Food and Identity in New Zealand

The Cross-Generational Transmission of Cultural and Gender Identity through Food

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the previously under-explored area of the intersection of individuals' cultural and gender identity in relation to food within the framework of New Zealand food culture. The analysis focuses upon how the cross-generational transmission of food culture has occurred within Pakeha families in New Zealand, and how the process has affected gendered identities. The study was based on analyses of in-depth interviews and reminiscences provided by 15 individual respondents from six families about their food preferences and practices. This interview data was summarised and organised into six family case histories. Also in analysing New Zealand cookbooks, the thesis considers social changes related to the changing meaning of food and cooking in association with individuals' gender roles. Particular attention was paid to the 'de-gendering' of cooking. If men are cooking more nowadays than in the past, do they invest this activity with different social meanings from women? If women spend less time on food preparation than in the past, do they depend more on convenience foods? This thesis investigates how such changes interact with the cultural and social significance of food and cooking.

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“Culture is the overall pattern of living built up by a group of human beings, which is transmitted from one generation to another. Culture, therefore, includes many things such as religion, art, rituals, sciences, law, sport, language, politics and eating habits”

From Patricia Bawden (1999, p.6)

Food and Culture in New Zealand

Auckland: New House.

Part One

Introduction

Chapter One: Research Overview

This chapter includes a discussion of the need for this study and a summary of its main findings.

1-1 Need for the research

This project fills the knowledge gap between what previous social science researchers have discussed about New Zealanders' cultural identities in relation to the country's culinary history and what gender studies tell us about the notion of gender identity in relation to cooking. The link between these two separate aspects of identity in relation to food has not been much discussed within the framework of the cross-generational transmission of family food traditions. This thesis examines therefore the area of the intersection of cultural identity and gender identity in relation to individuals' narratives of food and cooking within the framework of the New Zealand food culture.

The researcher's interest in this research topic arose from the fact that she had developed a multi-cultural identity by living in various parts of the world. As a permanent immigrant to New Zealand, writing about the transmission of cultural and gender identity through food has been part of her own wider search for identity. The researcher has already completed a study of how cross-cultural couples from different ethnic backgrounds combine their respective food cultures and food choices within the New Zealand's social context.

This current research argues that an individual's identity is partly formed through their food preferences and practices. One's food practices can affect all sorts of human behaviour patterns, including maintaining one's own family food traditions or ethnic food culture and performing gender roles associated with cooking for the family. The term 'identity' became an issue for sociological study as one of the cultural dimensions of globalization in the 1980s. Many prominent sociologists have debated the meaning of identity from diverse perspectives within a framework of modernity, describing a modern individual's identity as 'fragmental' (Giddens, 1992), 'hybrid' (Hall, 1996), 'liquid' (Bauman, 2005) and "a social process, not only an intellectual practice" (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000, p.5). However, individuals' identities in relation to their

food practices have not been much discussed or analysed in the identity debate by these sociologists.

Avril Bell (2009, p.145) also points out that there has been little sociological analysis of empirical data derived from interview research on Pakeha New Zealanders' identity in general, because of their vague identities; 'neither British settlers nor Maori'. How are Pakeha New Zealanders' food practices involved in the reification of cultural norms and gender roles? This research closely examines the social processes of individual Pakeha New Zealanders' identity through their food practices.

1-2 Rationale of the research topic

A rationale as to why food practices should be researched in relation to identity is explained by three properties of food. Firstly, food is the most basic substance required for human survival: a biological necessity for the human species. Secondly, food is the most important source of security for human existence: a psychological security provider (Lévi-Strauss, 2008). And thirdly, food practices involve human interactions, the act of cooking and the act of eating serving as a social identity marker (Kiely et al., 2001, pp.35-36). These three intrinsic properties of food, in comparison with other cultural and gender identity markers (e.g. art, language and clothes), determine life or death, establish fundamental human bonds and deeply affect individuals' personal and social identities. However, "The meanings of food, eating and cooking differ across age, gender, class, ethnicity, culture and nations" (Williams-Forson, 2008, p.348), and therefore, people define themselves differently through their food practices (Counihan and van Esteric, 2008). Thus, food practices should be the subject of research to examine individuals' self-identities in a particular food culture.

1-3 Definition of terms

For the purpose of the study, this thesis defines cultural identity as an individual's identification of his or her own cultural location or mixed cultural location in society. This means that one's cultural identity can involve complex, multiple identities. A modern individual's identity is diverse and flexible, rather than fixed by birth and

permanently determined by age, gender, ethnicity or nationality. Brubaker and Cooper (2000, p.5) state that “We should seek to explain the processes and mechanisms through which what has been called the “political fiction” of the “nation” – or of the “ethnic group”, “race” or other putative “identity” - can crystallise, at certain moments, as a powerful, compelling reality”. Thus, cultural identity can be defined by self understanding and self description.

Similarly, I define ‘gender identity’ as the self understanding in relation to socially constructed differences between male and female. West and Zimmerman (1987, p.126) argue that gender is a social accomplishment, something people ‘do’ everyday: “Doing gender involves a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional, and micropolitical activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine ‘natures’”.

The term ‘food practices’ includes all aspects of food, that is, obtaining, preparing, cooking, eating and sharing food. King (1999, p.10) defines the term ‘Pakeha’ as an indigenous word derived from ‘pakepakeha’, which means fair-skinned folk, to describe people in New Zealand originally from Europe. Similarly, Claudia Bell (1996, p.187) describes Pakeha as European-origin white New Zealanders. By following both King’s definition and Bell’s description, this thesis defines the term ‘Pakeha’ as ‘British-origin non-Maori’ New Zealanders.

1-4 A summary of main findings

Three major findings relating to the cross-generational transmission of food culture and individuals’ identities were derived from four data sources; one, an analysis of six case histories involving 15 respondents in total, two, a commentary on ten selected cookbooks published between 1883 and 2009 recording New Zealand’s culinary history over that period, and three, a commentary on a further 12 cookbook authors was also undertaken. In addition, the images from the front pages of cookbooks between 1990 to 1950, which were located on an online cookbook library, were analysed as to how both men and women were portrayed in the task of cooking.

Firstly, individual's narratives of food and their childhood experiences provided a sense of belonging to the family. In turn, their family food traditions and food practices shaped a part of their cultural and gender identity. All of the individual respondents' narratives derived from recorded interviews and written food reminiscences supported this finding. Particularly, their childhood memories of food illustrated how the gendered division of cooking has been internalised as they have grown up in their own family of origin.

Cookbooks are one of the main means by which both New Zealand's food culture and the family's food culture are transmitted and preserved. Related to the first finding, the second main finding of this thesis was that the most common type of cookbook described by respondents was the manuscript cookbook. Pakeha respondents have maintained their own individual and family identity by preserving the family's recipe books. These manuscript cookbooks were handed down through the generations and formed part of the family history and the ongoing family identity.

Thirdly, the study showed that the Pakeha family rituals associated with food play an important part in the preservation of the family culture. Whereas media such as commercial cookbooks or culinary history books represented a homogeneous New Zealand food culture and its national identity, Pakeha respondents did not identify their family food culture as specific to a larger group of Pakeha or New Zealanders. They did not link their food practices as an element in the formation of their sense of national identity.

Chapter Two: Research Methodology

This chapter describes how information was gathered together on the six families, which included taped face-to-face interviews, questionnaires and written reminiscences or culinary memoirs. In addition, first generation respondents completed a simple family tree.

2-1 In-depth interviews in qualitative research

The empirical data which forms the basis of chapter six in this thesis was derived from a series of interviews along with questionnaires conducted with 15 individuals from six families. At the beginning, this research aimed to interview individuals, not specifically within any family structure. However, while conducting two pilot interviews, the researcher acknowledged that one's notion of food and the gender role of cooking might have been deeply rooted within their childhood experiences in their original family. Thus, the study took a new direction: the need for a cross-generational investigation of individuals' identity formation through food within the framework of family.

This research used case study interviews, a qualitative method which focuses on individuals' narratives. Coffey and Atkinson (1996) state that a case study by interview is one of the research methods featuring accumulation and integration of data from personal narratives. Their article, 'Making Sense of Qualitative Data: Complementary Research Strategies', provides a model for this thesis of procedures to effectively use technologies such as interviewing, interpretation of transcripts and recorded data. The approach involved three steps. Firstly, conducting interviews with 15 individuals from six families to inquire about how food and cooking have shaped their cultural and gender identities. Secondly, analysing personal narratives and their family case histories from the transcription of the interview tapes. Finally, drawing the material together by raising questions about what each of the case histories had in common or whether there was a particular pattern evident in the case histories.

Each family case history was developed through a set of two or three independent interviews with a parent generation respondent and one or two adult child respondents

of that parent. With some older respondents, two or three separate interviews were conducted with the same respondent. The first interview covered their childhood memories of food and how they viewed the division of kitchen labour in their original families. The second covered their present day food practices and the third compensated for missing information in their written reminiscences.

2-2 The design of the interviews

Interviews were formally arranged and time scheduled. The form of interview was a one-to-one (face-to-face) semi-structured in-depth interview. It was a single individual based interview with a brief questionnaire to make the interviewee relaxed and motivated to answer interview questions. The interviews were recorded by using an audio tape recorder.

A set of open-ended questions reflecting the key themes of the research was formulated by the researcher. The open-ended interview questions and the questionnaire are to be found in appendix one. During the course of an interview, following the set of main questions, sub-questions were also asked of the interviewee in a relatively structured way. This method allowed the researcher to ask more detailed questions, and the interviewee to tell his or her story in greater detail by an extension of the flow of the narrative.

An information sheet (provided in appendix one) was sent by mail in advance a week earlier to their interviews. This serves to explain: -

1. The purpose of the interview
2. Time requirement for a questionnaire (10~15 minutes)
3. Duration of the interview (60~90 minutes)
4. Location
5. Confidentiality
6. Anonymity (using pseudonyms in the thesis)
7. That the recorded tapes were to be securely stored in a form that others would not be able to access.
8. That personal identities were to be separated from other data in a confidential and discreet format.

Most recorded interviews lasted between an hour to an hour and half, and were then transcribed. Selected excerpts are to be found within each case history account.

Interviews took place for older generation respondents in their own units or a common room in a retirement home facility or their own homes; and for younger generation respondents a meeting room or a lobby in an office building where they worked or in their own homes.

2-3 The conduct of the interview and the process of selecting research participants

Original criteria for the selection of the interview participants was as follows: -

1. 50 per cent male and 50 per cent female.
2. Single or partnered individuals.
3. No ethnic restrictions which meant it was open to all ethnicities.
4. Selected from each decade of life stages ranging from the 20s through to the 70s.

There were three good reasons for choosing retirees as the first set of respondents to interview. Firstly, it is well known that older people still retain good memories of the events of long ago. Secondly, their life spans encompassed events often dating back to the 1920s. They also shared as they grew up, their parents' memories of their food traditions, thus spanning a good part of the history of British origin settlement of New Zealand. Thirdly, it was more likely be easier for them to arrange the actual time for an interview when compared with people in paid work. Finally, the retirees recruited the second generation respondents in their 30s and 40s to the study, a group much harder to make contact with because of their work and family commitments.

Initially, the researcher asked permission to conduct the field work in three retirement villages in Wellington city to interview the residents under their care (Two of them did not give their permission). The researcher put an advertisement poster (appendix one) on the bulletin board in some inner-city supermarkets and a cookbook shop in Petone. A few replies came from the poster, though their adult children lived in distant cities. Eventually, the third retirement village became the main source of respondents in the first case history.

Of about 80 independent unit residents of the third retirement village, 99 per cent were Pakeha, and only two were Chinese and Singaporean residents. This ethnic imbalance of the residential population ratio can be understood by some socio-economic factors. For example, the type and the level of aged care are determined by their income. Also a big factor in terms of the number of Pakeha in residential care is related to the demographics of the population structure.¹ Furthermore, non-Pakeha groups, such as Maori, Pacific Islanders and Asians, have their own traditional ways of caring for the elderly, which usually means that the family look after their elderly at home. Age specific institutions such as a rest home or a retirement village are a relatively new social system in the process of modernisation in Western societies (Foucault, 1974). As a result of these imbalanced population dynamics, this study ended up dealing exclusively with Pakeha food culture.

In addition, the gender ratio of respondents resulted in males 40 per cent and females 60 per cent. While the field study eventually included six males and nine females, it was appreciated that the topic of food and cooking would be seen as a woman's activity, although having an interest in food and eating is a gender neutral theme. It was more difficult to attract male respondents who were interested in cooking and willing to speak about their kitchen activities. For example, some potential male participants said to the researcher that they liked talking about food and loved to eat, but were not interested in cooking.

The participants were selected from three groups; one, group A – the grandparent generation in their 80s and 90s, two, group B - the parent generation mainly in their late 60s and mid 70s who were retired or semi-retired individuals or couples, and three, group C – the adult grandchild generation of group A, who were mainly in their 30s and 40s. Group A were completely retired elderly people. Group B included categories of a wide range of life stages, such as 'empty nest' couples after their children have left home or single people, widows and widowers. Group C included working singles, married or cohabitating couples in their 20s to 40s with no children or with children under 18.

¹ According to a demographic report published in 2007 and located on Statistics New Zealand's website (2011), European residents at that date comprised 2,594,688, 74.8 per cent of the total population in New Zealand (See Boddington, Didham et al., 2007, p.14).

The recorded interviews were firstly conducted with group A, then with group B and C. This data is summarised in table six. The reason why interviews were organised in this order is that the age group A and B were able to provide personal discourses with a longer historical time span carrying their family histories across the generations. Age group A and B were also able to convey detailed information with their own experiences of cultural shifts in New Zealand's culinary history.

In the process of interviews, the participants in age group A introduced their younger family members to the researcher, such as their own adult children, grand-children or sons-in-law. This created a great opportunity to investigate how Pakeha/British origin New Zealanders' cultural identity through food has been passed down through the generations, and at the same time, how the de-gendering of cooking has been occurring among the younger generations. Younger male generation participants' food discourses revealed a change in gender roles in cooking. Cooking lessons for boys at school started in the late 1970s in New Zealand, mainly at intermediate level and secondary level in state schools. This research focused on different attitudes towards cooking among the male participants in group B and C.

2-4 The analysis of the interview transcripts

Every interview was transcribed in full by the researcher. After the interview, some notes on the distinctive features of the story in each respondent's narrative were made. As an example, an element of 'being born as an only child and a boy in a nuclear family' was instantly captured in Cedric's (case history four) story. Every interview tape was repeatedly listened to by the researcher. Listening to transcribe a tape repeatedly offered the researcher many chances to interpret their stories from multiple angles of self-identity and to analyse their narratives in depth. In-depth-interview data is rich in the personal details collected (Elliot, 2005). The whole transcription of each interview was typed up, cut up into notes and categorised into four major themes: the respondent's favourite foods and their social meanings, his or her view of the division of labour in cooking tasks, the respondent's perception of gender roles and his or her self-identification.

2-5 The difficulty in finding suitable respondents

There were a number of interviews that could not be developed into family case histories. In one instance, one participant (a 93 year old female) provided an excellent reminiscence and interview narratives about her lifelong enjoyment of food and cooking. However, soon after her interview, she suddenly fell ill and had an operation from which she took more than five months to recover. There was not sufficient time left to recruit any of her second or third generation relatives.

Another participant (a 68 year old male) had a passion for good food and enthusiastically talked about his favourite food in his interview. Then, because of his insufficient writing skills to express his feelings and emotions related to the food, he was unable to provide a written reminiscence. Another participant (a 43 year old adult son) withdrew from this research as he was too busy to supply his reminiscence. This withdrawal resulted in the other two respondents (his 70 year old mother and 18 year old daughter) being unable to make up an independent three-generation family case history. Thus, the interview data from these respondents could not be used in the case history chapters of the thesis.

In total, interviews were conducted with 29 individuals. This included two pilot interviews which are discussed further below. However, finally only 15 individuals from six families provided sufficient information to build the family case histories discussed in chapters six and seven.

2-6 Pilot interviews and development of the interview questions

Two pilot interviews took place with participant 16 (a European female, 82 years old) and participant 17 (a European male, 67 years old). They were chosen because they were mentally sharp and belonged to group A, and thus they became a rich information source of New Zealand culinary history. After these two pilot interviews, the interview questions were amended as follows: -

1. Questionnaire, question 1-5, “What is your favourite food from your childhood?”, was changed to “What was your favourite dish and who cooked it?”. During the pilot interviews, the researcher noticed that it took a long time for both participants to recall what was, and still is, their favourite food from their childhood. This suggested that the previous question might have been based on the assumption that one’s favourite food as a child would not change in adulthood. The slow reaction from participant 16 and 17 indicated that respondents might not maintain the same preferences as an adult, in other words, one’s food preferences could drastically change in adulthood.
2. Interview question 1-1, “Who was the most influential person regarding food and cooking in your life?”, was changed to “Who were the most influential persons regarding food and cooking in your life?”. This was because both respondents answered this question by mentioning more than one person. For example, participant 16 (Mrs Peterson, pseudonym) firstly mentioned her own ‘mother’ as the most influential, though later in the interview she mentioned her ‘mother-in-law’ as even more influential than her own mother.

In spite of the fact that Mrs Peterson’s own mother was not keen to cook, Mrs Peterson as a child had recognised her mother as a main care giver, and also, as a main food provider. However, when Mrs Peterson married an Englishman, she moved from New Zealand to England and had their first child there, her English mother-in-law helped Mrs Peterson with cooking and taught her practical English cooking, Yorkshire culinary tradition in particular. This experience led Mrs Peterson to mention her mother-in-law as a more influential person regarding food and cooking in her life than her own mother.

Another example was proved by participant 17 (Mr Vogel, pseudonym), who also firstly mentioned his ‘mother’, but his ‘second wife’ as well. Mr Vogel emphasised that his ‘second wife’ was a highly influential figure and she motivated him to convert from meat eating to vegetarianism.

2 -7 The relationship between respondents and the researcher

The relationship between respondents and the researcher has been mostly a cultural exchange, since the researcher is of Japanese origin. The respondents were keen to talk about their food practices and their family's food traditions to the researcher who desired to learn from them. In fact, some respondents took the researcher to their own kitchen to show what the food they mentioned was like or to teach her how to cook the dish. When the respondent and his/her friends or family were interested in a different food culture, the researcher made some sushi, brought it to the interview place and answered their questions.

Individuals' tastes in food differ from each other, so the differences created an information gap between the respondents and the researcher. This information gap between the respondent and the researcher was narrowed by the conversation and led to the interviews becoming animated. This communicative function of food helped the respondent to relax and contributed to the dialogue regardless of the different categories of age, gender, ethnicity and food culture both parties belonged to.

2-8 The respondents' social background

The characteristics of the 15 respondents in the six case histories and the two pilot interview participants are set out in appendix two. All were New Zealand born, Pakeha New Zealanders. The older parent generation participants in their late 60s and early 70s were still married except Cedric (in case history four), who legally separated when his daughter, Bridget, was six years of age. The second generation sons and daughters were married except Ian (case history six), and all of them were in the labour force.

The oldest participant (participant one in case history one) was a long-term rest home resident, while the remaining five older parents were still resident in their own homes in the Kapiti Coast retirement area. They were selected either from older people known to participant one (in case history one) or from the social network of the researcher or known to the other four rest home residents who participated in this research but did not become part of this study for various reasons. For example, one of the rest home residents fell ill and needed to be hospitalised to have surgery, one participant lost her close friend and was therefore unable to continue participating in this project and one

interview could not be transcribed because the quality of the recording was poor due to the participant's jaw injury prior to the interview.

2-9 The family tree

One problem that occurred in the early stage of interviewing elderly respondents was their memory loss. Their vague memories in the interview sometimes resulted in ambiguous information. For example, the year of their ancestors' immigration to New Zealand or the relationships in the family lineage. To solve this problem, the researcher provided an example of a 'family tree' (appendix three) for all the parent generation participants. This helped them to track down their early family histories and to remember important factors by filling in the form by themselves or by contacting other family members who had kept their family's legal documents (e.g. birth/marriage certificates) and were thus able to provide more accurate information. The researcher gave them a copy of their family tree to keep.

2-10 The individual's food preferences

The participants' individual food preferences were recorded by a way of specially devised form to be found in appendix four. The form includes main dish, dessert and biscuits and cakes. Each category had to be specified. If they did not like biscuits or cakes, they did not need to come up with an answer.

2-11 The culinary reminiscences

Along with interviews, each participant was also asked to provide a reminiscence or culinary memoir detailing their favourite foods and memories of their family life associated with the consumption of food. The complete food reminiscences written by each respondent are to be found in appendix five. Respondents were given a fictional reminiscence taken from the text *Homemade* (Knight, 2008) as a guide to what was required.

2-12 Organisation of case histories one to six

Each case history consists of a brief family history, selected extracts from the transcripts of the tape-recorded interviews, an interpretation of the family food culture and an analysis of the cultural and gender identity dynamics. One case history (case history one) is a three generation case history, whereas the other five case histories are two generation case histories.

2-13 Analyses of New Zealand cookbooks

In analysing the text of cookbooks and culinary history books, this thesis focused on the way language was used in the text of cookbooks and considered what sort of impact such language has on the voice of text. This procedure led the researcher to discover the political power of food consumption and a larger social structure that of the division of domestic labour.

Ten cookbooks were selected based on three criteria; one, being published in New Zealand between 1883 to 2009, two, being historically important cookbooks that covered New Zealand's culinary history of that period, and finally, having gender balanced authors (five of them were written by men, three by women, one by multiple but mostly female authors and one was a company authorship).

1. Brett, H., & Leys, T., *Brett's Colonist's Guide* (1883) (male)
2. *Edmond's 'Sure to Rise' Cookery Book* (1902) (company authorship)
3. Ulrich Williams' *Hints on Healthy Living* (1939) (male)
4. Maud Basham, *Aunt Daisy's Cookbooks* (1933-1963) (female)
5. Graham Kerr, *Entertaining with Graham Kerr* (1963) (male)
6. Michael Volkerling, *Food for Flatters* (1973) (male)
7. *St. John's Church Cookbook* (1988) (multiple authors, mostly females)
8. *Brand Name Recipe Book* (1993) (New Zealand food companies)
9. Alison Holst, *Alison Holst's New Zealand Recipe Notes* (2000) (female)
10. Al Brown, *Go Fish* (2009) (male)

Discussing only ten cookbooks was not enough to cover the whole range of New Zealand's culinary literature. So, a brief commentary on the works of a further 12 individual cooking personalities was added. In addition, the front page images from an online New Zealand's cookbook library (from 1900 to 1950) was analysed. The full discussion of New Zealand's culinary literature is to be found in chapter five.

2-14 Ethics

Approval for this research was given by the Research Ethics Committee of Victoria University of Wellington. Every participant read an information sheet and signed a consent form (appendix one).

Note that pseudonyms were used throughout the thesis to protect respondents' privacy and that their right to opt out of the study at any stage was also protected.

As one way of a mutual cultural exchange and thanking them for their participation in this study, the researcher originally planned to have a cooking demonstration on how to make sushi in the kitchen facility of the retirement village. However, the kitchen had been occupied all the time by the staff to continuously supply numbers of meals and special hospital meals for the residents. Having talked to the managers, the researcher gave a two-hour session of a kimono (the traditional garment of the researcher's country of origin) demonstration as one of their monthly entertainment programs. About 40 male and female audiences of the retirement village have enjoyed the researcher's kimono demonstration and their own experiences of how to dress in a kimono. As the audiences' cultural backgrounds were varied (e.g. New Zealand, English, Dutch, Jewish, Scandinavian, Singaporean, Chinese and so on), the whole audience exchanged information about how the family hand down its identity through generations, for example, by inheriting cloths, jewels, musical instruments, ceramics, cookbooks, the bible, ancestors' photos and so on, as the family treasure.

A copy of participants' food reminiscences and a copy of their family tree were given them to keep. After submitting this thesis, a summary of the study was delivered to all the respondents.

Part Two

**The Theoretical Framework
of the Sociology of Food**

Chapter Three: Food as a Problem

This third chapter of the thesis reviews the scholarly literature on food and social identity, by focusing particularly on studies which link food with the formation of gender and national identity including New Zealand based studies. Also discussed are problems associated with food as both a social as well as a personal issue. This discussion is not intended as a comprehensive overview of other food issues such as the costs of food and environmentally damaging food production practices.

3-1 The gender division of labour

Traditionally, in studies of gender identity, feminist social thinkers such as Oakley (1985), De Vault (1989), van Esteric (1989) and Counihan (2008) have theorised that female gender identity is related to housework including food preparation and nurturing. The core of feminist gender theories about food is that of women's oppression, which claims that women have been oppressed by the task of cooking as one of women's unpaid household tasks. Most feminist research has maintained that a household where only women cook is a form of women's subjugation by men within a patriarchal family system.

For example, Oakley (1985) argues that the economic valuelessness of housework performed by housewives has roots within the patriarchal marriage and family system. This theory of 'women's subjugation through cooking' is backed up by De Vault (1989, p.145), "In feeding others, women sometimes reproduce their own subordination ... and undermine progress toward reciprocal nurturance".

By contrast, Counihan (2008) argues that men's involvement in the family cooking improves the status of cooking, establishes egalitarian relationships among family members and minimises the subordinating dimension of reproductive labour. This issue of the de-gendering of cooking, and sharing housework in general, has been one of feminists' political agendas to achieve gender equality in the private sphere as well as in the public sphere. New Zealand has attempted to minimise the gender inequality in the labour market, such as Equal Pay Acts in 1960 and 1972 and by continuing to expand

welfare policy.¹ The gender wage gap has been narrowing; female workers earn 82 per cent of the median income of their male counterpart. However, female workers are less likely than male workers to receive income from self-employment, with 12 per cent in comparison with 24 per cent of male workers (Statistics New Zealand, *New Zealand Income Survey*, 2010). The gendered ratios of workers in a management position or high income indicate that the core of the country's wealth has been held and controlled by men (Ministry of Women's Affairs, *Highlighting the Wage Gap*, 2008). One of the obstacles to create gender inequality in the economic sector is that female labour comprises unpaid work such as cooking, childcare, elderly care or housework.

A report on measuring unpaid work in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, *Measuring Unpaid Work*, 2010) shows that average weekly hours per person spent on unpaid housework were 26.0 hours (7.8 hours for 'food and nutrition'). This unpaid work, however, was not shared equally by both genders. By the gender division of labour index, which ranges from 1.00 (female does all) through 2.50 (equally) to 5.00 (male does all), New Zealand measured 2.13 (Batalova and Cohen, 2002). Cultural expectations or social pressure on women to play the role of a housewife and mother still exist in society.

Performance or non-performance of particular tasks such as cooking and housework signify the essential nature of individual gender identities and family relationships. Thus, men and women may feel comfortable with their unequal contribution to household labour, even if both spend the same amount of time in paid work. West and Zimmerman (1987, p.144) point out that this could be because:

“What is produced and reproduced is not merely the activity and artefact of domestic life, but the material embodiment of wifely and husbandly roles, and derivatively, of womanly and manly conduct ... What are also frequently produced and reproduced are the dominant and subordinate statuses of the sex categories”.

Cooking someone a meal carries significance beyond its function of food provision, the act of cooking may produce gendered relationships and identities.

¹ The major policies are, Working for Family (started in April, 2005), Family Start Programme, Paid Parenting Leave, Affordable Quality Childcare (20 hours free early childcare) and Child Tax Rebate.

3-2 The eating disorders and gender identity

Among many gender theories related to food, the most symbolic theory of ‘women’s oppression’ are eating disorder theories. Are eating disorders a ‘gender disease’? Today, eating disorders are one of the most common chronic illnesses mainly among females.¹ An eating disorder is a psychiatric illness with multiple co-morbid symptoms, but is primarily a difficulty with food consumption, either eating too much or eating too little.² The disorder now is commonly found among young women mainly in industrialized and westernized countries.³

Since eating disorders were first identified among white middle-class girls in the beginning of the last century, various kinds of analysis had been carried out by many social science researchers viewing this disease from their different perspectives. In the 1980s, feminist theorists defined eating disorders as one form of women’s oppression in the male-dominated patriarchal systems in modern societies that see the woman’s body as a sex object. Feminist theories of anorexia in particular were largely based on the premise that women and girls internalize the social and cultural pressure to be thin and beautiful, and therefore, they develop eating disorders. For example, Brumberg (1988), Wolf (1991) and Burns (2004) present feminist perspectives and interpretations of eating disorders. In ‘Fasting Girls: The Emergence of Anorexia Nervosa as Modern Disease’, Brumberg (1988) argues against most of the traditional causal explanations presented by male medical professionals and interprets anorexia as an inevitable consequence of a male-oriented misogynist society which degrades women’s bodies by objectification. Similarly, Wolf (1991) in *The Beauty Myth* emphasises that this disease needs to be re-examined from women’s point of view, not from men’s point of view which is from a socially privileged position, because the cause of anorexia is a cultural enforcement of the male dominated beauty politics on women. Burns (2004) also explains anorexia with the objectification theory – women and girls regard their own physical appearance as an object by internalising social subliminal messages about the cultural ideal of slimness through the media. Post structuralists such as Irigaray (1985)

¹ An estimated 0.5~3.07 % of females suffer from anorexia nervosa in their lifetime, and in general, clinical eating disorders are “10 times as common in women when compared with men (Piran, 2001).

² Eating disorders usually have two typical variant conditions: bulimia nervosa and anorexia nervosa (The Wellington Eating Disorder Services, 2010).

³ Anorexia was first identified as a clinical disorder in 1873. The psychiatric disease was named by William Gull in the 1870s. (Ganble, 2001).

Kristeva (1985) and Sontag (1983) also analyse anorexia nervosa as an illness caused by patriarchal power in society. Overall, feminist theories of eating disorders hold to the 'female body objectification' theory in the framework of the beauty ideology constructed by men.

However, a new phenomenon that could provide another aspect to feminist theories on eating disorders was the emergence of an increasing number of male anorexia sufferers in the 1980s. It has been recognised that men and boys also can develop eating disorders. Piran (2001) reports that male anorexia is more likely among gay men. The current evidence, however, suggests that males regardless of whether they are heterosexual or homosexual can develop eating disorders.¹ Now there are growing numbers of men who have a difficulty with food as well as women. The male anorexia phenomenon may reflect that changing masculinities in contemporary society associated with the commoditisation of the male body (Miller, 1998), which is typically seen in the expansion of the male fashion industry (Buchbinder, 2004). Eating disorders may be a disease of both genders rather than unique to one gender.

Over what causes eating disorders, Susan Bordo (1993) creates a most significant sociological debate by setting up a new analysis of eating disorders and establishing a new thesis: hunger as a phenomenon of post modern femininity. One of the greatest contributions of Bordo's work is her investigation of social impacts on body images portrayed in various advertisements in the media. She describes the eating disorder phenomenon as 'the crystallization of culture' (p.139).

The social control of both male and female body can be seen in the ideal slim body image through media, as Germov and Williams (2010, p.343) state, "Women and men are exposed to these body ideals from childhood through the process of gender socialisation". Thus, the power of the cultural message may work by way of controlling individuals' gender identity through their food intake.

¹ The Wellington Eating Disorder Clinic (2010) has its own web site for male eating disorder patients.

3-3 Social identity and obesity

Today, more than half of the total population of New Zealand are classified as obese or overweight.¹ This obesity epidemic puts people at risk of multiple medical problems and the co-morbid symptoms of obesity, such as diabetes and cardio vascular diseases.² New Zealand Ministry of Health (2008) estimates that obesity costs for the health system are approximately \$500 million a year.³ The biggest health risk is the type of food which New Zealanders are consuming every day. Major social theories on obesity are a criticism against consumerism, particularly massive food consumption in capitalistic societies. One controversial issue is whether obesity should be treated as a personal choice of food or as a public health issue.

A New Zealand researcher, Aliitasi Tavila (2008) studied the longitudinal changes in the Samoan diet from the 1930s to today's eating choices.⁴ The study found that traditional Samoan diet used to be taro (Samoa's main root crop), local fish, pork with vegetables cooked in an earth oven, tropical fruit and fresh coconut milk, and creating and sustaining this diet required various types of hard physical work. By contrast, the contemporary Samoan diet features fried food, imported processed meats, particularly fatty corned beef and mutton flaps, canned fish and fizzy drinks which were bought from local shops. Tavila's (2008) study concludes that Samoans had maintained their healthy food culture until the 1970s when industrialized imported food took over their traditional diet. The high obesity rates both in Samoa and the Samoan community in New Zealand needs be analysed from an economic power structure between the two countries.

Research on New Zealand's household food purchases (Hamilton, 2007) reports that the most popular choices among the shoppers were, full-fat milk, white bread, soft drinks, butter and sweet biscuits; all are high-fat, high- sugar or high-salt foods, which

¹ The New Zealand Government's health survey reports that 34 per cent New Zealanders are overweight and 21 per cent are obese (New Zealand Ministry of Health, *Obesity*, 2008).

² The World Health Organisation, *Health Status: Mortality* (2010), reveals that the most common cause of death in New Zealand is poor diet.

³ *The Social Report* (Ministry of Social Development, 2008) reports concerns about New Zealand's extremely high obesity rates as a measurement of the country's social and economic wellbeing.

⁴ 36 per cent of Pacific men and 47 per cent of Pacific women are classified as obese (New Zealand Ministry of Health, *Obesity*, 2008).

contradicts the government's national nutrition guidelines.¹ The research shows that 73 per cent of those who were surveyed were female customers and their median-age was 38 years. Another study found that mothers were entirely responsible for childhood obesity.² These studies suggest that mothers who go grocery shopping for the family are partly creating childhood obesity by making poor decisions about food. However, Nancy Chodorow (1978) challenges this type of the mother blaming by concluding that such theories were often advocated by gender biased male researchers.

¹ The guidelines (Ministry of Health, *Nutrition Guidance*, 2010) have recommended choice of low-fat milk, wholegrain bread and fruit instead of sugary sweets.

² A health survey (Booth, M. et al., 2009, University of Sydney Centre for Overweight and Obesity), concludes that mothers were overfeeding their infants because they feared that their infant might look too skinny among other plump infants.

Chapter Four: A Literature Review on New Zealand's Culinary History and its National Identity

This chapter discusses the historical background of New Zealand food culture and how this process has shaped its national identity. This chapter also includes mention of New Zealand's prominent culinary historians and hunger as a factor in the early migration of British colonists to New Zealand.

4-1 New Zealand's food culture

As early as 1973, Reay Tannahill, an English historian, in his book, *Food in History*, introduces New Zealand's food culture along with Australia's as a new sphere of the world food culture. Tannahill's book deals with the encounter between indigenous Maori food culture and European food culture in 19th century. His view of the encounter of the two different food cultures seems to have portrayed a typical epitome of food assimilation theory: the conquerors' food culture has come to dominate the conquered's and the conquered's food culture becomes integrated and invisible.

He claims that it was Maori who more quickly adapted to new European foods than Europeans to Maori foods, and that Maori identity regarding its food culture has been partly lost. However, Maori's traditional cooking method known as hangi has survived into this modern day as a tourist attraction and as the cooking of their traditional food on special occasions such as wedding, anniversary celebrations or at large community gatherings, as the researcher observed in 2009.

The food assimilation theory postulates that immigrants' or minority groups' food cultures become integrated into the mainstream food culture (Alba and Nee, 1997). This theory developed in the field of American sociology as a result of massive immigration with multiple ethnic diversity in the 20th century United States. The theory may not directly apply to New Zealand. Maori had already established their food culture since they arrived at New Zealand from Polynesia in the 14th century. By contrast, a wide range of ethnic immigration occurred much later in the 1940s to 1960s in New Zealand.

4-2 New Zealand's culinary historians and scholars

To understand how New Zealanders have shaped their cultural and gender identities through food, there is a need to mention the New Zealand culinary histories written by New Zealand authors. Authors writing about New Zealand's culinary history are Helen Leach (1984, 2006, 2008, 2010), Avril Bell (2009), Tony Simpson (2008), David Veart (2008), Anne Potts and Mandala White (2008), Stephan Mennel (2008), Collin Bannerman (2004) and David Burton (2009). However, their opinions differ about how to evaluate the degree of the influence of Maori food culture on the evolution of a New Zealand food culture.

In theorising the framework of New Zealand food culture, one common point upon which all these scholars agree is that the Maori food culture significantly influenced British-origin Pakeha settlers' food practices at the very beginning of colonial settlement. Burton (2009, p.36) describes in his book, *New Zealand Food and Cookery*, the moment of the incorporation of indigenous food into Pakeha food practices at the beginning of New Zealand's food culture: -

“On 20 October 1769, the Endeavour anchored at Anaura Bay, south of East Cape. During the crew's brief spells ashore, wild celery was, on Captain Cook's orders, regularly collected and boiled with potable soup and oatmeal for the crew's breakfast.....this first crude marriage of local food and British cookery had laid the foundations for modern New Zealand cooking”.

He discusses the Maori influence and the benefits of a food trade between local Maori and Pakeha settlers and whalers in the 19th century. The importance of the influence of Maori food culture and the contribution of Maori food trading in New Zealand history has been emphasised by other authors too (Leach, 1984, Simpson, 2008 and Veart, 2008). However, the major question is how Maori identity related to food has affected or contributed to the New Zealand food culture and its identity.

Burton (2009) is clear about the limitation of the Maori influence. Maori in the early days of settlement provided onions, potatoes, corn, cabbages and kumara, melons and pumpkins and wheat to the Auckland colony in exchange for metal and cast iron cooking implements, woven cloth blankets, garments and muskets. Apart from kumara, very few native food ingredients, particularly fish, eels and shell fish, were incorporated into the colonial New Zealander's diet. Nor were native birds, such as weka (known as

New Zealand chicken), wood pigeon, pukeko and blue duck, popular as a dish. Maori provided the Pakeha settlers with raw food materials, but the Pakeha settlers invented the ways to cook them in European dishes. He points out that Maori had an oral culture with no written language to record recipes and European cookery required pottery (clay or ceramic) or iron cooking implements, which Maori did not have. However, a food culture and its identity can be conveyed by both oral tradition and written recipes.

4-3 Food and hunger

By contrast, Simpson (2008) thoroughly focuses on the historical fact of hunger in Europe as the origin of New Zealand's food culture. In his book, *A Distant Feast: the Origins of New Zealand's Cuisine*, Simpson (2008, p.63) argues that hunger drove people out of Britain and had a significant impact on the development of New Zealand's national eating habits.

There were three historical factors that caused the century of hunger, according to Simpson (2008). Firstly, it is a demographic change: the population of Europe had rapidly increased in the late 18th century. For instance, the population of England grew from 125 million to 200 million between the period of 1700 and 1800. This population explosion created economic inflation and pressure on the food supply. Secondly, proprietors enclosed their land in order to industrialise agricultural food production. Cultivation with higher capital investment, scientific grain production and technical innovation of agricultural techniques required fewer people and less human labour to work on the land. The owners of large estates drove farm workers and small landowners off the land and into cities. As a result, major European cities were flooded by industrial workers who were separated from their source of food. Finally, it was a series of famines: periodic crop failures and limited harvests extended over several seasons with the Irish potato famines in the 1840s, the most notable example. Massimo Montarane (1994) characterises the 100 years between 1740 and 1840 throughout Europe as 'the century of hunger'.

Simpson (2008, pp.252-253) discusses New Zealand food culture and its identity in *A Distant Feast: The Origin of New Zealand's Cuisine*: -

“Over a period of about a 150 years from 1820, New Zealand was the subject of a major cultural invasion... The food traditions our forbears brought to New Zealand had been hallowed by literally millennia of responses to an animal European agricultural cycle which, of necessity, located food at its centre ... within a very short time they had invented a food culture based on a wider choice of meats, fruit and vegetables they could not have imagined in their previous lives, and a tradition of heavy eating and extended family and food-based hospitality which was to survive for the next century and more”.

Simpson's (2008) conclusion, immigration motivated by the hunger from Britain to New Zealand shaped the fundamental identity of New Zealand food culture suggests that the British social and cultural identity has been directly transferred to New Zealand. However, new agricultural technologies and ideas that were transplanted to New Zealand also affected Maori food culture and their food practices because large areas of bush were burned, cleared and enclosed to convert into pastoral farm lands. Nevertheless, Simpson (2008) does not clarify how Maori individuals have shaped their identities in the clash of two food cultures, or does not explain how the two food cultures influenced each other.

4-4 Food and New Zealand's national identity

Simpson's (2008, p.63) notion of New Zealand's food culture and its national identity is clear in his use of the terms 'our' and 'national' in the discourse.

“Hunger in one form or another drove our European ancestors out of Britain. That hunger has had a significant effect on the development of our national eating habits cannot be doubted”.

By the use of the term 'our' or 'national', Simpson is speaking only of the colonists British ancestors, not of Maori and Pakeha together.

In comparison with Burton (2009) and Simpson (2008), Veart (2008, p.47) argues in his book, *First Catch Your Weka*, that the first 100 years of New Zealand's culinary history from the 1850s to 1950s was the process of the search for cultural identity which differentiated Pakeha from Maori and British.

“During the nineteenth century most Pakeha inhabitants of New Zealand saw themselves as part of the larger community of Britons within Australasia and the British Empire before they thought of themselves as New Zealanders”.

Veart’s opinion suggests that Pakeha firstly did see themselves as British, though they later started to identify themselves differently. As a transformation of Pakeha identification occurred, more Pakeha identified themselves not as British but as New Zealand nationals.

4-5 The British-origin cookbooks

Mainstream cookery, as portrayed in New Zealand cookbooks for over a century, was of British origin (Veart, 2008). Before the first cookbook written by a New Zealander was published in 1887,¹ most cookbooks imported into New Zealand were British recipe books. They represented the popular image of the British middle-class woman who was an expert in domestic household management and meal preparation.

Although British cookbooks and British culinary traditions played the most important part in the evolution of New Zealand’s food culture, when New Zealand newspapers started to print recipes in their column from the late 1860s, many were of American origin (Leach, 2010, p.43). Thus, quite early on in the history of Pakeha settlement, colonists were more receptive to American food technology and recipes that were not so apparent in the home countries. This trend was to continue into the 1940s and 1950s, when Aunt Daisy, one of New Zealand’s most influential cookbook celebrities, also promoted American dishes in her cookbooks and radio shows, as a result of her visit to the United States. Further, from the 1860s Pakeha settlers began to obtain their supplies from first generation Chinese market gardeners rather than from Maori (Leach, 2010), and this trend has continued till this day.

Notably, in the context of New Zealand food culture and its identity, Veart (2008, p.7) often uses a term ‘our’ in the discourse. For example, he states,

¹ *Mrs Murdoch’s Dainties* was published in Napier and available nationally (See Leach, 2010, p.119).

“While the cookbooks allow a close examination of changes in social structure, technology and our interaction with a wider world, the most interesting component has been the food and the gradual emergence of a set of food behaviours which are identifiably our own”

Also in a chapter titled, ‘Our Daily Bread’, Veart (2008, pp.33-46) states that fresh bread in colonial New Zealand was an important staple food and an item of cultural identity that differentiated the colonists from Maori. Although Maori did eventually prepare a bread loaf made not out of four but out of potatoes, without the use of yeast which leavened the bread, the term ‘our’ has been used as an indicator of grouping people, Pakeha in this case, and the food ‘bread’ has been used as a substantial identity marker to distinguish Pakeha identity from Maori’s.

4-6 The evolution of New Zealand’s national identity

According to Kiely et al. (2001, pp.35-36), three national identity markers are ‘birth, blood and belonging’, which are the characteristics associated with individuals that they might choose to support their national identity claims. Leach (2006) states that a food culture is an indicator of cultural identities for individuals and groups, such as the family, agricultural industries and governments, or of the country’s national identity. Her notion of New Zealand’s food culture and its national identity are based on the British food culture. Stephan Mennel (2008, p.252) supports this idea by saying that food and culinary traditions can serve as a national identity marker.

In regards to claiming a national identity, Avrill Bell (2009) argues that individual Pakeha identities are ambiguous. She has carried out interview research on New Zealanders’ identities and argues that the vast majority of Pakeha New Zealanders have a dilemma that they are neither indigenous Maori nor British and no longer have strong ancestral ties with their cultural origins. This ambiguity of Pakeha identity creates what she calls ontological unease. Bell (2009, p.159) concludes that,

“... their national identity claims are unsettled by their ‘secondness’ both in terms of the lack of clear cultural distinctiveness from their European cultures of origin and in contrast to Maori, prior settled and belonging...the dilemmas and problems of ambiguous Pakeha New Zealanders’ identities are clearly seen in the talk of ordinary New Zealanders”.

Bell is of the opinion that individual Pakeha identities are vague.

Anne Potts and Mandala White (2008) investigate how vegetarians living in New Zealand experience their non-meat diet and so challenge the country's pre-dominant food culture: namely animal farming and the mass-production of meat. They argue that New Zealand's national identity is strongly associated with meat-meals. Potts and White conclude that vegetarians find themselves marginalised from mainstream culinary culture and their culturally marginalised status is a product of the one aspect of national identity (meat production) that negatively affects them.

Bannerman (2004, p.113) draws on an insight from her research on 31,000 examples of Australian print media (e.g. newspapers, magazines and cookery books) since 1850 to 1920 and argues that "Australia's food culture was shaped much less by considerations of food supply, geography and even heritage than by the influence of the printed press".

According to Bannerman's research, in the early 19th century preparing and eating food were considered as private activities; a hidden culture of the kitchen.

However, in the middle of the 19th century, Australia experienced a communication revolution as printed material and cookbooks became common and more readily available for people to buy and read. As a result, an Australian culture of food and cooking emerged from the private sphere into the public consciousness along with the transformation of food culture from an oral culture to a written culture. By the late 19th century cookery writing had begun to reflect the aspirations of the Australians toward nationhood and the search for national identity along with the rise of nationalism. Her finding illustrates the fact that establishing a country's national identity and a national iconic cuisine are historically synchronic events.

The New Zealand food literature has explored how New Zealand's national identity has been shaped by food. Authors have described how Pakeha settlers' colonial identities have been transformed into an independent national identity through the process of national culinary integration. However, New Zealanders' gender identity, both male and female, regarding food and cooking, have not been analysed in any depth. The gender issues have not been discussed yet in detail in the field of food study within the framework of New Zealand's food culture and its national identity. The main culinary history books on New Zealand food literature fail to deal with gender identity. This is because they postulate that both men's and women's gender identities are not

influenced or affected by food. The exception to this generalisation is Walsh's history (1890-1975) recently published in 2011.

Chapter Five: A Conceptual Basis for Analysing New Zealand's Cookbooks

This chapter discusses how cookbooks can be the subject of sociological study. Included here is a commentary on ten cookbooks (five male and two female authors, three were multiple authors or a company authorship) and a brief discussion of a further 12 New Zealand cooking personalities. Of the 12 cooking personalities, seven were female and five male. In addition, an analysis of an online cookbook library of male and female figures on the cover pages show that the representation of a female figure was four times higher than the male figure.

5-1 Historical background

Jack Goody's (1982) book, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class – A Study in Comparative Sociology*, is the first sociological text to examine all aspects of food and culinary practices (Smith, 2004). The book has been highly regarded by scholars who have said that it provides a useful model of sociological research on cookbooks (Bannerman, 2004). It discusses how recipes reflect socio-economic structures (Smith, 2004). The significance of Goody's (1982) study is to place the study of food and cooking within the framework of the field of comparative sociology. Goody (1982, pp.6-9) argues that analysing cookbooks by crossing the academic disciplines of sociology, anthropology or cultural studies in the social science field helps to develop theories on sociological studies of food. This inter disciplinary study of food offers a wide variety of approaches to the research on food and human identity.

“We must reject definitions that predetermine the scope of the analysis by placing societies in simplistic binary categories.... Culinary history is a set of interrelated topics that can be approached in a variety of ways”.

Goody's rejection of the binary categories of social science (e.g. sociology versus anthropology) offers a new focus point in the field of research on food and identity. The essence of a food culture lies in interdisciplinary research on cookbooks and people's food practices.

More recently, Andrew Smith (2004) claims a historical, anthropological and sociological approach to the study of food provides diverse concepts of human identity. Before recorded history, techniques of food preparation, preservation and cooking methods were handed down orally from generation to generation. However, writing recipes has been an important interest of human kind from earliest writings to modern day culinary books. For example, the Egyptians listed diverse recipes in their hieroglyphics on the walls of their tombs. The ancient Romans gave food a privileged place in their culture by making it the topic of philosophical discourse. The ancient Greeks may have been the first to compile recipes into cookery manuscripts.

One of the first ancient cookery manuscripts was written by the first-century Greek chef Marcus Apicius.¹ It has survived for centuries by being copied, translated into Middle Eastern and European languages and regularly reprinted. According to Smith (2004, p.1-2), it led to a cookbook, *The Pantropheon or History of Food, and Its Preparation, from the Earliest Ages of the World*, by Alexis Soyer (1853) which reflected the food culture of 19th century England.

Smith (2004, p.11) emphasises the importance of a conceptualisation of cookbooks by saying, “The cookbook, a collection of written recipes, is an important manifestation of culinary history ... this information in turn provides information about the larger cultural context in which the food was consumed”. A specific value of Smith’s work is his two dimensional method of conceptualisation of cookbooks by processes and contents. This conceptualisation system firstly encompasses five interconnected processes, how food was acquired, stored, prepared, eaten and disposed. Secondly, the content dimension consists of five interrelated components, who, what, where, when and why. This content dimension can be useful to analyse recipes and cookbooks as it provides social discourses of people’s food practices – what (the food itself), whom (cooking for whom), when (the time of consuming the food), where (the location of the meal) and why (the purpose of the dish).

Helen Leach (1984, 2006, 2008, 2010), who is regarded as one of New Zealand prominent food historians, provides a unique standpoint. She has formulated a research method which she describes as the archaeology of cookbooks that generates our

¹ Apicius, M. (1776). *Magiricae Libre X*. In Smith, A. (2004).

‘knowledge of our past’. According to Leach (2006), recipes are equivalent to artefacts, which mean artificial or manmade materials in the anthropology field, and cookbooks are equivalent to assemblages, which is a group of artefacts that demonstrates the feature of material culture. For example, a recipe for a dish reveals the changing form of food (from raw to cooked), the function (the purpose of the dish), the technology (the cooking method) and finally the social discourse of food. Thus, published cookbooks are a historical record of a food culture.

5-2 The Most Influential New Zealand Cookbooks (1883-2009)

For a country of its size with a little over four million people, the number of New Zealand authored and published cookbooks is remarkable. Leach has a personal library of over 1,600 recipe books; the majority were produced by various fundraising committees. This is without counting the so-called manuscript cookbooks, compilations of handwritten recipes and clippings from women’s magazines, handed down within the family from one generation to the next. As manuscript cookbooks feature in the recollection of ten of 15 individuals, this will form the main part of the discussion.

This section analyses ten significant New Zealand cookbooks that have largely influenced New Zealanders’ food practices and their cultural and gender identities. The criteria of selecting these ten cookbooks are; one, local cookbooks that were published in New Zealand (not imported cookbooks), and two, having been mentioned as historically and culturally the most influential ones by prominent food historians and scholars. This section finally clarifies what sort of cultural and gender identities these ten cookbooks represent.

In this section, an analysis of the milestone commercial cookbooks, that ushered in significant changes to the New Zealand diet and had an impact on New Zealanders’ identity, is given by the order of publication date. This section also draws on New Zealand’s culinary histories by Brewis (1982), Simpson (2008), Veart (2008), Burton (2009), Hingston (2010) and Leach (2010). These are part of the comprehensive coverage given to New Zealand’s food history from colonial times; preferred dishes, food ingredients and the division of domestic labour with its profound changes.

5-2-1 The first New Zealand cookbook: *Brett's Colonist's Guide* (1883)

The first New Zealand published household compendium is *Brett's Colonist's Guide*, an encyclopaedia of useful knowledge, technology and information for New Zealand's settlers, published in 1883. It was published by Henry Brett¹ and edited by Thomson Leys.² In a total of 800 pages of contents, about 100 pages in a separate chapter are given over to recipes and techniques for storing food and preserving fruit and vegetables over the winter months. Many of the recipes were mainly of British origin, while many of the technologies to harvest, process and preserve food were derived from American magazines (Veart, 2008). The book reflects a mixture of British colonialism, American food technology and New Zealand's abundance of food.

The chapter on food and cooking demonstrates that in the 1880s there was a demarcation of household labour, with only women or female servants expected to cook food. For example, this book recommends long hours to steam puddings, "The rice [pudding] must bake for four hours, the sago and tapioca [puddings] about three", and, "Plum pudding – put the pudding into the cloth, tie it tightly, and boil in a large pot for five or six hours" (pp.659-661). These recipes demonstrate that cooking daily meals for the family required women to work almost all day in the kitchen which was very labour intensive. The gender roles this book describes show that it was solely the woman's responsibility to prepare food and to serve meals for men who worked equally hard. Thus, there was a clear gender role demarcation in colonial times.

¹ Henry Brett (1843-1927) was the owner of the Auckland newspaper *The Evening Star* and its associated publishing house.

² Thomson Leys (1850-1924) was a philanthropist and the editor of *Brett's Colonist's Guide*.

(Reproduction 1: A colonial jar)

A photo of a colonial era jar to store beverage was provided by Mrs Patricia McNaught. The contents of the jar was likely to be ginger beer, a popular beverage at the time. These jars helped to keep the contents cold in a pre-refrigeration era.

5-2-2 Edmond's 'Sure to Rise' Cookery Book (1902)

The best known classic cookbook is *Edmond's 'Sure to Rise' Cookery Book*, a series which is still in print. The first edition came out in 1902. This was the first of the commercial cookbooks designed to promote the consumption of food ingredients, in this case baking powder. The cookbook created more demand for this product because of the number of recipes that required baking powder. Over the years more and more recipes were added, now regarded as 'culinary classics', for example, recipes for Lamingtons, Belgium Biscuits, Ginger Crunch and Louise Cake, all now commercially baked and available on supermarket shelves (Hingston, 2010, pp.52-53).

Thomas Edmond, the founder of the Edmond's Baking Powder Company, had sent the cookbook for free as a commercial promotion to newly engaged couples all over the country. This promotion lasted from the 1900s to the mid 1950s until a deluxe edition no longer free was launched in 1955 (Veart, 2008, p.130). This set an expectation and pressure on women to be happy in their wifely roles as cook. No pressure was placed on men to help out the kitchen. This helps to explain the different attitudes to cooking between men and women of this era. The cookbooks set an expectation and pressure on women to accept their role as cook, and expectation that only started to change with the emergence in the mid 1970s of cookbooks written for and by men.

5-2-3 Hints on Healthy Living (1939)

Ulrich Williams¹ (1890-1971) was a medical doctor and one of the most influential medical authorities along with Truby King, the founder of Plunket.² Williams' book on home health, *Hints on Healthy Living*, sold tens of thousands of copies at the time in various editions. His was the first 'health food' cookbook published in New Zealand (Veart, 2008). He believed that the diseases of mankind were all preventable and caused by a poor diet of over-processed and refined foods, particularly white sugar and white flour. Thus, he had the foresight to predict and warn of the potential danger of

¹ Dr Ulrich Williams (1890-1971) was born in Wanganui, trained as a medical doctor in the UK and returned to New Zealand and worked as a surgeon (Veart, 2008).

² Truby King (1858-1938) was a New Zealand health reformer who established the Plunket Society in 1907 to advocate scientific principles for childrearing. Plunket clinics were established throughout New Zealand in the 1930s and 1940s and still are a feature of New Zealand infant welfare today.

industrialised and over-refined food. Sound advice for healthier food choices was given in the then Department of Health's cookbooks published in the 1930s and 1940s, Williams' evangelical crusade against unhealthy food was not entirely that of a lone voice.

In this book, Williams recommends using wholemeal flour instead of white flour. For example, his recipe for 'healthy pudding' (p.257) uses wholemeal flour and raw sugar, needs nine ingredients and requires three hours to steam.

“4 ounces wholemeal breadcrumbs, 2 eggs, ¼ lb raw sugar, 1/4 lb candied peel, ½ cup golden syrup, 4 ounces shredded suet, ¼ lb prunes, ¼ lb currents. Steam 3 hours”.

Even though this recipe seems healthier than other recipes, it still took long hours to cook. Williams' book was aimed at female readers who were in charge of their husband's and children's well-being. The cookbook also contains passages from the bible. Biblical quotes gave his book a greater authority, so that his readers would follow his advice. Williams' *Hints on Healthy Living* illustrates the male domination of the field of medical science and nutritional knowledge of the era.

Thomson Leys, Henry Brett and Ulrich Williams were all males and their books on food, nutrition and cooking had a significant impact on mothers and wives of the era. The first woman to become one of the most influential New Zealand cookbook authors was Maud Basham, known as 'Aunt Daisy'.

5-2-4 Aunt Daisy's Cookbooks (1933-1963)

Aunt Daisy's Cookbook is one of New Zealand's best-known and best-selling cook books that has been continuously published from 1933 until the present day in various editions. Aunt Daisy was born in London in 1879 and immigrated to New Zealand in 1891. Her greatest achievement in her career as a cookery expert was her radio show.¹ An autobiography of Aunt Daisy by Fry (1957) states that her radio program started to

¹ “Three generations of New Zealanders responded to that radio greeting from Aunt Daisy every morning at 9 o'clock. Thousands of tiny children learned to repeat it after her, and later their own children did the same. (Basham, B. 2009, p.10)

broadcast from Radio 1ZB in Auckland from 1936 followed by four commercial radio stations throughout New Zealand. Her programmes continued for nearly 30 years until she died in 1963. The success of Aunt Daisy as one of the first media personalities was the result of having established a nationwide marketing and information network, called the 'Daisy Chain'. She had exchanged recipes with a huge number of listeners. Aunt Daisy's strategy of establishing her home science empire was not only by radio but also by other means including newspapers, magazines and by publishing her own cookbooks.

Inglis (2006) argues that Aunt Daisy controlled the media as a webmaster of her information network. The following diagram one shows how Aunt Daisy organised the media.

(Diagram 1: The 'Daisy Chain')

(Source: Adapted from Inglis, (2006. P.103). 'An Interaction Sphere with Aunt Daisy as the Webmaster')

Diagram one demonstrates that Aunt Daisy had an enormous control over the media. Further, the degree of her influence can be shown by a fact that the then two political parties asked her to stand for parliament in 1943 (Fry, 1957). Although she refused, the reason as to why the then government needed her political power can be explained by

the time span which she worked. Her career span ranges from the Great Depression in the 1930s through World War II in the 1940s and the post-war era of 1950s. These difficult times, particularly during the war, had created a strong requirement for the country to enhance its economic and military power and patriotism amongst its citizens.

The current version of *Aunt Daisy's Cookbook* (2009) still includes some recipes that were either created or introduced by Aunt Daisy in the 1940s. For example, Scottish Liver Pie, Irish Stew, English Mincemeat, Devonshire Apple Tart and Anzac Biscuits - symbolic war-time foods which reminded all New Zealanders of the Allied Union and British Commonwealth war effort. However, it was not only Pakeha but also Maori men and women who listened to Aunt Daisy's radio programme.¹ Nevertheless, Aunt Daisy's recipes did not include Maori food recipes.

Over the wartime years, Aunt Daisy had promoted women's double role in order to play both the domestic female role at home and the men's role in the work place while their men were away at war. When the war was over women were required to return to domesticity which she also supported by sending them a message that a women's place was back in the kitchen. Bell (1996, p.186) argues that "identity is not a given or an absolute, but a set of values that can be manipulated and moderated for particular purposes at particular time". This conditioned both men and women into rigidly defined roles described in the narratives and reminiscences of the first generation respondents in this study.

5-2-5 *Entertaining with Graham Kerr* (1963)

Graham Kerr (1934-) is an English chef who migrated to New Zealand and pioneered an epoch-making TV cooking show, *Entertaining with Kerr*, in the 1960s. The TV series broadcasted more than 50 programmes following the publication of his cookbook of the same title. Kerr's appearance in New Zealand society had a huge impact on New Zealand food culture. Firstly, Kerr's recipes were upmarket dishes, such as French veal or Italian pasta which was a new food for New Zealanders.

¹ Barbara Basham (2009), Aunt Daisy's daughter, recalls in her memoir that many men listened to and enjoyed the radio program.

Secondly, with the then social background of having not much entertaining in the 1950s and 1960s¹, Kerr's TV performances gave home-made meals a new meaning that of a sophisticated, glamorous way of entertaining at home. The 1960s was also the time when living standard had risen. The income of the middle class rapidly increased and more male management jobs were created.

Thirdly, Kerr also introduced new recipes such as minced paua, which promoted New Zealand's food culture by using local products. One of Kerr's strategies for the success of establishing his cookery empire in New Zealand is that he gave a new prominence to local foods and to Maori food ingredients. However, having a dinner party at home by homemade meals and entertaining the guests and the family required women to become more skilled at cooking. In order to create more elaborate dishes and to present them at the table in more attractive ways, women had to work harder yet still without their husbands' help in the kitchen.

Finally, Kerr's identity itself played a significant role. Kerr connected cooking and his maleness together by his clothes – wearing a three piece suit with a regimental tie in the kitchen. Kerr was a very refined Englishman who established a cookery empire in Britain (Hingston, 2010). His English gentleman style fashion covered up all the dirty work of cooking, and therefore it appealed to huge audiences regardless of the audience's gender. However, he did not inspire New Zealand men to join their wives in the kitchen. Kerr's gentlemanly English ways did not cross the gender boundary. His influence on New Zealand society did not threaten the maleness of New Zealand men.

5-2-6 Michael Volkerling, *Food for Flatters* (1973)

This small cookbook broke new ground because it was aimed at young people on first leaving home to go flatting. The person behind the kitchen sink could be either female or male, although the cartoon figures on the front page of this cookbook (shown in the next page) depict males and not females. It was instrumental therefore in helping young men to move away from rigidly defined gender specific roles. In the case histories in

¹ In the 1960's there was no licensed restaurants, the pub closed at 6:00 pm, the Government controlled all the radio stations and there were no Sunday newspapers (Veart, 2008). In 1960, television was broadcasted for the first time in Auckland. Kerr's cooking show was one of the first local programmes.

this study all of the first generation men left home without little or no cooking skills. This did not apply to the second generation male respondents.

Visual images in the cooking culture such as the front pages of cookbooks are important gender identity markers to give the audience an instant stereotyped view of cooking. These images work as a function to connect cooking with one gender, and vice versa, to disconnect it from another gender. The reason as to why the cover page of this book are males can be explained by the relationship between flatters. It is usually a mate ship, but not a marriage.

The main factor to determine the relationship and roles of how to share the cooking among flatmates is a contract between the property owner and each flatter. Male flatters do not own the house with no income contribution, nor are female flatters their wives. Therefore, the role of cooking should be shared equally among flatters, regardless of their gender.

(Reproduction 2: The front page of *Food For Flatters*)

(Source: Volkerling, M. (1973). *Food for Flatters*. Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed.)

5-2-7 *St. John's Church Cookbook* (1988) - The community 'fund raising' cookbooks (1910-1980)

These cookbooks were collated and issued by a variety of voluntary organisations, typically by different churches, to raise funds from the 1910s to the 1980s. The best known was Dunedin's *St Andrew's Church Cookery Book*, which was first published in 1918 and went through various editions. Another example is *St. John's Church Cookbook* published in 1988 in Wellington, a local example. *The St. John's Cookbook* contains 224 recipes. This cookbook has a unique feature. An individual personal name is marked under each recipe. These names are the church members or their families or friends who provided the recipe for the cookbook. This demonstrates the fact that these recipes were frequently used and the dishes were successfully cooked, and therefore, those who purchased the cookbook could follow the recipes with confidence.

5-2-8 *The New Zealand Brand Name Recipe Cookbook* (1993)

Pioneered by commercial food providers, *The New Zealand Brand Name Recipe Cookbook* (1993) comprises 450 favourite family recipes which include the products produced by New Zealand's 27 leading food companies¹. Among many of the new types of recipes, two distinctive recipes for pudding are introduced. One is a steamed pudding with malt sauce; and another is a chocolate pudding. The former recipe requires ten ingredients and two hours and half to steam. The latter recipe requires nine ingredients and one hours and half to steam. Both recipes have to use a certain product as an ingredient, which was produced by one of the food companies. Compare the cooking times given in Brett's compendium of between three to six hours, using ready-made ingredients to those that were manufactured by the food company which could drastically reduce the cooking time to nearly half.

¹ Wattie Foods, Tegel Foods, New Zealand Pork Industry Board, Enza Foods, Sealord Products, Anchor, Mainland Products, Cadbury Confectionery and New Zealand branches of global giant food chains such as Campbell's Foods (NZ), Nestle (NZ), and Kraft General Foods.

5-2-9 Alison Holst's New Zealand Recipe Notes (2000)

Alison Holst's cookbooks have collectively sold over three million copies in New Zealand to date (Burton, 2009). Alison Holst is one of the New Zealand's most prolific and well-known cookbook authors.¹ She made her media debut on her TV cooking show first broadcasted in 1965, followed by the publication of her first cookbook in 1966. Compared with the sophisticated dishes which Graham Kerr introduced to New Zealand, the distinctive feature of Alison Holst's cooking is its simplicity with everyday ingredients that ordinary Kiwi families could easily prepare from the ingredients at the local supermarket or grocery shops (Hingston, 2010).

In her cookbook *Alison Holst's New Zealand Recipe Notes* (2000), she leaves plenty of free space for the readers to write in their own favourite recipes with fresh ingredients from their backyard garden or farm door. This editing style, the mixture of a commercial cookbook and a family manuscript cookbook, can be regarded as Holst's eclectic notion of a cookbook; a commercial cookbook becomes one of a family's treasured possession as it allows the family cook to write in his/her own recipes as well as Alison Holst's own.

For these 20 years Alison Holst has worked with her son, Simon, yet another male chef. Simon's male identity has not been compromised in the eyes of the public because of his profession.

5-2-10 Al Brown, the outdoor chef, Go Fish (2009)

Al Brown is a TV celebrity chef of an outdoor cooking show, *Hunger for the Wild*.² His speciality is hunting and fishing. He is a man's man who, in his cookbook *Go Fish* (2009) claims that fishing and cooking seafood are part of 'our Kiwi DNA'. His love of outdoor cooking has been borrowed from his father, a keen hunter and recreational fisherman who did not use Maori fishing techniques. As Brown (2009, p. 11) tells us: -

“Dad introduced me, from an early age, to all his outdoor experiences. Some of my earliest and strongest memories are of times such as the opening weekends of duck

¹ Recently Alison Holst was awarded the title of 'Dame' in 2011 for the influential role in New Zealand's culinary history.

² Brown, A. & Logan, S. (Producers). (2009, January 11). *Hunger for the Wild*. Auckland: TV ONE.

shooting, or watching dad and his mates disappear out over the horizon in an old Seagull-powered wooden dinghy, or donning wetsuits and dive gear and swimming off the reef to catch a feed of crays. I can still remember the frustration and overwhelming disappointment of not being old enough, strong enough or grown up enough to join the men in their many pursuits.”

The book’s narrative shows the author’s strong identification with a hard-wired Kiwi male. Brown’s cookbook reflects the image of a typical outdoor Kiwi man who is no less a man by taking an interest in cooking. However, this male identity is contingent on the fact that the man must be a keen hunter to kill what he eats, which further strengthens his masculine identity. This can be regarded as another stereotype of male identity, which categorises a hunter type of outdoor cooking as men’s cooking.

5-3 Women as cooks

This table sets out selected cookbooks by other influential female authors who introduced New Zealanders to a more sophisticated and ethnically diverse cuisine.

(Table 1: Women as cooks)

Messenger, Elizabeth.(1956). <i>Dine with Elizabeth</i> . Wellington: Blundell Brothers.
King, Nancye. (1958). <i>50 Chinese Dishes for New Zealand</i> . Wellington: Price Milburn.
Hammond, Madeleine. (1963). <i>A Taste of France: French Cuisine for New Zealanders</i> . Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed.
Flower, Tui. (1972). <i>Modern Hostess Cookbook</i> , Auckland: Penguin Books.
Seagar. Jo. (1993). <i>New Zealand Country Cookbook.</i> , Auckland: Tandem Press.
Gofton, Allyson. (1995). <i>Casual Dining</i> , Auckland: David Bateman.
Biuso, Julie. (1998). <i>The Long Italian Lunch.</i> , Auckland: Random House.

According to Simpson (2008, p. 199), before the 1950s and dating back to colonial times, plain fare, so-called ‘meat with three veggies’ was the norm in ordinary

households, while wealthy landowners and successful businessmen with their wives were still assisted by domestic servants (later described as housemaids) and their meals were much more elaborate.

Elizabeth Messenger (1956) was New Zealand born spending some years abroad before returning to Wellington in the late 1950s. She wrote a food column for the *Evening Post* which continued to run until 1970. Her recipes helped the average family cook to produce not only one off meals to impress guests on social occasions but the everyday cooking a family needed with fresh ingredients.

Nancye King (1958) was a Victoria University adult education tutor whose cookbook contained a selection of traditional Chinese dishes. She is credited with starting a new direction in Asian cooking and New Zealand's preference for Asian foods.

Madeleine Hammond (1963) lived in France, then returned to New Zealand to adapt and test French recipes to suit the New Zealand way of life, reducing cost of ingredients and in the time required for preparation.

Tui Flower (1972) was a household name from the 1960s through to the 1980s. She also wrote food columns and her cookbooks were the first in New Zealand to use colour photographs to illustrate the recipes. She also wrote one of the first culinary reminiscences '*Self Raising Flower*' published in 1998. She was also a long term contributor as a test kitchen food writer with *The New Zealand Women's Weekly*.

Jo Seager (1993) and Allyson Gofton (1995) have made a noteworthy contribution, particularly through media such as TV cooking programs, to the increasing sophistication of New Zealand cuisine.

Finally, Julie Biuso (1998), an award-winning food writer, restaurant owner, cooking school manager, described all in her reminiscence '*Dancing On My Table*' published in 2001. She is an author of eight cookbooks as well as a radio and television presenter in the 1980s, emphasising Italian dishes.

These female cooking personalities all reflected the traditional gender identity for woman whose place is in the kitchen and who shows her love for her family by cooking.

5-4 Men as cooks

The following table sets out those cookbooks written by male authors who have had a considerable influence on changing men's attitudes to cooking. There are other male cooking personalities who are not mentioned here, because they are still in the process of building up their reputations as celebrity chefs.

(Table 2 : Men as cooks)

Des Britten. (1977). *The Des Britten Cookbook*. Auckland: Woolworths.

Peter Hudson and David Hall. (1985). *Favourite Recipes from Hudson and Hall*.
Christchurch: Whitcoulls.

Steve Joll. (2010). *Baking for Blokes*. Auckland: New Holland.

Richard Till.(2010). *Kiwi Kitchen*. Auckland: Renaissance.

The first New Zealand born male celebrity chef was Des Britten, who established his own restaurant in Wellington and published the *Des Britten Cookbook* in 1977. It sold 40,000 copies at the time and the recipes featured in his TV ONE cooking competition. However, he did not maintain over the years, the same ongoing public profile as Alison Holst.

Peter Hudson and David Hall were immigrants to this country. Hudson was Australian and Hall was English (Hingston, 2010). Their contribution was that they gathered recipes from around the world and introduced international cuisine to the New Zealand public. As a gay couple with a great sense of humour, they appealed to both men and women.

Steve Joll (2010) introduces men into baking and Richard Till (2010) is promoting foods from a well known supermarket chain. These male chefs send the message to the rest of the male population that being a good cook can co-exist with the male identity. They say that taking an interest in cooking is a 'manly' thing to do, and thus does not detract from being a typical bloke. These men are helping to break down the inflexible gender-role stereotyping in cooking.

This brief commentary on New Zealand cookbooks and New Zealand cooking personalities shows that females still outnumber males. However, the gender ratio in these randomly selected cookbooks in this study was ten males, nine female, two company authorships and one church authorship. Gender hierarchy has a long history in the food industry, since in its early evolution in New Zealand. Only men could become chefs with women occupying a lower rank on the restaurant ladder as cooks (Rowland, 2010).

5-5 The gendered images on the front cover of some of New Zealand's cookbooks 1900-1950

New Zealand Cookery Books 1900-1950 Photo Gallery, illustrates that how gendered images have been used on the cover of cookbooks.

((Reproduction 3: Some cover pages of New Zealand's cookbooks 1900-1950))

These images above are all of women who were depicted as the family cook. This trend has continued to the 1950s (shown in the next page).

The use of a female figure as the family cook on the cover of a total of 91 New Zealand cookbooks is four times higher than their male counterpart. By contrast, male figures are seldom shown as the family cook on early cookbook covers. The images (shown in the next page) are some of them, though these male figures are used as a specific image (e.g, a bagpiper as a symbol of the Scottish food culture, fishermen on a boat, a

professional chef who uses a certain commercial food product and a metaphor of the emergence of war time cooking). These representations are not directly related to the kitchen labor at home.

(Source: Google Descriptor: *New Zealand Cookery Books, 1900-1950*. Retrieved June 6, 2010 from http://web.mac.com/nzfoodhistory/nz_Food_History/Photo-Gallery.html.)

Mainstream cookbooks are one mechanism by which a construction of New Zealand as having a homogeneous food culture and national identity have been transmitted from one generation to the next. The most frequently described cookbook by Pakeha respondents was the family's manuscript cookbook. They were kept as treasured family heirlooms and handed down from grandparent to parent and adult child. Usually, the hand written recipes were attributed to the person who had contributed the particular recipe, whether great-grandmother, grandmother, aunt, sisters, friends or neighbours.

Part Three

**The Case Histories and
Analyses of the Dynamics
Involved**

Case History One

‘Mrs Dalloway, Lisa and Eve’

- Mother to Daughter to Granddaughter -

6-1 Case history one: The Dalloways

- Mother to Daughter to Granddaughter -

A family's cross generational transmission of cultural and gender identity through food.

(1) Mrs Dalloway: A fourth generation Pakeha New Zealander.

Mrs Clara Dalloway was born in 1915 and is now 95 years old. The New Zealand origins of the Dalloway Family begin in early 19th century. Their ancestors on the family's maternal side migrated from Scotland to New Zealand in 1815, well before the first ships carried most of the colonial era immigrants to New Zealand's main settlements in the 1840s. They settled near Waikanae, bought land from Maori and developed their family farm. A local Maori chief became a godfather of one of the ancestors' children, The paternal side of the Dalloway Family in New Zealand originates from the migration of an English sailing ship captain, Peter Dalloway, in the 1840s. James Dalloway, the grandson of Peter Dalloway, married Clara in 1935. Mrs Clara Dalloway recalls her husband by saying that he was so talented that he designed tractors, but he hated cooking.

At present Mrs Dalloway lives in a retirement village in Wellington. For decades she had enjoyed her longevity in amazingly good health. She is still mentally sharp and physically active. She has two children, six grandchildren and two great-grandchildren. When the family gather, on average ten to fifteen family members often attend. The Dalloway family's tradition is to sit down at the big table and have a nice meal together. How have their food practices shaped their family identity?

Interviewer:

“In the questionnaire you answered that your main food provider was your mother. What memories do you have of her?”

Mrs Dalloway:

“My mother was born in 1893 and married in 1912. I was only three years when my father died in France during World War I. My mother became a widow at a very young age. She later remarried and my half-sister was born. She was a wonderful,

wonderful cook. My favourite dish from my mother's cooking was roast beef or pork with sticky date pudding."

Mrs Dalloway praises her mother's cooking. However, Mrs Dalloway as a child does not have many memories of watching her mother cooking, or cooking for herself as a teenager.

Mrs Dalloway:

"No, no cooking, because I went to a boarding school when I was twelve. My mother, my grandmother, my aunts, all went to a boarding school. School or education meant a boarding school. That (the period of boarding school) was six years and then I went to university. I didn't cook at all."

It is probably not typical that a girl who was born in the early 20th century had never cooked during the first two decades of her life.

Interviewer:

"Did the boarding school have cooking lessons for girls?"

Mrs Dalloway:

"Yes, there were two classes: the practical and the academic. The practical was cooking, sewing and housekeeping; non-academic. I was in the academic stream, so no cooking. I took a course in Latin and French. My sister was a keen cook because she took a cooking, a non-academic course: sewing, cooking and nursing."

Although Mrs Dalloway's favourite food is sticky date pudding, she has never cooked it, nor can she buy it at the supermarket.

Interviewer:

"How do you get to eat the pudding? Does the retirement village supply it?"

Mrs Dalloway:

"No, they don't. But my two daughters (Lisa, 61 years old and Sally, 59 years old) cook sticky date pudding for me."

How has the Dalloway Family's tradition of pudding been transmitted to the younger generation?

Mrs Dalloway recalls another reason as to why cooking has not been her strong point:

Mrs Dalloway:

“We had a cook, Ivy, for as long as I remember. Ivy was twelve when my sister and I went off to boarding school.”

Who was this girl, Ivy, and why did she come to Mrs Dalloway’s mother at such a young age? Many households in New Zealand in those days needed a maid or servant. Otherwise for wives alone to run their households was hard. Many couples had between seven and twelve children and these high birth rates were partly created by couples marrying at a much younger age than in England and material abundance in New Zealand freed the migrants from the fear of having more children than they could afford (Olssen, 1999). The chronic shortage of domestic labour and the social demand for a domestic servant supply are observed in a series of advertisements in the late 19th to early 20th century local newspapers across New Zealand (A record of newspaper articles is provided in appendix six.). Hence, it was common for children to go into domestic service, usually a live-in position like Ivey, as young as ten or twelve. Mrs Dalloway remembers that her mother used to teach Ivy how to cook and deal with the household tasks.

Interviewer:

“When you married and had your own family, who cooked?”

Mrs Dalloway:

“When I married we had a cook too. That’s why I did not cook.”

This episode could be understood as typical of those upper or middle class women who did not involve themselves in the kitchen labour, and therefore, they could invest their time and energy in higher education. However, having Mrs Dalloway as a mother who had not cooked, how could the family maintain the family culinary tradition?

Interviewer:

“Today, does your family still cook the same dishes that your mother cooked?”

Mrs Dalloway:

“Yes, every Sunday, roast meal. My mother died, of course, and Mary, my half-sister used to cook our Sunday meals... and now my daughters cook. I go to Sunday dinner with them, the Sunday family gathering, they cook the roast meal wonderfully. They cook from the recipe books that belonged to my mother.”

Interviewer:

“Did you pass the cookbooks on?”

Mrs Dalloway:

“Yes, I gave them to my daughters. When we have a family dinner, it’s from my sister’s or my mother’s recipe.”

The transmission of the Dalloway Family’s culinary skills has skipped one generation, though the family’s food tradition itself has been passed on to the next generation in the form of hand written recipe books. How did Mrs Dalloway’s two daughters integrate cooking into their cultural and gender identities? How did they establish their female identities as cooks without watching their mother cooking?

(2) Lisa’s (Mrs Dalloway’s daughter) story.

Lisa is a 62 year old working woman and the elder daughter of Mrs Dalloway. She works as a real estate agent and her husband is an accountant. They have six children and only the youngest child, their 18 year old son, lives with them as the other children have left home. In the interview, Lisa mentions that her grandmother as a main care giver cooked meals for her and other family members in her childhood.

Interviewer:

“Why was your grandmother a main food provider?”

Lisa:

“My grandmother lived next door to us. So she used to cook our meals in the evening. We (Lisa and her younger sister Sally), had a breakfast at home, packed our lunch and went to school. She would cook evening meals or baking, anything like that. ... She just really enjoyed what she was cooking and as well as trying out new recipes. I think she was quite happy, and enjoyed cooking....We mainly ate pork or lamb, beef, those three, but I don't cook my roasts with fat. I just put water in, instead of fat. I think my grandmother and aunt used to use lard. I never used animal fat for roasting. That's the older generation. My aunt used to have a bowl to catch the dripping to use again and again. On Sunday, quite often, we had a roast meal after going to church. Sunday roast meals were a New Zealand tradition.”

Interviewer:

“While your grandmother was cooking dinner, what was your mother doing?”

Lisa:

“She was quite often doing gardening. She was a part-time teacher, so she spent a lot of time marking students' work.”

Lisa answers in her interview that her favourite food was treacle pudding: another variation of steamed pudding.

Lisa:

“One of my favourite foods is treacle pudding. My grandmother used to cook this pudding for us, my sister's favourite food is also this grandma's treacle pudding. She steamed it for a long time on a wood stove.”

The two daughters have eaten and cooked the same type of steamed pudding as Mrs Dalloway's sticky date pudding.

Lisa:

“We know a lot of families today, especially my sons' close friends' families, they just live on takeaways. I don't think I can afford to do it everyday, but I wouldn't enjoy it. A modern trend for the new generation is to eat out more. I don't think people cook for themselves these days very much.”

(3) Eve's (Mrs Dalloway's granddaughter) story

Eve, the daughter of Lisa and the grand-daughter of Mrs Dalloway, is a 29 year old woman who works as a public servant. Eve is a sixth generation Pakeha New Zealander. She lives in a life-style block on the outskirts of Porirua with her partner, his parents and his brother under the same roof. Eve's extended family of five people all enjoy home baking and home cooked meals every day. Sticky date pudding still remains as her favourite dish, transmitted down through the generations.

Eve:

“When we (the Dalloway family) have a get together, Christmas, birthdays or other gatherings, we always have sticky date pudding. Mum usually makes all sorts of desserts and sweets: puddings, apple crumble, pies and pavlovas. We all like pudding, but it's for special occasions, so we don't have pudding every night.”

Anna, the mother of Mrs Dalloway and a third generation of Pakeha New Zealander, cooked this pudding in the 1880s and it is still cooked by Eve, sixth generation on. Here is an excellent example of a favourite dish and New Zealand culinary traditions being transmitted within the Dalloway family. How was this transmission achieved?

Eve:

“When I was a child, mum did a lot of cooking and baking. Every time both of us enjoyed baking. At an early age, probably younger than ten, I used to help my mum and enjoyed baking with mum. Mum encouraged me to bake. As a teenager I became more interested in cooking because I could cook on my own..”

Her favourite foods at present are apple crumble that she learnt to cook from her mother, and coffee fudge a recipe which came from her aunt.

Interviewer:

“Do you have the cookbooks that belonged to your mother or grandmother?”

Eve:

“Yes, I have recipes: lots of them. They've been around a long time, not someone else's recipe. Mum has given me the family's recipes at different times. Those are

special... but I like buying commercial recipe books as well. They inspire me to make new things. I like to make chocolate mousse, a more modern dish.”

Eve’s comment is backed up by her grandmother:

Interviewer:

“Does your granddaughter, Eve, cook sticky date pudding?”

Mrs Dalloway:

“Yes, she does. Eve cooks everything. She is a very good cook too. When she got engaged she used to get her mother’s and her grandmother’s recipes for her own recipe notebook.”

Mrs Dalloway:

“Last time I was there (her elder daughter, Lisa’s place), Lisa had the actual recipe book from my grandmother there. My mother died when she was seventy six and she’s been dead for years by now, but Lisa still has the actual cookbooks.”

Thus, cookbooks have been passed down from a great-grandmother, Anna, to a great-granddaughter, Eve, over a time range of 130 years. Among Lisa’s collection of cookbooks is the oldest one dated 1939. Hence, most recipes in the last century suggest that the most common method of making pudding was simply boiling on a wood fired stove as Mrs Dalloway’s mother did. However, the method of cooking from boiling to baking has changed in Eve’s generation.

Eve:

“I’ve never boil date pudding. I bake it in a fan oven.”

In summing, the Dalloway Family’s culinary tradition has been transmitted to grandmother to daughter to granddaughter. The transmission has been through the female line down through each generation, though not continuously, as Mrs Dalloway herself never cooked.

Case History Two

‘Stanley and Zoe’

- Father to Daughter -

6-2 Case history two: Stanley and Zoe

- Father to Daughter –

(1) Stanley's story

Stanley is a 74 year old retired teacher who lives in Waikanae. Like many men with demanding professional careers, Stanley never cooked while he was still working as a principal of a large primary school. Through the generations and typical also of his own married life, wives were expected to rule the kitchen and do all the cooking. However, in retirement with more time on his hands, he is taking a great interest in cooking, and helping his wife doing the dishes and tidying up after meals.

Stanley's ancestors, both paternal and maternal, migrated to New Zealand from Birmingham in 1849 and 1850. Stanley's great-great-grandmother, who was born in Canterbury in 1850, was one of the first children to be born on the Charlotte Jean, one of the first immigration ships¹. This early immigration of his ancestors makes Stanley a sixth generation Pakeha New Zealander. Stanley's family history spans more than 160 years throughout eight generations. Stanley's ancestors' hometown, Birmingham, England, is characterised by Hartley (1999) as emphasising baked sweet dishes accompanied by a large amount of tea consumption².

Stanley identifies rock buns and Christmas cakes as his favourite foods in the questionnaire. Stanley's food preferences for baked buns, sponges, cakes and scones, seemingly originate from his Birmingham food traditions. Stanley remembers that Tuesday was his mother's baking day. 'Keeping the cake tins full', was an important part of the activities of the full-time housewife of the day. In Stanley's eyes as a boy, his mother identified herself with her own mother by following the traditional female gender role in cooking. He describes his memories of food and people who shaped his childhood in his reminiscence.

¹ The first four ships, Charlotte Jane, Randolph, Cressy and Sir George Seymour anchored at Port Lyttleton in the Christchurch Harbour in December 1840.

² Birmingham food culture features baking along with tea consumption. Historically, Birmingham had thrived by the food trade with the West Indies; importing tea and cocoa from India during the mid-to-late 19th century (Hartley, 1999).

“I particularly remember my mother following her own mother’s footsteps – cooking cakes, scones, sponges and cup cakes, which she did regularly. The cake tins were always full in my early years. Tuesday was her baking day.”

Stanley ticked both his mother and father as his primary caregivers in the questionnaire. Why did he tick both?

Stanley:

“Because they lived as a family. They both made decisions. My father involved himself in my life and we did a lot of things together. He always encouraged us, me and my brother, to participate in sports, doing things together as a family. My favourite food was roast dinner, beef, lamb or pork. It was usually cooked on Saturday night, as we played golf all day on Sunday.”

His father had involved himself in Stanley’s life, particularly during his childhood, by playing sports together, and the regular Saturday roast meal was an important meal for the family.

Interviewer:

“What sort of memories of food do you have?”

Stanley:

“When I was young, our family used to have a bach in Hawke’s Bay. Crayfish would be left at the back door of the bach already cooked. We used to eat them a lot, broke the legs off them, and it was part of my childhood. We got sick of them. We did not go fishing for oysters, but my father had contacts, and there were always supplies of oysters in the oyster season. Whitebait was also cheap.”

Another feature of Stanley’s food practices is his vivid memories of seafood dishes. Men delivered whitebait to the backdoor of their bach paid for by cash under the table or by exchange of other goods such as home grown potatoes and carrots.

Stanley:

“A man used to come up the street, yelling, ‘Whitebait, whitebait!’ He carried two buckets on each side linked by a wooden pole across his shoulders.”

Peddling food by street vendors was once a common form of ‘under-the-counter’ business. Agricultural products such as potatoes and carrots were exchanged for

seafood. Thus, food was directly connected to the sea or the ground via people's labour. This close relationship between nature and food was part of the experiences of men of Stanley's generation. This is unlike today's consumers who purchase food from a supermarket and do not know where their food comes from.

(2) Zoe's (Stanley's daughter) story

Stanley's daughter, Zoe, is a 42 year old fulltime stay-at-home mother raising her two boys presently aged seven and five. She mentions rock buns as did her father as one of her favourite foods. Zoe shows her strong enthusiasm for baking in the interview.

"I do lots of baking, rock buns, apple pie, Anzac biscuits muffins, vegemite scones. Last week lemon cake for my girlfriend, this week coffee cake for my brother-in-law's birthday... My two boys watch me baking and they cook with me."

Zoe hopes that her two boys will carry on the family's tradition of baking, in a way that her father has not been able to do.

"I hope they will have nice memories of special time with mum in the kitchen and will want to keep baking the old fashioned recipes."

Here is another excellent example of the transmission of a food culture through the generations. To settle here, Stanley's paternal side was a young couple who married in Birmingham and sailed to New Zealand for three months, already expecting their first child. The child who was born in Canterbury in 1850 was Stanley's great-great-great-grandmother. She was one of the first children to be born on the first five ships docking in Lyttleton. Once she became a widow, for the last 30 years of her life and until she died at the age of 92, she stayed with her daughter, son-in-law and their children. This extended family arrangement, which might be seen as unusual in today's Western society, has strongly facilitated the transmission of the Birmingham food culture by creating more occasions to share meals and cooking down the generations.

Significantly, Zoe mentions her grandmother on her paternal side as the most influential person in her life regarding food.

Interviewer:

“Is there any reason for it?”

Zoe:

“Baking. My grandmother loved to bake. When she babysat me in her house, she made a lot of cakes and biscuits. She used to let me help her baking or let me make funny cakes. These are my memories as a five year old or I could have been even younger. Mum and dad came to pick me up and they ate the cake I made. I think they pretended when they said ‘very nice, very nice!’, just to get rid of it (laugh).”

As both her parents worked as fulltime teachers during her childhood, Zoe’s grandmother used to babysit her in her kitchen while doing chores and domestic tasks. This situation had given Zoe many opportunities to watch her grandmother’s cooking and sometimes to participate in cooking.

Interviewer:

“What is your fondest memory of food?”

Zoe:

“The fondest memory of food in my childhood is of sitting beside my grandma and another old lady who lived next door to my granny, and watching what they were actually cooking.”

Hence, Zoe’s favourite culinary memories are linked with her grandmother and not her own mother. It also helps to explain why it is so important to her that, unlike her mother, she always wanted to become a stay-at-home mother. Although her husband does sometimes prepare a meal for her on Mother’s Day of salad and scrambled eggs, Zoe mostly does all the cooking for the family.

Zoe:

“It would be nice that men can cook when they have to, but it doesn’t bother me that my husband doesn’t cook. He is the earner but I do encourage my two boys to cook. They often watch me cooking and they cook with me... “When I

cook, I feel good. Cooking makes me feel this way because I like to please people. Actually I don't need to eat too much. Seeing other people eating gives me more pleasure than eating for myself. I don't eat meat, so I like to make nice things my husband and children like. It's pleasurable to watch them eating. I know cooking is one thing I can do well. I don't have the same self-esteem about other things so I feel baking and cooking are something I can do well, and I'm appreciated for."

On one hand, the key as to whether a food culture can be passed down the generations within a family depends on how the culinary skills can be transmitted through sharing kitchen labour. The key whether a gender identity coupled with cooking can be passed down the generations depends on the individual's choice ; whom to identify himself or herself with and what value the individual finds in the role.

Zoe's experience as a child, being in her grandmother's kitchen or being in another old lady's kitchen and watching them cooking, has, in part, formed Zoe's gender identity and has resulted in her choosing to be a stay-at-home mother. She does not have any specific memories of her mother's cooking.

Zoe:

"My mother's meals were very basic, simple dishes. I've got memories of very basic foods, bland tasting food. She didn't prepare sophisticated and seasoned dishes until I got a lot older. I didn't start eating things like curry until much later in life."

Hence Zoe's favourite culinary memories are linked with her grandmother, and not with her own mother who was not directly involved as she worked during her childhood and adolescent years.

In summary, culinary transmission feature of case history two, both Stanley's mother and father played an important part in establishing his cultural and gender identity. Stanley identified himself with the father through outdoor activities associated with seafood; and he formed his sense of cultural belonging to the Birmingham food culture through his mother's baking.

Neither Zoe's mother or father played any part in developing her love of cooking and catering for her family as a full-time housewife. Rather her attitudes to food were

shaped by her paternal grandmother and the grandmother's elderly friend, who were both full-time housewives and excellent cooks. Clearly, she did not wish to follow in her mother's footsteps as a full-time working teacher, hence her life choice to become a stay-at-home mother in her children's best interests.

(Reproduction 4: A photo of an early settler)

The photo is Stanley's great-great-great grandmother who was born on one of the first immigration ships to New Zealand, the Charlotte Jane, in 1850. Stanley has kept the original photo of her as a treasured memento, along with the certification of his ancestors issued by the New Zealand Founders Society Incorporated. This photo is reproduced with Stanley's prior knowledge and permission.

Case History Three

‘Lotte, Annabel and Toby’

- Mother to Daughter and Son-in-law -

6-3 Case history three: Lotte, Annabel and Toby

- Mother to Daughter and Son-in-law -

(1) Lotte's story

Lotte is a 72 year old retired nurse who has worked for the local Kapiti Coast and Wellington District Health Boards. Lotte's ancestors' details are not clear because Lotte herself does not know much about the history of her family. One of her brothers holds some records of the family tree, though Lotte has little knowledge of it. She married at the age of twenty, had three children and celebrated their fiftieth wedding anniversary last year. Lotte started her professional career in the health services sector in her early 20s. She had worked as a full time nurse until her 50s, though shifted to part time when her husband had health problems. Lotte retired about six years ago and is now looking after her husband in their retirement home. She talks about her favourite dish: -

Lotte:

“My favourite dish is roast dinner cooked by my mum. It probably started off when my father went away to the war, just after I was born. He was away until the night before my fifth birthday, so I didn't know my father for five years. I have no recall of food at all before that time. I suppose my mum used to prepare some little things for herself and me, but I have no recall of it. I remember the night my father came back home from Egypt. Then, I suppose, for a while we used to have Sunday roast. At the dinner table, dad talked about the war or the great depression... We didn't buy food. ... When I was about eleven, we moved from Taihape to Hawke's Bay. My father was a steam engine driver, but there was an accident. Later he worked on farms and got a job as a shepherd.”

Interviewer:

“Was Sunday roast the main meat meal during the week?”

Lotte:

“We lived off roast mutton during the week as well, served up in different dishes; cold meat one day, steamed the next, minced up with kidney and heart which ended up in a shepherd pie.”

Interviewer:

“Did your parents have their own vegetable garden?”

Lotte:

“Dad kept a vegetable garden. We had heaps of vegetables. I still love vegetables better than meat. We (Lotte and her friends) would come home after school and I can remember going down the rows of carrots in dad’s garden. I would put my finger around the top of carrots to find a big one, then I pulled it out and washed it. I used to eat a carrot after school, just raw carrot. We did the same with turnips, peeled them with our teeth and finger nails and just ate a raw turnip.”

Lotte still has vivid memories from her childhood, picking fresh vegetables from the garden and paddock and eating the raw vegetables. These experiences have shaped her basic notion of food: food grows in the soil and the natural taste of food comes from the earth. Unlike today’s children who are surrounded by commercial fast food outlets, Lotte’s childhood environment in the 1940s was one surrounded by farm grown food and food was a part of nature.

When her eldest brother was born, Lotte was eight years old, then Lotte’s mother had three more boys. When her youngest brother was born, Lotte was fifteen. She records in her questionnaire that although she helped her mother a lot in the kitchen as a teenager, no one cooked along with her, because her job mainly was cleaning up the kitchen.

Lotte:

“The boys were much younger, so I got jobs to do. I would have to help mum. Boys are slob around the house. They didn’t make their beds, dirty socks and underpants on the floor. Mum used to be like a waitress, she would go around tidying up after them. The boys were spoiled, because I was the only girl. I was expected to help mum in the house. When the boys got older, they had to help dad.”

Did Lotte feel any resentment about having to be mother’s little helper while her brothers did nothing?

Lotte:

“There were seven of us in our family. After the meal there would be huge piles of dirty dishes to wash up. It would take ages for me to wash up as nobody helped me. It was a massive job.”

It was the same when she got married.

Lotte:

“You just did what was expected of you. My grandmother was always cooking and my mother was always cooking. We didn’t go and have a meal out. Probably we couldn’t afford it. We just got married and you did the cooking. That was what you did.”

Interviewer:

“In your marriage, how did you maintain the family tradition of the Sunday roast?”

Lotte:

“If we had our grandparents over for lunch, I usually cooked a roast meal. But today Sunday roast is a thing of the past. It became old fashioned. When our daughters were teenagers, they often went out on Saturday with their friends. So they didn’t eat much on Sunday. Sunday was more likely casual food. Sunday roast was always a meal you cooked to please everyone. For us, when our girls were teenagers and still living with us, it was not a great thing to eat roast on Sunday. They were not at home, they were often with their boyfriends at someone else’s on weekends. Now, my eldest daughter and her husband eat quite different food.”

Interviewer:

“Is food important to you?”

Lotte:

“Reasonably. Just the two of us now. So I don’t fuss over dinner. I don’t spend too much time cooking. I would rather be in the garden.”

(2) Annabel’s (Lotte’s daughter) story

Annabel, Lotte’s daughter, is a 48 year old nurse who has lived with her husband Toby (a 46 year-old architect) for over twenty-five years close by to her mother’s

house. The couple have no children of their own. Lotte and Annabel keep in contact with each other once or twice a week and regard themselves as good friends. The most distinctive feature of Annabel's food reminiscence is her choice of fish and chips, a meal which she purchased from a nearby fish and chip shop and which she consumed almost daily from childhood when she was 9 years of age until she was 33 years old, when she stopped for health reasons.

Annabel recalls her attachment to a fish and chips meal in the interview:

Annabel:

"I really liked fish and chips for a long time, more than 20 years or so. I stopped eating fish and chips about 15 years ago. You just feel horrible after eating them, because of the fat. When you are a teenager, you don't get overweight like that. You can eat fish and chips everyday and not worry about your health.... I see now that I ate this dish so frequently because it was comfort food for me."

Annabel doesn't like cooking herself or for her partner and hated cooking lessons at school because she did not like her cooking teacher.

In the table on individual participant's food preference, Annabel fondly remembers a stew prepared by her mother when the family went camping. However, she has no attachment with the dish, and she does not currently prepare this dish either.

Interviewer:

"How about your grandmother's Anzac biscuits that you mentioned as one of your favourite foods? What memories do you have of this biscuit?"

Annabel:

"It's a slice made up from rolled oats, sugar and butter which Granny prepared. It was always in her tin. She used to give me an apron because I was the eldest grandchild. She always wanted a little girl in her kitchen. She was quite feminine, domestic, a professional housewife with domestic skills. I thought cooking was fun, but I didn't want to be like my Granny."

Annabel is the same as some other respondents in this study who are basically indifferent to food and who do not link food as an expression of affection from those close to her in the family. Her favourite food, fish and chips, gave her comfort but was not a dish prepared by anyone in her family. The frequency with which she

consumed this dish and over such a long period is the most unusual feature to this case history.

Annabel and her husband Toby have enjoyed a successful marriage partly because of an equally successful complimentary ‘role reversal’ regarding cooking which works for both as Toby does 100 per cent of home cooking.

(3) Toby’s (Annabel’s husband) story

Toby is a 46 year old architect who works from home and does all the cooking for himself and his wife, Annabel. How did he become so interested in cooking? Toby answers in the questionnaire that his favourite foods are the roast and steamed puddings from his childhood, and that he still cooks them.

Interviewer:

“Was the roast meal a Sunday roast?”

Toby:

“Maybe or maybe not. It could be any day during the week. When I was younger, the roast was predominantly lamb. Mum and Dad, we lived on a farm. Chicken was then so expensive that I don’t think that we ate chicken very often. There were chickens on the farm, but we sold their eggs, not their meat.”

Interviewer:

“Cooking steamed pudding usually takes a couple of hours. Do you do it?.”

Toby:

“Yes, I do. My favourite pudding includes raisins and sweet golden syrup (the sweetest). My grandmother cooked it, and my mum cooked it, and I still cook it now and then. It takes a quarter an hour to prepare, and then boiling for two hours. Pretty easy”.

Interviewer:

“Where and how did you learn to cook?”

Toby:

“With my parents. Dad cooked a lot. Until when I was ten or eleven, it was predominantly mum who did the cooking. Dad left home to work at six o’clock in the morning and came back home at ten pm. When I was an early teenager, Dad changed his job and used to come back home by 4.30. So he didn’t mind sharing the cooking; he shared the job. As a child, I liked dad’s cooking, good roast meals and stir fry dishes. All my family liked his cooking provided it wasn’t tripe and liver (laugh). He now cooks a lot. They cook together. He enjoys cooking. Also I learnt how to cook at cub scouts, a boys’ group. When I was about eight, in 1972 for the first time I learned how to cook an entire meal”.

Toby would have earned a badge for learning to cook at the cub scouts. It might be natural for both boys and girls to develop their interests in cooking. Nevertheless, there is a tendency in boys not to maintain this interest into adulthood or share the task of cooking in their marriage. However, this is changing as this case history demonstrates.

Interviewer:

“Did you often watch your mother or grandmother cooking?”

Toby:

“Yes, probably more so with mum. My paternal grandmother was living near us, only 2-3 hours drive away. So we grandchildren, four boys, used to stay with her in Palmerston North. She was a fantastic biscuit maker. Her tins were always full of biscuits in the cupboard. Always homemade, never bought. Afghans, ginger crunch, chocolate peanut cookies. My grandmother used to be in the kitchen, with children running around her. My mother and grandmother were probably the last of their generation to spend their lives in the kitchen.”

Interviewer:

“When you were a teenager, what did you cook for yourself?”

Toby:

“Sausages, boiled peas and potatoes. Very basic stuff.”

Interviewer:

“What sort of dishes do you cook, for you and your wife as an everyday meal?”

Toby:

“We both enjoy different sorts of flavours, international foods, such as Thai, Cambodian, Malaysian or Indian food with spices and herbs like coriander. I sometimes make my own sushi. Indian dishes are my favourite. First we try these ethnic foods at a restaurant, then I cook it at home. Then we find a recipe with the same name as the dish we had at the restaurant. The first one was Chicken Biryani, an Indian or Pakistani dish. Then we would go to gourmet supermarkets like Moore-Wilsons or the Mediterranean supermarket in Newtown for our herbs and spices such as cumin, turmeric and aniseed, or to ordinary supermarkets instead.

Toby's attitudes toward cooking have been shaped by three factors; firstly, his parents shared cooking throughout his childhood, secondly, Toby's experiences of cooking entire meals as his boy's scout training, and finally, his wife's disinterest in cooking which left him as the main meal provider. Further, he has also developed quite sophisticated food tastes of his own and has been keen to cook better than his parents who prepared simple and sometimes unpalatable meals during his childhood. Yet he still preserves and transmits his original family's food culture by continuing to cook the roast meals and sweet boiled puddings loved by his parents.

In summing up case history three, although Lotte did most of the cooking through her life, she derived little pleasure from it. Both Lotte and Annabel worked, and to that extent, Lotte has identified with her mother. However, Annabel has not fully identified with her mother's housewifely role, because her mother did not enjoy the role. Lotte was expected to help with all the dirty work while her brothers were not expected to help out either washing dishes or cleaning up. In her own marriage, Lotte was also expected to shoulder all of the responsibilities for preparing meals for her husband and children.

While Annabel has been close emotionally to her paternal grandmother who was the classic housewife, she did not want to be like her either. For Annabel, food is not something she perceives as strengthening the emotional bond between her grandmother, mother and herself. A further dynamic is that the cross-generational transmission of food culture is also atypical as her comfort food was commercially prepared food.

Case History Four

‘Cedric and Bridget’

- Father to Daughter -

6-4 Case history four: Cedric and Bridget

- Father to Daughter -

(1) Cedric's story: The only child in the family

In general, the family member responsible for cooking meals is the person who inculcates the family culinary tradition within the framework of the society's food culture. Traditionally, the majority of those who have transmit the family culinary traditions have been women. However, if an individual was born as a male and is only one child in the family, how does this process take place?

Cedric is a 70 year old retired counsellor who was born in Karori, Wellington in 1940. Cedric is a fourth generation Pakeha New Zealander: his Scottish and English ancestors migrated to New Zealand in the 1880s. Cedric's father had worked as a bank officer at the Reserve Bank in Wellington. His mother was a full-time housewife and had lived in their matrimonial house in Karori for more than 60 years until she died at the age of 82 in 1994. Cedric was the couple's only child. He married at the age of 28 and divorced eight years later when their two children were still young. The children lived with their mother in New Plymouth for the first ten years, then both as teen agers came down to Wellington where their father lived. However, they did not live together as Cedric was living with his long-term de-facto partner and her teenage son. The son began flatting; and the younger daughter, Bridget, was placed into their paternal grandmother's care.

Interviewer:

“Who was the most influential person regarding food and cooking in your life?”

Cedric:

“My mother, because my mother almost always did the cooking except when she was sick. When my mother was sick in bed, the only meal my father prepared was ‘tinned peas on toast’; taking tinned peas out of the can and pouring them onto the toast. He forgot to drain the water, making the toast soggy and unpalatable. My mother and I would have the same ‘peas on toast’ day after day while she was still sick, until she struggled out of bed to prepare a more nutritious dish. He was totally hopeless. Yes, my mother was overwhelmingly the most influential person.”

Cedric's parents are an example of a city-dwelling nuclear family's life and the typical gender division of labour of the 1940s and 1950s. Cedric marks his mother's cooking 2 out of 5 in the questionnaire, which means that he did not enjoy her cooking. Why?

Cedric:

“Because most meals she prepared were over-cooked and tasteless. During the week, my mother didn't cook vegetables properly. She used to boil vegetables in a pressure cooker, so they were soft and mushy. Meals during the week were neither palatable, nor tasty.”

Interviewer:

“Didn't you enter the kitchen when you were a teenager or offer to help her?”

Cedric:

“The kitchen was her territory and she didn't encourage my father or me to come into the kitchen. Over my whole growing up, she never encouraged me to cook anything, to learn recipes. She never asked for help. She was a full-time housewife. She didn't go out to work. She took a pride in managing the house. So she didn't like anybody doing the job, it was her job. I think that was behind her attitude. She had a sort of pride of workmanship as a full-time housewife”

In the late 1940s and 1950s New Zealand experienced a post-war gender role change: during the war women had worked outside home in higher status jobs, though men took back the jobs after 1945. Veart (2008) points out that this post-war gender role change could be clearly seen in many cookbooks. For example, some cookbooks featured special recipes titled ‘the meals men preferred’. As a consequence of this post-war gender role change, the whole responsibility for a happy family life rested on the housewife, and therefore, the image of a full-time housewife was idealized in cookbooks. Cedric's mother, who did all the domestic tasks with her sense of being ‘a house proud’ person, seems to have played this typical female gender role within the framework of a typical suburban nuclear family of this period.

Cedric's indifference to food seems to have resulted from two factors: one, his mother's poor cooking skills, and two, his father's attitude of indifference to the meals his wife prepared.

The exception to this was the family tradition of roast Sunday lunch. Not only the roast meal was a better cooked meal, but also his parents' happiness on that day held the key to explain as to why Cedric mentioned this dish as his favourite.

Interviewer:

“What other memories do you have of this meal?”

Cedric:

“Sunday was the happiest day of the week for my parents. By the end of the week, my mother was worn out and would often provoke arguments, because she was frustrated at being home all the time. He would go off to the pub and relax, but of course she would have no break from the routine of the week. My mother took her frustrations out on my father with her chronic nagging which drove my father to despair and explosive temper outbursts. So that's why I have special memories of that dish. But I've just figured out, as an old person myself, it wasn't just a dish, It was the fond memories that were associated with it. That was the day, one day of the week, my parents were truly happy.”

Cedric as a boy had suffered from matrimonial tensions between his parents, and therefore, the Sunday roast had become the symbolic food that relieved him from his emotional pain by giving him a more secure feeling in the family. These strong emotions make the Sunday roast a special dish to him. Has Cedric's attitude that cooking is a woman's job changed now that he is much older?

Cedric:

“When I retired ten years ago, I promised to cook myself memorable dishes from my childhood. Over past years, I started to collect cookbooks, some from second-hand bookshops, some I bought, so probably a dozen different cookbooks. They are mostly by New Zealanders: Aunt Daisy's cookbooks, Edmond cookbooks that my mother used to use. I recently bought a cookbook written by a male chef specially for men...I started to learn a few more dishes, like scrambled eggs, experimental microwave cooking. I found myself enjoying cooking spaghetti bolognese which I do quite often for my guests. They said, 'succulent!'; so I have become expert at preparing this dish.”

His friends, neighbours and guests who have made positive comments on Cedric's cooking have helped to build up his faith in his cooking skills. Also modern technology and improved kitchen gadgets have contributed to helping Cedric tackle cooking more confidently. For example, being able to keep food fresh in a fridge

has relieved him from a fear coming out of his childhood experiences, that he might give his guests food poisoning.

Cedric:

“However, in a way I still don’t feel comfortable about going into my own kitchen. I still have that memory of my childhood that the kitchen is a foreign place where you are not welcome.... I feel that the kitchen isn’t really my territory at all, and that it ‘belongs’ to someone else, just as my father must have felt.”

This extract shows the social pressures on his mother; by clinging rigidly to her own perception of the role of full-time housewife. She illustrates the impact of post war era gender norms. Michael Savage, who led the first Labour government office in 1935 to 1940, introduced a strong ‘male bread winner’ policy, the Social Security Bill, in 1938.¹ Tim Frank (1999, p.114) argues that the 1940s New Zealand labour market prioritised male breadwinning and this male breadwinner ideology was the dominant paradigm related to masculinity in the first half of 20th century New Zealand. In this ‘male breadwinner’ public convention, men were designated as independent; on the other hand, their female counterparts were dependents: housewives. Oakley (1992, p.242) argues that a typical nuclear family model (e.g. a breadwinner father, a fulltime-housewife mother and children) provides a model of gender and generation hierarchies. Cedric’s parents’ relationship reflects the government’s gendered social role policy.

(2) Bridget’s (Cedric’s daughter) story

Bridget is a 40 year old New Zealand born mother of three, living and working in London. She moved from Wellington with her two children from her previous marriage in 1998. Bridget has just had a new baby to her current partner whom she met in London. When her parents separated she was only six years old and was left in her mother’s custody. Her interview was on Skype rather than face-to-face: -

¹ In the late 1940s, the economical goal of New Zealand was a full employment “In the debate on the Unemployment Bill ... Michael Savage announced Labour’s social vision... male breadwinner ideology and increased worker productivity were firmly fixed in its social and economic vision” (Frank, 1999, p.127).

Interviewer:

“What sort of New Zealand dishes are you cooking there in London?”

Bridget:

“Pavlova, Anzac biscuits, ginger crunches and lamingtons. My eleven year old daughter loves to cook with me and she loves to decorate our pavlova with kiwi fruit and blue berries.”

Interviewer:

“Can you easily get all the ingredients for these dishes there?”

Bridget:

“Yes, nothing special about New Zealand ingredients”.

Interviewer:

“What sort of feelings and emotions do you have during cooking and eating these dishes?”

Bridget:

“It helps me to remember my grandmother. She taught me how to cook and how to make these dishes. She gave me some cookbooks”.

Interviewer:

“Was that a notebook with recipes?”

Bridget:

“It was actually a handwritten recipe book that my grandma specifically wrote for me. When my grandma died at the age of 82, I picked it up from her bookshelf, and had kept it, but unfortunately I couldn't bring it with me to London. The cookbook is still in storage in Wellington”.

As a child she was a ‘fussy’ eater, refusing to eat a variety of foods if they contained ingredients she did not like such as eggs, milk, onion, tomato, mushroom, fish and seafood. This created a constant battle with her solo mother who had cooked for her for fourteen years. Her mother cooked behind the kitchen door so she has no memory of watching her mother cooking or any experience of cooking together. Then, Bridget moved from New Plymouth to live with her paternal grandmother in

Wellington, where her father also lived. How did she cope with cooking meals for her own children? Fortunately her experiences of living with her grandmother were pleasant. She recalls in her reminiscence:

“I have the most wonderful memories of baking and preserving with her. My grandmother instilled in me the importance of communicating her love through home prepared food, a gift that I hope to pass on to my children.”

Bridget’s memories of her grandmother’s cooking, the most wonderful memories of baking and preserving with her, are quite different from that of Cedric’s. It is an important feature of this case that the most significant person in her life responsible for transmitting her love for and attitudes to food, was her paternal grandmother and not her own mother. While her mother did her best as Bridget grew up, to ensure that she prepared meals to her daughter’s liking, she didn’t involve her daughter in their preparation. She made plum sauce and apple jelly every year with her grandmother and loved every minute of it.

It was only when she started to live in London with early adolescent children and with a new baby to a new partner that she took real care in preparing popular New Zealand dishes, reflecting a pride in her national identity

“Living in London, I find myself flicking through the Edmonds cookbooks and cooking classic kiwi dishes that my grandmother used to make. I have instilled in the children a love of their national dishes and the joy of baking in particular.”

Thus, as one of 600,000 expatriate New Zealanders (Statistics New Zealand, *Demographic Trend*, 2010), Bridget now takes great pride in preparing Kiwi dishes from the two classic cookbooks sent over to her by her father, *The Edmond’s Cookbook*, and *Aunt Daisy’s Cookbook*, both re-issued in new editions. Thus, the transmission of New Zealand’s food culture has not been via her mother who was Danish, but largely by her paternal grandmother. Previously, Bridget was quite happy to leave the cooking to her adult partners, yet apart from this ‘gap’ in her identity as a woman and mother, Bridget is now determined to change her previous attitudes. Like her father, Bridget has switched her perception of ‘food as fuel’ to an expression of love for her family.

In a summary, the cross-generational transmission of food culture has not been transmitted from Bridget's father because of his lack of cooking skills and his 'food as fuel' attitudes, nor by Bridget's mother who did not show her how to cook either. Bridget's grandmother was the most influential person who led Bridget to take an active interest in cooking. By cooking the national iconic Kiwi dishes while overseas, she reclaims her gender identity as a mother and wife and her cultural identity as a New Zealander.

Case History Five

‘Gregory and Sebastian’

- Father to Son -

6-5 Case history five: Gregory and Sebastian

- Father to Son -

(1) Gregory's story: Homemade food as the symbol of a happy childhood

Gregory was born in 1937 in a rural village of North Canterbury. His parents owned farm land thirty miles away from Christchurch. During World War II, his father served in the army in the Middle East from 1940 to 1944. His mother had been a solo care giver for Gregory and his elder brother until the war ended. Unlike many other participants who suffered from food deprivation during the war, Gregory's mother and her young children had no such experience. Gregory writes about his memories of food in his reminiscence:

“We were never short of food and always had access to ample supplies of poultry, eggs, meat and vegetables from our own and other local farm sources. My mother was one of four sisters who were close life-long friends and particularly supportive of each other and their families through the worrying years of economic depression and World War II.”

The fact that Gregory's mother had farm vegetables and poultry available and the kinship support from her sisters had helped to save the solo-parent family from becoming short of food or from the need to economise by purchasing poor quality meat and vegetables.

One significant point of Gregory's story is that even after his father came back from the war and their family life returned to normal, Gregory's parents had inculcated the value of food as precious in their children and that food should not be wasted.

One commonly shared value in the New Zealand society that food should not be wasted had resulted from the deprivations of the Great Depression and World War II. Despite the fact that Gregory himself had no direct memory of these hard times, this value has shaped Gregory's attitudes to food as a commodity not to be wasted to this day when he is seventy three years of age. This 'nothing is wasted' message was a commonly held value of the era whether in rural or urban households, reflecting also in 'Cedric's case history four. One feature of Gregory's reminiscence is his emphasis on the happiness of his family life and its relationship to food. Thus, homemade

food played an important role in Gregory's childhood and his perception of his childhood as a happy one. Unfortunately, Gregory's childhood suddenly ended when at the age of thirteen was sent off to a boarding school, where the meals were plain and ungarnished just like his meals at home.

Gregory:

"My mother certainly had a cookbook which contained family recipes which had been handed down from her mother, but my mother had her four sisters. All of them were enthusiastic cooks. Amongst them the recipes were freely traded. Rural women and farm neighbours also traded recipes... My daughter loves cooking. She learnt from her mother and grandmother. My daughter still keeps her mother's cookbooks with all those recipes."

Interviewer:

"When you married, were you still able to eat your favourite plain meals?"

Gregory:

"When I married my wife, her cooking was very different from my mother's. She was the daughter of an owner of seafood restaurant. She was a much more adventurous cook than I was, with a wide, broad spectrum of food. Throughout my married life, I was very committed to my work ... I was more committed to making a success of my career. She did most of the cooking.... Now if I'm not working, I can have the time to prepare meals. It depends on what my second wife is doing. If she has a busy day and has commitments through later afternoon, it's more likely I will cook evening meals.....I cook vegetables by microwave, potatoes boiled or mashed, peas, beans, broccoli, carrots, leeks and onions, but not meat which I cook in the electric oven".

Today Gregory still prefers plain foods just as his parents did a preference reinforced by the fact that he consumed plain meals as a secondary school boarder and plain army mess-hall meals as a young cadet, his first employment on leaving school.

(2) Sebastian's (Gregory's son) story

Sebastian is a 46 year old ICT consultant, a happily married man who enjoys sharing cooking with his wife and three teenage children. The enjoyment of food,

particularly rich, spicy and highly seasoned food, is an important part of their life together and part also of their compatibility together.

Sebastian:

“My favourite food was rice risotto that my mother cooked. It was my most memorable meal, and it was usually cooked toward the end of the week, usually on Fridays. I often watched her cooking this dish in a frying pan in the kitchen. It was something that I looked forward to. Another of my favourite foods was spicy stir-fried rice with vegetables and some bacon, an extension of rice risotto. Mum liked hot and spicy foods, I liked hot food too, but dad didn’t like spicy food at all.”

His mother came from a family who ran restaurants in Christchurch and from her teenage years helped out as a kitchen-hand and as a waitress serving tables.

Interviewer:

“How did they compromise?”

Sebastian:

“Toward the end of the week of course dad had been at the pub having a few beers and something to eat. So he would have a small dish of plain food when he got home. Mum had a broader culinary talent as in her background there was the family owned restaurant in Christchurch. Mum always was passionate, involved and excited about food. Food was a big thing in the family and we were always trying new taste sensations. I still, to this day, enjoy good food, recognise and appreciate food and the people who cooked it. From an early age, I was self-sufficient. I was used to getting breakfast, making a sandwich for lunch, and when mum was running late I prepared a dinner.

When we shifted up to Tauranga when I was five to ten years old, we used to do lots of barbeques. I learnt how to cook barbeques with my father. Kitchen was mum and outdoor was dad. Both kitchen cooking and barbeque cooking on the patio were equally enjoyable experiences for me. It was a marital demarcation which worked well. As a boy, I saw this division of cooking responsibilities as normal, but I did not identify with my father’s, typical for his day, strict gender-division of domestic tasks.”

Interviewer:

“How did your mother teach you to cook?”

Sebastian:

“Not specifically. I learnt by simply observing her and what she did. She had given me guidance from an early age. I had always been a great observer to see what was going on. So I can see how things got burnt, cooked well, slowly or fast. Cooking eggs, boiling or frying meat made sense to me. There was not any mystery in it. The importance of providing boys with as many occasions as possible to be involved in cooking holds the key whether they develop their abilities of cooking in their adult lives.

Mum was a great baker of biscuits, cakes and pavlovas. My grandmother on my father’s side was a great pavlova cook. Yes, pavlova was my childhood favourite dessert. One of my best birthdays I can remember is – my grandmother was cooking a pavlova, but they were not rising, they were flat. So she slices the pav into three pieces and put whipped cream between the layers. I think I suggested this to her and it was a brilliant way to make chewy pavlova.

When I watched my mum cooking a pavlova, the process of cooking pavlova is quite complicated, some of the steps, how much to beat egg whites, the preparation of the oven, knowing how hot the oven has to be, how long the meringue should be in the oven – all of it was an art or religion I absolutely appreciate. The contrast in skill, standing beside dad cooking sausages which are so easy to cook!”

Interviewer:

“What’s your fondest memory of food?”

Sebastian:

“My fondest memory of food is from my teenage years. My mum used to make sandwiches for my school lunches. She used to make them at the weekend and freeze them. She made up, rolled up ham, meat, lettuce and tomato, for me. These were absolutely delicious. I took them to school and sold them to other boys. This started me on the way to making my economic fortunes.”

As a young man just leaving school Sebastian also followed his mother’s career path, rather than taking after his father who, to this day, prefers plain food. However he was also influenced by his paternal grandmother’s dishes, particularly pavlova, which she cooked especially for his birthday. And, just like his father did, he has a backyard barbeque where it is a culinary tradition for the husband to take charge when cooking the meat.

Interviewer:

“How many meals during the week do you share cooking with your wife?”

Sebastian:

“Two or three meals a week. Most recently we are now on a fifty-fifty arrangement. We also get our daughters to cook. They observe us in the kitchen. Once a week, we might get takeaways. Sunday is always a roast dinner. Yes, it’s the family time. Our son is flatting at the moment, and of course, teenagers always try to escape away from home if they can (laughs), but we always say to them, ‘If you are in town, can we have a meal together?’ Sunday is a family meal – the family is still busy during the day, so we have Sunday roast for dinner at night-time not at mid-day. This is very important for family unity.

My two daughters have started cooking the favourite family dish, stir fried rice, and showing an interest in Asian cooking. My eldest daughter who is now sixteen cooks often.”

Interviewer:

“So which parent mainly shaped your food choices and preferences?”

Sebastian:

“Right now I am not consciously thinking about mum and dad’s different food preferences. Now I have my own food culture which is compatible with my wife’s food preferences.”

Sebastian owes his mother for his life-long interests in food, his decision to work as a kitchen hand, early in his young age and his appreciation of food as a ‘glue’ to hold his own family together. Sebastian’s father has played only a limited role in his son’s cultural and gender identity regarding food because his choice of food is much more limited and the task of cooking is one responsibility he regarded as belonging to his wives. Sebastian’s case is an example of a male who internalised the positive value of cooking, the joy of cooking by identifying with his mother.

Case History Six

‘Paula, Ian and Alice’

- Mother to Son and Daughter -

6-6 Case history six: Paula, Ian and Alice

- Mother to Son and Daughter -

(1) Paula's story

Paula, a 68 year old widow, was born in 1942 and now lives in a waterfront apartment in Wellington. Paula has two adult children now aged 36 and 39 years old. Her husband died in 2009 aged 70 years. Paula's family, both paternal and maternal sides, came to New Zealand from Dublin, Ireland, in one of the first ships into Wellington in the 1840s. She tells about her family story:-

Paula:

“My paternal family, my great-great-grandfather, was one of the co-owners of a newspaper company in Dublin. He came out with six children, three sons and three daughters. The three daughters got married and three sons got involved in establishing the Evening Post, one of the best selling newspapers in 19th century New Zealand. The family carried on building the newspaper business up in Wellington into 1860s, but it got the time when the paper was going into, as you know, the war, and that was when the merger of the Dominion took place. When my grandfather died, the Labour Government had just got in. This was the 1950s.”

Interviewer:

“It's a long family history. Tell me about the maternal side of your family.”

Paula:

“My maternal grandmother married a businessman who was involved in building Wellington Wharf and they became very wealthy. My mother married to dad who was a lawyer. His father was of Irish heritage, his wife was from Norfolk, her father also came from Dublin. They were all Catholic. I never knew my grandmother, because she died before us, but I remember my grandfather. My father, brother, a couple of nephews and my husband, they all were lawyers.”

By keeping hand written manuscript cookbooks from her mother and grandmother, she takes great pride in her family history. Asked about her early memories of family life, Paula recalls the time when the first fridge was purchased by her parents in 1955.

Paula:

“Mum cooked on a coal gas stove. Vegetables were cooked in copper pans. Standard seasonings were usually salt and pepper only. When I was a child, we lived in Wellington’s Central Terrace. Every morning a milk cart pulled by a horse came to deliver milk, but milk often went very yellow and sour. I remember my parents had a ‘safe’ made of plaster which kept the contents cold by pouring water on the top of the safe, but meat often went bad and fly-blown. I remember that I picked maggots out of the meat without letting my mother know! The first vegetable we kept frozen in our new fridge was Wattie’s peas.”

Before many families purchased their kitchen fridge, keeping food fresh was a problem, also mentioned in the reminiscences of Cedric (case history four) and Gregory (case history five).

Interviewer:

“When your children were small how did you spend Sundays?”

Paula:

“Sunday was a family day. That was a day to take our children to church, and on the way home after mass we would stop and I would give them a dollar each to go to the dairy, so they could buy anything they liked. Then we ate our Sunday meal with other family members, friends or people next door. Everybody sat around a big table and enjoyed the Sunday roast.”

Interviewer:

“How did you and your husband share the housework?”

Paula:

“My husband never cooked, but he did the vacuuming only when I asked.”

Paula:

“One day I said to my husband, ‘I want to get a job.’, but he said, ‘Paula, you look after the children, you look after me and run the house and the family. I have friends and so on. I don’t want you to get a job. I just want you to be free, so we can do what I want to do. Paula, don’t rock the boat!’ – That was always his attitude. It used to irritate me a lot, because I wanted to go out to work.”

Interviewer:

“Was your mother happy in her role as a full-time housewife?”

Paula:

“My mother, grandmother and great-grandmother were all traditional housewives.”

Interviewer:

“Did your mother or grandmother have a domestic servant?”

Paula:

“No, my mother didn’t, but very wealthy families did. Domestic servants were called ‘house maids’ at that time. They were paid for their services, but were still considered as ‘home helpers’ and part of the family. They were sometimes invited to functions such as weddings.”

By the 1920s and 1930s, because of the economic depression, even the better off families could no longer afford domestic servants. By the 1940s when Paula was growing up, very few families could afford to employ a domestic servant (see Simpson, 2008, pp.190-199).

(2) Ian’s (Paula’s son) story

Ian, a 39 year old writer, lives alone and therefore cooks all his meals. He still makes the same boiled pudding that his mother has cooked throughout her marriage. ‘Aunt June’s steamed chocolate pudding’ has been part of the family’s culinary tradition for generations. Since Ian was a child, he has loved to eat this family pudding, and now as an adult, he frequently consumes this dish or cooks it for others when there is a party on.

Interviewer:

“What was the reaction from other people to your home made pudding?”

Ian:

“I enjoyed exchanging conversations with others about the pudding, which was great fun. One time when I brought my raisin chocolate pudding to a party, one of my lady friends advised me that it would be better not to put raisins in it”.

Interviewer:

“Did you have cooking lessons at school?”

Ian:

“Yes, when I was 12, Form II, around 1984, perhaps. The school was a boys school. There were three courses, cooking, wood work and sewing. One term was the cooking course. The cooking class teacher was a female. We made biscuits. We all enjoyed it”.

Although Ian mentioned Sunday roast as another of his favourite dishes in his childhood, he is now claims to be a semi-vegetarian.

Interviewer:

“What was your motivation to become a vegetarian?”

Ian:

“When I left home at the age of 19 and began flatting as a student in Dunedin in 1991, it was my friends and flatmates who influenced me. I wasn’t particularly motivated by a political protest against animal cruelty or like that. It was just a moral issue, not a serious objection. I eat naturally grown vegetables because I don’t like chemical fertiliser on my food. ... Every day I cook rice for my dinner with olive oil, garlic and vegetables. It takes 90 minutes to prepare the dinner including steaming the rice for 20 minutes. Most of my cooking, I do as routine without thinking. I often don’t eat lunch, but I do enjoy going out for a cup of coffee and a muffin at a cafe”.

Interviewer:

“When you join with other people at a party or a social gathering, there must be a lot of meat dishes on the table”.

Ian:

“I just avoid them, so not many choices for me to eat”.

Anne Potts and Mandala White (2008) investigate how vegetarians living in New Zealand experience their non-meat diet and challenge the country's animal farming; the eating and exploiting animals. According to their research, the ratio of New Zealanders who identify themselves as vegetarian is only one to two per cent of the whole population. This ratio is much lower than other countries, such as nine per cent in the UK, nine per cent in Germany, 4.7 per cent in the US and four per cent in Canada. The research concludes that New Zealand's national identity is strongly associated with animal farming and its meat production, the dominant image of New Zealand as a 'clean and green' country. Ian's self identification is not as a radical anti-government protester, though he identifies himself as a minority who belongs to a counter-group of the meat consumption food culture. Potts and White (2008, p.339) argue that New Zealand's national identity is strongly associated with meat-meals, a meat consuming food culture which originates from Pakeha early settlers, and therefore, Pakeha vegetarians have to think who brought the carnivorous meat consumption to this country and have to reconstruct their identity as a Pakeha.

(3) Alice's (Paula's daughter) story

Alice, a 36 year old working woman, has had a lot of adventurous culinary experiences while working overseas. Alice and her husband, a Middle Eastern chef,¹ have been together for 10 years. They met in the United States when both were on a holiday and have travelled the world together, working in the restaurant industry in Florida, coming back to New Zealand two years ago. Both still work in the Wellington restaurant scene.

Interviewer:

“How did he introduce you to his favourite dishes?”

Alice:

“He slowly introduced me to healthy, tasty foods such as olives, chickpeas, hummus and couscous.... There is a huge difference between New Zealand food culture and

¹ Alice's husband's country of origin has been confidential .

Middle Eastern food culture. New Zealanders put alcohol first, going for a drink after work, then eating some chips, and that is a dinner. 'No, that's not a dinner.', my husband says. 'Eating dinner is eating first, greens, meat and fruits, then you can drink, but not the other way around. Eating is sitting together and talking about the day. Dinner is a time for meeting and talking. You must eat your dinner, then you can go out for a drink and you can drink as much you want. But you must eat first.' – We, New Zealanders, drink first with chips and don't want to eat any more. The Middle Eastern food culture is something that we, New Zealanders, should learn from. It's a shame that we don't do this."

Interviewer:

"How often do you eat Middle Eastern dishes in a week?"

Alice:

"Once a week, we have a celebration of Middle Eastern food for ourselves. It's a nice time to be together. Usually, a Middle Eastern dish is a big family size meal, so we invite our friends to share the meal. We eat dinner together only twice a week because he works at a restaurant."

Asked whether she would challenge her husband if he was an ordinary company worker instead of a chef and expecting Alice to cook a dinner for him, whereas she works from 9 to 5: -

Alice:

"Absolutely, yes. 100 per cent. I would cook dinner if I am not working, but I don't think I would have time to create a fantastic meal. I would be too tired. I wouldn't be bothered to cook. I would buy some sushi. I would make us a team - 'Who is going to make tea tonight? If it is your turn, you think. You figure out 'What we should have to eat'."

Interviewer:

"What sort of meals do you have on your own?"

Alice:

"I have toast for breakfast with peanut butter or marmite and heaps of milk. I buy sushi or a homemade sandwich for lunch, and a semi frozen curry or a microwave pie or an instant salad for tea. These I buy at the supermarket and bring back home."

As an adult, Alice's food choices are quite different from her mother's as she grew up. However, she still prefers to this day as she did in childhood, a roast chicken meal. Here transcribed from her recorded interview is her recollection of this favourite meal:

Alice:

“Every Sunday when we used to get home from church, mum put the roast chicken on the table together with mashed potatoes and peas. This was my favourite meal. Most Sundays I got a bottle of Coca-cola that my brother and I were allowed to buy at a dairy to have with the meal as well. We were allowed to share the bottle of Coca-cola between us”.

In summing up, while the transmission of food culture has been from mother to daughter, Alice in her adult life has forged a cultural and gender identity far different from her parents, since she has lived most of her adult life overseas. Her life style has been more cosmopolitan. Alice has married a Middle Eastern chef, not a lawyer as her mother as both the maternal and paternal grandmothers did. At present, Alice stays close to her widowed mother, living in the same street and emotionally supportive of her. The identities of the adult children are more international or cosmopolitan. They are enjoying multi-ethnic food cultures and internalising different cultural identities.

(Reproduction 5: A manuscript family recipe - 'Aunt June's steamed pudding')

Chocolate Steamed Pudding (Tune Blend.)
 1 cup ^{self raising} flour ~~2 tps. cream of tartar~~
 1 tsp. baking powder 2 desps. cocoa
 1/2 cup sultanas 1 tab. sugar
 Melt 4 tps. butter Place dough in greased
 bowl. Pour ~~2 tps. golden syrup. 1/2 cup~~
~~golden syrup. 1/2 cup~~ ~~melted in one small cup~~
~~golden syrup. 1/2 cup~~ 1 hr. with lid on saucepan
 but no steam basin.

* melt 2 plus tablespoons golden syrup
 Sugar 1/4 cup : 2 ozs plus butter. Melt +
 cool pour over batter mix in bowl. Simmer
 over heat for 1/2 - 1 hr - lid on saucepan but
 not on bowl!

The photo is a recipe of 'Aunt June's boiled chocolate pudding' which was written down in 1963, but has been cooked through generations. This recipe is one from the family's manuscript cookbooks which Paula has kept as a family heirloom. The original ink colour has faded, so some were newly written by Paula herself in 2011. Permission was granted by Paula to reproduce this page.

6-7 A summary of the six case histories

This chapter compared individual narratives provided by elder generation respondents with their adult sons and daughters, and in one case with a grand-daughter. There has been a drastic change in their food practices with the simpler basic meals of the older generation, replaced by the more sophisticated ingredients and meals preferred by the second generation respondents. Pakeha older generation respondents reflected a preference for British origin cuisines, while second generation respondents reflected a wider choice of ethnic dishes and American inspired takeaway meals. Pakeha New Zealanders' food culture has been supplemented by a more multi-international food culture within one generation. Second generation respondents have been largely influenced by the globalisation of food.

It is commonly assumed that the transmission of the family's food traditions is via the mother to daughter. This assumption contradicted by the findings of this study. Some case histories showed that the cross-generational transmission of the family food traditions was not always handed down through an unbroken female line. The gender acting to preserve both an individual's and the family's cultural identity through food was mainly female. However, males as well as females could preserve the family's food culture. Second generation males showed far more flexible gender identities than their fathers' rigid gender identities. Sub-findings further revealed that the transmission was not necessarily via mother to daughter. Only six out of the 15 individuals involved answered that the person transmitting the family food culture was the mother, while other nine individual respondents answered it was via grandmother, aunt, friend or neighbour of the family.

Chapter Seven: Analyses of the Dynamics Involved

This chapter analyses the identity dynamics and social changes involved in each case history.

7-1 Case history one: The Dalloways' identification

Although the family's ancestors had a close relationship with Maori, the Dalloway Family's cultural identity of the Anglo-Saxon food tradition has never been much influenced by Maori food culture.

This case history spans three generations from Mrs Dalloway born in 1915 and her granddaughter Eve born in 1989. The Dalloway Family has had domestic servants who cooked the family meals for generations. "Many households needed a maid or servant but, as a rule, the mistress worked alongside and often had to train the servant. Servants were hard to find and harder to keep" (Olssen, 1999, p.44). Mrs Dalloway's mother, who married at 19 years of age in 1902, taught cooking to her domestic servants and cooked herself throughout her two marriages. Although Mrs Dalloway's favourite dishes have been roast beef or pork and sticky date pudding that her mother cooked, Mrs Dalloway herself left this task to servants, her half sister or daughters. This domestic servant system was basically modelled on the Victorian English class stratification (Pickels, 2001). In his work, *Victorian Scullery Maid*, Pickels (2001) defines a domestic servant as someone who was hired to undertake the whole duties of the employer's household. The duties comprised those jobs of a cook, housemaid, nursery maid and other various types of services for an individual or a family. The domestic servant system peaked in Britain in the Victorian era in the 1850s. The job was filled by young women with usually a live-in position; they often slept in the kitchen or under the steps or in the attic which risked themselves an instant dismissal in case of pregnancy.¹ Hence, this domestic servant system had largely depended on a Victorian England class stratification (Pickels, 2001). However, did this domestic servant system apply to New Zealand? How did New Zealand handle this system?

¹ If a maid happened to fall pregnant by a male servant or by one of the family men of the household, she risked instant dismissal (Pickels, 2001).

After the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840, a census that was conducted in 1841 counted 125 upper-class people in the capital region, Auckland, though they were outnumbered by the vast majority of working class people: the 250 black smiths, 150 agricultural labourers, 100 shopkeepers and 100 domestic servants were recorded (Statistics New Zealand, *Census of Population and Dwellings*, 2010). These numbers demonstrate that the job of domestic servant was highly demanded in the labour market at an early stage of New Zealand history. In 1891, the top three occupations of women in the labour market were; domestic servant, 32.1 per cent, dressmaker, 15.3 per cent and school teacher, 6.1 per cent (Statistics New Zealand, *Demographic Trend*, 2010).

A domestic servant shortage increasingly became a serious social problem throughout the country in the 1900s (The details are provided in Appendix six, a brief record of the domestic servant shortage in New Zealand). The shortage was so severe that the government considered this problem needed government intervention. In 1909, the head of the immigration department was interviewed by media on the movement that was started by a number of Christchurch women for a system of free immigration of domestic servants from England to New Zealand (*Papers Past*, 2011). ¹ This constant need for bringing female immigrants to New Zealand as domestic servants may have helped to establish a more egalitarian value in New Zealand society in comparison with Victorian England. Toynbee (1995, pp. 171-172) argues that European models of the class system were unfitted to 19th century New Zealand because of the relatively high degree of social mobility. The social barriers to upward mobility in New Zealand were less rigid than in England.

Mrs Dalloway's adult daughter Lisa's love of cooking came from her grandmother and aunts. It was Lisa's grandmother, Mrs Dalloway's mother, who was living nearby and who fostered her love of cooking within which Lisa forged her own gender identity. Lisa transmitted the female identity associated with cooking directly to her daughter, Eve. Eve was encouraged by her mother to watch her in the kitchen, cooking and baking, as Lisa once did in her grandmother's kitchen.

¹ See appendix six, a record of a domestic servant shortage in New Zealand. This movement was reported in *Grey River*, 6 March, 1909 (*Papers Past*, 2011).

Eve has kept her own recipe notebook with recipes taken from her mother's, great-aunt's and great-grandmother's notebook: manuscript cookbooks or family recipe note-books. These home-made compilations of handwritten recipes included clippings cut out from magazines or commercially available recipe books for the day. They still cook the family's traditions of roast beef and sticky date pudding from these notebook recipe compilations. Thus, manuscript cookbooks are one of the main means of transmission of the Dalloway Family's food culture from one generation to the next. However, keeping manuscript cookbooks alone would not be enough to maintain the family's culinary traditions with a time period spanning over 130 years.

The more egalitarian relationship between domestic servants and the family has resulted in the wives and daughters in the Dalloway Family being involved in kitchen labour as well as the domestic servants. It is the female line therefore who are still the main food providers and who (with the exception of Mrs Dalloway) greatly enjoy cooking. Thus, the reason why this family's food tradition has been maintained continuously can be explained by the fact that the culinary skills have been transmitted by family member themselves, not only by their servants. By doing so, they maintained the family's food traditions.

Unlike the other five case histories which reveal gender identity conflicts, or unusual dietary preferences or eating patterns either in childhood or adulthood, most female family members of the Dalloway Family accepted their gender roles as the primary cooks. However, the one unusual feature to this case history is that Mrs Dalloway herself never did any cooking, neither in childhood or adulthood. While all the family members loved sticky date pudding and treacle (golden syrup) pudding including Mrs Dalloway herself, others in the family always cooked them for her. This is because whilst she was still at home servants did all the cooking, and from twelve years of age to seventeen, meals were provided by boarding school cooks. There were no cooking lessons at school either. Mrs Dalloway was in an academic stream which did not offer cooking classes as a subject option. Girls on the academic track were offered different options with a different prospect of life without devoting themselves to become the family cook. When Mrs Dalloway married she also had servants. Betty Friedan (1963) in *Feminine Mystique* criticises

the education system for girls for being concentrating on ‘non-challenging’ classes (e.g. cooking or sewing) because of educators’ biased gender notion that home economics is the best suitable course for girls. Mrs Dalloway’s example suggests that gender was not always a destiny even in the 1930s to 1940s, particularly girls on the academic track. Yet Mrs Dalloway’s sense of gender identity has been so secure that she has been well respected and has maintained an important position in the family. This is shown as Eve acknowledges,

“Nana is always the centre of our family”.

7-2 Case history two: Stanley and Zoe’s identification

In case history two, Stanley’s food culture is a mixture of the Birmingham food culture and New Zealand’s seafood culture in the 1940s. Stanley’s fond memories of his childhood indicate that his memories of preparing food, particularly seafood, are strongly linked to the memories of his father who had a close relationship with him and involved him in many activities.

Concerning the abundance of seafood in the 1940s, Veart (2008) states that since oyster and crayfish were harvested in the 1860s from Foveaux Strait (the water between South Island and Stewart Island), they were readily available and cheap and until the 1960s, they were once commonly used ingredients in New Zealand cookbooks. As diving to catch oysters and crayfish was a man’s job, opening oysters’ shells and eating crayfish was “associated with drinking and pubs” (Veart, 2008, p.89), which meant that this was a male only activity. Stanley’s identification with his father was shaped by his participation as a boy in this scenario.

At present, the meal Stanley nominates as his favourite is a roast meal rather than a fish meal, possibly because today seafood is no longer bartered and is much more expensive. The change of Stanley’s life from a rural childhood to suburban living has meant that fresh foods straight from the sea have become less readily available.

Roast meals prepared and consumed on Saturday evenings rather than on Sundays are linked to fond memories of Stanley’s mother and grandmother preparing this

dish. However, he did not involve himself in helping his mother and grandmother preparing meals nor did his father. Boys of his generation were not expected to take an interest in preparing food in the kitchen. In full retirement Stanley does not cook the favourite dishes of his childhood, though he does cook simpler meals such as fried rice, and he does help do the dishes and tidy up in the kitchen. However, he still expects his wife to do most of the cooking, just as his father expected his wife to do.

Stanley certainly would not have confidence to cook for guests which he still regards as his wife's role to perform, an attitude he maintained over the duration of his professional career, prior to his retirement. Stanley, together with some other male participants, Cedric and Gregory in case history four and five, are all in their early to mid-seventies and from a generation where gender roles were rigidly defined. In the private sphere where males were expected to 'bring home the bacon', their wives were expected to carry out all the food preparation, the cooking and presentation of meals. This role also extended to clearing up and washing the dishes. Stanley's wife also had worked as a full-time teacher with professional responsibilities almost as demanding as those of her husband. Yet she still carried the main responsibility for meals and still does so, even though both are now in full retirement. This is what Stanley's father expected of his mother and of his grandmother, a gender pattern of trans-generational learnt behaviour which he chose not to alter, nor did his wife seek to change. Thus, both in their own way contributed to a rigidity of gender roles in cooking and other kitchen tasks.

Zoe, Stanley's daughter, particularly loves baking the same foods as her father loves, and hopes that her two boys will in turn, carry on the family's tradition of baking. The process of inter-generational transmission of the food culture was via her paternal grandmother, whom Zoe regarded as the most influential person in her life regarding food. The transmission of the family's food tradition that originates from the Birmingham food culture came down from Zoe's paternal great-great-great grandmother through eight generations to Zoe.

Zoe has embraced her gender role as a full-time housewife of which food preparation and cooking is an integral and important part. Her fondest memories which have helped her to forge a strong gender identity are of sitting beside her grandma and

another old lady actually cooking. It also helps to explain why it is so important to her that, unlike her own mother, she always wanted to be a stay-at-home mother. She repeats her childhood experience by getting her two young sons to watch her cook and to participate in baking in the hope that their own sense of gender identity incorporating love of food will be strengthened and not weakened by this experience.

The family's food culture has been transmitted from Stanley's ancestors to Zoe's children. In this process, a gender factor has worked to determine which gender belongs to what sort of food culture, a male outdoor activity with a masculine seafood culture or a kitchen activity with a housewifery baking culture. These two food cultures were separated and carried out by different genders in the family.

It is interesting that Zoe, but not her husband, is teaching her two boys to cook. As a child, she identified herself with her grandmother who taught her to cook. She now repeats this experience with her sons who are encouraged to enter the kitchen. She is thus de-gendering the task of cooking.

7-3 Case history three: Lotte, Annabel and Toby's identification

Lotte's cultural identity regarding food is typical of the self-sufficient farm life of the 1940s and 1950s. Vegetables were always freshly picked from the garden alongside the paddocks, and Lotte as a child would eat them raw, particularly carrots and turnip, one of the advantages in living in a rural area. Food meant farm food for Lotte, just as food meant sea food for Stanley in case history two.

She did help her mother a lot in the kitchen as a teenager, because her four brothers were not expected to do so as this was women's work. She resented, for this reason, doing the massive pile of dirty dishes. However, seemingly, she didn't resent this in her own marriage as she believed that this is what women of that era were expected to do.

Lotte:

“You got married and you did the cooking. That was what you did”.

From childhood Lotte learnt from the example set by her mother and grandmother, that an important part of female gender identity as a 'housewife' who was to be responsible for feeding the family.

Lotte maintained the tradition of the Sunday roast until her three children became teenagers as they were often not at home but out socialising with friends.

Lotte:

“My grandmother used to cook Sunday roast. Nana did everything. Nana made her own bread, butter, cheese and cottage cheese. She did her own preserving, bottled fruits, jam, chutney, tomato sauce. She made everything, nothing got wasted.”

Lotte performed the double role of combining housework with a full-time job and worked in various hospitals until her retirement. However, she accepted this 'double' role as part of her gender identity. In retirement she does not 'fuss' and prepares basic meals with her husband who now takes a more active part in preparing the occasional simple meal and washing up.

By contrast, Annabel has fond memories of being invited into the kitchen of her paternal grandmother and being dressed up by her in a little apron. Nevertheless, Annabel did not wish to grow up like her grandmother. While she loved to eat one of her biscuit treats, she was never involved in cooking it, nor cooks it now. Annabel does not feel threatened in terms of her gender identity and role as wife, because she did not identify either with her mother or her paternal grandmother and has no gender-linked involvement with food.

Unlike her own mother, Annabel grew up in inner city Wellington in the 1970s when takeaway outlets, fish and chips shops in particular, had just started to spread across the city. Starting in the 1940s and 1950s, the number of fish and chip shops in New Zealand expanded, pioneering the takeaway era, followed by Chinese takeaway shops (Veart, 2008). As Annabel describes in her reminiscence, there was a rapid growth in the number of fish and chips shops during the 1970s. Today there are about 1,600 independent fish and chips shops in New Zealand (Hingston, 2010, p.57). A new study by Canterbury University (Day and Pearce, 2011) illustrates that in major cities of New Zealand fast-food outlets such as fish and chip shops are five

times more likely to be clustered around schools.¹ This means that fish and chips shops have developed around the dense population areas such as suburbs or schools. The trend was boosted by the Catholic custom of eating fish and avoiding eating meat on Fridays.² All 15 respondents, whether of the first or second generation, had clear recollections of fish and chip takeaways.

By 1986, 54 per cent of mothers in two-parent families were in paid work. One decade later, this proportion had risen to 61.3 per cent as mothers' participation in paid employment increased. In 1986, 41.6% of children in two-parent families were living with a full-time employed father and a full-time housewife. By 1996 this had dropped to 26.9%. The proportion of children in two-parent families with both parents in paid work (either full time or part time) increased from 52.6% in 1986 to 57.7 % in 1996. Hence, the growing popularity of takeaways, semi-prepared and convenience foods was driven by working women.

In 1975, 28 per cent of mothers returned to the work force before their children turned five years old, and by 2001, 48 per cent returned to jobs before their children attended school (Statistics New Zealand, *Focusing on Women*, 2010).

The strong demand for takeaway food, typically for fish and chips meal, had been created by this social change in women's participation in the labour force. Other factors contributing changing cultural trends in food consumption are the greater availability of electric powered kitchen appliances and a host of new convenience food such as frozen peas, puddings and instant coffee. These products reduced the time it took for the working wife and mother, to prepare meals and put food on the table.

Unlike earlier generations of men who did not go near the kitchen, Toby is quite different because he can choose what he likes to eat and knows that it will be well cooked. Toby's cultural identification is seen in his words in the interview to describe his grandmother, "She is the third generation Scottish ancestry. She was a

¹ On an average, there were 24.5 fast-food outlets per 100 pupils within 800 metres of a school. The outcome varied from 24.5 outlets in low-socio-economic areas, in comparison with 0.7 high income areas (Day and Pearce, 2011).

² The history of the fish and chip meal originates from 18th century Britain. Fish and chips was an archetypal working class dish that had been consumed in the northern industrial towns as well as in London (Simpson, 2008, p.145).

queen of roast”. By specifying one of his favourite dishes, Toby expresses that the root of his cultural identity partly originates from Scotland. However, his cultural identity through his own food practices is far more diverse. In his 20s and 30s he had been exposed to the globalisation of food in New Zealand and has absorbed multi-ethnic food cultures into his daily food preferences. Toby’s love of Thai, Cambodian and Chinese dishes shows that he has blended ethnic dishes with the traditional New Zealand dishes of his childhood.

7-4 Case history four: Cedric and Bridget’s identification

Neither Cedric’s mother and certainly not his father, transmitted the emotional aspects of food, or their food culture to Cedric. Because of his slow maturing and boyish appearance in his adolescence, he was often teased by other teenage boys for being ‘feminine’, ‘girlish’, a ‘sissy’, which had a big impact on his masculine image and sense of a secure gender identity as a male. It did stop him from taking up interests that were linked with being a woman, typically cooking which in his day was regarded as ‘woman’s work’. This part of Cedric’s gender identity regarding cooking has constantly been a source of his reluctance to cook. His male gender identity has been shaped by the strong influence of his parents: his mother’s strictly defined female gender role and his father’s attitudes which never crossed gender boundaries. The end result is that cooking and food is not an important value in life for Cedric. He mostly avoided the task of cooking and left it to his wife and partners.

Beside the roast, Cedric’s other favourite foods are pavlova and Anzac biscuits, which his mother loved to cook. These foods are also popular foods in New Zealand that reflect the country’s food culture. However, Cedric’s family’s food traditions have not been transmitted from Cedric to his daughter, because Cedric himself has never acquired enough culinary skills to cook his or her favourite foods

Without the culinary skills, with no cooking lessons at home or school, nor self-taught either, what does food mean to Cedric? Cedric answers (both in the table and the interview) that he quite often buys these foods, even a ready-to-eat roast meal, from the supermarket. Maintaining a food culture does not necessarily take the form

of home cooking; buying and consuming an individual's favourite foods provides an alternative way of conveying a New Zealand food culture and its cultural identity. When an individual is born as an only son in the family and lives his life without cooking skills, the resource for maintaining his cultural identity through food shifts from home to the market: from the private sphere to the public sphere of the commercial food providers.

Bridget's childhood insistence, that her mother only cooked foods to her liking, meant that meals became a clash of wills. With Bridget gaining control over the mother-daughter relationship by refusing to eat meals that contained ingredients Bridget disliked, her mother tried to cater for Bridget's 'picky' food choices by preparing special meals in isolation in the kitchen. Bridget never identified closely with her mother because of their conflicted relationship centred on food. Although Bridget has no memories of cooking with her mother, she has modelled herself on her grandmother who did link food to love in a way that her own mother had not. Bridget hopes to pass this gift on to her early teenage children.

For Bridget and her children, their overseas experiences as a family have changed the meaning of food from 'just food to eat and taken for granted' to their cultural pride in their home country. In involving her teenage children in the preparation of the meals, she has ensured that they also develop pride in their identity as New Zealanders. Pavlova, Anzac biscuits and Afghans – these foods are an important element of New Zealand's food culture traditions. Here is an example of an ex-pat New Zealander who has established her identity as an affectionate, loving mother through home cooking. The love of her grandmother and the sharing of food, has become an expression of love for Bridget's new partner and children, and not a battleground. She now preserves her national identity through iconic Kiwi foods as a loyal expatriate New Zealander and has reintegrated food and cooking into her gender-linked identity as wife and mother.

7-5 Case history five: Gregory and Sebastian's identification

Gregory has retained into his old age his preference for plain food and does not like salt, pepper or other herbs and spices being added to it. The origins of his preference

for simple food might potentially have come from his German paternal ancestors. Gregory and his father once travelled together to the father's German hometown, Solberg, Holstein, Germany. The local foods that they ate there were quite simple, Gregory recalls.

Gregory's first job after school was as an Army cadet who consumed Army mess-hall meals which were equally plain and ungarnished. Thus, while growing up, while at boarding school and in adult life including married life, Gregory has been the recipient of other people's cooking. His first wife was the daughter of a French-descent restaurant owner who in her food preference was the exact opposite. So too was his adult son and daughter who still keep their mother's 'cookbooks and who love to cook elaborate, spicy dishes. By contrast, Gregory has kept his simple food preferences throughout his life.

Gregory's mother was an accomplished full-time cook and mother who delighted in showering the family and neighbours with a never-ending variety of fruit cakes, pavlovas, date and nut slices and apple pies. His father did not share or even think of helping with the cooking of meals as he often came home after dark as he had a farming contract business. Ready for bed, Gregory took pleasure from watching him eating and from sitting on his lap before finally going to bed. This idyllic childhood suddenly ended when, at the age of thirteen, along with many other secondary-age farming boys, he was sent off to boarding school, a move which he describes as ending his childhood. Here as at home he was given plain food:

"Both parents preferred plain food. My father appreciated early on that plain is better. My mother also preferred simple food. Primarily, because I like the physical taste in my mouth of foods as they naturally occur, rather than to have a natural flavour altered with additional spices or garnishes...I like potatoes to taste like potatoes. I don't know whether this is a result of nature, just my genetic make-up or nurture, or the environment in which I grew up."

Of his generation of men growing up in the 1930s and '40s, and in his father's generation before him, men did not help their wives in the kitchen. This is partly because most wives were full-time housewives. Another characteristic of that generation, particularly during the war years was that men did not easily show their feelings or share these with their wives and children. This was considered as an

‘unmanly’ thing to do. Although Gregory is a good provider and family man, his love of family has not been transmitted through love of food.

If his second wife is away, Gregory will cook simple meals for himself. However, this is of necessity only as Gregory still expects his wife to do the cooking. Equally well so, Gregory’s second wife is of a generation where this was expected of a good wife. Thus, there is no conflict on this issue. This expectation is typical of his generation and is also reflected in case histories (two, four and six).

Sebastian’s identity has been formed by a close emotional involvement in his mother’s cooking, her food preference and enjoyment of, strongly flavoured foods. His mother shared her father’s love of food as does her son. Food plays an important part in Sebastian’s life, an interest he shares in common with his wife, teenage son and daughters. In his family everybody helps in the preparation of meals including the Sunday roast. It is the opportunity for all the family to get together including the oldest son who now lives independently.

A notable feature of this case history therefore, is that Sebastian’s food preferences are far different from that of his father who always preferred plain foods. Sebastian identifies as did his father with the expectation that New Zealand men should cook the meat on the barbeque when preparing a meal outdoors. However, his preference for highly spiced and seasoned ethnic foods are derived from and introduced by his mother who came from restaurant food culture background. As a teenager, Sebastian helped his mother in the restaurant and as a kitchen hand in other food businesses once he left school. Culturally, food is much more important as an integral part of his own family life, than his father’s. Food ties his family together as every family member including his children gain great pleasure from cooking.

Sebastian, unlike his father who maintains more rigid beliefs that a real man’s place is not in the kitchen, freely shares his wife’s love of food and does not regard himself as any less of a man, husband or father for doing so. He fully expects that his son will also follow his example and be more flexible, abandoning the formerly strict gender-based division of domestic tasks. That his mother and father had entirely different food preferences does not worry him as he has developed a food culture and gender role that is entirely in harmony with his wife’s.

7-6 Case history six: Paula, Ian and Alice's identification

In keeping her mothers' collection of recipes, known technically as 'manuscript cookbooks', and in cooking her mother's favourite dishes, Paula has maintained her family's culinary preferences down the generations. Paula also keeps a series of home science encyclopaedias to refer to. She has appreciated the importance of fresh quality ingredients, as her own mother believed in keeping her children healthy by giving them fresh produce. For example, Paula was given quinine as a tonic to avoid food poisoning. Paula's adult daughter and son-in-law consume healthy foods. The link between the generations is therefore that of healthy food choices.

As a strict Catholic, Paula sometimes consumes fish dishes on Friday, so her food choices are also partly governed by religious dictates and doctrines. However, she has not continued to cook many favourite Irish dishes, such as savoury pudding made from sheep's blood, known as black pudding.

Religious values have shaped Paula's absolute commitment to her husband and children, as someone to meet all their needs, often at the expense of her own. Paula's first priority has been 'to be there' for the family. This was an expectation placed on her own mother since Paula's father insisted that his wife did all the cooking and other household tasks. Being solely responsible for raising the children and for running the family was also Paula's husband's expectation. For this reason, he would not permit Paula to go out to work when the children were teenagers, and he would only help her out with household tasks such as vacuuming, if Paula specifically asked him to do so.

As previously noted among the male respondents in the six case histories who are now in their late 60s to mid 70s, this type of rigidly defined gender specific roles is evident. However, it is not so evident in the case histories of their adult children, where these roles are far more flexible and adaptable.

Ian's vegetarian lifestyle food practices have been mainly influenced by his friends. In spite of growing up in a catholic family with the regular custom of Sunday roast meals, Ian has freely chosen his own food choices and established part of his own identity via his vegetarianism. Thus, like his sister, Ian has forged his own distinctive cultural identity through his food choices, although his favourite dish,

boiled pudding, still links him to his mother's preferred foods and he sometimes eats his mother's roast meat dishes when he returns home. His food choices are therefore specific to the situation.

Ian does not have any hesitation in talking about his interests in cooking with his friends of both genders. He must, of necessity, cross gender boundaries of cooking as he lives on his own, though cooking has no negative gender restriction for him. For Ian, cooking is part of his socialisation and his popularity with friends. Ian's gender identity has never been insecure by his food practices, making chocolate pudding, cooking meals or being vegetarian.

As a married woman, Alice has lived in various locations with her husband in his home land, Middle East, as well as in the United States of America. Her life-style is far different from her parents. So Alice is very cosmopolitan in her food tastes. It is evident that Alice, as an adult child, has formed an entirely different food culture of her own from her parents. This is a blend of Middle Eastern cuisine which, unlike the ingredients usually favoured by New Zealanders, does not include predominantly dairy products such as butter, cream and sugary desserts. Obviously, the Middle Eastern diet is far healthier than the usual New Zealand diet.

However, Alice still enjoys baking using semi-prepared commercial cake mixes, just as she did when at intermediate school level. She was taught in her home economic classes to bake scones, pikelets and chocolate cake. By contrast, for sweets her Middle Eastern husband enjoys only fruit and mint tea. Alcoholic drinks are consumed in moderation. The message is, 'Eat first, drink later', instead as is the New Zealand tradition, drink first then eat.

She enjoys the roast meals still prepared by her mother and to that extent is flexible in her food choices. She appreciates that her mother fed her healthy food and never junk food or leftovers. One manifestation of the cross-generational transmission of her culinary traditions is that of the need for fresh, good quality food ingredients. Even if she was a full-time housewife like her mother, she would not want to fit into this role, and would expect cooking and other domestic tasks to be shared 50/50. That her husband does most of the cooking and Alice cooks less frequently does not

worry her. She is determined not to fulfil and play the traditional 'housewife' role as her mother did.

Here is an equal partnership as her husband takes pride in his occupation as a professional chef and is more skilled than she is. In fact, for this reason, Alice is not encouraged by him to cook on a day by day basis, except for preparing his breakfast. Therefore, the marriage arrangement is as co-workers in the business as she will work in the restaurant kitchen and at the tables when required to do so. At present they have no immediate plans to raise children which make this sharing arrangement possible. Her marital situation is thus far different from her parents, since they have lived and worked in different parts of the world over the years while her parents have not.

7- 7 A summary of identification dynamics involved in the transmission of the family food culture

When an individual as a child identifies strongly with the primary care giver, who is the main food provider for the family, that individual identifies with the gender of the care giver and the role of cooking as an inseparable set of elements as part of his or her own identity formation. All the respondents nominated the mother as the primary care giver and as the family cook. However, the female person nominated by respondents, as the most influential person in shaping the importance of food and cooking in their adulthood, was not always the same person nominated as the primary care giver. In only six out of 15 individual instances was the mother, nominated as the primary care giver and the most influential person in shaping their values and attitudes to food and cooking. In the remaining nine instances replies varied with father, grandmothers, aunts, husband and friends, or no one nominated as the most influential person.

Food has multiple meanings which play an important part in unifying the family and in strengthening emotional bonds between family members. On the other hand, atypical dietary preferences and eating behaviours can also help to reveal family dysfunctions and disturbances in the relationship between family members. In such

cases, there is a little transmission of the family food culture from one parent generation to the next. This dynamic is supported in case history three (Annabel) where the most influential person was a takeaway food provider, and in case history four (Bridget) where food became ammunition for a clash of wills between mother and daughter.

All the respondents showed some changes in their food preferences and attitudes to cooking since childhood, along with other changes in their life experiences. Their self-identifications through food have also been changing, and the changes were more profound in the second generation respondents. In case history six, the adult daughter (Alice) blended elements of her Pakeha family food culture with her husband's Middle Eastern food culture, which however, pre-dominated. The second generation's identification through food, unlike their parents, was more varied by the influence of the globalisation of food, as documented by Marwick (2009).

Part Four

Discussion

Chapter Eight: The Most Popular Dishes and their Social Meanings

This chapter discusses the culinary history and the meanings of the two most popular meals nominated by the respondents, the Sunday roast and the pudding,

8-1 The Sunday roast

12 out of 15 respondents answered 'roast meal' as their favourite dish. Memories of roast meals on Sundays form part of the reminiscences of ten out of 15 of the participants in this study and are treasured memories of their childhood years. Selected extracts from the transcripts of the recorded interviews illustrate these recollections: -

"My favourite dish from my mother's cooking is, oh, so many. My most favourite meal was roast beef or pork with sticky date pudding" (Mrs Dalloway).

"On Sunday, we usually had a roast meal after going to church. Sunday roast meals were a New Zealand tradition." (Lisa)

"If we had our grandparents over for lunch, I usually cooked a roast meal... But today Sunday roast is a thing of the past. It became old fashioned. When our daughters were teenagers, they often went out on Saturday with their friends. So they didn't eat much on Sunday. Sunday roast was always a meal you cooked to please everyone. For us, when our girls were teenagers and still living with us, it was not a great thing to eat roast on Sunday. They were not at home, they were often with their boyfriends at someone else's on weekends. Now, my eldest daughter and her husband eat quite different food." (Lotte)

"My mother was very good at roast meals. It was the best meal of the week. The meal was mouth-wateringly scrumptious, perfectly cooked and accompanied by the acrid smell of mint sauce and vinegar holding hands with the gravy. The ultimate test of a well cooked leg of pork was crisp and not soggy, crackling, and the crackling just melted in my mouth. Only recently, in my early old age, have I come to the realisation that Sundays were also the happiest days for my parents as both could unwind and relax and enjoy each other's company." (Cedric)

"Sunday is always a roast dinner. Yes, it's the family time. Our son is flatting at the moment, and of course, teenagers always try to escape away from home if they can (laughs), but we always say to them, 'If you are in town, can we have a meal together?' Sunday is a family meal. – The family is still busy during the day, so we have Sunday roast for dinner at night time not at midday. This is very

important for family unity.” (Sebastian)

Why has the Sunday roast meal been such a popular dish among Pakeha New Zealanders? Just like their British forebears, Pakeha New Zealanders were heavy meat eaters from colonial times with meat for breakfast, lunch and dinner (Williams, 1939)¹. ‘Meat and three veggies’ was a staple diet for New Zealanders up until the 1960s when Graham Kerr, Hudson and Halls introduced the country via their TV shows and cookbooks to a more varied and ethnically diverse diet. Their recipes drew on various ethnic cuisines, French, Italian, Chinese, Indian and Greek dishes among others. The consumption of beef was the highest, followed by lamb and mutton. Mutton was treated not only as a commodity in the domestic and international meat market, but also as a part of wages for farm labourers.

“He [Lotte’s father] worked on farms and got a job as a shepherd... Sometimes his wage was paid by a sheep.” (Lotte)

In the post World War II years lamb became more popular than mutton, which gave off a pungent gamey smell lingering during cooking. Gravy, rosemary and mint sauce remained popular to go with this dish because they mask these odours. It was also common to use lamb or mutton from the Sunday dish to served up as leftovers during the coming week in various dishes, such as sandwiches, pies, casseroles, cold cuts and salads.

“We lived off roast mutton during the week as well, served up in different dishes; cold meat one day, steamed the next, minced up with kidney and heart which ended up in a shepherd pie” (Lotte).

Eventually, the mutton was finely minced up in aluminium hand rotated mincer, once a universal kitchen appliance remembered by most of the parent-generation participants in this study. Until the introduction of battery hen farms which mass produced chickens in the 1960s and 1970s, chicken was relatively expensive and rarely consumed. Some respondents recall: -

¹ Dr Ulrich Williams (1939) drew a conclusion from his medical experiences that the ultimate cause of preventable disease was a poor diet. He wrote that unhealthy eating patterns were typically seen in farmers’ food consumption (*Hints on Healthy Living*).

“We often ate chicken as a Sunday roast, but chicken was very expensive at that time.” (Alice)

“Chicken was then so expensive that I don’t think that we ate chicken very often.” (Toby)

Today, chicken is both the cheapest as well as the most frequently consumed meat (Statistics New Zealand, Meat and Wool, 2010). Although Toby’s parents were running a small family farm keeping livestock including chickens, the family rarely ate chicken, they just kept them for their eggs, Toby says. In the 1980s and 1990s, conventional family running farm businesses had been subsidised by the government to protect New Zealand farming from international competition. However, the restrictions on importing chicken were lifted in the 1970s, which resulted in a cheaper chicken supply and the closure of many family farm businesses like Toby’s parents’.

As well, England was closing off its markets to New Zealand, lamb and butter forcing New Zealand to find new markets in Asia as the National Government’s payout subsidies to farmers stopped. Hugh Campbell (2006) provides a brief history of how neo-liberal reforms took hold in the 1980s and 1990s. He states that the global food governance created market access barriers to food produced under many previously acceptable conventional farming practices. Ironically, after Toby’s father quit the farm business and got another job in the town, he had enough time to cook for his wife and four children, and the family started to try new dishes including a variety of chicken dishes.

The KFC (Kentucky Fried Chicken Franchise) outlet opened its first restaurant in New Zealand in 1971 (Marwick, 2009). New Zealanders’ meat consumption has drastically changed since, particularly with the mass-production of caged chicken. Since it was the cheapest meat to produce this boosted its consumption.

Overall, today, New Zealand is the world’s fifth largest meat eating country and the average New Zealander consumes 102.3 kilo grams of meat every year (Statistics New Zealand, *Meat and Wool*, 2010)¹. In 2006, each person in New Zealand ate on

¹ New Zealand’s economy heavily relies on its agricultural industries, the dairy sector (41.8%) and meat sector (39.6%) in particular (Statistics New Zealand, *Meat and Wool*, 2010).

an average 37 kilogram of poultry (up from 28 kilograms in 2000); 34 kilograms of beef, and 20 kilograms of pork (Potts and White, 2008, p.338).

8-2 The cultural meaning of the roast

The social or cultural meaning of the roast meal becomes clearer when it is compared with other cooking methods. Claude Levi-Strauss (2008) analyses the difference between boiling and roasting by explaining what he describes as the culinary triangle (shown below):

(Diagram 2: Levi-Strauss' 'Culinary Triangle')

(Italics: the conditions of food material)

(Bold: three major culinary methods)

(Underlined: the means of cooking)

(Source: Adapted from Levi-Strauss, C. (2008). Chapter 7, The Culinary Triangle. In C. Counihan & K. van Esteric (Eds.). *Food and Culture*, p. 47)

The culinary triangle represents the equilibrium of three major cooking methods. It is made up of the three categories of food condition: raw, cooked and spoiled (rotten or aged), and three major means of cooking by fire, water and smoke. The terms

‘roasted’, ‘boiled’ and ‘smoked’ are distinguished by the a smaller or larger space given to the element of air. Boiling is distinguished from other cooking methods by the presence or absence of water; cooking with water or cooking without it. With the former, the water penetrates the food in depth, and with the latter, water is at a distance from the food. Smoking food forms the double function of both cooking and flavouring the food at the same time. Roasting is located halfway between boiling and smoking. In roasting, the heat is less direct than boiling, though both methods cook the food by high temperatures. Levi-Strauss (2008) argues that historically, boiled meat was dished up for the family meal, while roasted meat was for banquets. Thus, roasting has been the most effective method to cook large quantities of animal meat for equally huge numbers of people.

8-3 Roast meals in the New Zealand context

Since colonisation, New Zealand’s main rural industry has predominantly been horticultural and agricultural (Leach, 1984). Leach states that two agriculture traditions were brought to New Zealand; one from Polynesia and the other from England, which involved raising livestock on grass paddocks. Before large areas of the land were converted into pastures by Pakeha, Maori’s main source of protein was fish. Once the large proportion of the country’s land was cleared of bush, the meat industry has been one of the major industries in New Zealand’s economy.¹

The early colonists were heavy meat eaters. Shanks of beef were spit roasted horizontally over an open fire or hung vertically from a ‘bottle jack’, rotisserie style, or the meat was cut up into small pieces and stewed in a casserole dish on a large cast iron pot hung over a wood or coal fire. With the advent of coal-fired ovens in the 1860s, coal gas ovens in the 1880s and electric ovens from the 1920s and 1930s, oven temperatures via gas regulators and electrical thermostats, permitted greater control over cooking temperatures. Roasting in enclosed ovens then became more popular.

¹ A large proportion (52 %) of New Zealand’s total land areas of 268,021 km² was developed for the purpose of agriculture. New Zealand’s sheep trade contributes to nearly half (49.7%) of international sheep trade market (Statistics New Zealand, *Meat and Wool*, 2010).

Not only the meat, but vegetables as well, most commonly potatoes, carrots, parsnips, kumara, swedes, parsnips, onions and sometimes turnips were roasted in the last hours of cooking along with the roast meat in dripping or lard, oozing from the meat initially as a liquid but then congealing. This was never wasted and was stored for frying or ended up as a filling in sandwiches for lunch.

“My aunts used to keep the dripping and reused it for cooking the next meal” (Lisa).

According to Simpson (2008. p.63), within the first forty years of settlement, New Zealand became not only a land of milk and honey with a wide variety of vegetables and fruits grown, but also a land of lard, butter, cream and greasy meat, and this calorie-rich roast meal contributed to weight gain: portly men and tightly corseted women. With morning teas, generous lunches, dinners and even suppers at night, New Zealand was by the turn of the century a land of milk and honey with a ‘conspicuous over-consumption of food’ (Simpson, 2008).

The tradition of the roast meal on Sunday slipped out of custom during the second world war years because of rationing and scarcity of food supply. However, the tradition of enjoying a roast meal on Sundays has survived as part of the religious ritual of going to church on that day. Thus, since early colonial times, the Sunday roast has formed part of the cultural and religious identity of Pakeha New Zealanders across at least six generations. It has served to link the generations together, because Sunday roast has been such a regular weekly feature of family life. It also shows how a certain food can become an identity marker for a group of people when the concept of the identity of the food was shared by the majority.

However, even though the tradition of Sunday roast survived for most of the respondents in this study, this tradition cannot be generalised to the whole population at large. This tradition may have been influenced by economic factors such as the increasing costs of meat. Even if the tradition of the Sunday roast has not been retained by all the respondents or the roast meal was not every Sunday for some respondents, yet they still have strong memories of this tradition as an important part of their sense of family identity and their food rituals.

8-4 Sunday roast and the family identity

Cigori and Scabini (2006) discuss a relational model of a family identity and argue that to create the generativity of the family, humans need three biological factors: gender, generation and a family lineage. These physical factors organise a family and create three emotional attachments: the marital bond, the generational tie between parents and children and the sense of belonging among the family members in the group.

In applying this family model to the dynamics of food and the family identity, the vector of 'giving' food goes from the person who cooks to the person who eats. The receiver's receptiveness to the message food sends creates a reciprocity to define their family relationship and their identity through food. Without this reciprocity, food cannot convey personal identity or social meaning by itself. Thus, the transmission of the family identity through food necessarily takes two vectors; a visible transfer of food and an invisible exchange of the information which constitutes the meaning of food.

In case history three, Lotte's mother did not cook Sunday roast while her husband went away to the Middle East during the war. After he returned home, Lotte's mother once again started to cook the Sunday roast. Lotte herself as a mother had often cooked the Sunday roast for the family, though she stopped doing so when her teenage children started to go out with their friends on weekends. When one spouse was absent or away at war or once adolescent children started to have their own social network outside the family, the Sunday roast partly lost its function.

However, the regularity of the Sunday roast has served to constantly rebuild bonds between family members and to preserve and maintain family unity. The Sunday roast has played a significant role in New Zealand society to maintain the Pakeha family identity. However, based on whose labour, have these socially significant family food practices survived and maintained? The table on the following page presents the data.

(Table 3: Social discourse on the Sunday roast)

Case no.	Participant no.	Favourite main dish	Who cooked it?	Social discourse
1	1	Sunday roast (beef)	servants, mother, sister	'a social gathering for the whole family'
	2	Sunday roast	grandmother, aunts	'the event of the week for the family'
	3	fish pie	mother	'fresh fish my mother cooked'
2	4	Saturday roast	mother, grandmother	'one of the best memories of my childhood'
	5	roast	mother	'among her plain cooking, this was the best'
3	6	Sunday roast (lamb)	mother, grandmother	'Sunday was a visiting day, visiting our parents'
	7	fish and chips	commercial food provider	'a comfort food for me'
	8	Sunday roast (lamb)	mother, father and grandmother	'my grandmother was queen of the roast'
4	9	Sunday roast (pork)	mother	'It was the only day my parents were happy'
	10	roast (pork)	grandmother	'pleasant memory of my grandma'
5	11	Sunday roast	mother	'the symbolic food of my happy childhood'
	12	French cutlets	mother	'my mother's adventurous cooking'
6	13	Sunday roast (lamb)	mother	'Sunday roast was a special family day'
	14	Sunday roast (chicken)	mother	'After the church, we ate this with lots of people'
	15	Sunday roast (beef)	mother	'I even ate the gravy at the bottom of the roasting pot'

Interpretation of table 3

13 out of 15 respondents answered it was ‘mother’ who cooked the Sunday roast, and among them five mentioned along with ‘mother’ other female family members such as ‘grandmother’, ‘sisters’ or ‘aunts’. Only one respondent answered, ‘mother and father’. Hence, most roast meals on Sundays (or Saturdays) in this study were cooked by women. This means that despite that Sunday is the day for rest (which is called in religious terminology, the Sabbath), women have worked in the kitchen to maintain the family identity. Thus, women’s unpaid labour on Sundays has underpinned both the notion and function of the Pakeha family in New Zealand.

8-5 Pudding: Its popularity and demise

Puddings have a long history. Many of the old Medieval and Elizabethan manuscript cookbooks included a large number of recipes for puddings (Rapp, 1986). In this study, ten out of 15 respondents mentioned boiled or steamed pudding as their favourite dessert. This dish has been cooked for years in their family. Why has pudding been such a popular dish over so many generations?

The Kentish treacle pudding which has been cooked and eaten through at least four generations of the Dalloway Family (case history one) is one of the English puddings that had been locally cooked and named after its place of origin, such as Yorkshire pudding, Lancashire pudding or Kirk pudding. *The Aunt Daisy’s Cookbook* from the 1930s to the 1950s also contained dozens of recipes for pudding (Veart, 2008). This phenomenon means that English puddings were constantly cooked and widely eaten in that era by the public in New Zealand. Thus, pudding had been one of the most popular dishes since the colonial era right up until the mid 20th century.

In colonial times the main way to cook pudding was by boiling, and the most commonly cooked pudding prepared by the New Zealand housewives was Yorkshire pudding (Brewis, 1982). Pudding mixture was rolled into a ball, wrapped in muslin cloth, then was steamed in a pot above boiled water in the pot below. As Lisa (case

history one) mentions, most boiled puddings took three hours to cook properly. Why then was boiling the main method of cooking?

The reason is that boiling over wood or coal stoves was the most common way to cook food in that era, before coal gas stoves from the 1880s and electric stoves from the late 1920s became more readily available. By 1873, the Shacklock brand stove, which was invented by a Dunedin iron monger, H. E. Shacklock, controlled the heat more effectively so that food was neither under-cooked nor burnt. Once both gas and electric stoves came into wider use, they were able to regulate oven temperatures and control heat even more precisely. Housewives switched from boiled puddings to baking a wider range of sweet puddings that did not take so long to cook.

Another reason for the huge popularity of boiled pudding is that the puddings provided extra calories for the labouring workers: the forest workers, railway constructors, shepherds and shearers, and all those who worked manually without the benefit of modern machinery (Burton, 2009). This view is supported by Simpson (2008) who points out that puddings lessened the appetite because they were calorie rich and reduced hunger pains. This calorie-dense attribute of a pudding means that pudding was not always eaten as a sweet dessert, but it was also a savoury dish. In fact, a method of cooking savoury pudding, when it had been widely consumed among coal miners in the 19th century England, was to hang the roast meat over the pudding below (Brewis, 1982). The pudding dough was simply made from only three ingredients: flour, milk and salt, and absorbed the animal fat, dripping, on to it from the meat roasting above. Among the total of 550 recipes in *St Andrew's Cookbook* published in Dunedin in 1905 through various editions until the 1950s, over half the recipes were for puddings and desserts (Simpson, 2008).

Another reason for the popularity of puddings is that of a chemical attribute of flour. It becomes lighter, stretches and expands in volume, the longer it is steamed or boiled (Brett and Leys, 1883). A pound of flour boiled for three hours makes a much larger size pudding than a pound of flour boiled for only one hour and a half or two hours. Particularly, for large size households it was a cheap meal to cook and therefore economical for families to consume.

In case history one, Lisa in her recorded interview, states that as a child she and her sister always looked forward to eating treacle pudding at a dinner as a reward for the day's work for completing household chores. The meaning of 'pudding', a comfort food which rewarded the family for its daily labours, has been passed down to Lisa. The function of pudding as a reward is seen across all three current generations of the Dalloway Family. Thus, this dish is an important part of the preservation of both their family's identity and lifestyles. As Appadurai (2008, p.301) states, "Food emerges from its traditional moral and social matrix", so that the transmission of the food culture across countries and generations conveys people's moral and social standing.

8-6 The death of the pudding

The declining popularity of the pudding starts in the 1960s and 1970s when more women started to work outside the home. In this present generation (as shown by the adult children in the six case histories), boiled puddings have fallen out of favour and are seldom consumed. In all six case histories, adult-child respondents mention memories of their parents cooking puddings, although they themselves do not do so, apart from Eve (case history one) who now bakes puddings but does not boil them.

The main reason for the decline of puddings is the time taken to cook them properly. Boiled or steamed puddings took up to three to six hours time which the modern working women could no longer afford. A study conducted by University of Auckland researchers (Jaeger et al., 2008), 'Constraints upon food provisioning practices in 'busy' women's lives: Trade-offs which demand convenience', reveals that modern working women have on average only 40 minutes to prepare a dinner for the family.

Here is a comparative list of four recipes that were introduced as New Zealand's traditional puddings in a chronological order, which is showing changes in cooking time and the number of ingredients (shown in the following page).

(Table 4: New Zealand's traditional puddings – comparative cooking times)

pudding: cooking time

(The name of pudding) (The number of ingredients) (Cooking time)		
1	Christmas pudding (6 hours in advance, hang up to cool, then 3 hours to boil before serving) (The recipe provided by an Auckland gas company in the 1970s, Veart, 2008)	15 9 hours to boil
2	Traditional Christmas pudding	15 4 hours to boil (Burton, 2009)
3	Easy version of Christmas pudding	11 3 hours to steam (Burton, 2009)
4	New Zealand Christmas pudding	11 0 (No cooking required as it is a cold jelly pudding) (Burton, 2009)
5	Golden queen pudding	9 10 minutes by microwave
6	Bread pudding	9 8~10 minutes
7	Steamed carrot pudding	9 7 minutes
8	Encore steamed pudding	7 5 minutes (Holst, <i>Microwave Cooking</i> , 1987)

The list above illustrates that the more recent recipe is, the less the number of ingredients and cooking time, particularly if a microwave oven is used. Leach (2008) analyses 383 varied recipes of Christmas cakes from 158 compiled cookbooks between 1901 and 1980 in New Zealand and points out that many changes of recipe reflect a wide range of socio-economic changes, for example,

commodity costs and household incomes were influenced by the Great Depression, World War II and changing women's roles.

Simpson (2008) gives another reason for the decline of its sweet pudding by pointing out that the high sugar content in puddings could cause health problems such as diabetes or obesity. In fact, in the popular *Aunt Daisy's Cookbook* (2009), the number of recipes containing sugar far outnumbers the recipes for savoury dishes. Why is this so? New Zealanders consume a huge amount of sugar; on an average 26 teaspoons of sugar per person per day (Statistics New Zealand, *Sugar*, 2010). High sugar consumption was associated with the supply of New Zealand manufactured sugar product¹. Sugar was an instant hunger killer for labour workers. Treacle, the ingredient of the Dalloway family's treacle pudding, is a by-product of sugar manufacturing. The popularity of treacle pudding in both England and New Zealand caused the high consumption of treacle sugar (golden syrup). The Chelsea Sugar refinery opened in Auckland in 1885. The company has survived for 125 years until this day, due to consumer demand.

¹ In England, one short period of 30 years between 1848 to 1875, sugar consumption doubled, particularly for agricultural workers and industrial workers (Ratledge, 2004). By 1875, the per capita consumption of all classes in Britain had reached 25 pounds, and by 1870, working class per capita consumption overtook that of the middle and upper classes (Ratledge, 2004, p.103).

Chapter Nine: The identity of the housewife

This chapter discusses the identity of the fulltime housewife, their changing roles within the family and men's changing attitudes towards cooking.

9-1 The identity of the housewife

Zoe (case history two) and Paula (case history six) are two women who have lived their lives as full-time housewives and stay-at-home mothers. Their interviews and reminiscences demonstrate their strong family values. However, their role as full-time housewives has restricted their lives in the service of their husbands and children. Oakley (1992) defines the term 'housewife' as 'a woman who does housework as part of the expected role of a married woman. She argues that the synthesis of 'house' and 'wife' in a single term of 'housewife' suggests a strong link between a house and a woman: the inseparable connection of the material function of a house to accommodate a family group and the sexual function of the woman in a marriage. In other words, a house by itself, the dwelling place of a family, cannot be recognised as a 'home' without a housewife in it.

Oakley's argument is that as housewives belong to no organisations, trade unions or professional associations to defend their interests, and as a consequence, they have no wages in the social structure of industrialised modern societies.¹ The married man, on the other hand, can sell his labour for exchange of wages in the market place, while the wife cannot sell her labour because the marriage contract expects the wife to serve her husband and children. The economic valuelessness of unpaid housework performed by housewives creates a distinctive gendered economic disparity between paid work in the labour market and unpaid labour in the home. A typical example of this is seen in Paula's (case history six) reminiscence: -

“One day I said to my husband, ‘I want to get a job.’, but he said, ‘Paula, you look after the children, you look after me and run the house and the family. I have friends and so on. I don’t want you to get a job.... So I was the main cook. I guess I

¹ The role of the 'housewife in modern society features four characteristics; a role exclusively allocated to women, women's economic dependence on men, non-professional work status and primacy priority over other roles (Oakley, 1992).

fitted in to the expectations my generation placed on full-time housewives in the 1970s, which was to run the household, meet all the husband's needs, rear the children and to be fully supportive of my husband."

Also Zoe (case history two) says in her interview: -

"I feel good when I do baking, it is something what I am good at. I have a low self-esteem... My husband does not cook. He is an earner" (Zoe).

Thus, a woman's housewife role has deep roots within the patriarchal marriage and family system. Lotte (case history three), in her interview, suggests that the housewife role was regarded as 'natural' for both husband and wife.

"It was just natural, you just did what was expected of you. My grandmother was always cooking and my mother was always cooking. We didn't go and have a meal out. Probably we couldn't afford it. We just got married and you did the cooking. That was what you did."

Lotte's narrative shows how they have identified themselves with their previous generation and internalised their gender roles as their own. Lotte's marriage (at the age of only 20) was perceived by both Lotte and her husband as an unwritten social arrangement of the marital contract, in which Lotte would do all the housework even though she had a full-time job throughout the marriage. The reason why these two individuals did not discuss 'Who cooks?' was because the couple had already shaped their gender identities by internalising the roles performed by their parents and grandparents.

Another example of a couple with traditional roles was provided by Jacob (pseudonym, a 68 year old former property developer), whose interview data was not included in the main sample. Jacob had already lived in the same retirement village as Mrs Dalloway for five years and had been the youngest resident. As a child, his mother did all the cooking and so did his wife. Throughout his life, he had never cooked. "I did not get married to cook, I married a cook". That was his attitude toward cooking. However, when his wife died in 2004 at the age of 62, he used to stand in the kitchen crying helplessly. Month after month, he lived off canned food with 'gallons of ice cream' until he fell ill. After a long period of hospital care, Jacob was placed in the retirement village which supplied all his meals. Jacob's

story illustrates that those men who solely depend on women cooking for them face serious health risks, once their wives die or they divorce or they are left to cope on their own without any female kin. First generation males in this study did not seem to be aware of this risk either. This is because their sense of male identity was shaped by the women in their lives being conditioned into their roles as fulltime housewives and cooks.

Rigidly defined gender roles originates from the colonial era. Olssen (1999, p.44) states that “Marriage instituted a marked difference in the relationship between men and women, for the wife’s legal identity was subsumed within her husband’s, it went without saying that a wife followed the husband and ran his home”. Married women’s identities were formed within the marriage. Harrington (2002, p.110) argues that identity is formed within social process of gender identity construction. Similarly, Butler (2003) argues that gendered life scripts such as a marriage shape individuals’ identities and gendered acts produce the illusion of stable identities. By cooking daily meals for the family, many women may believe that they can strengthen their marriages and family structure.

9-2 Social changes in women’s roles

All the parent generation respondents who were born in the 1940s, Lisa, Stanley, Lotte, Cedric, Gregory and Paula, were reared by full-time housewives. By contrast, only two of the next generation (Ian and Alice) were reared in this way. This means that in only one generation there was a profound sociological shift in the numbers of working mothers who combined both roles.

The labour market changed in the 1960s followed by the Equal Pay Act. This type of social conditioning of women’s gender roles has placed many women with a double burden of juggling multiple roles: namely paid labour and unpaid housework. In the 1970s, these pressures contributed to marital breakdown and mental illness in some women left unsupported by their husbands, the so-called suburban neurosis. This is documented by Frances Walsh (2011) who recently published, *Women’s*

Work: A History of the New Zealand Housewife between 1890 and 1975 (See p. 255 for further discussion).

The 1970s also marked the women's liberation movement and the publication of feminist magazines such as *Eve*, *Thursday* and *Broad Sheet*, a new generation of magazines that helped women to break away from rigid gender role expectations. However, the magazines of an earlier generation such as the *New Zealand Home Journal* and the *New Zealand Women's Weekly*, conditioned their readers to accept the traditional role of the full-time housewife as 'natural' and as a norm.

The change to the longstanding gender role traditions came about through a number of factors, including more women entering the work force. According to Statistics New Zealand (*Focusing on Women*, 2010), during the last 40 years, labour force participation rates have been increasing for women. In 1971, 39 per cent of women were in the labour force compared with 82 per cent of men. The proportion of women working was under half that of men in 1971. By contrast, over the 30-year period, the proportion of women working has drastically increased to 60 per cent in 2001.

A report by Statistics New Zealand (*Analytical Report: More Mothers Working*, 2010) shows that there are more employed mothers in two-parent families. In 1986, 41.6 per cent of children in two-parent families were living with a full-time employed father and a full-time housewife. By 1996 this had dropped to 26.9 per cent. The proportion of children in two-parent families with both parents in paid work (either full time or part time) increased from 52.6 per cent in 1986 to 57.7 per cent in 1996. As early as 1975, 28 per cent of mothers have returned to the work force before their children turned five years old. By 2001, 45 per cent of mothers had done so. Mothers today are now less likely to delay or modify their participation in the labour force to care for their children than in previous years.

Thus, the main change that has taken place in the New Zealand family in the period 1971 to 2001 is a partial collapse of the nuclear family model that of a legally married couple with a solo breadwinner husband and a full-time housewife.

9-3 Convenience foods

Sherry Innes (2005, pp.19-24) argues that convenience foods made it possible for women to juggle the dual roles: -

“Millions of women from all class, race and ethnicity backgrounds would find it difficult or impossible to pursue careers without the aid of convenience foods... Modernity promised to change women’s places in the kitchen, a move away from old fashioned gender roles and toward more modern ones... No longer did women have to spend long hours cooking to demonstrate their love for their families”.

The availability of more convenience foods has cut down on the time needed to cook meals. The ability of the housewife to juggle the double role of the working mother and the family cook was assisted by two wider social developments: one, the availability of time saving kitchen appliances such as the pressure cooker (invented in 1950s) and the microwave oven (from the 1970s), and two, coupled with modern technology, the increased availability of convenience foods, such as ‘instant’ or ‘semi-cooked’ or ‘packet’ foods. The expansion of takeaway food outlets also dated from the 1970s. However, a study conducted by Jaeger et al. (2008) of the University of Auckland shows that part-time mothers still felt guilty about the use of convenience foods and that their identities were still linked to the more labour intensive homemade meals, which were cooked by their mothers.

West and Zimmerman (1987) argue that gender is neither property of individuals nor genetically determined from birth but is a socially learnt behaviour which individuals do. As described by West and Zimmerman (1987, p.126),

“Rather than as a property of individuals, we conceive gender as an emergent feature of the social situation: both as an outcome of and rationale for various social arrangements and as a means of legitimising one of the most fundamental divisions of society”.

Individuals are ‘doing gender’ because gender is a mere product of social interactions. Similarly, Butler (2003) provides another theory by arguing that gender is a constant performance for individuals. She theorises how individuals shape their gender identities through their actions with other people in cultural paradigms, and this established gender identity has the power to further enhance that identity. Butler’s notion of ‘gender performativity’ echoes West and Zimmerman’s notions of

‘doing gender’. If individuals are consciously or unconsciously ‘doing gender’ or ‘performing gender’ in situational contexts, men and women may perform differently in the act of cooking, because they may learn different gender norms and performances. Thus, housewives are not born that way, they are made that way.

On the other hand, Williams-Forson’s (2008) opinion is from the power angle: objects like food can be used as hegemonic representations of the woman’s power to control the family by food and offer complicated aspects of an individual’s identity. In case history four, Bridget’s and her mother’s relationship exactly demonstrates the fact that food can become a battle ground and a power struggle. Here it is the daughter who uses food to control her mother and not the other way round.

9-4 Men who cook

The particular food, which Gregory (case history five) and some men in this study, who never were the family cook but occasionally cooked for the family, was barbequed meat. For example, only in summer did Gregory cook meat on a barbeque in the family’s backyard. His son, Sebastian as a boy, watched his father “throwing sausages onto the barbie” and perceived this activity as one of the men’s roles. However, Sebastian later in life realised that the real cooking, even to make ordinary daily meals, needed much higher skills than barbeque cooking.

“When I watched my mum cooking a pavlova ... all of it was an art of religion I absolutely admire. The contrast in skill, standing beside dad cooking sausages which are so easy to cook!”

Cooking needs skills. Butler (2003) argues that obtaining mastery is not simply to accept a set of skills but it is both to embody rules in action and to reproduce these rules in embodied rituals of action. The term ‘rules’ can be interpreted as cultural norms or expectations.

According to some gender analysts, one of the reasons why some men do not cook daily meals for the family may be explained not only by the lack of their cooking skills, but also by their feeling that cooking might embody a female gender identity. Thus, men who cook masculinise the activity. Potts and White (2008, p.338) point

to the fact that TV cooking shows featuring male chefs often demonstrate the killing of animals by the chefs themselves. Thus, the cooking of meat becomes implicitly linked to killing the animal, an activity culturally constructed as masculine. Similarly, Aarseth (2007) concludes that men's cooking is related to the traditional men's outdoor sports or activities such as hunting, fishing or shooting.

However, the men who cook in this study are neither hunters nor fishermen, but they cook at home daily for themselves and for the family. Among the second generation respondents, Toby (case history three), Sebastian (case history five), Ian (case history six) and Alice's husband (case history six) all cook for themselves or share the role of cooking, because they have working wives or they are better cooks than their wives or girlfriends.

Men who share the preparation of meals also more closely involve themselves in the relationship with their wives and partners or in the parenting of their children, and thus blending gender roles and role sharing has many benefits to the healthy functioning of the family (Counihan, 2008). Sharing the domestic tasks reduces the multiple pressures faced by previous generations of housewives and mothers.¹

With more and more cookbooks now authored by men as well as television competitions such as *MasterChef Australia*² featuring celebrity male chefs, the trend for men to be increasingly involved in cooking meals for partners and families could be expected to accelerate.

¹ Christopher Carrington (2008) conducted a study of how homosexual couples share cooking in *Feeding Lesbian Families*. He argues that the conflict in the kitchen, as to 'Who cooks?', also occurs in homosexual couples as well as in heterosexual couples.

² *MasterChef Australia* is an Australian TV cooking show which has been broadcast by Fremantle Media Australia from 2009 to the present day.

(Table 5: The cross-generational transmission of New Zealand food culture and gender identification according to this thesis sample)

Case No.	Participant No.	Transmission relationship	Age	Gender	Transmission type	The primary caregiver	The most influential person	Food provided by	Acceptance of the role of cooking
1	1	Mother to	95	F	Atypical	Mother	Mother	House servants	No
	2	Daughter to	62	F	Atypical	Grandmother (maternal)	Grandmother (maternal)	Grandmother (maternal)	Yes
	3	Granddaughter	29	F	Typical	Mother	Mother	Mother	Yes
2	4	Father to	74	M	Atypical	Father Mother	Mother	Mother	No
	5	Daughter	42	F	Atypical	Mother	Grandmother (paternal)	Grandmother (paternal)	Yes
3	6	Mother to	71	F	Typical	Mother	Mother	Mother	Yes
	7	Daughter	48	F	Atypical	Mother	No person identified with	Commercial food provider	No
	8	(Son-in-law)	46	M	Atypical	Mother	Father Mother	Father Mother	Yes
4	9	Father to	70	M	Atypical	Mother	No person identified with	Mother	No
	10	Daughter	39	F	Atypical	Mother	Grandmother (paternal)	Mother Grandmother (paternal)	No
5	11	Father to	73	M	Atypical	Mother	Mother	Mother Wives	No
	12	Son	46	M	Atypical	Mother	Mother	Mother	Yes
6	13	Mother to	68	F	Typical	Mother	Mother	Mother	Yes
	14	Son	39	M	Atypical	Mother	Mother Friends	Mother	Yes
	15	and Daughter	36	F	Atypical	Mother	Husband	Husband	No

9-5 National identity and the family's food culture

The commentary on New Zealand cookbooks has reflected a singular notion of New Zealand food culture. Also academic writings have tended to reflect a Pakeha food culture and a homogeneous national identity. This was incorporated into the food choices of the first generation respondents in this study. However, individual Pakeha respondents did not specifically regard their food culture as part of a Pakeha food culture or as part of their New Zealand national identity. In daily life, second generation Pakeha respondents' food practices were multi-ethnic and their identities through food were pluralistic. First generation respondents were also making changes in defining themselves through food, though the changes were not as dramatic as those of their adult children.

The gap between the notion of homogeneous New Zealand's food culture and the pluralistic Pakeha New Zealanders' identities shows the disparity between an abstract national identity and individuals' ontological identities. The notion of a homogeneous New Zealand food culture and its national identity may be fictional. This is supported by Anderson (2006) who argues in *Imagined Communities* that the notion of a social identity category, such as a community, society, nation or state, is a fictional categorization, and therefore, such imagined boundaries create a vague sense of belonging and an ambiguous identity for modern individuals. Similarly, Brubaker and Cooper (2000) argue that an institutional ethno-national classification of identity legitimatises individuals' social identities, though it does not shape individuals' self identity in everyday life.

Only one exception was Bridget, the expatriate, who started to think about her national identity through her home country's food. Her overseas experience made her think more about the link between some iconic New Zealand foods and her identity as a New Zealander.

Claudia Bell (1996) argues in *Inventing New Zealand* that New Zealand's culture demonstrates Pakeha identity as dominant, because Pakeha's relationships with the land and its appropriation from the Maori constructed a component of its national identity. The idea of a homogeneous New Zealand food culture and its national identity may be a myth as she argued.

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions of this study are summarised mainly by reference to the recorded interviews and written culinary reminiscences.

1 De-gendering cooking

First generation men in this study developed few cooking skills in their lives as they did not think they needed to. This was because they solely expected women to cook for them. On the other hand, for many of the first generation women, being the sole cook was a burden. Cooking or preparing food was considered part of women's oppression, if they held down a job as their husbands did.

By contrast, second generation men and women showed different attitudes to cooking. The second generation men learnt basic cooking skills on various occasions (e.g. a cooking lesson at school, boy scout training, working experiences as a kitchen hand in a restaurant or by watching their mothers' or fathers' cooking). Their male identity has not been influenced in any negative way by cooking. Rather, cooking has been a good communication tool for them to have a better relationship with their wives, children and girlfriends.

Second generation women feel less burdened by the task of cooking. Some second or third generation women positively embraced the role of the family cook, as part of their gender identity and as an expression of their femininity. However, some did not. For the second generation women, becoming the family cook is a flexible decision of their role choices within their relationship determined by the couple's ability to negotiate. The decision was contingent on both parties' agreement, not determined by one partner's gender-based expectation of the other. Three major elements helping the de-gendering of cooking are, whether they have a paid job, their time availability and cooking skills. Although this study has found some de-gendering of cooking, this does not mean that women are not still doing a lot more unpaid work overall.

2 Food as a problem - eating disorders and obesity

Only two respondents talked about their problematic relationships with food. Although both of them had unusual eating behaviours, neither of them were anorexic or bulimic. Not one of the 15 respondents was obese. Eating disorders and obesity are modern psychosomatic diseases which today's individuals are at risk of contracting regardless of their gender. However, it should be noted that the two individual instances were second generation females who showed unusual dietary choices from a young age.

3 The globalisation of food

The respondents' changing food consumption reflected the globalisation of food over the past few decades in New Zealand. The second generation respondents have enjoyed new eating lifestyles with ethnically diversified food choices and a greater availability of industrialised, semi-prepared convenience foods. Their cosmopolitan identity through food was one which the first generation respondents were not able to form.

4 National identity and the family's food culture identity

Pakeha respondents' cultural identity were less connected to the notions of nationhood than the commercial cookbooks and New Zealand's culinary histories suggested. Rather, the Pakeha respondents' food practices connected them to their own family heritage with shared Pakeha origins in common. All the Pakeha families chose remarkably similar dishes, Sunday roast and pudding, as their favourite food. By cooking and eating them, they had preserved their family culture and its identity from one generation to the next. Only one of the 15 respondents connected her food choices to her national identity as a New Zealander, though she was the only respondent living overseas. Unsurprisingly, one's sense of national identity comes to the fore when one lives abroad as an outsider.

5 Unique aspects of this study

Although this is a small scale study, it is probably unique in New Zealand's sociological literature to compare the interview narratives and the written culinary reminiscences of the parent generation with the same data provided by their adult children or adult grandchildren. The data showed that after only generation, New Zealand society experienced major changes in gender roles associated with cooking and in individuals' cultural and gender identity formation through food.

The study touched on how the task of cooking influenced the gender identity of each partner and on each other's perception of masculinity and femininity within their family dynamics. These changing trends were reflected in New Zealand's extensive cookbook literature and were promoted by the numerous cooking personalities of both genders. This study also revealed that the manuscript type of cookbook was the most frequently used by each respondent.

6 Directions for future research

In view of the small sample of only six case histories and 15 individuals in total, the conclusions arising from the data are only indicative. However, several new lines of inquiry suggested by the findings could provide topics for future study in sociology namely: -

There are different lines of the transmission of the family's food culture in each case history, not only mother to daughter, but father to daughter, mother to son and father to son. A larger scale study within each category with more respondents would allow more reliable conclusions to be drawn and to be supported by a statistical analyses of the data.

The changing attitudes to cooking and to 'Who does the cooking?' by both men and women, but particularly men, would repay more attention in the sociological literature as to the changing face of masculinity in New Zealand and the dynamics of their family lives.

(Word total 39,872 words)

Appendices

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**Appendix One: The research consent,
information sheet,
questionnaire,
interview schedule and
a shop advertisement**

The research consent form

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI

Victoria University of Wellington

Consent to Research Participation in Title of Project: **Sociology of Food, Cooking and Identity** (SACAHEC Approval #17742)

1. I agree to participate in this research on food, cooking and identity carried out by Kathey Kudo and supervised by Dr Carol Harrington from the Sociology program at Victoria University of Wellington.
Yes No (Circle one)
2. I understand that an audio recording will be made of the interview which may be transcribed in whole or in part. Yes No
3. I understand that hard copies of my information sheet, questionnaire, and interview recording will be kept in a secure storage under a lock and key for no more than **three years** by Ms Kudo. Any electronic data from the questionnaire and interview will be password protected. If Ms Kudo would like to keep my data longer, she will contact me again and ask for my consent at that stage. My name will not be kept on my tape recorded interview or questionnaire. Yes No
4. I understand that quotations and information from my interview and questionnaire may appear in Ms Kudo's thesis, copies of which will be kept in Victoria University Library. I understand that Ms Kudo may also use quotations and information from my interview and questionnaire in future publications, for example theses, conference papers or articles. Yes No
5. I understand that the thesis or any written material based on this research will use a pseudonym if it includes material from my interview. Yes No
6. I understand that Ms Kudo will contact me whether I would like a summary, and If I wish, Ms Kudo will send me a summary of her analysis by mail or handing out by the end of July 2011. Yes No
7. I understand that if I would like to withdraw from the project, I will contact Ms Kudo within one month after the interview. Yes No

Date:

(Name of participant) Full name:

Signature:

(Contact details) Address:

Telephone number :

Email address :

Participant Information Sheet for a Research Project

Researcher: Kathey Kudo: School of Social and Cultural Studies, Victoria University of Wellington. I am completing a Master of Thesis Research Paper (SOSC 591) in Sociology at Victoria University of Wellington. The project is to analyse the relationship between cooking and individuals' identities. I am hoping to interview individuals for my research and also hoping to analyse a variety of media such as cookbooks which reflect New Zealand food culture.

For this research, I will give you or send you a questionnaire which will take about 10 ~15 minutes to complete. Following the questionnaire, I would like to interview you to expand on the information you have provided. The interview will take place from July to November 2010 at a place of your convenience. This would be a taped interview of around 60~90 minutes. The tapes will be held securely.

All information related to you will be kept confidential and any information that may identify you will not be used in this project. The questionnaires and the interview tapes will be kept for **three years** and if I want to use further I will contact you again and ask for your permission at that stage. If you would like to withdraw from the project, please contact me within one month after the interview. If you wish, I would be happy to send you a summary of my findings by mail at the end of July 2011. The results will be used for my thesis that must be submitted at the end of February 2011, and may be used for further research in this area.

If you have any questions or would like to receive further information about the project, please contact me at Kathey Kudo, Kathey.kudo@vuw.ac.nz (04) 472-7747, School of Social and Cultural Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, PO Box 600 Wellington, or my supervisor Dr Carol Harrington, Carol.harrington@vuw.ac.nz. (04) 463-7451, School of Social and Cultural Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, PO Box 600 Wellington 6140.

This project has been approved by the Ethical Committee of School of Social and Cultural Studies, Victoria University of Wellington (SACSHEC #17742 9/07/10).

Thank you.

Kathey Kudo

Date:

Signature:

Questionnaire < Food, Cooking and identity >

No.1

----- Please circle your answers. -----

* To start with, could you please tell about your childhood experiences of food?

1. When you were a child (under 10 years old):

① Who was your primary care giver? (Circle as many.)

mother father grandmother grandfather brother sister aunt uncle
nanny other members → Who? (e.g. stepmother, stepfather etc) _____

② Who usually prepared meals for you? (Circle as many.)

mother father grandmother grandfather brother sister aunt uncle
nanny other members → Who? (e.g. stepmother, stepfather etc) _____

③ Did you often watch when she/he was cooking?

Yes No → Why? Any reason? _____

④ How much did you enjoy his/her cooking? (Circle one number.)

(very much) → 5 4 3 2 1 (not at all)

⑤ What was your favourite dish and who cooked it?

2. When you were a teenager:

⑥ Were you interested in cooking?

Yes → What kind of interest did you have? _____

No → Why? Any reason? _____

⑦ Did you sometimes cook for yourself?

Yes → What did you cook? _____ No → Why? _____

⑧ How did you help to prepare the family meals? (Circle as many.)

menu planning grocery shopping preparation cooking table setting
doing the dishes cleaning up the kitchen other _____

⑨ Did anyone of your family prepare meals along with you?

Yes → Who? _____ No → Any reason? _____

⑩ Did you have cooking lessons at school?

Yes → When? _____ No (Go to page 2)

* Could you please tell about your food practices at the present?

① Now how much do you enjoy cooking (Circle one number.), and why?

(very much) → 5 4 3 2 1 (not at all)

Because _____

② How often do you cook at home?

everyday once a week twice a week three times a week

more than three times a week () times a month () times a year none

③ How do you get meals on your typical day, and how many minutes does it take?

Breakfast: by preparing at home by buying at a fast food restaurant

other _____ () minutes

Lunch: by preparing at home by buying at a fast food restaurant

by buying a takeaway by eating at a restaurant other _____ () minutes

Dinner: by cooking at home by preparing an instant meal by buying a takeaway

by eating at a fast food restaurant (McDonald's etc) by eating at a restaurant

other _____ () minutes

④ How much of the home cooking do you consume instant food, such as tinned soup, frozen vegetables, an instant meal or a frozen dinner?

(%) → 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 (Circle one)

⑤ Who usually does the dishes?

me others → Who? _____

* Could you please answer some questions about you?

⑥ Age: () years old

⑦ Gender: male female transgender

⑧ Were you born in New Zealand?

Yes No → Where were you born? country _____

⑨ How long have you lived in New Zealand? () years

⑩ How many people are living in your household at the present? ()

(Thank you for filling this out.)

Interview schedule (Semi-structured interview)

1/2

< Food, Cooking, Cultural and Gender Identity>

1. Please mention two people who were the most influential persons regarding food and cooking in your life?
2. I notice that in your questionnaire you say that your (e.g. mother, father ... etc.) mainly prepared meals when you were a child. Why did you like or not like her/his cooking?
3. What kind of feelings did you experience as you watched her/him cooking?
Would you describe your memories as much as you can? - e.g. the smell, the atmosphere and the place the person used to cook. Was she/he wearing an apron?
If you did not, why? Were not you welcomed to enter the kitchen as a child/teenager?
4. When your mother (father etc) was cooking, what was your father (mother etc) doing?
5. On what occasion, did your family eat a takeaway or eat out?
6. If your parents or relatives had a barbeque meal, who cooked the meat?
7. Did any of your family members go fishing, hunting or kill farm animals to eat?
How did other members of your family react to these activities? What kind of feelings did you have in your mind to see these kinds of activities?
8. Did your parent(s) have a home garden? How did they share the labour in the garden? – e.g. who grew flowers, vegetables or raised chickens?
9. Now do you have your own garden to grow your own food such as vegetables or to keep chickens? If yes, what does it mean to you? – e.g. health, natural food, cheaper, family identity, a leisure activity etc.
10. If you had cooking lessons at school, how has that influenced your adult life? - e.g. your own food practices, health or relationships with others.
If you did not, did your parent(s) or anyone else give you cooking lessons at home?

11. What dish (meat and vegetable dish, dessert, cakes and biscuits) brings back the strongest emotional memories of your childhood? Who cooked this dish? Do you still eat this dish today?
12. What is your favourite dish now? Who cooks it?
13. Please tell about your dinner during the past week/the last seven days. How many dinners you prepare at home?
14. When is the last time you cooked? What did you eat and how did you cook?
15. What kind of pre-cooked food, instant meal or frozen dinner do you often use?
16. What proportion (percentage) of the home cooking do you share with your male/female partner?
17. How often do you try the recipes in the cookbooks or in the TV cooking programmes?
18. Have you kept old cookbooks from your parents, grandparents, relatives, ancestors or ancestry country?
19. Out of the meals eaten in your household each week, what proportion come from your family or country of origin?
20. Since growing up, have your food choices changed? If so, in what way? How has the change affected you? – e.g. since leaving home, married, divorced or immigrating to New Zealand, the changes affected physically or emotionally.
21. How do you think about men's cooking at home? Do you believe men should cook as often women cook?
22. How do you describe your cultural identity through your food practices?
23. Is food important part of your life? If so, why? If no, why not?
24. Is cooking important part of your life? If so, why? If no, why not?
25. What does food or cooking mean to you?

Advertisement

----- **Research Participant Wanted** -----

Would you like to talk about your favourite food in an interview?

I am conducting a study to find out how food and cooking has helped to form your identity. You will be asked to fill out a consent form which will protect your privacy. Your name will not be used or mentioned in my thesis for a Master of Arts in Sociology, School of Social and Cultural Studies, Victoria University of Wellington (SACSHEC Approval #17742). To qualify you would need to meet the following criteria:

- 1. You must be over 65 years of age.**
- 2. You must agree to interview being recorded.**
- 3. Ideally, you will have adult children in Wellington and its immediate suburban area.**

(You can withdraw from this study.)

- In reply either by email or by phone or by voice mail, please give your full name, address and contact phone number(s) or email address, indicating your willingness to participate in this project.

Kathey
Email: Kathey.kudo@vuw.ac.nz
Tel : (04) 472-7747

Kathey
Email : Kathey.kudo@vuw.ac.nz
Tel: (04) 472-7747

Kathey
mail: Kathey.kudo@vuw.ac.nz
Tel: (04) 472-7747

Kathey
Email: Kathey.kudo@vuw.ac.nz
Tel: (04) 472-7747

Appendix Two: The participant list

(Table 6: The participant list - background data on the participants)

Case history one		Parent (first generation)	Adult child (second generation)	Adult grandchild (third generation)
1	Age	95 years	62 years	29 years
2	Gender	female	female	female
3	Ethnicity	Pakeha	Pakeha	Pakeha
4	Occupation	retiree	real estate agent	public servant
5	Marital status	widow	married	married
6	Cross-generational transmission	mother to adult daughter to adult granddaughter		

Case history two		Parent (first generation)	Adult child (second generation)
1	Age	74 years	42 years
2	Gender	male	female
3	Ethnicity	Pakeha	Pakeha
4	Occupation	retired teacher	full-time stay-at-home mother
5	Marital status	married	married
6	Cross-generational transmission	father to adult daughter	

Case history three		Parent (first generation)	Adult child (second generation)	Son-in-law (second generation)
1	Age	72 years	48 years	46 years
2	Gender	female	female	male
3	Ethnicity	Pakeha	Pakeha	Pakeha
4	Occupation	retired nurse	nurse	architect
5	Marital status	married	married	married
6	Cross-generational transmission	mother to adult daughter and to son-in-law		

Case history four		Parent (first generation)	Adult child (second generation)
1	Age	70 years	40 years
2	Gender	male	female
3	Ethnicity	Pakeha	Pakeha
4	Occupation	counsellor	public relations consultant
5	Marital status	legally separated	legally separated
6	Cross-generational transmission	father to adult daughter	

Case history five		Parent (first generation)	Adult child (second generation)
1	Age	72 years	46 years
2	Gender	male	male
3	Ethnicity	Pakeha	Pakeha
4	Occupation	retired insurance executive	I.T.C. consultant
5	Marital status	married	married
6	Cross-generational transmission	father to adult son	

Case history six		Parent (first generation)	Adult child (second generation)	Adult child (second generation)
1	Age	68 years	39 years	36 years
2	Gender	female	male	female
3	Ethnicity	Pakeha	Pakeha	Pakeha
4	Occupation	widowed housewife	writer	administrator
5	Marital status	married	single	married
6	Cross-generational transmission	mother to adult son and to adult daughter		

Pilot interview participant (16)		
1	Age	82 years
2	Gender	female
3	Ethnicity	Pakeha
4	Occupation	computer lecturer
5	Marital status	widowed

Pilot interview participant (17)		
1	Age	68 years
2	Gender	male
3	Ethnicity	Pakeha
4	Occupation	engineer
5	Marital status	de-facto relationship

Appendix Three: A simplified family tree

(Chart 1: My great family tree- a simplified family tree for participants to complete)

My Great Family Tree

Q: Which country did my ancestors come from?

A: Father's side _____

Who migrated here? _____ Which year? _____

Mother's side _____

Who migrated here? _____ Which year? _____

Q: Who are in my family tree?

A: (my father's side) (my mother's side)
 _____ Ω Ω _____ Ω Ω _____
 (my great-grandfather) (my great-grandmother) (my great-grandfather) (my great-grandmother)

_____ Ω Ω _____ Ω Ω _____
 (my grandfather) (my grandmother) (my grandfather) (my grandmother)

How many siblings? () - _____ Ω Ω _____ - How many siblings? ()
 (my father) (my mother)

_____ Ω Ω _____
 (me) (my partner)

(my child/ren) _____ Ω _____ Ω _____ Ω _____ Ω
 (age:years old) () () () () ()

(my grandchild/ren) _____ Ω _____ Ω _____ Ω _____ Ω _____ Ω _____ Ω
 (years old) () () () () () () () ()

Appendix Four: The families' food preferences

(Table 7: The families' food preferences)

Mrs Dalloway

The family food preferences

Please select your three favourite dishes, specify them and circle 'yes' or 'no'

My favourite dish	My grandmother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	My mother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	I still cook this dish for myself or for my own family	My children cook this dish	I buy this dish/food from the supermarket
1 Main dish (savoury) Specify: Roast beef	(circle one) <div>Yes No</div>	 <div>Yes No</div>	 <div>Yes No</div>	 <div>Yes No</div>	 <div>Yes No</div>
2 Dessert (puddings etc.) Specify: Treacle pudding	 <div>Yes No</div>	 <div>Yes No</div>	 <div>Yes No</div>	 <div>Yes No</div>	 <div>Yes No</div>
3 Biscuits and cakes (home baked) Specify: Fruit cake	 <div>Yes No</div>	 <div>Yes No</div>	 <div>Yes No</div>	 <div>Yes No</div>	 <div>Yes No</div>

Lisa (Mrs Dalloway's first daughter)

The family food preferences

Please select your three favourite dishes, specify them and circle 'yes' or 'no'

My favourite dish	My grandmother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	My mother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	I still cook this dish for myself or for my own family	My children cook this dish	I buy this dish/food from the supermarket
1 Main dish (savoury) Specify: Steak and kidney stew	(circle one) <div>Yes</div> No	Yes <div>No</div>	<div>Yes</div> No	<div>Yes</div> No	Yes <div>No</div>
2 Dessert (puddings etc.) Specify: Treacle pudding	<div>Yes</div> No	Yes <div>No</div>	<div>Yes</div> No	<div>Yes</div> No	Yes <div>No</div>
3 Biscuits and cakes (home baked) Specify: Fudge cake	<div>Yes</div> No	Yes <div>No</div>	<div>Yes</div> No	<div>Yes</div> No	Yes <div>No</div>

Eve (Mrs Dalloway's granddaughter)

The family food preferences

Please select your three favourite dishes, specify them and circle 'yes' or 'no'

My favourite dish	My grandmother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	My mother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	I still cook this dish for myself or for my own family	My children cook this dish	I buy this dish/food from the supermarket
1 Main dish (savoury) Specify: Fresh fish cooked	(circle one) Yes ☒ No	Yes ☒ No	☒ Yes No	N/A	Yes ☒ No
2 Dessert (puddings etc.) Specify: Apple crumble/ Apple pies	Yes ☒ No	☒ Yes No	☒ Yes No	N/A	Yes ☒ No
3 Biscuits and cakes (home baked) Specify: Coffee fudge	Yes ☒ No	☒ Yes No	☒ Yes No	N/A	Yes ☒ No

Stanley

The family food preferences

Please select your three favourite dishes, specify them and circle 'yes' or 'no'

My favourite dish	My grandmother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	My mother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	I still cook this dish for myself or for my own family	My children cook this dish	I buy this dish/food from the supermarket
1 Main dish (savoury) Specify: Roast dinner	(circle one) <div>Yes No</div>	<div>Yes No</div>	<div>Yes No</div>	<div>Yes No</div>	<div>Yes No</div>
2 Dessert (puddings etc.) Specify: Rock buns	<div>Yes No</div>	<div>Yes No</div>	<div>Yes No</div>	<div>Yes No</div>	<div>Yes No</div>
3 Biscuits and cakes (home baked) Specify: Christmas cake	<div>Yes No</div>	<div>Yes No</div>	<div>Yes No</div>	<div>Yes No</div>	<div>Yes No</div>

Zoe (Stanley's daughter)

The family food preferences

Please select your three favourite dishes, specify them and circle 'yes' or 'no'

My favourite dish	My grandmother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	My mother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	I still cook this dish for myself or for my own family	My children cook this dish	I buy this dish/food from the supermarket
1 Main dish (savoury) Specify: Vegetable fried rice	(circle one) Yes ☒ No	☒ Yes No	☒ Yes No	Yes No	Yes ☒ No
2 Dessert (puddings etc.) Specify: Self-saucing chocolate pudding	☒ Yes No	☒ Yes No	☒ Yes No	Yes No	Yes ☒ No
3 Biscuits and cakes (home baked) Specify: Anzac Biscuits Rock buns	☒ Yes No	☒ Yes No	☒ Yes No	☒ Yes No	Yes ☒ No

Lotte

The family food preferences

Please select your three favourite dishes, specify them and circle 'yes' or 'no'

My favourite dish	My grandmother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	My mother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	I still cook this dish for myself or for my own family	My children cook this dish	I buy this dish/food from the supermarket
1 Main dish (savoury) Specify: Roast dinner	(circle one) <div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; width: 30px; height: 30px; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center; margin-right: 10px;">Yes</div> No </div>	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; width: 30px; height: 30px; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center; margin-right: 10px;">Yes</div> No </div>	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; width: 30px; height: 30px; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center; margin-right: 10px;">Yes</div> No </div>	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; width: 30px; height: 30px; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center; margin-right: 10px;">Yes</div> No </div>	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> Yes <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; width: 30px; height: 30px; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center; margin-left: 10px;">No</div> </div>
2 Dessert (puddings etc.) Specify: Fruit crumble	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; width: 30px; height: 30px; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center; margin-right: 10px;">Yes</div> No </div>	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; width: 30px; height: 30px; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center; margin-right: 10px;">Yes</div> No </div>	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; width: 30px; height: 30px; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center; margin-right: 10px;">Yes</div> No </div>	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; width: 30px; height: 30px; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center; margin-right: 10px;">Yes</div> No </div>	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> Yes <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; width: 30px; height: 30px; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center; margin-left: 10px;">No</div> </div>
3 Biscuits and cakes (home baked) Specify: Fruit cake	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; width: 30px; height: 30px; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center; margin-right: 10px;">Yes</div> No </div>	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; width: 30px; height: 30px; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center; margin-right: 10px;">Yes</div> No </div>	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; width: 30px; height: 30px; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center; margin-right: 10px;">Yes</div> No </div>	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; width: 30px; height: 30px; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center; margin-right: 10px;">Yes</div> No </div>	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> Yes <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; width: 30px; height: 30px; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center; margin-left: 10px;">No</div> </div>

Annabel (Lotte's daughter)

The family food preferences

Please select your three favourite dishes, specify them and circle 'yes' or 'no'

My favourite dish	My grandmother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	My mother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	I still cook this dish for myself or for my own family	My children cook this dish	I buy this dish/food from the supermarket
1 Main dish (savoury) Specify: Camping holiday stew	(circle one) Yes ☒ No	☒ Yes No	Yes ☒ No	N/A	Yes ☒ No
2 Dessert (puddings etc.) Specify: Didn't have puddings	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	N/A	Yes No
3 Biscuits And Cakes (Home Baked) Specify: Lovely Lovely	☒ Yes No	Yes ☒ No	Yes ☒ No	N/A	Yes ☒ No

Toby (Lotte's son-in-law, Annabel's husband)

The family food preferences

Please select your three favourite dishes, specify them and circle 'yes' or 'no'

My favourite dish	My grandmother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	My mother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	I still cook this dish for myself or for my own family	My children cook this dish	I buy this dish/food from the supermarket
1 Main dish (savoury) Specify: Roast	(circle one) ☒ Yes No	☒ Yes No	☒ Yes No rarely	Yes No N/A	Yes ☒ No
2 Dessert (puddings etc.) Specify: Steamed pudding	☒ Yes No	☒ Yes No	☒ Yes No	Yes No N/A	Yes ☒ No
3 Biscuits And Cakes (Home Baked) Specify: I can't remember but grandmother always had tin of cookies!!	☒ Yes No	Yes ☒ No	Yes ☒ No	Yes No N/A	Yes ☒ No

Cedric

The family food preferences

Please select your three favourite dishes, specify them and circle 'yes' or 'no'

My favourite dish	My grandmother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	My mother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	I still cook this dish for myself or for my own family	My children cook this dish	I buy this dish/food from the supermarket
1 Main dish (savoury) Specify: Roast pork and roast vegetables	(circle one) ☒ Yes No	☒ Yes No	☒ Yes No Not frequently	Yes No Don't know	☒ Yes No
2 Dessert (puddings etc.) Specify: Pavlova and ice cream	Yes No Don't know	☒ Yes No	Yes ☒ No	☒ Yes No	☒ Yes No
3 Biscuits And Cakes (Home Baked) Specify: Anzac Biscuits	☒ Yes No	☒ Yes No	Yes ☒ No	☒ Yes No	☒ Yes No

Bridget (Cedric's daughter)

The family food preferences

Please select your three favourite dishes, specify them and circle 'yes' or 'no'

My favourite dish	My grandmother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	My mother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	I still cook this dish for myself or for my own family	My children cook this dish	I buy this dish/food from the supermarket
1 Main dish (savoury) Specify: Roast chicken	(circle one) <div>Yes No</div> Roasts	<div>Yes No</div>	<div>Yes No</div>	Yes <div>No</div>	Yes <div>No</div>
2 Dessert (puddings etc.) Specify: Pavlova	<div>Yes No</div>	Yes <div>No</div>	<div>Yes No</div>	<div>Yes No</div>	<div>Yes No</div>
3 Biscuits and cakes (home baked) Specify: Anzac Biscuits	<div>Yes No</div>	Yes <div>No</div>	<div>Yes No</div>	<div>Yes No</div>	Yes <div>No</div>

Gregory

The family food preferences

Please select your three favourite dishes, specify them and circle 'yes' or 'no'

My favourite dish	My grandmother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	My mother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	I still cook this dish for myself or for my own family	My children cook this dish	I buy this dish/food from the supermarket
1 Main dish (savoury) Specify: Roast meat and vegetables	(circle one) Yes No (deceased)	<div style="text-align: center;"> ☒ Yes No </div>	<div style="text-align: center;"> Yes ☒ No </div>	<div style="text-align: center;"> ☒ Yes No </div>	<div style="text-align: center;"> Yes ☒ No </div>
2 Dessert (puddings etc.) Specify: Apple pie and cream	Yes No (deceased)	<div style="text-align: center;"> ☒ Yes No </div>	<div style="text-align: center;"> Yes ☒ No </div>	<div style="text-align: center;"> Yes ☒ No </div>	<div style="text-align: center;"> ☒ Yes No </div>
3 Biscuits and cakes (home baked) Specify: Peanut brownies	Yes No (deceased)	<div style="text-align: center;"> ☒ Yes No </div>	<div style="text-align: center;"> Yes ☒ No </div>	<div style="text-align: center;"> ☒ Yes No </div>	<div style="text-align: center;"> Yes ☒ No </div>

Sebastian (Gregory's son)

The family food preferences

Please select your three favourite dishes, specify them and circle 'yes' or 'no'

My favourite dish	My grandmother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	My mother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	I still cook this dish for myself or for my own family	My children cook this dish	I buy this dish/food from the supermarket
1 Main dish (savoury) Specify: Stir fry rice	(circle one) Yes ☒ No	☒ Yes No	☒ Yes No	☒ Yes No	Yes ☒ No
2 Dessert (puddings etc.) Specify: Pavlova	☒ Yes No	☒ Yes No	Yes ☒ No	Yes ☒ No	☒ Yes No
3 Biscuits and cakes (home baked) Specify: Apricot slice	Yes ☒ No	Yes ☒ No	Yes ☒ No	Yes ☒ No	Yes ☒ No

Paula

The family food preferences

Please select your three favourite dishes, specify them and circle 'yes' or 'no'

My favourite dish	My grandmother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	My mother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	I still cook this dish for myself or for my own family	My children cook this dish	I buy this dish/food from the supermarket
1 Main dish (savoury) Specify: Roast lamb	(circle one) Yes ☐ No ☒	☒ Yes ☐ No	☒ Yes ☐ No	Yes ☐ No ☒	Yes ☐ No ☒
2 Dessert (puddings etc.) Specify: Steamed chocolate pudding	Yes ☐ No ☒	☒ Yes ☐ No	Yes ☐ No ☒	☒ Yes ☐ No	Yes ☐ No ☒
3 Biscuits and cakes (home baked) Specify: Pavlova	Yes ☐ No ☒	☒ Yes ☐ No	☒ Yes ☐ No	☒ Yes ☐ No	Yes ☐ No ☒

Ian (Paula's son)

The family food preferences

Please select your three favourite dishes, specify them and circle 'yes' or 'no'

My favourite dish	My grandmother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	My mother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	I still cook this dish for myself or for my own family	My children cook this dish	I buy this dish/food from the supermarket
1 Main dish (savoury) Specify: Roast beef	(circle one) Yes ☐ No ☐	Yes ☐ No ☐	☐ Yes ☐ No	N/A	Yes ☐ No ☐
2 Dessert (puddings etc.) Specify: Chocolate pudding and ice cream	Yes ☐ No ☐	☐ Yes ☐ No	☐ Yes ☐ No	N/A	Yes ☐ No ☐
3 Biscuits and cakes (home baked) Specify: Afghans	Yes ☐ No ☐	Yes ☐ No ☐	Yes ☐ No ☐	N/A	Yes ☐ No ☐

Alice (Paula's daughter)

The family food preferences

Please select your three favourite dishes, specify them and circle 'yes' or 'no'

My favourite dish	My grandmother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	My mother loved to cook this dish for us when I was a child	I still cook this dish for myself or for my own family	My children cook this dish	I buy this dish/food from the supermarket
1 Main dish (savoury) Specify: Roast chicken Mashed potato with bacon stock	(circle one) Yes ☒ No	☒ Yes No	☒ Yes No	N/A	Yes ☒ No
2 Dessert (puddings etc.) Specify: Steamed chocolate pudding	Yes ☒ No	☒ Yes No	Yes ☒ No	N/A	Yes ☒ No
3 Biscuits and cakes (home baked) Specify: Carrot cake, apple cake, banana cake, Russian Fudge, coconut ice	Yes ☒ No	☒ Yes No	☒ Yes No Bake from instant packets	N/A	☒ Yes No

Appendix Five: The participants' individual food reminiscences

The participants' individual food reminiscences

(1) Mrs Dalloway's food reminiscence

'My mother was a wonderful cook. My favourite dish cooked by my mother was a roast, either roast beef or pork with sticky date pudding as dessert. She cooked this meal every Sunday. We didn't have gas or electricity then. Everything, cooking, washing and heating, was coal-fired with cast-iron pans and pots on the stove top. We did not have seasonings, so the roast was not seasoned. But the roast was garnished with horse radish sauce and wonderful thick gravy.

Sunday roast was a regular event. We ate it every Sunday with my parents, grandmother, my sister and brothers and some other family members. We always had more than half a dozen people for Sunday roast. In summer we sometimes had cold meat and salad instead of a roast. Over most of my childhood we had a servant, Ivy, who did most of the cooking. Sunday was her day off, my mother cooked the Sunday roast meal. She looked happy in my eyes. She was a lovely, capable, very clever lady, talented in sewing, beautiful needle work, and a talented pianist too.

My grandmother, my mother's mother, was a wonderful cook too. She lived just over the road. When we were there she cooked the Sunday roast. Everyone helped and enjoyed the meal. While the adults were talking, we children were playing on the tennis court which my grandfather had built. We children were naughty, but never allowed to be rude. If we were rude, we were severely punished. Even today, my sister and my two daughters cook the same Sunday roast meal wonderfully well, when we have a regular family gathering.

One of my fondest memories of food is the afternoon tea party, we called high tea. My mother and aunts all made sandwiches, scones, beautiful cream cakes placed on three plates made of fine bone china placed in the middle of the table. My mother used to make all sorts of puddings: sago pudding, treacle pudding (golden syrup pudding) and a lot of steamed puddings, but her sticky date pudding was special. She bottled all kinds of fruit in season to last the rest of the year to add to puddings

or porridge. I have never seen hotels and restaurants advertising sticky date pudding. I cannot buy it in a packet at the super market either, which is a great shame.

I went to a boarding school for six years from twelve to eighteen years old. The meals at the boarding school were reasonably okay, as far as I can remember. We had to eat everything on the plate, otherwise we could not leave the table. My mother made wonderful fruit cakes on weekends. The rich fruit cakes she made were popular among my friends at boarding school. My mother, grandmother, aunts, all learnt cooking in their domestic science courses at boarding school, and later, from Aunt Daisy's radio programmes.'

(2) Lisa's (Mrs Dalloway's daughter) food reminiscence

'My passion and enthusiasm for food and cooking come from the size of our family. My husband and I raised a quite large family, six children between us. When our children were quite small, we did not have lots of money to spend on things, so cooking was much cheaper those days. You couldn't go to Mc Donald's or Kentucky Fried Chicken or anything; you had to cook. I found a lot of friends who had young children, and we spent time swapping recipes or having a pot luck dinner. That was very interesting because even then, sort of 70s, maybe early 80s, a lot of children did not eat vegetables. I was quite strict with my children. My children must eat healthy food, vegetables, carrots and parsnips.

In our childhood, we ate meat and vegetables, and a quite lot of puddings: tapioca pudding, sago pudding, rice pudding, fruit pudding, bread and butter pudding, Kentish pudding and treacle pudding. My grandmother loved to cook these puddings for us. Puddings were a treat, not everyday. My sister and I used to do a lot of chores like cleaning, mowing the lawn, washing, bringing it in and ironing. During doing the chores, we used to look forward to eating the pudding. My aunt lived on the farm in Wairarapa. She was also a good cook. I used to stay with her. I remember she was making a Kentish pudding, a steamed pudding boiled in a cloth, and I remember they had a butter churn, so I used to turn the handle to make butter ... those sorts of memories.

The Dalloway Family and my own family, have always been keen on family sticking together. Sunday roast was a main meal of the day and the event of the week. We always talked about what people were doing and thinking: family news of the week, events of the week and discussing about any problems. We always enjoyed food and cooking as a family. The big thing for home cooked meals is to sit down with our children and to talk about what happened during the day. It's important. So we do not all go in different directions. We sit down and talk and communicate. That's something a lot of many families are lacking today because they don't eat together. We still have breakfast together every day.'

(3) Eve's (Mrs Dalloway's granddaughter) food reminiscence

'When I was a child, mum did a lot of cooking and baking. At an early age, probably younger than ten, I used to help my mum and enjoyed baking with her. I used to find baking with mum exciting to see something come out of the oven and to see whether the cake had risen.

Mum encouraged me to bake. I learned how to bake lots of dishes; banana loaf, date scones and lemon muffins. Also I always enjoyed cooking lessons and home economics at secondary school.

Nana's mother was a very good cook. Mum learnt a lot of cooking from her. Our family likes to sit down and have a nice meal together. Nana is always at the centre of the family. Aunt Sally is a good cook too. She does nice cakes.

The cookbooks and recipes that I have are mostly family recipes. For example, Mum gave me Aunt Molly's coffee fudge recipe. They have been around a long time, not someone else's recipe. Mum has given me family's recipes at different times. Those are special, but I like buying commercial recipe books as well. They inspire me to make new things, like chocolate mousse and more modern foods.

We only have takeaways once a week. I like to please my family and friends with my cooking. I've been busy, but I would like to have more time for cooking. If I have children in the near future, I would definitely teach them to cook. I think it's important to know how to cook.'

(4) Stanley's food reminiscences

'My memories of food in our family are good and mostly positive. Both my grandmothers and mother were particularly good and creative cooks. But some of their dishes I did not like and there were exceptions as I was made to eat them as a small boy. These foods were: cucumber, melon, pumpkin, tripe and onion, plus vegetable soup with barley. Sometimes I fed these dishes to the pet dog who helped me out. But most dishes were especially appetising.

Both my grandmothers cooked wonderful roast meals which could be smelled as I came up the garden path. I particularly remember my mother following her own mother's footsteps by cooking cakes, scones, sponges, Christmas cakes, cup cakes and biscuits, which she did regularly. Washing was Monday and baking was Tuesday. The cake tins were always full in my early years. I also have some fond memories of eating wild ducks or swans during the season, but also biting on a piece of shot which was not such a pleasant memory. Every year my father's mother bought boxes of apples and oranges from 'up country' and also bags of kelp and mutton birds. I remember their horrible smell when they were being cooked, but they were salty and delicious to eat.

I also remember opening oysters at the back door of the bach with my father and being allowed to eat the especially big ones. I still have the knife we used. The oysters turned up fried or in oyster pie. My father sometimes cooked mussels, paua or whitebait when we were at the bach. However, my father's cooking of fried bananas was a big flop and tasted terrible.

Today these fish meals would be very expensive. I could go on and on, flounder, mussels, and paua. It's a wonder I did not turn into a fish, or a pig, because the Christmas ham was cooked in the copper in the washhouse. And there were Cornish pasties from granny's (father's mother) traditional recipes. I have never tasted anything so good since.'

(5) Zoe's (Stanley's daughter) food reminiscence

'My grandmother always had her tins full of baking, so whenever we went to her house it was exciting to see what had been made for us. She baked old fashioned cakes and biscuits from recipes in her recipe book, an old diary with handwritten recipes and cut off ones from magazines. Many of the cakes etc. became known by the person who passed the recipe on i.e. 'Chookies' biscuits – a dear friend of hers, or as children we renamed them – one slice is now called 'lovely lovely'. I now have the recipe book and use it to bake for my family. I too pass on the recipes to my friends who now enjoy making them.

I like to bake for friends and family. I enjoy giving baking to friends and family – it makes me satisfied to see an appreciation of my efforts.

Another older woman who was like a grandmother to me, used to bake biscuits with us – her favourite biscuit was peanut cookies. She would chat away to us in her kitchen while baking. We also knew we would be able to take a handful of roasted peanuts before she put them in the mixture. This lady who we called "Grindlay" would take time to talk to us about school or friends or if she thought we had a problem while we were in her kitchen, she was a great listener and helped us in many ways with growing up. I remember how relaxed and happy I was with these ladies while helping bake and how nice it was to create something with them.

I try to get my boys to help bake – they enjoy it – they look forward to licking the bowl at the end! I now use the time in the kitchen with them to have little chats with them. I hope they will have nice memories of special time with mum in the kitchen and will want to keep baking the old fashioned recipes.'

(6) Lotte's food reminiscence

'My mother was an excellent cook. My memories of meals in our house are always of coming home to wonderful smells of something being prepared for dinner - roasts with lots of vegetables out of my father's garden. I still love roasted pumpkin, potato, parsnip, kumara etc., and probably prefer vegetables to meat.

Mum always made a dessert as she probably learnt to cook when her own mother died in the influenza epidemic. Mum was only about ten years old and with her four sisters and one brother became responsible for keeping house at a very early age. She also cooked steamed puddings, rice puddings, apple pies and fruit crumbles which were always accompanied by custard or whipped cream. My reasonably good teeth probably resulted from eating so many milk puddings.

On Wednesdays the cakes and biscuits were made. We had a coal range at this time and she could spit at the oven and she would know by the sizzling reaction when the temperature was right. She would make a variety of biscuits such as peanut brownies and Anzac biscuits, and would always finish with a big fruit cake, while the oven cooled. The cake tins were always full. She also made biscuits which required icing – e.g. Belgian biscuits with raspberry jam in the middle and pink icing on top.

The thing I do recall was being allowed to scrape bowls and pots, but I got to do the dishes if I was at home. My brothers were much younger than me so they were not really expected to help. There were a lot of dirty dishes which were always cleaned up before the meal though. Mum was extremely neat and tidy, we called it house proud in those days. We did not have a fridge until I was in my teens, so butter was kept in the brick hole in the ground and milk and meat in a big safe. I do not remember ever having a tummy bug. I remember Mum was a great manager and provider.

We would go to stay with my father's parents at duck-shooting time. This was a hugely important event! My grandfather and his four sons all had their favourite spots at the lake each year. Ducks, swans and even Pukeko were roasted and stewed in huge amounts, all plucked, seasoned and cooked by Nana. Once again, aromas enticed one to the table. I did not much like the duck but the creamy mashed potato (with lots of homemade butter) and rich brown gravy linger in my mind today. I still adore gravy with a roast!

My grandparents had cows and there was always milk in big pans on marble shelves in a huge safe at the back door. Cream was skimmed off for the table or was made into butter. My grandmother taught me to make butter and butter balls for the table.

Later, when my parents moved to a farm, I milked a cow, separated the milk before school and made butter too. To this day, I cannot face cream unless it is whipped as my grandfather and father would ladle thick yellow cream onto their porridge in the morning and it would melt and run all over the plate.

I have a love of freshly baked bread and I know I developed this because Nana made her own bread nearly every day. What a wonderful smell!

My grandparents always had a wonderful vegetable garden and grew everything. Preserves, pickles and jams were constantly being made and there was a never ending supply of apples kept in a safe in the orchard where they grew all their fruit.'

(7) Annabel's (Lotte's daughter) food reminiscence

'My favourite food was fish and chips on Friday night, from the fish and chip shop in Molesworth Street. The only problem was we used to get a big family parcel which was plated up for individuals and I never seemed to get enough chips being a chip glutton.

It was fortunate for me that when I was in Std 3 (about 9 years) I attended dancing classes in Molesworth Street. My friend and I would catch the bus down from Wadestown early evening and buy our dinner of fish and chips which we would consume prior to dancing class. We burnt our fingers extracting the chips from a little hole in the top of the newspaper parcel. The fish and chips rated more highly than the dancing class as far as I was concerned.

Much to my delight a butcher's shop was converted to a fish and chip shop 100 metres down the road from our family house. My friends and I gorged regularly on their greasy offerings – heedless of the fat content. I think they were a very comforting food particularly as it is often cold in Wellington. Also they were cheap and could be afforded nearly every day. I enjoyed my fish and chips with tomato sauce or vinegar but not both at the same time.

My first memories of fish and chips are of the pile brought home after I had my tonsils out in Dalefield. I remember my throat was too sore to swallow them and mum had to peel the batter off the fish – which was the best bit!’

(8) Toby’s (Annabel’s husband) food reminiscence

‘I used to enjoy my grandmother’s roast dinner. She was the “queen of roasts” – super crispy spuds. Probably really unhealthy!! I remember that on occasion I would help her with the veggies. Spuds dipped in flour they placed in roasting tray. There were very strict manners at the table which was a bit of a bummer. Presbyterian upbringing coming through I suppose!! My parents, during the 1970s did not earn a lot of money and having to raise four boys put a lot of pressure on what was available on the dinner plate. Looking back, much of it was extremely unhealthy as far as “fat content” but it tasted good!! My favourites – looking back, were:

- 1 roast lamb
- 2 mutton flaps – these were rolled up around stuffing (breadcrumbs, onion, sage, pepper) really yummy but real bad for you!!
- 3 Chops in breadcrumbs and then baked in oven
- 4 lamb sausage meat, apple, rice, egg, curry roll – minced lamb, breadcrumbs, onions etc. all mixed up and then wrapped in pastry. My grandmother used to make these as well.

In Wairoa I remember dad coming home with a boot-load of luncheon sausage and sausages – ham and chicken flavour. He had a couple of beasts killed and turned into the above. Remember both being very nice!!

There were however some horror stories with food that was presented at the table!! For example, my father used to cook tripe because it was so cheap! But it smelled terrible as it was cooking and I hated the taste of it. But at least he cooked it and that was how I developed my own interests in cooking. It is just as well in view of my

wife's reluctance to cook otherwise we would be spending our lives together eating takeaway foods.'

(9) Cedric's food reminiscence

'My mother was not a good cook and that in retrospect was not a harsh judgement. Dinner during the week was dreadful. She always boiled the life (and taste) out of the vegetables, usually potatoes, peas and carrots, and to save money she always purchased cheap cuts of meat - tough uncooked and almost always as tough cooked.

In those days in the 1940s and 1950s when I grew up, there was no such thing as working wives. Cooking and housework was their 'work' and the kitchen was their office. The door was kept closed until the meal was carried into the living room precisely at 5:45 pm each evening. You could set your watch by it. Breakfast was eaten in the kitchen, barely two meters wide, so small that when we finally got a fridge when I was twelve years of age, it had to be specially made to fit into a former cupboard. My mother's body, plump and roly-poly and my father's body, large and muscular, seemed in my childhood eyes to fill the whole kitchen.

I don't have any memories of my father helping to stack the dishes after a meal or wash or dry them either, nor did I. All he could produce when my mother was sick was tinned peas on toast, night after night until she struggled out of bed and back to work to feed our hungry mouths again.

At school I often tried to swap my cut lunches with other boys, mainly as I remember because the bread was usually stale. And horrors of horrors, when well beyond stale, it often turned up as a bread and butter pudding with an egg mixed in and raisins on top like mice droppings, which brings back to me another unpleasant culinary memory. In those days, people usually couldn't afford fridges, instead storing food in what they called 'safes' which was just a wooden box nailed to the outside wall of the house with perforated holes in a steel plate letting in the outside air. In summer, the air outside was almost as warm as the interior of the house, so it was not 'safe' for the storage of food at all. Butter, milk and eggs went off in the heat: milk soured, butter went rancid and the result was 'summer tummy' - usually

diarrhoea and vomiting combined, or one or the other. I always took this event in my stride and welcomed summer anyway, since this meant no school. You can see that I didn't live to eat, I ate to live; a kind of fuel that was sometimes contaminated.

When I finally left home to go to teaching in Auckland, I didn't know how to prepare a single meal for myself or my flatmates, not even sardines on toast with tomato sauce. This was because even as a young adult, my mother's kitchen was still out of bounds. So how come my most enduring culinary memory and my favourite dish was, and still is, roast pork with baked veges - like parsnip, swedes, pumpkin and, even on occasion, turnips which were food for horses. The meal was mouth-wateringly scrumptious, perfectly cooked and accompanied by the acrid smell of mint sauce and vinegar holding hands with the gravy. The ultimate test of a well cooked leg of pork was crisp and not soggy, crackling, and the crackling just melted in my mouth. Only recently, in my early old age (I am 70 years old now), have I come to the realisation that Sundays were also the happiest days for my parents as both could unwind and relax and enjoy each other's company. This was in contrast to the working week, full of matrimonial tensions with my father hating his job and my mother taking her frustrations out on my father with her chronic nagging which drove my father to despair and explosive temper outbursts.

So do I now myself prepare this dish, the highlight of my childhood, especially in my own kitchen? Twice in two years, but was it edible? Yes, said my neighbour next door who was invited in to share the meal. So how do I survive for meals during the week? Takeaways mainly or just snacks. Why should this be so? Because deep down, I feel that the kitchen isn't really my territory at all, and that it 'belongs' to someone else, just as my father must have felt. When he died prematurely at only 59 years of age of a massive heart attack, grey and old before his time, carrying before him a big pot-belly, his arteries clogged with animal fat from too many baked dinners, tinned peas on toast remained the only meal he could or would serve up.'

(10) Bridget's (Cedric's daughter) food reminiscence

'My early memories of food growing up with my mother are of eating being a chore, something that had to be done rather than an event that was meant to be enjoyed.

Growing up in the seventies in a single parent family was not a common thing in society but I realise now when I think back, with the benefit of hindsight and my own life experiences, that the preparation of a meal at the end of the day when my mother had been working all day to provide for us was a chore for her too. As a child I must have been most difficult at meal times as my mother faced a battle every meal. I had learnt that I could be the centre of attention if I made a fuss about food. The list of my dislikes was endless but a few of the major ones were anything with egg in it, anything with milk in it, anything with onion in it, any cooked tomato, any fish or seafood, avocado, mushrooms and pumpkin. Each meal I would pick through it with my fork and if I found any evidence of the offending items I would refuse to eat the rest of it. I have no memories of cooking with my mother and I wonder if that was because cooking had to be done in private for her in order to prepare a meal without me raising complaints about the ingredients that she cooked with.

My experience with my grandmother in Wellington was also very pleasant. Although I don't recall making meals together (no doubt she had worked out not to prepare meals with me present for the same reasons that my mother had) but I have the most wonderful memories of baking and preserving with her. We would make Plum Sauce and Apple Jelly every year and I loved every minute of it. My grandmother instilled in me the importance of communicating her love through home prepared food, a gift that I hope to pass on to my own children. During my stay my grandmother would only cook the meals that she knew that I would enjoy to avoid too many battles at meal times.

I married very young and was not really old enough to have mastered the art of cooking for myself and others at that stage. My older husband took charge of the culinary duties. I was happy with this arrangement initially and developed somewhat of an indifference to cooking over the following eleven years. It was not until my marriage ended and I was left with two small children that I began to cook for my family although I was very busy studying full time and raising the children. I

never really felt that I was any good at cooking and it seemed to be a chore that had to be done.

I have lacked confidence in the kitchen for a majority of my life despite having an appreciation of good food. It is only recently that I have had sufficient time to cook for my family and experiment with recipes of my own having had another child later in life. I have been on maternity leave and at home with a young baby while the older children have been at school.

Living in London, I find myself flicking through the Edmonds cookbook and cooking classic Kiwi dishes that my grandmother used to make. I have instilled in the children a love of their native dishes and the joy of baking in particular. We have an enormous sense of cultural pride when offering home baked delights to visitors and often have ex pats over to enjoy a little taste of home...

I find cooking most satisfying these days and get great delight in cooking with my older children. I am hoping that their memories of cooking will be pleasant and that, unlike me, they will have confidence in the kitchen from an early age.'

(11) Gregory's food reminiscence

'Thinking about childhood memories of my favourite food and associated emotions, I think of my childhood as the time spent living at home with my brother and parents until the age of about 13 when I left home to board fulltime at a boys' church school for my secondary education.

Overwhelmingly my memories and emotions regarding food before I went off to boarding school are happy and positive in all respects. Growing vegetables, feeding and caring for the hens, collecting the eggs and picking fruit from trees were all enjoyable activities.

At home as a child in the early 1940's we had no toasters, electric stoves, or electric jugs to boil water. Preparation for breakfast began with lighting the fire in the coal range to boil water, to heat milk for Weetbix or to cook porridge and also to make toast from slices cut from loaves of bread. I remember the first skin wrinkling of the

milk onto top as it was warming in a pot and also the smell of toast and the emerging of warmth from the coal range cooker.

Food preparation in those early years demanded considerable skill, if food poisoning and gastric upsets were to be avoided in those pre-deep freeze and refrigerator days. My mother, to her credit, was an accomplished cook and skilled baker who delighted in favouring us and others with a seemingly never ending variety of fruit cakes, pavlovas, peanut biscuits, 'Chinese chew', date and nut slices, and apple and fruit pies. In those days eggs were preserved in four gallon tins, fruit was cooked and bottled in jars and the vegetable garden was carefully planned to ensure a continuing supply of greens.

A particular memory and emotion relates to weeknights when often my father would not get home from work until after dark. My mother, brother and I would have eaten and I would be ready for bed. We would welcome my father when he got home and after he had washed up we would watch him eat. He worked hard physically, was a tall man and had a good appetite for food. He loved dessert and in those times when cream for desserts was something of a delicacy he would often have more than my mother approved of. It was a family joke that his excuse invariably was that the cream had flopped out of the jug and it wasn't his fault. After leaving the table he would move to his easy chair by the stove in the kitchen to have a cup of tea and read the paper. Now and again if he was not too tired I can still recall the comfort and security of being allowed to sit up on his knee in my pyjamas and dressing gown for a while before going to bed. Even now I can still recall being awed by the gentleness and strength of his really large, strong hands.

Looking back I now know that compared to many children in the rural district that was my home in those days, I was relatively privileged. My father worked hard and was successful in business. We lived in a good home and he was able to provide adequately for my mother and us two boys. He was a quiet man of moderate habits who I am sure loved us all. My mother was an attractive, popular woman who was a good wife and mother. She was active in church and cultural activities. She encouraged me to develop the appreciation she had for art, music and literature. A competent pianist, she would often be called on to sing or accompany others at local events.

So in summary, my reflection is that those eight or so childhood years from about five to thirteen years were significantly formative in giving me a sense of family and security. Food in all of its contexts figured highly as a constant and satisfying background. For better or for worse, I have always enjoyed a good appetite and have a palate that gains greatest satisfaction from simple, basic foods that have been well prepared, well cooked and presented with few embellishments.'

(12) Sebastian's (Gregory's son) food reminiscence

'My mother was the daughter of a restaurant owner and worked for her father in her late teenage and early adult years. When I left school I did the same so that you can see that good food, well cooked, hot and highly seasoned, with well prepared authentic sauces, has played an important part in my life.

By contrast, my father came from a family where plain food was preferred, particularly by his father. In his early teenage years from 13 years of age, when he left home to go to boarding school, he became used to plain food from boarding school kitchens. Following that, when he left school, he got used to plain food from army mess hall kitchens as a young army cadet.

My background was quite different. Until this day, my wife and I love to experiment with new seasonings and complex food flavours. For example, my favourite food is rice risotto type dishes which my mother used to make, but which you can buy these days from packets ready for instant cooking. We often add our own condiments to the original flavours, whereas my father does not even like pepper and salt to add to his meals.

So when I was a child my mum had to do quite a bit of juggling to cater for his simpler tastes. Sometimes he prepared separate meals for himself or towards the end of the week he would buy basic traditional pub meals.

My fondest birthday memory was to go to my (paternal) grandma's place for my birthday pavlova. Normally a very good cook, on one occasion three pavlovas in a row fell flat rather than staying upright, light and puffy. My suggestion was to layer the three pavlovas with cream to create a super-pavlova! Thus, I learnt cooking from

my grandmother and mother, which served me well, because it taught me to be independent and self-sufficient meal-wise, from an early age.

I also have fond memories of eating out with my parents during my early teenage years. As a late teen my mates and friends from school were also starting to enjoy eating out in the new cheaper Chinese restaurants in Wellington at the time and were welcome to join our family.

My first job was as a kitchen hand, subsequently graduating to a cook, then senior cook in charge of a restaurant. I became highly conscious of food safety and kitchen hygiene, because no restaurateur wanted to poison their customers. Bad for business!

Of course, if my wife and I are busy we sometimes buy deli-prepared cold meats and take short cuts. Just as my father did, we have a backyard barbeque, where it is a New Zealand tradition that the man of the house cooks, but for my father rarely so in the kitchen.

A final culinary memory is this. My clever mum used to prepare filled bread rolls for my school lunches and deep freeze them. I used to earn spare pocket money by selling the rolls to my school mates launching me on the road to financial wealth and prosperity. See what food can do!’

(13) Paula’s food reminiscence

‘I do not remember my grandmother’s cooking as I was far too young but was always told she was a very good cook. And my grandmother’s favourite dessert was bread and butter pudding.

I grew up with the standard diet of most families of that time. My mother did not like cooking – but actually she was, most of the time, a good cook. Roast hogget, beef, pork, chicken (very rarely as it was far too expensive), cottage pie, casseroles, sausages, chops and fish. Vegetables were normally root vegetables, frozen peas and overcooked cauliflower and cabbage, but no courgettes, peppers or broccoli. They

were unheard of at that time. There were only two types of bread – white and brown (unsliced of course). And cheese was a bright orange cheddar.

I was educated at Sacred Heart and Erskine College in Island Bay, Wellington. At the age of 9 because of the long trip from Kelburn to Island Bay, my parents decided I would become a weekly boarder, home on a Friday afternoon and back to school on Monday. The ‘mothers’ did the teaching. The ‘sisters’ were the ‘maids’. There was definitely a class distinction, but as children we all took it for granted. The sisters’ cooking was superb. Anything from beautiful cheese soufflés to wonderful roast meals. And on high days and holidays, of which there was at least one every term, the sisters would really turn on the food.

I got married in 1966, and as my husband was not and never was a cook, I was fully responsible in the kitchen. Fortunately I had good basic training from my mother and was able to add to my culinary knowledge. Our children were born in the early 1970s. One of their favourite meals was a medley of vegetables cooked together, then stirred through with butter and vegemite. Yummy! They also loved my hamburgers. Good quality beef mince (no additives), 1000 Island dressing, lettuce, tomato, onion and cheese. Our general diet was standard – roasts, casseroles, fish, chops etc. With a growing variety of vegetables, my daughter’s favourite was roast chicken (on the gas spit) served with veggies, and creamy mashed potatoes with bacon stock folded in. My son did not have a favourite dish. He liked everything.

I got my husband eating salads. He used to call them ‘rabbit food’. Fortunately for me he was not fussed about Bluff oysters – so I had those to myself. He very rarely brought me flowers but he was great with the oysters.

So I was the main cook. I guess I fitted in to the expectations my generation placed on full-time housewives in the 1970s, which was to run the household, meet all the husband’s needs, rear the children and to be fully supportive of my husband. His role was to support the household economically, and for that reason he did not want me to go out to work once the children were older. One of his hobbies was travel and he liked me to be free.

His job as a lawyer was very stressful and tiring, but he was, and always, a warm-hearted, fun-loving and generous man who blessed our lives together. He also had

many other interests. However, as was the fashion of the day, few men of that generation lifted a finger in the kitchen, unless I specifically asked him to help out.

Preparing this reminiscence has made me realise how, even in culinary matters, history has a funny way of repeating itself, since my father never helped my mother in the kitchen either.'

(14) Ian's food reminiscence

'Well, I suppose I should start by admitting that my memory is notoriously poor, and when it comes to emotions I have enough trouble figuring out what I am feeling in the present, let alone what I was feeling 20–30 years ago. However, perhaps it will all come back to me as I am writing.

Anyway, I think my favourite meal as a child was pot roast, which I believe involves tying up a piece of meat (beef?) and placing it in a deep covered dish, presumably with some kind of liquid, and cooking very slowly. I think vegetables were done separately? I remember the dish my mother used to use for this because I had to wash it (!), a heavy orange metal thing.

The meat I remember as being very tender, and maybe quite fatty, which I liked, and still do. It had a crust, which was particularly delicious.

I have memories of baked potatoes, and my father thinking it disgusting how much butter I put on them. Mind you, I would have put butter on mashed spuds too, if I had the chance. And black pepper. All mixed up with gravy. And beans or peas? I am afraid I have no specific memories of vegetable accompaniments, but they would have been there. It was difficult to pick up peas with a knife and fork, and it still is.

I do however remember condiments, especially the mustard and the horseradish. I didn't like hot mustard then, but I did enjoy the sweeter grainy mustard and the sweet saltiness of the horseradish. Anyway, this would have been served as Sunday lunch. Once a week, our family would have a formal meal at the dining room table. Part of my job was doing the dishes afterwards. This offered me the chance to get at the best parts of the meal. The string which bound the meat during cooking would

have soaked up lots of meat juices, and would be salty and fatty and delicious, and there was usually a ring of dried gravy around the inside of the pot. I enjoyed scraping off and eating. And the mustard was meant to go from its small dish back into the big jar, but usually I just ate it by the spoonful.'

(15) Alice's (Paula's daughter) food reminiscence

'My mother was a great cook. The meals I enjoyed the most were Sunday lunches usually roast chicken, mashed potatoes, salad and steamed chocolate pudding which she still makes to this day.

For every meal at least one green vegetable was included. I guess I never developed a real interest in cooking as I enjoyed other activities more and had no time to devote to it. We never ate the same food on the same day and never ate leftovers. I also enjoyed the meals when she made a spaghetti bolognese or a spinach salad.

When summer rolled around, we used to have corn on the cob or cold hard boiled eggs, as it was too hot to eat anything else. I liked most foods, but I always disliked gravy, mushrooms, broccoli and whitebait.

On the weekends when I was growing up, mother always made us ice cream in a cone which she always decorated with hundreds and thousands which were multi-coloured beads of sugar, or fruit which we were also offered as snacks between meals. For our school lunches my mother made two sandwiches, Griffins biscuits, a piece of fruit and Raro fruit juice. If we ever said we were hungry in between meals, we were never given unhealthy snacks such as potato chips, chocolate or biscuits, always fruit.

As an adult person, I married a Moroccan chef who has introduced me to olives, hummus, couscous and other North African ingredients. As my husband naturally likes to cook, he usually prepares most meals for me. Occasionally, I make a pasta dish for him. I am happy with this arrangement. So while our roles are reversed, this does not trouble either of us. We do not eat many desserts as compared to when I was younger.'

**Appendix Six: A domestic servant shortage
in 1860s New Zealand**

A brief record of a domestic servant shortage in New Zealand

Papers Past is a collection of historic New Zealand newspapers that has been digitised by National Library of New Zealand. The term 'domestic servant' starts to appear in newspapers in the early 1850s. As one example, a Christchurch missionary journal gives an account of a marriage notice - "O. Mathias married the young couple at St. Michaels Church of England in Christchurch on 20th December 1852. Their marriage witnesses were Joanna Wornall and Charles Boum. Joanna was a domestic servant of Illam Farm" (The Colonial Church Chronicle, 1852). In this article, the job 'domestic servant' is described as a respectable job. Other articles alongside the timeline from 1860 to 1870 are: -

1865 – "The occupations of the immigrants which arrived by the ship were: 9 miners, 16 farm servants, 10 domestic servants, 3 shoemakers... "(*Evening Post*, 14 June).

1868 - "Elizabeth Hewitt, age 20, single woman, domestic servant from Northern Ireland, arrived Littleton 26 August" (*Southland Times*, 2 December) .

1870 - "The domestic servant even more quickly finds a husband" (*Otago Witness*, 18 June).

The term 'domestic servant' most frequently appears in a job advertisement in the 1870s . Some examples are: -

1871 - "Good domestic servant for a private family at the Thames. Apply at ... (*Daily Southern Cross*, 19 August)".

1881 - "Wanted a competent domestic servant" (*Taranaki Herald*, 9 December).

However, by the late 1880s, finding suitable domestic servants was still a problem.

1882 - "To get good female domestic servant is notoriously one of the difficulties of modern family life" (*Hawke's Bay Herald*, 25 January).

1902 - "The domestic Servant Problem" (*Southland Times*, 1 November).

1903 - "Wanted an accomplished lady help to render causal assistance to the women of the house" (*Wanganui Herald*, 14 November).

A domestic servant shortage increasingly became a serious social problem throughout the country in the 1900s. The shortage was so severe that the government intervention was called for.

- 1906 – “Employers of domestic labour will follow with interest the course of the movement now in progress in Sydney to supply the market” (*The Star*, 2 December).
- 1908 - “At the present time, when the scarcity of domestic labour is the despair of the registry office and the desperation of mistresses ... in England they are asking if a number of the boys instructed in household work could be sent to New Zealand” (*Evening Post*, 29 January).
- 1909 - “The domestic servant problem is now prominent and chronic. New Zealand should petition our Parliament to restore for some time at least State free immigration for ‘women suited for domestic labour’” (*Taranaki Herald*, 26 February).

This is a copy of the poster ‘New Zealand wants domestic servants; good homes, good wages’, issued by the High Commissioner for New Zealand, London in 1912 (shown below).

(Reproduction 6: ‘New Zealand Wants Domestic Servants’: A poster circa 1912)

(Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, 2011. Permission to use this image was granted by Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. The image was located on their electronic data base.)

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