies or resorting to scavenging, stealing or other socially unacceptable coping strategies (Paloviita, Kortetmaki, Puupponen, & Silvasti, 2016). Conversely, food *insecurity* exists whenever the “availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods or the ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways is limited or uncertain” (Coleman-Jensen, 2010 p.216). Food insecurity means having insufficient food and difficulty in acquiring sufficient foods in a socially appropriate manner (Parnell & Gray, 2014).

The above conceptualization of food security by the FAO comes from the 1996 World Food Summit. At this Summit it became evident that ensuring people have enough food to eat is a key issue for societies across the globe. Accordingly, there is a vast body of published work documenting and exploring the impact of food insecurity on people (Coleman-Jensen, 2015; Weaver & Hadley, 2009). The inability to obtain enough nutritious food to eat is an enduring and prevalent dimension of poverty (Boon & Farnsworth, 2011). Even so, the relationship between food and socio-economic status is often ignored in discussions regarding food insecurity (Schrecker & Bamba, 2015). A fundamental marker of poverty and hardship, in affluent societies such as Aotearoa/New Zealand food insecurity occurs amidst an abundance of food (Marco, Thorburn, & Kue, 2009). This thesis focuses on food-related research from similarly affluent societies. Of particular interest is enquiry relating to the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, family responses to food insecurity, and the broader societal context within which food insecurity exists.

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, Aotearoa/New Zealand has seen increasing numbers of citizens living with poverty and hardship. Consequently, low-income New Zealanders are increasingly struggling to afford enough nutritious food to feed themselves and their families (D’Souza et al., 2012; Hoggood et al., 2010). In particular, low-income households living in highly deprived, low-income areas have high rates of food insecurity (Carter et al., 2011). Recent reports from urban centres such as Auckland (Dale et al., 2011; Garden et al., 2014), Dunedin (Wells, 2011), Hamilton (Cox & Black, 2012; McNeill, 2011), Wellington (Sudden, 2016), and Whāngarei, (Carne & Mancini, 2012) indicate that food insecurity is a consistent problem for many New Zealand families. The University of Otago and Ministry of Health’s 2008/2009 Nutrition Survey remains the most recent nation-wide quantitative study detailing levels of household food (in)security. This study noted at the time that 7.3% of Aotearoa/New Zealand households were frequently having insufficient food, and that a third of Aotearoa/New Zealand households were unable to reliably provide sufficient

food for all family members (University of Otago and Ministry of Health, 2012). Subsequent research reports that charitable food aid is increasingly necessary to keep families fed (Smith, Parnell, Brown, & Gray, 2013), with charitable organizations and non-government organizations (NGOs) finding that Aotearoa/New Zealand families are experiencing ongoing hardship and increasing severity of food insecurity (Fletcher & Dwyer, 2008; Turner & Asher, 2014).

Families navigating food insecurity do their best to manage with limited means. Coping strategies include drawing on a mixture of supplementary finance (Kempson, Keenan, Sadani, & Adler, 2003), charitable aid (Silvasti, 2015) and functioning to 'stretch' available food resources (Hoisington, Shultz, & Butkus, 2002). Activities such as begging, pan-handling (Groot & Hodgetts, 2015) and "squeegee-ing" (Dachner & Tarasuk, 2002) are utilized to provide supplementary finance for food, along with pawning and selling household goods (Loopstra & Tarasuk, 2013). More desperate families report resorting to ever-more illegal means of acquiring resources for food (Kempson, Keenan, Sadani, Ridlen, & Rosato, 2002). Food insecurity occurs alongside other forms of socio-economic inequality (Baer, Hassan, Fleegler, & Scherer, 2015), with families experiencing food insecurity also facing increased social marginalization (Boon & Farnsworth, 2011). Together, these insecurities lead to a sense of alienation (Hamelin, Beaudry, & Habicht, 2002) and disrupt a sense of belonging (Stewart et al., 2014). The stress and worry associated with food insecurity (Buck-McFadyen, 2015) make providing food for the family a difficult, distressing occurrence (Weaver & Hadley, 2009; Whiting & Ward, 2010).

Health-related research within affluent countries still tends to approach food insecurity as a knowledge-deficit issue, with studies such as those by Pettigrew and colleagues (2015), Rustad and Smith (2013), and Yousey and colleagues (2007) promoting nutrition education as a response to hunger. However, as Lombe and colleagues (2016) found, improving nutrition knowledge alone is not enough to address the health issues associated with food insecurity. Well-intentioned, researchers such as Jablonski and colleagues (2016), Pechey and Monsivais (2015), and Thompson and colleagues (2013) prioritize individual notions of choice, and overlook contributing factors such as low-incomes and food affordability. However, the authors of such studies struggle to comprehend that responses to food insecurity are diverse and multifaceted. In general, food insecurity within the context of increased inequalities and rates of poverty is still too often conceptualized as an individual problem that requires individual interventions (Dowler & O'Connor, 2012; Silvasti & Riches, 2014). In contrast to the dominant, deficit-orientated, individualistic approach common to health-related research in

affluent countries, I focus in this thesis on social practices as a more collectivist-orientated way of investigating agentive responses to hardship and food insecurity.

In accordance with a focus on social practices, I now shift my attention to the social nature of food as central to practices of reciprocity and community. Food is more than a vehicle for the amino acids and calories essential for life (Scrinis, 2008). In acquiring and preparing food for consumption, people enact what it means to be human, connecting with wider food traditions and socio-cultural practices (Brillat-Savarin, 1949/1848; Lévi-Strauss, 1964). What people eat, how they eat it, and who they eat it with are crucial in sustaining a sense of self and in connecting them with broader social structures (Goody, 1982; Graham, Hodgetts, & Stolte, 2016). Processes of producing, preparing, cooking, sharing and consuming food is innately social, connecting people to one another and to broader social systems and structures. The reduction of food to solely economic or nutrition analyses overlooks, ignores and otherwise dismisses the fact that the social aspects of the provision of food are embedded within a myriad of sociocultural practices that speak to who we are.

Meals too, are more than a vehicle for feeding the body. They contain a myriad of complex social practices, each of which speaks to aspects of class (Crotty, 1999), culture (Simmel, 1910/1997), and taste (Bourdieu, 1979). Meals also require more than just the provision of food, since it is the use of tables, chairs, and cutlery that transform eating food into a meal (Douglas, 1971; Simmel, 1910/1997). Eating meals is a social practice that has social and symbolic significance, reflecting community, solidarity, communication and festivity (Bourdieu, 1979; Douglas, 1971). The social practices embedding food are just as important as the food itself, in that these often reflect familiarity, shared heritage and a sense of belonging to particular social groups (Collins, 2008; Kohn, 2013). The absence of enough to eat impacts upon the social and symbolic significance of meals, rupturing food traditions, and unsettling a sense of belonging.

Food is central to practices of reciprocal sharing and community building (Lee, 2011; Ritchie, 2015). The sharing of food, and meals in particular, is essential for building wider networks that buffer people against adversity (Sobal, 2000). This includes the ability to host guests and offer culturally appropriate forms of hospitality (Jansen, 1997). Food insecurity prevents people from engaging in these forms of social practice (Musrò, 2013). In addition, the ongoing insecurities associated with poverty forces many families to appeal to extended family members, friends and neighbours for help which, over time, can exhaust such social support networks (Gazso, McDaniel, & Waldron, 2016). Consequently, food insecurity can leave people increasingly isolated (Stewart et al., 2014). This thesis explores some of the ways

in which people experiencing food insecurity navigate social practice, reciprocal sharing, family meals, and maintaining a sense of connection to the broader society within which they live.

In responding to poverty and food insecurity people develop particular purposeful and routinized social practices that are aimed at achieving particular ends (de Certeau, 1984). As such, social practice theory (Halkier & Jensen, 2011; Reckwitz, 2002) provides a theoretical basis for this exploration of the ways in which food insecurity manifests in everyday life. Tactics constitute small everyday social practices of adaptation to circumstance for people with limited control over their circumstances (Stolte & Hodgetts, 2015). In other words, tactics are central to families 'making do' despite the constraints of poverty and food insecurity (de Certeau, 1984). Halkier and Jensen (2011, p. 104) note that, "The most basic theoretical assumption is that activities of social life continuously have to be carried out and carried through, and that this mundane performativity is organized through a multiplicity of collectively shared practices". A dynamic nexus of social practices comprises an activity structure that reproduces societal structures and relationships (Reckwitz, 2002), shaping experiences of hardship and food insecurity (Hodgetts, Groot, Garden, & Chamberlain, 2017). Social practices surrounding food provision reflect a broader societal drift towards inequitable and penalizing systems. In this thesis, I document and interpret the ways in which general (societal) shifts are reproduced through personal (particular) everyday situations, such as when people engage in the art of 'making do' while experiencing food poverty.

In sum, food-related practices provide a visceral nexus for examining broader societal systems. The tangible nature of food materializes more abstract deliberations such as power and inequality: the absence of enough to eat is a physical micro-level event that demonstrates broader macro-level practices and policies. Examining the nature of food insecurity provides a focal point for navigating and unravelling often invisibilised inequities, social structures, and broader economic relations that contribute to the absence of enough food to eat.

Thesis structure

This thesis is presented in seven chapters. The following chapter, Chapter Two, details the specific research approach taken and provides additional information regarding the project methodology. Firstly, I introduce the field of Community Psychology as the broader discipline within which my research is situated. In doing so, I briefly outline socially-responsive research traditions. I then detail my empirical engagements and specific research procedures undertaken. Following this I introduce each of my cases in turn. Lastly, I consider my analytical approach in interpreting participant accounts and empirical materials.

Chapter 3, published as an article in the *Journal of Health Psychology*, examines and critiques the existing literature on community meals and charitable responses. Much of this literature is nutritionistic, deficit-orientated and ignores wider socio-economic issues. In response, I draw on the everyday experiences of families facing food insecurity to ground an alternative approach that emphasizes food as a social determinant of health and recognizes the agency of people living food-insecure lives.

Following this, Chapter 4 presents a more humanistic and ethical approach to researching community meals. Published as a book chapter in *Mental Distress and Space: Community and Clinical Applications*, this chapter discusses the preparation, organization, and emplaced interactions related to the community meal. I consider how a community meal can provide a constant, reliable source of food alongside care for members of the precariat in a manner that affords respite from the pressures associated with a broader landscape of despair. Through considering the dialectics of place, I explore how emplaced social practices structure, texture and transform the community meal into an enclave of care. This is particularly important for the meal participants, many of whom are mental health outpatients, and are all too aware of their marginalization in the broader landscape of despair.

Chapter 5 cogitates on the practices of passing and food-rationing as a response to ongoing food insecurity. This article has been submitted for publication in *Food, Culture and Society*. This paper focusses on the ways in which neoliberal narratives, in conjunction with hegemonic silencing, magnify feelings of shame and personal inadequacy. In response, people living with poverty learn to hide their everyday realities from public scrutiny and engage in social practices such as passing and food rationing in an effort to reduce experiences of stigma, oppression and social rejection. This publication draws on my interviews with five householders and documents how lived experiences of food scarcity bring the often hidden aspects of marginalized lives into view.

Chapter 6 has been submitted for publication with the *Journal of Poverty*. This publication offers an in-depth consideration of the Kopa family and the culturally-patterned ways in which this family navigates procuring and sharing food within the context of hardship. Writing this case study took me the best part of a year. I wrote and rewrote, went down tangents and side-alleys, could not and did not articulate all I felt inside. Learning how to write about what was left unsaid, and how to articulate what I knew and felt from interviews with this household was a slow, difficult process. This publication documents how one household, the Kopa family, responds to poverty in ad-hoc and agentive ways that assist and hinder their attempts to keep themselves fed. Based on a series of eight qualitative interviews with family

members, this chapter demonstrates how food insecurity shapes this family's culturally-patterned social practices surrounding the procurement, consumption, and sharing of food.

The final chapter of this thesis, Chapter 7, brings together the conclusions and implications of this research. This chapter also reflects on what I did, how I did it, and what I have learnt from the process. It outlines the contributions of this research to community psychology theory and practice, and makes suggestions for addressing food insecurity and hardship.

Chapter 2: Research Approach

This research was conducted in accordance with a community psychology approach that seeks to document and offer solutions to social issues such as poverty and food insecurity (Rappaport, 2000). Of particular concern is the role of social structures in perpetuating inequities (Martín-Baró, 1994). In other words, community psychologists adopt a position that advocates for marginalized groups, and in doing so take an active role in the polis of a given society (Bess, Prilleltensky, Perkins, & Collins, 2009). Functioning as an advocate for marginalized people requires developing strategies for producing shared knowledge of and supporting human agency in the face of hardship (Serrano-Garcia, 1995). In contrast to studies that dissolve the experiences of people into statistical trends or discursive regimes (Jahoda, 1992), community psychologists seek to retain lived experiences from the position of participants, and in doing so humanize research in a way that renders persons recognizable.

This chapter details my research approach in more detail, situating it within the discipline of community psychology. I outline the contributions of key researchers and social reformers whose work and writings have informed my research practice. Particular attention is given to the immersive nature of research that centralize the experiences of human being, and the need for social reform to support human flourishing. I then discuss in detail my research approach by giving a rationale for undertaking a partial ethnography, explaining the value of multiple emplaced interactions, and recounting the specific techniques, such as go-along interviews, through which I engaged with participants. Each of the cases are introduced in turn, before giving an account of my analytical strategy as anchored in the researcher-as-bricoleur. The chapter is completed with my reflections on ethics and on incorporating reciprocity into the research process.

Socially-responsive research within community settings

In this section I outline previous efforts by social reformers, whose work informs my own socially-responsive research. Particular attention is given to those reformers who incorporate aspects of everyday meals into their work, and the ways in which the experiences of poverty and hardship have impacted upon people's food-related practices across history.

During the Victorian era, researchers documented living conditions amongst 'the poor', particularly in cities such as London. William Booth, for example, undertook his survey of households, sending teams of researchers into the slums to document the living conditions (Englander, 1998). A number of women of more affluent means were actively involved in

research that was used to inform calls for social reforms designed to reduce hardship and foster the socio-economic inclusion of families in need. Ellen Ross (2007) collates the written work of twenty-four such people in *Slum travellers: Ladies and London poverty, 1860-1920*. Of particular note is Maud Pember Reeves, a New Zealander who travelled to London with her husband in the early 1900s. Through multiple interactions with families and the careful building of trust and relationships, Pember Reeves detailed the everyday lives of families managing on poverty wages. In *Around about a pound a week (1913/1979)*, she documents severe and persistent food insecurity, including the various ways in which families stretched their meagre food supplies. Scathingly critical of the dominant attitudes of the day, Pember Reeves strongly advocated for social reform and the provision of adequate resources for every family.

Engaging in similar forms of socially-responsive, immersive research, Jane Addams and colleagues (1911) formed Hull-House in Chicago. A centre for social research and reform, the proponents of Hull-House were guided by three basic principles:

- (1) Active and side-by-side participation with community residents in addressing local issues;
- (2) Respect for the dignity of all individuals regardless of ethnic background, socioeconomic status, gender, or age; and
- (3) A belief that poverty and lack of opportunity breed ignorance, crime, and disease that are the result of financial desperation and not due to a flaw in moral character (Malekoff & Papell, 2012 p.307)

Of particular interest to this thesis is the work members of Hull House engaged in with regards to food. Through the use of communal kitchens, Hull-House provided wholesome, hot food to people whose living conditions were such that cooking was impractical and/or unobtainable (Lee, 2011). In addition, there was a focus on the sharing of meals with neighbours and the wider community. This 'breaking bread with strangers' was intentionally undertaken as a way of recognizing the humanity of 'the other' and as a process of ameliorating difference without colonizing or homogenizing people (Lee, 2011). Through eating together, the social distance between groups was reduced and new social connections formed (Addams, 1911). The social practice of sharing a meal thus bridged social difference and reduced practices of othering (Addams, 1911).

The socially-responsive immersive approach to community research that I adopt is also informed by the work of Marie Jahoda and colleagues (1933/1972) who conducted a detailed study of the impacts on unemployment on the town of Marienthal. Over the course of multiple

interactions researchers documented everyday life, including the preparing and cooking of meals. In doing so, they carefully constructed the ways in which families ‘made do’ in times of difficulty and hardship. In studying meals prepared and foods eaten, Jahoda et al., (1933/1972) note details such as surviving on one meat meal a week, selling possessions in order to purchase food, and families going without meals for several days on end. As with Pember Reeves and Addams, Jahoda was a proponent of social reform and action research, organizing for the collection and distribution of additional food and resources to Marienthal families. In considering the specifics of this research project, I draw on the aforementioned research traditions and theoretical perspectives in the employment of an immersive, responsive research approach.

As proponents of an immersive approach to poverty-related research, Jahoda and colleagues (1933/1972) emphasize the importance of the use of case studies for understanding human experience in situations of adversity, and how broader political, economic and social structures manifest in the lives of actual human beings. Correspondingly, research engagements are drawn on in the construction of each case study. The power of cases is to generate theoretically informed, grounded, and context-dependent knowledge that sheds light on the reproduction of social practices. Case studies are an ideal approach for research such as mine that seeks to produce knowledge regarding urban poverty and to robustly interpret in the analysis of theoretical constructs (Small, 2009). Each case in this thesis offers insights into familial responses to food insecurity associated with poverty that are of significance beyond their personal lifeworlds (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

Taking an immersive case study approach meant grounding myself within a community and learning the narratives of the people within it (Rappaport, 2000). Doing research in an ethnographically-orientated manner contextualizes experiences of hunger and hardship (Griffin & Bengry-Howell, 2007), and provides a way to examine and explore the dynamic, multi-dimensional relationship between food-related practice and poverty (Musalò, 2013). This is particularly important in research such as mine which works with marginalized groups within the context of the welfare state, the dignity of citizens, and the cost of social stigma as related to food insecurity (Musalò, 2013). Multiple engagements with participants assisted with the creation of ‘thick’ or ‘rich’ participant accounts (Cerwonka & Malkki, 2007) from which I examined the lived experience of food insecurity. Utilizing an ethnographically-based approach allowed for fluidity and flexibility when working in the field (Cerwonka & Malkki, 2007), and was particularly valuable when uncovering points of interest previously unconsidered, such as meal attendees volunteering in the kitchen and the provision of

outdated foodstuffs. This segues with the concept of researcher-as-bricoleur (discussed later in this chapter), which also focuses on adaptation and working with what is 'to hand'. The capacity for flexibility is essential for socially-responsive research practice, as it is only through conversations with participants and immersing oneself in their lifeworlds that the appropriate responses can be created.

In terms of this research project, my use of direct observations, multiple interactions with participants, photo-elicitation and go-along interviews was essential for rupturing hegemonic narratives regarding food and foregrounding everyday realities of poverty. In considering each of these methods, I draw on Walter Benjamin's writings, specifically the way in which he anchors his observer within a particular historical instance and geographical place, the "flow of the river of life" (Benjamin, 1983). As with Benjamin's observer, the information produced through interactions with my research participants reflects a specific time and place. The use of multiple, emplaced interactions brought to the fore the personal, emplaced experiences of participants (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Small, 2009). This in turn provoked "new and changing encounters with what often seem familiar and recognizable spaces as the narrator presents innovations, artifacts [sic], and the tumult of the streets" (Rodriguez-Hernandez, 2010, p. 120). The deliberate foregrounding of participants' accounts is in direct response to the way in which poverty-related research has historically subsumed the accounts of people living with hardship and inequities into the accounts of more affluent groups (Scott-Samuel & Smith, 2015).

In order to foreground participant accounts, I utilized and adapted photo-elicitation (Richard & Lahman, 2014) and go-along (Kusenbach, 2003) techniques. Doing so allowed me to move beyond the static, sit-down, drive-by interview. The incorporation of visual methods such as photo-elicitation and photographing elements of everyday life encouraged participants to reflect on the social and material aspects of their experiences (Reavey, 2011). The inclusion of images during qualitative interviews offered a visual dimension to the unobservable thoughts, feelings, experiences and understandings of participants (Richard & Lahman, 2014). Such images did require interrogation (Moss & Hay, 2014); photographs in and of themselves do not necessarily contain a singular meaning but are constantly subject to interpretation and re-interpretation (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, & Radley, 2008). It was through conversing with participants as they described, narrated, and made sense of the photographs they had taken that their lived experiences of everyday life were brought to the fore. Annotated images (Benjamin, 2002) in particular provided one way of moving past participant projections of the public self into the emotionality associated with food insecurity.

Go-along interviews (Kusenbach, 2003) also provided me with visual and physical insight into the lived experiences of participants. Based on the go-along interview method, I utilized shop-along interviews, which involved accompanying participants as they engaged in their regular food purchasing activities. The conversations that occurred within the space of the local low-cost supermarket, and the interactions observed, contributed towards the layering of information in the construction in each case. As noted by Gram (2015), the habitual nature of everyday practice often obscures the specifics of what takes place when purchasing goods. Everyday insignificant objects point to broader social aspects (Vasquez, 2013). Being together with people as they engage in their regular everyday practices reveals aspects of sociocultural significance more deeply than merely describing the activity (Vasquez, 2013).

Engagements with participants

Initially when contemplating this research project I proposed examining foodbank use and conversations with people who utilize the Hamilton Combined Christian Foodbank (HCCF). It soon became clear that the HCCF was structured as a distribution centre, which meant that they did not deal with people in need directly, but rather directed their energies into food drives and collecting donations. In response I explored alternative provisions of charitable food aid, by contacting a friend of a friend who knew someone who ran a community meal. This person introduced me to Bobbie and Pete who ran the Gateway community meal. From my first meeting with Bobby and Pete it became clear that we shared the same ethic of care for people and had a similar approach in prioritizing the dignity and value of everyone. This form of informal networking is essential in building the relationships necessary for socially-responsive research. In this case, Bobbie and Pete's support, encouragement and patience was crucial to the building of trust necessary for further conversations with meal attendees. Conversations with Bobbie were particularly valuable in informing the practicalities of my research approach.

When it comes to executing a research project such as a PhD, the proposed trajectory can appear linear: plan, execute, analyses, and write. In reality, community-based research such as this PhD is an interactive process. Challenges, unforeseen realities, and new and interesting aspects previously un-thought-of are encountered throughout. Research projects can be conducted in more flexible ways that embrace opportunities to explore unanticipated aspects of a topic as they arise during research engagements. In the case of this PhD, the ability to engage in fluid and responsive practice was a key strength in investigating everyday food-related practices within the context of poverty. Changes from my initial research

proposal included shifting the field research site from the foodbank to a community meal, and aspects related to identity and a sense of self receded in light of participants' stories. However, the overall focus has remained the same throughout: the lived experience of food insecurity in everyday life.

In accordance with an ethnographic orientation, I attended the Gateway Community Meal every week for a period of 15 months, beginning in September 2014. During this time, I ate with meal attendees, introduced myself and my research project, and conversed informally with attendees over the meal. The meal organizers (Bobbie and Pete) also publically introduced me and my research. Doing so worked to clarify my research purpose throughout engagements. Meal attendees regularly informed me of their opinions regarding the meal, cost of living, and wider governing bodies. Throughout my time attending the community meal I made extensive field notes. After every meal I detailed the meals served, where and with whom I sat, topics of conversation, and reflexive comments. In addition, I spent time on the day of the meal (Wednesday) talking with the volunteers and attendees who assisted with preparing and serving the meal. Meal attendees who showed interest in participating further were given an information sheet (see Appendix 1) before arranging a mutually beneficial time and place for our first interview.

Each interview was recorded, and the process of transcribing interviews initiated the analytic approach (see Analytical approach). Interviews were participant-led, in that I outlined the topics I was interested in discussing (see interview schedules in Appendix 1) and then followed the interviewee's lead as they decided what they wished to discuss and/or show me. During our conversations I photographed specific food-related aspects described or shown to me by participants. This included the vegetable garden tour by Sissy, the dated food donated to Ana, Ginny's frozen minced beef, and weekly shopping expeditions. Informed consent from each participant was specifically sought regarding my use of each of these photographs in my thesis and publications. I also took field notes after each participant interview, noting details such as where the interview occurred, who was present, and my initial observations and thoughts. In accordance with a community psychology approach, I engaged in ongoing reflexive practice. After each shared community meal and participant interview I made reflexive notes regarding my thoughts, habitus, and positionality. This reflexive practice was extended and developed through multiple conversations with more experienced practitioners and poverty researchers, namely meal organisers, family kaumātua, and my PhD supervisors.

For the photo-elicitation interviews, five participants (Sissy, Anna, Lea, Julye and Raywyn) utilized an everyday object (their smartphone) to photograph their everyday food-

related practice. These shared digital images provided the basis of this interview. Two participants (Ginny and Janine) utilized the proffered disposable camera to photograph their food-related practice. I subsequently returned with physical photographs which we then discussed during the interview. These photographs, while poorer in terms of image quality, offered a richer account in terms of the depictions of everyday life. Images taken via smartphones offered higher visual clarity, but were also more likely to be edited and 'tidied up' to reflect a more idealized version of foods eaten and served. However, participants would often 'scroll through' their images to share longer timelines and wider food-related activities such as birthdays and Christmas-time celebrations. During the photo-elicitation interviews I interrogated images together with participants. Some images were quickly skipped past, and others elicited longer, more detailed explanations regarding particular cooking methods or food rationing practices. Informed consent from each participant was specifically sought regarding each photograph discussed.

The supermarket go-along interviews necessitated journeying with participants from their place of residence as they engaged in their regular supermarket shopping excursions. I conversed with participants as they made their regular food selections, checked-out their groceries, placed them into the car, and returned home. During these excursions I would alternate between trailing behind quietly observing, and asking questions regarding their everyday shopping practice and why certain items were selected for the shopping trolley. The supermarket go-along necessitated a mix of participant observation and active conversation. Attending the shopping excursions with participants brought to the fore previously unremarked-upon and taken-for-granted aspects of the supermarket space, such as the contempt with which Lea was treated by staff, or the manner in which Janine kept her young child from grabbing unaffordable items from supermarket shelves. The go-along interviews also included conversations in transit. Extensive field notes were taken after each interview, and all interviews were recorded and transcribed.

In total, seven people from across five households consented to participating as cases in this research project: Sissy and Janine from the Kopa household, and then (in order) Anna, Ginny, Lea, Julye and Raywyn. Each of these cases is described in more detail below. Pseudonyms are used for all participants throughout this thesis. All interviews were participant-led in that I was sensitive to the individual householder's circumstances and preferences, rearranging interview schedules, times and places as appropriate. Table 1 gives an outline of each of the specific interviews undertaken, where they occurred (if not in the domestic space of the home), and connections between participating householders.

Pseudonym	Initial interview	Photo-elicitation	Supermarket go-along	Final interview
Sissy	Yes	Yes x2	No	No
Janine (recruited via Sissy)	Yes. Sissy and Andrea present	Yes	Yes	Yes, at local café
Leah	Yes	Yes x2	Yes	No
Julye	Yes, at local café	Yes	Yes	Yes, at local café
Raywyn (recruited via Julye)	Yes x2 - one with Julye present, one with Raywyn's partner present	Yes	No	No
Anna	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ginny	Yes x2 – firstly at local café, second at her home	Yes	Yes	No

Table 1: List of interviews with each participants

Taking a fluid and flexible approach meant that the interview schedule was tailored according to the circumstances of each household. Table 1 indicates the variance in interview schedules across households. Ginny, for example, felt more comfortable meeting with me a local café for our initial interview, before inviting me in the domestic space of her home. After several interviews, Sissy invited me to interview her daughter and her sister; it is her daughter, Janine, who does the majority of the grocery shopping for the household. Implementing a more rigid approach would likely have resulted in less rich participant accounts, and may have made it too easy to overlook nuances that occur within households. Below, I summarize each of the cases in turn: Sissy and Janine from the Kopa household, Anna, Ginny, Lea, Julye and Raywyn.

The Kopa family are an extended Māori group, who collectively as a whānau respond to hardship in agentic ways. Interviews were initially held with Sissy, the matriarch of the household, who then introduced me to her sister Andrea, and her daughter Janine. Janine then participated in subsequent interviews. The four-bedroom dwelling they rent contains a much larger number of people than the house is designed for. There are three generations living in the house: Sissy and her husband Don live with five of their seven children (aged 14 to 21), the girlfriend of one of their sons, and Janine's partner and their two children (ages 2 and 4). In addition, Sissy's sister Andrea, along with her partner, their daughter and her young son (Andrea's grandson) have temporarily moved in to alleviate tensions in the home they share with Sissy and Andrea's mother. Having so many people in the home is a tactic for cutting costs and pooling resources. However, pragmatic responses to the high cost of living brings

additional complications and increases tensions. Family members and food flow in, out and around the household. The collective responses of this family group both alleviate and exacerbate their experiences of hardship.

From a working-class Pākehā background, Anna always assumed that there would be an adequate social safety net if she ever needed assistance. Indeed, prior to being made redundant following the birth of her child, Anna had a well-paid hospitality job that she thoroughly enjoyed. These days her welfare payments barely cover rent on her tiny unit, with nutritional foods an unreachable luxury. Anna feels a strong sense of shame at not being able to afford enough to eat and subsequently is reluctant to admit to outsiders the extent of her deprivation. Anna is currently learning how to successfully navigate the charity and welfare sector to provide food for herself and her young daughter (aged 1). Her personal network of family and friends also give her food, for which Anna is very grateful. However, she struggles with being unable to reciprocate the generosity of others, and with how to respond when given expired or inedible foods. This absence of autonomy has left Anna feeling a sense of inadequacy and resentment, reducing the sense of enjoyment that comes with eating food. Anna is hopeful that she will be able to find work and affordable, quality childcare. She has the benefit of being educated and of having a well-resourced social network. Nevertheless, the stressful and punitive nature of welfare provision in Aotearoa/New Zealand is eroding her psychological wellbeing.

Ginny and her children live in what is colloquially referred to as a state-house (a rent-controlled residence either leased or owned by the state) in a middle-class suburb. A Pākehā woman, she has seven children ranging in age from 6 to 17. The physical and psychological abuse she endured during her marriage has left her with ongoing ill-health, which is taking some time to be addressed through the public health system. The trauma of living with an unstable, abusive parent has left three of her children with their own health difficulties and Ginny has struggled to get her children the mental health assistance they need. Ginny is keenly aware of the fragility and vulnerability of her situation, particularly regarding keeping her family housed, healthy, and fed. She is grateful for the support and assistance she receives from churches, charities, and her relational networks. Ginny can only afford to purchase basic staple items at the supermarket. Subsequently, she is heavily reliant on charity to feed herself and her family. Over the course of our interviews, Ginny detailed her informal food support system. While she manages to source enough food to feed her family, the constant stress and precariousness of her situation takes its toll on her health. Despite Ginny's excellent budgeting skills, her gardening and self-sufficiency practices, the contributions of her children, her

foraging, and her cooking expertise, the only reason that she is able to stave off severe hunger and deprivation is because people give her food. These forms of social support are precarious and unstable, exacerbating an already difficult and traumatic situation. The extent of Ginny's poverty and the knife-edge on which she lives is often unnoticed by uncomprehending outsiders.

Lea lives with her teenage daughter (age 18) in a small two-bedroom social housing unit in a low socioeconomic suburb. Diagnosed as schizophrenic in her early twenties, Lea does her best to manage her mental health. However, the stressors of her impoverished circumstances alongside navigating the welfare and the public health systems leave her tired, worn-out, and struggling to cope. The absence of enough food to adequately feed the family exacerbates tension between Lea and her daughter. Lea struggles with wanting to provide for her daughter and not having enough resources to be able to do so. At times their interactions are fraught with tension and frustration at their impoverished circumstances. Lea's teenaged son (age 15) currently lives with another family who are able to provide him with the physical and practical support he needs. Lea's impoverishment is such that if it were not for the community meals, she would be unable to eat most nights. She survives on easily cooked, cheap foods such as individual meat pies and two-minute noodles. Her family have little additional funds to assist Lea, so she also attempts to sell Avon, walking around the neighbourhood seeking potential sales. Her attempts to sell to more well-off people frequenting a local shopping centre were rebuffed, and she was asked to leave by security staff. Lea has already sold her dining-room table for much-needed funds, yet, despite all her efforts, her hardship and poverty remains constant.

Julye has three young children aged 2, 4 and 7. Her eldest daughter (Jenny) has significant disabilities, and subsequently Julye receives additional government support, along with social housing (a modest three-bedroom home in a quiet outer suburb), to assist with the extra care required. This additional help, along with part-time work, means Julye is able to make ends meet most of the time. Nevertheless, any unexpected expense places pressure on her already tight budget, impacting on her food provisions. When this happens Julye goes without meals in order to ensure that her children have enough. As well as caring for her children, Julye also provides much-needed (and unpaid) support for her aging parents. Along with practical tasks such as driving her father to hydrotherapy and taking her mother to the supermarket, Julye's home provides a space of respite for her parents. Julye's parents reciprocate this through providing care for her three children. Julye is thankful for the support and care her parents provide as her ex-partner has become increasingly unstable and abusive,

with promised provisions rarely eventuating. In the face of difficulties, Julye is inherently pragmatic. Family members give and receive care, and Julye is thankful for the help and support she receives through government agencies and charitable trusts. Nevertheless, she remains painfully aware of the precarity of her situation, and that any unexpected difficulty or expense affects the quality and quantity of food she is able to provide. Julye's case is a sharp reminder that well before children go hungry, there are most likely adults and parents in the household who have been going hungry for some time.

Raywyn, her six children (aged 7 to 18), and her partner have moved into Julye's home. Raywyn has part-time employment which she juggles around providing care for her children. Her partner is currently recovering from a recent mental health breakdown with subsequent medication adjustments. Through the sharing of domestic tasks such as cooking and housework, their temporary living arrangement provides both Julye and Raywyn with respite from financial strain. Julye and her children occupy two bedrooms, with Raywyn and her family utilizing the remaining bedroom and garage. Like Julye, Raywyn also provides care and support for her extended family. Caring for her wider family takes time, energy, and additional funds to provide much-needed supports such as birthday parties and meals. This places further stress on her already busy life and on her tightly budgeted finances. Staying with Julye lessens visits by Raywyn's siblings and family members. Being able to access relief in the form of sharing accommodation gives Raywyn the breathing space she needs, both financially and emotionally. Nevertheless, such temporary measures are no panacea for the wider impacts associated poverty, ill-health, and reduced access to resources.

Analytical approach: The researcher-as-bricoleur

In analysing my empirical engagements, I draw on the concept of 'researcher-as-bricoleur' as utilized and fashioned by Lévi-Strauss (1962), Denzin and Lincoln (2000), and Kincheloe (2005). Each of these scholars employed different aspects of the researcher-as-bricoleur. In this thesis, I draw on all three understandings of bricolage in research practice. The term 'bricoleur' comes from a traditional French expression denoting crafts-people who creatively fashion new projects, using only the tools and materials that are 'to-hand' (Lévi-Strauss, 1962). Lévi-Strauss refashions this as the researcher-as-bricoleur, whereby knowledge-creators piece together life-worlds, artefacts, and cultural contexts in the construction of meaning (Rogers, 2012). As a strategy of inquiry, bricolage "adds rigor, breadth, complexity, richness, and depth to any inquiry" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000 p. 6). Further, in being a bricoleur with the notion of bricolage, I engaged in fluid, eclectic, and creative methods, and operated

inter-disciplinarily and innovatively, combining methodological and analytical strategies as required by this project (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). I also acknowledge the complexity of meaning-making processes within the contradictions of the lived world by ensuring that contextual contingencies guide the selection of analytical methods (Rogers, 2012).

My interpretative processes involved listening to participant accounts alongside looking at and behind what they told and showed me through tours and photographs (Hodgetts et al., 2008). Insights were scattered throughout mundane interactions and formal interviews (Cerwonka & Malkki, 2007), which included: snippets of unrecorded conversations as I transported family members to appointments after interviews, casual conversations as I queued in line for dessert at the community meal, brief chats when rescheduling interviews, informal exchanges on the street. All of these interactions contribute to a sense of everyday life, yet are not always reducible to tidy quotes or specific images. The analytic process necessitated drawing together these morsels of conversations into a cohesive narrative that depicted salient aspects of the reality of navigating food provisioning during ongoing precarity.

Interpretative endeavours also included being aware of the way in which the positionality of the interviewer textures and influences narratives told during interviews (Radley & Billig, 1996). As these scholars argue, throughout the research interview, “people are making claims about themselves as worthy individuals, as more or less “fit” participants in the activities of the social world” (1996, p.221). In considering my own positionality as the interviewer, and the way in which my own habitus affected and textured the flow of conversation and the stories shared, I continued to develop my reflexive practice. Specifically, I engaged in ongoing discussion with the community meal organisers, family kaumātua, and my PhD supervision team regarding research materials and my interpretative endeavours. These conversations, which occurred throughout the research process, were instrumental in moving me beyond reductive, overly-simplistic behavioural interpretations and explanations. Doing so also worked to reveal and challenge the areas where I had uncritically absorbed neoliberal beliefs and assumptions. Acknowledging positionality is particularly salient, given the way the lived-yet-unarticulated experiences of precarity crashes into more widely vocalized neoliberal viewpoints centered on individual blame and moral judgement.

Trialling mimesis as an analytical and interpretive tool (see Chapter 6) was particularly helpful in moving beyond simplistic assertions and surface explanations. In *The Arcades Project*, Benjamin (2002) contemplates aspects of knowing that are difficult to adequately articulate to someone who has not experienced the same. In theorizing the empirical materials, the concept of mimesis oriented me to participants’ verbal and visual accounts that

never fully conveyed their experiences. Through mimesis the outer world is drawn into an individual's inner world and made sense of in the production of accounts and pictures that coalesce disjointed experiences and untold events into personal stories of hardship (Garff, 2015; Gebauer & Wulf, 1992). Specific memories, images, material objects and conversations thus become symbolic of lifeworlds (Gebauer & Wulf, 1992), reflecting broader histories and narratives utilized by individuals to make sense of the world and their place in it (Ricoeur, 1990). Through mimetic accounting practices participants in this study constructed a sense of self in relation to their circumstances and the people populating their lifeworld (Benjamin, 2002; Ricoeur, 1990). I then inferred meaning through the subtle mentions and casual comments made that referenced shared knowledge.

Throughout the analytical process I continually connected the lived experiences of poverty to the political policies and economic systems that perpetuate inequality. In doing so I drew on Kincheloe's (2005) construction of the researcher-as-bricoleur, who incorporates the ways in which narratives, ideologies and power shape social practice. For Kincheloe bricolage exists as a critical response to positivist research (Rogers, 2012). In this context, I seek to develop complex understandings of social practices alongside efforts to disrupt the imbalances of power, social injustice, marginalization, and oppression that are perpetrated through traditional meaning-making practices (Kincheloe, 2005). The critical application of bricolage requires drawing from a range of theorists as I explore the taken-for-granted ways that power shapes knowledge and objects of inquiry (Kincheloe, 2005). In doing so, I address the plurality and complex political dimensions of knowledge work.

Reflections on project ethics

Ethical approval for this research was obtained from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (MUHEC): the completed ethics forms and approval number are listed in the Appendices. Obtaining MUHEC consent necessitated following the College of Humanities and Social Sciences' procedures and guidelines with regards to ethical research procedures. The Committee placed a high value on ensuring individualized informed consent, avoiding coercion, the provision of confidentiality, cultural competence, and sensitivity to diversity. Much of this process was valuable, in that it provoked thought around how to ethically engage in the research process. Elements such as navigating the research site, what would be asked of participants and how, returning the research to participants, and acknowledging my role as researcher and its potential implications for participants were all worthwhile.

However, at times there appeared to be a lack of understanding of the lived reality of people's lives. Specifically, the Committee requested that participants who experienced discomfort be able to access free counselling and/or support agencies, and that details of such services should be provided to participants prior to the interviews. Paternalistic assumptions underlying this request includes the presumed ignorance of participants to such services, the idea that counselling is the preferred response to distress, and that talking about their experiences is of greater discomfort than the experiences themselves. In the cases of each of my participants, their knowledge and experience of the social services on offer far outstripped mine. In contrast, I was the one who learnt from participants of the existence of various local support agencies. It would be condescending for me to suggest (yet another) support agency for participants to interact with. Additionally, each of the participants in this study faced struggles far greater than mere discomfort. These ranged from concern over providing food for their children this week, to distress over family members in hospital, to anguish from having a child removed from their care, to bruising and pain from domestic violence. In contrast, talking with me providing an interesting change from the relentless demands of lives textured by poverty. For example, Lea appreciated the company, while Anna appreciated being able to converse freely about her situation, and Ginny enjoyed the 'treat' of a café outing, as did Jylve and Janine.

As noted above, engaging in ethical research within the field of food insecurity gives rise to a number of challenges and questions, requiring special consideration of ethical issues. There are inherent complexities in examining practices which occur at the junction between the individual and society (Rappaport, 1977). Accommodating real-life complexities such as poverty and hardship necessitates ethical practice that acknowledges the broader implications of individual situations (O'Neill, 1989) and adequately examines underlying assumptions (Miner & Petocz, 2003). In addition, ethical codes need to be responsive to a research praxis whereby multiple sets of decision-making processes occur throughout the research process (O'Neill, 1989).

Ethical research within communities ought to be explicit in its support for their interests and those of marginalized individuals, with research ethics acting to prevent exploitation within the research relationship (Grossman et al., 1997). Just as each stage of traditional research can re-enact social relationships of dominance and oppression, ethical community psychology research should manifest a liberatory potential in its purpose, planning, methods, and outcome (Paradis, 2000; Serrano-Garcia, 1995). Over the previous decades, scholars have repeatedly challenged Eurocentric conceptions of ethical research conduct and privileged

interpretations of knowledge (Tauri, 2014). Within Aotearoa/New Zealand, the *Code of ethics for psychologists working in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (Code of Ethics Review Group, 2002) was reviewed to strengthen its elements of cultural competency and social justice. Nevertheless, individualized consent, privacy and confidentiality, and 'doing no harm' continue to be prioritized in research ethics over the active involvement of psychologists in promoting equitable social change. Despite the inclusion of cultural competency within ethics applications, psychological research continues to privilege liberal, Eurocentric conceptualizations of autonomous research that side-lines the importance of the social context within which 'real-world' research takes place (Tauri, 2014).

Engaging in ethical research requires detailed knowledge of the context within which the research occurs (Hammersley, 2006). Yet, what happened in the example I outlined at the beginning of this section was the application of a standardized set of ethical rules without regard for the context. Conformity to institutionalized protocols brings with it the dangers of the 'McDonaldisation' of research (Lorenz, 2012) and a prescriptive approach to ethics (Miner & Petocz, 2003). This in turn, leads to researchers "playing the game" whereby technical compliance is confused with careful ethical analysis of one's research approach (Schwandt, 2007). Given the complexities of real-life community-based research, it is preferable to encourage careful thought around ethical engagement with people rather than mere procedural acquiescence. In terms of this research project, it meant thinking carefully with regards to ensuring dignity, respect and reciprocity were embedded throughout empirical engagements.

In accordance with this approach, I carefully considered the way in which I framed participant experiences as I presented my research. I was particularly conscious of the way in which research accounts of poverty in everyday life have at times been distorted and then weaponised as a tool against people living with hardship. As previously mentioned, the influence of neoliberalism has resulted in research that is individualistic and deficit-oriented. Subsequently, such research is utilised to justify the punitive measures taken against those who cannot afford enough food to eat. In response to these past practices, and as part of my ethical approach to empirical engagements, images, quotes, and participant accounts were contextualised in a manner that emphasised the agency, competency, and complexities of managing on a low-income, while simultaneously foregrounding the relentless and ongoing nature of hardship.

In considering my community orientation and ethical approach, efforts to address structural change in a socially-responsive manner were incorporated throughout this project.

At the micro level, and as per my ethics application, research participants received a NZ\$25 supermarket voucher during each interview in recognition of their time and expertise. I also donated money (NZ\$400 in total) to cover the cost of the dinner meals that I (and my children) ate at the Gateway Community Meal. In my ethics application I mention writing a policy brief detailing the results of my research which, after submitting my PhD, I will focus on completing. At a broader level, I applied for – and received – funding from two separate community trusts, totalling NZ\$5068.56. These amounts paid for food for the annual end-of-year Christmas community meal (NZ\$3000), contributed towards a fun, family-friendly ‘snow event’ (NZ\$800), and funded specific items for the children’s programme (NZ\$1268.56). Applying for funding was a practical way of applying my skills in a manner to benefit the wider community within which I was based. Writing successful funding applications required locating accounting records, collating financial information, describing the community work being done and its relevance to the funding aims of each sponsor, and then reporting back to each funder regarding expenses and wider community impacts. In the Conclusions chapter I further detail my efforts to contribute to wider societal narratives regarding food insecurity and poverty.

In terms of returning research to the Gateway Trust, I regularly met with Bobbie, the meal organizer, and reported back my research findings. In certain conversations, Bobbie acted as a ‘double-check’ regarding my interpretive endeavours. I also met with the Gateway Trust staff member responsible for overseeing the community meal. These meetings, while informal in manner, were an effective way of ensuring that my research findings were accessible and available in an everyday context, as per my research orientation. In addition, I presented key findings to Gateway Trust staff in a formal meeting, followed by an interactive Question and Answer session, as a way to actively communicate the value of the meal as a space of respite. For various reasons, the Gateway Trust decided to stop offering the Community Meal at the close of 2015. The Op-Shop that Bobbie converted into an informal drop-in centre, community service hub, and focus for her social work was also dismantled and closed in 2016. Due to the closure of these spaces, returning subsequent research findings to the meal community has not been possible.

To summarize, socially-responsive, ethical research comprises aspects of immersive action research, social justice, reciprocity, and treating people with dignity and respect. These are both methodological and interpretive research orientations. The researcher-as-bricoleur orientation provides a theoretical construction that cohesively links both aspects. In being a researcher-as-bricoleur, I allow the dynamics and contexts to dictate which questions get asked, which methods to employ, and which interpretive perspectives to engage. This

approach requires a thorough familiarity with the range of theories, techniques, and methods outlined earlier, as well as the creativity and intelligence to 'piece together' new tools or techniques. Engaging ethically throughout such a research process requires a continual process of interrogating my own underlying assumptions, my positionality as researcher, and the embedding of key values of reciprocity and dignity throughout empirical engagements.

Following on from this, the next chapter considers and critiques the published literature on community meals in light of my research engagements with meal attendees. When first reading the literature surrounding the provision of food to hungry people, such as evaluations of community meals, I was first horrified and then angry at the dehumanizing treatment of people who are in need of a filling, hot meal. This upcoming chapter was written in response to the reductive perspectives evident in positivist research paradigms that enabled this dismissive and offhand treatment of marginalized groups. It is published as:

Graham, R., Stolte, O., Hodgetts, D., & Chamberlain, K. (2016). Nutritionism and the construction of 'poor choices' in families facing food insecurity. *Journal of Health Psychology, online*.

Chapter 3: Food in health research

Nutritionism and the construction of 'poor choices' in families facing food insecurity

Abstract: The dominant research approach to both food insecurity and charitable meal provision is nutritionistic, deficit-orientated and ignores wider socio-economic issues. This reinforces existing power dynamics and overlooks the agency of people living food-insecure lives. We critique this dominant approach and draw on the everyday experiences of families facing food insecurity to ground an alternative approach that emphasizes food as a social determinant of health.

Keywords: community meals, food insecurity, hunger, nutritionism, poverty

When times are tough people go hungry. Recent issues of food insecurity and health have become more important for socially responsive health psychologists. With rising levels of hardship more people are turning to food banks, food pantries, charitable meals, soup kitchens and homeless shelters in order to feed themselves and their families (Carne & Mancini, 2012; Smith et al., 2010). While such charitable provisions may ameliorate some instances of hunger, they are largely ad hoc and only address the symptoms of poverty. This article explores the experiences of people facing food insecurity. We offer a critique of the dominant nutritionism that pervades psychological and health research on food.

Being able to access enough food to feed oneself and one's family continues to be a perennial health issue for people living in poverty. Food insecurity occurs when there is a lack of readily available, sufficient, nutritionally adequate and safe foods, as well as the inability to acquire such foods (Parnell & Gray, 2014; Ramsey et al., 2012). Food insecurity tends to occur alongside other forms of socio-economic inequalities (Baer et al., 2015; Boon & Farnsworth, 2011). However, the relationship between food and socio-economic status is often ignored in discussions regarding eating and poverty (Schrecker & Bamba, 2015). Although food has become a key public health priority, much of the research in this area replicates what Scrinis (2008) terms *nutritionism*. That is, the implicit and explicit consideration of food only in terms of its nutrient composition and the prescriptive connection between nutrients and bodily health in the construction of 'nutritionally balanced' diets. This nutritionistic approach reduces food to macronutrients and calorie counts, overlooking wider sociocultural aspects of meal

provision and commensal eating. There is often an underlying assumption in food-related research that people are mostly able to access necessary food items. Scarcity due to food poverty is rarely acknowledged. While notable exceptions do exist (Fox & Smith, 2011; Musarò, 2013), the intersection of food and poverty with regard to notions of class and health remains relatively unexplored. We propose that designations of healthy food are highly connected to class ideals, with class tensions evident in food research and recommendations (Crotty, 1999). For example, foods such as potatoes and bread were once considered healthy, but have now been reclassified and constructed by nutritionists as less than ideal. Yet, for lower income people bread and potatoes are staple foods. These issues of class, along with social and economic factors, are typically disregarded when taking a nutritionistic approach. Moreover, the unhealthy dietary aspects of higher status groups are rarely subjected to the same level of scrutiny as the perceived dietary failures of lower income groups (Fox & Smith, 2011).

Research with food-insecure people is dominated by an emphasis on nutritional education programmes (Rodriguez et al., 2013; Rustad & Smith, 2013). Such research views measurable changes in nutrition knowledge as a positive result, despite participants remaining under-housed and food insecure. A key assumption underpinning this knowledge-deficit approach is that a lack of knowledge is responsible for 'poor' food choices (and thus poor health) and that a subsequent imparting of nutritional knowledge will improve food-related choices and health. An example is a study that recommends 'promoting healthy eating and budgeting skills to ... reduce the risk of disease later in life' (Johnson et al., 2009: 29) despite participants pointing out that they had 'more important things to think about than food' (p. 27). Arguments for nutritional education programmes indicate the disconnection between health researchers and the day-to-day realities of people living with food insecurity. These assumptions of nutritional ignorance overlook findings that many people experiencing food poverty already have healthy food aspirations (Sprake et al., 2013), contrary to what some middle-class nutrition educators might think (Hoisington et al., 2002).

This knowledge-deficit approach is also applied to research on charitable groups providing free or low-cost meals. These assumptions of ignorance are evident in published work making facile recommendations such as educating charitable meal providers to plan more nutritious meals (Rodriguez et al., 2013), altering provided meals to more adequately fulfil nutritional guidelines (Davis et al., 2008), providing standardized meals (Lyles et al., 2013) and utilizing the services of nutritionists (Richards & Smith, 2006). Consequently, charities are expected to take greater responsibility for meeting the nutritional needs of the food-insecure

people they serve (Johnson et al., 2009; Lyles et al., 2013). This knowledge-deficit research approach is problematic in that it privatizes social responsibility. Additionally, the financial constraints of food providers are rarely taken into account, despite charities repeatedly mentioning that they have difficulty providing appealing but nutritious meals within the budgetary constraints available to them (Goyings & Csete, 1994; Pelham-Burn et al., 2014). Charities are increasingly being castigated for their efforts to feed the hungry foods that they may enjoy (Lindberg et al., 2015), with some researchers identifying charitable meals as a contributor towards obesity and disease among the food insecure. Sisson and Lown (2011), for instance, recommend that '... kitchens and donors may need to rethink the old adage that any food is better than none ...' (p. 321), a statement that only those who have never experienced constant, abiding hunger and poverty could consider appropriate. For many charities, the provision of meals is secondary to their social service and advocacy work (Dachner et al., 2009) having arisen from being surrounded by hungry people in need of food (Rock, 2006). Charities are not only being expected to do more with less, but such deficit orientation deflects criticism from the government agencies and policies responsible for increasing levels of poverty and food insecurity (Poppendieck, 1998).

Nowhere is this nutritionism and deficit-oriented research approach more evident than studies analysing individuals within food-insecure populations. Many of these studies actively recruit participants from charitable meals and homeless shelters and reduce health to easily quantifiable biomedical tests (Silliman et al., 1995). Blood samples are assessed pre- and post-intervention in order to determine the 'success' of specific programmes such as analysing cardio-vascular health (Murphy et al., 2015), reducing glucose levels (Johnson & McCool, 2003), measuring nutrition levels of homeless HIV+ people (Weiser et al., 2013) and diabetes management in homeless veterans (Rojas-Guyler et al., 2014). There is an element of dehumanization in the way that these researchers treat people: participants are repeatedly referred to as 'subjects' and then subjected to invasive procedures such as skin-fold tests, blood-pressure tests, interrogations regarding past meals and the taking of samples. Once the intervention is over and the researchers have their data, participants remain as food-insecure, 'unhealthy' and 'nutrient-deficient' as they were prior to the intervention.

Couching research practice in the language of concern for health conceals institutionally embedded power relationships (Pred, 1984). In particular, it obscures and obfuscates the downwards regulatory gaze (Foucault, 1970/1995) that underpins the analysis by many nutrition researchers of the bodies, practices and meals of people experiencing food insecurity. Failing to acknowledge the existence of this downwards gaze results in researchers

misinterpreting key aspects such as the enactment of agency by participants. For example, Johnson et al. (2009) mention the 'low participation rate ... due to the poor responses from hostel managers' (p. 26), yet these authors do not consider that people were understandably rejecting their invasive testing procedures. Furthermore, Silliman et al. (1995) mention that a number of participants 'failed' to complete the blood testing. Again, there is an absence of understanding that people are not 'subjects'. In overlooking human agency, these authors misconstrue people's non-compliance as 'failure', 'laziness' or 'incompetence'. These examples draw attention to the way in which power relations between individuals, groups and institutions are often invisible and assumed to be just the way things are (Pred, 1984).

This study

One response to increasing food insecurity is the provision of free or low-cost charitable meals. This article explores the experiences of attendees at one such weekly meal at an urban Christian facility in New Zealand. Each week volunteers serve a hot, two-course evening meal to between 150 and 200 people. The lived experiences of people accessing such charitable food services are often overlooked, written out of history (Hodgetts et al., 2013) and rarely included in public health research (Whelan & Lindberg, 2012). Consequently, our research approach seeks to emphasize the experiences of people attending the aforementioned weekly charitable meal.

We consider the use of participatory methods to be crucial when trying to understand the experiences of people facing food insecurity. Accordingly, we employed an ethnographic case-based approach. Ethical approval for this research was granted by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (MUHEC). Over the course of 12 months, Rebekah (the first author) attended the charitable meal each week, spent time shadowing the meal organizers, met with the leading social worker and helped to prepare the meal alongside other volunteers. During this time, Rebekah had multiple informal conversations over the evening meal with attendees, made extensive field notes, kept a reflexive journal, took photographs (as appropriate and as consented by participants), observed social interactions and engaged in a series of formal interviews with five precariat households. These interviews included a photo-elicitation interview (Harper, 2002), shop-along excursions (Kusenbach, 2003) and two sit-down conversations with each family. All formal interviews were recorded and transcribed, and care was taken throughout to ensure appropriate consent was granted by participants before proceeding with the research project. Interviews took place in participants' homes (or, in the case of the shop-along interviews, began and ended at the family home). The casual

conversations that occurred while eating together at the community meal were fundamental to the research process, and were invaluable in building rapport between the first author (R.G.) and participants, creating a sense of familiarity and encouraging open dialogue.

The combination of observations, casual conversations, formal interviews and photographs created interwoven layers of informative detail. Each of the participants offers insights into the mosaic of food insecurity, poverty and marginalization that are of significance beyond individual lifeworlds. Interpretive processes central to our analysis involved both 'looking at' and 'looking behind' images and words generated during the research process (Hodgetts et al., 2014). Our analytic approach is based on the notion of 'researcher as bricoleur' (Lévi-Strauss, 1962), drawing insights from across the research corpus and bringing these into conversation with the health literature on food. We systematically examined the entire research corpus for instances that extend beyond the nutritionist focus to the experiences of food insecurity. Our analysis explores the specific experiences of five participants (one from each of the households interviewed). In the next section, we analyse and discuss their experiences (in the following order) of growing up hungry, the pragmatics of shopping at convenience stores rather than supermarkets, restraints on food choices, parents not eating so that their children can, food as a discretionary item and not being able to rely on family networks for food support. In doing so, we both centre the experiences of participants and accentuate the problematic aspects of a nutritionistic approach.

Experiencing food insecurity

The ideology of nutritionism assumes that people have equitable access to resources and foodstuffs. This is often not the case for people living in poverty. For example, Janine (22 years) comes from a large low-income family. Janine, her partner and their two young children are forced to share a room in her parents' social housing unit. Janine reflects on growing up in a food-insecure environment where she and her siblings often only ate once a day:

We all grew up, like starving. We couldn't even like have friends over because we didn't have enough food to feed them or, yeah. It was rat shit. We didn't even have like oranges ... We went to school and we had no shoes or lunch and it was really cold, and then [my teacher] asked me why I didn't have [any lunch], and I was like, oh, um. I didn't want to say the truth [that there was no food at home] but I was like, oh, because my mum didn't get up early to make our lunch. And then she goes, 'Well tell your mum to move out of that area cause its, you guys are living in a poor area'. I didn't understand it ... And then, I went home and told

Mum and she went off her head and I didn't know why. I think she made a meeting the next day! [Laughs]. Yeah. And then, that's when I was thinking, was it the area that we were always living in? Cos I only see people like me, you know.

Janine and her siblings regularly attended school having had no breakfast and without any lunch. In the reaction of her teacher to the absence of a lunch we can see how the drivers of poverty are often misunderstood by professionals who can misread situations of food insecurity. Janine's quote also illustrates broader relational consequences of food insecurity. The social exclusion experienced by Janine in not being able to have friends over highlights how food insecurity can hamper the enactment of social relations.

Low-income people generally experience reduced access to nutritious food (Crawford et al., 2014). Anna (32 years) was recently made redundant and has since struggled to provide warm dry housing and food for herself and her infant. Anna experiences difficulties in accessing affordable food from a supermarket and has to rely on buying food items from a local convenience store:

[People] don't understand. I can't afford to go the supermarket ... it's the dairy [convenience store] and one dollar loaves of bread for me.

As is often the case with more affordable (poorer) city suburbs, there is reduced physical access to fresh foods (Crawford et al., 2014). This impacts on those surviving on low incomes as food choices are influenced by physical availability and affordability of items (Dachner & Tarasuk, 2002). In Anna's case, cheap loaves of white bread from the store situated within walking distance filled her stomach and alleviated the worst of her hunger. However, the lack of adequate nutrition impacted on her ability to produce enough breast milk to adequately feed her baby, complicating an already difficult situation. Meeting nutritional guidelines for optimal health is next-to-impossible on limited means (Rydén & Hagfors, 2011) and is often a lower priority for food-insecure people than filling empty bellies and stretching insufficient funds. Turning a regulatory gaze onto the food choices of those who simply cannot afford to follow nutritional guidelines not only further stigmatizes and alienates people already isolated from society but also perpetuates the stereotype of the failed eater who cannot achieve middle-class food ideals.

When faced with choosing between paying for public bus to transport herself to the supermarket and extra food items, Lea (41 years) chooses food. Diagnosed with a mental illness in her twenties, Lea has struggled to find paid employment while managing her illness and raising her two children. Her mental health remains precarious, as the scant welfare provision means she often goes without eating, which has a negative flow-on effect on her

Inadequate welfare provisions see parents of low-income families faced with difficult choices, such as having to choose between going without food or heating the family home. Subsequently, it is not unusual for low-income parents to go without food in order to provide enough for their children to eat (Carne & Mancini, 2012). For example, Julye (25 years) has three young children, one of whom has a significant disability, requiring substantial additional care. Julye discusses her strategies for stretching the family's food budget:

If there was only, just say a little bit of meat of something and there was just enough to feed the kids ... then I wouldn't eat, I'd go without eating. Just because I'd rather them be fed ... [I'd say] 'Nah it's okay, I'm not hungry, I'm all right' ... [I go] without dinner like twice a week or something? Just, yeah.

This quote highlights some of the difficulties parents face in making 'good food choices'. Like Julye, many low-income parents work very hard to protect their children from experiencing food poverty (Fletcher & Dwyer, 2008). This is difficult when food is often regarded as the only discretionary item in budgets, particularly when other costs such as rent need to be covered first.

Due to her food insecurity, Lea regularly attends charitable meals. This requires herself and her daughter to walk another 45 minutes into the city centre in order to access the community meal. Sometimes the food provided at the community meal is their only meal of the day. The community meal also provides more than food. It provides an inclusive community space for otherwise marginalized and excluded people (Wicks et al., 2006). The creation of a welcoming space helps to mitigate dehumanizing experiences of exclusion and provides the opportunity to engage in positive social interaction over a hot, filling meal (Graham et al., 2017). This type of social connectedness is a mitigating factor with regard to health, as the deeper and broader an individual's social support networks the more this alleviates the effects of poverty on health and well-being.

There are increasing pressures on the household budgets of low-income families due to rising living costs (such as housing and utilities), insecure wages and inadequate welfare supports (Cox & Black, 2012; Dale et al., 2011). The participants in this research frequently have no choice but to rely on the charity of others to eat. For example, Ginny (43 years) is a sole parent with seven school-aged children who has to make very difficult choices to feed her family. When Ginny was asked about why her older children transitioned from a high school with an excellent academic record to a nearby high school (with a less desirable reputation), she replied,

... that was food driven really, for me to move schools ... Transport's taking up too much and just that extra bit can go into food rather than into transportation costs ... [if] they want bus money, then I have to pull that out of the food budget. Well, everything comes out of the food budget ... The only reason why I survive really is because people give me food. In the end I just get bits and pieces from everyone, from everywhere ... If I do meat then it's just usually with like a carbohydrate because the meat's so expensive. But yeah, so it's, it's all trying to find like the balance of keeping everyone healthy and all the nutrients and stuff they need, and balancing up. Because carbs are easy you know, I get given bread quite often ... Pasta is especially pretty cheap to like bulk out a meal.

Ginny's meagre income from welfare provision is simply not enough to cover living costs and keep the family fed. Ginny relies on a range of charities to meet the shortfall in food provision. The family attends the weekly community meal, her children receive packed lunches from another charity, Ginny sources fresh fruit and vegetables from friends and family, and she makes do with whatever food items she is given. Meeting middle-class healthy food ideals is difficult to manage on limited means. Relying on the charity of others to eat means that there is typically little choice regarding foods provided. Like other food-insecure families, Ginny makes the most of what is available in order to survive. However, this patchwork of provision is not always able to adequately meet everyone's needs (Hodgetts et al., 2013). Without extra assistance, families such as Julye's and Ginny's would struggle to survive.

Conclusion

Our findings show that the primary focus of public health research on the nutritional qualities of food has little salience for people experiencing food insecurity. Our analysis foregrounds how far removed middle-class nutritional concerns are from everyday experiences of food insecurity. Furthermore, our findings demonstrate that the assumption that people do not make healthy choices due to knowledge deficits is problematic and renders people experiencing food insecurity as incompetent, rather than as active social agents responding pragmatically to a lack of resources. There is also an inherent contradiction between charity dictates that 'beggars can't be choosers' and nutritional advice that beggars should make healthy choices. Our findings highlight the difficulties people face in feeding themselves on limited means. We argue that researchers considering food insecurity must move beyond moralistic considerations of individual behaviours and instead acknowledge the wider societal inequalities that entrench food insecurities.

The accounts provided above support our assertion that we must move beyond research that views individual behaviours and lifestyles as the primary influences on food choices. Instead, we need to acknowledge the role of societal structures (Raphael et al., 2008), unequal distribution and access to food resources (Grant et al., 2010) and government policy (Jack, 2012) in perpetuating health inequities and food insecurity. We require progressive social policies that promote equity and improve health (Buck-McFadyen, 2015). In the meantime, ensuring that empty bellies have food, and food that is enjoyable to eat, is one way of supporting people in trying circumstances with dignity, humanity and compassion. We argue for a humane approach that responds to the lived circumstances and actual needs of people experiencing food insecurity.

The provision of food by charities alone cannot solve food insecurity and only alleviates immediate hunger (Poppendieck, 1998). However, the capacity of charitable groups to advocate for policy change is limited by their need to retain their relationships with government and the food industry in order to function. Charities occupy a tenuous position between meeting the growing needs of vulnerable people and the expectations of government funding bodies and donors (Lindberg et al., 2015). Additionally, the impetus for broader public policy solutions to hunger is blunted by the invisibility of people's experiences (Wakefield et al., 2013) and by neoliberal arguments framing food poverty as an individual failing (Schrecker & Bamba, 2015). The charitable food system has also allowed the state to evade its responsibility to ensure that everyone has adequate access to food (Poppendieck, 1998). We need to emphasize the structural causes of food poverty in order to avoid stigmatizing people living with food insecurity through no fault of their own.

Chapter 4: The Gateway community meal

Following my critique of nutrition-oriented research in the previous chapter, I present here a way of engaging in more participant-responsive and humanizing research. As noted in Chapter 2, taking an immersive approach to research is particularly important for poverty-related issues, as it considers the totality of people's lives. In Chapter 4, I centralize the lived experiences of my research participants in relation to the community meal. This stands in stark contrast to the works critiqued in Chapter 3, which tended to dissolve people into statistical trends and discursive practices. Chapter 4 also emphasizes the value of research that incorporates multiple engagements with people in places where they feel comfortable, such as the community meal.

Specifically, Chapter 4 documents the organization and dinner experiences at the Gateway community meal. In doing so, I spatialize a particular response to food insecurity and detail my emplaced engagements with meal volunteers and attendees. Lefebvre's (1991) work on the dialectics of place creates a starting point for exploring the emplaced social practices of meal attendees, and the ways in which these practices texture and transform a church hall into a community meal. Particular attention is given to the way in which meal preparation and dining practices create a 'proper meal', transforming the hall into an enclave of care within a broader neoliberal landscape of despair. In short, based on my interactions with meal attendees, volunteers, and organizers, I present an account of the meal as a collective response to food insecurity that affords participants dignity and respect.

This chapter also notes that such humanizing enclaves are often precariously placed. Similarly, Lawson (2009) argues that retaining such spaces for community-based projects requires civic engagement, security of tenure, and sustained participation by volunteers. However, even with such aspects, there is no guarantee of longevity. The community meal documented in this chapter was well established with relative stability of finances, had a secure space within which to operate, and included a number of committed volunteers. The chief meal organizer (Bobbie) passed away during the final year of my PhD. Subsequently, the meal and the op-shop mentioned in this chapter have ceased to operate. The loss of both Bobbie and the meal has serious consequences for attendees in terms of losing a key site for affirming their dignity as human beings. The closure of the meal highlights that even seemingly stable enclaves for care can be fragile and easily dismantled.

This chapter is published as:

Graham, R., Hodgetts, D., Stolte, O., & Chamberlain, K. (2017). Sustaining spaces: Community meal provision and mental wellbeing. In L. McGrath & P. Reavey (Eds.), *Mental distress and space: Community and clinical applications*. London, UK: Routledge

Sustaining spaces: Community meal provision and mental wellbeing

Societal challenges such as wealth concentration, underemployment, increased living costs and the retrenchment of publically-funded services are most keenly felt by socio-economically vulnerable people (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2015). Lives under austerity are characterized by low incomes, inadequate housing, food insecurities, growing debt and social exclusion (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Tankel, & Groot, 2013). Such social determinants of health (Raphael, 2011) work in concert to create day-to-day living situations that are draining and divisive (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Groot, & Tankel, 2014). Experiences of material deprivation and stress undermine people's psychological and physical health (De Vogli & Owusu, 2014; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2015). Increased austerity contributes to increased substance misuse, suicide, homicide, mental distress and anxiety for many (Mattheys, 2015; Quaglio, Karapiperis, Woensel, Arnold, & McDaid, 2013). Austerity programmes have relentlessly stripped away income and social supports, placing people under increasing material and psychological strain (Bramall, 2013; Stuckler & Basu, 2013). Demand for mental health services is increasing at a time when resources for such services are decreasing with further negative consequences for people's health (O'Hara, 2014; Quaglio et al., 2013).

The precariat comprises an emerging social class of denizens, who live insecure lives with restrained socio-economic resources, reduced rights, and decreased hope of social mobility (Standing, 2011). Members of this precariat survive on inadequate state benefits, low wages, and degrading, dangerous, disrupted and 'flexible' (under)employment (Standing, 2014). Precariat lifeworlds are textured by uncertainty, despair, and limitations of agency. These precarious lives are characterized by perilous access to the basic necessities in life and psychological supports that often buffer people against austerity (Hodgetts et al., 2013; 2014). Such cityscapes of hardship and fragmentation, or landscapes of despair, are textured by the neoliberal dismantlement of social infrastructure (Dear & Wolch, 1987; Knowles, 2000). Precarious lives are not experienced in a vacuum, but exist within this wider landscape of despair, with topographies of poverty manifesting in histories of institutional violence and exclusion, rendering members of the precariat as 'people out of place' (Bauman, 2004; Cresswell, 1996). In this context, experiences of alienation and dislocation (Marx, 1867/1974; Hodgetts et al., 2015), stigma (Newnes, Holmes & Dunn, 2001), discrimination (Corker et al., 2013), isolation (Ootes,

Pols, Tonkins & Willems, 2013) and social exclusion (Parr, 1997) are commonplace for mental health service users.

Contemporary landscapes of despair intensify the need for access to spaces in which members of the precariat can find basic resources such as food as well as respite, understanding and support. Despite ongoing pressure to conform to neoliberal ideals of the atomized, self-interested individual, people continue to enact social practices that manifest a relational or communitarian ethos in social life. Central to such practices are reciprocal social relationships evident in informal work, peer advocacy, time-banking and bartering (Pickering, 2003) that cultivate local generosity and responsibility for the well-being of others (Bargh, 2007). Such practices manifest an ethics of interconnected humanity that comprises a challenge to the atomized individual that is at the heart of the neoliberal project (Hodgetts et al., 2013).

This chapter explores such practices in the construction of an *enclave of care*, where we document how marginalized groups can respond to adversity through a collective initiative. We consider how a community meal not only provides a constant, reliable source of food, but also provides a judgement free space for members of the precariat that affords respite from the pressures associated with the broader landscape of despair (Stolte & Hodgetts, 2015). We show how, within increasingly penal and punitive everyday landscapes (Wacquant, 2008), members of the precariat co-create an enclave of care where they can gain respite, dignity, a sense of belonging, and sustenance. To explore these issues, we draw on Lefebvre's (1991) work on the dialectics of place to explore how enplaced social practices or routine shared activity structures (Hodgetts et al., 2015) serve to texture and transform the community meal into an enclave of care that produces inclusive and humane experiences, strengthens social networks, and contributes towards the construction of a sense of self-worth and belonging (Fortier, 1999; Williams, 1999). This is particularly important for the meal participants, many of whom are mental health outpatients and are all too aware of their marginalization in the broader landscape of despair.

The community meal as enclave of care

Situated within central Hamilton, Gateway Church provides a weekly hot, hearty and filling two-course evening meal. The church hall, with its well-equipped kitchen, and bathroom facilities are used for church activities throughout the week, however, on Wednesday's it 'belongs' to the community meal (*Figure 2 left*) shows an exterior view of

the rear of the church). The meal is located within the church hall. Although, the faith-based ritual of 'saying grace' is observed, the space of the meal is not overtly religious, nor is it employed as an evangelical tool for proselytizing attendees. The meal relies on both public donations and the sale of second-hand goods in the charity shop. The Shop, located within easy walking distance on a nearby street (*Figure 2* right shows a street view of the charity shop, looking towards the church) also doubles as an office, meeting room, and informal 'drop-in' centre for local people.



Figure 2: Exterior spaces of the meal and charity shop

The first author employed an ethnographic approach to explore the funding, setup, and organization of the meal, which she attended weekly for 12 months. Rebekah spent time shadowing Bobbie, the meal organizer and leading social worker, became involved in funding activities, and helped to prepare the meal. While attending the meal, Rebekah talked with meal attendees and organizers, made extensive field notes, took photographs (as appropriate and as consented by participants), observed social interactions, and engaged in a series of formal interviews and shop-along excursions with seven precariat families. These sources inform our analysis, and provide a comprehensive overview of the meal as well as detailing specific emplaced interactions within this space. In this chapter, we focus on the meal and the experiences of diners to understand the construction of this enclave of care.

Journeying into the central city from their homes in the less affluent outer suburbs by public bus, carpooling, or even by sleeping rough at the entranceway, a group of up to eight volunteers arrive prior to 7:30am and by 9.00am the church hall has been transformed into a dining room (see *Figure 3*). The seating arrangements are reminiscent of those to be found in a *wharekai* (dining hall) at a modern-day *marae* (Māori communal complex for the conduct of everyday life). The arrangement of the tables and chairs in this manner evokes a culturally familiar space for many participating meal attendees from which they can draw strength and renew their sense of belonging and connectedness (Mead, 1934/2003; King, Hodgetts, Rua & Whetu, 2015). These volunteers set up and then dress the trestle tables with colourful tablecloths, china crockery, stainless-steel cutlery, glasses, smart stainless-steel water carafes, and matching salt and pepper shakers. These small, inexpensive touches transform an ordinary church hall into a humanizing dining space, elevating the provision of food into a sociable meal. As we demonstrate through our analysis, such small acts texture the hall as an enclave for respect, dignity and inclusion.



Figure 3: Main dining area of the Gateway Community Meal, looking towards the entrance and servery area.

In the kitchen, volunteers engage in food preparation, peeling potatoes, chopping pumpkins and preparing favoured desserts, whilst talking about mundane topics of conversation (see *Figure 4*, depicting volunteers, kitchen, and food preparation). For this food preparation team, being able to engage in taken-for-granted forms of social interaction provides relief from a landscape textured by exclusion. The banter and interactions occurring as the volunteers perform mundane tasks are reminiscent of scenes from a *marae* kitchen. These simple food-related acts encompass past traditions in the present, anchoring people in time and space and reaffirming a sense of belonging, connectedness and contribution (King et al., 2015). This sense of connection is evident in reflections from the volunteers who present their involvement in the meal as a meaningful and fun activity through which they can *manaaki* (care for) other people:

I class [meal preparation] as a service ... [I come] to serve others. To use my own tongue [Māori language], to tautoko (to support, acknowledge, engage and dialogue with other). To help without requiring or expecting any form of financial gain. To help for nothing. I enjoy hanging around here ... I've got a good crowd to work with ... You look back at what's been done and see that little bit of goodness and that little bit of help. – Buddy

[I like] the craziness that we get up to. It's basically doing something for the poor of Hamilton who can't afford food.... – Roxy

These quotes highlight the value of caring for others that the volunteers, who are themselves members of the precariat, find in the day's activities. Such accounts challenge neoliberal characterizations of welfare recipients as indolent abjects. The volunteers take command of and reconstruct the space through small acts, such as Buddy bringing music to play throughout the day:

I bring my own music....it livens up [people and the space]... I help where I can and share what I have. I have the music so I share it.

By bringing along music, Buddy becomes more than a recipient of charity; he becomes an active participant in the texturing of the space. The food preparation ritual transforms these individuals from discarded members of society (Bauman, 2004) into contributing, valued members of a community of care. This democratizing process is particularly salient given the context of a broader landscape of penal welfare (Wacquant, 2008) within which the emphasis is on controlling members of the precariat and reducing their perceived laziness and dependency.



Figure 4: Photographs depicting kitchen facilities, food preparation and break time

Context is important in understanding the prosocial nature of the meal enclave. The volunteers who set the scene for the meal are often considered out-of-place (Douglas, 1966) in public places and ‘moved along’ in accordance with the aesthetic sensibilities, preferences and rules of more affluent social groups (Stolte & Hodgetts, 2015). Through the construction of an enclave of care for people who are deemed out-of-place, the construction of the meal space acts as an ordered transgression against oppression. The actions of the volunteers destabilize commonly held and abjectifying characterizations that are imposed on the precariat by neoliberal protagonists and institutions. In this context, the actions of the volunteers constitute re-enactments of citizenship by people who are often positioned as ‘failed citizens’ (Standing, 2011). The creation of a fleeting space of respite generates the sense of purpose, identity and citizenship crucial for mental well-being (Parr, 2000).

The community meal: care, dignity and respite

The scene is set and people arrive for dinner. Some diners walk to the meal, some come by public transport, others pile into cars. Coins are donated (or not) in a cup by the entrance, people find a seat, some save spaces for family and friends. At 5:30pm, grace or *karakia* (Māori prayer) is said, after which the meal is served. The meal servers comprise a group of middle class volunteers who arrive at the end of the working day, and take over from the precariat volunteers who cook the food. Diners take up their dinner plates and wait patiently in line (*Figure 5*). The actions of the meal servers in this space are influenced by Bobbie's ethos and her emphasis on Christian values. As Bobbie reflects:

You're serving the meal to Jesus. If that person was Jesus, would you just throw the food on the plate any old how? No, you wouldn't, would you? You would place it nicely, with a smile.

Here, Bobbie demonstrates an awareness of mundane acts of care that materialize through the provision of food, and invokes a broader ethic of care. After being served, people return to their seats, eat the meal, and converse with one another (*Figure 5*). Clean, cold water is provided in tall stainless steel carafes. Many people also indulge in seconds. Meal servers collect the dirty plates, cutlery, and unused items. Sometimes too efficiently, leaving people without spoons to eat dessert, which invokes humorous and good natured banter. After the main meal, dessert is served along with hot drinks. People relax, read the local newspaper, enjoy a cup of tea, and leave to go home at their leisure. Volunteers remove the dirty plates and cutlery to the kitchen, clean the brightly-patterned tablecloths, pack away the trestle-tables, stack the chairs, vacuum the floor, and wash the exterior patio.



Figure 5: Main dining area in use on a Wednesday evening.

The meal is not just about feeding hungry people. It is also intended to provide nourishment in humanizing ways to restore the dignity of attendees who live precarious lives within the broader neoliberalized and uncaring landscape. Contrasts between the meal space and key neoliberal locales within the broader landscape of despair are useful at this point to foreground the re-humanizing and inclusive functions of the Gateway meal. Below a meal attendee, Lea, contrasts the Gateway meal with another meal offered in a local carpark:

I like coming here [Gateway meal] because you can sit down and eat. At [other meal], it's just in a car park and there's nowhere to sit, so people just sit in the garden or the gutter to eat their food.

The car park meal provides food on paper plates with plastic utensils. People literally have to eat out of the gutter. This reflects not only the disposable nature of the food and cutlery, but also the people who consume it. The material implications of ideological systems coalesce into disposable plates and uncaring spaces, contributing towards a landscape of despair that erodes the wellbeing, dignity and value necessary for mental health. The significance of such details is easily overlooked, by those for whom eating on proper plates and sitting at tables is a taken-for-granted everyday practice.

In contrast, in the Gateway space, the provision of proper table settings, welcoming smiles, non-judgmental inclusion, and a hot meal supports mental health (*cf.*, Johnson, 2012). Dignity, respect and value are crucial components in the construction of the Gateway meal as an enclave for care. Small deeds, such as carefully placing mashed potatoes on an everyday object like a real dinner plate, have much broader significance. Many soup kitchens typically offer a hasty, harried feed, without the rituals associated with both meal preparation and consumption (Musarò, 2013). The lack of commonly used objects in the social construction of a legitimate meal – tables and chairs, cutlery and crockery – effectively dehumanizes those in receipt of the food. While providing food to needy people is important, a lack of care in the provision of a meal risks reducing the status of the precariat to ‘not-quite-human’.

The shared space of the meal increases positive interactions amongst diverse meal participants (Desjardins, 2004). At the meal, people are invited to participate as valued members of society who collectively create a dignifying enclave of care from which they can gain a sense of support and solidarity. The middle class meal servers also gain through socially interacting with members of the precariat that they might otherwise never meet: ‘the poor’ become familiar faces with individual names. This ‘betwixt and between’ space of the meal (Sibley, 1995) holds the potential to dissolve the social distance between attendees by fostering a sense of support and ‘being in this together’. For example, Maree described how, when hearing a person make derogatory remarks about a ‘lazy bum’ in the street, her children rebuked the speaker, saying “*No, he’s not. He goes to Gateway. He’s actually a really nice guy.*” This ‘crossing over’ from excluded outsider to known friend exemplifies the importance of creating enclaves whereby the border between insider and outsider, legitimate and illegitimate is blurred. The shared space of the meal increases positive interactions amongst diverse meal participants (Desjardins, 2004), fostering a sense of support and ‘being in this together’, which challenges instances of exclusion and delegitimation within the broader cityscape.

The broader landscape of despair manifests an abjectifying climate of blame and disgust (Tyler, 2008), where the (dis)stress of precarious lives is often internalized as a personal failing (Smail, 1996; Walker, Johnson, & Cunningham, 2012). The meal enclave provides a space for diners to externalize such (dis)stress, and to discuss strategies of resistance to victim blaming narratives and penal institutional practice. The understanding and support attendees offer each other is invaluable in the management and preservation of their mental health. Dinner conversations are often generic in nature, but they also reflect the everyday experiences of navigating the city as a member of the precariat. One

meal participant Lea walks for 45 minutes to eat her only meal of the day, while enduring derogatory remarks from passers-by. In contrast to this humiliation, at the meal Lea is treated as an enjoyable dinner companion who participates in conversational topics. Because mental health issues have common currency among diners, conversations also include references to encounters with mental health professionals. For example, during one particular evening, Molly recounted her frustration at having her experiences of medication use dismissed by mental health professionals: *"I'm not doing so well. I can feel a bit of a downer coming on...I know when I'm getting low...I can tell"*. Her comments at the dinner table were readily understood, and met with nods of agreement, by those seated nearby. A lively discussion ensued whereby other dinner attendees shared their stories of being patronized, condescended to, or otherwise ignored by healthcare staff. Emplaced support such as this reflect the sense of solidarity that is cultivated in the meal space, which also contributes to the promotion of the mental health of people living with mental health issues (Wicks, Trevena, & Quine, 2006). The certainty that her experiences of being alienated from her own mental health issues were shared by others externalized the distress she felt, working to generalize her experiences to an increasingly uncaring system.

The ordinary practices woven throughout the meal humanize and dignify diners. One such example is the reading of a local newspaper during the meal. Previously, in *Figure 5* which was taken during the meal, a folded copy of the paper lies on the table, whilst its owner queues for dessert. As shown below in *Figure 6*, Roxy is engrossed in reading the paper after eating her meal. It is commonplace for attendees to read this newspaper while waiting for the meal, during dinner, with a hot drink after dessert, or taking it away for later reading.



Figure 6: Reading the newspaper after dinner

Easily overlooked, simple practices such as reading a newspaper and engaging in mundane social interaction are synchronous with the texturing of the meal space, transforming an ordinary church hall into a domesticated locale for dwelling, belonging and respite. The newspaper itself is a familiar object that populates the space, and reading it connects the user to the wider landscape, invoking ideals of citizenship and participation for diners as members of an imagined audience (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981). A sense of self and belonging comes to the fore through these emplaced practices (King et al., 2015) that involve the use of material objects (Heidegger, 1927/1962). In addition, the value of ‘being together’ (Heidegger, 1927/1962), as materialized in the emplacement of the newspaper, is easily overlooked when one does not experience exclusion on a daily basis. As such then, the meal provides a ‘space for being’ where members of the precariat can engage in the enjoyment of a meal, and its attendant social practices, without fear of disruption or of being ‘moved along’.

The meal is also an opportunity to relax and enjoy a meal without the pervasive concerns and worries of everyday life, particularly the ever-present worry of stretching food budgets to meet the household’s needs (Carne & Mancini, 2012). As Ginny puts it, *“It’s like a night off, it’s the one day I don’t have to think about cooking...it’s hard work making everything from scratch”*. This break from the relentlessness of daily food preparation and cleaning up is cherished, as is the physical and mental respite. We see glimpses of this also in the following comment from Bev, a retiree:

I like going [to the meal]. I like everything they make – sausages, macaroni cheese, stew. I like not having to do the dishes ... I don't tell my kids that I go. They'd have fit!

Bev is able to draw strength from this space of respite, which also acts as a buffer on return to the (dis)stress of everyday life. The process of coming together and eating a meal, without associated worries and concerns provides participants with a sense of belonging, dignity and solidarity with fellow diners, and is fostered through human connections in this enclave (Fenger & Paridon, 2011). Sharing a communal, family-style dinner meal, along with the shared experiences of being together, offers respite from, and a space for, sharing experiences of precarious and insecure lives.

As an important cultural practice that can enable social engagement (Sobal & Nelson, 2003), communal eating satisfies a need for union with others, with conviviality establishing and reinforcing social ties (Mintz & Bois, 2002; Simmel, 1910/1993). Coming together to eat can transform a mundane meal into an occasion of social renewal, support and care (Sobal & Nelson, 2003). These aspects of the meal are evidenced in the myriad of mundane taken-for-granted social interactions that texture the space: people saving seats for friends, a cheerful greeting, gentle enquiries after one's health, conversations over dinner, the promise to 'see you next week' as people leave. Diners report liking to sit in a particular place so as to engage in social interactions of those around them, as Bob said: *"some people, they're always having a bad week...but yeah, we have good conversations down that end [of the table]"*.

Chapter conclusion

There is something very familiar, yet profound, about communal eating that makes the positive emplaced aspects of a community meal realizable. The meal brings people together in a basic human activity, while simultaneously relieving pressure on limited budgets and creating a participatory event which people can 'go out' to in a consumer society where, due to a lack of resources, their participation is often limited and devalued. Our research into this dynamic communal space that is communally constructed by members of the precariat, illustrates how during austere times people can co-create enclaves within which they are able to gain dignity and respect, and to engage with others in ways that promote mental wellness. Many urban spaces are experienced as hostile spaces by members of the precariat (McGrath & Reavey, 2015), and are subsequently either avoided as much as possible (Pinfold, 2000), or utilized in ways that render their

presence 'invisible' to members of the public (Knowles, 2000). In contrast to these experiences, in the meal space all are welcome, treated with dignity and their wellbeing is of chief concern. Here, denizens can become citizens again, attendees can interact with others on their own terms, and they can gain respite from the prejudices of more affluent groups that negatively texture their everyday lives in the neoliberal city. The sociocultural norms that regulate and texture the meal space are those of the families who attend, not those of the wealthy philanthropic donor class who commonly like to dictate how, when, where and in what way charity occurs. Here, 'beggars can be choosers', and members of the precariat are not treated as people out-of-place.

For members of the precariat, food and poverty are intricately interconnected, with food poverty affecting social inclusion (Fitchen, 1988; Garden et al., 2014). As noted by Musarò (2013, p.150) "food spaces without friends, festivity and social connectivity become spaces of alienation, distress and loneliness". An inability to eat with others not only results in social isolation, but also a loss of the (collective) identities that are shared during such meals (Warde, 1997). The provision of an evening meal is particularly salient, given that evening meals have special meaning as a shared meal (Sobal, 2000), are viewed as an important time to be with friends and family (Blake et al., 2008), and enact important sociocultural values (Charles & Kerr, 1988; Murcott, 1982). This is particularly relevant for those who live alone on limited means (Holm, 2001), and whose participation offers a chance to eat with people experiencing similar circumstances. The meal is textured as a space that enhances the potential for building cohesive community bonds (Turner, 1977; Watkins & Shulman, 2008). The practices of resourcing, preparing and sitting down together to eat a meal using small objects of inclusion such as proper cutlery and china plates, transforms participants back from denizens into valued citizens (Simmel, 1910/1993).

In considering issues around the humanizing potential of food, this chapter deviates from the dominant focus in research into food insecurity, which typically examines 'healthy' food provision for the poor (e.g. Pelham-Burn, Frost, Russell, & Barker, 2014), improving nutrient intakes of attendees (e.g. Dachner, Gaetz, Poland & Tarasuk, 2009), and reducing food waste (e.g. Freedman & Bartoli, 2013). These issues are clearly important. However, such research ignores the broader human dimensions of community meals, and the spaces for care that can be created through the collective provision of food with dignity. For members of the precariat, particularly those who live alone with mental health issues, communal food preparation and consumption is an important social and humanizing event (King et al., 2015), which helps to cultivate a sense of participation,

inclusion (Dowler, Kneafsey, Cox, & Holloway, 2009), belonging (Musarò, 2013), recognition as a community member (Jansen, 1997), as well as the preservation of mental health (Mattheys, 2015). Sharing a meal can provide a deceptively simple way of cultivating social inclusion (Jones, 2002), fostering community (Harper, 2006), enacting solidarity (O'Brien, 2008), and positive social interactions (Watland, Hallenbeck, & Kresse, 2008). The community meal explored in this chapter reflects how collective efforts can result in the co-construction of human enclaves of care for members of the precariat to be together in a way that promotes dignity, inclusion and wellness (King et al., 2015).

The meal is an inclusive and sustaining space which actively works to support mental health. This enclave of care fosters agency, solidarity and a sense of community, externalizes despair, creates a space to be, and counteracts the internalized distress of poverty. Such enclaves of care are particularly significant given the landscape of despair and hardship that textures the everyday reality of many meal attendees. Here, at the meal, mundane food-related practice acts as a humanizing force, and is itself an act of resistance to dominant discourses. The process of providing a meal is part of a global pattern of resistance to neoliberalism and oppression that involves socially transformative practice (Bargh, 2007; Preston & Aslett, 2013).

Considering the broader implications of our work, the promotion by successive neoliberal governments of measureable, uniform solutions to multifaceted issues has seen locally responsive and socially transformative programmes, such as this provision of a weekly meal, relegated to the side-lines of social service delivery (Giroux, 2010; Preston & Aslett, 2013). Yet, it is these 'unregulated' local and community-led initiatives that enact humane and dignified responses to poverty that are too often absent from programs focused on achieving measureable outputs and reducing social spending. Indeed, configuring the poor as 'dependents' who require managing is one tactic in persuading the public that alleviating the hardship and suffering of poverty is to remove a whip that, when cracked, will motivate people to work harder and be less indolent. As our chapter illustrates, it is the reverse that is true: when considered as valued citizens within an enclave of care, members of the precariat take great pride in working and participating as equals (Hodgetts, 2015). It is worth noting here that European countries such as Finland and Sweden, which have historically had strong social supports and who increased their social welfare spending, including investing in family care programmes, mitigated the adverse effects on mental health experienced by more neoliberal countries (Karanikolos et al., 2013). An increase in social welfare spending saw reduced mortality from both suicide and diseases related to social circumstances, as well as improved mental health outcomes

(Karanikolos et al., 2013). Considering mental health in particular, increased social welfare spending is a key feature in reducing the despair felt by members of our society. The provision of social welfare in conjunction with humanizing and dignifying social services protects vulnerable people, preventing further social and economic harm. In the meantime, the creation of enclaves of care is one possible way of keeping people alive until such time as our governments adjust their policies to become more humane.

Chapter 5: Responding to food insecurity

The meal documented in the previous chapter is one community-level response to food insecurity. My research participants also responded to their food insecurity within and across a range of everyday settings. Drawing on interviews and interactions with participants from five households recruited from the community meal, Chapter 5 considers the domestic space of the home as a key site of food insecurity. The home is a primary site where people engage in food-related practice, including appropriating and individualizing bought goods (Tilley, 2006). Chapter 5 investigates the everyday domestic practices regarding the sourcing, preparing, storing, sharing and consuming of food. I consider how places within the home, such as kitchens and pantries, materialize experiences of the absence of enough to eat and, as such, are crucial research sites for investigating everyday responses to food insecurity. Participant domestic spaces are also explored in relation to the broader landscape of food insecurity. This landscape includes places such as supermarkets where participants engage in routinized practices of sourcing food under restraint.

Chapter 5 presents the reality of food insecurity in everyday life, including practices of 'making do', such as food rationing and eating unpleasant, dated, and rotten foodstuffs. In this chapter I draw on the multiple interactions I had with participants across locales (community meal, home and supermarket). By considering how food insecurity impacts on everyday life, I shape a broader picture of the ways in which the inequitable social structures driving poverty require the development of deliberate responses that shape familial life in domestic spaces. Doing so required me to make visible the complexities involved in managing precarious lives such as providing food for one's family during times of hardship.

Looking out beyond the home, in Chapter 5 I also take into account how Victorian-era moralizing and contemporary neoliberal narratives (see Chapter 1) work in concert to obscure the inequitable systems and structures that perpetuate poverty and food insecurity. I detail how people feel a sense of shame and stigma regarding their experiences of hardship, and subsequently self-silence and engage in practices of 'passing' as a way of hiding their food insecurity. By documenting the experiences and responses of Anna, Lea, Ginny, Julye & Raywyn, I render visible aspects of hegemonic silencing and examine in-depth the practices of passing, shame and food rationing that occur in these households as householders procure food and cook meals.

This chapter has been submitted for publication as the following journal article:

Graham, R., Hodgetts, D., Stolte, O., & Chamberlain, K. (2018). Hiding in plain sight. The experience of food insecurity and rationing in five New Zealand families. *Food, culture and society*.

Hiding in plain sight: Experiences of food insecurity and rationing in five New Zealand families

Abstract Neoliberal narratives dominate constructions of poverty. The dearth of alternative legitimating narratives effectively silences the lived experiences of issues such as food insecurity. In conjunction with hegemonic silencing, feelings of shame and personal inadequacy further drive these experiences from public view. People living with poverty learn to hide their everyday realities from public scrutiny and engage in social practices in an effort to reduce experiences of stigma, oppression and social rejection. As part of a larger study into food and poverty, in this paper we draw on interviews with five householders who source and provide food for their respective families. In doing so, we document how lived experiences of food scarcity bring the often hidden aspects of marginalized lives into view. Householders utilize practices of passing and food rationing in order to navigate the shame and moral accusations associated with poverty.

Key words: passing, families, shame, food poverty, neoliberal narratives

Introduction

Like a pandemic, neoliberal ideology has spread across the globe and has proven highly damaging to economically insecure groups (Schrecker & Bamba, 2015). The result has been increased insecurity in employment and lower wages for many workers (Standing, 2015). Correspondingly, the retrenchment and underfunding of welfare provisions and social services has seen low-income families being expected to do more with less (Seabrook, 2013), whilst simultaneously being constructed as problematic and in need of punitive measures to encourage them to lift them out of poverty (Wacquant, 2008). Following international trends, successive governments in New Zealand have characterized those in need of assistance as overly-dependent, maladjusted failures (Hodgetts et al., 2014). Alongside this, state-administered welfare has progressively become more bureaucratic (McNeill, 2017), and is delivered in increasingly humiliating and degrading ways (Sudden, 2016). The extensive paperwork requirements for state-funded food assistance, along with the required ritualistic self-abasement and prostration, prevent people from accessing much-needed food support (Hodgetts et al., 2014; McNeill, 2017). This approach is intentionally designed to reduce welfare spending and contributes to the hardships and insecurities faced by families in need of assistance. This article is concerned with food insecurity.

The primary driver of food insecurity in countries such as New Zealand is economic insufficiency, with low-income families increasingly unable to afford food (Smith et al., 2013a). Alongside the United Nations Committee on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (1999) we conceptualize food insecurity as the absence of sufficient, nutritionally adequate, safe foods, as well as the inability to acquire such foods in socially acceptable ways. The absence of enough to eat physically materializes the reality of hardship, and is a relatively constant and prevalent dimension of poverty (Boon & Farnsworth, 2011). New Zealand families experiencing food insecurity face persistent deprivation (Turner et al., 2011), social exclusion (Carne & Mancini, 2012), monotony of food choice (Wells, 2011), loss of dignity (Sudden, 2016), and anxiety and stress (McNeill, 2017). Food insecurity in particular prevents people from engaging in the social practice of hosting others; sharing food is essential for building networks that buffer people against adversity (Sobal, 2000). In addition, ongoing insecurities associated with poverty forces many families to appeal to extended family members, friends and neighbours for help which, over time, can exhaust social support networks (Gazso, McDaniel, and Waldron, 2016). Consequently, food insecurity often leaves people isolated (Stewart et al., 2014).

Dominant public narratives concerning poverty emphasize individual self-responsibility and 'choice'. Consequently, neoliberal-inspired solutions to food insecurity focus on perceived individual deficiencies such as inadequate budgeting skills or poor food choices (Graham et al., 2016). This obscures broader structural issues such as low wages, insecure work, inadequate and expensive housing, and welfare retrenchment (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). In addition, neoliberal narratives obfuscate power relationships (Gramsci, 1971). Societal institutions such as corporatized media and welfare-policy reformers deliberately scapegoat marginalized and impoverished groups (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). By blaming 'immoral' and 'inferior' individuals, influential people are able to maintain dominance and garner compliance and support from less affluent groups (Gramsci, 1971). Resistant voices are habitually downplayed, ignored or undermined in public deliberations in favour of individualising blame rhetoric (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). Taken together, the public scapegoating, downplaying of alternative voices, and dominant neoliberal narratives creates a powerful form of hegemonic silencing (Gramsci, 1971).

In conjunction with hegemonic silencing, feelings of shame and personal inadequacy further drive the lived experiences of food insecurity from public view. Food shortages in particular evoke strong emotions in people (Seidman 2008), with parents feeling substantial shame at not being able to provide adequately for their families (van der Horst, Pascucci, &

Bol, 2014). We draw on Probyn's (2005) conceptualization of shame as an emotion that is deeply felt at the core of the self and in social relations. The individualizing of poverty and food insecurity excludes and de-legitimizes the accounts of people experiencing hardship, while simultaneously prompting feelings of shame and embarrassment. These feelings can rupture a sense of belonging and self-assurance, leaving people feeling unsure and out-of-place (Probyn, 2005). This makes the experiences of hardship even more difficult.

To recap, in a society that stigmatizes and shames people who struggle to keep their families fed and housed (Hodgetts et al., 2014), those living with poverty and food insecurity learn to hide their everyday realities from public scrutiny. Marginalized groups often engage in the social practice of passing as a survival mechanism to reduce the experience of stigma, oppression and social rejection (Brown 2001; Harrison & Cooley, 2012). Passing as a social practice is both necessary and problematic (Brown 2001). The ability to pass assists individuals in navigating social situations and reduces the barrage of moralistic judgements directed at those in poverty. However, passing as a social practice involves posturing to dominant ideologies (Harrison & Cooley, 2012), and, in doing so, works to uphold oppressive social hierarchies and keep hegemonic narratives firmly in place (Schlossberg, 2001). Subsequently, the dehumanizing flaws inherent in neoliberal structural systems remain (Harrison & Cooley, 2012). It is necessary to challenge hegemonic norms and construct alternative narratives that legitimize people's experiences of hardship.

This paper documents aspects of lived experiences of food insecurity, bringing the often hidden aspects of marginalized lives into view to foreground alternative explanations regarding food scarcity and hardship. Specifically, we conceptualize the experiences of five New Zealand households facing food insecurity within the context of international studies from comparable countries that have also been adversely affected by neoliberal policies. Particular attention is given to the efforts of household members to pass or hide their food insecurity and to ration what they do have, as common responses to hardship. The role of neoliberal narratives in suppressing a sense of solidarity, increasing social exclusion, and exacerbating a sense of shame and isolation among householders is also considered.

Research Approach

Social practice theory (Halkier & Jensen, 2011; Reckwitz, 2002) informs our exploration of food insecurity. In particular, we note that the everyday lives of these participants are constituted through a dynamic nexus of social practices that also reproduce societal structures and relationships that shape their positions in society (Reckwitz, 2002). In considering how

social practices shape participant experiences of hardship and food insecurity, we document how they downplay their experiences of hardship, engaging instead in practices of ‘making do’ and passing as ‘normal’ families who have enough to eat. We consider how hegemonic silencing necessitate attending to what is disclosed, what is talked around but avoided, and what goes unsaid during interviews (Sheriff, 2000). As Sue (2014, p.134) writes, research into hegemonic silencing must “be alert for breaches in order to capture both the rupture and the process of silence.”

This research was undertaken as part of a three-year project into food insecurity in New Zealand. The first author initially met participants at a local weekly community meal. In Graham et al., (2017) we outline aspects of the community meal and the way in which it acts as a humanizing and sustaining space for those who attend. Research engagements involved talking with multiple family members alongside weekly interactions while eating and talking together at the community meal. Engagements also involved additional participant observations, casual conversations, and extensive field notes, as well as a series of interviews with participating families, including shop-along and photo-elicitation activities. Ethical approval for this research was granted by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee. Written informed consent was obtained prior to engaging in formal interviews and for the use of photographs. Pseudonyms are utilized throughout.

Here, we draw on interviews with Ginny, Lea, Anna, Raywyn, and Julye, who source and provide food for their respective households. Ginny is from a white, middle-class background. Her ex-husband is in prison, leaving her to care for their seven children (aged six to sixteen) while managing part-time study as she attempts to create a new life. Lea grew up in a working-class Māori household. The oldest of eight, Lea has ongoing difficulties with her mental health, leaving her struggling to maintain a home and parent her children; her youngest child is fostered by another couple, while her older teenager divides her time between home and her boyfriend. Anna worked in the hospitality industry prior to the birth of her child. From a white, working-class background, Anna has always been in paid employment and assumed, when she needed additional assistance, there would be a safety net to keep her and her child fed and housed. The absence of such support has left Anna struggling to make ends meet. Raywyn is of Māori and Pasifika descent and works part-time to support her family. She has five children of her own, and also cares for her brother’s daughter. Her partner recently experienced serious mental health issues and they were subsequently evicted from their rental property. In response, Raywyn and her family have moved in with Julye. Julye is from a working-class background and is of Māori and European descent. She has three children, one of whom has

significant disabilities requiring additional care and support. Julye is also in part-time employment and provides care for her aging parents, who reciprocate by providing respite care for her children.

Having a range of engagements with each participant proved important for generating insights into the specific situation of each of the households, along with their practices for navigating the complexities of food insecurity. For people experiencing poverty, interviews (such as welfare office or police interviews) can be associated with negative outcomes. Incorporating multiple interactions (interviews, shop-along excursions, photo-elicitation activities, and shared meals) were important for building trust within the research relationships. Interviews (17 in total) and associated photographs exposed hegemonic silences around food insecurity. Being together with participants in specific food-related spaces such as kitchens and supermarkets was helpful in revealing contextualized, nuanced responses to food insecurity. For example, observing interactions between participants and supermarket staff, particularly when participants needed to put back items at the checkout due to the absence of funds, revealed the (dis)stress associated with sourcing food for people of modest means.

Hiding in Plain Sight

The food-related practices of participants are not simply routine behavioural reactions to a human need for sustenance. Rather, they are performative in that these practices reflect responses to collective social processes which subject poorer people to increased moral scrutiny. This scrutiny is evident in the ways in which poorer people's food hardships are either downplayed or dismissed as being a result of poor choices and personal deficits. Subsequently, research participants engaged in a number of practices as a way of distancing themselves from the stigma and moral judgements associated poverty. Briefly, poverty narratives emphasizing individual responsibility and blame contribute to people experiencing poverty engaging in the practice of passing as a way of minimizing the moral judgements associated with their food insecurity.

Anna's shame, fear and humiliation at her situation drove her to hide the extent of her hunger and poverty from everyone, including her social worker: "They [NGO] had no idea that I had no food and stuff, because I mean, I hid it from everyone... They asked me 'why are you even in the program, your daughter is doing so good'." Anna's sense of shame at her perceived moral inadequacies meant that passing as a competent parent, despite her hunger and distress, was preferable to being 'outed' as a failed parent struggling to feed her child. Anna's habitus (Bourdieu, 1979) as an articulate woman from a middle-class background is at odds

with dominant constructions of poverty where poorer people are seen to be individually flawed and overly dependent on state handouts (Hodgetts et al., 2014). Her middle-class habitus aided her in her practice of passing and in hiding the household's food insecurity. The moral judgments associated with poverty exacerbate feelings of shame, isolating people from each other and from society (Harrison & Cooley, 2012). As Probyn (2005, p.39) writes "experiences of shame make you want to disappear, to hide away and cover yourself". The myriad of blaming and shaming-style comments that occur alongside media articles on poverty means that parents such as Anna who struggle to afford food are further silenced, making accessing available help even more difficult.

The social practice of passing is not necessarily a deliberate, conscious act. Ginny also occupies the habitus of a middle-class white woman, which means that she is rarely perceived by outsiders as 'being poor'. Ginny's passing is primarily predicated on the assumptions of outsiders. She comments on the tension between outsider constructions of her life and her insider reality below:

Because I'm in a wealthy suburb I'm very hidden, my situation is hidden...There are a lot of wealthy people over this side of town. They don't fully understand how hard I have to budget, every week, just to make sure everything ticks along. How important that people giving me food is...It's not to the point where, where we're losing weight, but...it's this really delicate balance.

Ginny downplays her situation of poverty by mentioning that her body weight is not reducing. Such statements are an attempt to claw back a degree of agency in her life, but her statement takes no account of the increasing evidence of hunger alongside obesity and malnutrition amongst people of more modest means (Delisle & Batal, 2016). While Ginny tries to minimize the extent of her hardship, and in doing so diminishes the social distance between herself and the first author (a middle-class researcher), her account also reveals that she only barely manages the ongoing threat of hunger through the constant juggling of her limited resources. The other reason Ginny survives is "because people give me food". When asked to record this giving, Ginny produced an itemized list over the course of two weeks detailing items of seasonal produce, bread, milk, and assorted leftovers from thirteen separate sources (see *Figure 7*). This artefact of Ginny's practices for survival documents the inadequacy of the current welfare system to adequately meet the basic needs of families in hardship.

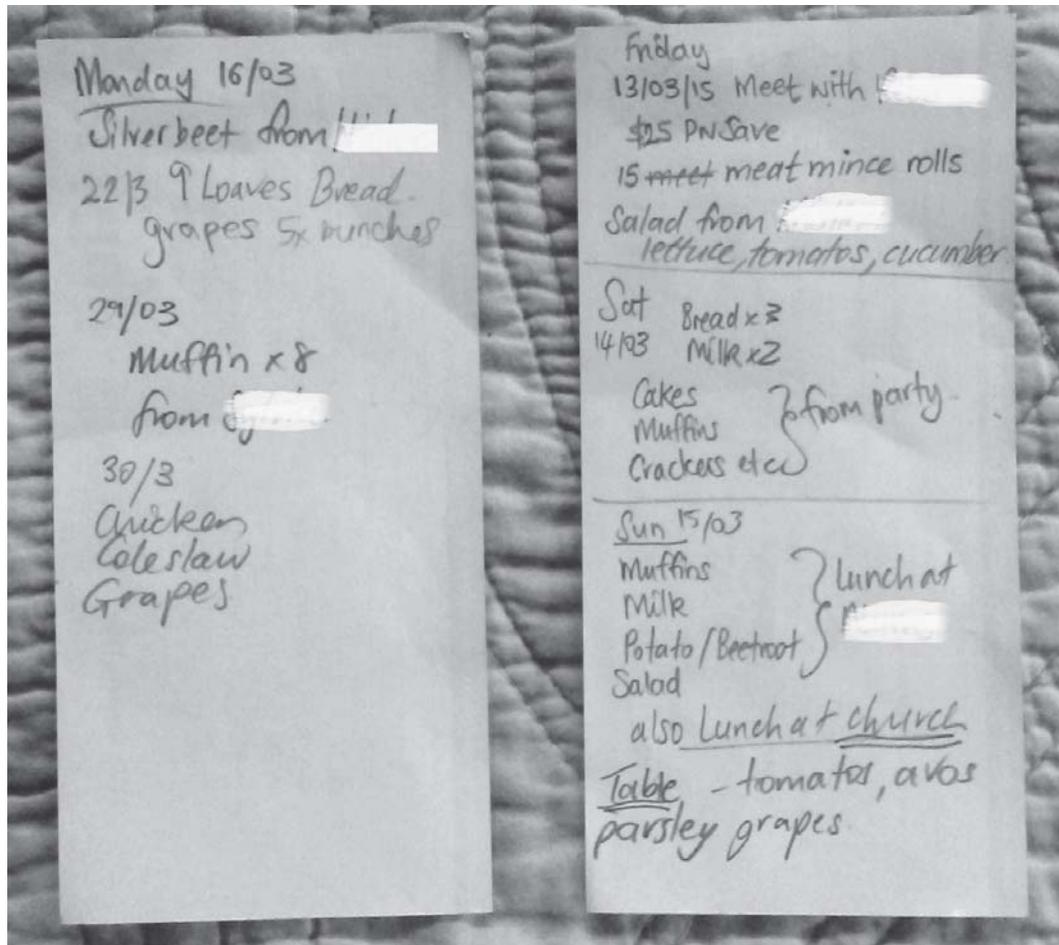


Figure 7: List of additional food items

As with other precariat families, food-provisioning tactics include foraging for discarded foods, charity, and sourcing food along familial lines (Buck-McFadyen, 2015; Kempson, et al. 2003). Ginny and her family also attend a local weekly community meal (Graham et al., 2017). Discussions around food provisioning tactics such as the viability of eating food from rubbish bins “we [the children and I] have had conversations about whether you can take food out of the bin” and the ethics of killing the family’s pet rabbits in order to have meat exemplify the sheer desperation of the household’s situation. Nevertheless, as Ginny notes, more affluent people unacquainted with the reality of poverty and food insecurity rarely understand the depth and breadth of her precarity.

Photographs of Ginny’s kitchen (Figure 8) offer a somewhat counterintuitive image of what living in poverty might look like. The potted herbs on the windowsill, pots and pans in use, and basic kitchen appliances would be at home in any middle-class kitchen. Nevertheless, it is only through Ginny’s careful budgeting, extensive practices of thrift, and the charity of

others that Ginny is able to keep her children fed and present this image of a well-stocked middle-class kitchen. The kitchen thus gives the cultivated appearance of abundance despite being a household characterized by food scarcity.



Figure 8: Ginny's kitchen

This image Ginny took of her kitchen contrasts with media constructions of food insecure parents as lacking in cooking and budgeting skills (Fox & Smith, 2011) or having inadequate nutritional knowledge (Dodds & Chamberlain, 2017). Through engaging in practices such as freezing and re-using food, minimizing waste, and growing her own herbs in window-sill pots, Ginny is able to access middle-class tropes of self-sufficiency and thrift. These narratives offer an alternative to the shaming and moral judgements associated with food insecurity. In doing so, Ginny positions herself as a caring parent who provides nutritional foods despite hardship. However, as mentioned above, this aspect of passing is problematic. Ginny cannot afford to participate in the consumerist practices that exemplify the performance of white middle-class motherhood in Western societies (Wilkes, 2015). In addition, the dominance of individualistic blame narratives weakens a sense of solidarity with similarly positioned parents. The absence of shared social narratives with which to adequately communicate her reality leaves her isolated as either the recipient of charity or a failed (middle-class) citizen. As such, passing intensifies Ginny's constant struggle, simultaneously

positioning her as an exception and perpetuating dehumanizing dominant narratives that warrant inequitable structures (Harrison & Cooley, 2012).

Housing costs are a significant component of household budgets, and can quickly become unsustainable when families are faced with increased financial pressures due to reduced incomes, rising living costs or unexpected adverse events (Pierse et al., 2016). For example, in response to increasing living costs that are increasingly difficult to absorb within a fixed income, Raywyn and Julye have temporarily combined households. Julye and her three children occupy two bedrooms, with Raywyn's household of eight occupying the garage and remaining bedroom. This pragmatic approach means that Raywyn's modest earnings stretch a bit further, which means the family are no longer relying on cheap bread to avoid hunger. Crowding together, despite the temporary financial relief it provides, is not a long-term solution and brings its own complications (Pierse et al., 2016). For now however, pooling resources means that Raywyn and her family can remain together. Julye explains, "They were gonna have to stay at, like, split their whole family up into like three different places and everything and I'm like, 'Nah, just come over home, you can stay here.'" In sharing her home, Julye also shares the cost of everyday living. This means that her worries and fears about ensuring her children have enough to eat are temporarily abated and she can pass as a parent with the resources to feed her children.

Julye's sense of shame at not being able to make ends meet, along with her concerns at being labelled an inept mother means that she hid the extent of her distress from others, going without dinner in order to ensure that her children have enough to eat:

Julye: If there was only, just say a little bit of meat of something and there was just enough to feed the kids, then I wouldn't eat, I'd go without eating. Just because I'd rather them be fed...

Interviewer: Did anyone notice?

Julye: No.

Interviewer: Did you just say 'oh I'm not hungry'?

Julye: Yeah, that's it. 'Nah it's okay, I'm not hungry, I'm all right.'

Rather than expose the fragility of her situation, Julye 'makes do' with what she has. By concealing her food shortages from others, Julye circumvents the moral judgements and disparaging remarks made by others regarding incompetent parents who cannot afford to feed their children (Brown, 2001). Julye describes her distress at managing on limited means:

And so, yeah, it was just really draining and really hard ... honestly when you did ring I was, I was nearly in tears when you said that I could [participate] ... I like felt so guilty

and so bad but I was also so very grateful and that kind of thing ... I don't even know how to explain it, like it's just something you have to see I don't even know how to explain it though.

Julye is referring to her sense of relief and guilt at needing additional support to make it through the Christmas period. Christmas is often a stressful time for families surviving on low incomes, with the absence of accepted cultural markers such as decorations, special foods, and gifts highlighting people's poverty. As Bauman (2005, p.38) writes, "The poor are labelled as 'blemished, defective, faulty, and deficient ... stigmatized because of their lack of participation into 'socially relevant' consumption practices." The consumer-fest that is Christmas in the West serves to further shame, stigmatize and isolate parents who simply cannot afford gifts and additional foods. Benjamin (1936/1999) and Probyn (2005) both point to the public intimacy of shame, being at once intensely personal and deeply social. In the above quote, Julye offers a glimpse into what it is like, being caught between her own personal feelings of relief and gratitude and a broader sense of shame and guilt at 'failing' in her ability to provide for her children. Julye also describes the difficulty of fully describing what poverty feels like. Neoliberal narratives have been so successful in inculcating the dictates of individual responsibility and personal 'choice', that people in such circumstances as Julye often no longer feel like they have a way to talk about their situation beyond self-blame and shame.

The experiences of Anna, Ginny and Julye exemplify the reality for many families in New Zealand whose realities of food insecurity are largely hidden from view. Acts of passing provide a way for impoverished parents to circumvent moral judgements. However, this simultaneously increases a sense of isolation, separating struggling families from each other (Brown, 2001). This separation works to prevent a sense of solidarity, and precludes wider society from seeing and understanding the nature of poverty and food insecurity today. Further, passing invokes issues around the lengths people go to in efforts to maintain more socially acceptable identities as good mothers who are able to feed their children.

Food Rationing and Supermarket Shopping

A key issue for the households who took part in the research was the need to ration food. Historical examples of food rationing, such as that which occurred during the Great Depression and during WWII, involved restricting food to the entire population rather than a sub-group. Such food rationing efforts were implemented by the state, and the rules were applied equitably to all. While no one enjoyed the experience, this universal approach did also cultivate a sense of solidarity and fairness in society (Anderson, 1943). Equitably distributing

food contributed to a softening of traditional hierarchies, as rationing meant that rich and poor alike consumed similar types and amounts of food (Anderson, 1943; Iselin, 2009). In contrast, the experiences of food rationing and shortages in contemporary New Zealand are confined to low-income households (Smith, Parnell, & Brown, 2010). In these households the need to ration is not an extraordinary event. It is a mundane practice or 'just what you do' when facing shortages (Buck-McFadyen, 2015; Kempson et al., 2003). Rationing extends to acts such as purchasing cheap 'fillers' with limited nutritional benefit, being thrifty with meal portions, and eating dated or barely edible foods. This section considers such practices, along with the difficulties inherent in making do when there's never enough. This section first documents supermarket expeditions as key shameful events of difficulty related to passing and food rationing, then gives further consideration to food rationing as an everyday social practice for food insecure households.

For people experiencing food insecurity, supermarket shopping is particularly stressful, difficult, and imbued with embarrassment. The act of placing cheap, inexpensive grocery items into a half-empty supermarket trolley can expose impoverishment, making passing an even more difficult prospect. In traversing the supermarket, Anna carefully considers the week ahead and the meals she must provide for herself and her daughter and purchases the bare minimum of essential items from her list. The left-hand image in *Figure 9* shows grocery items for the week for Anna and her child. Much of what she purchases is for her young child, such as nappies, inexpensive breakfast cereal, plain biscuits, and baby food. Anna cannot afford to bulk-purchase discounted items. In prioritizing her child's needs, Anna is often left with little funding to meet her own nutritional requirements.



Figure 9: Supermarket trolleys showing weekly purchases

In contrast with historical periods of food rationing, current food shortages are unevenly spread across the population, and occurring in a time of unprecedented economic wealth and in a food abundant society. Anna comments on her own hyper-awareness regarding her scarcity of groceries when compared to those of more affluent shoppers: "...it's depressing seeing how much some people have in their trolley...it's hard not to look and see what other people are getting. I never get junk, I don't get snacks. Yeah...it is hard, it is really hard." In avoiding 'junk' purchases, Anna rejects the societal narrative of poverty-stricken parents making 'unhealthy' food choices, and instead re-narrates herself as a health-conscious and thrifty parent. This trope shields Anna from the moral judgements commonly heaped upon mothers in her situation, and decreases her sense of shame and embarrassment. Shame manifests as a pervasive sense of personal inadequacy over one's perceived moral failures (Harrison & Cooley, 2012). In distancing herself from particular foods, Anna reduces her sense of shame at her impoverishment while simultaneously placing additional pressure on herself to conform to healthy ideals. Budgetary constraints mean that purchasing food exacerbates Anna's feelings of stress, transforming a simple supermarket shop into a complicated undertaking fraught with anxiety: "I would probably have walked out if I didn't have you here. I

probably would've left. It's so hard." In this remark Anna reveals the stressful nature of supermarket shopping, and the extent to which it causes her psychological distress.

Lea's supermarket expedition exposes her impoverishment while simultaneously subjecting her to disparaging comments by supermarket staff as she navigates the store. The check-out operator treated Lea with barely concealed contempt when she had to return several items that would have 'blown the budget'. Lea's final trolley prior to check-out is shown in *Figure 9*, right-hand image. With little food in the house, these groceries are all that is available to feed Lea and her teenage daughter. As the image shows this household's diet consists mostly of cheap carbohydrates. The eggs offer the only quality protein, and there are no fruit or vegetables in the trolley. Nestled between a dollar loaf of bread and a can of home-brand peaches is a small, inexpensive cake. Lea has purchased this as a gift for a recently-bereaved neighbour. Despite not having enough funds to purchase every item in her trolley, Lea retains the cake, delivering it on the way home. This mundane example exemplifies the important social role of food. Being able to host or gift food to others is an essential part of social relationships (Sobal, 2000). Food-related practice is more than a simple behavioural response to the need for sustenance.

The supermarket space materializes Lea's poverty and food scarcity in the midst of abundance and becomes a site of conflict with her teenage daughter:

Sometimes we'll argue in the supermarket over food items. And I'm like, "no, we can't buy that, it's too expensive". And she [daughter] says, "Well I don't want to eat your crappy food". And I'm like, "I think you need to learn to be more grateful for the food you do have..." I'm just in survival mode for myself.

Lea's meagre purchases make visible her impoverishment to outsiders. Her associated experiences of judgement from supermarket staff and some other shoppers make an already difficult task even more distressing. Nevertheless, Lea attempts to make the best of things. When describing her purchasing experiences, Lea states "...sometimes it gets a bit embarrassing coming out of the shop with just one packet of something, but I'm used to it...I think oh well I'd better be grateful for them because it's better having this than having nothing." Following Horton-Cooley's (1902) notion of the 'looking glass self', shame can be conceptualized as an emotional affect through which people view themselves from the perspective of others (Pedwell, 2013). In this way shame becomes both public and deeply personal. For Lea, who has navigated the landscape of poverty for many years, public shame and embarrassment have become tacitly accepted as a natural part of life. The food practices and shopping habits of poorer people invoke disdain and judgement from more affluent

groups. Yet the personal habits of middle-class people are seldom questioned and scrutinized the same way. Even where wealthier groups eschew consumerism and consumption, they are typically held up as ethical, even moral, choices (Bauman, 2005). This starkly contrasts with the stigmatizing of impoverished groups who face exclusion and public shaming for their failure to participate 'correctly' in consumerist practice (Bauman, 2005).

Participants reported responding to food scarcity by purchasing cheap carbohydrates as a way of providing 'filling meals' (Smith et al., 2013; Wells, 2011). However, this pragmatic approach has long-term health implications as inexpensive fillers typically offer reduced nutritional benefits. Anna is highly conscious of this issue and recounts how she felt guilty about subsisting on cheap loaves of bread when her daughter was born. The lack of nutritional content meant that her breastmilk supply was affected because as Anna states "I wasn't eating enough really, to keep the milk going." Eating one-dollar loaves of bread staved off Anna's hunger pains, but did not provide the nutrition she needed to adequately feed her young baby. Indeed, it was only through charitable donations that Anna was able to access any food at all. Further, during this research project Anna utilized the donated supermarket vouchers from the interviews to purchase meat (*Figure 10*, middle) which she carefully rationed:

I'm always standing at the meat [department] like, do I really need that [cheap ground beef]? ... It was meat week at [low-cost supermarket] so I was like 'Woohoo!' I never get meat ... I stretched it out to 21 bags ... the rump steak packs you can sort of like cut them into little bits and then fillet them open so then you can get more out of them.

The images of Anna's meat reveal both her initial purchases and the subsequent individual portions. Anna has expended a considerable amount of time and effort in judiciously measuring each purchase to stretch it for as many meals as possible. In photographing her meat purchases and rationing Anna gives the impression of plenty while constructing a narrative for herself of thrift and skill. In this communicative act Anna communicates some respite from her mundane diet whilst still conveying how she integrates the research participation voucher into her rationing practices. The presence of meat in her freezer is also associated with a reduction in her food-related distress and anxiety.



Figure 10: Rationed foods. Images from top: Weekly fruit portions, portioned meat, purchased meat, donated ground beef, tinned tomatoes, cheap pasta.

Ginny similarly stretches out her food purchases, saying “we’ve got to make this last until next time we go shopping.” Once food items are eaten, the family simply goes without until the next supermarket shop. Ginny manages to make ends meet and keep her family fed through sourcing additional food items from a number of sources, including her local church. In this context, the recent delivery of ground beef (*Figure 10*, bottom left), an inexpensive second-rate meat, was cause for much celebration and warranted comment:

These are the meat that I got given. I don’t want to use them! I just like looking at them! It’ll keep us going for months if I just have one a week ... one of those [500gm packet] will feed eight of us. But I bulk it out with whatever, I put, I made the last one into like a meatloaf. So I got two little meatloaves on trays and just made it up. I added rolled oats and eggs and I had some leftover rice so I added that in with it too.

Ginny pulled out her freezer drawer to demonstrate the pictured ground beef portions. Although it is not clear from the image, the rest of the freezer is empty. Ginny’s subsequent comment offers insight into the practices of rationing cheap cuts of meat. By adding inexpensive fillers Ginny will carefully stretch the ground beef in *Figure 10* (bottom, left) to last as long as possible. These practices of thrift and rationing echo similar accounts from the 1930s, where Jahoda and colleagues (1933/1972) noted that many families frugally doled out available food sources so that they lasted as long as possible. In contrast to the shared experiences of poverty documented by Jahoda in Marienthal, in New Zealand impoverished families live surrounded by meat from local farms. Ginny’s comment that she just likes looking at the meat reveals how an unexceptional item like ground beef has become a luxury. As with Anna, the physical presence of frozen meat offers visceral reassurance to Ginny that there will be at least one ‘proper meal’ each week. The presence of ground beef in Ginny’s freezer thus briefly alleviates the ever-present feelings of (dis)stress regarding the unspeakable horror that she may not be able to provide food for her children.

Rationing extends beyond food in these households. For example, electricity often becomes a luxury that Lea rations in part by choosing food items that require minimal cooking, such as instant noodles and precooked meat pies (*Figure 9*, right-hand image). For Lea, this is “survival mode food...pies and chips, it’s not that great but it keeps me alive.” Such foods are also complemented by what Lea refers to as ‘proper’ meals, such as pasta with canned tomatoes (*Figure 10*, bottom centre and right) that are made to last several days:

I have the same budget all the time so I have the same ingredients all the time... I can get four meals out of a couple of bags of pasta with cheese and couple of cans of tomatoes or mushrooms... Some weeks I’ll probably just have noodles you know,

noodles, baked beans, soups with toast... It's quite expensive for red meat these days and chicken. Sometimes I don't have enough money to buy [meat], so I've sort of failed in some of my goals... Sometimes I go to the free meals in town. It's very embarrassing for me, but if there's only a packet of noodles in the cupboard and a couple of pies in the fridge and I've got four days to go [until benefit day]... I'm sick of being the needy one. I've never been so needy in my life. It's gone beyond a joke. It's got so bad for me that I've got to go to those meals...

Despite Lea's frugal rationing and careful choice of cheap foods, she simply does not have the necessary resources to produce meals every night. Indeed, without the provision of charity in the form of community meals, Lea would go to bed hungry.

Along with rationing, being expected to eat rotten or barely inedible foods is a common experience for people living with scarcity who do not want to end up hungry. Societal attitudes to impoverished people is such that they are expected to be grateful for foods which other, more well-off groups, decline to eat. Such attitudes are not new, with European societies in particular having a long history of expecting impoverished citizens to 'make do' with past their best items (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld, & Zeisel, 1933/1972; Reeves, 1913/1979). Charitable giving includes less-than-ideal foodstuffs, along with the expectation that recipients are appropriately grateful for such items. Ginny explains:

I got given some apples, but they had like bugs all through them and like most of them were like brown so the bugs had made a really good job. But, there were still bits of the apple that you can use. So, just things like that people go okay they just need to be biffed. But I go, okay, there's food in there still.

In a society of abundance, where 'perfectly good apples' are thrown away in the rubbish, Ginny's act of painstakingly cutting out edible scraps from brown, bug-ridden apples encapsulates another form of thrift to make do. Similarly, Anna describes her experience of being given donated pantry items:

I thought wow this is awesome and then I was like looking at it and I was like, that packet looks a bit damaged and it expired like a year ago! ... I've been given 'off' food ... Like, I don't want to be ungrateful because at least its food, but it's like, umm..."

In a society that is broadly characterized by abundance, being given outdated food highlights the difference between groups. People who have excess food to give away can expect that those without enough to feed themselves should be grateful to receive any food items. As Walker (2014, p.54) writes, "Charity...demeans the recipient while serving to enhance the status of the giver." It reproduces power relations between those with the means to give and

those who much be thankful to receive. Subsequently, people from poorer households often have mixed feelings about accepting donated surplus items. Alongside the expectations of gratitude people may also feel revulsion or a fear of becoming ill from outdated food. For example, Ginny's daughter describes an experience of having to eat inedible food: "And then [the puffed wheat] got like all gross and it like, went like hard and stale, and Mum was like, just keep eating it! Keep eating it! And it was like, oh, yuck." It is important to note that, while all income groups have experiences of eating unpleasant tasting foods, what our participants recount is having to eat dated, rotten, or unpleasant-tasting food as part of everyday survival. Accepting and eating substandard food has even become a way of stretching the food budget for participants.

The provision of dated, rotten and inedible food to impoverished people is no solution to food insecurity. Although well-meaning, the provision of charity can contribute to classist attitudes that impoverished people just need to 'be grateful' (Silvasti & Riches, 2014). As we wrote in *Nutritionism and the construction of 'poor choices' in families facing food insecurity*, the provision of food for impoverished people can reinforce notions of failure and worthlessness. Providing dinner meals on disposable plates in an empty carpark with no tables or seating results in people literally sitting in the gutter to eat (Graham et al., 2017). This is inhumane and demeaning. Giving away out-of-date foods to the poor and hungry is perhaps slightly less demeaning. Nevertheless this practice still reflects the notion that impoverished people are expected to be grateful for whatever scraps get thrown their way. While charities and foodbanks offer brief respite to experiences of hunger, unless underlying structural causes are addressed, the provision of charity simply shifts the burden for food security from broader government policies to charities and individuals (Silvasti & Riches, 2014).

Participant accounts about rationing and hand-to-mouth survival reflect a return to experiences of hardship previously consigned to history in countries such as New Zealand. Similar occurrences of thrift, rationing and anxiety permeate across the stories of families in pre-World War London slums (Reeves, 1913/1979; Ross, 2007) and the 1930s depression era (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld, & Zeisel 1933/1972). Then, as now, the poor were berated by wealthier classes for failing to provide appropriate foods. As Maud Pember Reeves (1913/1979) documented, the absence of foods such as milk for babies is not due to a lack of parental care, nor an absence of knowledge. Rather, it is simply that there is not enough money:

The diet where there are several children is obviously chosen for its cheapness, and is of the filling, stodgy kind. There is not enough of anything but bread. There is no variety. Nothing is considered but money (p.103).

Then, as now, meat has become too expensive for people such as Lea, Anna and Ginny to purchase regularly. It is only through charitable assistance that Ginny and Anna can incorporate any meat in their household diets at all. Having to request charity for food to eat is a demeaning experience (Hodgetts et al., 2014; Walker, 2014). In a country such as New Zealand that exports quality beef and lamb products to the world, it is shameful that growing numbers of our own citizens can no longer afford to eat these products. In addition, there is a strong sense of social unfairness associated with knowing that more affluent people are able to feed themselves well, while other families are not and often rely on cast-off food (Seidman, 2008).

Conclusions

The accounts of Anna, Raywyn, Julye, Lea and Ginny encapsulate the experiences of food insecurity in New Zealand and challenge dominant constructions of poverty. Contemporary recycling of Victorian-era moralizing around poverty positions people facing food insecurity as failures who deserve hardship. This form of hegemonic shaming upholds dehumanizing neoliberal narratives and obscures the inequitable systems and structures that perpetuate poverty. As a way of minimizing their exposure to such moral judgements, people experiencing food insecurity ration and attempt to pass as normal (and thus moral) families by hiding their food insecurity and self-silencing their experiences of poverty. However, as we have shown, the capacity to pass as 'normal' families is problematic in that it can delegitimize experiences of hardship and obscures the everyday reality of food insecurity from civic spaces and public deliberations.

Acknowledging that food scarcity exists in a relatively wealthy country such as New Zealand – and that people feel shame regarding it – is the first step in the creation of counter-hegemonic narratives. These narratives must locate the source of poverty as being within societal systems and structures, and reveal the affective workings of power in the context of neoliberalism (Pedwell, 2013). After all, food insecurity is a far-reaching social issue that is not reducible to individual choice. We need to cultivate broader and less stigmatizing understandings of poverty and food insecurity as well as initiatives that ensure nutritionally-sound foods for all. There is substantial research supporting this agenda which outline effective responses to food insecurity and poverty. This includes work on appropriate public health policy (Jenkin, Signal, & Thomson, 2012), decreasing food costs (Theodore, McLean, & TeMorenga, 2015), providing secure access to nutritious foods (Silvasti & Riches, 2014),

increasing the statutory minimum wage rate and providing secure forms of employment (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017).

In sum, we need to contribute more to the cultivation of non-shame-based narratives that acknowledge the ways in which the current economic systems are increasing insecurity and precarity for people. Instead of imposing moral judgements on those facing the sharp end of successive neoliberal government policies, there is a need to clearly identify the upstream causes of poverty and food insecurity. Action around food insecurity needs to encompass more than offering donated food items, charity meals, food parcels, or nutritional and budgeting advice. Food insecurity is not an isolated phenomenon, but is intertwined with a wider range of insecurities and pressures on families. For this reason, there is a need to connect food insecurity initiatives to a broad range of responses to the continuous erosion of wealth distribution systems and the increased cost of living, which results in an increasing number of people going hungry.

Chapter 6: Food insecurity in everyday life

In the previous chapter I presented a composite article that drew on the accounts of members of five households. In Chapter 6, I consider in more detail the everyday food-related practices of the Kopa household. Building on the concept of hegemonic silencing, this chapter considers how the absence of non-shame based narratives with which to communicate the experiences of hardship compounds social exclusion and feelings of alienation. Moving beyond the practices of food rationing and passing discussed in Chapter 5, Chapter 6 discusses the ways in which this family's pragmatic responses to hardship both alleviate and exacerbate food insecurity.

By focusing in on one household, I am able to more deeply examine oft overlooked aspects of surviving during times of hardship. In particular, the range of food procurement practices that this family engage in encapsulate the resourcefulness, agency, and innovation required to survive in a society with inadequate welfare provisions. Through exploring the agentic ways in which this family navigates a precarious foodscape, in Chapter 6 I generate broader understandings of how inequitable social structures require the development of creative responses to make everyday life manageable. Considering in-depth the responses of one family affords insights into the nuanced, particular and practical-orientated knowledge that this household has developed to address their food insecurity.

Writing Chapter 6 took some time (ten months), about twice as long as each of the other publications. Part of the complexity in writing this chapter was related to the unremarkable nature of 'just what you do' when facing food insecurity and hardship. The very ordinary-ness of everyday food-related practice makes articulating these experiences difficult for some participants. Writing this chapter also necessitated my trialling theories and interpretations, some of which were not a good fit. It was during this process of writing that the concept of mimesis and the use of dialectical images became crucial to the interpretative process of making sense of the many interviews and images generated from conversations with householders. Subsequently, I utilized Walter Benjamin's writings in *The Arcades Project* to facilitate moving beyond a merely descriptive account into considering the broader implications of life with food insecurity.

This chapter has been submitted for publication as the following journal article:

Graham, R., Hodgetts, D., Stolte, O., & Chamberlain, K. (2018). The case of the Kopa family. *Journal of Poverty*.

Food insecurity in urban New Zealand. The case of the Kopa family

Abstract: Poverty brings insecurity and chaos into the home, forcing families to develop strategies for navigating the difficulties of food insecurity. We document how one household, the Kopa family, responds to poverty in ad-hoc and agentive ways that assist and hinder their attempts to keep themselves fed. This study is based on a series of eight qualitative interviews with family members, including photo-elicitation and go-along techniques, as well as extensive field notes from more casual research interactions such as shared meals. Our analysis demonstrates how food insecurity shapes this family's culturally-patterned social practices surrounding the procurement, consumption, and sharing of food.

Key words: Families in poverty, Everyday Life, Food insecurity, Mimesis, Food traditions

Introduction

Poverty brings chaos, instability, and food insecurity to people's lives (Evans, Eckenrode, & Marcynyszyn, 2010; Scott, Edin, London, & Kissane, 2004). Food insecurity means having insufficient food to live, difficulties in acquiring sufficient food, and can increase social marginalization (Parnell & Gray, 2014; Boon & Farnsworth, 2011), manifesting in hardship, tensions, and distress (Weaver & Hadley, 2009; Whiting & Ward, 2010). The absence of sufficient food forces people to seek assistance from various sources, including food charities and welfare agencies. Households experiencing food insecurity characteristically utilize a wide variety of creative food-provisioning tactics to keep their families fed (Buck-McFadyen, 2015; Gazso, McDaniel, & Waldron, 2016; Kempson, Keenan, Sadani, & Adler, 2003). Families respond in agentive ways (Buck-McFadyen, 2015), such as drawing on a mixture of relational supports (Gazso et al., 2016), charitable aid (Whiting & Ward, 2010), supplementary finance (Kempson et al., 2003), and functioning to 'stretch' available food resources (Connell, Lofton, Yadrick & Rehner, 2005; Fram et al., 2011).

Families respond to poverty and the distress of food insecurity within the restraints of the resources available to them. Their responses are often imperfect and flawed. Whilst enabling survival, food-provisioning tactics are no panacea; such tactics do not resolve poverty as the underlying driver of food insecurity (Poppendieck, 1998). Further, efforts to access food is often time-consuming, can produce uncertain results, and requires considerable tenacity (Gazso et al., 2016). Tactics associated with food insecurity are about more than the provision

of food and material survival. These tactics are intricately connected with a sense of being, since food preparation and consumption are key ways that people maintain and transmit socio-cultural identities (Graham, Hodgetts & Stolte, 2016). In acquiring and preparing food for consumption, our research participants enact what it means to be human, connecting with wider food traditions and cultural practices. What they acquire and eat, how they eat it, and who they eat it with are crucial in sustaining a sense of self and in connecting them with broader social structures (Graham, Hodgetts, & Stolte, 2016).

Social practice theory (Halkier & Jensen, 2011; Hodgetts, Groot, Garden & Chamberlain, 2017; Reckwitz, 2002) informs our exploration of how food insecurity manifests in the everyday life of a particular household. Halkier and Jensen (2011, p. 104) note that, “The most basic theoretical assumption is that activities of social life continuously have to be carried out and carried through, and that this mundane performativity is organized through a multiplicity of collectively shared practices”. A dynamic nexus of social practices comprises an activity structure that reproduces societal structures and relationships (Reckwitz, 2002), shaping experiences of hardship and food insecurity (Hodgetts et al., 2017). In responding to poverty and food insecurity people develop particular purposeful and routinized social practices (tactics) that are aimed at achieving particular ends (de Certeau, 1984). In doing so, they work to assert some control and routine over their everyday lives and to enable them to make the most of meagre resources (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Groot & Tankel, 2014). Here, tactics constitute small everyday practices of adaptation to circumstance for people with limited control over their circumstances (Stolte & Hodgetts, 2015). In other words, tactics are central to families ‘making do’ despite the constraints of poverty and food insecurity (de Certeau, 1984).

By exploring the tactics of one family we can begin to develop a bigger picture of how inequitable social structures driving poverty require the development of deliberate responses in everyday life. This article foregrounds experiences of food insecurity as a key dimension of poverty through an examination of how a particular family responds agentively and tactically to their situation. Through focusing on responses to food insecurity, we emphasize that responses to poverty are personal and relational, planned and ad hoc.

The present study

The Kopa household comprises an extended Māori family experiencing poverty and food insecurity. The four-bedroom dwelling they rent contains a much larger number of people than the house is designed for. There are three generations living in the house. Sissy and Don live

with their five of their seven children (Janine (21), Roseanne (19), Taine (18), Izayah (16), and Mere (14)), as well as Janine's partner and their two children, and Taine's girlfriend. In addition, Sissy's sister Andrea, along with her partner, their daughter and her young son (Andrea's grandson) share the house. Having so many people in the home is a tactic for cutting costs and pooling resources. Such pragmatic responses to the high cost of living bring additional complications and increases tensions (Evans et al., 2010).

The first author (Rebekah) initially met members of the Kopa household at a local (free) community meal, which was the site for a larger research project (Graham et al., 2017). This article draws on multiple interactions spanning the subsequent twelve months between Rebekah and members of the Kopa family across various locations. These engagements involved multiple family members and included weekly interactions while eating and talking together at the community meal, participant observations, casual conversations, extensive field notes, shop-along and photo-elicitation exercises, and eight interviews with family members. Aspects of the banality of food insecurity and the family's tactical responses were evident from the structured research engagements, but also emerged across snippets of unrecorded conversations as Rebekah transported family members to appointments after interviews, had casual conversations as she queued in line for dessert at the community meal, or during brief chats when rescheduling interviews. All of these interactions contribute to a sense of the household's everyday life, yet are not reducible to tidy quotes or specific images. The range of engagements was important for generating insights into the household situation, tactics for responding to food insecurity and the relationships in play.

The multiple research engagements made up an immersive approach whereby scholars immerse themselves in the lives faced by people with whom they conduct research to reveal the broader social structures embedded within and reproduced through everyday practices (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld, & Zeisel, 1933/1972). As proponents of this approach in poverty research, Jahoda and colleagues emphasize the importance of the use of case studies for understanding human experience in situations of adversity, and how broader political, economic and social structures manifest in the lives of actual human beings. Correspondingly, Rebekah's engagements are drawn on in the construction of the case study for this article. The power of such cases is to generate theoretically informed, grounded, and context-dependent knowledge that sheds light on the reproduction of social practices. As a case, the Kopa household offers insights into familial responses to food insecurity associated with poverty that are of significance beyond their personal lifeworlds (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

Evident across the research engagements was the difficulty participants had in trying to communicate their experiences of food insecurity. Our research generated materials that never fully conveyed the totality of participants' experiences. Rather, they provided snippets lifted from their lives, hinting at tensions between what they can convey about food insecurity and what remains unarticulatable. The hurt and embarrassment that comes with food insecurity is deeply felt, yet words alone cannot always fully convey their experiences. The realities of such lives are challenging to articulate to outsiders, in part because they are experienced as unremarkable by inhabitants who 'just do what you do'.

Here we are raising a tension in poverty research whereby people from more modest backgrounds try to communicate their experiences to researchers from more affluent backgrounds with no direct experience of issues of poverty. Commenting on homelessness on the Parisian streets, for example, Benjamin (1940/2002 p.517) writes:

What do we know of street corners, curbstones, the architecture of the pavement, we who have never felt heat, dirt and edges of the stones under our naked soles, never inspected the unevenness of paving stones for their suitability to bed on them.

In theorizing participant accounts and orientating our analytic activities, we utilize the concept of mimesis, which provides a way of invoking the 'unsayable' of participant experiences (Benjamin, (1940/2002). Mimesis is at once the imperfect act of mimicry, representation, re-assembly, and the expression and construction of experience. In engaging mimetically with their lives and with everyday challenges such as food insecurity, our participants worked to contextualize everyday events and occurrences, giving these some continuity and an overarching narrative that mimics their everyday lives (Ricoeur, 1990). Their efforts reflect Benjamin's (1940/2002) conceptualization of the 'mimetic faculty' as a type of knowing related to often overlooked experiences of survival. Participants in this research attempted to make sense of and coalesce disjointed experiences into personal stories of agency and hardship. Correspondingly, the empirical materials generated were approached as incomplete and lumpy, providing mimetic approximations of what food insecurity feels like for household members. This requires us to work with participants to look beyond the images and quotes they offer to the broader experiences and practices at play.

Our analysis draws together the complex array of materials generated during the research into a cohesive interpretation of the family's response to food insecurity. The analytical process involved listening to participant accounts and looking at and behind what they told and showed us. Through re-immersing ourselves within these materials from the

Kopa household we see them anew. The analysis documents how the Kopa household agentically navigates a precarious foodscape by utilizing specific tactics. We begin our analysis with a discussion of the family's combined food-sourcing practices with particular emphasis on food sourcing as a familial-regulated social practice that is complex, negotiated and emotionally-laden. We then consider communal and personal responses to food insecurity, which includes the community meal, Nan's house, busking, and hoarding food. Lastly we cover everyday food-related practices as a survival tactic in the midst of difficulty. Taken together, these tactics make up a strategy for survival. Nevertheless, underlying issues of poverty remain unresolved and the ongoing nature of food insecurity makes life difficult. Along with interview accounts and photographs, we also draw on 'urban pen pictures' (Rodriguez-Hernandez, 2010; Benjamin, 1940/2002), a form of mimetic writing that captures and describes emplaced interactions such as the shopping expedition.

Sourcing and sharing food

People facing food insecurity often obtain their food from a patchwork of sources, including shops, charitable meals, foodbanks, and extended family networks. There are multiple expeditions by the Kopa household members to obtain food throughout the week. Their shopping excursions coincide with the different days that household members receive their weekly welfare payments. As for most families, the supermarket is the primary source of food for the Kopa household. However, while shopping, they need to be especially conscious and disciplined about how they utilize their meagre resources while navigating the budget supermarket.

Janine (Sissy's daughter) and her partner Ezra do the bulk of the supermarket shopping. On one weekly supermarket expedition, I (Rebekah) went along with Janine, Ezra, and their youngest daughter. During this particular outing, their tactics for shopping on a restrained budget came to the fore. As we will show, these tactics enable the family to normalize and routinize the shop and staying within budget, while minimizing conflict with other household members and avoiding the stigma of being identified as poor. For example a particular tactic for parents facing food insecurity is to have children ride in the trolley as it reduces opportunities for children to place unsanctioned items in the trolley which the family cannot afford and could be embarrassed by at the checkout. When we arrived at the supermarket, Janine engaged in her usual negotiations with her daughter about whether she will ride in the trolley, walk or a combination of both. Janine gives her daughter in the trolley "Something to hold and stuff...she wants to feed herself". This also means that wandering hands are

occupied. The supermarket shop also doubles as a family outing that is planned and executed to be fun despite restraints on what can be purchased. Janine explains "...my babies love it, especially Aaliyah, she's 'I want to come' ... and then yeah, we'll end up bringing her." As we progress through the store Ezra and Janine discuss which vegetables and meats are needed. Compromises are thick in the air as are desires for items that cannot be purchased within their strict budget. These issues are never fully reconciled.

Well-rehearsed exchanges between Janine and Ezra include discussions about various options and brands are prompted by moving through particular sections of the supermarket. Cost considerations are ever present, but not always discussed directly. Janine asks Ezra, holding up an item, "This one?" Ezra replies "How much is that one?" Janine replies "Oh I dunno." which indirectly communicates "Can't we just get it?" In the vegetable section, Janine directs Ezra to less expensive items: "Oh, those veggie ones are only two dollars thirty, hun. Cheaper than all of them. They're right there." The implicit meaning is that, with their budget, if they get these vegetables they can afford other items. This leads to the selection of specialist items such as "They usually have pig heads. They're cheap."

Tasks are split and specialisms come to the fore, allowing them to maximize limited resources by utilizing their specialist knowledge of the cheapest and most satisfying foods. Ezra takes charge of selecting the meat. Janine notes "Yeah, he does all the meat shopping. I do all the cupboards. Only cos he knows which meat to grab. So he does, he gets all our meat for us and then I do all the junk food and the junk shopping." Junk food in this context refers to cheap pantry staples such as two-minute noodles, white bread, plain biscuits, and budget items for the children's lunches. In negotiating the supermarket aisles and checkouts, Janine and Ezra are conscious that they must respond in restrained and disciplined ways to the abundance and variety of food that surrounds them.

Absent others also have a voice in the shopping expedition; their preferences are considered to avoid complaints if the 'wrong' choices are made and unfavourable items brought home. While Janine and Ezra do their best in considering wider family members, providing for everyone means that they must make difficult choices regarding individual food preferences. In this way, managing the shopping expedition is also about managing householder expectations and desires through particular tactics. These are necessary because conflicts around food preferences are challenging to resolve in a large household with limited funds. In an earlier interview, Janine had stated "Well, I just get whatever and if they don't like it, tough shit." Andrea chipped in "They make their own." Janine confirmed "They cook for themselves. But nah, I just get whatever. Mostly tinned food because tinned food goes a long

way. Veggies. And meat. Just as long, we make sure that there's meat in the freezer yeah." Janine's implication is that it is too expensive to buy food that all family members will enjoy and that difficult decisions must be made regarding foodstuffs purchased. The 'I just get whatever' clause gives voice to frustration and tensions, but also obscures how choices are often agonized over in the supermarket and the preferences of other householders are met where the budget can accommodate these.

We see similar tensions arising when Sissy outlines the food preferences of her sons:

I got different types of kids for different types of foods. My son...he don't like the meat that we cook up...he'll just eat noodles. He'll live on that or Weetbix [a budget cereal]. Oh, my other son, didn't like boil-ups [a type of stew] and he'll only eat the potatoes from out of the boil-up and the juice. Yeah. That's where a lot of iron comes from, boil-up as well.

This quote reveals Sissy's tactics in responding to the difficulties and conflicts of living in a food insecure household. Sissy indirectly constructs herself as a caring mother who has a detailed knowledge of her children's food preferences and an understanding of nutritional values. The noodles mentioned refer to a particular type of inexpensive, nutritionally-poor 'two-minute noodle' that require minimal cooking and are easily prepared using the provided flavour sachet and boiling water. These, along with inexpensive cereals such as Weetbix, 'fill the gap' on a regular basis for household members. A staple breakfast item in many New Zealand households, for the Kopa family, Weetbix is also consumed when there is an absence of food and available funds for purchasing other, more interesting menu items. As mentioned by Janine, if she's not home "no one cooks. They just all end up having Weetbix or something." In responding to food insecurity, household members pragmatically prioritize staple items when sourcing food, yet these pragmatic responses mean that they risk being constructed as nutritionally inadequate (Graham et al., 2016). The impact of poverty on the food practices of such families is typically overlooked in nutritional advice, which individualizes food choices (Dodds & Chamberlain, 2017; Signal et al., 2013).

The regular sources of income for the Kopa household are insufficient to ensure food security. Consequently, householders have developed a range of collective responses for dealing with food insecurity. Below Janine outlines some of these tactics:

Mum went for a budgeting appointment and they gave her a food grant. So that's one way. And then it's Mum, Dad busks [he] can make up to like 30 bucks ... Our Nan came in and brought some shopping yeah. They were like goodies, like cake slices and stuff. Yeah, it was nice ... that's another way that food comes in too, is

the church ... helps us out too, when we need it ... Really thankful there. We'll go and help and just vacuum around and wash the fount out and stuff. Yeah.

Food flows into the household through a patchwork of sources that necessitate particular social practices in exchange for food. These are relational exchanges that involve a range of social actors and extend beyond the purchasing of food through the formal economy. The reference to a food grant above shows how the householder must undergo budget scrutiny, creating a conditional relationship for obtaining food. Evident here is the conditionality of contemporary welfare provision, where welfare is no longer simply a right but is subject to conditional behavioural expectations (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Groot & Tankel, 2014). Also at play are practices around reciprocal giving. One household member busks in return for monetary donations that are used to purchase food. A grandmother drops by to gift food to the family, which is reciprocated in the support they offer her in her own dwelling. In return for food from the church, the family vacuum and clean it. Here, familial and congregational relationships offer a more humane form of food relief embedded within ongoing processes of reciprocity (Mauss, 1950). These examples invoke the complexity of relationships around acquiring food.

For the Kopa household food insecurity is punctuated by occasional episodes of abundance that stem from extended familial relationships. For example:

Sissy: Sometimes I tell my son-in-law to bring us down some fruit and veggies, cos he um, he works at [workplace]...so everything that they get, he can bring it all home.

Janine: All the veggies and stuff for free

Sissy: Yeah like sixteen punnets of strawberries, like two big bags full of bananas, I was like, aye? A whole big bucket full of apples, I was like, far out.

In another example, Sissy sourced multiple meat items from a charitable organization which was then shared with extended family in an act of reciprocity:

I gave meat to my niece. I was like, oh my gosh, I can't even fit these in my freezer. And she was like, 'Mean [slang for thanks] Aunty' and because my daughter did a shopping as well...so she had all her meat, so she goes and gives it to my goddaughter.

In these examples, the household are not only recipients of food, but are also embedded within reciprocal relationships in which they gift food to others. These practices of reciprocal sharing work to reproduce networks of support. Being part of an active familial network buffers adversity. As a New Zealand Māori family, food is particularly crucial for sustaining a

relational sense of self, both as individuals and as part of a collective, (re)connecting the Kopa family to wider cultural milieu (King, Hodgetts, Rua, & Whetu, 2015).

Broader familial networks provide support through mundane acts that reinforce care for the household. Wider family members such as “Nan” and “Uncle” are important anchor points for the Kopa household in alleviating hardship:

When we used to run out of food quite a lot of times, [Nan] always used to come over and save the day. Cos she knew how to make anything out of nothing. She’d mainly make us like fried bread. She always had flour. She’d bring her flour over, and she’d probably bring meat over, and just make a big pot of stew, soup when we came back from school. Uncle knew how to make anything out of nothing too. When we had nothing he always seemed to make something that was yum.

(Janine)

Having Nan and uncle ‘come over’ and create a meal ‘from nothing’ buffers adversity and mediates the impact of dislocation and poverty in the modern world. In this case, extended family members flow in and out of each other’s households. Janine recalls ‘going to Nan’s’ in the past: “Yeah, there was so many of us she [Nan] used to do big pots. Even if it was just her and my cousin ... [we’d] go over there for breakfast.” Andrea chips in “Say hello and then go straight for the cupboards or the fridge or whatever it was.” Going to Nan’s to eat breakfast is a culturally-patterned taken-for-granted social practice that reflects the flow of food and people within the extended family (Metge, 1995). Nan’s house provided an enclave of care or space of respite from the grind of poverty (Graham et al., 2017). This is also a space of reciprocity. In response to Nan’s current ill-health, Sissy and Andrea provide care for their sick mother. As Andrea states “now we cook for her”.

The dynamics of reciprocity in addressing food insecurity are not always harmonious and require compromises. As mentioned earlier, busking enables Don to earn money to purchase bread and milk for the family. While Don enjoys performing on the street and contributing to city and family life, Sissy feels embarrassed that her husband’s activities advertise her family’s impoverishment. Janine comments “Mum doesn’t like Dad busking much, but I don’t mind...It’s how we get our bread and milk money”. In contrast, Sissy asserts that Don “...does nothing but sits on the street and be a humu¹.” This reveals Sissy’s sense of frustration and shame at the absence of more socially acceptable forms of employment. Sissy’s position contrasts with Don’s perspective and with Janine’s pragmatic acceptance of a source of bread and milk. These

¹ Humu is a New Zealand slang term meaning to beg or scavenge

participants are all too aware of public expectations regarding poverty and food insecurity that shape the subjectivities and social practices of people in need.

Like many children growing up in food-insecure households (Connell et al., 2005; Fram et al., 2011), Janine is well aware of the stigma associated with an absence of food. Reflecting on her childhood, Janine attempts to convey her sense of shame and social exclusion:

We couldn't even like, we never even had friends over because we couldn't, we didn't have enough food to feed them or, yeah. It was rat shit. We couldn't do most of the stuff. We didn't even have like oranges... We had no shoes and lunch and it was really cold, and then my teacher asked me why... I didn't want to say the truth... Like I was actually embarrassed... And yeah, I started hiding, like trying to hide the poverty and make out like I was rich and I wasn't... Cos back then we were like pretty much starving. We were only having like, one meal a day, which was dinner.

Uncertainties entangled within going hungry are invoked in this quote through specific experiences such as not having access to material items like oranges and shoes. Janine's fear of replicating such experiences invokes the dread of not being able to adequately feed her children. Past memories bring into collision her role as a mother and as a family member. Sharply contrasting with the food-sharing practices outlined earlier, Janine's response to a precarious childhood is to hoard food:

But then that's why I make sure, like, oh cos I have my own cupboard with their stuff in it, just so if food runs out we've got backup. I think I'm just too scared to run out of food again and let that happen to my babies. Yeah ... That's what I'm scared for, is having no food. Especially when I have kids now. I don't want them to starve like we did.

Janine draws a verbal picture of her cupboard tucked away in a corner of her room, containing enough Weetbix and canned goods to keep her two daughters from experiencing a shortage of food. In hoarding food in her own cupboard, Janine prioritizes the wellbeing of her daughters at the expense of the very relational networks that enable her survival, adding an additional layer of distress to the hardships of poverty. This distress is difficult to articulate, invoked instead through practices such as hoarding and references to foods such as oranges (Regier, 2010). Janine's overarching narrative as a caregiver for her family, first to her siblings, and later, to her own children, is constantly under threat from ongoing food insecurity.

Food practices and traditions

In the face of food insecurity, the Kopa family works to keep their food traditions and extended familial relationships alive. In doing so, they also work to preserve their way of being Māori. Their cooking practices are both about making food 'stretch' and the reproduction of cultural traditions. As noted by de Certeau, Giard & Mayol (1998), everyday meals in particular bear a social writing of the experience of poverty. Members of the Kopa household presented annotated images as mimetic objects of mundane meals featuring culturally-patterned foods associated with hardship. In considering these images and associated cultural practices, we are reminded that addressing food insecurity is not simply about survival, but is also connected to the broader issues of identity, relationships and care for others in culturally-patterned ways.

Figure 11 depicts the preparation of five separate everyday meals which encompass tactics such as including cheap filler foods. The dollar loaves of bread depicted on the dinner table are associated with the diet of people experiencing food insecurity. As de Certeau, Giard and Mayol (1998 p.86) note, bread "remains the indelible witness of a 'gastronomy of poverty'...a monument constantly restored in order to avert suffering and hunger". The images in *Figure 11* foreground the inexpensive nature of family meals, with low-cost items being incorporated throughout. For example, the 'cream' in the creamed mushrooms is made from cornflour and milk. The battered nature of the cooking paraphernalia with missing handles and chipped enamel is indicative of both their constant use and the absence of available funds to replace much-needed items. Taken together, these images communicate the reality of feeding a family on a low-income and speak to the nature of 'making do' by the household.



Figure 11: Left to right by Row; Row 1: Breakfast meal items, noodles, bacon and egg pie; Row 2: creamed mushrooms, peeling potatoes, potatoes ready for boiling; Row 3: mince stew and mashed potato, preparing mince stew, briskeet boil-up.

In discussing photographs taken over the course of a week, including those in *Figure 11*, Janine reveals favoured foods, cultural practices, and aspects of providing food for many people. Talking to the top left image, Janine states: “This was our breakfast. You have fish cakes, eggs, spaghetti and a bun that we got from the bakery. You heat it [the buns] up, and it had herbs, cheese and bacon in it.” In photographing a plentiful family breakfast, provided and cooked by herself and her partner, Janine contributes to her self-presentation as a caregiver and embeds herself within familial traditions of sharing food. The preparation of two-minute noodles on the stove (middle top image) is quickly skimmed past as unremarkable: “This is our lunch one day, it’s just some noodles. Yeah.” The two individual serves depicted will provide lunch for two adults and a young child. Like dollar loaves of bread, cheap noodles invoke a modern-day ‘gastronomy of poverty’, whereby such low-cost fillers are utilized to keep hunger at bay.

Although Janine took a photo of the cheap two-minute noodles, she was not particularly interested in talking about this image preferring instead to proudly focus on the images of her handmade pie (*Figure 11*, top right): “This is the bacon and egg pie I made. It had bacon, egg, creamed corn, onions and cheese, yeah. [I was] taught by mum. This is the creamed mushrooms we had with it. This was me making it.” The creamed mushrooms are depicted in

Figure 11 (middle left), and, together with mashed potatoes (also middle left, in a pot behind the creamed mushrooms) will provide a dinner meal for the entire household. Despite a foodscape textured by insecurity, Janine finds ways to participate in the visceral enjoyment of cooking favoured meals. Cooking a bacon-and-egg pie ‘from scratch’, the way she learnt from her mother, embeds Janine within familial food traditions and contributes to a sense of belonging within the family (King et al., 2015). As well as being an inexpensive way of feeding many people, the creation of this dinner meal reproduces important cooking skills necessary to managing food insecurity (Buck-McFadyen, 2015). There is a substantial degree of skill in being able to organize ingredients, calculate amounts required, execute, and adapt meals (Giard, 1998). Even more skill is required to do so with meagre resources (Buck-McFadyen, 2015). These skills, evident in everyday meals of creamed mushrooms, bacon-and-egg pie and mashed potatoes, assist Janine with navigating the instabilities associated with food insecurity.

A New Zealand ‘gastronomy of poverty’ also includes ground beef (colloquially known in New Zealand as mince), an inexpensive and readily available cut of meat that can be carefully prepared to feed many people. Janine describes one such meal (*Figure 11*, bottom right and middle) that Ezra prepared: “Oh this was yum, this is, ah, mashed potato and mince stew. That’s just preparing that mince stew.” The carrots, onions and garlic (*Figure 11*, bottom middle) depicted are all inexpensive, readily available vegetables that flavour and ‘pad out’ the mince. Along with the ubiquitous mashed potatoes, Ezra creates a tasty and inexpensive evening meal for the household. In doing so, the family are able to enjoy eating together and bond despite ongoing precarity. In cooking mundane home-cooked meals such as mince stew, Janine and Ezra are able to enact key cultural and personal values regarding care for others, the provision of food, and of eating together.

Janine also photographed two pots of ‘boil-up’ made with brisket, an inexpensive cut of beef (*Figure 11*, bottom right). As a dish of ‘ordinary cuisine’ (de Certeau, Giard & Mayol, 1998), boil-up is a staple stew common to Māori households. Made with inexpensive meats and specific leafy greens², boil-up transforms cast-off food items into delicious traditional fare. In an earlier interview Sissy describes the family’s favoured boil-up ingredients: “we usually have bacon bones, pork bones, or brisket, watercress, dough-boys³ and potatoes.” The potatoes that Janine is preparing (*Figure 11*, middle centre) will be boiled and served, along with the depicted white bread, margarine, and tomato sauce. There are shared assumptions regarding the serving and eating of boil-up. It goes without saying that it will be eaten as a

² Both pūhā and watercress are sharply flavoured leafy green plants indigenous to New Zealand

³ A form of dumpling made from flour and water.

communal dish by family members. The specific method and sequencing of cooking ingredients, the particular type of pot used, and the condiments and side dishes presented alongside the boil-up meal all contain a social writing that speak to the cultural nature of this dish. Deceptively simple, boil-up contains embedded knowledge regarding ingredients, preparation, and personal preferences for particular tastes and flavours. Cooking a boil-up meal rests atop a complex montage of cultural knowledge and familial data that must be interpreted, adapted and modified depending on who is eating the meal and what ingredients are available and affordable (de Certeau, Giard & Mayol, 1998). In addition, through cooking, serving, and eating boil-up, Janine and Ezra enact a mimetic process that coherently organizes memories of previous boil-ups with present experiences (Garff, 2015), invoking a sense of being Māori and of connectedness to people and groups beyond the here and now (Pickering & Keightley, 2013). In this manner, boil-up is able to transcend a gastronomy of poverty and becomes a signifier of cultural practice and belonging.

In contrast to the everyday cuisine depicted in *Figure 11*, hangi⁴ meals are valorised as an elevated form of Māori gastronomy (De Marco, 2016). When mentioning hangi meals associated with cultural events such as funerals and unveilings⁵, Janine embeds herself within Māori food traditions and ways to be in the world as Māori: “Oh, we’re getting a hangi this week, on Thursday for the brother-in-law’s, Nan’s unveiling. Oh man I can’t wait. Steamed pudding, and chowder, raw fish, oh yeah! Fry bread, oh yum.” In a subsequent interview, Janine talks to the image (*Figure 12*) she took of a hangi meal she purchased from a relative. This relative was selling hangi meals as a fundraising effort to provide for an upcoming unveiling:

⁴ Traditional Māori cooking practice that involves wrapping food in woven flax baskets, placing on top of heated rocks, and covering in earth to steam for several hours

⁵ A ceremonial event held to commemorate a year’s mourning and to unveil the associated headstone



Figure 12: Hangi fundraiser meal.

Oh, my brother-in-law is fundraising for his nana's unveiling, yeah...hangi's nice aye... It was just this big steamer yeah. And they just like to get that taste they just put like dirt, I think it was on the bottom or on the top but yeah it was so nice.

Depicted in *Figure 12* is Janine's individually packaged hangi meal, replete with chicken, pork, stuffing, kumara⁶, pumpkin and potato. Such items are considered typical hangi fare. Also depicted are 'extras': a small soft-drink, seafood, and a slice of rewāna⁷ bread. As with boil-up, there is an assumption of shared cultural knowledge in conversations regarding hangi. Dishes such as fry bread, steamed pudding, rewāna, and raw fish are all part of Māori cuisine, with regional variations regarding tastes and flavours. It goes without saying that, as a New Zealanders, we are familiar with the cooking and eating of such items. Janine invokes the taste of a traditional 'in-the-ground' hangi meal in outlining attempts to replicate the flavour utilizing more contemporary methods⁸. In doing so, cultural memories are evoked and ways of being Māori in the modern world enacted. Like boil-up, hangi is traditionally eaten communally, with wider family members (Moon, 2003). The purchase of a hangi meal for a fundraiser weaves traditional practice with contemporary everyday life. It is not just the steamed kumara and chicken present in *Figure 12* that Janine enjoys, but a sense of connection to broader cultural narratives beyond the here and now (Pickering & Keightley, 2013).

⁶ Type of sweet potato

⁷ Traditional Māori sourdough potato bread

⁸ Modern steamer, often hand-made and which cooks food in a similar manner to a traditional hangi pit.

The eating of boil-up and hangi offers a form of respite from the mundane tedium of food insecurity. On offer is a sense of security in the reproduction of cultural food traditions that transcend individual circumstances. For the Kopa family, Māori culture offers a cuisine and set of communal practices that provide helpful tactics for enduring food insecurity. More than mere survival, these collective practices buffer the eroding effects of poverty (Jahoda, 1992). Through the process of revitalizing their shared archives of experience, the Kopa family construct a sense of belonging and being as Māori in the world (King et al., 2015). These processes are mimetic in the sense that they are predominantly unspoken and woven into everyday acts such as cooking boil-up for the family and purchasing hangi fundraiser meals (Regier, 2010). Through evoking images and producing connections that have broader socio-cultural meanings, the eating of boil-up and hangi blends doing with knowing, fusing the human spheres of experience, action, and symbolic production (Gebauer & Wulf, 1992). Through preparing and consuming such dishes, the Kopa family are able to enact what it means to be Māori in the modern world, temporarily transmuting the difficulties and insecurities associated with poverty.

Conclusions

Our participants' responses to the insecurities and chaos of poverty are personal, cultural, and relational. The Kopa household has developed particular tactics that allow them to assert some form of control and routine over their everyday lives. These small everyday practices of adaptation central to 'making do' speak to the compromises, tactics and relationships central to navigating food insecurity. Through social practices such as tactical supermarket shopping, accessing charitable food grants, sharing surplus food items and distributing food-provisioning tasks, the Kopa family is able to provide a variety of dishes to eat despite limited resources. In conveying these practices, householders foreground the care, compassion and cooperation that is central to pragmatic, precarious and collective tactics for addressing food insecurity. Experiences of food insecurity are emotionally laden and not always easy to adequately articulate verbally or visually. These are instead invoked mimetically through reference to particular objects and specific social practices. This case study reveals the complexities of one family's situation, allowing us to avoid dehumanizing tropes common to public deliberations regarding poverty and food insecurity. Through immersing ourselves within the lifeworld of the Kopa family, we were able to explore the nuanced, particular and practical-orientated knowledge this case produces regarding surviving during times of insecurity (Jahoda, 1992). Detailing this family's strategy for survival facilitates a deeper

understanding of the complexities, ambiguities, and contradictions of hardship (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

The Kopa case speaks to more than just this particular household. In the tactics and everyday food practices of the Kopa family we find insights into broader agentive responses to food insecurity. This case exemplifies a social milieu in action and how people navigate hardship and food insecurity in everyday life. This family is operating in an epoch shaped by neoliberalism and increasing hardship and food insecurity. Their pragmatic tactics are a reflection of familial circumstance within a particular societal context. Yet, the stress associated with navigating survival in constrained circumstances has little place in neoliberal narratives of self-sufficiency and the pursuit of economic materialism (Lucio, Jefferson, & Peck, 2016). In addition, dominant societal narratives see poverty constructed as the product of individual deficits, failing, and a lack of agency (Hodgetts et al., 2017). Such narratives are designed to shape compliance with neoliberal ideals and unfairly target the poor (Morgan & Gonzales, 2008), making it even more difficult for those affected to describe their situations and experiences beyond the position of failed citizens. This reduction in the language available to communicate experience of hardship is painful, compounding the exclusion and alienation already felt by people affected by poverty. The subsequent shame and the stigma associated with a lack of food means that much of the reality of life with poverty remains obscured, or worse, misinterpreted.

The case explored in this article exemplifies how, in the face of adversity and the dominance of stigmatizing neoliberal narratives, people facing poverty and food insecurity often act agentively and offer evidence to support self-narratives that facilitate a more positive sense of self as thoughtful, skilled and caring family members. Such self-presentations also counter dominant public narratives that position such families as lazy and lacking life skills (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). Through connections to specific foods, culture and people, the Kopa household are able to construct a shared narrative that gives meaning and value to otherwise stressful and difficult circumstances (Rappaport, 2000). Such narratives are deeply felt, and are often only invoked through snippets of conversation about 'Nan's house' and memories of shared meals, rather than being articulated directly. This highlights the need for research methods that are sensitive to the mimetic nature of accounts of poverty and food insecurity.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

Food insecurity is a pressing research topic because it is associated with poorer nutritional outcomes (Parnell, Wilson, Mann, & Gray, 2005), increased likelihood of physical ailments such as Type 2 diabetes (Seligman et al., 2007), experiences of psychological distress (Carter, Kruse, Blakely, & Collings, 2011), and alienation (Hamelin, Beaudry, & Habicht, 2002). In response, the aim of this thesis was to explore the ways in which experiences of food insecurity shape everyday food-related practices. The series of four publications that form the core of this thesis offer a deeper understanding of the complexities, ambiguities, and contradictions that accompany food insecurity in Aotearoa/New Zealand today. Adopting an immersive approach to research the community meal and my subsequent interactions with five households has enabled me to contribute to knowledge of how people make do when experiencing food insecurity.

This chapter draws out key insights from across all four publications to consider further the broader implications of my research. First, I summarize key insights from across each publication and the contributions of my body of work to current knowledge on food insecurity. Second, I address food insecurity as a social determinant of health, and the ways in which food insecurity impacts upon people's food-related social practices. I then discuss my contributions to community psychology, the importance of ameliorating hunger, and the need to take a liberation perspective to address the drivers of poverty and food insecurity in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Lastly, I offer pathways forward in addressing the underlying systems and structures driving food insecurity.

Key conclusions from the four publications

In this section I review each of my publications in turn, in the order which they are presented in this thesis. Chapter 3 opens a space for my research by challenging the problematic assumption that people do not make healthy choices due to knowledge deficits (*c.f.* Lombe et al., 2016). Health research regarding the nutritional components of food and community meals often fails to acknowledge that food insecurity is as social determinant of health. Social determinants of health are comprised of a network of factors that combine to shape:

The conditions in which people are born, grow, live, work and age, including the health system. These circumstances are shaped by the distribution of money, power and

resources at global, national and local levels, which are themselves influenced by policy choices (WHO, 2012).

Social determinants of health are primarily responsible for health inequities such as food insecurity (Wilkinson & Marmot, 2003). Health inequities reflect the impact of social hierarchies on health, where people of more modest means experience an increased risk of a range of ailments and a shorter lifespan when compared to more affluent groups (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). Foregrounding the impact of structural inequalities on the lives of my participants, my research contributes to emerging interdisciplinary scholarship (Dowler et al., 2001; Loopstra & Tarasuk, 2013) that seeks to broaden considerations of food insecurity from individual deficit models to include the impact of wider societal systems and structures. I contend that research into food insecurity must move beyond moralistic considerations of individual knowledge and behaviour deficits, and pay more attention to wider societal inequalities and inadequate incomes. This publication illustrates how it is crucial to deconstruct dominant nutritional narratives (Scrinis, 2008) and to document the lived concerns of people facing food insecurity (Reeves 1913/1979). It is also important to focus on the agency of people facing food insecurity and how they respond pragmatically to life situations that are characterized by resource restraints (Hodgetts et al., 2014).

Chapter 4 exemplifies how an immersive, emplaced and socially-responsive approach to food insecurity research can centralize the experiences of participants. I argue that when valued as citizens within a community meal space, members of the precariat take collective responsibility for feeding themselves and others. In considering the function of the community meal in the everyday lives of people facing food insecurity, I introduce the concept of an enclave of care. This concept enables me to foreground the importance of cultivating humane spaces (Lefebvre, 1970/1991) that provide respite from a society that often positions the precariat as inferior outsiders and objects of pity and scorn. Having a space of respite actively works to both support mental health (Mattheys, 2015) and to counteract the internalized distress of poverty (Musarò, 2013). As my research shows, these spaces play an important role in rehumanising marginalized groups. Despite the best efforts of those involved, enclaves of care remain fragile. Sustaining an enclave of care requires consistent and reliable resourcing. Currently, humane spaces such as the Gateway meal are reliant on charitable donations, philanthropic funding, and the work of individuals such as Bobbie (see Chapter 4). This means that they are vulnerable to closure when key stakeholders are not able to continue their efforts (Wakefield, et al., 2013). Reliance upon charity to meet the shortfall of inadequate incomes has never worked (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). Further, the charitable sector as whole is

becoming increasingly oversubscribed by people with need (Wakefield et al., 2013). In the case of the Gateway community meal, the meal space has now closed, along with the Op-Shop and associated social services. The closure of this enclave of care exemplifies the precarity of charity, and the need for community psychologists to address the upstream causes such as the structural inequalities driving food insecurity (Wakefield et al., 2013). This publication also illustrates the importance of community psychologists working alongside research participants and building meaningful relationships within spaces that people are familiar with, prior to engaging within the domestic space of the home.

In Chapters 5 and 6, I discuss how food insecurity manifests in various social practices in domestic and related spaces such as the supermarket. Particular attention is given to the agentive responses of specific household members to food insecurity. Following on from the seminal work of Jahoda and colleagues (1933/1972), each household was approached as a case study. Doing so enabled me to situate participant experiences of adversity in an interpersonal context (Radley & Chamberlain, 2012) as well as cogitating common and unique responses to food insecurity that are of significance beyond their personal lifeworlds (Flyvbjerg, 2006). In particular, examining household practices revealed the ways in which people often pool their resources and activate broader familial networks to make do in the context of broader socio-economic structures.

More specifically, Chapter 5 contextualizes household experiences in relation to dehumanizing neoliberal narratives that obscure the inequitable socio-economic structures that perpetuate food insecurity for people such as my participants. In particular, I detail how the reinvigoration of Victorian-era moralizing regarding poverty positions people facing food insecurity as underserving failures who have brought hardship upon themselves (Reeves, 1913/1979). Also considered is how my participants experience shame regarding their food scarcity, engage in practices of food rationing and attempt to hide their situations by presenting themselves as 'normal' households that can provide for themselves. However, the capacity to pass as a 'normal' household is problematic and in many respects unsustainable for my participants. This strategy delegitimizes their experiences of hardship and functions to obscure the everyday realities of food insecurity (Harrison & Cooley, 2012). Practices of 'passing' also work to support hegemonic assertions that 'there is no real poverty in New Zealand', and to perpetuate the hegemonic silencing of hardship (Gramsci, 1971). In response, community psychologists such as myself must do more to cultivate non-shame-based narratives that acknowledge the ways in which broader economic and social systems act to perpetuate precarity and food insecurity and causes people to hide in shame.

Chapter 6 immerses the reader further within the lifeworld of a single household. I build a more detailed account of how the Kopa household responds tactically (de Certeau, 1984) and collectively (Reckwitz, 2002) to food insecurity. The focus here is on how householders produce nuanced, particular and practical-orientated knowledge of, and practices for, surviving food insecurity (de Certeau, Giard & Mayol, 1998). I detail the practical responses of the Kopa household, and in doing so foreground their experiences of resource sharing and navigating precarious foodscapes. While the practices these participants have developed enable the household to survive, the underlying issues of precarity remain unresolved (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017) and the ongoing nature of food insecurity exacerbates tensions within the household. In detailing this household's responses to food insecurity I facilitate a deeper understanding of the everyday complexities, ambiguities, and contradictions that come with food insecurity.

By documenting the social nature of food-related practices, this thesis reveals aspects of the pragmatic and agentive ways in which people respond to food insecurity. For example, in Chapter 4 I document how texturing the meal space with specific items such as crockery and carafes of water, along with specific social practices such as 'saying grace', can elevate the provision of food from the emergency provision of calories to a meal fit for human consumption (Simmel, 1910/1997). It is the provision of food within the context of dignifying social practices that helps mitigate aspects of the negative impact of food insecurity on mental health (Mattheys, 2015). Further, through viewing the household as a whole and building a picture of the family's food-related practices, Chapter 6 illustrates how people can work collectively to minimize the negative impacts of food insecurity. Briefly, from reading my publications it should be apparent that, despite people's best efforts, the incomes of participating households are simply insufficient to meet their basic food requirements. The resulting food insecurity negatively impacts on the physical (Bhattacharya, Currie, & Haider, 2004) and psychosocial (Buck-McFadyen, 2015) wellbeing of members of these households. In response, they must work hard to make do and preserve their dignity in an increasingly inequitable society.

As mentioned in the first chapter, the broad range of ideas that morph into the conglomeration of thought loosely known as neoliberalism (Thorsen, 2010) are played out in the everyday lives of individuals. In particular, moralising narratives (Blomgren, 1997) are held at personal, community, institutional and societal levels regarding the underlying drivers of poverty, subsequent food insecurity, and proposed solutions. These narratives lead to the wider acceptance of inequality and social injustice as morally acceptable, absolving the state of

responsibility and framing food insecurity as personal deficits in morality, education and motivation (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). Through providing a detailed, nuanced account of people's lives, I contribute to a deeper understanding of the everyday complexities, ambiguities, and contradictions that come with food insecurity in an epoch of neoliberalism. In doing so, I challenge the false dichotomy of neoliberalism that constructs people as either the 'deserving' or the 'undeserving' poor (Hall, 2011).

Each of my four publications addresses, challenges, and reframes particular aspects of neoliberal thought and hegemony in the societal narratives surrounding food insecurity. Specifically, in Chapter 3 I detail the ways in which the narratives of individual food choice and the ideology of nutritionism (Scrinis, 2008) determines what is – and what is not – researched with regards to community meals. Subsequent suggested solutions such as the provision of a Vitamin C tablet or a glass of milk with the dinner meal maintain the moralizing narrative which positions people experiencing hardship as the perpetrators of their own situation (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). Through highlighting the moralizing narratives implicit to such research I emphasize the need to reframe food insecurity from an individual issue to a societal one that includes the broader political and economic landscape within which homelessness and hunger exist. Subsequently, in Chapter 4 I showcase one way of framing and researching community meals that moves beyond individualistic narratives and neoliberal-based explanations. The lived experiences of the community meal as documented in this chapter emphasize the importance of dignity and respect. In presenting participant accounts of food insecurity I resist the abjectifying tropes of neoliberalism and instead detail the ways in which meal attendees respond pragmatically and agentially to poverty. This work constitutes a challenge to neoliberal explanations of “poor choices” and the futility of solutions to food insecurity that are based on “market provision”.

In Chapters 5 and 6, my thick descriptions of the everyday food-related practices of participants make visible in a tangible way the inequities baked into neoliberal economic and social systems. The contrast between the plentiful food available at the supermarket and the minimal amount of rather unappetizing items placed in Anna and Lea's respective shopping trolley's highlights the politically-imposed brutalities of food insecurity in New Zealand. In addition, the social narratives available to participants provide little comfort. Instead, as seen in the examples of Anna and Ginny, they attempt to re-narrate themselves back into neoliberalism as functional citizens through highlighting their healthy (virtuous) choices and budgeting skills (market competence). In contrast, the collective social practices of the Kopa household as detailed in Chapter 6 offset and undermine the individualism inherent to

neoliberalism. In addition, the Kopa household are able to access broader cultural narratives that rebut neoliberal convictions regarding the purpose of the state and individual liberty (Thorsen, 2010). Through enacting cultural practice through, for example, the purchase of a hangi meal or by sharing food with family members, the Kopa household implicitly eschews the neoliberal expectations of profit-based markets in favour of family fundraisers and sharing economies.

In considering my research findings from these four publications against the backdrop of neoliberal narratives in New Zealand, my body of work presents grounded local engagements with participants as one way of understanding broader systemic consequences of neoliberalism. In particular, by documenting the social relationships and food-related activities that texture participants' lives, I document how neoliberal hegemony is played out in the everyday lives of people experiencing hardship. This form of situated knowledge bridges the gap between the personal, micro experience of poverty and the macro-level systems and structures driving food insecurity. These include the gap between punitive welfare and insufficient living costs. As noted in Chapter 1, Simmel's (1903/1997) *principle of emergence* connects the local (personal) with the (social). The participant accounts provided in this thesis detail concrete examples of people's personal food-related practices. Taken together, their accounts provide a context for food insecurity in New Zealand where a land with plentiful and surplus food exists concurrently with malnourished, hungry families. By contextualising people's lives and discussing the associated complexities, I move away from the dominant neoliberal framing that positions people experiencing hardship as the perpetrators of their own situations.

As a body of work, my research challenges the neoliberal view that individual behaviours and lifestyle choices are the primary driver of food insecurity. Ultimately, the attribution of poverty and food insecurity to individual 'poor choices' prevents the recognition of the need for, and implementation of, broader societal solutions that offer sustainable ways of alleviating food insecurity (Signal et al., 2013). This thesis moves us beyond overly-simplistic individual victim-blaming narratives that shame people in need and silence their everyday lived experiences of hardship (Hall, 2011). My research contributes towards a growing literature that documents the counter hegemonic aspects of societal inequalities, poverty and food insecurity (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017), and which justifies renewed calls for a more socially just distribution of resources in society. I now consider the broader implications of my research with regards to knowledge of food insecurity, food-related social practices, and the field of community psychology.

Research contributions and reflections

In this section, I emphasize the importance of approaching food insecurity as a socio-structural issue that stems from broader inequalities in society and the failure of many governments in relatively wealthy OECD nations, including Aotearoa/New Zealand, to enact the right of all citizens to food security. Also considered is how my thesis contributes to the application of social practice theory to informing knowledge of familial responses to food insecurity. Community psychology values (Prilleltensky, 2001; Robertson & Masters-Awatere, 2007) are embedded into the research design and conduct of this research. Enacting these values involved engaging participants in dialogue (as opposed to answering predetermined questions), offering a space for participants to reflect openly on their experiences, listening respectfully, and being aware of how silences (and breaches thereof) are essential markers of the symbolic power of proponents of neoliberalism to define less affluent citizens. I also discuss ameliorative initiatives such as the community meal as key focal points for community psychologists to engage with community processes. Immersive engagements with people need to be linked to efforts to promote social change, and as such require speaking out beyond local communities to challenge broader structural inequalities. Part of these efforts is developing counter-hegemonic narratives grounded in the lived experiences of food insecurity.

At its core, my thesis considers the ways in which food insecurity shapes people's everyday food-related social practice. I document how personal food-related practices are embedded within broader social relations and structures (Warde, 2005). Taking a social practice orientation (Halkier & Jensen, 2011) to researching food insecurity enabled me to contextualize the multiplicity of collectively shared practices that make up the everyday activities surrounding responses to food insecurity. Social practice theory conceptualizes human beings as carriers and enactors of collective behaviour patterns or ways of doing things evident in particular community settings (Reckwitz, 2002). Human beings are thought to take shape and become situated within the social world through enactments of these social practices. Social practice theory provides a collective orientation to the plurality of practices that surround food insecurity (Warde, 2005) and provided a conceptual basis for my exploration of the ways in which food insecurity necessitates the development of everyday practices in food insecure households.

This thesis demonstrates that combining a social practice orientation (Reckwitz, 2002) with community psychology values (Prilleltensky, 2001; Robertson & Masters-Awatere, 2007) creates a research praxis that allows for greater depth of insight into the lived consequences of

food insecurity. I have documented how participants draw agentively upon, and modify, their ways of procuring and consuming food in order to meet the demands that come with limited resources and insecurity. In an effort to stretch her meagre welfare payments, Lea uses minimal electricity to cook cheap noodles and inexpensive pies. However, the absence of what she considers 'proper' meals exacerbates tensions in the household. Julye and Raywyn have temporarily combined households to pool their resources and alleviate some of the pressure on household finances. The Kopa household also crowd together to save on living costs. Although expanding the resources available, crowding together in such dwellings also brings tensions between householders and affords no long-term solution to food insecurity. These exemplars illustrate how food insecurity comes with adaptation in the social practices through which families in need conduct their everyday lives.

My research also demonstrates how embedding the community psychology values of inclusion, respect, dignity, participation, dialogue, listening, reciprocity, reflexivity, and advocacy offers a basis for engaging with such practices alongside advocating for the structural reforms to alleviate the hardships faced by my participants. Community psychology values are central to immersive research (Jahoda, 1992). My immersive approach produced substantive knowledge grounded in participants' social practices, and which can be utilized to foreground the implications of societal inequalities and to challenge the dominant constructions of their lives. In particular, my research illustrates the benefits of spending time in specific spaces in which people conduct their lives and respond socially and materially to food insecurity. Spending time with people reflects the community psychology values of respect and dignity (Robertson & Masters-Awatere, 2007), and is a form of engaged witnessing that is crucial for humanizing the impacts of structural inequalities (Watkins & Shulman, 2008).

On a practical level, it took me three months of weekly meal attendance before meal attendees were willing to engage with me beyond banal remarks and casual recognition of my presence. Field notes from my early visits reference the suspicion with which attendees initially responded to me. I had entered their space, and to some extent they resisted my presence through 'closed-off' body language and short conversations. They had also heard that I was a researcher who wanted to interview diners about food insecurity. For marginalized groups, interviews often come with negative connotations and are associated with interrogations from welfare providers, budgeters and social services. I needed to take the necessary time to build trust with people. Over the course of the first three months our interactions changed, and positive greetings, smiles and humorous exchanges became increasingly frequent.

Spending time with people in this space also humanized me to meal attendees. Bringing my children with me moved us beyond the researcher-participant dyad into families enjoying each other's company over a shared meal. My movement from an outsider to regular participant in the meal space evolved to mutual acts of kindness, such as sharing a bought bottle of drink over dinner, the gift of a homemade woolly hat for my two-year-old daughter, and the provision of small toys to keep her occupied while waiting for the meal to be served. If I had not persevered with attending the meal, and learning how to be myself with research participants from different backgrounds to my own, I may never have discovered how the collective production of the meal space afforded diners a positive communal space. Without such deep engagements, I would also have overlooked the respite from the psychological, social and material strains of hardship that the meal space offered, and failed to recognize the thoughtful ways in which attendees provided care for each other - which, over time, extended to myself and my children.

My research shows the importance of listening respectfully to people and asking questions that are informed by previous interactions with them. Asking questions in the interviews became an exercise in extending my understanding of a participant's experiences of food insecurity and hardship. By positioning myself as the learner, I positioned participants as valued expert contributors in the co-construction of knowledge (Radley & Billig, 1996). Listening respectfully to initial responses also assisted me with knowing what to ask in subsequent interactions and opened up the dialogue in our further encounters (Robertson & Masters-Awatere, 2007; Watkins & Shulman, 2008). In doing so, a dialectical interplay between myself and participants was developed to inform our engagements and to ensure my responsiveness to the research setting. Over time, participants felt more comfortable in sharing aspects of their lives oft hidden from public view, such as food hoarding, tensions within households, and efforts to hide their food insecurity from the broader community. This led to the sharing of stories, such as instances of participants having to eat outdated and rotten foods, busking for bread and milk money, or the sense of shame many felt at not being able to afford particular food items. These examples highlight the need to spend time listening respectfully while engaging in scholarly enquiry, and showcase how being reflexively aware of how one is being perceived by participants in social settings requires a level of humility and responsiveness.

My research also highlights the importance of paying attention to hegemonic silencing when examining social issues such as food insecurity. In this context, hegemonic silencing (Gramsci, 1971; Sue, 2014) occurs through dominant neoliberal narratives that scapegoat

individuals as being 'defective' and 'inferior', and in doing so obscures alternative explanations for hardship. Associated feelings of shame and personal inadequacy also drive the lived experiences of food insecurity from public view (Watkins & Shulman, 2008). Research into social phenomena affected by hegemonic silencing requires listening carefully to what is disclosed, what is talked around but avoided, and what goes unsaid during interviews (Sheriff, 2000; Sue, 2014). In this thesis, multiple research engagements helped my participants and I identify what was not discussed, what was absent from photographs and shopping trolleys, and what they found embarrassing to talk about, and which we could then begin to unpack gently together (Watkins & Shulman, 2008).

In accordance with liberation traditions within community psychology I saw my role as both documenting and challenging hegemonic silences around food insecurity (Martín-Baró, 1994; Watkins & Shulman, 2008). Challenging hegemony requires careful thought regarding the presentation and contextualizing of participant accounts within broader societal structures and relations. The experiences of people facing hardships are regularly twisted and weaponized against them where they become ventriloquized within neoliberal narratives, with aspects of their accounts being used to warrant punitive responses to their situations (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). Rupturing such hegemonic framing by offering alternative and less individualistic explanations for food insecurity is central to efforts by community psychologists to help (Martín-Baró, 1994; Prilleltensky, 1994). In this context, immersive community-focused research becomes a strategy for centralizing participants' own concerns and experiences. Centralizing participant accounts is a humanizing exercise designed to question unhelpful narratives and disrupt harmful constructions that obscure the need for structural change (Watkins & Shulman, 2008). Moving beyond dominant narratives that individualize hardships required me to link people's personal experiences to broader structural inequalities.

In promoting the importance of structural changes to address food insecurity I do not wish to dismiss the humanizing and important work of community groups, such as Gateway, who offer enclaves of care for people in need. Ameliorative acts such as the provision of meals have had an important historical role in softening the severity of hardship and hunger for people in need (Ross, 2007). However, as I mentioned earlier, initiatives such as the community meal remain precarious, are vulnerable to closure, and are over-subscribed. Further, the positive sociocultural status afforded to charitable work normalizes food insecurity (Silvasti & Riches, 2014). This in turn legitimizes personal generosity and individual responsibility as responses to food insecurity when what is needed is the repudiation of public policies and the encouragement of societal responsibility and associated social change

initiatives (Silvasti & Riches, 2014). Addressing food insecurity thus requires both ameliorative acts that meet the immediate need and challenging the underlying economic, political and social structures that create poverty (Prilleltensky, 1994; Martín-Baró, 1994). Challenging these structures includes offering viable responses and alternative narratives that include the provision of resources to households experiencing hardship (Watkins & Shulman, 2008). Presenting the lived experiences of everyday life in humanizing ways, alongside providing cogent arguments for collective responses to poverty and food insecurity, offers one avenue for repudiating the neoliberal narratives that seek to blame people for their own oppression (Montero & Sonn, 2009).

As part of positioning my work within the liberation traditions of community psychology, I actioned efforts to address both amelioration and structural change (Bess, Prilleltensky, Perkins, & Collins, 2009). In doing so, I also locate my thesis within the historical tradition of socially-responsive researchers such as Marie Jahoda and Maud Pember-Reeves (see Chapter 2), who incorporated ameliorative acts into their work and actively campaigned for social change. I actively sought out opportunities to reciprocate and contribute to the community meal. As mentioned in Chapter 2, I donated funds to cover the costs of my meal, applied for additional funding to support the meal, and presented my findings to Gateway trustees. As well as these ameliorative actions, I contributed to broader discussions among professional groups regarding the impacts of food insecurity, including Cardiac Rehabilitation Nurses at the Waikato Hospital and presenting at community psychology events (see Appendix 3).

As part of addressing and challenging broader neoliberal narratives regarding food insecurity I co-wrote an article regarding food insecurity which has been published in The Spinoff, a New Zealand-based online news media site (see Appendix 2), as well as two subsequent articles that challenge dominant societal constructions of food insecurity (available online from www.thespinnoff.co.nz). I have been active in social media in promoting alternative societal narratives that locate food insecurity and poverty within broader societal systems and structures. In addition, as part of the Ending Poverty and Inequality (EPIC) research cluster at Massey University, my research contributes to a body of academic work that actively seeks to reduce hegemonic silencing regarding the consequences of structural inequalities. I worked with colleagues from this research cluster to create a short (two minute) video for YouTube that foregrounds the structural causes of food insecurity and the need for social change (see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=flo2BG4EKIY>). Following the submission of this thesis, I plan to engage in further media advocacy work and to draft a policy brief on how to address food insecurity for all major political parties. I mention these small practical acts in recognition

that, although single research projects rarely result in wholesale social change to oppressive socio-economic systems, we still need to act. In this context, my thesis adds another layer of resistance to neoliberalism and the work by groups such as the Child Poverty Action Group and Psychologists for Social Change.

Pathways forward in addressing food insecurity

Acknowledging the existence of food insecurity in wealthy, food-producing countries such as New Zealand is an important first step. From here, one way of addressing food insecurity is the creation of counter-hegemonic narratives. Currently, people experiencing hardship and hunger are often shamed and silenced by broader societal narratives. Creating counter-narratives requires locating the source of food insecurity as primarily within societal structures, and revealing the associated dysfunctional power relationships that come with neoliberalism. This requires recognizing the ways in which neoliberal narratives act hegemonically to silence and co-opt resistance in a manner that intensifies material hardship for many households. As my research shows, experiences of stigma and shame work to prevent people from accessing welfare entitlements and available support. We need to cultivate non-stigmatizing and more humane public narratives regarding hardship, the right to food, and the inappropriateness of charity as the sole response to food insecurity. Constructing food security as a human right offers one way of reframing the moralizing and neoliberal hegemony that surrounds much of the debate regarding poverty. As an agenda for action, advocating for a rights-based approach to food goes beyond food relief and begins to address the underlying social arrangement whereby societies provide for the individual and collective well-being of all citizens (Riches, 2002). Central here is the proposition that access to affordable, nutritious, safe food is a human right and the responsibility of the nation state (CESCR, 1999). Where individuals or groups are unable to enjoy the right to adequate food by the means at their disposal, states have the obligation to fulfil this right directly by ensuring sufficient incomes and/or adequate social security (Dowler & O'Connor, 2012).

As my research shows, food insecurity is not a discrete problem of individuals, but is connected to wider societal issues. Solutions to food insecurity are thus innately political (Riches, 2002). Political decisions at a national level have driven the growth of low-paid, insecure employment in New Zealand over recent decades, reflecting international trends and the globalizing economy (Rashbrooke, 2013). This increase in precarious employment affects the level and reliability of incomes, which in turn determines the quality and quantity of food that people can afford to purchase. The prevalence of a minimum-wage, casualised workforce

is considered to be “a guaranteed recipe for feeding the growing need for food aid” (Silvasti & Karajalainen, 2014 p.86). For people facing precarious employment, part of the solution to food insecurity lies in strengthening their labour market position (Standing, 2015). It is through adequately resourcing people so that they can obtain sufficient safe and nutritious food for all family members that food insecurity is addressed. Making this happen requires an increased focus on advocacy and policy-focused action designed to address the underlying structural drivers of poverty and food insecurity (Signal et al., 2013; Silvasti, 2015). Where people’s ability to provide for their own food needs is weakened, offering access to dignifying welfare support which improves food security is essential (Silvasti & Riches, 2014). Ameliorating food insecurity thus includes implementing social policies that prioritize people’s well-being and ensure that nutritionally-sound food is affordable for everyone. Thirty years of cumulative food insecurity in New Zealand/Aotearoa points to the massive failure of welfare reform policies and the abandonment by central government of their obligations to respect, protect and fulfil the human right to food. Adequate food can be provided to all citizens if the will to do so is cultivated.

Reference List

- Addams, J. (1911). *Twenty years at Hull House, with autobiographical notes*. Chicago, Ill: MacMillan.
- Anderson, C. A. (1943). Food rationing and morale. *American Sociological Review*, 8(1), 23-33.
- Baer, T. E., Hassan, A., Fleegler, E. W., & Scherer, E. A. (2015). Food insecurity and the burden of health-related social problems in an urban youth population. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 57(6), 601-607. doi: 10.1016/j.jadohealth.2015.08.013
- Bakhtin, M. (1981). *The dialogic imagination: Four essays* (M. Holquist, & C. Emerson, Trans.). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Bargh, M. (Ed.). (2007). *Resistance. An indigenous response to neoliberalism*. Wellington, NZ: Huia.
- Bauman, Z. (2004). *Wasted lives: Modernity and its outcasts*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Bauman, Z. (2005). *Work, consumerism, and the new poor*. Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press.
- Benjamin, W. (1936/1999). *Illuminations*. London, UK: Pimlico.
- Benjamin, W. (1983). *Charles Baudelaire: A lyric poet in the era of high capitalism* (H. Zohn, Trans.). London, UK: Verso.
- Benjamin, W. (2002). *The arcades project* (H. Eiland, & K. McLaughlan, Trans.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bess, K. D., Prilleltensky, I., Perkins, D. D., & Collins, L. V. (2009). Participatory organizational change in community-based health and human services: From tokenism to political engagement. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 43(1/2), 134-148. doi: 10.1007/s10464-008-9222-8
- Bhattacharya, J., Currie, J., & Haider, S. (2004). Poverty, food insecurity, and nutritional outcomes in children and adults. *Journal of Health Economics*, 23, 839-862.
- Biggerstaff, M. A., Morris, P. M., & Nichols-Casebolt, A. (2002). Living on the edge: Examination of people attending food pantries and soup kitchens. *Social Work*, 47(3), 267-277.
- Blomgren, A-M. (1997). *Nyliberal politisk filosofi. En kritisk analys av Milton Friedman, Robert Nozick och F. A. Hayek*. Nora: Bokförlaget. Nya Doxa.
- Boon, B., & Farnsworth, J. (2011). Social exclusion and poverty: Translating social capital into accessible resources. *Social Policy & Administration*, 45(5), 507-524. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9515.2011.00792.x
- Bourdieu, P. (1979). *Distinctions. A social critique of the judgement of taste* (R. Nice, Trans.). Boston, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bramall, R. (2013). *The cultural politics of austerity: Past and present in austere times*. London, UK: Palgrave.
- Brillat-Savarin, J. A. (1949/1848). *The physiology of taste, or meditations on transcendental gastronomy* (M. F. K. Fisher, Trans.). New York, NY: The Heritage Press.
- Brown, K. M. (2001). Mimesis in the face of fear: Femme queens, butch queens, and gender play in the houses of Greater Newark. In M. C. Sanchez, & L. Schlossberg (Eds.), *Passing. Identity and interpretation in sexuality, race, and religion* (pp. 208-227). New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Buck-McFadyen, E. V. (2015). Rural food insecurity: When cooking skills, homegrown food, and perseverance aren't enough to feed a family. *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, 106(3), 140-146. doi: 10.17269/cjph.106.4837
- Carne, S., & Mancini, A. (2012). *Empty food baskets: Food poverty in Whangarei*. Whangarei, NZ: Child Poverty Action Group.
- Carter, K. N., Kruse, K., Blakely, T., & Collings, S. (2011). The association of food security with psychological distress in New Zealand and gender differences. *Social Science & Medicine*, 72, 1463-1471.

- Cerwonka, A., & Malkki, L. H. (2007). *Improvising theory: process and temporality in ethnographic fieldwork*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- CESCR (Committee on Economic Social and Cultural Rights). (1999). *General comment 12: The right to adequate food. E/C.12/1999/5*. UN Document.
- Charles, N., & Kerr, M. (1988). *Women, food and families*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.
- Code of Ethics Review Group. (2002). *Code of ethics for psychologists working in Aotearoa/New Zealand*. Wellington, NZ: The Psychologists Board.
- Coleman-Jensen, A. (2010). U.S. food insecurity status: Toward a refined definition. *Social Indicators Research, 95*(2), 215-230. doi: 10.1007/s11205-009-9455-4
- Coleman-Jensen, A. (2015). *Commemorating 20 Years of U.S. food security measurement* (Article No. 15458741). Washington, DC: US Dept. of Agriculture Economic Research Service.
- Collins, F. L. (2008). Of kimchi and coffee: globalisation, transnationalism and familiarity in culinary consumption. *Social & Cultural Geography, 9*(2), 151-169. doi: 10.1080/14649360701856094
- Connell, C. L., Lofton, K. L., Yadrick, K., & Rehner, T. A. (2005). Children's experiences of food insecurity can assist in understanding its effect on their well-being. *The Journal of nutrition, 135*(7), 1683-1690.
- Corker, E., Hamilton, S., Henderson, C., Weeks, C., Pinfold, V., Rose, D., Williams, P., Flach, C., Gill, V., Lewis-Holmes, E., & Thornicroft, G. (2013). Experiences of discrimination among people using mental health services in England 2008-2011. *The British Journal of Psychiatry, 202*(55), 56-63. doi: 10.1192/bjp.bp.112.112912
- Cox, A., & Black, R. (2012). *Window on Waikato poverty: Food and Waikato school communities*. Hamilton, NZ: Poverty Action Waikato.
- Crawford, B., Yamazaki, R., Franke, E., Amanatidis, S., Ravulo, J., Steinbeck, K., . . . Torvaldsen, S. (2014). Sustaining dignity? Food insecurity in homeless young people in urban Australia. *Health Promotion Journal of Australia: Official Journal of Australian Association of Health Promotion Professionals, 25*(2), 71-78.
- Crawford, B., Yamazaki, R., Franke, E., Amanatidis, S., Ravulo, J., & Torvaldsen, S. (2015). Is something better than nothing? Food insecurity and eating patterns of young people experiencing homelessness. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*(4), 350. doi: 10.1111/1753-6405.12371
- Cresswell, T. (1996). *In place/out of place: Geography, ideology, and transgression*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Crotty, P. (1999). Food and class. In J. Germov, & L. Williams (Eds.), *A sociology of food and nutrition: The social appetite*. Victoria, AUS: Oxford University Press.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M., & Rochberg-Halton, E. (1981). *The meaning of things: Domestic symbols and the self*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- D'Souza, A., Turner, N., Simmers, D., Craig, E., & Dowell, T. (2012). Every child to thrive, belong and achieve? Time to reflect and act in New Zealand. *New Zealand Medical Journal, 125*, 1352.
- Dachner, N., Gaetz, S., Poland, B., & Tarasuk, V. (2009). An ethnographic study of meal programs for homeless and under-housed individuals in Toronto. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved, 20*(3), 846-853. doi: 10.1353/hpu.0.0167
- Dachner, N., & Tarasuk, V. (2002). Homeless "squeegee kids": Food insecurity and daily survival. *Soc Sci Med, 54*(7), 1039-1049.
- Dale, M. C., O'Brien, M., & St John, S. (2011). *Left further behind: How policies fail the poorest children in New Zealand*. Auckland, NZ: Child Poverty Action Group.
- Dale, M. C., O'Brien, M., & St John, S. (2014). *Our children, our choice: Priorities for policy*. Auckland, NZ: Child Poverty Action Group.

- Davis, L. R., Weller, N. F., Jadhav, M., & Holleman, W. L. (2008). Dietary intake of homeless women residing at a transitional living center. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved* 19(3), 952-962.
- de Certeau, M. (1984). *The practice of everyday life* (S. Rendall, Trans.). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- de Certeau, M., Giard, L., & Mayol, P. (1998). *The practice of everyday life* (T. J. Tomasik, Trans. Vol. 2: Living & Cooking). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- De Marco, A. (2016). Hongi, hangi, haka, moko: Language and the representation of Maori culture in contemporary mainstream travel guidebooks. *Journal of New Zealand & Pacific Studies*, 4(1), 53-70. doi: 10.1386/nzps.4.1.53_1
- De Vogli, R., & Owusu, J. T. (2014). The causes and health effects of the Great Recession: from neoliberalism to 'healthy de-growth'. *Critical Public Health*, 25(1), 15-31. doi: 10.1080/09581596.2014.957164
- Dear, M. J., & Wolch, J. R. (1987). *Landscapes of despair: from deinstitutionalization to homelessness*. Oxford, UK: Polity.
- Delisle, H., & Batal, M. (2016). The double burden of malnutrition associated with poverty. *The Lancet*, 387(10037), 2504-2505. doi: 10.1016/S0140-6736(16)30795-4
- Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y. (2000). *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Desjardins, M. (2004). Teaching about religion with food. *Teaching Theology & Religion*, 7(3), 153-158. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9647.2004.00205.x
- Dodds, A., & Chamberlain, K. (2017). The problematic messages of nutritional discourse: A case-based critical media analysis. *Appetite*, 108, 42-50. doi: 10.1016/j.appet.2016.09.021
- Douglas, M. (1966). *Purity and danger: An analysis of the concepts of pollution and taboo*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Douglas, M. (1971). Deciphering a meal. In C. Geertz (Ed.), *Myth, symbol and culture* (pp. 61-82). New York, NY: Norton.
- Dowler, E. A., Kneafsey, M., Lambie, H., Inman, A., & Collier, R. (2011). Thinking about 'food security': Engaging with UK consumers. *Critical Public Health*, 21(4), 403-416.
- Dowler, E. A., & O'Connor, D. (2012). Rights-based approaches to addressing food poverty and food insecurity in Ireland and UK. *Social Science & Medicine*, 74(1), 44-51. doi: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2011.08.036
- Dowler, E. A., Turner, S., & Dobson, B. (2001). *Poverty bites: Food, health and poor families*. London, UK: CPAG.
- Englander, D. (1998). *Poverty and poor law reform in nineteenth century Britain 1834-1914: From Chadwick to Booth*. London, UK: Longman.
- Evans, G. W., Eckenrode, J., & Marcynyszyn, L. A. (2010). Chaos and the macrosetting: The role of poverty and socioeconomic status. In G. W. Evans, & T. D. Wachs (Eds.), *Chaos and its influence on children's development: An ecological perspective*. (pp. 225-238). Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association.
- FAO (Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations). (2008). The state of food insecurity in the world 2008. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations: Rome, Italy Retrieved from <http://www.fao.org/docrep/011/i0291e/i0291e00.htm>
- Fenger, M., & van Paridon, K. (2011). Towards a globalisation of solidarity? In M. Ellison (Ed.), *Reinventing social solidarity across Europe* (pp. 49-70). New York, NY: Policy Press.
- Fitchen, J. M. (1988). Hunger, malnutrition, and poverty in the contemporary United States: Some observations on their social and cultural context. *Food and Foodways*, 2(309-333). doi: 10.1080/07409710.1987.9961923
- Fletcher, M., & Dwyer, M. (2008). *A fair go for all children. Actions to address child poverty in New Zealand*. . Wellington, NZ: Office of the Children's Commissioner and Barnados.

- Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five misunderstandings about case-study research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(2), 219-245.
- Fortier, A.-M. (1999). Re-membling places and the performance of belonging(s). *Theory, Culture & Society*, 16(2), 41-64. doi: 10.1177/02632769922050548
- Foucault, M. (1970/1995). *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison* (A. Sheridan, Trans. 2nd ed.). New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- Fox, R., & Smith, G. (2011). Sinner ladies and the gospel of good taste: Geographies of food, class and care. *Health Place*, 17(2), 403-412. doi: 10.1016/j.healthplace.2010.07.006
- Fram, M. S., Frongillo, E. A., Jones, S. J., Williams, R. C., Burke, M. P., DeLoach, K. P., & Blake, D. E. (2011). Children are aware of food insecurity and take responsibility for managing food resources. *The Journal of Nutrition*, 141(6), 1114-1119. doi: 10.3945/jn.110.135988
- Freedman, M. R., & Bartoli, C. (2013). Food intake patterns and plate waste among community meal center guests show room for improvement. *Journal of Hunger & Environmental Nutrition*, 8(4), 506-515. doi: 10.1080/19320248.2013.787380
- Friedman, M. (1980). *Free to Choose*. New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Garden, E., Caldin, A., Robertson, D., Timmins, J., Wilson, T., & Wood, T. (2014). *Family 100 research project: Speaking for ourselves*. Auckland, NZ: Auckland City Mission.
- Garff, J. (2015). A matter of mimesis: Kierkegaard and Ricoeur on narrative identity. *Kierkegaard Studies Yearbook*, 20(1), 321-334. doi: 10.1515/kierke-2015-0116
- Gazso, A., McDaniel, S., & Waldron, I. (2016). Networks of social support to manage poverty: More changeable than durable. *Journal of Poverty*, 20(4), 441-463. doi: 10.1080/10875549.2015.1112869
- Gebauer, G., & Wulf, C. (1992). *Mimesis* (D. Reneau, Trans.). London, UK: University of California Press.
- Gibson, K., Abraham, Q., Asher, I., Black, R., Turner, N., Waitoki, W., & McMillan, N. (2017). *Child poverty and mental health*. Auckland, NZ: New Zealand Psychological Society and Child Poverty Action Group.
- Giroux, H. A. (2004). Public pedagogy and the politics of neoliberalism: Making the political more pedagogical. *Policy Futures in Education*, 2, 494-503.
- Giroux, H. A. (2010). Bare pedagogy and the scourge of neoliberalism: Rethinking higher education as a democratic public sphere. *The Educational Forum*, 74, 184-196. doi: 10.1080/00131725.2010.483897
- Goody, J. (1982). *Cooking, cuisine and class: A study in comparative sociology*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Goyings, N., & Csete, J. (1994). Dietary intake of homeless families in Wisconsin: Lessons for nutrition educators. *Journal of Nutrition Education*, 26(2), 62-68 67p.
- Graham, R., Hodgetts, D., & Stolte, O. (2016). Dual-heritage households: Food, culture, and remembering in Hamilton, New Zealand. *International Review of Social Research*, 6(1), 4-14. doi: 10.1515/irsr-2016-0002
- Graham, R., Hodgetts, D., Stolte, O., & Chamberlain, K. (2017). Sustaining spaces: Community meal provision and mental wellbeing. In L. McGrath, & P. Reavey (Eds.), *Mental distress and space: Community and clinical applications*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Graham, R., Hodgetts, D., Stolte, O., & Chamberlain, K. (Under review). Food insecurity in urban New Zealand: The case of the Kopa family. *Journal of Poverty*.
- Graham, R., Stolte, O., Hodgetts, D., & Chamberlain, K. (2016). Nutritionism and the construction of 'poor choices' in families facing food insecurity. *Journal of Health Psychology, online*.
- Gram, M. (2015). Buying food for the family: Negotiations in parent/child supermarket shopping: An observational study from Denmark and the United States. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 44(2), 169-196. doi: 10.1177/0891241614533125

- Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. New York, NY: International Publishers.
- Grant, C. C., Wall, C. R., Yates, R., & Crengle, S. (2010). Nutrition and Indigenous health in New Zealand. *Journal of Paediatrics & Child Health*, 46(9), 479-482. doi: 10.1111/j.1440-1754.2010.01842.x
- Griffin, C., & Bengry-Howell, A. (2007). Ethnography. In C. Willig, & W. S. Rogers (Eds.), *The handbook of qualitative methods in psychology*. London, UK: Sage.
- Groot, S., & Hodgetts, D. (2015). The infamy of begging: A case-based approach to street homelessness and radical commerce. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 12(4), 349-366. doi: 10.1080/14780887.2014.960984
- Grossman, F., Gilbert, L., Genero, N., Hawes, S., Hyde, J., & Marecek, J. (1997). Feminist research: Practice and problems. In J. Worrell, & N. Johnson (Eds.), *Shaping the future of feminist psychology: Education, research and practice* (pp. 73-91). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Halbwachs, M. (1950/1980). *The collective memory*. New York, NY: Harper and Row.
- Halkier, B., & Jensen, I. (2011). Methodological challenges in using practice theory in consumption research. Examples from a study on handling nutritional contestations of food consumption. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 11(1), 101-123.
- Hall, S. (2011). The neo-liberal revolution. *Cultural Studies* 25(6), 705-728. doi: 10.1080/09502386.2011.619886
- Hamelin, A.-M., Beaudry, M., & Habicht, J.-P. (2002). Characterization of household food insecurity in Québec: food and feelings. *Social Science & Medicine*, 54(1), 119-132. doi: 10.1016/S0277-9536(01)00013-2
- Hammersley, M. (2006). Ethnography: problems and prospects. *Ethnography & Education*, 1(1), 3-14. doi: 10.1080/17457820500512697
- Harrison, K., & Cooley, D. R. (2012). *Passing/out: Sexual identity veiled and revealed*. Farnham, Surrey, England: Routledge.
- Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heidegger, M. (1927/1962). *Being and time* (J. Macquarrie, & E. Robinson, Trans.). London, UK: SCM Press.
- Hobbs, M. R., Morton, S. M. B., Atatoa-Carr, P., Ritchie, S. R., Thomas, M. G., Saraf, R., ... Grant, C. C. (2017). Ethnic disparities in infectious disease hospitalisations in the first year of life in New Zealand. *Journal of Paediatrics & Child Health*, 53(3), 223-231. doi: 10.1111/jpc.13377
- Hodgetts, D., Chamberlain, K., Groot, S., & Tankel, Y. (2014). Urban poverty, structural violence and welfare provision for 100 families in Auckland. *Urban Studies*, 51(10), 2036-2051. doi: 10.1177/0042098013505885
- Hodgetts, D., Chamberlain, K., & Radley, A. (2008). Considering photographs never taken during photo-production projects. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 4(4), 263-280. doi: 10.1080/14780880701583181
- Hodgetts, D., Chamberlain, K., Tankel, Y., & Groot, S. (2013). Researching poverty to make a difference: The need for reciprocity and advocacy in community research. *The Australian Community Psychologist*, 25(1), 35-48.
- Hodgetts, D., Chamberlain, K., Tankel, Y., & Groot, S. (2014). Looking within and beyond the community: Lessons learned by researching theorising and acting to address urban poverty and health. *Journal of Health Psychology*, 19(1), 97-102. doi: 10.1177/1359105313500250
- Hodgetts, D., Groot, S., Garden, E., & Chamberlain, K. (2017). The precariat, everyday life and objects of despair. In C. Howarth, & E. Andreouli (Eds.), *The social psychology of everyday politics*. London, U.K.: Routledge.

- Hodgetts, D., Hayward, B., & Stolte, O. (2015). Medicinal commodities and the gift of a caring mother. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 15(3), 287-306. doi: 10.1177/1469540513498611
- Hodgetts, D., & Stolte, O. (2015). Homeless people's leisure practices within and beyond urban socio-scapes. *Urban Studies*. doi: 10.1177/0042098015571236
- Hodgetts, D., & Stolte, O. (2017). *Urban poverty, inequality and health: Critical perspectives (critical approaches to health)* London, UK: Routledge.
- Hoisington, A., Shultz, J. A., & Butkus, S. (2002). Coping strategies and nutrition education needs among food pantry users. *Journal of Nutrition Education and Behavior*, 34(6), 326-333. doi: 10.1016/S1499-4046(06)60115-2
- Holm, L. (2001). The social context of eating. In U. Kjaernes (Ed.), *Eating patterns: A day in the lives of Nordic peoples* (pp. 159-198). Lysaker, Norway: National Institute for Consumer Research.
- Hopgood, T., Asher, I., Wall, C. R., Grant, C. C., Stewart, J., Muimuiheata, S., & Exeter, D. (2010). Crunching the numbers: The affordability of nutritious food for New Zealand children. *Nutrition & Dietetics*, 67(4), 251-257. doi: 10.1111/j.1747-0080.2010.01472.x
- Horton-Cooley, C. (1902). *Human nature and the social order*. New York, NY: Scribner's Sons.
- Humpage, L. (2015). *Policy change, public attitudes and social citizenship: Does neoliberalism matter?* Bristol, UK: Policy Press.
- Jablonski, B., McFadden, B., & Colpaart, R. (2016). Analyzing the role of community and individual factors in food insecurity: Identifying diverse barriers across clustered community members. *Journal of Community Health*, 41(5), 910-923. Doi: 10.1007/s10900-016-0171-0
- Jack, S. (2012). Closing the gap on diabetes - a social determinants of health perspective. *Aboriginal and Islander Health Worker Journal*, 36(1), 27-30.
- Jahoda, M. (1992). Reflections on Marienthal and after. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology* (4), 355-358.
- Jahoda, M., Lazarsfeld, P. F., & Zeisel, H. (1933/1972). *Marienthal: The sociography of an unemployed community*. London, U.K.: Tavistock.
- Jansen, W. (1997). Gender identity and the rituals of food in a Jordanian community. *Food and Foodways*, 7(2), 87-117. doi: 10.1080/07409710.1997.9962056
- Jenkin, G., Signal, L., & Thomson, G. (2012). Nutrition policy in whose interests? A New Zealand case study. *Public Health Nutrition*, 12(8), 1483-1488.
- Johnson, K. (2012). Challenges for critical community psychology. In C. Walker, K. Johnson, & L. Cunningham (Eds.), *Community psychology and the socio-economics of mental distress* (pp. 267-284). London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Johnson, L. J., & McCool, A. C. (2003). Dietary intake and nutritional status of older adult homeless women: A pilot study. *Journal of Nutrition for the Elderly*, 23(1), 1-21 21p.
- Johnson, L. J., Myung, E., McCool, A. C., & Champaner, E. I. (2009). Nutrition education for homeless women: Challenges and opportunities: A pilot study. *Journal of Foodservice Business Research*, 12(2), 155-169. doi: 10.1080/15378020902910496
- Kaika, M. (2012). The economic crisis seen from the everyday: Europe's nouveau poor and the global affective implications of a 'local' debt crisis. *City*, 16(4), 422-430. doi: 10.1080/13604813.2012.696943
- Karanikolos, M., Mladovsky, P., Cylus, J., Thomson, S., Basu, S., Stuckler, D., ... McKee, M. (2013). Health in Europe 7: Financial crisis, austerity, and health in Europe. *The Lancet*, 382, 1323-1331. doi: 10.1016/s0140-6736(13)60102-6
- Kelsey, J. (1995). *The New Zealand experiment: A world model for structural adjustment?* Auckland, NZ: Auckland University Press.
- Kempson, K., Keenan, D. P., Sadani, P. S., & Adler, A. (2003). Maintaining food sufficiency: Coping strategies identified by limited-resource individuals versus nutrition educators.

Journal of Nutrition Education and Behavior, 35(4), 179-188. doi: 10.1016/S1499-4046(06)60332-1

- Kempson, K. M., Keenan, D. P., Sadani, P. S., Ridlen, S., & Rosato, N. S. (2002). Educators' reports of food acquisition practices used by limited-resource individuals to maintain food sufficiency. *Family Economics and Nutrition Review*, 14(2), 44-55.
- Kincheloe, J. (2005). On to the next level: Continuing the conceptualization of the bricolage. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 11, 323-350.
- King, P., Hodgetts, D., Rua, M., & Whetu, T. T. (2015). Older men gardening on the marae: Everyday practices for being Māori. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 11(1), 14-28.
- Knowles, C. (2000). Burger King, Dunkin Donuts and community mental health care. *Health and Place*, 6, 213-224. doi: 10.1016/S1353-8292(00)00024-1
- Kohn, T. (2013). Stuffed turkey and pumpkin pie: In, through and out of American contexts. *Cultural Studies Review*, 19(1), 50-72.
- Kusenbach, M. (2003). Street phenomenology: The go-along as ethnographic research tool. *Ethnography*, 4(3), 455-485. doi: 10.1177/148813810343007
- Larner, W. (2000). Neo-liberalism: Policy, ideology, governmentality. *Studies in political economy*, 63(5-25).
- Lawson, L. (2009). The precarious nature of semi-public space: Community Garden appeal, complacency, and implications for sustaining user-initiated places. *Architecture -- Technology -- Culture*, 3, 199-217.
- Lee, L. Y. (2011). *Hungry for peace: Jane Addams and the Hull-House museum's contemporary struggle for food justice* (Vol. 36, pp. 62-79): Wiley-Blackwell.
- Lefebvre, H. (1970/1991). *The production of space*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Lévi-Strauss, C. (1962). *La pensée sauvage* (George Weidenfield and Nicholson Ltd, Trans.). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Lévi-Strauss, C. (1964). *Mythologiques: The raw and the cooked* (J. Weightman, & D. Weightman, Trans. Vol. 1). Chicago, ILL: University of Chicago Press.
- Lindberg, R., Whelan, J., Lawrence, M., Gold, L., & Friel, S. (2015). Still serving hot soup? Two hundred years of a charitable food sector in Australia: A narrative review. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, 39(4), 358-365.
- Lombe, M., Nebbitt, V. E., Sinha, A., & Reynolds, A. (2016). Examining effects of food insecurity and food choices on health outcomes in households in poverty. *Social Work in Health Care*, 55(6), 440-460. doi: 10.1080/00981389.2015.1133469
- Loopstra, R., & Tarasuk, V. (2013). What does increasing severity of food insecurity indicate for food insecure families? Relationships between severity of food insecurity and indicators of material hardship and constrained food purchasing. *Journal of Hunger & Environmental Nutrition*, 8(3), 337-349. doi: 10.1080/19320248.2013.817960
- Lorenz, C. (2012). If you're so smart, why are you under surveillance? Universities, neoliberalism, and new public management. *Critical Inquiry*, 38(3), 599-629. doi: 10.1086/664553
- Lucio, J., Jefferson, A., & Peck, L. (2016). Dreaming the impossible dream. Low-income families and their hopes for the future. *Journal of Poverty*, 20(4), 359-379. doi: 10.1080/10875549.2015.1094772
- Lyles, C. R., Drago-Ferguson, S., Lopez, A., & Seligman, H. K. (2013). Nutritional assessment of free meal programs in San Francisco. *Preventing Chronic Disease*, 10, E90. doi: 10.5888/pcd10.120301
- Marco, M. D., Thorburn, S., & Kue, J. (2009). "In a country as affluent as America, people should be eating": Experiences with and perceptions of food insecurity among rural and urban Oregonians. *Qualitative Health Research*, July (19), 1010-1024. doi: 10.1177/1049732309338868

- Martín-Baró, I. (1994). *Writings for a liberation psychology* (A. Aron, & S. Corne Eds.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Marx, K. (1867/1974). *Das Kapital, Vol 1*. Moscow: Progress Publishers.
- Mattheys, K. (2015). The Coalition, austerity and mental health. *Disability & Society, 30*(3), 475-178. doi: 10.1080/09687599.2014.1000513
- McGrath, L., & Reavey, P. (2015). Seeking fluid possibility and solid ground: Space and movement in mental health service users' experiences of 'crisis'. *Social Science & Medicine, 128*, 115-125.
- McNeill, K. (2011). *Talking with their mouths half-full: Food insecurity in the Hamilton Community*. (Doctoral thesis), University of Waikato, Hamilton, NZ.
- Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, self & society from the standpoint of a social behaviorist*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Metge, J. (1995). *New growth from old: The whānau in the modern world*. Wellington, NZ: Victoria University Press.
- Miner, M., & Petocz, A. (2003). Moral theory in ethical decision making: Problems, clarifications and recommendations from a psychological perspective. *Journal of Business Ethics, 42*, 11-25.
- Mintz, S. W., & Du Bois, C. M. (2002). The anthropology of food and eating. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 31*, 99-119. doi: 10.1146/annurev.anthro.32.032702.131011
- Montero, M., & Sonn, C. C. (2009). *Psychology of liberation: theory and applications*. New York, NY: Springer.
- Moon, P. (2003). *A tohunga's natural world. Plants, gardening and food*. Auckland, NZ: David Ling.
- Morton, S. M. B., Carr, P. E. A., Berry, S. D., Grant, C. C., Bandara, D. K., Mohal, J., & Tricker, P. J. (2014). *Growing up in New Zealand: A longitudinal study of New Zealand children and their families. Residential mobility report 1: Moving house in the first 1000 days*. Auckland, N.Z.: Growing up in New Zealand. Retrieved from <https://cdn.auckland.ac.nz/assets/growingup/research-findings-impact/report05.pdf>
- Moss, J., & Hay, T. (2014). Keeping connected: A review of the research relationship. *International Journal of Inclusive Education, 18*(3), 295-311. doi: 10.1080.13603116.3012.689017
- Murcott, A. (1982). On the social significance of the "cooked dinner" in South Wales. *Social Science Information/sur les sciences sociales, 5*(1), 677-696. doi: 10.1177/053901882021004011
- Murphy, M. P., Coke, L., Staffileno, B. A., Robinson, J. D., & Tillotson, R. (2015). Improving cardiovascular health of underserved populations in the community with Life's Simple 7. *Journal of the American Association of Nurse Practitioners, 27*(11), 615-623.
- Murray, M. (2000). Levels of narrative analysis in health psychology. *Journal of Health Psychology, 5*(3), 337.
- Murray, M. (2003). Narrative psychology and narrative analysis. In P. M. Camic, J. E. Rhodes, L. Yardley, P. M. Camic, J. E. Rhodes, & L. Yardley (Eds.), *Qualitative research in psychology: Expanding perspectives in methodology and design*. (pp. 95-112). Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association.
- Musarò, P. (2013). Food consumption and urban poverty: An ethnographic study. *Italian Sociological Review, 3*(3), 142-151. doi: 10.13136/isr.v3i3.65
- Newnes, C., Holmes, G., & Dunn, C. (2001). *This is madness too: Critical perspectives on mental health services*. London, UK: PCCS Books.
- O'Brien, E. E. (2008). *The politics of identity: Solidarity building among America's working poor*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- O'Brien, M. (2013). Welfare reform in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Social Policy & Administration, 47*(6), 729-748.

- O'Hara, M. (2014). *Austerity bites: A journey to the sharp end of cuts in the UK*. Bristol, UK: The Policy Press.
- O'Neill, P. (1989). Responsible to whom? Responsible for what? Some ethical issues in community intervention. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 17(3), 323-341.
- Ongley, P. (2013). Work and inequality in neoliberal New Zealand. *New Zealand Sociology*, 28(3), 136-163.
- Ootes, S. T. C., Pols, A. J., Tonkens, E. H., & Willems, D. L. (2013). Where is the citizen? Comparing civic spaces in long-term mental healthcare. *Health & Place*, 22, 11-18. doi: 10.1016/j.healthplace.2013.02.008
- Paloviita, A., Kortetmaki, T., Puupponen, A., & Silvasti, T. (2016). Vulnerability matrix of the food system: Operationalizing vulnerability and addressing food security. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 135, 1242-1255. doi: 10.1016/j.jclepro.2016.07.018
- Paradis, E. K. (2000). Feminist and community psychology ethics in research with homeless women. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 28(6), 839-858.
- Parnell, W. R., & Gray, A. R. (2014). Development of a food security measurement tool for New Zealand households. *British Journal of Nutrition*, 112(8), 1393-1401. doi: 10.1017/S0007114514002104
- Parnell, W. R., Wilson, N. C., Mann, J. I., & Gray, A. R. (2005). Overview of food security status in New Zealand as a predictor of nutritional outcomes. *Procedia - Nutrition and Society, New Zealand*, 30, 144-149.
- Parr, H. (1997). Mental health, public space, and the city: Questions of individual and collective access. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 15(4), 435-454. doi: 10.1068/d150435
- Parr, H. (2000). Interpreting the 'hidden social geographies' of mental health: Ethnographies of inclusion and exclusion in semi-institutional places. *Health & Place*, 6(3), 225-237. doi: 10.1016/S1353-8292(00)00025-3
- Pechey, R., & Monsivais, P. (2015). Supermarket choice, shopping behavior, socioeconomic status, and food purchases. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 49, 868-877. doi: 10.1016/j.amepre.2015.04.020
- Pedwell, C. (2013). Affect at the margins: Alternative empathies in A Small Place. *Emotion, Space and Society*, 8, 18-26. doi: 10.1016/j.emospa.2012.07.001
- Pelham-Burn, S. E., Frost, C. J., Russell, J. M., & Barker, M. E. (2014). Improving the nutritional quality of charitable meals for homeless and vulnerable adults. A case study of food provision by a food aid organisation in the UK. *Appetite*, 82(1), 131-137. doi: 10.1016/j.appet.2014.07.011
- Perry, B. (2017). *The material well-being of New Zealand households: Overview and Key Findings from the 2017 Household Incomes Report and the companion report using non-income measures (the 2017 NIMs Report)*. Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Social Development.
- Pettigrew, S., Jongenelis, M. I., Moore, S., & Pratt, I. S. (2015). A comparison of the effectiveness of an adult nutrition education program for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians. *Social Science & Medicine*, 145, 120-124. doi: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2015.09.025
- Pickering, K. (2003). The dynamics of everyday incorporation and antisystemic resistance: Lakota culture in the 21st Century. In W. A. Dunaway (Ed.), *Emerging issues in the 21st Century world-system: Crises and resistance in the 21st Century world system*. East Westport, CN: Praeger.
- Pickering, M., & Keightley, E. (2013). Communities of memory and the problem of transmission. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 16(1), 115-131. doi: 10.1177/1367549412457481

- Pierse, N., Carter, K., Bierre, S., Law, D., & Howden-Chapman, P. (2016). Examining the role of tenure, household crowding and housing affordability on psychological distress, using longitudinal data. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health, 70*(10), 961-966. doi: 10.1136/jech-2015-206716
- Pinfold, V. (2000). 'Building up safe havens...all around the world': user's experiences of living in the community with mental health problems. *Health & Place, 6*(3), 273-288.
- Polkinghorne, D. E. (1988). *Narrative knowing and the human sciences*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Poppendieck, J. (1998). *Sweet charity? Emergency food and the end of entitlement*. New York, NY: Viking.
- Pred, A. (1984). Place as historically contingent process: Structuration and the time-geography of becoming places. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 74*(2), 279-297. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8306.1984.tb01453.x
- Preston, S., & Aslett, J. (2013). Resisting neoliberalism from within the Academy: Subversion through an activist pedagogy. *Social Work Education, 33*(4), 502-518. doi: 10.1080/02615479.2013.848270
- Prilleltensky, I. (1990). Enhancing the social ethics of psychology: Toward a psychology at the service of social change. *Canadian Psychology, 31*, 310-319.
- Prilleltensky, I. (1994). *The morals and politics of psychology: Psychological discourse and the status quo*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Prilleltensky, I. (2001). Value-based praxis in community psychology: Moving towards social justice and social action. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 29*(5).
- Probyn, E. (2005). *Blush: Faces of shame*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Quaglio, G., Karapiperis, T., Woensel, L. V., Arnold, E., & McDaid, D. (2013). Austerity and health in Europe. *Health Policy, 113*, 13-19. doi: 10.1016/j.healthpol.2013.09.005
- Radley, A., & Billig, M. (1996). Accounts of health and illness: Dilemmas and representation. *Sociology of Health and Illness, 18*, 220-240.
- Radley, A., & Chamberlain, K. (2012). The study of the case: Conceptualising case study research. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 22*(5), 390-399. doi: 10.1002/casp.1106
- Ramsey, R., Giskes, K., Turrell, G., & Gallegos, D. (2012). Food insecurity among adults residing in disadvantaged urban areas: potential health and dietary consequences. *Public Health Nutrition, 15*(02), 227-237. doi: doi:10.1017/S1368980011001996
- Raphael, D. (2011). A discourse analysis of the social determinants of health. *Critical Public Health, 21*(2), 221-236. doi: 10.1080/09581596.2010.485606
- Raphael, D., Curry-Stevens, A., & Bryant, T. (2008). Barriers to addressing the social determinants of health: Insights from the Canadian experience. *Health Policy, 88*, 222-235. doi: 10.1016/j.healthpol.2008.03.015
- Rappaport, J. (1977). *Community psychology: Values, research, and action*. New York, NY: Holt, Rineharr & Winston.
- Rappaport, J. (2000). Community narratives: Tales of terror and joy. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 28*(1), 1-24.
- Rashbrooke, M. (Ed.). (2013). *Inequality: A New Zealand crisis*. Wellington, NZ: Bridget Williams Books.
- Reavey, P. (Ed.). (2011). *Visual methods in psychology*. Hove and NY: Psychology Press.
- Reckwitz, A. (2002). Toward a theory of social practices: A development in culturalist theorizing. *European Journal of Social Theory, 5*(2), 243-263. doi: 10.1177/13684310222225432
- Reeves, M. P. (1913/1979). *Round about a pound a week*. London, UK: Virago Limited.

- Regier, A. (2010). The magic of the corner: Walter Benjamin and street names. *The Germanic Review*, 85, 189-204. doi: 10.1080/00168890.2010.507538
- Richard, V. M., & Lahman, M. K. E. (2014). Photo-elicitation: Reflexivity on method, analysis, and graphic portraits. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, 1-20. doi: 10.1080/1743727X.2013.843073
- Richards, R., & Smith, C. (2006). The impact of homeless shelters on food access and choice among homeless families in Minnesota. *Society for Nutrition Education*, 38, 96-105. doi: 10.1016/j.jneb.2005.11.031
- Riches, G. (2002). Food banks and food security: Welfare reform, human rights and social policy. Lessons from Canada? *Social Policy & Administration*, 36(6), 648-663.
- Riches, G., & Silvasti, T. (2014). *First world hunger revisited: Food charity or the right to food?* (2nd ed.). London, UK: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Ricœur, P. (1979). The human experience of time and narrative. In M. J. Valdes (Ed.), *A Ricoeur reader: Reflection and imagination* (pp. 99-116). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Ricœur, P. (1990). *Time and narrative* (K. McLaughlin, & D. Pellauer, Trans.). Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Ritchie, J. (2015). Food reciprocity and sustainability in Early Childhood Care and Education in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Australian Journal of Environmental Education*, 31(1), 74-85. doi: 10.1017/aee.2014.46
- Robertson, N., & Masters-Awatere, B. (2007). Community psychology in Aotearoa/New Zealand: Me Tiro Whakamuri ā Kiā Hangai Whakamua. In S. M. Reich, M. Riemer, I. Prilleltensky, & M. Montero (Eds.), *International Community Psychology: History and Theories* (pp. 140-163): Springer.
- Rock, M. (2006). 'We don't want to manage poverty': community groups politicise food insecurity and charitable food donations. *Promotion & Education: International Journal of Health*, 8(1), 36-41.
- Rodriguez-Hernandez, R. (2010). Seduction, constellation, illumination: the afterlife of Walter Benjamin in the writings of Sergio Pitol. *Discourse (Detroit, MI)*(1), 117.
- Rodriguez, J., Applebaum, J., Stephenson-Hunter, C., Tinio, A., & Shapiro, A. (2013). Cooking, healthy eating, fitness and fun (CHEFFs): Qualitative evaluation of a nutrition education program for children living at urban family homeless shelters. *American Journal of Public Health*, 103(S2), S361-367 361p. doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2013.301558
- Rogers, M. (2012). Contextualizing theories and practices of bricolage research. *The Qualitative Report*, 17(7), 1-17.
- Rojas-Guyler, L., Inniss-Richter, Z. M., Lee, R., Bernard, A., & King, K. (2014). Factors predictive of knowledge and self-management behaviors among male military veterans with diabetes residing in a homeless shelter for people recovering from addiction. *Health Educator*, 46(1), 49-56.
- Ross, E. (2007). *Slum travellers: Ladies and London poverty, 1860-1920*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Rustad, C., & Smith, C. (2013). Nutrition knowledge and associated behavior changes in a holistic, short-term nutrition education intervention with low-income women. *Journal of Nutrition Education & Behavior*, 45(6), 490-498 499p. doi: 10.1016/j.jneb.2013.06.009
- Rydén, P. J., & Hagfors, L. (2011). Diet cost, diet quality and socio-economic position: how are they related and what contributes to differences in diet costs? *Public Health Nutrition*, 14(09), 1680-1692. doi: 10.1017/S1368980010003642
- Schlossberg, L. (2001). Rites of passing. In M. C. Sanchez, & L. Schlossberg (Eds.), *Passing. Identity and interpretation in sexuality, race, and religion* (pp. 1-12). New York, NY: New York University Press.

- Schrecker, T., & Bamba, C. (2015). *Neoliberal epidemics: How politics makes us sick*. London, UK: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Schwandt, T. (2007). The pressing need for ethical education: A commentary on the growing IRB controversy. In N. Denzin, & M. Giardina (Eds.), *Ethical futures in qualitative research: Decolonising the politics of knowledge* (pp. 85-98). Walnut Creek, LA: Left Coast Press.
- Scott-Samuel, A., & Smith, K. E. (2015). Fantasy paradigms of health inequalities: Utopian thinking? *Social Theory & Health*, 13(3-4), 418-436. doi: 10.1057/sth.2015.12
- Scott, E. K., Edin, K., London, A. S., & Kissane, R. J. (2004). Unstable work, unstable income: Implications for family well-being in the era of time-limited welfare. *Journal of Poverty*, 8(1), 61-88. doi: 10.1300/J134v08n01_04
- Scrinis, G. (2008). On the ideology of nutritionism. *Gastronomica*, 8(1), 39-48. doi: 10.1525/gfc.2008.8.1.39
- Seabrook, J. (2013). The price of 'progress'? From Senghenydd to Savar. *Race & Class*, 55(2), 82-92. doi: 10.1177/0306396813497883
- Seidman, G. (2008). Unexceptional for once: Austerity and food rationing in Israel, 1939-1959. *Southern California Interdisciplinary Law Journal*, 18(1), 95-130.
- Seligman, H. K., Bindman, A. B., Vittinghoff, E., Kanaya, A. M., & Kushel, M. B. (2007). Food insecurity is associated with diabetes mellitus: results from the National Health Examination and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES) 1999–2002. *Journal of General Internal Medicine*, 22, 1018-1023.
- Serrano-Garcia, I. (1995). Implementing research: Putting our values to work. In P. Tolan, C. Keys, F. Chertok, & L. Jason (Eds.), *Researching community psychology: Issues of theory and methods* (3rd ed., pp. 171-182). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Sheriff, R. E. (2000). Exposing silence as cultural censorship: A Brazilian case. *American Anthropologist*, 102, 114-132.
- Sibley, D. (1995). *Geographies of exclusion: Society and difference in the West*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Signal, L. N., Walton, M. D., Ni Mhurchu, C., Maddison, R., Bowers, S. G., Carter, K. N., . . . Pearce, J. (2013). Tackling 'wicked' health promotion problems: A New Zealand case study. *Health Promotion International*, 28(1), 84.
- Silliman, K., Yamanoha, M. M., & Momssey, A. E. (1995). Poster session: Community nutrition and public health: A survey of the nutritional status of homeless adults in rural Northern California. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*, 95(Supplement), A92. doi: 10.1016/S0002-8223(95)00670-2
- Silvasti, T. (2015). Food aid – normalising the abnormal in Finland. *Social Policy and Society*, 14(3), 471-482. doi: 10.1017/S1474746415000123
- Silvasti, T., & Karajalainen, J. (2014). Hunger in a Nordic welfare state: Finland. In G. Riches, & T. Silvasti (Eds.), *First world hunger revisited: Food charity or the right to food?* London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Silvasti, T., & Riches, G. (2014). Hunger and food charity in rich societies: What hope for the right to food? In G. Riches, & T. Silvasti (Eds.), *First world hunger revisited: Food charity or the right to food?* London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Simmel, G. (1903/1997). The metropolis and mental life. In D. Frisby, & M. Featherstone (Eds.), *Simmel on culture* (pp. 174-185). London, UK: Sage.
- Simmel, G. (1910/1997). Sociology of the meal. In D. Frisby, & M. Featherstone (Eds.), *Simmel on Culture* (pp. 130-136). London, UK: Sage.
- Sisson, L. G., & Lown, D. A. (2011). Do soup kitchen meals contribute to suboptimal nutrient intake & obesity in the homeless population? *Journal of Hunger and Environmental Nutrition*, 6(3), 312-323. doi: 10.1080/19320248.2011.597832

- Smail, D. (1996). *The nature of unhappiness* (2nd ed.). London, UK: Constable.
- Small, M. L. (2009). 'How many cases do I need?' On science and the logic of case selection in field-based research. *Ethnography*, *10*(1), 5-38. doi: 10.1177/1466138108099586
- Smith, C., Parnell, W. R., & Brown, R. (2010). *Family food environment: Barriers to acquiring affordable and nutritious food in New Zealand households*. Wellington, NZ: Families Commission.
- Smith, C., Parnell, W. R., Brown, R. C., & Gray, A. R. (2013a). Balancing the diet and the budget: Food purchasing practices of food-insecure families in New Zealand. *Nutrition & Dietetics*, *70*(4), 278-285. doi: 10.1111/1747-0080.12043
- Smith, C., Parnell, W. R., Brown, R. C., & Gray, A. R. (2013b). Providing additional money to food-insecure households and its effect on food expenditure: A randomized controlled trial. *Public Health Nutrition*, *16*(8), 1507-1515. doi: 10.1017/s1368980012003680
- Snow, D. L., Grady, K., & Goyette-Ewing, M. (2000). A perspective on ethical issues in community psychology. In J. Rappaport, & E. Seidman (Eds.), *Handbook of Community Psychology* (pp. 987-917). New York University, NY: Kluwer/Plenum.
- Sobal, J. (2000). Sociability and meals: Facilitation, commensality and interaction. In H. L. Meiselman (Ed.), *Dimensions of the meal: The science, culture, business, and art of eating* (pp. 119-133). Gaithersburg, MD: Aspen.
- Sobal, J., & Nelson, M. K. (2003). Commensal eating patterns: a community study. *Appetite*, *41*(2), 181-190.
- Sprake, E. F., Russell, J. M., & Barker, M. E. (2013). Food choice and nutrient intake among homeless people. *Journal of Human Nutrition and Dietetics*, *27*(3), 242-250. doi: 10.1111/jhn.12130
- Standing, G. (2011). *The precariat: the dangerous new class*. London, UK: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Standing, G. (2014). *A precariat charter: From denizens to citizens*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Standing, G. (2015). Understanding the precariat through labour and work. *Development and Change*, *45*(5), 963-980. doi: 10.1111/dech.12120
- Stewart, M. J., Makwarimba, E., Reutter, L. I., Venstra, G., Raphael, D., & Love, R. (2014). Poverty, sense of belonging and experiences of social isolation. *Journal of Poverty*, *13*(2), 173-195. doi: 10.1090/10875540902841762
- Stolte, O., & Hodgetts, D. (2015). Being healthy in unhealthy places: Health tactics in a homeless lifeworld. *Journal of Health Psychology*, *20*(2), 144-153. doi: 10.1177/1359105313500246
- Sudden, A. (2016). *Putting wellbeing back into welfare: Exploring social development from beneficiaries' perspectives*. (Masters thesis), Victoria University, Wellington, NZ. Retrieved from URI: <http://hdl.handle.net/10063/5290>
- Sue, C. A. (2014). Hegemony and silence: Confronting state-sponsored silences in the field. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, *44*(1), 113-140. doi: 10.1177/0891241614540211
- Tarasuk, V., & Eakin, J. M. (2003). Charitable food assistance as symbolic gesture: An ethnographic study of food banks in Ontario. *Social Science & Medicine*, *56*(1), 1505-1515.
- Tauri, J. M. (2014). Resisting condescending research ethics in Aotearoa New Zealand. *AlterNative (Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga)*, *10*(2), 136-150.
- Theien, I. (2009). Food rationing during World War two: a special case of sustainable consumption? *Anthropology of Food*, *S5*(September).
- Theodore, R., McLean, R., & TeMorenga, L. (2015). Challenges to addressing obesity for Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, *39*(6), 509-512 504p. doi: 10.1111/1753-6405.12418

- Thompson, C., Cummins, S., Brown, T., & Kyle, R. (2013). Understanding interactions with the food environment: An exploration of supermarket food shopping routines in deprived neighbourhoods. *Health & Place, 19*, 116-123. doi: 10.1016/j.healthplace.2012.10.003
- Thorsen, D. E. (2010). The neoliberal challenge: What is neoliberalism? *Contemporary Readings in Law & Society 2*(2), 188-214.
- Tilley, C. (2006). Introduction: identity, place, landscape and heritage. *Journal of Material Culture 11*, 7-32.
- Tin Tin, S., Woodward, A., Saraf, R., Berry, S., Atatoa Carr, P., Morton, S. M. B., & Grant, C. C. (2016). Internal living environment and respiratory disease in children: findings from the Growing Up in New Zealand longitudinal child cohort study. *Environmental Health: A Global Access Science Source, 15*, 1-10. doi: 10.1186/s12940-016-0207-z
- Tse, C., & Tarasuk, V. (2008). Nutritional assessment of charitable meal programmes serving homeless people in Toronto. *Public Health Nutrition, 11*(12), 1296-1305. doi: 10.1017/S1368980008002577
- Turner, N., & Asher, I. (2014). *Child poverty and health*. Auckland, NZ: Child Poverty Action Group.
- Turner, N., Asher, I., Bach, K., Denny, S., Fancourt, N., & Merry, S. (2011). *Child health and poverty*. Auckland, NZ: Child Poverty Action Group.
- Turner, V. (1977). Variations of the theme of liminality. In S. Moore, & B. Myerhoff (Eds.), *Secular ritual* (pp. 36-52). Assen/Amsterdam: Van Gorcum.
- Tyler, I. (2008). "Chav mum chav scum". *Feminist Media Studies, 8*(1), 17-34. doi: 10.1080/14680770701824779
- University of Otago and Ministry of Health. (2012). *A focus on nutrition: Key findings of the 2008/09 New Zealand adult nutrition survey*. Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Health. Retrieved from <http://www.health.govt.nz/publication/focus-nutrition-key-findings-2008-09-nz-adult-nutrition-survey>
- van der Horst, H., Pascucci, S., & Bol, W. (2014). The "dark side" of food banks? Exploring emotional responses of food bank receivers in the Netherlands. *British Food Journal, 116*(9), 1506-1520. doi: 10.1108/BFJ-02-2014-0081
- Vasquez, C. R. (2013). Opening the lunchbox: What distinction looks like from the playground. *Global Ethnographic, 1*, 1-10.
- Wacquant, L. (2008). *Urban outcasts*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Wakefield, S., Fleming, J., Klassen, C., & Skinner, A. (2013). Sweet Charity, revisited: Organizational responses to food insecurity in Hamilton and Toronto, Canada. *Critical Social Policy, August*(33), 427-450. doi: 10.1177/0261018312458487
- Walker, C., Johnson, K., & Cunningham, L. (Eds.). (2012). *Community psychology and the socio-economics of mental distress: International perspectives*. Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Walker, R. (2014). *The shame of poverty*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Warde, A. (1997). *Consumption, food and taste*. Manchester, UK: Sage.
- Warde, A. (2005). Consumption and theories of practice. *Journal of Consumer Culture, 5*(2), 131-153.
- Watkins, M., & Shulman, H. (2008). *Toward psychologies of liberation*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Weaver, L. J., & Hadley, C. (2009). Moving beyond hunger and nutrition: a systematic review of the evidence linking food insecurity and mental health in developing countries. *Ecol Food Nutr, 48*, 263-284.
- Weiser, S. D., Hatcher, A., Frongillo, E. A., Guzman, D., Riley, E. D., Bangsberg, D. R., & Kushel, M. B. (2013). Food insecurity is associated with greater acute care utilization among HIV-Infected homeless and marginally housed individuals in San Francisco. *Journal of General Internal Medicine, 28*(1), 91-98. doi: 10.1007/s11606-012-2176-4

- Wells, L. (2011). *Voices of poverty, Dunedin 2011: Has the landscape changed?* Dunedin, NZ: Presbyterian Support Otago.
- Whelan, J., & Lindberg, R. (2012). Still hungry and homeless. *Parity*, 25(6), 1.
- Whiting, E. F., & Ward, C. (2010). Food provisioning strategies, food insecurity, and stress in an economically vulnerable community: the Northern Cheyenne case. *Journal of Agriculture and Human Values*, 27(4), 489-504. doi: 10.1007/s10460-009-9248-z
- WHO (World Health Organization). (2012). *Rio Political Declaration as endorsed by WHO member states*. Geneva, Switzerland.
- Wicks, R., Trevena, L. J., & Quine, S. (2006). Experiences of food insecurity among urban soup kitchen consumers: Insights for improving nutrition and well-being. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*, 106(6), 921-924. doi: 10.1016/j.jada.2006.03.006
- Wilkes, K. (2015). Colluding with neo-liberalism: Post-feminist subjectivities, whiteness and expressions of entitlement. *Feminist Review*, 110(1), 18. doi: 10.1057/fr.2015.19
- Wilkinson, R., & Marmot, M. (2003). *Social determinants of health: The solid facts*. Geneva: World Health Organisation.
- Wilkinson, R., & Pickett, K. (2015). Income inequality and social dysfunction. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 35, 493-511. doi: 10.1146/annurev-soc-070308-115926
- Williams, A. (Ed.). (1999). *Therapeutic landscapes: The dynamic between place and wellness*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- Wynd, D. (2005). *Hard to swallow: Foodbank use in New Zealand*. Auckland, NZ: Child Poverty Action Group.
- Yousey, Y., Leake, J., Wdowik, M., & Janke, J. K. (2007). Education in a homeless shelter to improve the nutrition of young children. *Public Health Nursing*, 24(3), 249-255 247p.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Ethics application and interview schedules

Application number: MUHECN 14/041.

Human Ethics Application

FOR APPROVAL OF PROPOSED RESEARCH/TEACHING/EVALUATION INVOLVING HUMAN PARTICIPANTS

(All applications are to be typed and presented using language that is free from jargon and comprehensible to lay people)

SECTION A				
1	Project Title	Exploring the interplay between food insecurity and the maintenance of food traditions		
	Projected start date for data collection	November 2014	Projected end date	September 2015
<i>(In no case will approval be given if recruitment and/or data collection has already begun).</i>				
2	Applicant Details <i>(Select the appropriate box and complete details)</i>			
ACADEMIC STAFF APPLICATION (excluding staff who are also students)				
Full Name of Staff Applicant/s		Prof Kerry Chamberlain		
School/Department/Institute		School of Psychology		
Campus (mark one only)		Albany	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Palmerston North Wellington
Telephone	Ext 43107	Email Address	k.chamberlain@massey.ac.nz	
STUDENT APPLICATION				
Full Name of Student Applicant		Rebekah Sarah Graham		
Employer (if applicable)				
Telephone	0226215740	Email Address	joeandbex@xtra.co.nz	
Postal Address		13 Blakewell Lane, Dinsdale, Hamilton 3204		
Full Name of Supervisor(s)		Kerry Chamberlin, Darrin Hodgetts, Otilie Stolte		
School/Department/Institute		Psychology		
Campus (mark one only)		Albany	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Palmerston North Wellington
Telephone		Email Address		
GENERAL STAFF APPLICATION				

Full Name of Applicant					
Section					
Campus (<i>mark one only</i>)		Albany		Palmerston North	Wellington
Telephone		Email Address			
Full Name of Line Manager					
Section					
Telephone		Email Address			
3	Type of Project (<i>provide detail as appropriate</i>)				
Staff Research/Evaluation:		Student Research:		If other, please specify:	
Academic Staff		Specify Qualification		PhD	
General Staff		Specify Credit Value of Research		120	
Evaluation		(e.g. 30, 60, 90, 120, 240, 360)			
4	Summary of Project Please outline in no more than 200 words in lay language why you have chosen this project, what you intend to do and the methods you will use.				
<i>(Note: All the information provided in the application is potentially available if a request is made under the Official Information Act. In the event that a request is made, the University, in the first instance, would endeavour to satisfy that request by providing this summary. Please ensure that the language used is comprehensible to all.)</i>					
<p>Food insecurity is a growing problem affecting many families in New Zealand. In developing this research project, I hope to develop understandings of food insecurity for families and how we might respond more effectively. As such, I will be utilizing an ethnographic approach and basing myself within a local site frequented by families experiencing food insecurity (a charitable organization that provides a weekly dinner meal on a Wednesday night). Spending time with people in this location will provide me with a broader understanding of issues surrounding food insecurity and enable me to build some rapport with participants prior to asking them to participate in other facets of the research. In accord with an ethnographic approach, I will be participating in the serving and eating of meals, engaging in conversation, and introducing myself and the research topic. With regards to data collection procedures, I will undertake a series of in-depth, semi-structured, qualitative interviews with families who have experienced / are experiencing food insecurity. These interviews will encompass ethnographic methods such as ‘eat-along’, ‘go-along’ and photo-elicitation techniques. This will provide depth of material and increased insight, revealing how macro-level events and relationships are interconnected and embedded within micro-level lives.</p>					

5	List the Attachments to your Application , e.g. Completed “Screening Questionnaire to Determine the Approval Procedure” (compulsory), Information Sheet/s (<i>indicate how many</i>), Translated copies of Information Sheet/s, Consent Form/s (<i>indicate of how many</i>), Translated copies of Consent Form/s, Transcriber Confidentiality Agreement, Confidentiality Agreement (<i>for persons other than the researcher / participants who have access to project data</i>), Authority for Release of Tape Transcripts, Advertisement, Health Checklist, Questionnaire, Interview Schedule, Evidence of Consultation, Letter requesting access to an institution, Letter requesting approval for use of database, Other (<i>please specify</i>).
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Food Traditions Information Sheet 2. Food Traditions Participant Consent Form 3. Food Traditions Interview Schedule 4. Email confirming conversations with Peter Simmons

Applications that are incomplete or lacking the appropriate signatures will not be processed. This will mean delays for the project.

Please refer to the Human Ethics website (<http://humanethics.massey.ac.nz>) for details of where to submit your application and the number of copies required.

SECTION B: PROJECT INFORMATION					
<i>General</i>					
6	I/We wish the protocol to be heard in a closed meeting (Part II).	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	X
<i>(If yes, state the reason in a covering letter.)</i>					
7	Does this project have any links to previously submitted MUHEC or HDEC application(s)?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	X
If yes, list the MUHEC or HDEC application number/s (if assigned) and relationship/s.					
8	Is approval from other Ethics Committees being sought for the project?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	X
If yes, list the other Ethics Committees.					
9	For staff research, is the applicant the only researcher?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
If no, list the names and addresses of all members of the research team.					
<i>Project Details</i>					
10	State concisely the aims of the project.				
This project aims to explore the ways in which families who experience food insecurity and material deprivation creatively negotiate their food procurement, social eating practices, and find ways to continue meaningful food traditions despite food scarcity.					

11	<p>Give a brief background to the project to place it in perspective and to allow the project's significance to be assessed. (No more than 200 words in lay language)</p>
	<p>Food provides an appropriate focal point for research into broader issues of inequality and poverty. Where food comes from, what we eat, how we eat it, and who we eat with invoke complex relational issues of power, identity, heritage, place and belonging. Food connects people to broader social groups, cultural traditions and socio-economic structures. These connections manifest through ordinary, mundane food practices in everyday life as well as important events, holidays and rituals. Conversely, being unable to obtain certain foods deemed important to a family's culture and traditions and/or unable to participate in related socio-cultural practices contributes to increased stress, anxiety and uncertainty, shame and fear of stigma, and decreased overall health and well-being.</p> <p>Recent New Zealand-based research consistently shows increased occurrences of material deprivation and food insecurity. Subsequently, families report feeling isolated, unable to participate equitably in social events, and, over time, a reduction in the social supports which buffer people against the detrimental impacts of urban poverty on health. I intend to build on this research in my PhD and extend it further through investigating the impact of food insecurity on food traditions and the ways in which families mitigate this and creatively negotiate everyday food practice.</p>
12	<p>Outline the research procedures to be used, including approach/procedures for collecting data. Use a flow chart if necessary.</p>

I (Rebekah, the researcher) have already had informal conversations with the Community Meal Organizers at Gateway, where initial approval has been given for me to engage with Gateway in this research project. Once ethical approval for this research project has been given, I will then meet more formally with key staff (notably Pete Simmons and Bobbie Wills) where I will explain the research process in greater detail, clearly outline the research project's aims, ensure that they have a copy of the information sheet, and reiterate that I will be engaging ethically with families. Pete and Bobbie may have suggestions regarding potential families for more in-depth interviews, and Pete will introduce me at the Wednesday night community meal. At this community meal, I will introduce myself and the research project, participate by volunteering with other volunteers, eat the dinner meal with attendees, and informally chat with community members (volunteers, staff and attendees), where I will introduce myself and the research project and distribute information sheets as appropriate. Information sheets will be left with potential families. Where families wish to participate, I will arrange a mutually agreeable time and place to meet to begin the interview process. Participating families will be 'chosen' on a 'first come, first served' basis: that is, the first ten families who respond in the affirmative will be interviewed.

I will be working with the family (household) in its entirety. All participating members in the household will sign a consent form and have the research project explained using appropriate and language and understandable terms. At times during the interview process, individual members of each family may – or may not be – present (for example, if an extended family member comes to live with the family during the interview process, and requests to join the household interview and to recount their experiences and share their insights into the research topic). As these events are typically unexpected and unplanned, I will negotiate any such occurrences with each family (household) on a case-by-case basis. I will ensure that each participating member of the household gives informed, written consent before proceeding with any interviews. With regards to children within the household, it will be up to the individual parent/caregiver to determine whether or not they wish for their child to take part in the interview process. Again, this will be assessed on a case-by-case basis, with informed, written consent to be given by both parent and child before proceeding with any interviews. At no stage during the interview process will dependent children be interviewed without a parent or care-giver present.

Each family (household) will be asked to participate in a series of 4 emplaced, in-depth, semi-structured qualitative interviews. As outlined in more detail below, these will consist of an introductory interview, a photo-elicitation interview, a go-along interview and an exit interview. It is expected that the interviews will be approx. 1 hour in length. All interviews will be digitally sound-recorded.

Engaging in a series of interviews provides a greater depth of material and increased depth of insight into the research topic. It creates a sense of familiarity between the researcher and participating families, increasing the depth of relationship and sense of trust. This is needed in order to move beyond the public accounts commonly given to 'outsiders' with regards to food insecurity and material deprivation, and into the more private, everyday lived reality of participating families.

The first, introductory interview will give participants a greater understanding of the research topic and key areas of interest. It will also begin the process of provoking thought and discussion around the research topic, creating further interest in and observation of food-related practices, and thus promoting discussion at subsequent interviews. At the introductory interview, the photo-elicitation and go-along interviews will also be introduced and explained. This will give each participating family time to consider practical issues such as who will take the photos, when and where we will go-along to, and so on, as well as opportunity to arrange mutually agreeable times and places for these interviews.

Ethnographic methods such as photo-elicitation and go-along interviews create a more enjoyable and equitable research paradigm, not only locating the researcher more fully into the lifeworlds of participants, but also situating participants as co-creators of knowledge. Interview aids such as photographs, material objects and drawings are useful in triggering participant thoughts, memories, reactions, and explanations. Spending time with participants

	<p>as they source food uncovers the more personal and meaningful aspects of mundane food practices situated within the taken-for-granted rhythms and routines of everyday life.</p> <p>With regards to data collection and analysis, field notes will be made throughout the research process and used to inform my research approach, including the analytical process. All interviews will be transcribed, and the transcription used in the analysis. Photos from the photo-elicitation interview will be gridded as part of the analytical process, and the go-along interview utilized in the construction of maps and grids for analysis.</p>
13	Where will the project be conducted? Include information about the physical location/setting.
	<p>This research project will be conducted within Hamilton City. Specifically, I will be based within the Gateway building located at 950 Victoria St, where the Gateway Community provides a weekly dinner meal on a Wednesday night. Face to face interviews will be conducted at the domestic homes of participants, or at Gateway/the community meal, or a mutually agreeable neutral location.</p>
14	<p>If the study is based overseas:</p> <p>i) Specify which countries are involved;</p> <p>ii) Outline how overseas country requirements (if any) have been complied with;</p> <p>iii) Have the University’s Policy & Procedures for Course Related Student Travel Overseas been met? <i>(Note: Overseas travel undertaken by students – refer to item 5.10 in the document “Additional Information” on the MUHEC website.)</i></p>
15	Describe the experience of the researcher and/or supervisor to undertake this type of project?
	<p>Kerry Chamberlain: Has extensive experience in graduate supervision of Masters and doctoral research projects, and considerable research experience in using complex qualitative research methods such as those involved in this research, and has worked with a variety of graduate research in utilizing such methods within their research projects. He also has experience in working with families and disadvantaged people in research.</p> <p>Darrin Hodgetts: Has supervised 6 PhD’s and over 70 Masters theses to completion, is currently supervising 5 PhD’s, and regularly publishes work related to the theory, methods, everyday life, culture, food and urban poverty in social science research.</p> <p>Ottillie Stolte: Has co-supervised 6 Masters thesis and 1 PhD to completion, is currently supervising 5 PhD’s, and has (co)authored 19 peer-reviewed journal articles, 1 psychology textbook on everyday life, 9 book chapters, and 6 research reports relating to urban poverty and social inclusion.</p> <p>Rebekah Graham: Master’s research focused on the food-related practices of dual heritage households, which is a microcosm of the proposed study. She also undertook supervised evaluation work as a part of the MAppSy(Comm) programme at Waikato University, as well as additional case study work with domestic violence survivors. These smaller research projects also utilized qualitative interview techniques.</p>

16	Describe the process that has been used to discuss and analyse the ethical issues present in this project.				
	Supervisors and the researcher have engaged in multiple one-hour meetings since June 2014, (approx. every 2-3 weeks) where ethical issues pertaining to this project have been thoughtfully considered and discussed. I (Rebekah) have read the Massey University Code of Ethics, and I understand the ethical expectations of me, as a researcher in the field.				
Participants					
17	Describe the intended participants.				
	Families who attend the Wednesday night community meal at Gateway and who agree to be interviewed. A family is defined for the purposes of this research project as at least one adult over the age of 18 living with at least one dependent child age 5-18yrs. In particular, I am seeking to talk further with families who have experienced and/or are experiencing food insecurity. It is expected that most families will be members of the precariat who are engaged in low paid work and/or are relying on welfare benefits and other government support to feed themselves, which typically results in food insecurity.				
18	How many participants will be involved?				
	Ten families will be involved in a series of 4, emplaced, in-depth, semi-structured qualitative interviews.				
	What is the reason for selecting this number?				
	<i>(Where relevant, attach a copy of the Statistical Justification to the application form)</i>				
	Ten families provides for a depth and range of experiences and insight into the research topic, as well as making provision for the reality that a family may choose to withdraw from the research project after initially agreeing to be interviewed. Also, given the time involved in interviewing and transcribing, ten families is a realistic number for the ethnographic approach taken in this research project. 10 families means that I will only collect enough qualitative information to support my analytic work and no more than I can possibly deal with.				
19	Describe how potential participants will be identified and recruited?				
	As mentioned in Q12, families will be recruited via the Wednesday night community meal at Gateway. At this meal Pete will introduce myself and the research topic. I will disseminate information sheets and talk face-to-face with attendees and volunteers. People who are interested in pursuing the research project will be able to indicate their interest by contacting either Pete or myself. It is expected that this will occur via face-to-face contact at the Wednesday night community meal, however, my contact details are also on the information sheet for families who may wish to contact me via email or telephone.				
20	Does the project involve recruitment through advertising?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	<i>(If yes, attach a copy of the advertisement to the application form)</i>				
21	Does the project require permission of an organisation (e.g. an educational institution, an academic unit of Massey University or a business) to access participants or information?	Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	<p>If yes: i) list the organisation(s) ii) attach a copy of the draft request letter(s) to the application form, e.g. letter to Board of Trustees, PVC, HoD/I/S, CEO etc (include this in your list of attachments (Q5)).</p> <p><i>(Note that some educational institutions may require the researcher to submit a Police Security Clearance.)</i></p> <p>Key Gateway staff have indicated that as long as ethical approval is granted for this research project, they are willing for me to attend the Wednesday night community meal and to talk with families. Staff are also willing to assist in the recruitment of participants as they see the importance of documenting family experiences of food insecurity. Attached is a copy of the email correspondence between myself and Pete Simmons acknowledging our verbal interactions and outlining approval of my involvement.</p>				
22	Who will make the initial approach to potential participants?				
	<p>Myself - the principal researcher, Rebekah Graham.</p> <p>In some instances, I may be introduced to potential participants by Gateway staff members who are involved in the community meal organisation and administration. This is appropriate, as it signifies that the researcher has received approval for the project from the Gateway team, and complies with cultural norms, whereby people are commonly introduced to one another through a mutual third party.</p>				
23	Describe criteria (if used) to select participants from the pool of potential participants.				
	<p>The first (to a maximum of) ten families who attend the Wednesday night community meal at Gateway, and who indicate their interest in further participating in the research project to the principal researcher. Families will need to have experienced, or to be experiencing, food insecurity. I will be seeking to interview a range of household types (for example, single parent led, mum dad and kids families, multi-generational with grandparents, etc.). This includes various socio-economic status and ethnic groups as appropriate.</p>				
24	How much time will participants have to give to the project?				
	<p>Families will be involved with 4 interviews, each approximately 1 hour in duration each. Additionally, participating families will be taking photos, including me in their food procurement, arranging interviews with me, and possibly travelling to meet with me. For the most part, aside from interviews, the research process will simply add to existing activities. As such, it is expected that participating families will give between 4-6 hours each in total to the research project.</p>				
Data Collection					
25	Does the project include the use of participant questionnaire/s?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	<i>(If yes, attach a copy of the Questionnaire/s to the application form and include this in your list of attachments (Q5))</i>				
	If yes: i) indicate whether the participants will be anonymous (i.e. their identity unknown to the researcher).	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
	ii) describe how the questionnaire will be distributed and collected.				

	<i>(If distributing electronically through Massey IT, attach a copy of the draft request letter to the Director, Information Technology Services to the application form. Include this in your list of attachments (Q5) – refer to the policy on “Research Use of IT Infrastructure”.)</i>				
26	Does the project involve observation of participants? If yes, please describe.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	As outlined in Q12, I will be participating in communal meal preparation and provision activities at the Gateway site. This field work will inform my research and analytic approach; field notes will be taken in order to facilitate an informed approach to the data and the research topic.				
27	Does the project include the use of focus group/s?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	<i>(If yes, attach a copy of the Confidentiality Agreement for the focus group to the application form)</i>				
	If yes, describe the location of the focus group and time length, including whether it will be in work time. (If the latter, ensure the researcher asks permission for this from the employer).				
28	Does the project include the use of participant interview/s?	Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<i>(If yes, attach a copy of the Interview Questions/Schedule to the application form)</i>				

	<p>Suggested questions in the guide are grouped around 4 core areas: the Wednesday night community meal, everyday food-related practice, food traditions, and food insecurity. These are core areas of interest in this research project, and, if the interview process were to proceed in a linear fashion, then each interview would build on the topic of the one before. As trust was built and rapport established through my time in the agency and research with the families, then questions that are more in-depth and more personal would occur in the manner outlined in the Interview Guide. However, it is recognised that qualitative interviews often do not proceed in a linear fashion, but rather follow a more circuitous route, with diversions and asides and interesting digressions. As such, specific interview questions are presented as a general guide and as a prompt for remaining on-topic or for suggestions when a lull in the conversation occurs. Some participants may prefer to answer questions in the order suggested, and others may wish to discuss food insecurity first: the key is to be responsive. Subsequently, the four key areas of interest will be presented at the beginning of each interview, with the participants to determine which area(s) they wish to discuss. My role as a researcher is to guide discussion and be responsive to the participants, whilst keeping the conversation(s) related to the topics of interest.</p> <p>The use of photo-elicitation deliberately moves the interview format away from the question and answer of verbal surveys towards conversation about issues represented in participant photographs and how these relate to the general research aims.</p> <p>The location of the go-along will be determined by each family group. It is recognised that in creatively negotiating food insecurity that not only will each family have different ways of procuring food, but that families may not always wish to share these processes with an ‘outsider’. The location of the go-along interview will thus be determined by both the level of trust between myself and participating families, and the particular methods of food procurement used within each family group.</p>				
	<p>If yes, describe the location of the interview and time length, including whether it will be in work time. <i>(If the latter, ensure the researcher asks permission for this from the employer)</i></p> <p>The interviews will be located at a mutually agreeable time and place. Each interview will be approximately 1 hour in length. It is expected that the family interviews will occur at the participants’ homes, however, participants may indicate a preference for the Gateway premises where the community meal is held, or a mutually agreeable neutral location.</p>				
29	Does the project involve sound recording?	Yes	X	No	
30	Does the project involve image recording, e.g. photo or video?	Yes	X	No	

	<p>If yes, please describe. <i>(If agreement for recording is optional for participation, ensure there is explicit consent on the Consent Form)</i></p> <p>As outlined earlier, each family will participate in a photo-elicitation interview, where families (households) photograph and discuss objects and elements relevant to the research topic (food traditions and food insecurity). Photos may be taken with either digital or film-based media (past research suggests a preference for using mobile devices for picture-taking, however, providing a disposable film-based camera is also suitable) – this will depend on the preferences of each individual family group (for example, some households may already have a camera that they wish to use). I will provide the necessary camera equipment as needed, collect the film/data for printing, and cover associated costs.</p> <p>Consent for me to use the images taken in thesis chapters / presentations / publications etc. will be sought at the end of the photo-elicitation interview. I will ask permission to use these images in my thesis and/or further publications. Participants will initial the back of each image that they consent for me to use. I will also ask if there any photos that participants don't wish for me to use in this manner. Requesting consent in such a manner ensures that all participants are fully informed as to what images will be used, in what manner, and for what purpose. It will also allow for participants to retract certain images that they are not willing for me, the researcher, to make public.</p> <p>Where photos identify individual participants, specific consent to use the image will be sought from those in the photograph. Photos of third parties will not be published in any way.</p>										
31	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="440 982 1136 1031">If recording is used, will the record be transcribed?</td> <td data-bbox="1136 982 1227 1031">Yes</td> <td data-bbox="1227 982 1273 1031">X</td> <td data-bbox="1273 982 1339 1031">No</td> <td data-bbox="1339 982 1385 1031"></td> </tr> </table>	If recording is used, will the record be transcribed?	Yes	X	No						
If recording is used, will the record be transcribed?	Yes	X	No								
	<p>If yes, state who will do the transcribing.</p> <p><i>(If not the researcher, a Transcriber's Confidentiality Agreement is required – attach a copy to the application form. Normally, transcripts of interviews should be provided to participants for editing, therefore an Authority For the Release of Tape Transcripts is required – attach a copy to the application form. However, if the researcher considers that the right of the participant to edit is inappropriate, a justification should be provided below.)</i></p> <p>The principal researcher will do the transcribing.</p> <p>As outlined in the information sheet for participants, a summary transcript of the interviews will be made available for participants if requested. The process of showing draft transcripts to participants is not standard practice in this type of qualitative research, and particularly with photo-elicitation and go-along interviews. The theoretical model underlying this research approach is that of the dialectical production of knowledge – the actual content is not as important as the meanings and positionings that the talk conveys.</p>										
32	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="440 1591 1136 1640">Does the project involve any other method of data collection not covered in Qs 25-31?</td> <td data-bbox="1136 1591 1227 1640">Yes</td> <td data-bbox="1227 1591 1273 1640"></td> <td data-bbox="1273 1591 1339 1640">No</td> <td data-bbox="1339 1591 1385 1640">X</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="440 1640 1136 1680"></td> <td data-bbox="1136 1640 1227 1680"></td> <td data-bbox="1227 1640 1273 1680"></td> <td data-bbox="1273 1640 1339 1680"></td> <td data-bbox="1339 1640 1385 1680"></td> </tr> </table>	Does the project involve any other method of data collection not covered in Qs 25-31?	Yes		No	X					
Does the project involve any other method of data collection not covered in Qs 25-31?	Yes		No	X							

	<p>If yes, describe the method used.</p> <p>As previously mentioned in Q28, this research will include the use of ethnographic methods, specifically, that of photo-elicitation and go-along interviews.</p> <p>The photo-elicitation interviews will involve participant(s) taking photos of their ‘world of food’ and then an interview where the (printed) photos are discussed. When participants produce and then talk about the images they have taken, they are seeking to make sense of their everyday experiences, and look to make sense with, rather than of, photographs. This orientates participants to see their world from a different perspective, with a focus on things worth showing. The images become communicative and generative; communicative because they provoke and convey meaning, and generative because through the discussion and analysis of the photographs new understandings and deeper insights are created. The process of picturing allows links between personal experiences, local contexts and social practices to be invoked and revealed. As covered in more detail in Q30, participants will initial photos to indicate consent for me to use the images, and no images of third parties will be used in my thesis or subsequent publications.</p> <p>The go-along interview involves ‘going along with’ participant(s) as they engage in their regular food-sourcing practices. As mentioned in Q28, the specific place(s) visited will be determined by each individual family/household group. The go-along combines field-work with interviews, and is ideal for exploring (and gaining an understanding of) peoples’ emplaced experiences. During this interview I will accompany participant(s) on their regular food-sourcing outing(s), asking questions, listening, and looking in order to actively explore their experiences and practices. The go-along interview will be recorded and transcribed, and field notes made. Being present together in a place helps to uncover the ways in which people lend depth and meaning to routines, encourages free-flowing conversation, and offers a means through which people can share past memories, associations, and future imaginings. The place(s) visited become prompts, are explored in more detail, and foreground aspects which can escape attention in off-location interviews.</p>				
33	<p>Does the project require permission to access databases?</p>	Yes		No	X
	<p><i>(If yes, attach a copy of the draft request letter/s to the application form. Include this in your list of attachments (Q5). Note: If you wish to access the Massey University student database, written permission from Director, National Student Relations should be attached.)</i></p>				
34	<p>Who will carry out the data collection?</p>				
	<p>The principal researcher, Rebekah Graham.</p> <p>During my Master’s research I worked with culturally diverse households. In the creation of each case study, I utilized the ethnographic methods outlined in this ethics application. In addition, as part of my formal training, I was supervised in interacting in a culturally competent way with community agencies. Subsequently, I have developed the necessary skills to work sensitively and thoughtfully with community groups and with households. Being part of a dual-heritage household, together with the MAppPsy(Comm) programme, has developed and extended my ability to build rapport with people, as well as being able to explore issues of interest in a culturally sensitive and competent way.</p>				

SECTION C: BENEFITS / RISK OF HARM (Refer Code Section 3, Para 10)

35 **What are the possible benefits (if any) of the project to individual participants, groups, communities and institutions?**

As part of engaging ethically with both the community group (Gateway) and individual participating families/households, I will be ensuring that engaging in the research project with me that there are benefits to both individual participants and the organisation involved. These are not so much ‘benefits’ as they are a way of reciprocating in kind for the time and generosity of sharing by those involved.

Participants

Possible benefits are the therapeutic aspect of being able to talk in a non-threatening, non-judgemental environment of their experiences, thoughts and approaches to feeding their family, as well the feelings of value and appreciation coming from the researcher valuing and appreciating their contributions to the project.

As mentioned in detail in Q12, I will be offering a suitable food-based gift to each family at the end of the interview process as a small token of my appreciation in sharing their stories with me. The benefit of this is two-fold. Firstly, the gift of something to eat is always appreciated - even more so in food-insecure households. Secondly, it recognises, reaffirms, and enhances the mana of the family group. In giving a thank-you gift, I am recognising in a tangible way the value and importance of what was shared.

	<p><u>Gateway / Wednesday community meal</u></p> <p>Possible benefits are an increased understanding of the wider benefits of providing a community meal on a regular basis, of the perspectives of participants and their participation in the communal meal, of the wider effects of material deprivation and food insecurity in families, and the ways in which the provision of a community meal does (and doesn't) mitigate these effects.</p> <p>I will be including an element of action research in this project, in that I will offer a professional development workshop for Gateway (and other community groups who provide meals), based on the experiences of families as told to me during the interviews. This will be run along participatory action research lines, with the aim of collaborating with staff and volunteers to continue to enhance their engagements with families experiencing food insecurity. It will be modelled on workshops conducted in similar service contexts by my supervisors and their work with the Institute of Justice annual professional development for the judiciary. This involves developing composite cases from the qualitative materials that raise issues to be work-shopped in order to explore solutions. The workshops will involve agency staff using composite cases that do not identify participating families. It will provide a way to disseminate the research findings and to respond in a practical way to feedback (including any negative findings that may arise) regarding their services. This will enable staff and volunteers to continue to enhance and improve their engagements with families experiencing food insecurity.</p> <p>I will also write a policy brief advocating for families through the select committee process. This is in order to document the experiences of families who are talked about - but seldom talked to – with regards to material deprivation and food insecurity. In doing so, I will be bringing the experiences of food insecure families into conversations with those who write social policy as a means of informing them about the lived realities of said families.</p> <p>In addition to these, my PhD thesis will also provide a way for me to usefully disseminate my research findings in a practical and meaningful way, and in such a manner as to beneficially contribute towards improved services for families experiencing food insecurity. Again, this is not so much a 'benefit' as it is a way of reciprocating in kind.</p>
36	<p>What discomfort (physical, psychological, social), incapacity or other risk of harm are individual participants likely to experience as a result of participation?</p>
	<p>There are no expected physical or psychological risks to participants or third parties in this research. The researcher has engaged in these types of in-depth, qualitative interviews previously, and will operate with sensitivity towards participants.</p> <p>It is possible that some participants may experience emotional distress, including feelings of shame and embarrassment, during the re-telling of stories or discussing issues arising from the research topic.</p>
37	<p>Describe the strategies you will use to deal with any of the situations identified in Q36.</p>

	<p>Where participants feel upset, I will work with participants to address this in an appropriate manner. This may include, but is not limited to, pausing the interview, taking a short break, taking time as needed to reassure participants, providing tissues, making a cup of tea, and/or moving the topic of conversation to a less upsetting topic. Participants may or may not wish to continue with the (upsetting) discussion topic, and may wish to withdraw from the research project altogether. I will be sensitive to the requests of the participant, and will continue (or not) as appropriate. However, it is the experience of the research team that such issues seldom arise in any serious way in projects such as this. Where the interview has been paused, if the participant wishes to continue with both the interview and the research project, I will re-start the interview at an appropriate place. Alternatively, another mutually agreeable time and place will be scheduled.</p> <p>Gateway offers a variety of (free and/or low cost) social services. This includes an experienced social worker on staff who I will be working with (the aforementioned Bobbie Wills), as well as counselling staff. At the start of the interviews, participants will be reminded that these services are available for them for further support, alongside other community services.</p>
38	What is the risk of harm (if any) of the project to the researcher?
	There is minimal risk of harm to the researcher. As with any face-to-face interaction, there is always the possibility that (social and emotional) discomfort may occur. It is also important that the researcher situates face-to-face interviews in a suitably safe (for all parties) location.
39	Describe the strategies you will use to deal with any of the situations identified in Q38.
	As is appropriate in these situations ways of minimising the risk of harm to the researcher include the following: ensuring that a third party knows where the researcher is, the estimated length of time expected for each interview, carrying a (switched on and viable) mobile phone in order to contact a third party if needed, pausing and/or ending the interview early and/or rescheduling (situation dependent), and paying attention to issues of safety with regards to arranging interview times and places. If at any stage the researcher feels unsafe, either physically or emotionally, she will take the suitably appropriate steps to ensure her, and the participant's safety.
40	What discomfort (physical, psychological, social) incapacity or other risk of harm are groups/communities and institutions likely to experience as a result of this research?
	There is minimal risk of harm to the groups/communities and institutions involved. However, it is possible that there may arise negative findings about the Gateway service during the course of this research.
41	Describe the strategies you will use to deal with any of the situations identified in Q40.
	<p>When I am discussing my findings I will be careful to ensure that I treat the material with integrity. In particular, I will engage in respectful discourses and treat participants' stories with value and dignity.</p> <p>As the focus of my research is primarily on broader issues of food insecurity and food traditions, rather than the provision of a specific service by a particular community group, the focus of my thesis will be on these broader issues, not analyzing the services provided. That said, as outlined previously in Q35, findings from this research project will be anonymised and included in the workshop with Gateway staff when disseminating research findings. This workshop will provide a space for Gateway staff to consider and respond to feedback given (including any negative feedback).</p>

42	Is ethnicity data being collected as part of the project?	Yes	X	No	
	If yes, please describe how the data will be used.				
	<i>(Note that harm can be done through an analysis based on insufficient sample or sub-set numbers).</i>				
	Participants' culture and ethnicity is a part of the research process. However, the focus of the research is on food traditions, food insecurity, and how these inter-relate with identities and a sense of connectedness to others. Information on the ethnicity of participants is being collected as a part of the background information for this project. This is common practice for qualitative research. Participants will be described through their identification with various sociocultural and ethnic groups. As such, it is appropriate to mention and to acknowledge participant identities, however, I will not be conducting a comparative analysis across ethnicities.				
43	If participants are children/students in a pre-school/school/tertiary setting, describe the arrangements you will make for children/students who are present but not taking part in the research.				
	<i>(Note that no child/student should be disadvantaged through the research)</i>				
SECTION D: INFORMED & VOLUNTARY CONSENT (Refer Code Section 3, Para 11)					
44	By whom and how, will information about the research be given to potential participants?				
	As mentioned in Q12 and Q19, information about the research will be given to potential participants by myself (the principal researcher) via face-to-face conversations and the handing out of Information Sheets at the Gateway premises during the Wednesday night community meal.				
45	Will consent to participate be given in writing?	Yes	X	No	
	<i>(Attach copies of Consent Form/s to the application form)</i>				
	If no, justify the use of oral consent.				
46	Will participants include persons under the age of 16?	Yes	X	No	
	If yes: i) indicate the age group and competency for giving consent.				
	ii) indicate if the researcher will be obtaining the consent of parent(s)/caregiver(s).	Yes	X	No	

	<p>This research is primarily concerned with the experiences of families/household groups. As such, children under the age of 16 who make up the family group may or may not be present during the time of the interviews. When seeking consent from families/household groups with children under the age of 16 (who wish to be included in the interview) appropriate forms of written consent from both the child and the parent/caregiver will be obtained before proceeding with any interviews.</p> <p>This will be managed on a case-by-case basis, with decision-making for the inclusion of their children in the hands of the parent(s)/caregiver(s) – while I welcome the inclusion of the input and insights on the research topic from a children’s perspective, I acknowledge the agency and authority of individual parent(s)/caregiver(s) to determine the inclusion of their respective children in the research.</p> <p>At no stage during the interview(s) will persons under the age of 16 be interviewed without a parent/caregiver present.</p>										
47	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>Will participants include persons whose capacity to give informed consent may be compromised?</td> <td>Yes</td> <td></td> <td>No</td> <td>X</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	Will participants include persons whose capacity to give informed consent may be compromised?	Yes		No	X					
Will participants include persons whose capacity to give informed consent may be compromised?	Yes		No	X							
	If yes, describe the consent process you will use.										
48	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>Will the participants be proficient in English?</td> <td>Yes</td> <td>X</td> <td>No</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	Will the participants be proficient in English?	Yes	X	No						
Will the participants be proficient in English?	Yes	X	No								
	If no, all documentation for participants (Information Sheets/Consent Forms/Questionnaire etc) must be translated into the participants’ first-language.										
	<i>(Attach copies of the translated Information Sheet/Consent Form etc to the application form)</i>										

SECTION E: PRIVACY/CONFIDENTIALITY ISSUES (Refer Code Section 3, Para 12)					
49	Will any information be obtained from any source other than the participant?	Yes		No	X
	If yes, describe how and from whom.				
50	Will any information that identifies participants be given to any person outside the research team?	Yes		No	X
	If yes, indicate why and how.				
51	Will the participants be anonymous (i.e. their identity unknown to the researcher?)	Yes		No	X
	If no, explain how confidentiality of the participants’ identities will be maintained in the treatment and use of the data.				

	<p>The principal researcher will ensure that actual names are not recorded on transcripts or any other records. No attempt to identify or name participants will occur. Records will be kept in a secure place and will only be accessible by those involved in the research. No actual names or identifying features will be mentioned in research presentations or publications, and every effort will be made to ensure that the participants' information is not identifiable. Where required, participants will be referred to using pseudonyms. Information about the research will not be used for any other purpose and the researcher will not disclose personal information to any other party.</p>			
52	Will an institution (e.g. school) to which participants belong be named or be able to be identified?	Yes	X	No
	If yes, explain how you have made the institution aware of this?			
	<p>While the specific charitable trust will not be specifically named, there is sufficient information (i.e. 'Wednesday night community meal') for local residents to be able to identify the institution. I have discussed this verbally with the appropriate Gateway staff members, and, as Gateway is the research site (and the research is focused on participants experiences of food insecurity), at this stage it is not expected that having this potentially identifying information in the thesis will be problematic in any way.</p>			
53	Outline how and where:			
	i) the data will be stored, and			
	<p><i>(Pay particular attention to identifiable data, e.g. tapes, videos and images)</i></p> <p>For the duration of the research project, data (included digital sound files, transcripts and digital images) will be stored on the principal researchers password protected laptop, in password protected files. Printed images will be kept in a lockable storage cabinet.</p> <p>After the completion of the research, and any publications arising from the research, identifying data will be saved onto a usb and then deleted from the computer. This usb will then be filed in a lockable storage cabinet. Any written material will be destroyed via shredder as appropriate (it is expected that most identifying data will be digital).</p>			
	ii) Consent Forms will be stored.			
	<p><i>(Note that Consent Forms should be stored separately from data)</i></p> <p>Signed consent forms will be stored in a separate folder and lockable storage cabinet.</p>			
54	i) Who will have access to the data/Consent Forms?			
	<p>The principal researcher. As part of the supervision process, supervisors will be able to read written transcripts from the interviews on an as needed basis.</p>			
	ii) How will the data/Consent Forms be protected from unauthorised access?			
	<p>For the duration of the research project, data will be stored on the principal researchers password protected laptop, in a password protected file. Printed images will be kept in a lockable storage cabinet. While working on the research project, the researcher will ensure the security of the data by returning records to safe storage (i.e. the researcher will not leave records/data out in full view).</p>			

55	How long will the data from the study be kept, who will be responsible for its safe keeping and eventual disposal? (Note that health information relating to an identifiable individual must be retained for at least 10 years, or in the case of a child, 10 years from the age of 16).
	<i>(For student research the Massey University HOD Institute/School/Section / Supervisor / or nominee should be responsible for the eventual disposal of data. Note that although destruction is the most common form of disposal, at times, transfer of data to an official archive may be appropriate. Refer to the Code, Section 4, Para 24.)</i>
	The principal researcher will be responsible for the safe-keeping and eventual disposal of the data. Once I have completed my thesis, the chief supervisor will be responsible for the retention and eventual disposal of the data. After the completion of the research and any publications arising from the research, identifying data will be saved onto a usb and then deleted from the computer. This usb will then be filed in a lockable storage cabinet until the five year requirement is completed. Any written material will be destroyed via shredder as appropriate (it is expected that most identifying data will be digital).

SECTION F: DECEPTION (Refer Code Section 3, Para 13)				
56	Is deception involved at any stage of the project?	Yes	No	X
	If yes, justify its use and describe the debriefing procedures.			
SECTION G: CONFLICT OF ROLE/INTEREST (Refer Code Section 3, Para 14)				
57	Is the project to be funded or supported in any way, e.g. supply of products for testing?	Yes	No	X
	If yes: i) state the source of funding or support:			
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Massey Academic Unit - Massey University (e.g. MURF, SIF) - External Organisation (provide name and detail of funding/support) 			
	ii) does the source of the funding present any conflict of interest with regard to the research topic?			
	iii) identify any potential conflict of interest due to the source of funding and explain how this will be managed?			
58	Does the researcher/s have a financial interest in the outcome of the project?	Yes	No	X
	If yes, explain how the conflict of interest situation will be dealt with.			
59	Describe any professional or other relationship between the researcher and the participants? (e.g. employer, employee, work colleague, lecturer/student, practitioner/patient, researcher/family member). Indicate how any resulting conflict of role will be dealt with.			
	There are no professional or other relationships between the researcher and the participants.			

SECTION H: COMPENSATION TO PARTICIPANTS (Refer Code Section 4, Para 23)				
60	Will any payments, koha or other form of compensation or acknowledgement be given to participants?	Yes	X	No
	If yes, describe what, how and why.			
	<i>(Note that compensation (if provided) should be given to all participants and not constitute an inducement. Details of any compensation provided must be included in the Information Sheet.)</i>			
	<p>As is appropriate for interviews focussing on food, I will bring with me to each interview suitable food to be consumed during the interview - depending on the time of day this may consist of coffee, biscuits, fruit, snacks, bakery items etc. Consuming food together works to develop rapport with participants, is considered culturally appropriate, and ensures that my visit does not place extra stressors regarding hospitality and the provision of extra food on households who may be experiencing food insecurity.</p> <p>This research is conducted from the perspective of gift exchange in which the researcher has an obligation to offer something in return for participant involvement in the research. As the process involves repeated engagements with the same participants and requires participants to complete a range of activities, it is important to acknowledge the time and effort invested by the participants. In this context, the giving of koha is an appropriate way to demonstrate gratitude and respect. Failure to do this could make it more difficult for social science researchers to do such research in the future and contribute to 'research fatigue' in the wider community. In recognition of this, at the completion of the interview process, I will offer each household a suitably appropriate food-based gift. This is not so much an incentive or a reimbursement, but more a small token of my appreciation to recognise their generosity in sharing their time and experiences with me. As this research project is exploring food traditions, it therefore seems fitting to give a food-related gift. Exact items will differ according to the food preferences mentioned by each household, however, the approximate monetary value will be comparable across households (approx. \$20 per interview per household). I will not be mentioning this token of appreciation during the recruitment process, nor is it mentioned in the Information Sheet.</p>			

SECTION I: TREATY OF WAITANGI (Refer Code Section 2)				
61	Are Māori the primary focus of the project?	Yes		No X
	If yes: Answer Q62 – 65			
	If no, outline: i) what Māori involvement there may be, and ii) how this will be managed.			

	<p>The research is about food traditions. For people who are Māori, food is an important way of enacting and sharing traditions or collective histories. Despite the changes of contemporary urban lifestyles many Māori still engage in distinct food related practices which may be adapted and/or modified to fit with people's circumstances. In New Zealand today there is also cross-fertilisation between Māori, Pākehā and other ethnic food practices. Given this context it is expected that at least one of the households may include Māori participants. The researcher will strive for an appropriate awareness of the diverse array of food customs and practices that may differ from mainstream Pākehā culture. Māori understandings of food customs and practices will receive specific attention alongside those of other non-dominant ethnic group households who will form part of the study.</p> <p>Cultural advice will be sought as needed from my supervisors and their networks (a working relationship already exists between my supervisors and Mohi Rua from the School of Psychology, Waikato University). Advice will also be sought from kaumatua and kuia through my familial networks (a working relationship already exists between myself and kaumatua from my husband's family).</p>			
62	Is the researcher competent in te reo Māori and tikanga Māori?	Yes		No
	If no, outline the processes in place for the provision of cultural advice.			
63	Identify the group/s with whom consultation has taken place or is planned and describe the consultation process.			
	<i>(Where consultation has already taken place, attach a copy of the supporting documentation to the application form, e.g. a letter from an iwi authority)</i>			
64	Describe any ongoing involvement of the group/s consulted in the project.			
65	Describe how information resulting from the project will be shared with the group/s consulted?			

SECTION J: CULTURAL ISSUES (Refer Code Section 3, Para 15)					
66	What ethnic or social group/s (other than Māori) does the project involve?				
	<p>Given that this research project is on food, and the increasingly diverse demographic within in New Zealand today, it is likely that there will be participants from diverse ethnic and/or social groups. Subsequently, the researcher will strive to be appropriately culturally aware of the diverse array of food customs and practices that may differ from mainstream Pākehā culture. Cultural advice will be sought as needed from the appropriate person: who this is will vary depending upon the particular ethnic and social make-up of participating households. The principal researcher is joining a supervisory team that works with a diverse range of participants from various cultural backgrounds and that draw on the expertise of collaborators from these cultural groups.</p>				
67	Are there any aspects of the project that might raise specific cultural issues?	Yes		No	X
	If yes, explain. Otherwise, proceed to Section K.				
68	Does the researcher speak the language of the target population?	Yes	X	No	

	If no, specify how communication with participants will be managed.
69	Describe the cultural competence of the researcher for carrying out the project.
	<i>(Note that where the researcher is not a member of the cultural group being researched, a cultural advisor may be necessary)</i>
	I have previously engaged in multiple projects where I was required to undertake qualitative interviews in a cross-cultural setting. The most recent of these was my Master's research where I undertook a series of interviews with dual-heritage households. The use of qualitative interviews is ideal when engaging in culturally competent research practice, as the semi-structured, face-to-face interaction allows for sensitivity. As well, the questions are designed to be thoughtful and respectful, and to allow the participant to freely express their views and experiences. Cultural advice will be sought as needed from the appropriate person: who this is will vary depending upon the particular ethnic and social make-up of participating households. The principal researcher is joining a supervisory team that works with a diverse range of participants from various cultural backgrounds and that draw on the expertise of collaborators from these cultural groups.
70	Identify the group/s with whom consultation has taken place or is planned.
	<i>(Where consultation has already taken place, attach a copy of the supporting documentation to the application form)</i>
71	Describe any ongoing involvement of the group/s consulted in the project.
72	Describe how information resulting from the project will be shared with the group/s consulted.
73	If the research is to be conducted overseas, describe the arrangements you will make for local participants to express concerns regarding the research.

SECTION K: SHARING RESEARCH FINDINGS (Refer Code Section 4, Para 26)	
74	Describe how information resulting from the project will be shared with participants and disseminated in other forums, e.g. peer review, publications, and conferences.
	<i>(Note that receipt of a summary is one of the participant rights)</i>

As outlined in the Information Sheet, all participants will be offered an opportunity to receive and/or read a summary of the findings, as well as the full thesis if so desired.

As mentioned in Q35, I will offer a professional development workshop for Gateway (and other community groups who provide meals), based on the experiences of families as told to me during the interviews. This will enable staff and volunteers to continue to enhance and improve their engagements with families experiencing food insecurity.

I will also write a policy brief advocating for families through the select committee process. This is in order to document the experiences of families who are talked about - but seldom talked to – with regards to material deprivation and food insecurity. In doing so, I will be bringing the experiences of food insecure families into conversations with those who write social policy as a means of informing them about the lived realities of said families.

Both of these actions are separate to the writing of my PhD thesis, and provide a way for me to usefully disseminate my research findings in a practical and meaningful way, and in such a manner as to beneficially contribute towards improved services for families experiencing food insecurity.

It is expected that information resulting from this research project will also be published in a suitable peer-reviewed journal and appropriate conferences.

SECTION L: INVASIVE PROCEDURES/PHYSIOLOGICAL TESTS (Refer Code Section 4, Para 21)					
75	Does the project involve the collection of tissue, blood, other body fluids; physiological tests or the use of hazardous substances, procedures or equipment?	Yes		No	X
	If yes, are the procedures to be used governed by Standard Operating Procedure(s)? If so, please name the SOP(s). If not, identify the procedure(s) and describe how you will minimise the risks associated with the procedure(s)?				
76	Does the project involve the use of radiation (x-ray, CT scan or bone densitometry (DEXA))?	Yes		No	X
	If yes, has the Massey Licensee been contacted and consulted?	Yes		No	
	<i>(A copy of the supporting documentation must be provided with the ethics application, i.e. relevant SOP, participant dose assessment calculation sheet and approval of the dose assessment from the relevant authority). NOTE: See “Additional Information for Researchers” (Item 4.2) document for further detail.</i>				
	<i>(If yes to Q75 and/or Q76, complete Section L; otherwise proceed to Section M)</i>				
77	Describe the material to be taken and the method used to obtain it. Include information about the training of those taking the samples and the safety of all persons involved. If blood is taken, specify the volume and number of collections.				
78	Will the material be stored?	Yes		No	
	If yes, describe how, where and for how long.				
79	Describe how the material will be disposed of (either after the research is completed or at the end of the storage period).				
	<i>(Note that the wishes of relevant cultural groups must be taken into account)</i>				

80	Will material collected for another purpose (e.g. diagnostic use) be used?	Yes		No	
	If yes, did the donors give permission for use of their samples in this project? (Attach evidence of this to the application form).	Yes		No	
	If no, describe how consent will be obtained. Where the samples have been anonymised and consent cannot be obtained, provide justification for the use of these samples.				
81	Will any samples be imported into New Zealand?	Yes		No	
	If yes, provide evidence of permission of the donors for their material to be used in this research.				
82	Will any samples go out of New Zealand?	Yes		No	
	If yes, state where.				
	(Note this information must be included in the Information Sheet)				
83	Describe any physiological tests/procedures that will be used.				
84	Will participants be given a health-screening test prior to participation? (If yes, attach a copy of the health checklist)	Yes		No	

Reminder: Attach the completed Screening Questionnaire and other attachments listed in Q5

SECTION M: DECLARATION (Complete appropriate box)

ACADEMIC STAFF RESEARCH

Declaration for Academic Staff Applicant

I have read the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants. I understand my obligations and the rights of the participants. I agree to undertake the research as set out in the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants. My Head of Department/School/Institute knows that I am undertaking this research. The information contained in this application is to the very best of my knowledge accurate and not misleading.

Staff Applicant's Signature		Date:	
-----------------------------	--	-------	--

STUDENT RESEARCH

Declaration for Student Applicant

I have read the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants and discussed the ethical analysis with my Supervisor. I understand my obligations and the rights of the participants. I agree to undertake the research as set out in the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants.

The information contained in this application is to the very best of my knowledge accurate and not misleading.

Student Applicant's Signature	R. Graham	Date:	01/09/2014
-------------------------------	-----------	-------	------------

Declaration for Supervisor

I have assisted the student in the ethical analysis of this project. As supervisor of this research I will ensure that the research is carried out according to the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants.

Supervisor's Signature		Date:	
Print Name	Kerry Chamberlain		

GENERAL STAFF RESEARCH/EVALUATIONS

Declaration for General Staff Applicant

I have read the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants and discussed the ethical analysis with my Line Manager. I understand my obligations and the rights of the participants. I agree to undertake the research as set out in the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants. The information contained in this application is to the very best of my knowledge accurate and not misleading.

General Staff Applicant's Signature		Date:	
--	--	-------	--

Declaration for Line Manager

I declare that to the best of my knowledge, this application complies with the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants and that I have approved its content and agreed that it can be submitted.

Line Manager's Signature		Date:	
Print Name			

TEACHING PROGRAMME

Declaration for Paper Controller

I have read the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants. I understand my obligations and the rights of the participants. I agree to undertake the teaching programme as set out in the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants. My Head of Department/School/Institute knows that I am undertaking this teaching programme. The information contained in this application is to the very best of my knowledge accurate and not misleading.

Paper Controller's Signature		Date:	
------------------------------	--	-------	--

Declaration for Head of Department/School/Institute

I declare that to the best of my knowledge, this application complies with the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants and that I have approved its content and agreed that it can be submitted.

Head of Dept/School/Inst Signature		Date:	
Print Name			

Food Traditions Research Project

Interview Guide – Background Sheet

Household Name: _____

Participant name: _____

Male / Female Age: _____ Occupation/Livelihood: _____

Participant name: _____

Male / Female Age: _____ Occupation/Livelihood: _____

Participant name: _____

Male / Female Age: _____ Occupation/Livelihood: _____

Participant name: _____

Male / Female Age: _____ Occupation/Livelihood: _____

Other household members: _____

Interview Session: _____

Date: _____ **Time:** _____

Location: _____

Duration of interview: _____

Initial thoughts from the interview:

Possible areas of interest to follow up:

Potential revisions for interview guide:

Interview Guide – Researcher Checklist

Introductory interview

Remember to bring:

- Food to share
- Interview guide
- Digital sound recorder
- Pen/paper for notes

At the start of the interview:

- Introduce self (background, family, mihimihi, etc)
- Thank participant for their time and their interest in participating
- Review aims of research and interviews from information sheet
- Give opportunity for questions / comments / feedback
- Provide consent forms
- Explain importance of informed consent for all participants
- Participants to sign consent forms before proceeding
- Remember to explain the conditions for recording interviews
- Remind participants of their rights

Present 4 core areas of interest - see Guide at end of section for suggested questions

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

- Would that be an accurate synopsis?
- Is there anything you would like to bring up or thought should have been discussed?
- Is there anything that you would not like transcribed/included in this interview?
- Do you have any further questions concerning this study?

Reminder

- Next interview date/time/place _____
- Photo-elicitation interview – explain
- Ask participants to photograph their ‘world of food’
- Check participants have access to a suitable digital camera, and if not:
- Arrange for the use of a digital camera for participants
- Arrange method for printing of images

Interview Guide – Researcher Checklist

Photo-elicitation interview

Remember to bring:

- Food to share
- Interview guide
- Printed digital images
- Digital sound recorder
- Pen/paper for notes

At the start of the interview:

- Engage in culturally appropriate greetings
- Thank participant for their time and their interest in participating
- Questions / comments / feedback

Participants to talk about images taken

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

View images / participant to sort images into groups [depending on number of images].

Suggestion questions to promote discussion include (see also the Guide at end of section)

- What does this image show?
- Can you tell me why you chose to photograph this item?
- What does this [image] mean to you?
- Who else was there at the time? What else was happening?
- What memories do you have around this [image]?
- How did you learn to cook this [image] / learn to use this [image]? How/who taught you?

Consent for use of images:

- Participants to initial the back of each image to indicate consent for use
- Ensure that any images of people also have the consent of people in the photograph
- Reassure participants that any images of third parties will not be included in my thesis or subsequent publications / presentations

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

- Would that be an accurate synopsis?
- Is there anything you would like to bring up or thought should have been discussed?
- Is there anything that you would not like transcribed/included in this interview?
- Do you have any further questions concerning this study?

Reminder: Next interview date/time/place

Interview Guide – Researcher Checklist

Community Meal / go-along interview

Remember to bring:

- Interview guide
- Digital sound recorder
- Pen/paper for notes

At the start of the interview:

- Engage in culturally appropriate greetings
- Thank participant for their time and their interest in participating
- Questions / comments / feedback

Suggested questions for creating conversation (see also suggestions at the end of the Guide)

- How often do you come
 - Who usually comes with you (and why)
 - Where else do you go
 - Where do you prefer to eat dinner (and why/why not)
- Do you remember when you first starting coming here
 - What were your reasons then for coming
 - What are your reasons now, How have they changed (or not), Why/not
 - Who else came then, Who else comes now
 - What was different about this place then
 - What else do you remember

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

- Would that be an accurate synopsis?
- Is there anything you would like to bring up or thought should have been discussed?
- Is there anything that you would not like transcribed/included in this interview?
- Do you have any further questions concerning this study?

Reminder

- Next interview date/time/place _____

Interview Guide – Researcher Checklist

Household interview / Exit interview

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

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

- Would that be an accurate synopsis?
- Is there anything you would like to bring up or thought should have been discussed?
- Is there anything that you would not like transcribed/included in this interview?
- Do you have any further questions concerning this study?

Reminder

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

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

Interview Guide – Suggested questions to provoke discussion

Below suggested questions are grouped around 4 core areas: the Wednesday night community meal, everyday food-related practice, food traditions, and food insecurity. These are core areas of interest in this research project. While some participants may prefer to answer questions in the order suggested, others may wish to discuss food insecurity first: the key is to be responsive to participants. As such, initially the four key areas of interest will be presented, with the participants to determine which area(s) they wish to discuss at the beginning of each interview. The researcher will guide discussion and be responsive to the participants throughout the interview process.

Wednesday Night Community Meal at Gateway

- How long have you been coming along
- How do you get (t)here
- Who [else] comes with you
- Why did you first start coming along
 - Who came with you
 - What was it like, that first time
 - How did it feel
 - What happened then
- Why do you attend now / what is it about the meal that keeps you coming along (or not)
 - Who goes with you now (or not)
 - How have your reasons changed (or not)
 - How has the community meal changed (or not)
- Tell me about the food that is served
 - What do you like / not like about the food
 - Who prepares it
 - Where does the food come from
- What do your children like / not like
- Tell me about the good things/positives about coming here
 - What else
- Tell me about the not-so-good things
 - What else

Everyday food-related practice

(See photo elicitation questions)

Food traditions

- Tell me about some of your families food traditions
 - Who do you remember participating in these traditions
 - How often did you engage in these
 - How were these foods sourced / prepared / served / eaten
 - Who else would be there
 - What different foods would different people bring

- What food traditions hold particular significance to you
 - What is it about [specific] that is important / of value / special
 - What other memories are connected to these traditions
 - Tell me about the specific foods and food preparation practices associated with these food traditions
 - How often do you participate in [these] traditions

- What are some of the barriers that you (or others) have experienced to participating in these traditions?
 - Has there ever been a time(s) when you wanted to participate but couldn't?
 - Tell me about that
 - Can you give me specific examples of this
 - What else was going on at this time
 - How did it feel then / How does it feel now

Food insecurity

Thinking about food insecurity in general,

- How would you describe / define food insecurity
- What things do you think contribute towards food insecurity
- What things help / what things make it worse

Thinking about your experiences in particular,

- Have you, over the course of your lifetime, experienced [food insecurity]
 - What was that like / can you describe that in more detail
 - What are some of the things that you remember about this time
 - How did [specific event] feel, for you as a [parent/child/etc]
 - What are some of the things you did / do to get / provide enough to eat
 - What helped to make [the situation] better
 - What didn't help / made [the situation] worse
- What about friends / family – have they experienced [food insecurity]
 - What is it like for them / how do they feel [as a parent/friend/etc]
 - What are some things that they do to provide extra food / make food go further / feed everyone
 - What else
- What is about [your experiences of food insecurity] that you found / find particularly hard/challenging/difficult
 - What did/do you do to help mitigate this / make it better / get through
 - What else
- Are there any good things about [food insecurity]
- In [these sorts of situations] what helps [to make it better]
 - How does this help / in what way does it improve [this situation]
- In [these sorts of situations] what makes things worse
 - How so / in what way
 - What else

Food Traditions Research Project

Core areas of interest

<p>Wednesday night community meal</p>	<p>Everyday food- related traditions</p>
<p>Food traditions</p>	<p>Food insecurity</p>

Food Traditions Research Project

Information Sheet

Who are the researchers?

My name is **Rebekah Graham**. I live in Hamilton and I am currently doing my PhD through **Massey University** (Albany). This research project is being carried out under the supervision of Professor Kerry Chamberlain, Professor Darrin Hodgetts, and Dr Ottilie Stolte.

What is the project about?

This project is about the ways in which our **food traditions** and **everyday food-related practices** (like what foods we cook, where we get food from, how we prepare and serve food) connects us to past events, our memories and to other people. It is also about **food insecurity** (where access to adequate food is sometimes limited by a lack of money and/or other resources) and how this affects the ways in which we source, cook, serve, and eat food.

Who do I (Rebekah) want to talk to?

Mostly, I would like to talk with **families**. For the purposes of this research, a family is at least one adult with one (or more) children aged 5-18 living in the home. Everyone who is a part of the household is most welcome to take part in the discussions. Anyone over the age of 16 will need to sign a consent form before engaging in the research project. If you have children who are under the age of 16, then it is up to you, as the parent or caregiver, if you would like them to participate or not. If you are happy for their responses to be included in the research, then you, as the parent or caregiver, will need to sign a consent form on their behalf.

Why are you being asked to participate?

You (and your household) will be able to provide **valuable insights** into the research topic by **sharing your everyday practices** around food along with **specific memories** of past events and associated foods (such as what food was eaten at these events, who else was there, how these particular dishes were sourced and cooked and eaten).

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

There will be **4 interviews** for each household. It is expected that each interview will take about **one hour** of your time. Initially I will ask you about your family's ordinary, everyday food practices. For the second interview you will be asked to photograph your 'world of food' and then we will look at the photos and talk about the images. For the third, I will go-along with you as you source food (what this looks like is up to you). Lastly, we will reflect on what has happened during this research project. I will discuss each of these in more detail with you during the research process.

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

Not if you don't want them to. I can give you a pseudonym so that you cannot be identified in the final report. I will take all possible care to protect your privacy, and I will be the only person who knows what information came from which person.

What will happen to my information?

I would like to sound record the interviews, however, you may request for the sound recorder to be turned off at any stage during the interview(s). I will be the only person who will listen to the interviews, and I will ensure that actual names are not recorded anywhere. My records will be kept in a secure place and every effort will be made to ensure that your information is not identifiable. The anonymized interview summaries, transcripts, and 'world of food' photos will all be used in my analysis. Information about the research will not be used for any other purpose and I will not disclose personal information. Anonymized data from this research project may be used to help improve things for people in general, through presenting to other organizations (e.g. Hamilton City Council), advocacy work, and broader discussions around food insecurity. The analysis will be submitted to my supervisors, and eventually my finished thesis will be available from Massey University. Once I have completed these requirements, the data will be destroyed

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

You may withdraw at any stage prior to being interviewed. You may also withdraw by contacting the researcher within two weeks of the first household discussion interview. After this time it would be very helpful if you could commit to the three further interviews. If you decide to participate, you can choose to decline to answer any particular question(s).

How can I find out the results of the study?

I can send you a summary of the project findings if you would like. I will also invite you to a presentation at Gateway at the end of the research project where I will talk about the results of this study.

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

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

Will I be asked to sign anything?

Yes, everyone in the household who wishes to participate in the interview(s) will be asked to sign a consent form before we start. This is a standard requirement of research.

What do I need to do now?

If you are interested in participating in this research project, then please let me (Rebekah, the researcher) or one of the Gateway team know. I will follow up with you and organize an initial interview at a time and place that is convenient for you and your household.

Has this research received ethical approval?

Yes. This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (Northern), Application 14/041. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Andrew Chrystall, Acting Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, telephone 09 414 0800 x 43317, email humanethicsnorth@massey.ac.nz

Contact details:



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
 TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA
 UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

Rebekah Graham (Researcher), Ph.
 0226215740, email
rebekah.graham.1@uni.massey.ac.nz

Professor Kerry Chamberlain, (Research Supervisor), School of Psychology, Massey University. Ph. 09-4140800 ext. 43107, email K.Chamberlain@massey.ac.nz

Professor Darrin Hodgetts, (Research Supervisor), School of Psychology, University of Waikato. Ph. 07-8384466 ext. 6456, email dhdgetts@waikato.ac.nz

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

School of Psychology

Food Traditions Research Project

Consent Form

I have read the Information Sheet about this research project and the researcher has explained this study to me. I have had the chance to ask any questions and discuss my participation with others. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree to participate in this research project under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Family Name:

.....

Participant's name(s):

.....

Signature(s):

.....

Date:

.....

If you would like me to send you a summary of the findings, please fill out the address to which I should send/email a copy:

Email address:

.....

Postal address:

.....

.....



Food Traditions Research Project

Receipt of grocery voucher(s)

I have participated in this research project and have received
.....
from Rebekah Graham (the researcher) as a token of reciprocity for my time.

Participant's signature:.....

Date:

Appendix 2: Related publications

The following article is published as

Graham, R., & Jackson, K. (2017, August 9). No, poor New Zealand families can't just 'grow their own vegetables', *The Spinoff*. Retrieved from <https://thespinoff.co.nz/parenting/09-08-2017/no-poor-new-zealand-families-cant-just-grow-their-own-vegetables/>

No, poor New Zealand families can't just 'grow their own vegetables'

By Rebekah Graham and Kimberly Jackson | Guest writers

August 9, 2017

Anne lives in a tiny two-bedroom unit and experiences constant anxiety about stretching her resources to feed herself and her baby. There isn't enough money from her welfare provisions to pay for housing, bills and adequate food. She purchases cheap dollar loaves of bread from the local corner store to stave off her hunger pains but the lack of nutritious food means she is unable to produce enough breastmilk to feed her baby. This has created a vicious cycle of hunger and sleep deprivation, eventually culminating in an emotional breakdown at a local family support centre. Anne, along with an increasing number of New Zealanders, is experiencing ongoing food insecurity.

Food insecurity occurs when people do not have consistent access to sufficient, nutritionally adequate food. According to the most recent data available from the [Ministry of Health](#), 7.3% of New Zealand households are experiencing low food security and frequently have insufficient food. More [recent research](#) tells us that food insecurity among low income groups in New Zealand is increasing. This means that more and more New Zealand's families are struggling to put enough food on the table.

It is often assumed by many, most vocally in online comment sections, that growing one's own fruit and vegetables is a realistic solution to food insecurity. There is a nostalgic appeal to idea, embedded in notions of 'kiwi-can-do' and assumptions about previous generations who uncomplainingly grew abundant food. When asking 'Why don't people simply grow their own food?' the underlying judgement is that when people do not grow their own food it is due to laziness and a lack of initiative. There is the assumption that

people living with poverty and food insecurity have the time, resources, knowledge, support, space, physical ability and good health to prepare and maintain a garden.

The reality is that people on low incomes tend to work very hard; many do like to grow produce, often employing great ingenuity to grow a few items. Sophie, for example, juggles paid work, benefits and the care of her young son. She has very little space to grow food, but uses pots for herbs. She does not feel confident about how to grow food, having no experience of it and limited knowledge: “I tried it! I’m not very good at growing things!” The ability to indulge in the longer trial and error process of learning requires resources Sophie doesn’t have. The priorities for Sophie are increasing her paid work hours and helping her son with school homework, leaving little time left over for growing vegetables.

Like many people living with hunger, Anne has found that better-off New Zealanders often don’t understand the reality of food insecurity: “I don’t have a veggie garden and people are just like, ‘grow food’, and I’m like yeah but then you’ve got to get the plants and then you’ve got to wait for the food. I need food now. Like, that’s a long term solution...Even getting seeds, you know, how long does it take for that seed to grow? You can’t wait for that seed when you need [food] today.”

Low income families are typically juggling [multiple demands](#), [insecure housing](#), and [complex health issues](#). Those ‘on welfare’ are commonly also juggling paid work and caring for others. These families are spending increasing amounts of time navigating overly administrative welfare processes designed to tighten eligibility. The assumption that those who are ‘cash poor’ are therefore ‘time rich’ is a mythology from the pre-[precarity](#) era.

Sissy, for example, provides care and support for her elderly mother, who requires transport to and from hospital for treatment, as well as for her grandchild who is in and out of hospital with a chronic respiratory illness. The effort involved in providing care for family members in hospital has absorbed much of her time and energy, and she has struggled to manage preparing and maintaining a garden as well. Despite this, she has a few plants (see below).

However, as the image shows, the few additional vegetables it offers are not enough to adequately feed a growing family.



SISSY'S VEGETABLE GARDEN

Insecure housing is a key barrier to gardening for those on low incomes. The average private residential tenancy in New Zealand lasts just 15 months, with [half of all tenancies](#) ending before ten months and a third within six months. Recent [NZ-based research](#) shows that low income families in private rental accommodation are more likely to move house more often, which is [stressful and time-consuming](#). In addition, moving house makes it difficult to create a garden which may yield produce too late to be useful to those who have invested in it.

Ginny expressed concern about planting trees as her Housing NZ tenancy is renewed every three years. Nevertheless, she has planted a small citrus plant, and hopes that she will remain there long enough to enjoy the fruit it produces.



GINNY'S CITRUS PLANT.

Using gardening as a solution to food insecurity reflects assumptions commonly made by people who are food-secure. In other words, growing your own food tends to work well when you are in a position to take risks with expenditure, have time and resources, good health, and a secure and suitable housing situation. These are the very resources that families living with food insecurity struggle to access.

In short, growing your own vegetables is not the panacea to food insecurity that many food-secure people think it is. Indeed, given the ongoing housing crisis and retrenchment of welfare, accessing food (and especially nutritious food) is likely to become more and more difficult. For many people living with poverty, maintaining a backyard vegetable garden is at best a top-up and is rarely a food source capable of sustaining a family.

When you consider the shortfall in people's food budgets – the gap between what they need for a nutritional diet and what is available to spend – it is easy to see that merely implementing a backyard garden is not enough to ameliorate hunger.

The following book chapter is published as:

Jackson, K., & Graham, R. (2017). When dollar loaves are all you have: Food insecurity in Hamilton, New Zealand. In S. Groot, C. v. Ommen, B. Masters-Awatere, & N. Tassell-Matamua (Eds.), *Precarity. Uncertain, insecure and unequal lives in Aotearoa New Zealand*. Auckland, NZ: Massey University Press.

When Dollar Loaves Are All You Have

By Kimberly Jackson and Rebekah Graham

Anna lives in a two-bedroom unit with her young daughter and experiences constant anxiety about stretching her resources.¹ There isn't enough money from her welfare provisions to pay for housing, power and food. Consequently Anna purchases cheap dollar loaves of white bread from the local corner store to stave off her hunger pains. The absence of enough nutritious food means she is unable to produce enough breastmilk to feed her baby, creating a vicious cycle of hunger and sleep deprivation, culminating in an emotional breakdown at the local family support centre. Anna, along with an increasing number of New Zealanders, is experiencing ongoing food insecurity. Winsome Parnell and Andrew Gray describe food insecurity as a situation where 'the availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods, or the ability to acquire such foods in socially acceptable ways, is limited or uncertain'.² The prevalence of food insecurity in New Zealand households has increased in the past decade from 28 per cent of households to 41 per cent,³ and New Zealand-based research consistently finds that access to an adequate diet is a struggle for low-income families. Louise Signal and her colleagues, for example, identify that the cost of healthy, nutritious food, along with low incomes, are key contributors to food insecurity.⁴ Claire Smith, Winsome Parnell and Rachel Brown, in their comprehensive 2010 report on family food environments of New Zealand households, write, 'The factor with the most impact on food security for NZ families included in this survey was economic.'⁵

Sherry Carne and Alina Mancini, in their research with Whāngarei-based providers, note that 'the most frequently mentioned reason for families having insufficient food was low income'.⁶ Timothy Hopgood and his co-workers in their Auckland-based study on the affordability of nutritious food concluded that 'New Zealand should consider further strategies to make children's meals more affordable for low-income families.'⁷ More recently, Claire Smith and her colleagues found that for low-income households 'food expenditure is clearly an

economic burden'.⁸ In summary, incomes and welfare provision have simply not kept pace with the increased costs of keeping a family housed and fed. This everyday reality is often unacknowledged in conversations regarding food insecurity, particularly where those who are experiencing it are absent from the discussion.

In this chapter we draw on our combined research with 11 low-income families in Hamilton, New Zealand. The families were supported by a variety of income sources, including part-time, casual and full-time paid work, and/or benefits, but all had low food spending through necessity. Over the course of 12 months, research participants shared their stories, opened up their pantries, revealed their income and expenditure, took us along as they went to the supermarket, photographed their 'world of food', and sourced and prepared meals. These successive interactions across multiple locations provided rich detail regarding the everyday realities of living with food insecurity. By taking this ethnographically oriented case-based approach to researching food insecurity we offer depth of insight into the complexities, difficulties and perspectives of families living with poverty. Their experiences exemplify broader aspects of food insecurity that extend beyond their individual lifeworlds and highlight particular assumptions that hinder low-income families who are struggling to keep their households housed and fed.

We found significant shortfalls between the recommended expenditure to achieve a basic healthy diet and the reality of available resources. The Department of Human Nutrition at the University of Otago estimates that families (two adults and two school-aged children) currently living in Hamilton need to spend a minimum of NZ\$260 per week in order to purchase enough food to meet the nutritional requirements of all family members.⁹ In contrast, low-income families from our research had a weekly maximum of NZ\$120 for all household expenses after paying for rising housing and energy costs. Their experiences correlate with those described in Ministry of Health 2012 data, which indicates that 7.3 per cent of New Zealand households frequently have insufficient food.¹⁰ A further 33.7 per cent of households cannot reliably provide a nutritious diet for all their members, and/or food sometimes runs out before it can be replenished.

Our research highlighted the ways in which cutting back on food expenditure can be the only realistic option for meeting necessary living expenses such as school-related costs, medical prescriptions, transport or unexpected items. As Ginny puts it, 'everything comes out of the food budget'. Carys, who has two school-aged boys, can only pay for compulsory school stationery items by reducing her already low fruit and vegetable spend. Sophie was faced with urgent dental treatment, necessitating debt that she must now pay off out of her food money

each week. When the food money becomes squeezed through routine costs or unexpected events, there can be very little money left to feed the family. In response, purchases of non-food items are routinely delayed. As Anna notes, 'I can buy food but now I've got no toilet paper, gosh I haven't cleaned my teeth in a week! I know they're all luxuries but um yeah . . .'. That toilet paper and toothpaste are considered luxuries indicates just how stretched many in Anna's situation have become.

Our research participants experience hunger along with the monotony of a diet predominantly made up of cheap, low-nutrient, carbohydrate-heavy foods such as instant noodles and dollar loaves of bread. The case of Anna, whom we opened with, encapsulates the trap for low-income citizens. There is simply not enough income to meet the recommended nutritional guidelines and so filling hungry stomachs becomes the focus, particularly in families with teenagers. Sophie expresses the tension — and her frustration — in juggling nutritional advice with keeping hunger pangs at bay: 'You can spend forty bucks just on vegetables and stuff . . . and there's just like a few, and if you bought forty bucks' worth of junk food you've got like nearly a whole trolley full, of crap.' Many families on low incomes are, like Sophie, keenly aware of public health messages, and are doing their best to meet them. As Rebekah Graham and colleagues write, 'There is an inherent contradiction between charity dictates that "beggars can't be choosers" and nutritional advice that beggars should make healthy choices.'¹¹

In contrast to commonly held stereotypes, New Zealand-based research finds that parents usually know how to budget, meet nutrition ideals, and 'stretch' meals. The Family 100 research project, referred to in the previous chapter, worked with Auckland families who access food banks. The researchers found that, 'Negative media stereotyping and misinformation leads many to assume that people living in poverty do so because they're poor at managing their money, and that they lack the skills needed to balance a weekly budget. The vast majority of Family 100 participants prove this to be largely false and typically demonstrate considerable talent in their ability to budget.'¹² In terms of types of food purchased, Claire Smith and her colleagues noted that 'Ready-to-eat foods were a small component of overall food expenditure, which is counter to the negative assumptions with respect to eating behaviours in low socioeconomic groups in NZ.'¹³ Another research project across 136 households in Dunedin and Wellington found: 'The low-income group did not differ from others in terms of behaviour such as budgeting, planning and eating meals as a family.'¹⁴

Our participants also show a great deal of working knowledge in stretching food and shopping for bargains. Raywyn mentions 'bulking up the meals with veggies and stuff, pasta'.

Julye purchases cheap popcorn as 'it can last two days, that's spread out between [the children] and then for afterschool snacks as well'. Leah talks of how she 'can get four meals out of a couple of bags of pasta with cheese and a couple of cans of tomatoes'. We commonly saw our participants bulking out dishes with beans, oats or frozen vegetables.

Nevertheless, on constrained incomes even these strategies are sometimes not enough. In response, Julye will cook dinner for her children while going without herself. Carys purchases apples for the children's school lunches while she and her partner subsist on toast or coffee throughout the day. In a difficult week, Leah will 'just have noodles'. Such responses are not uncommon. As documented by Presbyterian Support Otago,¹⁵ and the Family 100 research project, low-income parents routinely go hungry, eat only a piece of toast for tea, water down milk, or subsist on porridge, compromising their own nutritional needs in order to feed their children. Kellie McNeill, in her Hamilton-based PhD research,¹⁶ details even more drastic tactics, with one of her participants saying, 'I have sleeping pills because they help me . . . Sometimes I've taken extra and just gone to bed for the weekend to sleep the weekend off because there's no food.'

The lack of enough food to feed the family is a source of emotional stress, worry and shame. Of all the insecurities associated with poverty, it is the absence of enough food that causes parents the most distress and anxiety. There is a particularly strong sense of stigma and shame at not being able to provide the quality and quantity of foods needed for their children. Anna articulates this when explaining her attempt to hide the severity of her situation: 'I was hiding it from everyone, you know, it's embarrassing.' The absence of enough food to eat makes the impoverishment of families more obvious to outsiders. In order to avoid judgement and humiliation, parents go to great lengths to obscure the absence of sufficient food, which can contribute to social isolation. Children also feel shame when they cannot participate in what are considered 'normal' childhood experiences. Janine recalls a childhood of not being able to have friends visit because there was no food in the house: 'We didn't even have like oranges ... I was like, really ashamed. And yeah, I started hiding, like trying to hide the poverty.' The psychological harms from insufficient food have an impact on every family member.

Responses by the food-secure when hearing of experiences of food insecurity are typically steeped in assumptions of the laziness, ineptitude and ignorance of low-income families. Nowhere are these assumptions more evident than in the suggestion that home gardening is the solution to food insecurity. There is a nostalgic appeal to this call for backyard gardens, embedded in notions of the 'Kiwi can-do' attitude and unquestioned beliefs about the hardy previous generation. Asking 'Why don't people simply grow their own food?' assumes

that those living with poverty have the time, resources, knowledge, support, space, physical ability and good health to prepare and maintain a garden. Like many people living with hunger, Anna has found that gardening is not the panacea:

I don't have a veggie garden and people are just like, grow food, and I'm like yeah but then you've got to get the plants and then you've got to wait for the food. I need food now. Like that's a long-term solution . . . Even getting seeds, you know, how long does it take for that seed to grow? You can't wait for that seed when you need [food] today.

Anna's meagre budget offers no room for spending extra dollars on the uncertain promise of a future crop. While families struggling to afford food often employ ingenuity to grow a few vegetables at low cost, the restrictions of rental properties, frequent house moves, time, health and equipment mean crops are few and far between. Homegrown produce from urban sections merely supplements families' repetitive diets but can rarely provide the quantities necessary to keep people healthy. When you consider the shortfall in people's food budgets between what they need for a nutritional diet and what is available to spend, it is easy to see that a backyard garden is not enough to ameliorate hunger.

Along with the idealized myth of the plentiful backyard garden is the assumption that the New Zealand welfare sector will provide an adequate safety net for those in need. Such assumptions coalesce in public statements such as, 'Just pop into your local Work and Income office, they'll help you out.' In reality, assistance has become ever more complex and difficult to access. In their paper 'Urban Poverty, Structural Violence and Welfare Provision of 100 Families in Auckland', Darrin Hodgetts and his colleagues outline in detail the demeaning, humiliating and psychologically abusive process of accessing welfare and food grants through Work and Income (WINZ).¹⁷ In this way, New Zealand is following the lead of the UK in steadily eroding our once strong safety net.

Both Guy Standing¹⁸ and Loïc Wacquant¹⁹ note in their respective works that accessing emergency food assistance has become increasingly conditional and punitive in order to restrict people's access to resources. As Ginny told us, 'they [WINZ] declined me when I was in real need [of food]'. Our research participants describe interactions that left them exhausted and embarrassed when attempting to access emergency food funding. Eventually, Anna simply couldn't take the abuse any more: 'I just gave up in the end going to them, especially after that last lady the way she was, I was just like, I don't want to do this, I'd rather go without than be made to feel that horrible.'

Charities and emergency food sources (such as food banks and community meals) are also typically touted as a solution to food insecurity. In reality, such services are being placed under cumulative strain as the need for them increases. Public calls for additional assistance have become commonplace, such as the Hamilton Combined Christian Foodbank's recent plea: 'The food need is greater. In the past we'd provide food help for eight to nine individuals or families a day, now a low day is 20, we've had up to 30.'²⁰ In addition, such services are precarious and vulnerable to closure. Heavily reliant on the capability and generosity of individual volunteers, the current emphasis on paid work means volunteer initiatives and charity drives can be difficult to sustain amid increasing financial pressure. During our research, one of the charities that provided weekly free community meals folded as the primary organizer became too unwell to continue her service and, without her advocacy, the meal service was unable to continue.

Being forced to access charity in order to adequately feed themselves and their children undermines people's psychological wellbeing. Hodgetts et al. observe that, 'Having to beg for food and charity is a demeaning experience . . . Dignity is undermined by participants having to beg for necessities and in being positioned as objects of scorn in these interactions.'²¹ Leah alludes to this when she says, 'Sometimes I go to the free meals in town, it's very embarrassing for me.' Furthermore, the provision of emergency food by charities enables the state to evade its responsibility to ensure that every citizen has adequate access to food. While mobilizing compassion through charities is currently crucial to feed hungry citizens who can no longer rely on the welfare state to avert hardship, charity is no substitute for a more equitable distribution of resources.

Where low-income households receive an increase in income, this is overwhelmingly spent on more and better quality foods. The myth that children will not benefit from increased income to our poorest households should be challenged. An English study carried out in 2005 suggests that when low-income families receive increased amounts the extra money is mostly spent on items for the children.²² In Australia, Julie Brimblecombe and her colleagues found that increases in income went towards buying food and, where possible, better quality food.²³ Research with food insecure households in Dunedin concluded that providing additional funds to food insecure people resulted in an increase in expenditure on fruit, vegetables and better quality meat.²⁴ Our research supports these earlier studies, with our participants also spending increases in income on nutritious foods for their children, especially fruit.

Our research findings support the notion that food insecurity is the product of inequities and injustices baked into societal structures, creating traps for low-income families. As Ted

Schrecker and Clare Brambra note in their book *Neoliberal Epidemics: How Politics Makes Us Sick*,²⁵ the idea that such individuals are primarily in need of education regarding their 'lifestyles' reflects a neoliberal world view, which favours a focus on individuals through market-based solutions. A focus on the responsibility of low-income citizens to seek out ad hoc and complicated ways to feed themselves fails to engage with the underlying causes of their austerity.

We argue that being able to access food in socially acceptable ways is a universal human right, one inextricably linked with health. Long-term solutions to food insecurity require progressive social and economic policies that promote equity and improve our social safety net. People and families need to be supported with sufficient income to feed and house themselves. Already proposed economic solutions, such as the Living Wage campaign, which crusades for wages that will meet the basic cost of living, abound. The Universal Basic Income is another well-established concept, and is well argued by Mike Goldsmith and Kellie McNeill who write that, while hunger is often recognized in poorer countries, it is trivialized and hidden in New Zealand, which is perceived as being a land of plenty.²⁶ Guy Standing addresses the long-term social implications of insecure, precarious work in *A Precariat Charter*, outlining why people need meaningful, consistent forms of employment or income support for caring roles.²⁷ Similarly, Thomas Piketty in *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* makes a comprehensive and compelling economic case for more equitable wealth distribution.²⁸

Implementing any one of these already well-researched solutions would relieve the economic burden faced by those on low incomes. However, so far, the New Zealand government has abdicated its responsibility to ensure that all citizens have food security, instead forcing people to rely on emergency food systems to survive. It is only when we all support the radical notion that every citizen deserves to be fed that we can begin to implement effective, long-term solutions to hunger and food insecurity.

Notes

¹ Pseudonyms are used to refer to all the participants in this research. In writing this chapter we have deliberately foregrounded the experiences of participating families and skimmed over the details of our research. For more information please contact the authors directly.

² Winsome R. Parnell and Andrew R. Gray, 'Development of a Food Security Measurement Tool for New Zealand Households', *British Journal of Nutrition* 112 (2014): 1393–401.

³ University of Otago and Ministry of Health, 'A Focus on Nutrition: Key Findings of the 2008/09 New Zealand Adult Nutrition Survey' (Wellington: Ministry of Health, 2012).

⁴ Louise N. Signal, Mat D. Walton, Cliona Ni Mhurchu, Ralph Maddison, Sharron G. Bowers, Kristie N. Carter,

Delvina Gorton, Craig Heta, Tolotea S. Lanumata, Christina W. McKerchar, Des O'Dea and Jamie Pearce, 'Tackling "Wicked" Health Promotion Problems: A New Zealand Case Study', *Health Promotion International*, 28 (2013): 84.

- ⁵ Claire Smith, Winsome R. Parnell and Rachel Brown, 'Family Food Environment: Barriers to Acquiring Affordable and Nutritious Food in New Zealand Households' (Wellington: Families Commission, 2010).
- ⁶ Sherry Carne and Alina Mancini, 'Empty Food Baskets: Food Poverty in Whangarei' (Whangarei: Child Poverty Action Group, 2012).
- ⁷ T. Hoggood, I. Asher, C. R. Wall, C. C. Grant, J. Stewart, S. Muimuiheata and D. Exeter, 'Crunching the Numbers: The Affordability of Nutritious Food for New Zealand Children', *Nutrition & Dietetics* 67 (2010): 251–57.
- ⁸ Claire Smith, Winsome R. Parnell, Rachel Clare Brown and Andrew R. Gray, 'Balancing the Diet and the Budget: Food Purchasing Practices of Food-Insecure Families in New Zealand', *Nutrition & Dietetics* 70 (2013): 278–85.
- ⁹ Department of Human Nutrition, 'Information Package for Users of the New Zealand Estimated Food Costs 2015', in *Food Cost Survey 2015*, edited by L. A. Mainvil, Claire Smith and Winsome R. Parnell (Dunedin: University of Otago, 2015).
- ¹⁰ University of Otago and Ministry of Health, 'A Focus on Nutrition'.
- ¹¹ Rebekah Graham, Otilie Stolte, Darrin Hodgetts and Kerry Chamberlain, 'Nutritionism and the Construction of "Poor Choices" in Families Facing Food Insecurity', *Journal of Health Psychology*, online (Sept 28, 2016). ¹² Emily Garden, Angela Caldin, Diane Robertson, Julie Timmins, Tom Wilson and Tim Wood, 'Family 100 Research Project: Speaking for Ourselves' (Auckland: Auckland City Mission, 2014).
- ¹³ Smith, Parnell, Brown and Gray, 'Balancing the Diet and the Budget'.
- ¹⁴ Smith, Parnell and Brown, 'Family Food Environment'.
- ¹⁵ Carne and Mancini, 'Empty Food Baskets'.
- ¹⁶ Kellie McNeill, 'Talking with Their Mouths Half-Full: Food Insecurity in the Hamilton Community' (Doctoral thesis, University of Waikato, 2011).
- ¹⁷ Darrin Hodgetts, Kerry Chamberlain, Shiloh Groot and Yardena Tankel, 'Urban Poverty, Structural Violence and Welfare Provision for 100 Families in Auckland', *Urban Studies* 51, no.10 (2014): 2036–51.
- ¹⁸ Guy Standing, 'Understanding the Precariat through Labour and Work', *Development and Change* 45 (2015): 963–80.
- ¹⁹ Loïc Wacquant, *Urban Outcasts* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2008).
- ²⁰ Geoff Lewis, 'Early 2017 Throws New Curve to Bank', *Hamilton Press*, 8 March 2017.
- ²¹ Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Groot and Tankel, 'Urban Poverty'.
- ²² Paul Gregg, Jane Waldfogel and Elizabeth Washbrook, 'Expenditure Patterns Post-Welfare Reform in the UK: Are Low-Income Families Starting to Catch-Up?' (London: Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion, 2005).
- ²³ Julie K. Brimblecombe, Joseph McDonnell, Adam Barnes, Joanne Garnngulkpuy Dhurrkay, David P. Thomas and Ross S. Bailie, 'Impact of Income Management on Store Sales in the Northern Territory', *Medical Journal of Australia* 192 (2010): 549–54.
- ²⁴ Claire Smith, Winsome R. Parnell, Rachel Clare Brown and Andrew R. Gray, 'Providing Additional Money to Food-Insecure Households and Its Effect on Food Expenditure: A Randomized Controlled Trial', *Public Health Nutrition* 16 (2013): 1507–15.
- ²⁵ Ted Schrecker and Clare Bamba, *Neoliberal Epidemics: How Politics Makes Us Sick* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015).
- ²⁶ Mike Goldsmith and Kellie McNeill, 'The Case for Universal Basic Income in New Zealand & Worldwide', *Pacific Ecologist* (2012): 27.
- ²⁷ Guy Standing, *A precariat charter: From denizens to citizens*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014.
- ²⁸ Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2014).

Appendix 3: Presentations and research dissemination list

- Graham, R.** (2017). Poverty, charity, and neoliberalism: Food insecurity in the lives of five New Zealand families. Presented at *13th Trans-Tasman Community Psychology Conference*. Melbourne, AUS, 20-22 April.
- Graham, R.** (2017). *The Gateway Community meal: Responding to food insecurity*. Digital lecture for 175.301 Community Psychology, Massey University
- Graham, R.** (2016). Sustaining Spaces: The Gateway Community Meal. Presentation and workshop for *Gateway Trust Staff*. Gateway Church, Hamilton, 6 April
- Graham, R.** (2015). Sustaining Spaces: A Pecha Kucha presentation. Presented at *Health Psychology Research Day*, Albany, 4 December.
- Graham, R.** (2015). Sustaining Spaces: A community meal. Presented at *New Zealand Psychological Society Annual Conference*, Hamilton, NZ, 28-31 August.
- Jackson, K., & **Graham, R.** (2017). 'When dollar loaves are all you have' Food insecurity in Hamilton. In S. Groot, C. v. Ommen, B. Masters-Awatere, & N. Tassell-Matamua (Eds.), *Precarity. Uncertain, insecure and unequal lives in Aotearoa New Zealand*. Auckland, NZ: Massey University Press..
- Jackson, K. & **Graham, R.** (2016). Food insecurity and healthy food 'choices'. Presented at *Central North Island Cardiac Nurses Regional Conference*. Waikato Hospital, Hamilton, NZ, 4 October.
- Jackson, K. & **Graham, R.** (2016). Humanizing practices and pragmatic responses to food insecurity. Presentation and workshop at *Waikato Regional Cardiac Nurses Network Professional Development Day*. Waikato Hospital, Hamilton, NZ, 8 November.

Appendix 4: DRC16 Forms for Chapters 3-6

DRC 16



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE RESEARCH SCHOOL

STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION TO DOCTORAL THESIS CONTAINING PUBLICATIONS

(To appear at the end of each thesis chapter/section/appendix submitted as an article/paper or collected as an appendix at the end of the thesis)

We, the candidate and the candidate's Principal Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated below in the *Statement of Originality*.

Name of Candidate:

Name/Title of Principal Supervisor:

Name of Published Research Output and full reference:

In which Chapter is the Published Work:

Please indicate either:

• The percentage of the Published Work that was contributed by the candidate:
and / or

• Describe the contribution that the candidate has made to the Published Work:

RSGRAHAM

Candidate's Signature

24/08/2107

Date

Darrin Hodgetts
Digitally signed by Darrin Hodgetts
DN: cn=Darrin Hodgetts, o=Massey
University, ou=Faculty of Health
Sciences, email=D.Hodgetts@massey.ac.nz, c=NZ
Date: 2017.08.24 13:07:09 +1200

Principal Supervisor's signature

25/08/17

Date



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE RESEARCH SCHOOL

**STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION
TO DOCTORAL THESIS CONTAINING PUBLICATIONS**

(To appear at the end of each thesis chapter/section/appendix submitted as an article/paper or collected as an appendix at the end of the thesis)

We, the candidate and the candidate's Principal Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated below in the *Statement of Originality*.

Name of Candidate:

Name/Title of Principal Supervisor: Darrin Hodgetts

Name of Published Research Output and full reference:

Graham, R., Hodgetts, D., Stolte, O., & Chamberlain, K. (2017). Sustaining spaces. Community meal provision and mental wellbeing. In L. McGrath, & P. Reavey (Eds.), *Mental Distress and Space. Community and Clinical Applications*. London, UK, Routledge.

In which Chapter is the Published Work: 4

Please indicate either:

- The percentage of the Published Work that was contributed by the candidate:
- and / or

- Describe the contribution that the candidate has made to the Published Work:

Candidate undertook all original research, wrote draft article and was fully involved in the combined editing/redrafting/rewriting process undertaken during the writing of this article

RS/RAHAM

Candidate's Signature

24/08/2017

Date

Darrin Hodgetts

Digitally signed by Darrin Hodgetts,
DN: cn=Darrin Hodgetts, o=Massey
University, ou=Psychology,
email=D.Hodgetts@massey.ac.nz, c=NZ
Date: 2017.08.28 10:28:56 +1200

Principal Supervisor's signature

25/08/17

Date



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE RESEARCH SCHOOL

**STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION
TO DOCTORAL THESIS CONTAINING PUBLICATIONS**

(To appear at the end of each thesis chapter/section/appendix submitted as an article/paper or collected as an appendix at the end of the thesis)

We, the candidate and the candidate's Principal Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated below in the *Statement of Originality*.

Name of Candidate:

Name/Title of Principal Supervisor: Darrin Hodgetts

Name of Published Research Output and full reference:

Graham, R., Hodgetts, D., Stolte, O., & Chamberlain, K. (under review). Hiding in plain sight. Experiences of food insecurity and rationing in five New Zealand families. Food, culture & society.

In which Chapter is the Published Work: 5

Please indicate either:

- The percentage of the Published Work that was contributed by the candidate:
- and / or
- Describe the contribution that the candidate has made to the Published Work:

Candidate undertook all original research, wrote draft article and was fully involved in the combined editing/redrafting/rewriting process undertaken during the writing of this article

RSGRAHAM

Candidate's Signature

24/08/2017

Date

Darrin Hodgetts

Digitally signed by Darrin Hodgetts
DN: cn=Darrin Hodgetts, o=Massey
University, ou=Psychology,
email=D.Hodgetts@massey.ac.nz, c=NZ
Date: 2017.08.28 13:26:50 +1200

Principal Supervisor's signature

25/08/17

Date



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE RESEARCH SCHOOL

**STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION
TO DOCTORAL THESIS CONTAINING PUBLICATIONS**

(To appear at the end of each thesis chapter/section/appendix submitted as an article/paper or collected as an appendix at the end of the thesis)

We, the candidate and the candidate's Principal Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated below in the *Statement of Originality*.

Name of Candidate:

Name/Title of Principal Supervisor: Darrin Hodgetts

Name of Published Research Output and full reference:

Graham, R., Hodgetts, D., Stolte, O., & Chamberlain, K. (Under review). Food insecurity in urban New Zealand. The case of the Kopa family. *Journal of Poverty*.

In which Chapter is the Published Work: 6

Please indicate either:

- The percentage of the Published Work that was contributed by the candidate: and / or
- Describe the contribution that the candidate has made to the Published Work:

Candidate undertook all original research, wrote draft article and was fully involved in the combined editing/redrafting/rewriting process undertaken during the writing of this article

RSGRAHAM

Candidate's Signature

21/08/2107

Date

Darrin Hodgetts

Principal Supervisor's signature

Digitally signed by Darrin Hodgetts
DN: cn=Darrin Hodgetts, o=Massey
University, ou=Paipara, email=D.Hodgetts@massey.ac.nz, c=NZ
Date: 2017.08.18 18:08:38 +1200

25/08/17

Date