SHOPPING AT THE AUSTRALIAN SUPERMARKET FOR MEAT, EGGS, DAIRY GOODS, AND OTHER ITEMS WITH ANIMAL-BASED INGREDIENTS

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Contents

Cover image: 'A trolley full of animals', Coles Supermarket, Leichhardt. Photo: Bryon Boyd

Author Statement

This thesis is my work and contains no material published elsewhere or written by another person, except where due reference and attribution is made in the text.

The contents of this thesis are a result of work which has been carried out since the official commencement date of the approved research program.

This thesis has not been submitted in whole or in part for the award of any other degree or diploma at any tertiary institution.

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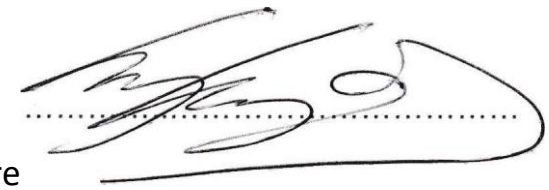

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To protect their anonymity, the people who populate this thesis were assigned pseudonyms

Abstract

This thesis looks at supermarket shopping for meat and other animal-based foods from the perspective of supermarket shoppers, which is usually missing in food studies (Koch, 2012: 105). The qualitative research took place in supermarkets across urban Sydney and the regional city of Nowra and involved conversations with staff, managers, security personnel, and shoppers. A total of twenty-two participants from various educational, religious, gender and cultural backgrounds and locations took part in accompanied shopping trips and follow-up interviews.

With the shopper at the forefront of this research, I examine how the enculturated practice of eating meat translates into the supermarket shopping experience. I also examine the tensions and complexities that are emerging around the ethics of factory farming and how they impact on the meat that is for sale in supermarkets. Rather than an approach that expands on an overarching argument, I have explored a range of themes, such as how the remembrance of animal-based foodways informs culinary and cultural capital, and how the politics of Islamophobia intersect with the meat that is for sale in Australian supermarkets.

The predominance of female shoppers is another thread that was evident during observational field trips to supermarkets. Anecdotal evidence gathered during these trips revealed that women still fill the role of the household's primary shopper, and that supermarket shopping continues to be an undertaking that is mediated by gender. However, regardless of whether it is performed by women or men, shopping for animal-based foods, is emblematic of, as well as a performance of identity, class, and social relations.

The extent to which not only culturally-informed taste, but also ethics of animal welfare, cost, health, and quality influences shoppers varies from location to location. In interviews, participants discussed considerations such as whether a lower price was more important than health or nutritional values, whether premium prices equate to higher quality, whether animal welfare was relevant as an ethical or moral concern, and whether taste was an essential attribute that trumped other concerns.

Sydney's cross-cultural mix is representative of the way in which contemporary urban Australia is transitioning towards cosmopolitanism, implying a commitment to what Corones (1988) has termed as 'multiculinarism', or 'the coexistence, awareness and

understanding of many different cuisines'. However, Nowra became an important site of investigation, where the issues of cultural capital, culinary neophobia and xenophobia all intersected. All of these phenomena are present in Sydney, but are condensed in Nowra's more monocultural environment, and revealed as 'culinary protest': the rejection of foods suspected of being halal-certified as a means of rejecting the foreign 'Other'. What these issues all have in common is that they are culturally determined, thus giving an insight into the social order of contemporary urban and country Australian culture. By looking at how, we learn to eat meat as children, and as adults, go on to habitually buy meat and other animal-based foods, I question how we make sense of what informs the decision-making processes that are in play when we shop at the supermarket. Thus, this thesis assists in shedding new light on the 'social grammar' of Australia's omnivorous culinary identity.

Key Words.

Meat; supermarket shopping; Islamophobia, celebrity chefs; culinary capital; culinary nostalgia, omnivorous.

Meet Betty from Rosehill, a supermarket shopper I met along the way.

Long-time residents of Rosehill, Betty and her husband Reg have an Anglo-Australian background and have seen Rosehill transform from an Anglo-Australian demographic to one that is dominated by first, second and third generation South Asian, Chinese, and Arabic Australians.[1] In their early seventies and retired, Betty and Reg usually shop together. Betty explains the weekly supermarket experience as 'always interesting':

> Whenever I was at the supermarket, I was intrigued by the Indians I saw in the meat section. That's because I thought all Indians were vegetarian Hindus, but now I know that is not the case at all. I noticed that they didn't look at the beef or the pork - but I did notice that they were looking at the lamb and chicken and putting it in their trolleys. So, one day I asked an Indian woman who was buying some chicken if she ate much meat. I told her I thought all Indians were vegetarian, and I was a bit confused when I saw Indians buying meat. She explained that not all Hindus are vegetarian. She told me she was Sikh, and her family have always eaten meat – just lamb, goat and chicken, but not beef. That was a while ago now - when we see each other, we always say hello and have a bit of a chat.
>
> Reg and I love our meat and buy whatever we think looks good and is not too expensive - there is always something reduced or on special. I suppose because a lot of the people who shop here don't eat pork or beef, this store only has a small meat section, but there is always a good selection of lamb – it seems like everyone eats that!
>
> A few of the young women who work here are Muslim. I know because they wear the headscarf – I know now that they are called hijabs, because I asked one of the them what it was called. Her name is Mia, and she told me that most Muslim women wear them by choice.

[1] In Rosehill, people with Indian-born Australians make up 36% of the population Those with Anglo-Australian and English ancestry make up under 12% of the population. People who are Australian-born make up 21%. http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/125041492?opendocument

I see some of the Muslim customers getting meat here, but the meat here isn't halal – at least if it is, I haven't noticed any labels that say it is. Mia also told me that many of the Muslims who shop at this store don't worry if the meat is halal or not -if they want halal meat, they go to one of the halal butchers – apparently there are quite a few scattered around the place. Mia also explained that Muslims are just like Christians – some go to church on Sunday, but most don't – it's the same with Muslims. So, I know now that just because a person is a Muslim, doesn't mean they pray or eat halal meat. They are no different to us.

I think if people are so worried about how the animal is killed, then maybe they shouldn't eat meat at all. The people that stir up all that anti-halal rubbish are just using it as an excuse – they are going down the Pauline Hanson road and saying silly racist things – saying people shouldn't buy halal meat for whatever reason is just another way for them to justify being racist.

The people who are so against Muslims are probably the same ones that don't like Aboriginal people either – Aboriginals don't work, they are all drunks, they all steal – you know the kind of silly things racist people say. They probably think gays are wrong as well. Aboriginals, Muslims, Hindus, Italians, Greeks – gay or not - we're all the same. So, like everyone else, I hear all the talk about how halal meat is evil for crazy reasons - like the money goes to terrorists. That's just a crazy talk. All the Muslims here are lovely people.

I love living here with all the different cultures. Now, with people from so many different places, and all of them cooking different kinds of food, the supermarket has such a fantastic variety of foods from everywhere. It's better than before - when it was all the boring Aussies who only wanted meat, mashed potato and peas with gravy for their dinner. Reg and I get different kinds of sauces and marinades all the time and experiment. We cook curried chicken, Thai pork, Indonesian beef, and things like that. We even made a Moroccan braised lamb dish with almonds and apricots a few weeks ago. We had cous cous with it and loved it – meal-times are never boring at our place.

In a way, we feel like we are travelling around the world, one meal at a time, and we don't have to go further than the supermarket to do it. At our age, we want to enjoy life, and cooking and eating different kinds of food makes us feel

alive – and the aroma and taste of all the spices are wonderful. I've even learned how to use my mobile phone to google recipes from all over the world, and cook different kinds of meat in a lot of different ways now – not bad for an old girl like me.

Introduction

Supermarket shopping for meat and other animal-based foods is so ordinary, and so much a part of day-to-day life that we are prone to forget the importance of its cultural salience. This thesis looks at supermarket shopping for meat and other animal-based foods from the perspective of supermarket shoppers which is usually missing in food studies (Koch, 2012: 105). The shopper's journey through the supermarket aisles, and the way in which meat and other animal-based foods are selected, or rejected, due to factors such as their 'ethical'[2] or 'conventional'[3] attribution, or their ability to raise or lower culinary capital, are issues I examine in order to gain a deeper understanding of how supermarket shopping for animal-based foods informs what and how contemporary Australians eat.

I undertook this project with the presumption that the enculturated practice of eating meat and other animal-based foods is a learned behaviour. This supposition is supported by Carol Adams (1991: 134), who asserts that consuming meat and other animal-based items is 'a cultural construct and made to seem natural and inevitable'. Loren Lomaski (2014) takes a different approach by echoing the ideals of the omnivorous majority of supermarket shoppers in asserting that "some people never give a thought to what they eat so long as it is the same as they have always had" (p. 177). Lomanski's assertions give impetus to the notion that eating meat is mostly a product of habit, and as such, is a culinary practice embedded within Australian cultural norms. Lomanski's assertions are reinforced by Fox and Ward's (2008) account of the relationship between eating and identity, and their argument that diet and behaviour are mutually constitutive, with identities both derived from and influenced by culinary choice (p. 2528).

When some shoppers become aware of issues of environmental issues or factory farming, they tend to seek out foods such as meat, eggs, dairy goods that are

[2] I use 'ethical' as an umbrella term to describe food and other animal-based products that carry labels such as 'free-range', grass-fed', etc. Each term has its own complications and complexities and product labels frequently feature more than one term to indicate its ethicality.

[3] The term 'conventional' refers to meat, eggs, dairy goods and other items with animal-based ingredients that originate from sources that are not recognised as producers of ethical goods. For example, eggs may be from cage or barn factory farming systems with no verifiable level of animal welfare in place, and conventional beef may come from dairy cows that have been sent to slaughter for a number or reasons, including falling milk production, or mastitis. The slaughter of lambs, piglets, and calves is a contentious issue, regardless of any animal welfare certification, and falls into the 'conventional' category.

'alternative' (Goodman and Goodman, 2009) or 'sustainable' (Jackson, 2006). However, a switch from conventional to ethical is sometimes little more than an act of what I term 'feeling better about yourself shopping'. Littler (2009) describes this 'feeling' as a means of extolling one's moral virtues and conspicuously displaying the ethical self to others. What I term as 'free-food' [4] fits into this category, and until recently was considered to be up-market, elitist, and expensive, but as 'free-food' moves into the mainstream, it is transformed into what Paddock (2015) defines as 'preferable' and 'good' (p.1042)

Conversations with lower socio-economic shoppers who explained the need to buy cheap meat, because higher priced meat is unaffordable, is in keeping Bourdieu's (1984) assertion that 'necessity imposes a taste for the necessary', leading me to a better understanding of the elasticity of meals that make use of whatever meat is cheap. In contrast, the cuts and types of meat that make it into the shopping trolleys of the elite are perceived as markers of cultural and culinary refinement, premised upon quality over quantity, and style over compromise (Bourdieu, 1984, cited in Paddock, 2015:1041). For shoppers who can afford it, prime meats such as 'wagyu beef' [5] are valued as symbols of wealth and a way of expressing social dominance and culinary superiority. A shopping trolley brimming with desirable animal-based foods have value based on conspicuous display and consumption, because expensive food is desirable, and what people desire to eat matters (Sayer, 2011; 2005b).

Shoppers who cannot afford expensive, elitist foods such as the 'wagyu' and 'dry-aged' beef available at locations such as Coles Broadway (see image #1) may well proclaim them as 'not worth the money'. Shoppers that are 'on a tight budget' may say they prefer barn-raised chicken to the more expensive organic chicken as a method of justifying buying the cheaper option. This way of thinking came into focus in a comment made by Mavis, a pensioner from Glebe on a fixed income who explained that "they all taste the same", and Belinda, a pensioner from Macquarie Fields who said, "I cannot tell the difference". Both women were practised at searching for, and

[4] 'free-food' refers to food that is labelled as free from additives such as hormones or chemicals, or criteria such as free-range.

[5] Wagyu is any of four Japanese breeds of beef cattle, which is genetically predisposed to intense marbling and to producing a high percentage of oleaginous unsaturated fat. Wagyu beef also contains more conjugated linoleic acid (CLA) – Omega 6 per gram than any other foodstuff – 30 per cent more than other beef breeds. CLA is a fatty acid with potent anti-carcinogenic properties, as well as being an anti-inflammatory agent – Australian Wagyu Association, http://www.wagyu.org.au/

selecting the cheapest option available, with both women satisfied that what they selected was good value. Stella, from Chatswood (appendix B, p.90), who was buying 'dry aged beef' at Coles in Broadway (image #1) told me: "it's expensive, but it tastes so much better, and I'm having a dinner party, so I want to serve the best to my guests". This statement revealed Stella's desire to conspicuously consume high-status food to elevate her culinary capital in the eyes of her peers.

Image #1. The differing opinions about 'Dry-Aged' Scotch Fillet at Coles Broadway: Stella from Chatswood says: "it's worth it because it's the best available", while Jeanette from Drummoyne thinks the cheaper option of 'grass-fed' is better value at less than half the price. Mavis from Glebe believes 'they all taste the same', and Belinda from Macquarie Fields says she 'can't tell the difference' and like Mavis, opts for the cheapest cuts available Photo: Bryon Boyd

Jeanette, from Drummoyne, is from an upper-middle-class background, and selected foods that were mostly branded [6], explained:

> I looked at the 'dry aged scotch fillet' when I was at Coles in Broadway a few weeks ago, but it was so, so expensive, and it seemed like I would be paying a lot of money for something that was just the same as the grass-fed scotch fillet. It was something like fifty or sixty dollars per kilo. I can buy a lot of good quality steak for less than half that price. I really think it's not worth the money. I like good quality meat, but fifty odd dollars per kilo is going that one step too far. But I can't bring myself to buy the cheap cuts either – the cheap meat is tough and a lot of the time, doesn't have any marbling[7] – that means the animal was possibly under a lot of stress when it was killed, and probably an old milking cow. I'd rather know that the meat is from a traceable source like a reputable beef producer– that doesn't mean paying for that fancy 'dry-aged' stuff.

An intriguing aspect of Jeanette's dialogue was the way in which she interpreted quality. Her belief that meat without marbling was either an outcome of stress before slaughter or because the meat was not from a beef breed of cattle. Moreover, her belief that meat with a high ratio of marbling was due to being 'grass fed' was an incorrect assumption. The ways in which Jeanette determined what was good to eat, and what was not, was based on what she believed to be true, rather than what was true, a 'pattern of assumption' that proved to be a recurring theme throughout this study.

What emerges as the thesis unfolds is a richly layered tapestry that tells a story of culinary and omnivorous differences that are informed culturally, economically and geographically. Inter-cultural and cross-cultural differences, the way we learn to eat meat as children, and the impact of media and politics are all factors that merge to create the ritualised performance of supermarket shopping. This thesis serves to

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[6] Jeanette avoided generic labels, such as 'Home Brand' and Black and Gold', deeming them of inferior quality, and avoided in-house labels such as Woolworth's 'Select Brand' deeming them as low quality.

[7] 'Marbling' refers to white flecks and streaks of fat within the lean sections of meat. Marbling is so named because the streaks of fat resemble a marble pattern. Also called intramuscular fat, marbling adds flavour and is one of the main criteria for judging the quality of cuts of meat. In general, the more marbling it contains, the better a cut of meat is. Cattle that are raised on grain will have more marbling than grass-fed beef. (Danilo Alfaro, The Spruce: https://www.thespruce.com/what-is-marbling-in-meat-995777)

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enrich our understanding of omnivorousness at the level of the shopping trolley and helps to make sense of how shopping for animal-based foods is inextricably linked to daily life in urban, regional, and rural Australia.

Methods

The investigative process

My fieldwork began by visiting thirty-eight supermarkets across urban Sydney and the regional city of Nowra, handing out participant recruitment fliers at checkout areas, while simultaneously observing what shoppers were buying. While I was there, I talked to staff, managers, security personnel, and shoppers, journeying through the aisles at each location. I observed how shoppers travel through the meat, dairy, and deli sections, avoiding what they thought as 'bad' to eat, and spending time looking at what they regarded as 'good' to eat. I observed how they puzzled over label variables such as additive-free, organic, free-range, and how they considered criteria such as the fat content in minced meat.

Eventually, I recruited twenty-two participants from various educational, religious, gender and cultural backgrounds. Next, I accompanied each participant on a supermarket shopping trip, trailing them and observing the nuanced methods each shopper used to decipher labels and compare similar items as they journeyed through the aisles. I have also included excerpts from conversations with supermarket staff members about their observations of shoppers, which adds a layer to the ethnographic data.

I selected the Coles supermarket at Broadway as the primary location to typify Sydney's multicultural make-up. Secondary locations include Campsie, a predominantly East Asian working-class community, and Greenacre with its Iranian and Iraqi communities. What emerged was a glimpse into the complexity of cultural interaction, inclusion, and exclusion, and how meat and other animal-based items are instrumental in defining the social and cultural difference in the urban landscape. Coles Broadway has 'wagyu' and 'dry-aged' beef, and Coles Greenacre has halal beef, lamb, chicken, camel and goat. Coles Bondi Junction and Double Bay have a range of fresh kosher beef, lamb and chicken and veal salami. The supermarket at

Campsie[8], with a predominantly East-Asian customer base, has mostly chicken and pork.

The importance of store-by-store niche foods was a recurring theme throughout metropolitan Sydney. The selection of fresh kosher meat that is available at Woolworths Double Bay (see image #2), and the massive banner at Coles Greenacre that highlights the availability of halal meat (see image 2a) affirm the adaptability of supermarkets to capture localised dietary needs, thus reflecting Sydney's culinary

Image #2. Kosher meat, Woolworths Double Bay. Culturally-specific meat and other animal-based foods are becoming more accessible in urban Sydney, thus facilitating cross-cultural culinary encounters and experimentation. Photo: Bryon Boyd

[8] One of the most puzzling of my observations occurred at Campsie, where I became aware of the huge amount of bottled water East Asians (predominantly Koreans and Shanghainese) were purchasing. This occurrence was unrelated to my research, but nevertheless so puzzling that I felt compelled to mention it, as I did not observe this in any other location.

diversity. Yossi, a Bondi Junction shopper who looks for culturally-specific foods at his local supermarket, told me:

> I want to know the chicken had an OK life, so I get certified free-range, but I'm Jewish, so preferably, it should also be kosher. Coles in the Eastern suburbs now has 'free range kosher' chicken, so I can go to the supermarket in the evening and get fresh Kosher meat. It's easier to follow a kosher diet nowadays – now it's not only easier to be Jewish, but it's also easier to be Jewish and Australian at the same time. I suppose what I mean by that is that now kosher meat is available at the supermarket, I don't have to make a special trip to the kosher butcher or make any special effort to eat kosher. Finally, in the twenty-first century, Muslims can get halal, I can get kosher, vegans can get vegan, and we can all do it at our local supermarket.

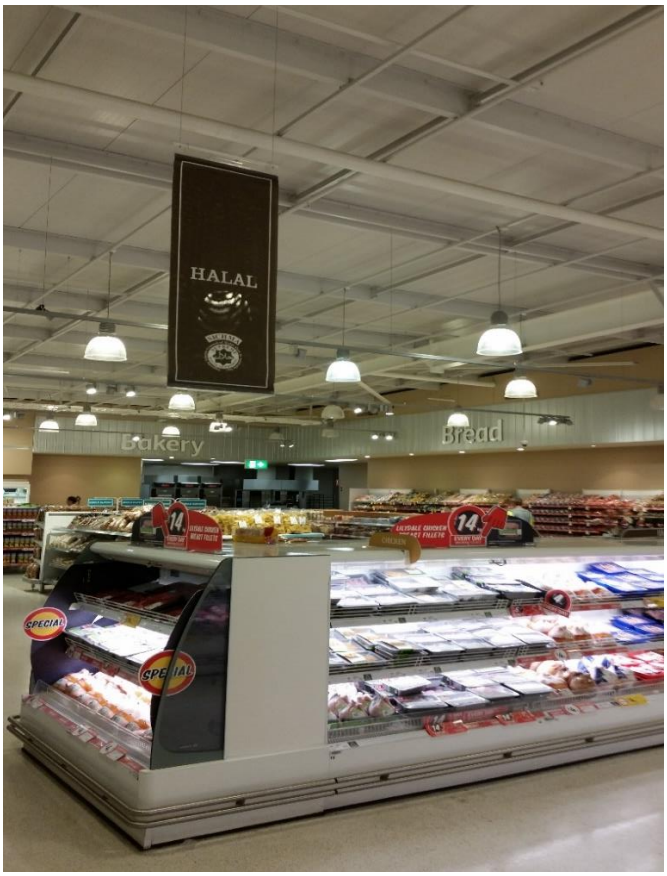

Image #2a. Halal meat at Coles Greenacre. Although this store is unabashedly catering to Muslim shoppers, the non-Muslim shoppers I spoke to told me they are happy with the quality and price of the halal meat and will continue to buy it. Photo: Bryon Boyd.

Regardless of their cultural or culinary background, the common thread that links shoppers and participants is the belief that meat and other animal-based items taste better when they are perceived to be expensive, rather than inexpensive. This belief is reinforced by Anderson and Barret's (2016) research that even when two items are the same, but priced differently, the more expensive option is perceived to be better in quality and taste. However, in the lower socio-economic areas such as Macquarie Fields, Nowra and Mount Druitt, low-grade, low-cost meats and other generic animal-based items are purchased due to limited food budgets.

I chose Nowra as the stereotypical monocultural regional centre, as most of its residents are Australian born, and identify as Euro-Australian or Anglo-Australian and Christian, with only three percent speaking a language other than English at home.[9] However, Nowra is an interesting research location for the wrong reasons. It is a location where the multiple issues of cultural capital, culinary neophobia, and xenophobia all intersect. They are all phenomena that are present in Sydney, but condensed in Nowra's monocultural environment, and revealed as 'culinary protest', the rejection of not only meat but any food suspected of being halal-certified, as a means of rejecting the foreign 'Other'.

Both in observation and in dialogue with staff and shoppers, a xenophobic narrative began to emerge in Nowra. Margo, whom we meet later in the thesis, said she had recently located to Nowra from the Penrith area of Western Sydney, saying: "I moved to Nowra because there are no Muslims or Asians here. The food is normal here; the shelves are not full of all that foreign stuff". Her xenophobic sentiment was repeated by others in various contexts, in both Western Sydney and Nowra. However, I am not suggesting that Margo's views reflect the opinions held by the majority of Australians towards Muslims or Asians.

The participants, as well as the shoppers I spoke to in Nowra (see Rachelle, appendix B3, p108) were keen to reinforce the notion that culinary taste and ideals still hold to

[9] Nowra Regional Data Survey, Australian Bureau of Statistics. Data updated 31/03/2017
http://stat.abs.gov.au/itt/r.jsp?RegionSummary&region=114011278&dataset=ABS_REGIONAL_ASGS&geoconcept=REGION&datasetASGS=ABS_REGIONAL_ASGS&datasetLGA=ABS_NRP9_LGA&regionLGA=REGION&regionASGS=REGION
Nowra Population and Dwellings, 2016, Shoalhaven City Council, Community Profile.
http://profile.id.com.au/shoalhaven/population?WebID=230

the Aussie 'meat and three veg' foodways (see image #18a). The multicultural tastes of urban life are foreign and shunned in many country communities where migrant cultures are sometimes considered an unwelcome and corrosive factor that is destroying what parochial communities, such as Nowra, consider as fundamental to the Australian way of life. The rejection of meat and other items certified as halal are good examples[10].

For most supermarket shoppers, most of the time, buying and consuming meat, dairy goods, eggs, and other animal-based items is something that is done without thought – shopping for meat is a learned behaviour and taken for granted as a necessary part of the provisioning for a healthy diet. However, an animal-based diet based on little more than habit overshadows ethical and environmental assessments (Carrigan and Attalla, 2001; DeVinney et al., 2010; Cherrier et al., 2012).

Observing the ritual of supermarket shopping

To blend into the supermarket environment, I journeyed through each of the supermarket locations as a fellow shopper, observing and chatting with shoppers and staff. Travelling incognito and under the radar in this way enabled me to interact with shoppers and staff as a shopper, not a researcher.

Asking questions in this informal way generated candid responses. I could ask, for example, which sausages or grade of beef mince a shopper thought was best and get an open and truthful reply. As I journeyed through the aisles at different locations, I could enter and exit the field at will without detection. This stratagem also allowed me to discretely gather data about shoppers' cultural identity and culinary taste. The mundanity of supermarket shopping was transformed into an Aladdin's cave of

[10] Restore Australia: the party that would ban Islam, Bianca Hall, Sydney Morning Herald, Jan 1, 2016
http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/restore-australia-the-party-that-would-ban-islam-20160101-glxsfh.html
One nation Policies: halal certification,
http://www.onenation.com.au/policies/halal-certification
Boycott Halal in Australia, https://www.facebook.com/BH.Australia/
Halal Choices, https://www.halalchoices.com.au/take_action.html
Non Halal Certified Products, http://www.nonhalal.com.au/

ethnographic material as I observed and discussed how shoppers negotiate the complexities of selecting and buying meat and other animal-based foods.

Ethnography is about observation (Silvermann, 2006), and when implemented with a non-invasive presence, yields rich and nuanced data. During the supermarket fieldwork phase, I was reminded of Malinowski's observation of how 'certain subtle peculiarities, which make an impression if they are novel, cease to be noticed as soon as they become familiar' (Malinowski, 1922). 'Being there' in supermarkets and discovering the differences not only from shopper to shopper but from location to location resulted in my constant reassessment of what I thought shoppers looked for in animal-based foods. What shoppers told me and what I observed, also meant that I had to remind myself to be self-vigilant and not fall into the 'me' and 'them' approach. Initially, I had planned to accompany shoppers as they moved through the supermarket, discussing what they were choosing and rejecting, but it became clear that interaction during the shopping was too distracting for the shopper, producing a fragmented outcome. So, I defaulted to an observational stance, watching how the shopper was making choices from a distance, and uninterrupted.

To illustrate the willingness and enthusiasm of participants, shoppers and supermarket staff members to share their culinary experiences, I introduce Lena and Silvio, whom I met at Coles, Earlwood. Silvio, who was sitting on a bench near the supermarket entrance, asked for one of the participant recruitment fliers I was handing out to shoppers. After reading it, he invited me to sit with him while he waited for his wife to complete the shopping.

In this excerpt of our hour-long conversation, we covered life and meat before migration from Eastern Europe and then discussed life in Australia. The conversation then moved to what meat represents to Silvio and his wife, and how it has changed over time. Silvio even mentioned the way in which Aussie-English had metamorphosed to include non-English culinary words. [11] When his wife Lena joined us after completing her shopping, we also talked about the gendered way in which their culinary life was organised and compartmentalised:

[11] Silvio and Lena mentioned South-Eastern European words such as 'souvlaki', tzatziki', 'yeeros', 'pita', 'shish kebab' that have entered the Aussie vernacular as common culinary terms.

> When my wife, Lena and I arrived here, Australia was very different to the way it is now. Look around at the people who are here. There are women over there wearing the Muslim hijab, and over here, there are girls in mini-skirts, and they have tattoos as well. Forty-odd years ago, me and my wife were the most unusual people in the area. We were 'wogs'[12] back then, and people stared at us because we were different to them. Now we are the normal Aussies, and we're the ones who stare at the new-comers.

Silvio's reference to being called a 'wog' is reinforced by Yianni, who talked about the way in which being a 'wog' has transformed from 'racial slur' to a 'term of cajolery', with Southern European foodways metamorphosing from bad to good as they enter the Aussie culinary mainstream (see Yianni: from 'wog boy' to 'cosmopolitan-cool', appendix B3, p.104)

> The old Aussies are almost all gone now. Our neighbours on one side are Korean, and on the other side, they are Lebanese. Across the street, there is a family of Sikhs. The father and his two sons wear turbans, and the mother wears traditional clothes as well, but the daughter dresses like an Aussie, whatever that means these days. We all eat different kinds of meat and cook it in different ways. The Sikhs across the street eat chicken, but no other meat, and are vegetarian at certain times -with festivals and times like that. The Lebanese family next door are Muslims so don't eat pork. The Koreans eat a lot of pork and chicken. We have a wood-fire outside oven, and a smokehouse in the backyard, but the Lebanese neighbours just have a regular gas barbeque. The Koreans cook inside, but you can smell the garlic and spices when they cook. There is always the smell of meat cooking on the street we live in. It would be hell for those vegan people.
>
> Both Lena and I come from a very traditional Croatian background. We both come from a beautiful village on the outskirts of Split, on the Adriatic Sea.[13] We were close to the sea, so there was fish, fish, fish, and more fish. Meat was a

[12] 'Wog' - a foreigner or immigrant, especially one from southern Europe.
http://slll.cass.anu.edu.au/centres/andc/meanings-origins/all?field_alphabet_value=281

[13] Silvio and Lena, Nikos (appendix B3, p.94), Michael (p. 32), Sergio (appendix B1, p.97), and Gina (appendix B1, p.95) all immigrated from the Mediterranean region, and share similar stories.

luxury and was very expensive. It was mostly goat or sheep, but we only ate it at special occasions and celebrations. An animal was killed, and the extended family and friends would all come and share it. We would smoke sausages that would last for months. The cheese was good, and I remember having cheese and bread a lot as a kid. The cheese from mostly made with goat or sheep milk. But we did have a cow that my mother milked by hand. She made butter and yoghurt. So, although we didn't eat much meat, we ate well. Lena grew up with the same food as me.

When we came here, there was meat everywhere. It seemed like Australians ate nothing but meat. Beef, pork, and lamb, but no goat, and back then, if you wanted to eat chicken, you had to get a whole frozen chook[14] from the supermarket and defrost it. All the meat was cheap too, so we went from people who hardly ever ate meat to people who ate it every day. All our families in Croatia were healthy, but with all the meat we eat, I don't know if Lena and I could claim the same thing ourselves. I know we eat too much of it, but it's a habit that's hard to break. And now it's an expensive habit as well. Look at the price of lamb. Only the rich can afford to eat it every day now, so we get a joint or leg of lamb or goat to cook for the extended family every weekend. It's sort of like the old-fashioned Aussies with their Sunday roast, but we do it in the Croatian way - we cook and eat outside.

Lena is an excellent cook. She could make even the toughest piece of meat taste good, but I cook most of the meat. Lena cooks things like stews with lentils – food we eat during the week when there is just the two of us. But when the family comes to eat, I prepare the meat and cook it in the wood oven. Lena is very good at it, but it is the kind of job Croatian men have always done. The women do all the other things, so they are always busy. I suppose it's a case of sharing the work more than what is women's or men's work. But the supermarket shopping is not for me. I let Lena do that. I drive, and she shops, but she gets me to choose the meat for the woodfire oven, and she chooses all the other meat.

[14] 'Chook' is a colloquial word for chicken, hen or rooster.

Handing out recruitment fliers near the entrance of the supermarket meant that I could see the checkouts, and what was being purchased. This also gave me the added opportunity of meeting and talking to men and women like Silvio and Lena, who gave me a window into the culinary world of the shopper that is situated beyond the supermarket

As I travelled further afield to Outer Western Sydney suburbs such Mt Druitt – areas with large public housing estates and high levels of unemployment - I became aware that many shoppers had trolleys stacked high with budget and generic-branded low-cost foods that were predominantly animal-based. These items included 'breakfast sausages', 'budget mince', generic cage or barn egg, the cheapest available chicken pieces that are from undisclosed sources (not labelled as free-range or organic). I also noticed other items containing undisclosed animal-based ingredients such as gelatin-based confectionary and tallow-based detergent. These shoppers often had items such as budget frozen pizza. However, the social status and cultural capital of such shoppers is subjective only, as shoppers from all levels of society buy both low and high-cost foods, which is driven by a combination of preference and price, and can be highly variable.

In all the locations I visited, the shoppers were usually women. The fact that their trolleys were full indicated that it was probable that they were shopping for the household. The incidence of single men (of varying ages) shopping was mostly limited to the self-serve and express aisles. However, the demarcation between low, medium and high socioeconomic status was blurred in the contemporary Australian supermarket setting, with supermarkets tailoring their marketing store by store to capture shoppers from all social levels and cultural backgrounds. In Darlinghurst and Pyrmont, where shopper demographic was young single men and women, the meat was in 'single-serve' packs, whereas in 'family location' the meat was in 'family size packs'.

The culinary diversity that exists in urban supermarkets is often niche marketed to local cultural communities, as is the case in locations such as Coles, Greenacre which tailors its product selection towards a Farsi and Arabic speaking Muslim customer-base. The meat section of Coles, Greenacre is unmistakably halal. As I observed shoppers journeying through the aisles, I was aware that many of the women wore the

chador, indicative of their Persian heritage. However, my observation of shoppers in supermarkets across urban Sydney and Nowra revealed that, within the context of the supermarket aisle, the individual shopper's cultural identity often becomes indistinct as the shopper enters the supermarket, with cultural identity only re-emerging as the shopper leaves the checkout area.

In regional Nowra, the monocultural supermarket shopping experience is in stark contrast to the multiculturalism[15] of urban Sydney. The supermarkets were noticeably different from the moment I entered them, with all the checkout staff having an Anglo-Australian appearance. Except for a few middle-aged women, the staff were young and female. The contrast between the multicultural male and female staff members of all ages in Sydney's supermarkets and the young female-only Anglo-Australian staff in Nowra was startling. The shoppers were also mainly Anglo-Australian appearance, except for a few South East Asian women.

According to Jane, who works in a tobacco shop facing the Coles supermarket entrance, the presence of a handful of South East Asian was due to local Thai eateries, as well as what she referred to as 'mail order Pilipino brides'. The unexpected monoculturalism of Nowra filled me with incredulity when I first arrived to conduct fieldwork., as I was not expecting the 'whiteness' or cultural 'blandness' that I encountered. The interiors of the supermarkets were also decidedly monocultural, with multiculinarism[16] ostensibly minimised. However, the most striking initial observation was the high percentage of shoppers with trolleys stacked with generic and low quality, high-calorie generic foods that were culturally neutral, such as bulk packs of budget mince, breakfast sausages, and prepared foods such as generic frozen pizza and meat pies. In contrast, Sydney's multicultural supermarkets, offer a diversity of culturally-specific items, highlighting the seductiveness of culturally-informed culinary difference, and framing the way urban Australians experience the world and its culinary multiplicity.

After systematic observation of the checkout areas of Sydney and Nowra's supermarkets, I discovered that they are in fact complex environments that vary

[15] Multiculturalism refers to the promotion of ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity as 'positive' (Carter 2006: 333).

[16] Corones' (1988) term 'multiculinarism' refers to 'the coexistence, awareness and understanding of many different cuisines'

according to the cultural diversity of each location. Although the everyday mundanity of supermarket shopping may embody the diversity of contemporary urban Australia, it was apparent that there is a cultural divide between urban and country Australia. As I walked through the aisles of the supermarket is Nowra, I was surprised to find that the product range of multicultural foods was far more limited than I expected. After discovering that foods that are taken for granted in Sydney but are not available in Nowra supermarkets, I asked staff members about the popularity of Arabic foods that have become part of everyday urban menus such as 'Cous Cous', and 'Falafel'. I was not prepared for the reply, which was that none of the staff members I spoke to knew what these foods were. The conversation then turned to what foods were the most popular in Nowra, with staff members stating that the foods they liked to cook were mostly meals such as sausages or rissoles with mashed potato, peas and gravy, spaghetti bolognaise, and barbecued lamb chops, steak, and sausages.

What I discovered in the Nowra locations was that the rejection of unknown 'foreign' foods at the supermarket checkout had become a method of protest against multiculturalism. More specifically, the rejection of foods that are halal certified, or even being suspected of being halal have increasingly become a way of protesting against an Islamic inclusion in the Australian multi-cultural mix. What is perhaps most worrying, but can be felt like an unspoken undercurrent, is the use of halal as an attempt at legitimising xenophobic behaviour and 'anti-Other' activism.

With issues such as Islamophobia in Nowra, the process of qualitative research did not progress as straightforwardly as I expected. During both fieldwork and interviews, conversations with participants and the exchange of views and experiences led to the collection of interesting and informative data that was much more textured and nuanced than what I was expecting; the inherent tendency for qualitative research to self-direct meant that a range of unexpected data was uncovered. The process was such that I was continuously challenged to look back and revise the premises of my research. Sometimes I found that I was heading in the wrong direction and asking the wrong questions, and found that I needed to step back and reassess where I was heading. At other times, I felt as if I had jumped from the proverbial pot into the fire, as I uncovered the deeply disturbing anti-Islamic sentiments that, for me, is a troubling element of regional and rural Australia.

The interviews

The accompanied shopping trips were followed by semi-structured interviews, with discussion about the journey through the aisles, which animal-based foods were bi-passed and why, and which ones were sought after, selected, and placed in the trolley. The interviews yielded information about a range of topics, such as ethical considerations based on either health, environmental concerns, animal-welfare, the politics of halal and kosher meats, and the impact of meat-centric television shows like Ten Network's *Master Chef* and Special Broadcasting Service's (SBS's) Food Safari. Meat as a declaration of protest as well as the importance of meat as a celebratory food were also examined. These criteria echo Mary Douglas' (1972) assertions that food is about 'different degrees of hierarchy, inclusion and exclusion, boundaries, and transactions across boundaries' (Douglas, 1972: 61).

The interviews with participants, as well as conversations with shoppers I met along the way, have resulted in a multi-layered and nuanced understanding of the subtleties of cultural differences across Sydney and in Nowra. Many shoppers were bilingual and had a sharp awareness of cultural differences, making the journey into the world of the omnivorous supermarket shopper an intriguing experience. What I found in the supermarket aisles was an untapped raw stream of omnivorous culinary knowledge that revealed how and why contemporary Australians eat the meat, eggs, cheese, and other animal-based foods they eat.

Within the last few decades, the Australian culinary landscape has transformed, and the understanding of just what is Australian food is contested as migrant foodways become embedded in the fabric of 'Aussieness'. Sydney's multicultural mix is representative of the way in which contemporary urban Australia is transitioning towards true cosmopolitanism, implying a commitment to what Corones (1987) has termed 'multiculinarism' – or 'the coexistence, awareness and understanding of many different cuisines'. While there are various diasporas throughout urban Sydney, the cultural character of each community is what Armstrong (1994) has described as 'self-conscious interpretations of their original cultural identities'. However, as yet, there appears to have been little research that investigates how multiculinarism influences the type of meat contemporary Australians buy and eat.

Chapter One

Meat: learning, living and remembering

Meat for Kids: how children learn that animals taste good.

As adults, the foods we do or do not eat are direct results of what, as children, we are taught to be either good or bad to eat. To help unravel the complexities of how children learn to eat animal-based foods, I looked to Bastian and Loughnan's (2016) work on how adults consume animals as a matter of habitual behaviour and accept it as a normative dietary requirement.

An interesting outcome of the interviews with participants was that they all retold stories of their childhood recollections of meat, but no-one could recall how their parents prompted them to eat it. Neil, from Nowra, told me: "You're just a little kid, so you eat what your mum gives you. I do the same with my kids. I don't know why we eat meat – we just do".

June, also from Nowra gave me a glimpse into how both the taste for, and the dislike of offal is learned:

> I grew up eating the usual stuff. Mum gave us sausages and chops cut up into little bits – just the usual kind of meat – chicken, lamb, steak, pork. Mum didn't cook things like tripe, or calves' liver, or ox heart, so I never got the taste for things like that. I think they are repulsive – just thinking about eating stuff like that makes me feel sick. My grand-mum and grand-dad, as well as my husband's grandparents all, loved that stuff – I suppose it's because that's what they learned to as kids. I've heard them reminiscing about food in the good old days - things like steak and kidney pie, and ox tongue. Yuk – I don't even get that kind of stuff for the dog to eat.

Other factors that may determine an individual like and dislike of animal-based foods may be due to the corporeal characteristics of the origin of the food in question, or a sense of revulsion at the idea of eating a dead animal. For others, it may be a matter of taste or an aversion to the texture of the item. Dislike of particular kinds of meat or other animal-based items may also be a result of the association of food items with an adverse childhood experience. Geoffrey, a seventy-one-year-old Anglo-Australian

from Newtown, discussed at length his aversion to offal and bones, stemming from childhood memories of offal and being punished if he didn't eat it[17]:

> My mother wasn't a very good cook, and because we were poor, we ate the cheapest meat – things that you probably only find in pet food these days. She used to cook steak and kidney pie, and I not only hated the taste but hated the texture of the kidneys also. She used to cook tripe and ox tongue and stuff like that. She tried to pass the tongue off as corned beef, but I always knew – the texture wasn't right. The oxtail was really, really horrible – all bone and not much else. Rabbit was another one – it was on the menu a lot because it was so cheap. When I heard the 'rabbitoh'[18] coming down the street, I knew that night or the next night rabbit stew would be on the table again. I got so sick of eating that when I was a kid – everyone got sick of eating it. You know, some people were so poor, all they could afford to eat was rabbit or offal. We also had a lot of pumped mutton and corned beef [19] which were served hot with cabbage and white sauce, or cold for the next few days in sandwiches.
>
> I used to refuse to eat all those things - I had no dinner on those nights as punishment. But I liked the corned beef and pumped mutton – I still do. But you never see pumped mutton anymore – not since butcher shops vanished. The only place you can get meat now is the supermarket, and if it is not the typical run of the mill stuff – they don't sell it. I suppose when one of the celebrity chefs on *MasterChef* cooks 'pumped mutton', everyone will want to try it, and then the supermarket will sell it. I suppose I'll have to wait till then!
>
> We lived in the country, and I left home when I was sixteen to work in the city. I never ate those awful things again. It's been years since I put anything with a bone in my mouth, and I will never eat anything that's stewed or braised because I can't tell what it is. I buy boneless chicken breast and sirloin steak, and that's about it. I'm not too sure what goes into mince, so I don't buy it. Mince might be one hundred percent beef, but that's not telling me what parts of the beast are included in the one hundred percent. It doesn't matter if it is organic

[17] 'off-cuts' can refer to the parts of the carcass that are not offal, and discarded. such as tongue.
[18] The 'rabbitoh' was a vendor who went through suburban streets on a horse-drawn dray selling rabbits' by the pair'. The vendor would yell out 'rabbitoh' as he journeyed through the streets.
[19] 'Pumped' is an old term for 'corned', as in 'corned beef', a method of w preserving meat in brine.

> or grass fed, there could be brains or anything in there, and it's still all beef No thanks, not for me.

Geoffrey's childhood memories of rabbit as a recurring and unwelcome menu item is interesting in that despite it being a familiar, readily available, and cheap source of meat until the last quarter of the twentieth century, rabbit seems to be a largely forgotten part of Australian culinary memory. Geoffrey's recollection of rabbit meat is also telling in that it reveals how children learn to reject certain types of meat that they are forced to eat. My recollection of being forced to eat rabbit as a child still feels me with dread. I recall being traumatised continuously by being forced to eat rabbits that were the same as the ones I had seen in the paddock near my home.

What Geoffrey outlines and my own experience with rabbit meat confirms is explained by Katie, a participant in Gressier's (2016) ethnographic work dealing with wild meats in Australia:

> You get the old Aussies that come in, and they say: "I remember when I'd buy a pair of rabbits for a shilling! My mother used to force-feed me rabbit because that's all we had." So that's why you get a generation that really hates rabbit because they were force-fed it; poor man's meat (P. 50).

A study on the development of meat-eating habits during childhood by Laing (1999) found that children readily accept different foods until the age of four. However, a willingness to eat new kinds of food declines after that (p. 34). By this age of four, a pattern of eating different meats is established, and as the child grows, learns cultural patterns of meat and other animal-based food consumption. Laing (1999) found that culinary likes and dislikes usually remain stable until the child becomes a young adult, and dietary change comes about through social influence and freedom of choice (p. 36).

Kellie, a self-proclaimed 'stay-at-home housewife' with a husband and three young children from Nowra, eats meat with every meal. She prepares breakfast for the family daily, which is typically cereal with milk, followed by eggs and bacon, and toast with

butter. Lunch is usually a ham or corned beef sandwich, or sometimes a meat pie. Dinner is the stereotypical 'Aussie meat and three veg and gravy'[20]:

> I buy the usual stuff - sausages, chops, mince, bacon, ham, corned beef, and tinned tuna. I do cook snags a lot, or whatever kind of chops are on special, peas and mashed potato and gravy because it's easy to do in a hurry. It's not that adventurous, but it fills you up, and it's a fairly cheap way of eating. I started the kids off with meat when they were babies, and now they eat whatever I give them. I chopped it up into tiny pieces and then mashed it with the back of a fork, and mixed it in with mashed veg. My mum did it that way with me, so I did the same thing with my kids.

What Kellie described in her dialogue is that the normative eating patterns of Anglo-Australians are meals with meat, the quintessential element of the Australian meal (Santich, 1990). The way Kellie's mother taught her to eat meat as a child has been repeated as she, in turn, has taught her children to eat meat. For most children, the origin of meat is absent from any discussion about meat, but by the time children have learned to eat meat, the mundanity of eating it is habitual behaviour that is repeated without an awareness of its origins as a living animal (Bray et al., 2016:2). By the time we learn about animals becoming meat, our omnivorousness and taste for meat are well established.

In contemporary Australia, children, as well as many adults, have never seen a living farm animal, other than on television or other forms of media. Even in regional cities and towns, the butcher shops have disappeared, and other than portioned and packed on polystyrene trays in the refrigerated supermarket cabinets, meat is rarely seen in the form of a carcass. Discussion of animal slaughter, as well as discussion about industrialised factory farming, is often filled with apprehension, and regarded as a taboo subject (Heinz and Lee, 1998), with any discussion about meat and animals kept separate.

During Kellie's interview, I discovered that although she lives on the outskirts of regional Nowra, in a home is surrounded by farmland, she has never had close contact

[20]A variation of 'meat and three veg' is 'meat and two veg'.

with cows, sheep, pigs, or hens. She has no knowledge of the way cows are milked, or the way pigs, hens, or chicken are factory farmed, although she lives with a few kilometres of industrial avian and porcine complexes, and drives past dairy farms regularly. She explained:

> I see milking cows and beef cattle in the paddocks all the time – but only from the car when I drive past. I don't think I have ever seen a pig, but I eat pork chops all the time. I don't think the kids have never seen the animals we eat other than from the car window, and I don't think they realise that they are what we eat. It's not something you think about. The animals we see from the car are alive, so you just don't think of them as meat. I have never talked to the kids about where meat comes from, and they have never asked. I'm an adult, and I don't want to know about the way meat becomes meat, and I'm sure the kids don't either.

Kellie's reluctance to link the meat she buys and cooks for her family with living animals and their slaughter can be assessed as a way of distancing herself and her children from the notion of animal death (Rothgerber, 2014). However, the role of children's movies with anthropomorphised talking animals allows children to see meat and animals differently.

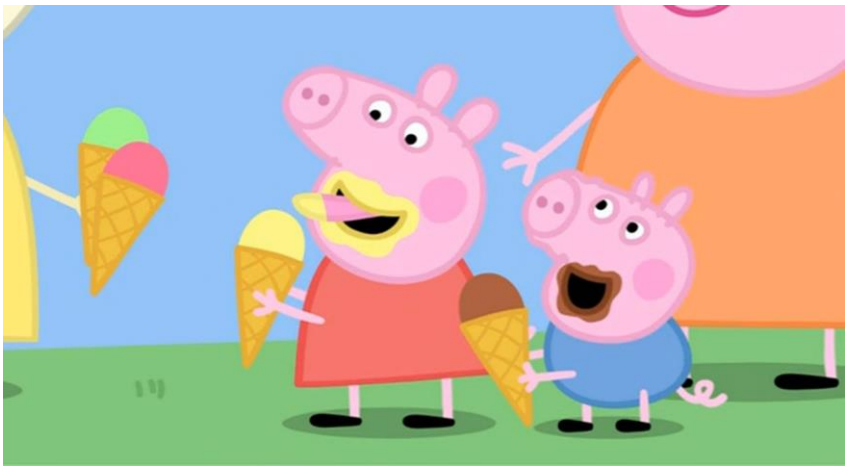

Image #3. Still from Peppa Pig, Season 2, 2016 - YouTube

The popularity of 'Peppa Pig' a British preschool animated television series that is popular with Australian children is the perfect example of how pigs, pork and bacon

are kept separate: ‘Peppa Pig’ and bacon are unrelated, as one is an adored animal, and the other is food. The separate categories of pork and bacon are taught implicitly, and Peppa Pig - the children’s television character is learned explicitly, preventing the intersection of animal welfare and anthropomorphic children’s animation. (see image #3)

When I discussed the notion of teaching children where meat comes from with Colin, a long-time resident of Glebe, and in his late sixties, there was a wry smile that accompanied his nostalgic story of going with his mother to the butcher shop as a child:

> The floor was covered in sawdust. Behind the counter, there was a big butcher’s block, and the butcher, wearing a navy blue and white striped apron that went almost to the floor seemed to be always sharpening his huge knives. The carcasses were lined up behind him, hanging on a rail. As I recall, there were always a couple of sheep – not lambs, but mutton. There was a side of bullock, and maybe some wild rabbit in the display cabinet – the rabbits were always sold in pairs. But it was the rabbits that always fascinated me. I couldn’t understand why you had to buy a pair. Mum got a pair sometimes, and they were always made into rabbit stew – I remember it as tasting really good, but I had almost forgotten about those things – it’s so long ago. You never see rabbit anymore.
>
> Nothing much was pre-cut – that was done to order. If mum wanted some chops, they would be cut to my mum’s requirements. There were always sausages, but back then, they were not made without any filler, and the sausage skins were intestines. That’s how all the kids grew up – both here and in the bush.
>
> As kids, I cannot remember being told about killing animals for meat, but it wasn’t hidden either. We grew up with it, and there was no big deal about it. These days parents are too afraid to tell kids the truth, and as a result, kids take meat for granted. McDonald's, KFC, Hungry Jacks…there is meat everywhere but no animals. The truth is never wrong. When kids eat meat, they should know what it is and where it comes from. That way, kids will learn to respect meat as well as the animals it comes from.

Pleasing the omnivorous household: sacrificing personal preferences when shopping for animal-based foods.

Omnivorous parents from most cultural backgrounds teach their children that eating meat is a normative practice. As the children grow, they are also taught to compartmentalise culinary practices and performances that are gendered as male or female, with the task of supermarket shopping patriarchally-determined as 'women's work' (Hoeger, 2009). Despite a move away from this type of role modelling that places women in domestic roles and men in the role of provider, it is still women who are at the supermarket each week as the primary household shopper, a phenomenon that is apparent when looking at the prevalence of women in this study.

Regardless of gender, for the household member who becomes the primary supermarket shopper, deciding which cuts and types of meat to buy is more than the simple matter of selecting a pack of meat and placing it in the trolley. The likes and dislikes of the other household members must be considered, thus minimising individual taste as a prerequisite. Sheila, from Five Dock, shops every week for her husband and two teenage children. Although she works full-time as a sales assistant, she self-identifies as a housewife and usually shops unaccompanied for the household's requirements:

> It's easier if I come alone. If my husband comes, there is always confusion, because he wants this and that which ends up costing a lot of extra dollars. Men just don't do well at supermarket shopping. It is something that women do. Men are better at barbequing that shopping. I get pretty well the same cuts and quantities of meat each week, and I'm so used to it, that what I get feeds the family adequately. I like lamb loin chops, but they don't like lamb, so to keep harmony I just go with the flow and get what they like – it's easier that way. If the kids or my husband mention they would like, say, sage flavoured gourmet beef sausages, that's what I get – even if I'm not crazy about sage.

The meat and other animal-based foods Sheila placed in the trolley (image # 3a) were not randomly selected, but the result of habituated behaviour. The selection of the same cuts of meat in approximately the same quantities is repeated each week. The criteria remain constant, with an established trend towards free range eggs and

chicken, grass fed beef with no additives, and pork labelled as originating from a high animal welfare farm:

> The sausages I get are one hundred percent beef with no hormones or preservatives. The healthiest option is the meat that comes from the old-fashioned kind of farms. My husband doesn't care though – for him meat is meat, it's that simple. But my kids are always checking the packaging to make sure what I get is organic, and all that stuff. If I left it up to my husband to buy the meat, he would pick up the first pack he saw, and that would be that, so it's just a whole lot better if I do the shopping.

Image #3a. Sheila's choice: only one hundred percent beef, with no additives. During this shopping trip, Sheila added 'organic, grass-fed beef hotdogs to the trolley. She noticed them next to the sausages she usually purchases, and thought she would try 'something new for a change' Photo: Bryon Boyd

Sheila's decision to shop alone is significant in that she is taking responsibility for providing for the household. During the interview, she indicated that she believed that neither her husband or her teenage sons had the necessary skills or knowledge to perform the task of shopping. The pre-planning of what is needed to last the week is as essential as the actual journey through the aisles:

> When my husband or my sons come with me, they see things and grab them without much thought. They see some sirloin steak and grab it, then see some T-bone steaks and grab them too. There is no planning and no consideration of how much the total will be at the checkout. It's the same with things like milk – they just grab anything regardless of the price, or what it actually is. There are so many different kinds of milk that it's almost impossible to figure out the difference between them. They see that it's milk, and don't think past that. When I leave it up to them, you never know what you will get.

In contrast to Sheila, Alma, a Pakistani immigrant from Chullora, shops for her extended family, and is usually accompanied by her daughter and one of her three sons who drives her to and from the supermarket. Alma's devout Muslim husband gave her permission to participate in this study, on the condition that one of her sons would be with her during the interview. The observation of Alma as she shopped was interesting, as she discussed what to buy with her daughter.

The animal-based foods were carefully considered and had to be culturally appropriate. Care was taken with items such as cream, ice cream and yoghurt, to make sure that, if they contained animal-based ingredients such as gelatine, it was halal. Very little of the meat was purchased at the supermarket and obtained at the halal butcher located near the supermarket entrance. The selection of foods such as frozen pizza was considered culturally inappropriate by her husband. The ingredients of biscuits and other items were checked to make sure they were either halal or at least did not contain ingredients that were unsuitable. During the interview, Alma told of the relative ease in shopping for her household:

> When I came to the supermarket in Australia for the first time, I was not sure if I could come alone or if I had to be accompanied by a male family member. I just didn't know how Australians were about women being by themselves.
>
> My husband prefers if I am with family members. He tolerates me shopping alone during the day, but he's not crazy about it. He is fearful that something may happen to me – that an Australian may try to take advantage of me in some way. I don't mind at all that he is like that. That's how it was back home.
>
> I thought I would have a difficult time finding food that I was used to, but it was easy. The supermarket here in Chullora has a lot of Pakistani foods – 'Besan'

> [21]and 'Atta'[22] flour, lentils – a lot of things. I get the everyday things here, and for the speciality items, I go to the Pakistani supermarket in Auburn. Most of the meat I get from the butcher and the chicken shop just by the entrance to the supermarket (at Chullora) but all the dairy items and eggs I get in the supermarket. The supermarket over at Greenacre has camel (image #4) and goat meat, so if the family want it, my son takes me over there to shop. The Greenacre store also has a good selection of halal chicken, as well as halal lamb and beef (image #4a).

The selection of culturally-specific foods available at her local supermarket makes shopping for women like Alma relatively easy. However, personal choice and taste are often sacrificed. For Alma, personal taste and choice were sacrificed due to the paternalism of her husband. Sheila told me that she had never eaten pizza, and was forbidden by her husband to buy it. However, she whispered to me that she has a secret desire to try pizza. Unlike Alma, Sheila was free to buy whatever she wanted but willingly sacrificed personal choice and taste to accommodate family members.

What was interesting about the way in which Alma adhered to a regime of patriarchal domination, is that although it is contrary to contemporary Australian gender politics, it remains an uncontested aspect of life for many migrant women from Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia. However, the shopping, cooking, and serving of meals are 'the invisible unpaid labour of women such as Alma. Marjorie DeVault (1991) describes this form of gender subjugation as 'oppressive to women', and putting them into the subjugated position of housewife. Yet, Alma sees her role as normal, and it puzzled when her daughter, Mina, suggests to me that: " mum should 'rebel a little against my dad, and buy pizza, because she should do what she wants sometimes – she is Aussie now – mum and dad should stop living with those stupid rules like 'men are the boss, and women do what they're told – that's not how it is here. I won't let a man treat me like dad treats mum – I'm Aussie first, not Paki'[23].

[21] 'Besan' flour is made from chickpeas, and is a staple ingredient in South Asians cuisines.
[22] 'Atta' flour is made from durum wheat, and used to make flatbread such as naan.
[23] 'Paki' is colloquial for 'Pakistani'

Image #4. Halal camel burgers, Coles, Greenacre. This culturally-specific food is available at stores in the Greenacre, Auburn, and Chullora areas, where local Middle Eastern communities have a tradition of eating camel. Camel is unavailable in other areas of Sydney, where it is considered either culturally inappropriate, or unpalatable. Photo: Bryon Boyd

Image #4a. Part of the range of fresh halal meat at Coles, Greenacre. Photo: Bryon Boyd

Image #5. The meat section, Coles, Greenacre. The size of the halal meat section highlights the fact that this store is in an area that is predominantly Muslim. On my field trips to the Greenacre store, I noted that many of the women were wearing the Chador, indicating the presence of a traditional Iranian/Persian community. Photo: Bryon Boyd

The past and the present: meat and memory.

A substantial amount of the anthropological work on food involves memory. From the outset of the supermarket fieldwork, conversations with older shoppers about meat and other animal-based foods such eggs or ice cream invoked nostalgic memories of an earlier time. Many of the shoppers I spoke to were migrants who arrived in Australia as young adults. Now, as retirees and many of them in their seventies or older, the mention of meat triggered talk of 'how it was then', and 'how it is now'. I have used David Sutton's (2001) *Remembrance of Repast*: *An Anthology of Food and Memory,* as an inspirational tool to help me unravel the intricacies of remembered lives and how food is used in the construction of memory. Carole Counihan's (2009) exploration of the food histories of Latino women in rural Colorado has also been a valuable tool that has helped me understand the importance of recording the oral food histories I have been privileged to hear during this study.

The nostalgia of eating the past has been the subject of a host of Meat and Livestock Australia's (MLA) promotional campaigns for different traditional Anglo-Australian dishes. The Sunday Roast taps not only into nostalgia but for the creation of new pathways into Australian-ness through food. For non-Anglo Australians, the Sunday roast is a fast-track way of emulating what it is to be Aussie. By looking to Appadurai's (1988) 'armchair nostalgia', it becomes clear that 'tradition' serves to sell, in this case, meat. By explicitly re-inventing the Aussieness of the roast lamb Sunday lunch, MLA has aligned eating meat with nationalist pride (Belasco and Scranton, 2002).

For me, the memory of meats that I have not seen since childhood is a nostalgic journey, filled with people no longer living. Memories with emotional attachments bring back the good and bad simultaneously, forcing me to ask how the memory of food may be implicated as conscious or unconscious remembering or forgetting. As I remember a childhood with aunt and uncle long dead, I visualise pressed ox-tongue and corned beef in the Coolgardie meat safe on the veranda – before electricity. The meat was wrapped in damp cheesecloth, and the meat safe had damp hessian bags draped around it to keep everything cool. Pressed ox-tongue is no longer an everyday food, but when I walk past the deli counter at the supermarket, I am transported back to my great-great aunt's veranda.

By drawing on participants' recollections of animal-based foods, I have been able to formulate a rich starting point during the semi-structured interviews. For example, I often began interviews with: "tell me your earliest memory of meat, of milk, and of cheese". This format has resulted in rich insights into the culinary culture and traditions that have shaped the participants' identities. Beginning interviews in this way has allowed me to collect multi-layered and multi-dimensional narratives of how animal-based foods are remembered, and how those memories inform what participants buy and eat. After asking Michael, an older Greek-born Australian from Five Docks about his recollections of meat, he sat quietly reflecting on what I had asked for a few minutes, and began by telling me about a recent trip the doctor:

> My family only ate meat at celebrations - Christmas, birthdays, weddings There was always milk and cheese but not meat - the sheep were for wool and cheese - not to eat. Here, we eat meat every day, so it's not so special anymore. But now I have high cholesterol and high blood pressure. The doctor told me I eat too much meat and to cut it back to just once or twice a week. When we came to Australia, we were encouraged to eat like Aussies – meat for breakfast, lunch and dinner – and even for snacks in-between. Now, if I eat meat, it's almost like I want to commit suicide.

Michael went on to tell me about the men in his village, and their affinity with their flocks of sheep. He told me about the women caring for orphaned lambs, and their reluctance to allow the men to kill them for celebratory feasts. As the dialogue progressed, he turned his attention to his life as an older suburban Australian. Michael then talked about growing older in a society that no longer acknowledged the connection between meat and the living animal, explaining that as he and his wife grow older, they are returning to the culinary habits of their Greek youth when meat was not food that was 'taken for granted':

> You know, it's sad that meat is something that people take for granted now. They never stop to think 'that used to be an animal'. The grand-kids don't know what a sheep looks like. All they know is that lamb is something you get at the supermarket and barbeque. The kids of today don't have any connection between animals and meat. They see a lamb at the Easter Show, and they don't know that is what I give them on Sunday for lunch. Australia really is the

> lucky country. Here we can eat as much meat as we want, but there is no respect for the animal anymore. That is sad, but that is how life is now. What is there to remember about food these days? Kentucky Fried Chicken and McDonald's? The new generation has no connection with what they put in their mouths.

Michael and his wife's meals are returning to the pulse and vegetable-based dishes they ate before coming to Australia when meat occupied a secondary place. Now they eat it only a few times each week. The meals are once again meat, egg, and dairy-free on Wednesday and Friday, according to Greek Orthodox tradition. Every Wednesday and Friday Maria cooks' different traditional Greek dishes such as spinach and lentils (fakes), white beans (fasolia), or fava beans (koukia), made with 'red sauce': a combination of fresh tomatoes, finely chopped onion, a little garlic, a little paprika, and a little basil.

The Greek Orthodox traditions Michael and Maria follow include the 40-day fast before Christmas, Easter, the Dormition of the Theotokos (August 15),[24] and the Day of the Cross (September 14). Maria and Michael, like many Aegean Greeks of their generation, have kept the tradition of abstaining from all meat and dairy goods on Wednesdays and Fridays. For Orthodox Greeks, fasting and feasting are part of the same cycle, involving the deferral of consumption, and then the reaffirmation of sociability through the sharing of food (Caplan 1994; cited in Sutton, 1997). However, eating meat on a regular basis was associated with the new prosperity of life in Australia.

Sutton (2001) touches on this type of emotive nostalgia in emphasising that what the remembrance of food evokes in diasporic communities is a temporary return to a distant homeland. As Selina Chan (2010) puts it, imaginary reconstructions of the past are created as nostalgia. She goes on to suggest that 'nostalgic food remembrance often reveals a yearning for a golden past, in which psychological comfort is derived from remembering the past' (p. 210, cited in Flowers and Swan, 2016: 17).

Michael's narrative brings into perspective the importance of remembered culinary pasts, and how particular kinds of meat dishes, and items such as cheese, have the

[24] This is the celebration of the death of the Virgin Mary, and her ascension to heaven.

power to evoke a sense of place from where the shopper has come. Food-related nostalgia is true for Anglo-Australians as well as 'New Australians'. Daniel Miller (2001: 72) refers to this as 'an attribution of ethnicity or nationality'.

For Greek-Australians originating from mainland communities, meat is the focus of the meal for men, with meat held as the pre-eminent symbol of manhood. In contrast, for Greek-Australians from the Aegean Islands like Maria and Michael, meat is considered 'too heavy', with dishes such as 'fakes' often the preferred option[25] (Sutton,1997:6). However, Maria's nostalgia for cooking and eating in the 'old way' without meat or dairy goods is looked at by young Australian-born Greeks as 'backwards' or old-fashioned. However, Maria is undeterred by such comments, drawing an analogy between the decay of human flesh and the decay of meat as an explanation for resisting the continued consumption of animals, insisting that, as Maria explains: "Meat is impure. Vegetables have a sweet smell; they are pure".

I conclude this chapter with five portraits of participants, each telling their story of how buying, cooking, and eating meat and other animal-based foods has changed over time. All are women, and from migrant backgrounds, and although only one woman, Eleni, is Australian-born, all identify as Australian. The common threads in these stories are discovery, commensality, and remembrance.

Eleni: insider/outsider

Eleni grew up in Petersham, an area that was popular with Greek and Macedonian migrants during the 1960's and 1970's. Houses were cheap and the so-called 'new Australians' settled there, forming diasporas that are still evident. Eleni moved to the Eastern suburbs as a young adult but visited her family on weekends for meals shared with the extended family. Now, married with a young family of her own, she and her husband have purchased a house in Petersham a few streets away from her parents. Her Greek heritage, her Aussieness, and her knowledge of life in both the Greek and wider multicultural communities position her as both an insider and an outsider.

One of the first things Eleni wanted to talk about was the way in which members of the Greek community supported each other, and the commensal traditions brought from

[25] 'fakes' is a thick lentil broth. It varies seasonally with variations such as spinach, garlic, fava beans, cabbage, carrot, and wild greens.

the Greek homeland that ensured everyone ate well. Not only did the art of commensality thrive in the Petersham community, but it taught the first Australian-born generation the 'old' values of community and culture. The sharing of food not only a source of respect for the giver but also a safeguarded against cultural and personal isolation for those who shared the meals. Eleni explained the importance of an upbringing that placed commensality as an essential social tool:

> The older people, the ones that came from Greece, they go to bed early, and they get up early. They mostly eat the same things, but they share things around. The women are always taking Tupperware containers of what they have made with them to share around. It's a great tradition. My dad does the same with meat that he barbeques. He takes a plate next door, or down the street. He tells people that he cooked too much, and it will go to waste. It's very humble, but at the same time, he gains respect. When I lived in Bondi, I missed that. My Aussie husband is loving life in Little Greece - that's what we call Petersham. He is learning that when you go to the supermarket and shop for the family, you rethink what family is. You buy a leg of lamb to share with the extended family and the neighbours. That's what makes a community strong.

Eleni underscored many positive attributes of the Petersham community and its Greek cultural heritage. For her, it remains a place where people know each other, and culinary reciprocity is alive and well, and the supermarket is often a place where the older men and women catch up with each other:

> If you go to the supermarket on a Thursday or Friday morning, they are all there chatting and gossiping about who did what, who saw who, and who cooked what. The supermarket isn't just for shopping; it's also for keeping up with what is happening. It's great going with mum and dad and watching them interact with the others. Dad talks about the meat he has bought with the other men, and they discuss the best way to bone it, to marinate it, and to cook it. I don't think Aussie men do that, but old Greek men like dad do.

Eleni also uses her time at the supermarket as an opportunity to brush up on Greek social skills, and language. Eleni takes her two small children with her to the supermarket with her parents, for them to learn these skills, and instil a sense of cultural identity. For Eleni, buying meat and other animal-based foods, with a Greek

sensibility, is an essential element of cultural knowledge that she does not take for granted, and wants to pass on to her children. What Eleni's dialogue highlights is the importance that is placed on meat as a symbol of cultural 'belonging' and identity. In teaching her children how to identify 'good' meat, and which cuts are favoured by Greek cooks, she is repeating what was taught to her by her parents. For Eleni and her family, meat and the way it is cooked is inextricably tied to tradition, and 'Greekness'.

Rosalina: childhood memories of meat in Italy

Rosalina has had a full and rewarding life in Sydney since her migration in the early nineteen sixties. She was born during the war and grew up in the medieval Tuscan city of Siena. Rosalina came here to escape the poverty and hardships of post-war Italy. A successful restaurateur, she has led an interesting life in inner Sydney and is now retired:

> During the war, there was not much food, and after the war, it was no better. We had potatoes, pumpkin, and beans, and very small amount of meat now and then. Meat was sold by a weight called an 'etto', which was one hundred grams. Only wealthy people could afford to buy more than one or two 'etto' of meat. My mother used to buy one 'etto' of horsemeat and make a thick soup which would feed the whole family. As I remember it, it was mostly potato or pumpkin, maybe some wild leeks, or wild kale, and some beans. Cabbage was on the menu a lot. My father and mother were both good gardeners and had a fantastic vegetable garden, so we didn't go hungry. But we all craved meat. I imagine that is because it was a luxury food. I can't remember ever having a roast chicken or a leg of lamb. That's not the way life was there and then in Italy.
>
> When I came to Sydney and saw the meat in the butcher shops, it was like I had arrived in heaven. The shock of arriving in a new country and discovering that meat was cheap enough to eat every day was overwhelming. I could buy all kinds of meat - and buy it by the kilo! From the first day in Sydney, I became addicted to 'meat by the kilo', and have eaten meat every day since, in one form or another. I even opened a little bistro in Leichhardt that specialised in Tuscan food. Back then, my customers were mostly Italian who missed good, authentic

> Italian food and the cosmopolitan Italian way of life. But as Italian food changed from being 'wog food' to fashionable food, the people who came to eat were Aussies as well as Leichhardt's Italian locals. Now Italian food is on most modern Aussie menus. The supermarket sells endless varieties of pasta sauce, and all you have to do is add meat. It's incredible how much Australia has changed!

Soula: the luxury of meat every day.

Soula, a 69-year-old family matriarch, at the supermarket with her neighbour Irma, told me about her childhood in Greece when meat was a luxury food that was eaten at Christmas, Easter, and celebrations, and how the habitual consumption of meat was part of the new Australian life:

> For many years here in Australia, we ate meat because it was everywhere and cheap. We could afford to eat it every day here. The food at home in Greece was mostly vegetarian – but we didn't know what a vegetarian was back then. We cooked the same dishes here as back home, but we added meat almost everything - that was something we could never do before. But that is not what Greek food used to be in Greece. What we cook now is not really [authentic] Greek food anymore. The luxury of meat every day has spoiled us. I think we were much happier and healthier back in Greece than we are now with all the meat we eat these days. Irma, my Turkish neighbour, tells me the same story. Our food is Aussie-style' now, with meat in everything. I'm at that stage in life now that I want to cook food like my mother and grandmother cooked back home in Greece – just vegetables and beans and lentils – and really good bread. You know, when you see Greek food on the cooking shows (on TV), it's not how I remember it. It's always meat when you see it on TV – that's just not the way it was. We were poor, and if we ate all the sheep, we wouldn't have had any wool, or cheese, or yoghurt. The way it was, was hard – that's why us Greeks migrated here, but it was a good life - and a healthy life. I remember the food was always good – a lot of vegetables – and beans – and lentils - but not much meat.

Irma: the reluctant omnivore

Irma, a single mother, identifies as a 'Lebanese-born Australian'. Like Soula and Rosalina, Irma also recalls a past when meat was a rarity. She told me of her childhood when eating meat was reserved for 'special events' such as 'Eid al-Adha', the Muslim Festival of Sacrifice that follows fasting during Ramadan.

Irma cooks meat for her teenage son, who complains if the meal is vegetarian. She paraphrases her son's declaration that: "men have to eat meat if they want a good body because it's the best kind of protein for building muscles". Although Irma would prefer a vegetarian diet, her desire to please her son is the reason she continues to eat meat:

> It is easier to cook 'one dinner for two', rather than 'two dinners for one' – I like the old-fashioned vegetable dishes that my mother and both my grandmothers used to make – there was very, very little meat – a little amount of meat would go a long way. The meat was cut into small pieces and was not the main ingredient. We all grew up eating vegetables, beans, rice, cheese, and bread. It was almost all home-grown and home-made. We didn't eat meat because if we killed the sheep or goat, we would have no milk or cheese. If there were a male kid or lamb, the men would kill it and cook it at Eid, or a wedding, or a celebration like that. Now, look at what we are buying! My son wants a big steak every night, so I buy steak, and mince, and chops, and its meat, meat, and more meat. I'm Muslim, but I don't eat halal meat, and just get the regular meat at the supermarket. My son eats too much meat, but that is the way it is here in Australia. When I go to Lebanon to visit my sister and aunts, we eat the old way – there is hardly any meat.

Emel: the aroma of spit-roasted meat takes me back to Istanbul.

> Whenever I go to Auburn to shop, the air is filled with the aroma of meat cooking in the cafés. I can close my eyes and take myself back to Istanbul all those years ago. I'm sixty-nine and came here when I was twenty-one. When we came to Australia, the lamb was so cheap that my husband and I ate it almost every day. Back in Turkey, a lot of the food was vegetarian because meat was expensive. Eating meat was a luxury – maybe once or twice a week, we would buy a small amount that we would stretch out, so everyone having a little bit –

> meat was just too expensive. It still is (in Turkey). Mum would make lamb kibbeh (meatballs) with three or four different salads, and lots of bread with sesame seeds. Just thinking about it makes me hungry, and homesick for the food. When I buy meat at the supermarket, I buy rump or cuts like that and cut it into cubes. I marinate it and put it on skewers, then grill it. When the weather is good, I light the barbeque and cook it outside. Cooking like that, and eating in the courtyard – that's the Turkish way.

Emel also talked about buying meat at her local supermarket, and the difference between halal and conventional meat:

> I don't worry too much about whether the meat is halal or not. I can tell the difference though. The halal meat has no blood, and the regular supermarket meat always has a lot of blood. It used to bother me when I first came to Australia, but now I don't care – after you cook it, nobody can tell the difference. Some Muslims say that halal meat tastes better, but I don't think there is any difference. There is good quality, and not so good quality, but the amount of blood doesn't change the quality at all. To be honest, I think meat is meat – you either like eating it or you don't – halal or not - it makes no difference.
>
> On TV, I hear anti-halal this, and anti-halal that, but I bet that if you ask the people who kick up all this hate about what Muslims eat, they really wouldn't know anything other than 'halal is what Muslims eat'. They think they don't like Muslims, so they don't like what they eat - but they probably don't know anyone who is Muslim, and think all Muslims are the same. I bet they would be upset if I said Catholics and Seventh Day Adventists are the same – they're Christian, so they must be the same. But Seventh Day Adventists are vegetarian, so they are not the same as the other Christians who eat meat. So it doesn't matter what those anti-halal people say – they can think what they want.

Chapter Two

‘Free Food’, Television, and Celebrity Chefs.

‘Free-food’, but at what price?

As supermarket shopper become more aware of the intersecting foci of health, environment, animal welfare, and factory farming, the ‘free-food’ phenomenon is continuing to increase at a rapid rate. In this chapter, I address the motivations that drive shoppers to choose or reject food, based on their attitudes towards animal welfare, environment, health, and taste. I also investigate the role television plays in influencing which animal-based foods find their way into the shopping trolley.

While the emotional appeal of ‘free-food’ has been identified as an effective marketing tool (Erevelles, 1998), its use through labelling is dependent on culinary capital (Holt, 2004). By linking the appeals of ‘free-food’ to cross-cultural, multi-cultural, and mono-cultural values, the supermarket effectively grabs the widest possible customer-base (Dube and Cantin, 2000). The old conventional values are thus replaced by the new ethics of ‘free-food’. This new ethical pathway was confirmed by the data garnished from interviews with participants that reveals that they believe free-range eggs to be of better quality, and healthier than either barn or caged eggs[26].

Shoppers who are motivated to buy free-range chicken and eggs fall into two distinct groups; those who believe it is ethically and morally wrong to keep hens and chickens in intensive high-density cages or barns, and those who believe that the chicken meat and eggs taste better from free-range farming systems. Supermarket shoppers who select and buy free-range chickens and eggs, based on the ethics of animal welfare and a motivation to avoid items they deem to be unethical, are said to be ‘voting with their dollars’ (Shaw, Newholm, & Dickinson, 2006, Willis & Schor, 2012).

Although available research shows that most Australians are unaware that almost all meat they eat is a product of intensive factory farming practices, they accept as valid

[26] There has been limited research that looks at supermarket shoppers’ willingness to pay for free-range chicken and eggs, or attitudes towards animal welfare that surrounds these issues. Bray and Ankeny’s (2017) Happy Chickens Lay Tastier Eggs: Motivations for Buying Free-Range Eggs in Australia is one entry of a limited amount of research articles that addresses this issue.

that farmers take good care of their animals (Cockfield & Botterill, 2012). None of the shoppers or participants that took part in this study had accurate knowledge of the way in which animals are factory farmed in contemporary Australia, or how animal welfare is either implemented or disregarded by the livestock and poultry producers. Worsley, Wang, & Ridley (2015) also found that there is little knowledge of where meat comes from, other than it comes from 'farm animals'[27].

Image #6. Chicken at the deli section, Coles Broadway: RSPCA Approved, but without any known provenance, indicating the probability that the chicken was either barn raised or ex-cage hens. Staff members Grace and Sukanya (appendic B3, p.99) told me that during their three years working in this section, no-one had ever asked if the source of the chicken meat was from barn or cage birds. The only information she was able to offer was that the meat was not 'free-range', that it was Australian, and that the cartons did not disclose if the birds were of barn or cage origin. Photo: Bryon Boyd

[27] The dialogue on p.19 from Kellie, a participant in Nowra, gives insight into how many contemporary Australians see meat and the living animal as unconnected entities.

Buying culinary capital: value for money, or money for health?

The analysis of fieldwork observations and participant interviews reveals that those who place taste, environmental concerns, or animal welfare, before cost, are more likely to be shoppers with a high level of culinary capital. Those who place cost above other concerns are shoppers with low culinary capital and are often constrained by a limited shopping budget. Belinda, a pensioner from Macquarie Fields in Sydney's West, expressed her frustration at not being able to afford 'better tasting and better-quality' food:

> It's so demoralising sometimes when all I can afford is the cheapest 'no-name' stuff. I get to the checkout, and all the others have sirloin steak, the gourmet sausages, and the best ice-cream. I have to settle for the bulk pack of budget mince and cheap snags. Sometimes I can feel people looking at what I've got, and get paranoid that they're looking down on me for being so cheap, but at least I know lots of different ways to make it spin out and last the distance until next pension day. If I could afford to, I would buy the premium mince and the gourmet sausages. I know the cheap mince and sausages are full of fat and preservatives and other things I don't want to know about – but if I want to eat meat, I have to eat what I can afford.

What Belinda expressed is that although she is buying the cheapest meat, and placing price above other considerations, she would prefer to buy according to taste rather than price. Her awareness of culinary capital is unusual, in that she sees other shoppers with higher quality meat in their trolleys, and judges her culinary capital as low and a cause for embarrassment.

Alice, a university graduate and banking executive from Pyrmont, can afford to put other considerations ahead of price when she shops. Her determinants in selecting meat and other animal-based items include looking at labelling to ascertain if the item has additives, or if it is one hundred percent meat (see image # 7), and therefore better for her nutrition and health:

> If I buy mince steak, sausages, or any other beef for that matter, it has to be one hundred percent beef with absolutely nothing added. I don't want to eat meat that has been fed any growth hormone or antibiotic, or anything but grass

- I also look for meat that's grass or pasture fed. I don't want to eat meat that's grain fed – that's not a natural diet, and if the animal has been fed grain in a feedlot, god only knows what else it has been given. I don't think too much about the price because there isn't that much difference – maybe a couple of dollars and that's about all. I want to know my food is natural, so I look for what's written on the label. The better-quality meat usually has details about where it's from or even the name of the farm. Also, when people come and eat at my place, I like to cook with good ingredients. You can't cook well with low-quality food.

Image #7. 'Free-food' in the form of expensive beef mince, Alice's trolley, Coles Broadway. The label gives shopper such as Alice a list of attributes, including traceability, and provenance. The shopper's culinary capital is assured at a cost that is twice that of 'premium-grade' mince. Photo: Bryon Boyd

Alice's cultural and culinary capital are important within her social environment, with conspicuous consumption a significant factor that drives choice. Belinda's feeling of embarrassment at having a trolley full of budget and discounted items and Alice's trolley filled with premium items are illustrative of how cultural and culinary capital are evident in the trolley. Although both women are from different ends of the consumption spectrum, and both are displaying their consumption conspicuously at the checkout, Belinda attempts discretion, while Alice shows no such anxiety. However, the participants and shoppers who explained that, due to constrained shopping budgets, they were forced to place price over quality as the primary consideration when shopping, all said they would prefer to pay more for better tasting food if they could afford to. What this suggests is that taste is an important practice that overrides most other consideration, even for those on 'tight budgets'.

Regardless of their level of culinary capital, all of the inhabitants of this study told me similar stories of what they saw as good value'. Belinda, whose primary concern was getting the best value for her stretched budget, said that: "I draw the line at the cheap, generic tasty cheese – like the 'Black and Gold' or 'No Name' cheese – the cheap one tastes like soap, so I get a medium priced one – it tastes so much better".

As I recalled how Alice and Belinda looked at similar items with different criteria in mind, it was clear that while Alice is looking for quality, and health considerations, Belinda was focused on affordability. Nevertheless, both women exhibited behaviour that could be described as habitual, which raised the question of whether shopping and the way in which shoppers travel through the supermarket aisles, selecting and rejecting items as they go, is a product of routine behaviour.

Anne, a bus driver from Leichhardt, is an example of how routine behaviour is performed at the supermarket. Anne shops for herself, her same-sex partner, and her two dogs. She likes to shop alone and keeps every second Thursday evening reserved for her supermarket journey. Her set routine of shopping at the same supermarket, at approximately the same time, on the same second Thursday is assuredly a product of habitual behaviour:

> I like the routine of the same day and around the same time every fortnight, which is payday. I'm a creature of habit and tend to buy the same things over and over – the same kind of yoghurt, the same kind of cheese, and the same

> cuts of meat. Even the dogs get the same cans of food. I'm not crazy about the way animals are farmed these days, so I sort of protest by buying pasture fed this, or free-range that. So, I suppose although I am fairly predictable, I do look for new alternatives – ones that are more environment or have better standards in animal welfare. So, if I become aware that something I have been buying is not very ethical, then I will gladly swap to a more 'aware' product.
>
> I compare labels, and then I can say what I put in the trolley is the best choice. Sure, sometimes it may cost a little more to swap for something new or better, but you have to weigh the pros and cons. Usually, the total cost at the checkout is only a little more, and that OK. If it means my dollars are supporting better animal welfare, that's a good thing.

What Anne outlined in her interview dialogue was that, although her journeys to, and through the supermarket are both habitual and predictable. The scrutiny applied during the selection process was somewhat variable from shopper to shopper, but proved to be a recurring theme. Whether the primary concerns were price, quality, environmental, animal welfare, taste, cultural, or just conspicuous consumption, an often-overlooked aspect of the supermarket shopping experience is emotion (Spanjaard, Young and Freeman, 2014: 218).

Without exception, all participants expressed a desire to 'feel good' about the animal-based foods that found their way into the trolley. For Anne, it was the environment and animal welfare, for Belinda it was value for money, and for Alice, it was conspicuous consumption. For participants such as Eleni, a first-generation Greek-Australian, it was cultural. The participant all told me similar stories about arriving home, unpacking the shopping, and 'feeling good', as they subliminally imagined what they would cook with what they had bought.

What's on the label?

During the decision-making process, supermarket shoppers transfer beliefs about a range of items into attitudes, which in turn, become a form of behaviour (Markin, 1979). For example, I observed May, from Pyrmont, looking at packs of chicken breasts

(image #8), and noticed that he focused on a pack labelled as ‘free range’, placed them in the trolley, and moved along the aisle to look at gourmet sausages, selecting ‘grass-fed’ and ‘gluten-free’ (image #9). She then moved on to the egg section and selected a carton for the image on the label, rather than what the label said, adding yet another dimension to the notion that excessive information results in ‘overload’ (see May’s dialogue on buying eggs, p.

Image #8. Coles, Broadway. What the label tells us: Lilydale ‘free-range chicken breasts - free from added hormones and growth promoters, access to outdoors, perching bales, huts for shade, nutritious feed. However, the image of the field on the label misleading in that each chicken only had one square metre of space in the ‘free-range’ (Lilydale stocks chickens at the maximum allowable density of 10,000 per hectare[28]) Photo: Bryon Boyd

Image #9. What’s on the label? Sausages at Coles Broadway. No provenance, but grass-fed. Not organic, but ‘gluten-free’. Photo: Bryon Boyd

[28] Free-range egg buying guide, Choice. www.choice.com.au/food-and-drink/meat-fish-and-eggs/eggs/articles/what-free-range-eggs-meet-the-model-code

How an item wins the shopper's attention and a place in the trolley is dependent on what information is on the label (Dijksterhuis and Smith 2005). In this case, it was the labelling rather than price points that secured the final selection. However, most participants reported that reading labels is often overwhelming, resulting in an information overload. Sheila, from Chatswood, told me she gets frustrated when each type of food not only has so many variables, but has labelling that is hard to decipher. She needs glasses to read small print, and is confused by the terminology used with 'free food':

> I get so confused when I'm looking at the labels – especially the eggs and the fresh chicken. As it is, I don't want to spend a lot of time deciding what to buy, but if I don't look at the labels, I end up with things I think are maybe a bit unethical, or maybe the price seems good, but the per kilo price is high. Sometimes the quantity is smaller than you think at first – that's because the packaging makes it look like there's more than it actually is. A lot of it is misleading, and the wording on the labels is often hard to interpret.
>
> The last time I was here I saw a pack of 'boomerang chicken wings'…they were free range, which was Ok for me. There were six in the pack, and the price per kilo was quite a lot more than the other free-range wings. The 'Boomerang wings' did look good, so I got them. It wasn't till I got home and got them out to cook that I realised the only difference between the cheaper chicken wings and the boomerang wings was that the wing tip had been clipped off. I felt like I had been fooled into buying something at a high price just because it was arranged attractively, not because it was a better-quality product.

What Sheila's dialogue illustrates, is that informed choice is 'built over time, and made in the context of cumulative experience' (Chaudhuri, 2006; cited in Spanjaard, Freeman and Young, 2009:4). Sheila had tried something new but was returning to what she knew when she shopped for chicken wings the next time. By observing other shoppers as they compared items, I became aware that, although most shoppers are open to the idea of trying new foods, their dispositions rarely change, and tend to rely on a process of heuristics (Underhill, 2000). What Sheila's confusion over labels highlights is that as choice increases, information overload kicks in, and the quality of

the decision-making process declines to the point where the choice may be reduced to, for example, the egg carton with the most idyllic rural scene on the label. In Sheila's case, it was the most attractively arranged (and named) chicken wings

Selecting one item based on taste and not price, but selecting the next item on the shopping list based on price and not taste, is illustrative of how shoppers perceive brands in different ways. While Chantal, who is unemployed and lives in a public housing estate at Macquarie Fields in Western Sydney, equates 'in-house labels'[29] with affordability, other shoppers equate them with low cultural capital, preferring to choose a more expensive alternative, not based on taste or quality, but as an act of conspicuously distancing themselves from low socioeconomic community membership. These different reasons for selecting, say, 'grass-fed, or hormone-free' steak over conventional steak is partly reliant on the shopper's evaluation of his or her 'wished for' social status and their actual social status (Plutchik, 2000).

Chantal explains:

> I don't have a lot of money to spend, so I have to balance between what is cheap and what tastes OK, so what I choose is always a sort of compromise between the two. For me, the price is probably more important than something that is better quality…if it costs too much then I just can't afford to get it. I get the generic brand in a lot of things, but when it comes to bacon, it's just too fatty and doesn't taste right… so I go for the middle ground and get the medium price one. I get the Coles brand ice cream because it's cheap, but where I live, everyone else gets it too, so they run out of stock a lot. The other ice creams brands, even when they're on sale, are too expensive, and I get annoyed when the Home brand isn't there.

<u>Human health and animal welfare: the rise of 'free range' hens and eggs.</u>

The most mentioned themes that emerged from the participants' interviews about the differences between free-range, barn and cage eggs was the variation in quality, taste and colour. There was a consensus that, regardless of provable provenance or authenticity of producers' claims, quality was a tangible motivator that trumped

[29] The Woolworths 'Select' range is an example of in-house labelling.

concerns for animal welfare or industrialised farming practices. Quality over animal-welfare highlights Johnston's (2008) consumer/citizen dichotomy that suggests that consumer behaviour is self-indulgent and disregards moral issues (i.e. male chickens, meat chickens and egg-laying hens). Discussion with participants about the characteristics of free-range eggs, such as taste and yolk colour, is encapsulated in what Stella (appendix B, p.90) told me about the eggs she buys:

> The yolks in the 'free-range' brand that I get are a deep orange colour, and the white isn't thin and runny, like in the cage eggs that are still available at Woolworths. Coles don't have the cage eggs anymore, and I think Woolies stops selling them at the end of the year, so that's good. They're horrible and have absolutely no taste. The yolks are really, really pale, and the whites are runny – almost like thick water.
>
> I guess I should be concerned for the hens and the way they are kept. The cages are so, so terrible, and I'm glad the supermarkets are saying no to them. But I don't know if the barns are that much better. I've seen some stuff on YouTube, and it is horrible – so bad I only want to get the free-range stuff now. But the reason I get free-range is that it looks better and tastes better. Maybe the grass and other stuff the birds eat when they are outside is the reason, but I don't know for sure. If they eat and live well, then I eat and live well.

Stella's conversation highlights the often-repeated belief that free-range eggs are better to eat than barn or cage-laid eggs. However, what is important to note is that none of the participants have seen industrialised egg production, and were unaware of the regulatory standards that are in places, such as stocking densities, and normative factory farming practices that impact of animal welfare. The only source of information shoppers have is on the supermarket shelf, with little or no other choice but to read the labels and look for animal welfare endorsements, or 'free-food' labels. However, the anecdotal evidence gathered in participant interviews suggests that perceptions of which items are the best to buy are not necessarily price-driven, but linked to what is stated on the labels; items with 'free food' labelling are perceived as superior, healthier, and tastier (Anderson & Barrett, 2016).

Although none of the participants had visited a poultry farm, there was a consensual belief that ‘free-range’ chickens and hens had access to pasture and enjoyed a natural diet, and were free of growth hormones and antibiotics. Both barn and cage birds were perceived to live their lives and fed in an ‘unnatural’ way. However, none of the participants were sure what cage, barn, or free-range birds were fed, or had any insight into the techniques used in intensive poultry farming.

Carol, from Fairy Meadow, in Wollongong, has been buying ‘free range’ eggs and chicken for ‘a few years’. She was told by some friends that she placed too much trust in what was stated on the labels, telling me:

> I was buying the normal eggs, and they had no taste or colour. I didn’t really know about the difference between cage, barn, or free range, but I got a carton of the free-range eggs, and they tasted great. So, then I thought if the eggs are that much better, then the free-range chicken meat must be that much better too, so I started buying that as well. The packaging says that the eggs and the meat are RSPCA Approved, so I guess that the birds have not been badly treated. That makes me feel a bit better about my decision to buy free-range. Now I know that the way the free-range birds are fed is probably a hell of a lot better than the poor birds in those disgusting tiny little cages and those huge crowded barns, and there are no hormones or stuff like that. So, the eggs and the chickens have to be a lot healthier for me and my family to eat – so, it’s a ‘no-brainer’ for me – it just makes more sense to buy the free-range stuff.

An interesting fact that emerged not only from the interview with Carol (appendix B2, p.101) but with other urban-born participants was that none had ever held a chicken or hen. Moreover, many have never seen a chicken or hen other than in print or visual media such as magazines and television. For participants who have migrated from other countries, the likelihood of them encountering living birds in the urban Australian has been negligible, and their contact with hens and chickens confined to memories of a distant past life. Interestingly, migrant memories of hens and chickens are mostly confined to those who originate from village or rural life, such as natives of island Greece, Calabria and Sicily, or rural South-East Asia.

For older Anglo-Australians, the memories of chickens and hens in the backyard of the urban quarter acre block is also a distant memory. For all of these people, knowledge of industrialised factory farming of birds is, for many, something that is hard to comprehend, preferring to believe that the eggs and chicken they buy at the supermarket originate from a source that aligns with how they remember their past life. Sergio, an older Italian-Australian who migrated from Calabria, in Southern italy forty-two years ago told me:

> I don't buy those eggs – the free-range ones. I don't get the organic ones either. I don't believe they are any different from the cheaper (cage) ones I get at Woolies. It's the same when I get chicken meat – I just get the cheaper meat from the deli counter. It says it's RSPCA Approved, and its Australian, and I think it tastes the same as the more expensive meat over in the cabinet with all the different labels for this and that. The egg yolks are a bit pale in the cheaper eggs, but they taste OK. I just don't believe that the chickens in the cages and the barns are treated that badly. The RSPCA wouldn't allow it. I think what the people who protest about the cages say can't be true. Nobody would keep so many hens in such a small cage. I don't believe it.

As the conversation progressed, I told Sergio that by the end of 2017, cage eggs will not be sold anymore in Australia.[30] Sergio appeared shocked at the realisation that what he took to be untrue was, in fact, the truth:

> When I buy the eggs, I just think of hens running around – like they did when I was a kid in Greece. I didn't really believe people could be so cruel to hens, but if Coles and Woolworths are not selling them anymore, then it must be right about the cages. I'm happy that I know the truth now, and I'll eat the good ones – the free-range ones from now on. After all, it's only a couple of dollars more.I know my wife will be happy – she has been telling me for a long time to get the free range eggs.

[30]Supermarkets take cage eggs off their shelves, Animals Australia: factory farming, http://www.animalsaustralia.org/features/6-supermarkets-can-cage-egg-cruelty.php

I found that Spergio's disbelief of the reality of factory farming techniques, and his belief that the entrenched mistreatment of animal within those industrialised systems was

Image #10. What you see '*is not'* what you get - Coles, Fairy Meadow (Wollongong). The misleading image on this carton shows hens on a bale of hay in the open field, yet these eggs are from caged hens. The space each hen has within the cage is less than the size of an A4 sheet of paper. Jacobs Well Egg Farm (Pimpama, Qld.) only has cage hens and does not have any 'free-range', yet they have the 'tick of approval' from the National Heart Foundation[31] Photo: Bryon Boyd

Image #11. What you see *'is'* what you get - Manning valley Free Range Eggs (Wingham, NSW) is a producer that is in complete contrast to Jacobs Well Egg farm. It has full transparency through real-time CCTV streaming to validate their 'free range claims. Although the maximum stocking rate is 10,000 birds per hectare, which equates to each hen having the space equivalent to one square metre, CCTV reveals that the actual density is usually much lower. In this case, the image on the carton is authentic. Photo: Bryon Boyd

[31] https://www.heartfoundation.org.au/healthy-eating/heart-foundation-tick

fabricated by animal rights activists, a commonly-held belief. Although the rise of 'free-food' has forced the poultry industry to 're-evaluate animal welfare practices, with the outcome of ceasing caged egg production by the end of 2017, there is a lingering sentiment that 'what you don't see, doesn't happen'. However, it was interesting to hear Sergio talk about changing to 'free-range when he learned the truth about how caged hens lived. In a conversation at Coles' Turramurra store with Ewan (image #12), highlights the view held by most participants and shoppers I spoke to:

> When I look at all the different egg cartons, it boils down to which ones are best for my body. If the hen is pumped up with chemicals, then the eggs are too, and you're also putting them into your body if you eat them, so I think that if it's not good for me, it cannot be all that good for the hen. So, I go for the ones that have all the 'free of this' and 'free of that' stuff written on the carton. I get free-range eggs, not the barn eggs. Coles don't even sell the cage eggs now. I think free-range eggs are a great source of nutrition and protein.

Image #12. Ewan at Coles Turramurra contemplating which eggs he should buy - he ponders over egg size, price, free-range or barn, and 'free-food' or not. Photo: Bryon Boyd

The viewpoints that ‘what’s best for the hen is best for me’, ‘free-range eggs are better to eat’, and ‘you are what you eat’ were all mentioned by participants, although these assessments are subjective. Perhaps the most salient comment was from Phoebe, a participant from Chippendale who said that: “The hen’s wellbeing and the quality of her eggs cannot be separated. If it’s a beautiful egg, with a richly-coloured yoke, you can be sure the hen is in good shape.”

Omnivorous Television invades the aisles.

> I watch the cooking shows on TV to get ideas on what to cook - you know, things I haven’t tried before, or that I’ve tried somewhere but didn’t know how to cook it. If I go to the supermarket without any new ideas (for something different), I end up getting the same boring stuff. I will probably get the same meat I always get and cook the same boring things. How many times can you eat sausages with mash peas and gravy before it gets really boring! So, when I see something interesting in one of the shows, or one of the family see something they like the look of, I go to the webpage for that show, print out the recipe, and get the ingredients when I shop.
>
> Now I get things I would have never thought of buying before, mainly because I didn’t really know what to do with them. I saw packs of lamb’s brains at Coles, and remembered an Italian recipe for ‘Crumbed Lamb’s brains with a horseradish sauce I saw on the SBS site [32] (see image #13), so I got a couple [of packs], and then downloaded the recipe. They were different, and delicious Everyone loved them too.
>
> Dinner is a little bit more interesting these days. I can even put a twist on things like bolognaise sauce with tips I’ve picked up from these TV shows. I added chopped lamb’s kidneys and pancetta[33] to some mince for a bolognaise sauce. I got that tip from an obscure show on the SBS Food Channel. I got the pancetta

[32] http://www.sbs.com.au/food/recipes/crumbed-lambs-brains-horseradish-mayonnaise

[33] Pancetta is Italian cured pork belly - the equivalent of streaky bacon. It has a deep, strong, slightly salty flavour, is fairly fatty and comes either smoked or unsmoked - https://www.bbcgoodfood.com/glossary/pancetta.

at the deli counter (at Coles), and the kidneys were in a pack of six - that was perfect for the amount of bolognaise sauce I wanted to cook.

- *Jeanette, Drummoyne.*

Image #13. 'Italian crumbed lamb's brains with horseradish mayonnaise'

Photo: http://www.sbs.com.au/food/recipes/crumbed-lambs-brains-horseradish-mayonnaise

The apparent omnivorousness that Australians embrace is confirmed daily by simply turning on the television. The rise of television programming devoted to cooking has been increasing rapidly over the last decade, so much so that SBS, the Australian public television network now has a station dedicated to cooking and food. The commercial networks, as well as the other public broadcaster, the Australian Broadcasting Service (ABC), all have food and cooking shows as prime time viewing. Network Ten's *Master Chef*, Network Seven's *My Kitchen Rules*[34], ABC's *Surfing the Menu: the next generation*[35] and SBS's *River Cottage Australia*[36] and *Gourmet Farmer*[37] all have high ratings and enjoy ongoing success.

Shows such as *Gourmet Farmer* are built on the pretext of urban-dwellers who are feeling disenfranchised with city life and supermarket food and relocate to an idyllic country life, giving viewers a chance to escape their urban existence via the armchair.

[34] https://au.tv.yahoo.com/plus7/my-kitchen-rules/
[35] http://www.abc.net.au/tv/programs/surfing-the-menu-the-next-generation/
[36] http://www.sbs.com.au/food/programs/river-cottage-australia
[37] http://www.sbs.com.au/food/programs/gourmet-farmer

The imagined idyllic lifestyle allows the viewer to transport themselves to a place where food is home-grown, and the meat is from 'happy' home-farmed and slaughtered animals. Such 'lifestyle' television shows encourage the viewers to rethink what they buy at the supermarket, and cajole viewers to switch from conventional and factory-farmed meat to the more expensive 'free-foods'. By making the switch to 'free-food', the new 'converts' become bearers of high culinary capital.

The range of premium meats with traceable provenance that is available at Coles Broadway is an example of this quickly evolving field of 'free-foods'. With culinary television as the catalyst, the shopper is 'primed' to buy a broader range of meats that are not only high animal welfare foods, but more expensive and hence, more profitable for the supermarket (see images #14, #15). By selling meat (and other animal-based items) with known provenance, it is transformed from a product of unknown ethicacy to a responsible and healthy food choice (Goodman, 2003: 1), and food that increases social status amongst peers.

Image #14. The one-step way to increase culinary capital at the next dinner party: premium meat with provenance, and status. Coles Broadway. Photo: Bryon Boyd

Image# 15. Dry-aged beef, Coles, Broadway. Eye-fillet was selling for $75 per kilo, making it unaffordable for all but the most affluent shoppers. Photo: Bryon Boyd

Celebrity Chefs and their influence at the checkout.

By tapping into Australia's love of meat, culinary television and celebrity chefs have a 'no holds barred' approach to presenting meat or other animal-based foods as the 'stars' of every culinary creation, catapulting omnivorousness into a position that is unchallenged at the level of the supermarket. The endorsement of meat, dairy goods, and other animal-based items by celebrity chefs ensures the supermarket shopper considers and selects ingredients featured on television shows and used by the participating celebrity chefs. These shows also serve as a form of adventurism by presenting 'Other' culinary cultures as exotic and exciting, and foods that should be tasted, prepared, consumed and enjoyed by the everyday television viewer (Naccarato and Lebesco, 2012: 11). By promoting omnivorousness as 'tasty', 'elite', and 'fashionable', culinary television shows, celebrity chefs, and supermarkets are fused into one culinary landscape that they collectively manipulate to maximise popularity by using 'props' such as the animal-based 'star' or 'hero' ingredient to encourages culinary elitism as an aspirational goal.

A salient point is the implicit omnivorousness of culinary elitism that is endorsed as desirable and fashionable by both the producers and writers of culinary television shows and the supermarkets. For shoppers who resist following these trends, and question the relevance of culinary capital, there is a danger of being labelled as being non-conformist by peers (Naccarato and Lebesco, 2012: 12). The constant reinforcement of meat or dairy goods as the 'star' or 'hero' of each television dish does little to promote a coherent picture of how ethics, environmental concerns, and animal welfare relate to taste, or cost, or what is important for multi-cultural inclusion

Jeanette, from Drummoyne, explained how after viewing *Master Chef*, she felt compelled to look for, and buy cuts of meat and types of dairy food she does not usually consider as necessary when she is at the supermarket:

> After I had watched a recent episode (of *Master Chef*) with 'beef cheeks'[38], I looked for the recipe on the *Master Chef* website and found one I thought would be tasty and easy to prepare, so I looked for all the ingredients the next time I went shopping. I didn't even know you could eat the cheeks of cows, so it was something new for me to try.

When I suggested to Jeanette that she had been buying, cooking and eating 'beef cheeks' whenever she purchased and cooked with mince, she was surprised, saying:

> I thought beef mince was just minced up beef. Well, when I think about it, the cheeks are definitely beef, it's just that I suppose I haven't really thought it through. I'm sure my grandmother probably used these odd cuts because they were probably the cheapest cuts – the bits nobody wanted. Now I see it on *Master Chef*, and it looks and sounds like something that belongs in a top restaurant, and now I go and spend top dollar on what was going in the mince at half the price.

The use of cuts of meat such as 'beef cheeks' by celebrity chefs and contestants is a way of adding new omnivorous elements to the format, encouraging viewers to seek out and buy these ingredients. In doing this, the supermarkets can charge double the amount of money for what is reimagined as an elite food. By elevating cuts of meat that were considered unsaleable into a cut that is 'on trend' and sought after, elite taste

[38] https://tenplay.com.au/channel-ten/masterchef/recipes/braised-beef-cheeks-with-pan-fried-gnocchi

and popular culture are manipulated with an outcome that doubles profit. Although items such as beef cheeks, ox tongue, oxtail and an assortment of other parts of the animal's body are used in beef mince, albeit with elitist labelling such as '100% beef', 'grass-fed', and 'no added hormones', these reinvented cuts are infused with culinary status. As Gressier (2016) explains, constructions of meat as desirable or repulsive are individually subjective, culturally contingent and evolve over time (p. 50), this strategy ensures supermarkets add value to cuts that are routinely used in mince steak.

Addressing the issue of media-generated culinary needs, Ashley et. al. (2004) argue that the way in which culinary programming is configured means that shopping for the untried necessary ingredients to make the featured dish becomes less about caring for the household's culinary needs, and more about caring for the self (Ashley, Hollows, Jones, and Taylor, 2004; cited in Naccarato and Lebesco, 2012: 49). If the care performed by the new television chefs is based on the notion that food is a source of pleasure and entertainment, then the care invested in the meal is not a product of domestic labour but 'aestheticised leisure" (Ashley et al., 2004: 183).

Official MasterChef Recipe

Image #16 - Braised Beef Cheeks with Pan-Fried Gnocchi.
https://tenplay.com.au/channel-ten/masterchef/recipes/braised-beef-cheeks-with-pan-fried-gnocchi

In analysing Jeanette's journey from a television viewer, to supermarket shopper, and then to cook, it is worth considering how the feminised domestic role of providing food for the household has been transformed from labour to leisure. However mundane menu planning, shopping and cooking for the household may seem, they are forms of labour that are inscribed with information about ourselves, as well as our positions in the everyday world in which we live. The way in which television producers and writers, advertisers, and supermarkets collude, creates a need for unusual gastronomic items that are beyond the range of every-day cultural capital is achieved in this way (Miller, 2007: 132).

What seems to be the goal of the partnership between television's culinary programming and supermarkets is to 'produce ideal customers who aspire to reproduce the lifestyles they witness on television and, by doing so, to acquire their share of status through consumerism' (Naccarato and Lebesco, 2012: 50). As in the case of Jeanette, viewers do not necessarily stop to contemplate what is absent from the screen, or what is constructed as elite omnivorous taste. What they wish for is to escape the culinary predictability they repeat weekly, and by shopping for, and recreating the dishes they see, are motivated to inject their culinary repertoires with the excitement of the new and untried, by recreating what they witness on culinary television.

What devotees of shows like *MasterChef* seem to be unaware of, is that as Hansen (2008) emphasises, 'the real product of food media is not necessarily the celebrity chef, but the consumer…food media creates a base of consumers whose appetites are literally and figuratively kept wanting' (p. 49), assuring both the television network and the supermarket that the featured meat cuts and other ingredients will find their way into the shoppers' trolleys.[39]

[39] See Miletic, D. 2010 MasterChef cooks up a sales storm, The Age, 23 July, p. 3.

Chapter Three

Aussieness and Otherness

They eat weird food; we eat normal food

Australian society is full of racial, political, and ideological xenophobia. (Nguyen, 2005). In this environment, terms such as 'Aussie', 'Asian', and 'Muslim' are problematic due to their homogenisation of identities and their dependence on essentialist and stereotyped understandings of just what these labels include or exclude (Nguyen, 2005: 45), or what exactly 'Aussieness is? What qualifies as Australian is an interesting question, as there are countless variations and notions of Aussieness, as well as notions of what and who qualifies as Australian. These homogenising umbrella terms are problematic, in that they fail to differentiate between different cultures and races.

Sitting on a bench outside the checkout area of Coles in Mt. Druitt, I met Jack, a middle-aged Anglo-Australian shopper as he waited for his wife who was doing the shopping. He told me about the transformation of Mt Druitt from a monocultural Anglo-Australian community into a multicultural community where he now feels that he is the 'foreigner'. He talked to me about 'Asians' and 'Mussies' [40] and how the meat and dairy foods he sees in the supermarket are becoming unfamiliar as ethnic foodways become more and more mainstream. I began the conversation by asking Jack if he thought that meat, dairy foods and other things he and his wife see or buy at the supermarket have changed in the last few years:

> Well, the cooking shows on TV have food from all over the place, but neither of us go in for that foreign food. We've tried the odd thing here and there, but good old Aussie tucker [41] is still the best. On the shelves, there are jars and packets to make food from almost any country in the world. All you have to do is add

[40] 'Mussies' is a colloquial word for Muslims.
[41] 'Tucker' is a colloquial term for 'food'

the meat and maybe an onion or a carrot. That's not for me. Give me a simple grilled steak, some spuds [42], and some greens[43] and I'm good.

It was good here until a few years ago – just Aussies[44]. Now, all these Asians and Mussies are here. They eat weird food – in the Asian butcher's widow [45], you see weird stuff like chicken's feet and what looks like pig's intestines. Nobody in their right mind would eat chicken's feet. Judging from the weird stuff I've seen in the window, I tend to believe they will probably eat anything that breathes. They keep to themselves, and they don't learn English. They don't even try to assimilate. They should eat what we eat -who knows what kind of meat they sell in that butcher shop – they could sell dog for all we know.

You see the Asians in the supermarket buying lots of pork mince., and the Mussies buy their meat at the butcher down the road that sells that halal stuff.[46] The trouble with the Asians is they all look the same and all sound the same, talking in that foreign lingo[47]. The Mussies all look the same as well – but what bothers me the most is that all the food is foreign. Even all the cafes and restaurants have foreign food – Lebanese, Chinese, Indian, Vietnamese. You can get anything but Australian. If they don't like our Aussie culture or the way we eat, they should go back to where they came from. They can take their halal meat and their chicken's feet with them.

Like all Aussies, my wife and I eat normal food. I like the rissoles my wife makes - with mashed potato, greens and gravy. She does meatloaf sometimes as well – its good the next day in a sandwich with some tomato or something. For Sunday lunch, we usually have the old-fashioned roast leg of lamb with mint sauce and roast spuds and pumpkin.

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[42] 'Spuds' is a colloquial term for 'potatoes'

[43] 'greens' refers to any vegetable that accompanies the meal, and includes almost any vegetable, regardless of colour (cauliflower, broccoli, peas, beans, cabbage, etc)
See George's dialogue in appendix B3, p.108.

[44] In this instance, what is meant by 'Aussie' is 'white Anglo Australian'.

[45] 'Asian Seafood & Butcher', Level 1, Westfield, Mt Druitt.

[46] Nazar Butchery, Mt Druitt Rd., Mt Druitt. '100% halal products'
http://www.nazarhalalbutchery.com.au/contactnazarhalalbutchery.html

[47] 'Lingo' is a colloquial term for language.

> My wife makes 'spag bol' [48] about once a week – that's about as foreign as it gets at our place, but we don't use that smelly 'Iti'[49] cheese, we use grated tasty cheese – we reckon it tastes better.

For me, the most troubling element of the dialogue was the casual way in which Jack's xenophobia was normalised. The way in which he bundled cultural and culinary prejudice together to form a 'them and us' storyline emphasised just how ingrained covert xenophobia is in Anglo-Australian society, and brought into focus by Hussein (2015), who points out that 'the encroachment of alien food cultures, flavours and odours has also been an object of fear and disgust (p. 90).

Jack's discourse highlights the ease at which 'Otherness' is simultaneously homogenised and racialised, which brings into question where the line should be drawn as to 'what and who is the 'Other', who is legitimately Aussie (Nguyen, 2005:46), and what exactly are contemporary Australian foodways? However, the answer to such questions should be preceded by Flowers and Swan's (2016) suggestion that Anglo-Australian food by examined as an ethnic foodway (p.3).

Eating the 'Other' without leaving home.

Nguyen (2005) questions the Anglo-Australian perception of 'Asian', by looking at the supermarket shelves, bringing attention to products saturated with symbols, and marketed for their Asianness. Yet, the packaging of the 'just add meat' sauces that are on the supermarket shelves lack any real link to Asia as a region or as an assemblage of people and reinforces the homogenisation of diverse cultures, reducing them into a single identity.

When the supermarket sells prepacked meat with an attached recipe and spice sachet as, for example, 'Beef strips with Thai marinade' (see image #16), it is promoting 'Otherness' as more appetising than Aussieness, and encouraging shoppers to taste foreign foods without leaving home. In the supermarket meat section, the 'just add vegetables' packs (image #17), the prepared meals in the freezer section (image

[48] 'Spag bol' is the colloquial version of 'spaghetti bolognaise'. is mince beef-based. Cooked in the 'Aussie' style, the main element of Bolognaise sauce is meat, whereas in the Italian style, pasta and tomato is the main element.

[49] 'Iti' is a colloquial expression for 'Italian'.

#18b), and in the aisles, the jars and packets of 'just add meat' sauces and marinades (image #18a), not only appeal to the omnivorousness of shoppers, but enable shoppers to have a foreign culinary experience without the threat of actually having to confront the foreign 'Other' (Nguyen, 2005:51). Hage (1997; cited in Flowers and Swan, 2016) describes culinary experience such as these as 'multiculturalism without ethnics'.

Travelling the culinary world via the supermarket enables shoppers such as Betty (p. viii), and James (appendix B3, p.104) to engage in multiculinarism, and experience foreign tastes without going past the supermarket aisle (see image #17). Betty can travel to a different place each time she cooks, and experience the aroma and taste of the chosen culinary destination. As Sneja Gunew argues, eating the 'Other' in this way has long been the acceptable facet of multiculturalism (1993: 13); food is abstracted from any notion of cultural history (Hage 1997, cited in Flowers and Swan; 2016).

Image #17. Thai or Greek tonight? Buying, and eating the 'Other' without leaving home. Photo: Bryon Boyd

Another way of eating the 'Other'[50] is through what Heldke's (2003) calls 'food adventuring', or experimenting with unfamiliar ethnic foods. Heldke's 'food adventurers are likely to view Anglo-Australian food as bland and ordinary, and seek out what they understand to be more interesting and tasty when they shop, suggesting that Aussie food adventures are keen on multi-culinary tastes because they are perceived as a way of escaping the mundanity and culinary repetitiveness of daily life (see Image #18).

Image #18. 'International Foods'. In this aisle at Coles, Leichhardt the shopper can 'travel the world by just adding meat' to the jars and packets on these shelves. The available products are from countries that include Greece, Turkey, India, China, Vietnam, Israel, Germany, Poland, Thailand, Indonesia, U.S.A., Sri Lanka, Mexico, and Portugal. Photo: Bryon Boyd

[50] The term Other comes from Bell Hooks (2001), who argues that 'within commodity culture, ethnicity becomes spice, seasoning that can liven up the dull dish that is mainstream white culture' (1992: 21, cited in Flowers and swan, 2012: 2).

Image #18a Travelling the world one meal at a time. Packet sauces – 'just add meat', available at most supermarkets. Photo: Bryon Boyd

Image #18b Portugal one day, China the next! Prepared meals in the freezer section, available most supermarkets. 'Portuguese-style' Peri Peri Chicken and 'Chinese-style' Pork with Hoisin sauce and Hokkien noodles. Photo: Bryon Boyd

Kathy, from Lilyfield, had no experience with multiculturalism when she first came to Sydney, from Central Queensland. She grew up with the traditional Anglo-Australian 'meat and three veg' diet (image #18a).

Image # 18c Meat and three veg – Aussie-style. Photo: Daily Mail Aust.

Upon her arrival in Sydney, she immediately embraced the vibrancy of its diverse culinary environment, developing a taste for highly spiced foods. Kathy experiments in the kitchen with many different cuisines:

> It was meat and veg and gravy, day after day where I come from (see image #18a). Now, I'm always trying out new things. I absolutely love going to the supermarket because it's full of things I've never eaten. If I want, I can get marinated meat that is Greek style, Portuguese style, Vietnamese Style, Indian Style, or I can get plain meat and get a jar or packet and do it myself. It's like eating my way around the world without ever going past the supermarket. I'm in food heaven in Sydney.
>
> It's incredible to think I've eaten food that's Greek, Lebanese, Thai, Chinese, Indian. Vietnamese, Italian, Portuguese, Japanese - but I've never met people from most of those places. It seems strange that I can cook Thai noodles really well, and love them – and it's really easy to get all the ingredients at the supermarket, but I don't know anyone Thai.
>
> When I came here, I wasn't prepared for how truly multicultural Sydney really is. I knew there were a lot of people from different parts of Asia, but sometimes I feel like I'm the only one with white skin, especially when I shop in Coles at Broadway. What I do notice is that the Asians buy the same sort of Aussie

things I buy. They get the same milk, the same ice cream, even the same chicken and steak. About the only thing that I think is different is that everyone cooks it in a different way. That's what makes it so interesting. It's the same meat but at the same time, it's totally different when people from different cultures add their taste and cooking styles to it.

Fear and Loathing at the supermarket: when meat and Islamophobia intersect

The construction of an 'Asian Other' or 'Muslim Other ' ideologically weaves together groups of people from different cultures and places and in doing so, uncovers anxiety towards the 'unwelcome strangers' in Australia. Fears about the ' Asian hordes' (Burke, 2001), and the 'Muslim Other' are central to Anglo-Australia's invasion anxiety (Lupton 1999a) that stretching back to the 1861 'Lambing Flats Anti-Chinese Miners Riots'[51]. In contemporary Australia, the issue is not immigrants themselves, but what they do, or do not do in Australia that causes anxiety. It is their perceived failure to assimilate (or integrate) with an 'Anglo-Australian' way of life, values and beliefs that are being criticised. (Poynting et al., 2004: 224), with halal meat being a catalyst for anti-Muslim sentiment.

By using meat as an anti-Islamic weapon of protest, xenophobic Anglo-Australians are advocating the boycotting of all foods that are suspected of being halal (see images #19, #20) . This is largely because they are fearful that they may be in danger of being forced to abandon Anglo-Australian culture, will be required to adapt to militant and paternalistic Islamic doctrine. The element of concern is the anxiety around cultural dissolution, and anxiety around social change; an anxiety around the compulsion to change (Poynting et al., 2004: 225). The conflation of halal meat, Muslim culinary celebrations such as Eid[52], and the baseless fear of Islamic terrorism has translated into a xenophobic fear that Australia has become a place of cultural division, not just cultural difference.

[51] Migration Heritage centre, NSW Government, Australia: Lambing Flats Riots. http://www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/exhibition/objectsthroughtime/lambingflatsbanner/index.html

[52] 'Eid' or 'Eid-e- fetr' is the 'feast of breaking the fast' at the end of Ramadan – the month of fasting and prayer.

Islamophobic websites such as 'halalchoices.com.au' conflate halal with Sharia law by putting forward the notion that halal certification "funds special religious rituals or political campaigns to increase the presence of Sharia Law in Australia" (http://halalchoices.com.au/take_action.html). What the protest against halal meat attempts to achieve is to demonise it as 'un-Australian', and conflate halal meat with a fear of forced social change and the loss of 'Aussieness. In other words, the ant-halal lobby puts forward the notion that the availability of halal meat and other halal food at the supermarket is a step towards invasion by the Muslim 'Other' (Poynting et al., 2004: 229-230).

Although there is a vibrant and mostly harmonious tapestry of both multiculinarism and multiculturalism at work in urban Sydney, the monoculturalism of Nowra is the opposite side of the coin. The attitudes and ideals discussed by Nowra participants were indeed complex and revealed a culture of ingrained xenophobia. How the participants, supermarket staff, and shoppers I met in Nowra perceived themselves was revealing and in some cases quite disturbing due to their anti-Islamic and anti-refugee rhetoric. I was unsure how to approach this contentious subject, and looked to Shakira Hussein's (2015; 2017) work on the racialisation of halal food in Australia, to better understand of the complexities that arise when meat and Islamophobia intersect in Australia.

Image #19. Image #20

Stickers from 'Boycott Halal in Australia'[53]

The participants and shoppers who talked to me had a recurring thread, in that they had strong views about both multiculturalism and multiculinarism. For Bob, a middle-

[53] www.facebook.com/BH.Australia/
See also: Cory Bernardi And The Little Halal Truther Campaign That Couldn't, by M. Bull, newmatilda.com https://newmatilda.com/2015/12/03/cory-bernardi-and-the-little-halal-truther-campaign-that-couldnt/

aged male shopper at Nowra Woolworths, the contemporary Aussie is Anglo-Australian. He regards the quintessential Aussie food to be roast lamb, meat pies, and barbequed sausages. However, this is not the view held by many urban city dwellers, who see the national identity as 'hybridising into a multicultural pot that is rich in culinary diversity'.

While what Bob ate on a typical day was eggs on toast for breakfast, a ham or corned beef sandwich for lunch, and for dinner, grilled, pan-fried, or roasted chop, sausage, or steak without spices or herbs, eaten with boiled vegetables, many of the Sydney participants ate a hybridised multicultural blend of foods. From the collected data the average day could include toast or croissant for breakfast, Japanese sushi, Indian curry, or perhaps Thai noodles for lunch, and for dinner, Italian pasta, Balkan cevapcici [54], maybe chicken marinated in Caribbean Creole spices and grilled or for a change, home-delivered pizza.

Bob told me about his last visit to nearby Wollongong, where he had seen women wearing the Hijab, or what he referred to as 'a Mussie headscarf', and commented that he thought it would only be a matter of time before Muslims filtered into his local Nowra community:

> You see the women in the headscarves, and you know they are eating halal meat. It's bloody barbaric from what I've seen on TV. They shouldn't be allowed to kill the animals that way they do, and if I see halal meat here, I'll stop shopping here. It funds Muslim schools and terrorists. Australia is a Christian country; we don't need halal meat here. It's not for sale in the supermarkets here yet - who would buy it? We are all Christians here. If you have halal meat at Coles or Woolies, then you would be saying that Islam is OK, and they would move here. I think One Nation has it right. We have to ban halal meat, or before you know it, there'll be women wearing 'those burqas'[55], the ones they wear,

[54] 'Cevapcici – a, Eastern European skinless sausage made with either lamb, veal, or beef and spiced with paprika and garlic. These are easily made at home, or can be purchased in the meat section of both Coles and Woolworths.

[55] Burqa: This type is the least common, and involves covering the whole body as well as covering the face with mesh, so that the eyes are not visible. http://islamicpamphlets.com/the-burqa-niqab-uncovering-the-facts/

and you cannot even see their eyes – that's just not right. If there is no halal meat, and no other halal food, they won't come.

Although it cannot be assumed that Bob's xenophobia is representative of the majority of shoppers in Nowra, his views were a variation of a theme that I repeatedly heard while conducting both observational fieldwork and interviews. Regrettably, the Islamophobic sentiments I uncovered were reinforced by social media sites such as 'Boycott Halal in Australia' (images #19, #20), and 'Halal Choices'[56] , who construct the Muslim 'other' as 'invaders 'and racialised as 'backwards, brutal, and misogynistic' (Poynting et al. 2004, 151). The reporting of extreme cruelty within the Australian the live cattle and sheep export trade, and within abattoirs and saleyards to Indonesia[57], Vietnam[58], and Israel[59], and sheep in Kuwait[60],[61], Egypt[62],[63], *Animals Australia*[64], ABC's *Four Corners*[65], and activist group *Ban Live Exports*[66] have unintentionally added fuel to the Islamophobic fire, thinly disguised as anti-halal activism. As Hussien (2015) notes, these practices were perceived by many Australians as 'a consequence of Muslim commitment to halal regulation' (p. 85), and seized upon by Islamophobic commentators and used as examples of Muslim brutality and barbarism.

The manifestration of fear and loathing of the Muslim 'Other' that is evident in the supermarket aisles in regional and rural Australia is not new. While the anti-Islamic rhetoric of both Cori Bernardi and Pauline Hanson (see appendix G, p.120) is well documented, there are other politicians who have voiced similar xenophobic agendas. In 2014, it was National Party federal Member of Parliasment George Christensen, who asked: 'Are groceries in Australian trolleys funding a push for Sharia law, supporting jihad groups or even backing terrorist activity?' (Christensen, 2014; cited in Hussein, 2015: 87). In 2015, Liberal Member of Parliament, Luke Simpkins revived

[56] https://www.halalchoices.com.au/
[57] https://www.rspca.org.au/campaigns/live-export/cattle-indonesia/live-exports-indonesia-%E2%80%93-faqs
[58]http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-06-17/cattle-bludgeoning-prompts-call-for-live-trade-suspension/7520272
[59] http://www.banliveexport.com/israel
[60]http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-06-17/cattle-bludgeoning-prompts-call-for-live-trade-suspension/7520272
[61] http://www.abc.net.au/news/rural/2014-10-06/nrn-eid-kuwait-sheep/5791992
[62]http://www.news.com.au/national/live-animal-export-industry-says-animals-will-sufferif-the-practice-is-banned/news-story/c0fd401c411ac207da5eac7e8011af39
[63] https://www.rspca.org.au/campaigns/live-export/live-export-campaigns/egypt
[64] http://www.animalsaustralia.org/investigations/live-export/
[65] http://www.abc.net.au/4corners/another-bloody-business/4354700
[66] http://www.banliveexport.com/

his 2011 anti-halal rhetoric, claiming that halal food was a means by which Australians were unwittingly being converted to Islam (O'Neill, 2015; cited in Hussein, 2015:92).

Image # 20a Full page screen capture of Halal Choices Facebook home page, a group Hussein describes as 'a nexus for the anti-halal campaign' (2015: 87).

What unfolded during conversations with shoppers and staff in Nowra, as well as in interviews with participants was that, although many of these people revealed that they had a range of anti-Muslim and anti halal concerns, there was no evidence that any of them had first-hand knowledge of Muslim cultural or culinary practices, and none had any friends or colleagues who were Muslim.

Sharon, a Woolworths Nowra staff member, told me she had never seen any women wearing the hijab in Nowra, and was not aware if Muslims were living in the area. Her knowledge of what Muslim women wear was limited to what she had heard from others in the local Nowra community, and from what she had seen on commercial television news reports:

> From what I have seen on TV, and from what people have told me, I know that Muslim women are forced to wear things like the Hijab. That's wrong. I would not let a man tell me what to wear. The women have to do what the men tell them to do. Until I saw an article in a magazine recently about the different ways Muslim women dress, I thought they were all much the same … I thought the only thing that was different was that in Afghanistan the women wear burqas, and everywhere else they wear the hijab. I know the burqa is in Afghanistan because I've seen them on TV, and I know from the news that the women are forced to wear the burqa, or they are killed. But I have to admit because I have never met anybody that wears a hijab or a burqa, I'm curious to know what they have to say, and I want to hear it from them, not the TV. I want to know if it's true that they have to do what men tell them to do.
>
> I don't know if letting so many Muslims into Australia is worth the risk. They seem to be taking over. There seems to be something about Muslims in the news almost every day – always some kind of trouble involving them and crime and drugs. If we have halal meat here in Nowra, it will only encourage them to move here, and then it will end up like Lakemba in Sydney, and we will be overrun by Muslims.

Although Anglo-Australians in regional and rural areas like Nowra brand Muslims as people to fear, and people who do not wish to adopt Australian ideals, the irony is that it is those very people who are perpetuating an unwillingness to adopt inclusive ideals. The supermarket shelves in Nowra that have a limited range of not only Arabic, Turkish and Persian foods, also a limited availability of East, South East and South Asian foods. The focus on Anglo-Australian taste is a testament not only to the lack of cultural diversity but also the rejection of culinary diversity, reflecting a dislike of 'un-Australian' food, as well as a protest against multiculturalism. What was apparent in Nowra's supermarket aisles was that, as long as the meat and other animal-based

items were not halal, and the price was low, then the criteria for selection and purchase was fulfilled.

Conclusion.

The dialogue with participants and other supermarket shoppers and staff I met and talked with along the way constitute the substance of this thesis. The interviews revolved around omnivorousness, with questions ranging from recollections of meat and other animal-based foods, perceptions of 'free-food' and how the politics of halal meat are enacted in the supermarket aisles. While my focus was on on meat and other animal-based foods, the interviews and conversations often meandered into areas that at first seemed unrelated to, but proved to be inseparable from food. For some participants, such as Alma, whom we met in chapter 1.2, was culturally-informed gender protocols, and the sacrifice of personal taste and choice to accommodate others. For others, like Sharon, a Woolworths' staff member in Nowra whom we met in chapter 3.3, it was a blend of curiosity, fear of the unknown 'other', and a high element of uncertainty about a multicultural future that includes Islam within its inclusive umbrella.

Some of the narratives that discuss financial hardship and the difficulty in day-to-day survival were generated by questions as simple as 'do you think that the grade of mince steak you usually buy is good value?' Overall, the questions I asked not only focused on the importance of meat as the central element of daily meals, but also touched on the importance of meat and other animal-based foods for celebrations, for rituals, for children, and the importance of commensality, and how these subjects translated into the supermarket shopping regime. Meat was a trigger for memories of food, which in turn led to nostalgic stories of forgotten pasts and events. Many of the older participants and shoppers that I encountered during this study migrated to Australia and recalled their culinary histories with a sense of nostalgia. The way in which the retelling of their culinary pasts unfolded revealed what Selina Chan (2010; cited in Flowers and Swan, 2016) explains as 'psychological comfort derived from remembering the past'.

The result is a thesis that, by looking at the inseparability of omnivorousness and supermarket shopping, communicates the complexity of not only omnivorousness but of multicultural Sydney and the equally complex monoculturalism of regional Australia. One of the outcomes that perhaps should not have surprised, yet did, was that supermarket shoppers were mostly women. This first became evident to me when I

realised that the response to canvassing for participants was heavily weighted with female respondents. The result was that many of the conversations and interviews that appear on these pages belong to women, giving credence to Miller's (1998) premise that supermarket shopping remains gendered as a female activity (p. 39-40).

When I conceived this project, it was to look at how people from different cultural backgrounds shopped for meat and other animal-based foods at supermarkets in contemporary urban Sydney, and if the way supermarket shoppers look for, buy and eat animal-based items differs between urban Sydney and regional Australia, choosing Nowra as an archetypical Australian regional city.[67] I did not expect to discover that supermarket shopping remains a gendered task and that women remain at the forefront of provisioning for the household.

The study's participants included a wide-ranging mixture of shoppers with varied educational, religious, socio-economic, age, gender and cultural backgrounds. In most of the locations, I also interacted with staff members, discussing what meats and other animal-based foods were popular, and what they noticed about what animal-based foods were in the trolleys of shoppers from different cultural backgrounds.

A conversation I had with Rami, a supermarket staff member at Chullora and a self-identified Iraqi-Australian Muslim, highlights how these interactions yielded detailed data. By asking Rami if there was a good range of halal foods available at Chullora Woolworths, he not only told me about what was, and what was not available, but went on to talk about what he had noticed about how people shopped within the supermarket, his views on the ways Muslim women dress, and about where the local Muslim community shopped for meat:

> Not many of the Muslim customers buy meat here – they get it at the butcher and the chicken shop outside – they're both halal (see images #21 and #22) You can get halal yoghurt here (see image #23), but there is non-halal yoghurt as well. If the animal didn't die, then the food is not 'haram' (forbidden), so as long as there is no gelatine in it, it's OK for Muslims - the cream, ice cream and that kind of stuff sell well. They are not halal, but they are not haram either. The Australians that go on about halal and how it funds terrorism should come here

[67] Alternative locations I considered were Lithgow, Gosford, Cessnock, and Maitland.

and see what Muslims actually buy. We eat the same things as non-Muslims. It's only the meat and a few other things like sweets that really need to be halal, but we eat things like corn flakes and vegemite on toast for breakfast just like any other Aussie. All the fuss about halal food is more media bash-up than anything else. As long as the food is not haram[68], it's OK, and that's most food.

Image #21. Woman wearing hijab at the halal chicken shop and fast food takeaway at Chullora. Photo: Bryon Boyd

You know, many of the Muslim women don't wear hijabs – it depends on where they come from, and their age also has a bearing on it. My mum does not cover her head – before the revolution, women in Tehran were very cosmopolitan and dressed like women in the West. It was only after the Ayatollahs took power in 1979 that women had to cover up again. My mum has a Turkish friend who doesn't wear the hijab or bother about halal meat. Muslims are just like Christians really – some go to church and eat fish on Friday, and others do not.

[68] 'Haram' is an Arabic term for 'forbidden', or 'not allowable'.

Muslims are just the same – some eat halal and other couldn't care less. My sister wears the hijab though, which is a bit odd, because in Iran the women either wear the chador or just a loose scarf – as the Pakistani women do. But when you go down to the supermarket at Greenacre, there are like one hundred women all pushing trolleys and wearing the chador – you have to rub your eyes and slap yourself – it's like you have been transported to some outer suburb of Tehran. And there they all buy halal – that's why they go there. The supermarket there is like a halal superstore. If Pauline Hanson knew about it, she would have a fit.

Image #22. Woman wearing chador at the halal butcher near the supermarket entrance, Chullora. Photo: Bryon Boyd

Image #23. Halal cured meats, cream, butter, and yoghurt, Chullora. Photo: Bryon Boyd

A combination of participant observation, on-site conversation and observation with supermarket managers, staff, shoppers, and the follow-up semi-structured interviews with participants all yielded empirical data that gave an in-depth and 'inside' view of the journey shoppers take when they buy meat and other animal-based foods, and how they make sense of, and differentiate between labels such as 'free-range' and 'organic'.

A great example was my observation of May, as she scanned the range of eggs at Coles, Broadway. After looking intently at the available rage, she selected a 'free range' carton with a photo of a low-density farm. During the follow-up interview, she told me: "I want to eat 'free range' eggs, laid by hens who are well cared for and healthy - just like the photo on the carton". Carol told me she was aware of the controversy over what 'free range' really is, and told me that she has 'free-range blindness: "if the picture on the carton has happy, healthy chooks, I'll go with that – maybe I shouldn't believe what I see so readily, but how can you know who is telling the truth and who isn't?

In so-called 'well-heeled' areas with high culinary capital, such as the Bondi Junction, Leichhardt, Annandale, and Marsfield, the communities are highly educated, with interest in either ecologically-framed discourses on ethical eating or high animal

welfare foods. By purchasing ethical food – whether it is organic, sustainable, humane, grass-fed, or free-range, they are not only resisting the environmental and animal welfare issues that surround conventional foods, they are choosing items which they perceive as healthier than their conventional counterparts.

Nowra's predominantly Anglo-Australian population made it a suitable site to look at how ideals and attitudes differ from city to country. What I discovered, both in observation and in conversation with staff and shoppers was a very troubling racial undercurrent that made me very uncomfortable. For example, a shopper told me she had recently located from the Western Suburbs, and during the conversation said: "I moved here because it's safe here - no Muslims or Asians" This xenophobic sentiment was repeated by others in various contexts. I was also sworn at by shoppers with one going as far as accusing me of being an 'undercover pro-Islamic activist'.

Within the multicultural, multi-culinary urban landscape, people are comparatively safe from discrimination, but once outside the safety of urbanity, the game changes, and the monoculturalism and attendant monoculinarism of rural and regional Australia is an environment where fear of the 'other' manifests itself as xenophobia and Islamophobia. However, it would be too simplistic to assume that all rural and regional Australians subscribe to the anti-Muslim and anti-Other rhetoric.

One of the most important outcomes of this thesis is the notion that the development of Aussie culinary culture is linked to supermarket shopping. As Rapport and Overing (2007) assert, the contemporary supermarket is a 'zone of transit' where culinary culture is shaped on the move (p. 55), and continually being reinvented and hybridised as newly-evolving forms of Aussie foodways. In this thesis, I have taken conversations with shoppers and supermarket staff members, and the transcripts of participant interviews, and woven them together to highlight how the omnivorousness of contemporary Australians is reinforced and enacted through the process of buying meat and other animal-based foods at the supermarket.

By researching the everyday task of shopping for animal-based foods at the supermarket, I have highlighted how Australians experience the complexities of multiculturalism, monoculturalism, and their associated culinary practices that have meat and other animal-based foods as their central element. By looking at the how and why supermarket shoppers fill their trolleys with animal-based foods, I have been

able to uncover stories about identity, place, and how the animal-based foods they eat defines them. Overall, this thesis is an important addition to this narrow field of research and serves to broaden our understanding of omnivorousness in the context of Australian supermarket shopping. Furthermore, this empirically rich thesis has highlighted how contemporary Australian culinary culture and animal-based foods are inextricably linked to supermarket shopping. It also highlights how the supermarket is, as Rapport and Overing (2007) describe it, a ‘zone of transit’ where culinary culture is shaped on the move (p. 55) and is continually evolving. Regardless of divisive issues such as the debate over halal meat, or whether the rise of ‘free-food’ is the result of concerns about health, environment, or animal welfare, meat continues to be the quintessential element at the centre of Australia’s diverse foodways, and remains the food that meals are built around.

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Appendices

Appendix A - Locations of supermarkets I visited during fieldwork

INNER WEST SYDNEY

Broadway – Coles

Broadway - Woolworths

Pyrmont – Coles

Annandale - Superbarn

Leichhardt (Norton St) – Coles

Leichhardt (Market Place) - Woolworths

Five Dock – Coles

Balmain – Woolworths

Drummoyne/Birkenhead Point – Coles

Marrickville Metro – Woolworths

Marrickville (Illawarra Rd) – Woolworths

Campsie – Woolworths

Greenacre – Coles

Chullora – Woolworths

Burwood – Coles

Auburn – Woolworths

Lidcombe – Woolworths

Rosehill – Woolworths

EASTERN SUBURBS

Bondi Junction – Woolworths

Bondi Junction – Coles

Double Bay - Woolworths

NORTHERN AND NORTH SHORE

Marsfield (Epping Rd) – Woolworths

Epping – Coles

Thornleigh – Woolworths

Turramurra – Coles

Neutral Bay – Coles

SOUTH

Rockdale – Woolworths

Earlwood – Coles

WESTERN SYDNEY

Mount Druitt – Coles

St Marys – Coles

Macquarie Fields - Coles

WOLLONGONG

Fairy Meadow – Coles

NOWRA

Nowra – Coles

Nowra – Woolworths

Appendix B - The inhabitants of the thesis

B.1 The Participants

Sheila, Five Dock…… (p.24, 25,26, 27, 46)

Shops with alone every week but shares the household responsibilities between her husband and two teenage children. They all eat meat and other animal-based foods, and all enjoy cooking, but Sheila is the principle cook and performs culinary duties akin to the traditional role of housewife. Sheila buys high animal welfare foods, although her husband has no preference between conventional or ethical animal-based foods. Her two children are insistent that the meat and eggs are 'guilt-free' but are not concerned with the provenance of other animal-based foods such as milk, cheese, and frozen pizza.

Stella, Chatswood…… (p.3, 48)

Shops alone on most occasions, but is sometimes accompanied by her partner. She is a G.P. Doctor and has a high level of both culinary and cultural capital. Her decisions are based on what she perceives to be high quality rather than price and prefer to buy meat, eggs, and dairy goods with ethically sound and traceable provenance.

Alma, Chullora…… (p.26, 27, 74)

Shops for her extended family of husband, three sons, one daughter, mother-in-law and father-in-law. Alma and her family migrated from Lahore, Pakistan and follow Islamic dietary guidelines. In keeping with traditional values, Alma and her mother-in-law wear traditional Pakistani clothing, comprising of a 'Dupatta' and 'Shalwar Kameez'.69 However, her daughter and all of the men in the family wear western clothing. Alma buys all of the food and cooks all meals. She buys halal meat but buys dairy and other foods that do not contain gelatine or animal-derived ingredients. Her spoken English is good, but she cannot read well and relies on her children to read labels. For Alma, buying culturally-specific foods she and her family enjoy is an easy

[69] Draped over the head, dupatta creates a loose-fitting headscarf, and usually worn together with the shalwar kameez, a loose-fitting pant-tunic combination. Dupatta and shalwar kameez are very common among the Muslim women of Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh. - http://urbanduniya.com/know-your-headgear-different-types-of-muslim-veils/

task, as Indian and Pakistani ingredients are widely available. The family also enjoys Italian food, with fettuccine a favourite that she cooks weekly. Her sons admit to eating non-halal fast foods such as 'KFC' and 'McDonalds' when out with friends. Alma buys conventional meat and is not interested in the provenance of the meat she buys, with halal-certification being her primary concern. What meat she buys and cooks is decided patriarchally, by the men in the household.

Chantal, Macquarie Fields…… (p.47)

Shops alone on a fortnightly basis for her partner and herself. She lives in a public housing estate, and both are unemployed and on 'a tight budget'. Chantel is long-term unemployed, and her partner was retrenched recently from his job as a storeman, with no job prospects in sight. Chantel's budget does not allow her to choose either quality or ethics over price. She prefers to shop alone as she feels she can budget better without the distraction of her partner, who tends to want items that are not essential.

Belinda, Macquarie Fields…… (p.2, 3, 41, 43, 44)

Shops with her two-year-old daughter on a fortnightly basis, but 'tops up' when needed during the interim period. She is a pensioner and lives in public housing with her husband, daughter and mother, who is also a pensioner. Her husband works part-time, and the combined household income allows little room for luxury or non-essential foods.

Alice, Pyrmont…… (p.2, 3, 41, 43, 44)

Shops alone every few days, preferring to buy food in small amounts to ensure what is in her refrigerator is always fresh. Although she lives alone, her boyfriend stays regularly. She has a cat that eats the same meat she eats. Alice is motivated to buy high-quality organic or 'free' meat and other animal-based foods to maintain 'good nutrition and health'. She has an executive banking job.

Anne, Leichhardt…… (p.43, 44)

Shops alone, but her partner sometimes accompanies. She shops fortnightly, and reserves every second Thursday evening for the journey. Anne prefers to buy meat that is not factory farmed and looks for 'free' labelling. Although she buys high animal

welfare meat and other animal-based foods for herself and her partner, she tends to buy mostly canned food for her two dogs.

Jeanette, Drummoyne…… (p.3, 4, 57, 59)

Shops both by herself and with members of her family, usually on a weekly basis. She is employed part-time as a shop assistant and has a tradesman husband and two children. Her husband cooks occasionally, but Jeanette prefers to cook most meals. Her children share in the kitchen duties, with all members of the family participating in the work of creating and preparing meals. All members of the family watch culinary television shows and enjoy trying to recreate what they have seen. Jeanette and her family's shared culinary interests and the anticipation of new tastes are commensal in nature and defined by culinary capital.

Yossi, Bondi Junction…… (p.8)

Shops alone but is sometimes accompanied by a friend or family member. Yossi also lives alone and buys kosher meat from the Coles supermarket in Double Bay as well as the local kosher butcher. Although he follows a kosher culinary regime at home, he sometimes eats non-kosher food when out. Yossi will only eat certified 'free range' meat and is motivated by a desire to eat 'guilt-free':

> I'm proud of the fact that Tel Aviv has more vegan and vegetarian cafes and restaurants than anywhere else around the world. I'm not vegan or vegetarian, but the movement against industrialised factory farming and kosher slaughter in Israel is something that fills me with hope for a world that treats animals with respect. The rabbis are always talking about being kind to each other, but what they advocate for animal treatment and slaughter is anything but kind. It's surprising that the anti-halal meat lobby hasn't started a campaign against kosher meat. They are as bad as each other, but then again, the anti-halal campaigns are about being anti-boat people, anti-refugee, and anti-anything that threatens their narrow view of life. I'm very conflicted about continuing to kosher meat, but I figure that if I make sure it's at least free-range, I'm heading in the right direction. It's a Jewish thing I suppose, you know – Jews and guilt sort of have a tradition of going together., I want to eat without feeling guilt. So, maybe I should take the lead from the growing number of vegetarian and vegan

> Israelis and try to go meat-free. But then, I like eating meat – it's just that I'm not crazy about eating meat that has been killed in such a horrible way.

Bob, Nowra…… (p. 69, 70, 71)

Shops with his wife. Both have lived in the Illawarra district all their lives. Bob is a tradesman, and his wife is a stay-at-home housewife. They have three adult children whom all live in Sydney and rarely visit. They eat conventional meat, and both believe that there is no difference between conventional, 'free', or ethical animal-based foods. They are both opposed to the availability of halal meat and other foods at supermarkets.

Nikos, Five Dock…… (p.13)

Shops with his wife. Occasionally his wife will shop alone, but they enjoy the supermarket journey together. They migrated from Geek island of Corfu to Australia as newlyweds to make a new life in a new country. They have two adult married daughters who live in Sydney and visit regularly. On weekends and for celebrations, Nikos barbeques or spit-roasts meat on his terrace while his wife, Viki, prepares the other components of the meals. The culinary duties are both gendered and culturally determined; Nikos prepares and cooks meat and fish, while Viki prepares bread, pastries, pulses and vegetables:

> I like to choose the meat when we go shopping. Viki buys meat that we have during the week – things like veal that she does in the pan with a little olive oil, a little basil, and a little lemon juice. Simple food, with a few vegetables or a salad. I choose the leg of lamb, take it home and take the bone out. I marinate it, and either do it on the barbeque, or I spit roast it over the charcoals - you know, on the rotisserie. It cooks slowly and its full of flavour that way. I do chicken on the barbeque sometimes. I cut it down the backbone and flatten it out, and that way it cooks evenly. The way I cook is like it was in the village when I was a boy.

Margo, Nowra…… (p.9)

Shops either alone or with her twelve-year-old son. She is a single mother who recently moved from Western Sydney. Margo decided to move to Nowra because the

community was ‘Aussie’ and there were no Muslims or Asians. She wants to live in a place where the language and food are still ‘Aussie’.

Emel, Auburn…… (p.37)

Shops alone but is accompanied by her adult son sometimes. She is in her sixties, divorced, identifies as Jordanian-Australian and Muslim. She raised her Australian-born son in as a single mother. When she migrated to Australia around forty years ago, halal meat was difficult to buy, so she was forced to buy non-halal meat. Although she can easily buy halal meat now, she continues to buy conventional meat at the supermarket. She finds the controversy surrounding halal meat ‘stupid’ and now believes that halal meat is unnecessary.

Gina, Petersham…… (p.14)

Shops both alone and with her husband. She is in her late forties and migrated from Greece as a teenager. She came to Australia alone and met her husband, who was also Greek after she arrived here. She considers herself more Australian than Greek but holds on to Greek Orthodox culinary traditions that disallow the consumption of meat or dairy goods on Wednesdays and Fridays. Gina jokes that she and her husband are ‘part-time vegans’.

May, Pyrmont…… (p.44, 80)

Shops alone. She is in her mid-thirties and has a live-in boyfriend. She identifies as Australian-born Chinese, and her boyfriend is fourth generation Anglo-Australian. May only speaks English and knows very little about her Chinese heritage, as both of her parents are also Australian-born Chinese. May does not claim to be a good cook, and can only cook basic Aussie-style meals such as scrambled eggs, or grilled sausages and mashed potato with peas and ‘gravox’ gravy. Her boyfriend prefers to either buy takeaway meals or heat microwave meals to what he refers to as ‘the drudgery of cooking’. May usually buys ‘easy to cook’ meat such as gourmet sausages, chops, or chicken breasts.

Mavis, Glebe……. (p.2, 31)

Shops alone. Mavis is a widow, aged pensioner, and has two companion cats. She thinks of herself as “a meat and three veg kind of person”. She cooks corned beef,

corned pork, and corned mutton, but finds that these old-fashioned meats are not available at the supermarket and buys them from her local butcher in Glebe. When she cooks them, they prove to be economical, as they provide meat for hot meals, cold cuts with salad, and for sandwiches. She buys lamb and pork chops, and gourmet sausages from the supermarket, but only buy them when the price is reduced.

June, Nowra…… (p.18)

Shops alone but accompanied by husband occasionally. June and her husband live with their dog. Their adult daughter is married and lives in Brisbane and visits two or three times each year. Long-time residents of Nowra, they are both concerned that the invasion of refugees and immigrants that they suspect is occurring in Sydney and nearby Wollongong will fan out to Nowra and will undermine community values and ideal. June expressed that she fears that an infiltration of halal foods into the local supermarket is "a way of funding terrorism and violence against women".

Phoebe, Chippendale…… (p.53)

Shops alone. She lives with her husband and two sons in their early twenties and buys 'guilt-free' animal-based foods. She is occasionally accompanied by one of her sons but prefers the 'time alone' at the supermarket. Phoebe plans, shops for, prepares and cooks most meals. She also cleans up after the meal is finished, filling the traditional housewife role:

> Meat, eggs, cheese, yoghurt and those sorts of thing – I try to make sure they are natural foods with nothing added. I look for 'grass-fed' meat, whatever that actually means. I thought all meat was grass-fed after all, cows and sheep live in paddocks with grass … well apparently not – at least not all of them. I discovered that a lot of cattle and sheep are sent to feedlots for months on end, and intensively farmed with grain diets and given hormones, antibiotics and god knows what else. How can that be good to eat, not to mention how horrible it must be for those poor beasts. I notice on some of the meat labels that it says 'grain fed' as if it's something that is good. I think it is the opposite, and don't understand what's good about it.

Kathy, Lilyfield…… (p.67)

Shops either alone or with her female flatmate, Eve. Both are university students in their mid-twenties and come from rural backgrounds. Kathy is from Central Queensland, and Eve is from north-west of New South Wales. Coming from a monocultural background, Kathy had no experience with multiculturalism. However, she has embraced Sydney's diverse culinary environment, developing a taste for highly spiced foods.

Neil, Nowra…… (p.18)

Shops alone on an irregular basis, preferring to shop for food as needed. He is divorced, with no children and lives alone. Neil eats meat, but will not eat processed meat, offal, or anything with bones.

Sergio, Rockdale…… (p.50, 51, 32)

Spiros, an older Italian-Australian migrated from Calabria, Southern Italy forty-two years ago. Like other Southern European migrants of the mid twentieth century era, he and his family were labelled 'wogs' by the Anglo-Australian community. He grins as he tells me that he refers to himself as an 'ex-wog', as people with Southern European heritage are now normalised as Aussies: "We are not the foreigners anymore, it's the Asians, the Africans and the Arabs - all the people who haven't picked up the Aussie ways yet – they're the outsiders now"

B.2 Supermarket staff members

Sonia, Mt Druitt

Works at Coles. Sonia is from a Russian immigrant background and has been in Australia since she was seven years old. Now in her early forties, she has witnessed a considerable change in the cultural mix of western Sydney. Her mother and father are both in their eighties, and in good health. Sonia, her husband and son, live a few kilometres away. As a Coles staff member, Sonia shops when she finishes work and buys what the family needs as they need it. She buys meat and other animal-based foods that are 'free' and avoids low-quality meat and frozen prepared foods. Sonia, her husband and son, go to the gym, eat 'guilt-free' and try to maintain a fresh and nutritious plant-based diet supplemented with lean good quality meat.

Rami, Chullora…… (p.75)

A single man who lives with his family. He migrated from Iraq around ten years ago with his family. Rami, his mother and father, and his siblings all dress in the 'Aussie' style. The food his mother cooks is international and includes Italian, Indian, Iranian and Indonesian. The meat the family eat is a both halal and non-halal, as the transition into the Australian lifestyle included the incorporation of non-halal meats and other ingredients.

Grace and Sukanya, Broadway…… (p.41)

Both work as counter assistants in the deli section of Coles, Broadway. Grace identifies as Australian-Filipina, and Sukanya as Thai. They have worked together at the same location for three years. Both eat meat, but Sukanya is Buddhist and a strict vegetarian and does not eat any animal-based foods other than a small amount of cheese. They sell fresh conventional chicken, gourmet sausages and cured and manufactured cold cuts of meat. Neither women are aware of the provenance of the fresh chicken, other than it is 'Produce of Australia', and 'R.S.P.C.A. Approved'.

Jane, Marrickville

Jane has worked as a checkout operator in this location for almost thirteen years. Jane has witnessed a cultural shift from a customer base that was mostly Southern European to Southeast Asian. She explains that there seems to be another cultural

shift emerging with the gentrification of the area. Now there is a growing presence of young wealthy professional white and inter-racial couples, many with small children. She told me there is also a high percentage of same-sex couples within this location's demographic composition. With these shifts in socio-economic and cultural make-up, Jane has noticed a culinary shift away from trolleys with significant amounts of animal-based foods to plant-based foods. A tour of the supermarket aisles confirms Jane's observations, in that there is a large selection of vegetarian and vegan items, and a small meat section.

Andrew, Leichhardt

He has been a manager in various locations over the last twenty-two years, and at Leichhardt Woolworths for almost four years. He has witnessed a considerable change in the way meat is marketed by supermarkets, as well as changes in what kind of meat people want to buy. He began a conversation by saying: "what is free-range and what is organic", but framed as a statement rather than a question, to open a dialogue that told of confusion and puzzlement about what these terms meant to shoppers. Andrew's matter-of-fact way of telling the story of a transition from only stocking conventional animal-based foods to a confusing array of 'guilt-free' animal-based foods designed to 'out-compete each other in a 'product-saturated marketplace'.

Aaron, Bondi Junction

Assistant Manager of Coles in Bondi Junction, Aaron has been with Coles for many years, starting as a check-out operator. He identifies as a non-practising Jew of Austrian heritage. He has lived in Sydney's eastern suburbs all his life and is married with two small children, and his wife is a stay-at-home mum. Aaron's wife meets him at the supermarket when they need to shop, and they share the shopping experience together, while either his mother or mother-in-law care for the children. Although Aaron and his wife are non-practising Jews, they do not eat meat or seafood that is culturally inappropriate, in respect for their religious heritage. However, the buy both kosher and non-kosher animal-based foods, depending on ease of availability. Aaron has observed that there is a growing visual presence of Muslims in the eastern suburbs, but there doesn't appear to be any conflict or unease between Muslim and Jewish shoppers. Although both are minorities, Aaron feels that: "it is important to allow each culture to thrive side-by-side and without conflict. We have Asians, Africans, Jews,

Arabs, Europeans and Aussies all shopping here, and they all get along". He hopes that 'the anti-halal movement does not gain ground in the eastern suburbs, where multiculturalism is alive and thriving'.

B.3 Some of the shoppers (I met along the way)

Mara, Chullora

Shops either alone, or with one or both of her two teenaged children. Her husband sometimes accompanies her, depending on his workload as a Courier. Mara and her family are Afghani refugees who now have Australian citizenship. She works part-time as a sales assistant. Mara was forced to wear a burqa in Afghanistan, and her husband also had to follow strict dress codes, including a prohibition on shaving. As Australians, they have embraced multi-culturalism and adopted western dress. Although they Muslims, they are liberal in their culinary outlook and do not believe that eating non-halal meat is compromising their faith.

Christina, Auburn

Shops alone and with her neighbour. Christina lives with her husband and seventeen-year-old daughter. She likes to shop alone but sometimes shops with her next-door neighbour. Both Christina and her daughter are lactose intolerant, so avoid dairy foods, and drink soy milk, and buys 'guilt-free' animal-based foods. Both Christina and her daughter are opposed to halal and kosher methods of slaughter:

> Both of us are vehemently opposed to halal and kosher meat – killing animals that way is unnecessary. Yes, we both eat meat, but we make sure it's got traceable origins. The farm that produces the eggs we get has cameras in the paddocks and moveable hen-houses, so we can look on the laptop anytime and see where the eggs are being laid. The lamb we get has the same sort of thing, but with still pictures. There are labels that come with the meat telling us where it is from, and we can look up the farm's website and see if the farmer is following good animal welfare practices.

Ruth, Bondi Junction

Shops with either one or both of her teenage children. Ruth identifies as Jewish, with Polish ancestry, while her husband identifies as Jewish with Hungarian ancestry. Their daughter and son identify as Australian, explaining their belief that their parents' European heritage is irrelevant in contemporary Australia, and that 'Jewishness' does not define who they are. Kosher meats are a feature of the shopping expedition, but neither Ruth nor her family members are too concerned with keeping 'kosher' with

meats, deeming kosher slaughter as unnecessary and cruel. Ruth, her husband, and her children all prefer to eat meat that is from non-halal and non-kosher origins but follow other kosher culinary codes, such as refraining from mixing dairy with meat, or eating the meat of fish and animals that are deemed unfit, such as cloven-hooved animals and fish with scales.

Ken and Dianne, Nowra

Shop together, except when extra supplies are needed, and either one of them will journey to the supermarket separately for the needed items. Both retired, and have adult children who live in other states, and rarely visit. They have a small dog and a cat as companion animals. They eat a combination of conventional and ethical animal-based foods and have a growing awareness of 'free' foods. What they buy varies according to availability, price, and 'how it looks'. They buy medium-grade mince beef for their pets and try to buy 'Australian' produce. They are both appalled by anti-Muslim sentiment and find anti-halal activism within the supermarket offensive and objectionable. However, both Ken and Dianne believe live animal export should cease and be replaced with refrigerated carcass export as a way of controlling animal welfare and the way in which Australian animals are slaughtered. They both believe linking halal meat to the burqa is an act of racism. Both of them travel to Sydney regularly and enjoy visiting their favourite Turkish and Indonesian cafes and find the xenophobic linking of meat, women's clothing and terrorism nothing more than racist hype. They are both embarrassed by the anti-Muslim rhetoric within the Nowra community, and distance themselves from that section of the community, saying: "they do not speak for the majority."

Carol, Fairy Meadow (Wollongong)…… (p. 49)

Shops alone. Carol is an old-age pensioner in her early seventies. She is Seventh-day Adventist and vegetarian. She is a widow, and lives with her dog, whom she told me is 'her best friend'. She was born into her religion, and therefore, has never tasted meat, although she buys fresh meat for her dog. She buys 'free-range' eggs and dairy goods to maintain a healthy body and mind.

Martha: ‘the Aussie that isn’t”

Martha described herself as Samoan, not as Australian, although she is second generation Australian and born in Brisbane. She described herself as ‘the Aussie that isn’t’ as she has always been asked to justify her difference and treated as an outsider due to her skin colour. She told me:

> People look at me, and it is obvious that I am an Islander. ‘They often say ‘where are you from?’ or ‘are you an Islander? I have never been outside Australia, and only speak English, but when people ask where I’m from, they do not mean Sydney or Melbourne, they mean which country. It’s easier just to say Samoan. They expect me to know about Samoan culture, but I’m pretty much an ordinary Aussie in all ways except my Islander appearance. But I know how to prepare a proper Samoan feast. Traditionally, the men do the meat, and the women do the vegetables, but I break with those old traditions and just do it all myself. I dig a hole in the yard - If I waited for the boys to dig the hole, we could be waiting for weeks. I get the fire going with the stones in the whole, and when it burns down, I line it with banana leaves and the food all goes in the ground to cook for four or five hours We get a few legs of pork or lamb when they are on sale at the supermarket, and do a big cook for our friends. They tell me I might be a true-blue Aussie girl, but I know how to cook like an Island girl.

Arjun: my cultural identity

Arjun was born in Fiji. His parents are Indian descent, but were both born in Fiji:

> Do I call myself Indian, Fijian, Fijian-Indian, Fijian-Indian-Australian, or just Australian? When somebody asks me what nationality I am, I say I am Aussie, and if they say where are you from, I say Bondi Junction. I’m an Australian citizen, but I shouldn’t have to explain. If they ask what my cultural background is, or ask about my ethnicity, then I say I’m Fijian-Indian. My brother just says Indian, and that’s usually enough to shut people up, so I should take his lead, but I’m too pedantic for that”. What really annoys me is when people try to colour me. I’m not white, and I’m not black, so does that make me brown or just a person with dark skin?

> I can't really say much about my Indian heritage, other than my great-grandparents – all eight of them were indentured labour on the sugar cane. These days you call it slave labour. But that's all I know, so my heritage is not one of glamour, but one of displacement and hardship. My family are constantly discriminated against in Fiji – by the whites as well as the Fijians.
>
> The other anomaly that I find irritating is the presumption that I am vegetarian. I'm not. I not a practising Hindu, but I do not eat beef. I eat everything else. When I buy meat at the supermarket, sometimes the checkout operator looks at me questioningly, as if to say, you lot don't eat meat, so why are you buying all these chicken wings.

Dave, a working-class man

Dave identified as working class and employed as a process worker. Being a self-proclaimed 'down to earth working-class guy', he distances himself from the 'rich people' whom he characterised as the 'bosses':

> When you are in the meat section (of the supermarket), sometimes you hear a 'snooty nosed' voice,[70] or notice people that 'look' a bit posh because of the designer clothes and jewellery they've got on, and you notice they're looking at the 'organic' chicken and the lamb fillet. They make me feel a little angry and a little bit jealous at the same time - I can't afford to eat that kind of food, and they take it for granted. I wish people like that would blend in with the rest of us, and not make us feel inadequate because working-class blokes like me have to stick to a budget and they don't.

Dave's dialogue reveals his overt and proud working-class status. The way in which he defines members of the middle and upper class as 'snooty nosed' reveals a delineated boundary between which meat is 'for' one class and 'not for' another. He way in which Dave explained class boundaries that exist in a society that is touted as classless is a reminder that both cultural and culinary capital is ever-present in the supermarket aisles. Through Dave's articulation of class distinction in the Australian supermarket setting, it is clear that there is recourse to support arguments that identities are expressed through culinary boundary marking between what is

[70] 'snooty nosed' and 'snotty nosed 'are colloquial terms for voices that sound elite or well-educated.

considered appropriate for ‘us’ and ‘them’ (Bourdieu, 1984; Lamont, 1992; Southerton, 2002).

By mocking the accent of other supermarket shoppers, Dave indicates that when he is confronted with elitist behaviour and mannerisms, his sense of culinary worth is undermined, and his culinary repertoire is threatened by the elitist ‘Other’ in a space he considers should be culturally neutral.

Yianni: from ‘wog boy’ to ‘cosmopolitan-cool’…… (p.12)

Those who migrated from Europe to Australia many years ago and endured racist slurs and vilification such as ‘wog’ disclose that they sometimes tend to ‘forget’ and buy into the ‘anti-refugee’ and anti-immigration rhetoric. Although these not-so-new new Australians may privilege their ethnic roots, they may simultaneously emphasise past social injustices; for example, Yianni was called a ‘wog-boy’ and tried for years to Australianise himself, never speaking Greek outside the home. In contemporary multi-cultural Sydney, now he rejoices his Greek heritage and proudly speaks Greek in public as a sign of his cosmopolitanness. However, Yainni is unapologetic about his anti-refugee and anti-Muslim opinions, saying that:

> Orthodox Christians and Muslims don’t live well side-by-side. Look at all the trouble with the halal and stuff like that. I reckon when we go to buy meat at the supermarket, it should all be the same – not different meat for Jews and different meat for Muslims. A dead sheep is a dead sheep after all – how in the hell does it taste any different if it’s had its throat cut in the Muslim way or the Jewish way - it’s all just meat. If we are all going to get along, then we should all just get over the slaughter thing and eat.
>
> When I was a kid, the Aussies thought of yeeros and souvlaki with tzatziki[71] as wog food – they wouldn’t eat yeeros or tabouli in a million years. Now it’s what every Aussie eats on the way home after a night out at the pub. Greek food was just wog food back when I was little, but now it’s trendy. Greek food is amazing.

[71] Yeeros has shaved spit-roasted meat and souvlaki has barbequed skewered meat. Both are served with salad and tzatziki, and wrapped in flat bread. Tzatziki is yoghurt and cucumber salad.

> Everyone loves Greek food. Greek food is Aussie food now, and all the Aussies want to barbeque like a Greek.

James, Marrickville…… (p.65)

Shops alone. Although James lives alone and shops for himself, he occasionally shops with his same-sex partner. He eats all kinds of meat but has little interest in how animal welfare is linked to animal-based foods. James is a television 'cooking show junkie', and enjoys the escapism of recreating the recipes from places and from cultures he knows little about:

> I love watching cooking programs that SBS have. There's a long-running program that showcases Australians that come from other countries that is fantastic – it's called 'Food Safari'and features food from different parts of Africa, Asia, South America, Polynesian, and food from other places that are sort of obscure – like Mauritius or the Solomon Islands. All I have to do is get the meat, and then look for the ingredients and have fun trying to recreate the food at home. It's like travelling the world without leaving home. I may never travel to these places, but at least I know what the food is like.

Kim, Annandale

Shops alone. Kim is single and lives alone. She identifies as a Singaporean-Australian with a mixed Chinese and Thai ancestry. She is a self-confessed 'porkaholic' but admits that she has never considered whether pork is conventionally farmed, or factory farmed. She eats other types of meat but rarely considers the ethics surrounding its provenance. Kim is also a self-proclaimed 'foodie'.

Dohyun and Jia, Campsie

Shop together, Dohyun and his wife Jia have been in Australia for around fifteen years. They met in Korea and migrated to Sydney soon after marrying. Both work in banking in the city and live and shop in Campsie, the centre of Sydney's Korean community. Both Buddhist, their diets are mainly plant-based, but both eat small amounts of chicken and pork. Neither of them is concerned with the differences between conventional and ethical animal-based foods and buy according to what is cheap.

Lena and Silvio, Earlwood…… (p.11)

Shop together. They migrated from Croatia over forty years ago and are both retired. They live alone, but their adult children visit them on weekends to enjoy meals with the extended families of their children. Silvio prepares and barbeques lamb or goat while Lena prepares the accompanying dishes. The shopping decisions are mostly made by Lena; however, Silvio chooses the meat. They both prefer pasture fed and buy meat with traceable provenance.

Arthur: halal food

> I lived in Cooma until I was a teenager, and then the family moved to Cootamundra. They still live there, but I moved to Nowra for work around fifteen years ago, and I'm still here. I'm all-Aussie. I think my family all came from England in the nineteen hundreds, but I'm not sure. Judging from the colour of my skin, it's a safe bet to say they were all white, but again, I can't be sure. I was raised on a meat and three veg diet. There were bacon and eggs for breakfast, cold meat sandwiches for lunch, and some sort of meat, veg and gravy for dinner. When I go to Sydney, I am amazed at how different it is to the life I know. I don't recognise it as what I think of as Australian. Unless I want to eat Asian food or Arab food, I have to settle for Pizza, Maccas, or KFC, and they're not Aussie either.
>
> I hear a lot about halal this and halal that, and how buying halal food funds Muslim terrorists. How in the hell did meat and yoghurt and vegemite suddenly become symbols of terrorism?[72] Here in Nowra, I have never seen any women wearing the hijab headscarves, and I have never noticed halal meat at the supermarket, so when I hear fellow Nowra residents telling us that we should not halal food from the supermarket, I think they must be a little nuts.
>
> Maybe I'm on my own here, but Muslims are just like everyone else. They just get on with life. So, Muslims kill the animals differently, and maybe it considered cruel not to stun the animal first. But stunning is a relatively new thing. Before

[72] Pauline Hanson stops eating vegemite to protest Halal certification, Renee Viellaris, Courier Mail, Brisbane, December 26, 2016.
http://www.couriermail.com.au/news/queensland/pauline-hanson-stops-eating-vegemite-to-protest-halal-certification/news-story/1c7980100c373b8c32d9fc8c031b4c39

stunning, there was no difference between halal and other meat as far as I can see. Maybe these anti-halal people should look at the history of slaughterhouses in Australia, and they may be shocked to find out their parents ate what they are protesting about. But if we complain about halal slaughter, shouldn't we complain about kosher as well? After all, kosher and halal slaughter are basically the same. I might have lived all my life in the country, and I may not be tuned into multiculturalism, but I read a lot, and watch a lot of documentaries.

I eat meat, and I eat eggs and dairy food, but it's no different if it has a label that says halal. Maybe it's some of the Asian foods that are more of a problem, but I suppose the racists are too busy with halal stuff to worry about that. I think Asians and dog meat is more of a worry than halal meat.

Stan: halal food

Nowra has been my home for the last few years. I lived in the Sydney suburb of Beverly Hills before I moved here, near punchbowl and Lakemba. All the Aussies were selling up and moving away, and we felt like we were in a foreign country, so we left too. A family from Iraq bought our place. Nice people. Muslims. The women all had the headscarves and wore long dresses in dark colours. There were a lot of them in the family – little kids, teenagers, parents, grandparents and I think a great-grandparent. They loved the location because it was close to their community I think. The older people didn't speak much English, so the teenagers translated.

In Nowra, everyone speaks English and eats Australian food. We go to the supermarket, and the other people who are shopping don't look like foreigners – they're like us, they are not wearing Muslim clothing. And meat is normal here as well - we can get pork chops and bacon. I don't think we should have any more Muslims in Australia. The way they live is not Australian. They talk in their language and don't try to speak English. They eat strange food and have strange customs. The halal meat is one step too far. Now the supermarkets around Beverly Hills even sell goat and camel meat - halal of course. I do not think that halal meat is funding terrorism – I think they come here to escape terrorism and war. But Sydney is being swamped by Muslims, and its forcing

> people like us out. Mind you; it is the same with Asians – you just have to go to over to Campsie, and you don't see any Aussies there either. So, for my family and me, when halal meat comes to Nowra, you know Australia is no longer Aussie.'

Rachelle: 'Aussie Food'…… (p.9)

Rachelle, her husband and three teenage children, live on the outskirts of Nowra. Both grew up on their respective parents' dairy farms. Rachelle is a shop assistant in a local gift shop, and her husband Geoff is a plumber:

> My husband is a three meat, veg, and gravy man. It's the way he grew up, and his mother still cooks that old fashion bland and over-cooked food. It's what I think of as 'Aussie food'. He's a fussy eater, and I try to encourage him to eat more adventurous things and buy marinated meats. To my amazement, he really enjoys most of it. He still wants the mashed potato and overcooked vegetables, but at least the meat is more interesting now. I've got him and the kids eating different kinds of meat that I buy at the supermarket that is marinated in different Asian spices, and I either grill it or pan fry it. It's a lot easier for me because all I have to do is heat the pan or turn on the grill or barbeque. His parents think it's too 'foreign' and say they are happy to stick to Aussie food. The kids support me though. They tell me the food I cook for them tastes good. Dinner is more interesting now, and much tastier. We all look forward to trying new things now, and when I see something different, I give it a try. Last week we had Malaysian-style satay beef for the first time, and we all loved it.

George, Nowra…… (p.63)

Men who live alone cook more often than married men or men with partners but cook significantly less than women who live alone (Hughes et al., 2004: 270). There is evidence that as men grow older, they cook even less, and unless relatives, friends, or support agencies such as 'Meals on Wheels' cook for them, they are inclined to eat food that requires the minimum amount of preparation and cooking (Bennet, 1998). When married men either divorce or are widowed when they are passed middle-age, they tend to rely on 'ready microwave meals', and forgo fresh produce. Shopping for meat may be as simple as buying some sausages for grilling. George, eighty-two years

and old and widowed, lives in Nowra and visits the supermarket when he 'runs short of supplies':

> My wife did all the shopping and cooked all the meals, so when she died, I was not very well equipped to look after myself. I really didn't know how to cook anything more complicated than scrambled eggs and grilled sausages. I like steak and most other kinds of meat, but I couldn't be bothered fussing around at the supermarket trying to find a small piece of steak or a pack of just two chops. I end up just going to the freezer section and getting meals that I just need to heat in the microwave. It's cheaper and easier, and there's no washing up either. The supermarkets don't cater for old men like me – it's all about bulk buys for the family. My kids live in Sydney, and I don't see them often, so I'm left to my own devices. Buying meat and greens and then cooking! - I couldn't be bothered – it's too complicated for an old man like me.

My conversation with George revealed that he could talk about meat and fruit, but when it came to vegetables, he described them as one item, being 'greens'. He talked in detail about varieties fruit that he liked and bought and talked about cooking and mashing potato. However, the 'greens' that made it into his shopping trolley were limited to frozen peas and beans. His cooked meals were restricted to grilled sausages, mashed potato, frozen peas or beans, and instant gravy. George said that: "I can't make any mistakes with sausages, mashed potato, greens and gravy- it's easy, quick, cheap, and tastes good."

<u>Mavis, Marsfield</u>

Mavis is eighty-three and lives within walking distance to Woolworths at Marsfield She has been living alone since her husband died 'fifteen or so years ago', and usually shops alone. She defines her life as 'simple and mostly solitary'. Her children have all passed away, and she has no living relatives. She buys food as she needs it:

> Because I live close to the supermarket, I don't need to buy a lot at any one time, so I just get things as I need them. But it's hard buying for one – everything is packaged for families, and it's hard getting just a couple of chops or a small piece of steak. There is no butcher near here, so I buy a small portion when I see one – but that isn't very often. I like rissoles, but I only need a few hundred grams, and that will do me for a couple of meals, but the mince is always at

least one kilo in the pack. It's annoying, but what can I do? I'm just an old woman - they don't cater for people like me.

Nancy, Fairy Meadow

A long-time resident of the Wollongong suburb of Fairy Meadow, widowed 'many years ago', and now at eighty-six years of age continues to shop for herself on a weekly basis, driving her car the two-kilometre distance to and from the supermarket. Nancy was keen to tell me about her misadventure with a meat pie around fifteen years ago which changed the way she views commercially produced meat-based foods:

> I used to buy frozen meat pies and quite enjoyed them. I used to put them in the oven to heat, mash some potatoes, cook some greens, and make a little gravy. It was an enjoyable, old-fashioned 'easy Aussie meal'. But one night, I took a bite of the pie, and there was something that seemed very foreign. I spat it out. To my horror, I saw two bloodied and dirty used band-aids. Coincidently, the same night there was a program on the television with Jamie Oliver showing what went into a meat pie. He didn't say anything about band-aids, but what he did show was that there is almost no meat in a meat pie, and what meat is there, isn't really meat, but sinews and scraps. What was the pie was no more than edible soap really. I haven't eaten a meat pie since that day. I'm a bit hesitant to eat cheap sausages too – meat doesn't look like whatever is in those cheap sausages.

Betty, Rosehill…… (p.viii, 64)

Both Betty and her husband Reg are long-time residents of Rosehill, near Paramatta, and have seen it transform from a predominantly Anglo-Australian community to a community dominated by first, second and third generation South Asian and Arabic Australians. In their early seventies and retired, Betty and Reg shop together, and share the household responsibilities equally.

Rosa And Raymond: are we Filipino, Asian or Aussie?

Rosa and Raymond are both Filipino-born and came here as students, then went on to become Australian citizens after finishing university. They have been married for around seven years and usually shop together. They both have jobs in offices in the city and work similar hours allowing them the freedom to go to the supermarket

together. They say that none of their friend shop as a couple, explaining that they work different times, and have other considerations such as young children. They are buying a house in Earlwood and are surrounded by mostly Chinese neighbours. Rosa talked about life in Earlwood, within an ‘Asian’ community where they were they were what they called ‘the double outsiders’:

> It’s odd being a Filipino couple living in Australia and surrounded by Asians who don’t think of you as Australian, and at the same time, regard you as different to them. They are mostly Chinese but come from different parts of China, so they are all different to each other as well. But they treat us as outsiders. So, to Australians, we’re outsiders, and to the Chinese here in Earlwood, we are also outsiders. We hold the dubious distinction of being ‘double outsiders’. But what is odd is that as Asians, regardless of where we came from, we are typecast by Australians as people who only eat Asian food, whatever that means. But then I suppose it’s that when most Australians look at Raymond and me and then look at a Chinese or an Indonesian couple, they just think we all look the same.
>
> We don’t eat Chinese food very often, and for that matter, we don’t really cook Filipino food that much either. We both love Italian food and cook a lot of pasta. Aussies forget that they eat Italian as much as Asians do. Have a look at what’s in the trolleys of the Chinese and other Asian nationalities they all have food that is a long way from being Asian. In fact, there are two cafes near our house, and both are Chinese owned and run, but they both serve regular café food like poached eggs on toast for breakfast, and grilled steak and chips at lunchtime.
>
> Just because we are Asian doesn’t mean we eat differently to white Australians. We buy sausages and have them with mash, just like everyone else, and we get mince beef and make Napolitano sauce. We both love grilled lamb chops with salad, but they are a little expensive these days, so we go for sirloin steak because it’s a reasonable price. We just grill it and steam some vegetables. We eat well, and we eat simple, healthy food, but it’s a long way from being Asian. Aussies probably eat more Asian food than we do.
>
> We constantly ask ourselves are we Filipino, Asian or Aussie? The Filipino’s think we are Aussie, but the Aussie’s think we are Asian, and the other Asians around where we live – it’s anybody’s guess what they think we are. At the

Supermarket, I sometimes check out what other people have in their trolleys - usually when I'm in the queue waiting at the checkout. I compare what the white Aussies have, what the Chinese have, and what I have. I have decided we are more Aussie than the Aussies in what we buy. The Australians have got jars and packs of different things like Butter Chicken and Szechuan lamb, and we have chops and potatoes.

Appendix C – List of Images

Appendix D - Flier canvassing participants

MACQUARIE University

FACULTY OF ARTS – DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

WOULD YOU LIKE TO PARTICIPATE IN A UNIVERSITY STUDY?

What do you look for when you buy meat? Does it matter to you if eggs are 'free range' or not? Is 'RSPCA Approved' chicken a better choice? What does 'organic' mean to you? Does it make a difference if the detergent you use is made with animal-based or plant-based ingredients? Does your understanding of how animals are farmed, slaughtered and processed into food determine what you either buy or do not buy?

This study will investigate how you shop at the supermarket for meat, eggs, dairy goods, and other items with animal-based ingredients.

Your participation in this study will involve:

1. Meeting you at the supermarket for an accompanied shopping trip to observe what you buy, and discuss what goes into the shopping trolley as you move through the supermarket.

2. Meeting again either immediately after the shopping trip, or at a pre-arranged time during the following week, either in a public place such as a local café or your home, for a one-hour interview. The interview will give insight into what you and your family regularly eat, if your food choices have changed over time, if meat and other animal-based foods that you eat reflect your cultural identity, if your views on issues such as animal welfare may influence your decisions to buy (or not buy) certain meat, eggs and dairy goods, and the way you think about how meat and other animal-based items are labelled or marketed.

After the interview, your choice of either a Woolworths or a Coles $15 Gift Voucher will be given to you as thanks for your willingness to share your time and views. All participants will be given pseudonyms to protect their identity.

The research will take place between April 1 and June 30, 2017

If you are interested in participating, are over 18 years of age, and available for one accompanied supermarket shopping trip and two follow-up interviews, either phone or email me **before April 14,** and leave your name, contact details, and the location of the supermarket you usually shop at. I will then phone you for an initial discussion to find out information such as whether you shop for yourself or for your family, if you shop on a regular basis, and your availability to participate. You will be able to ask further questions about the research to help you decide if you wish to participate. However, it will not be possible to include all those who wish to participate in this study due to the limited timeframe.

FACULTY OF ARTS – DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

For further information, or to express an interest in participating in this research, please contact:

BRYON BOYD **PH: 0478435994** **Email:** bryon.boyd@students.mq.edu.au

This study is being undertaken by Bryon Boyd, as part of the requirements for the degree of Master of Research – Anthropology, and is under the supervision of Dr Eve Vincent, Lecturer and Higher Degree Research Coordinator, Department of Anthropology, W6A, 611Macquarie University, North Ryde, NSW 2109, Australia M: 0439412219

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics & Integrity (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix E – Participant information and consent form

MACQUARIE University

FACULTY OF ARTS – DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Information and Participant Consent Form

Shopping at the Australian Supermarket for Meat, Eggs, Dairy Goods, and Other Items with Animal-Based Ingredients.

BRYON BOYD | bryon.boyd@student.mq.edu.au
Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Arts

I would like to find out the kind of meats, dairy goods, eggs and other animal-based items that you and your family regularly eat, and if your food choices have changed over time. I would also like to discuss if meat and other animal-based foods that you eat reflect your cultural identity, and if your understanding of how animals are farmed, slaughtered and processed into food determines what you either buy or do not buy. My research will also investigate your views on products that contain undisclosed or hidden animal-based ingredients such as tallow and gelatin. I'd also like to hear your thoughts on labelling such as 'organic', 'free range' and 'happy meat'.

The research involves me:

1) Accompanying you on a shopping trip
2) Meeting either after the shopping trip, or in the week following the shopping trip, in a public place such as a local café or your home, for a one-hour interview

After the interview, your choice of either a Woolworths or a Coles $15 Gift Voucher will be given to you as thanks for your willingness to share your time and views.

All information, names and collected data will remain confidential and will not be disclosed, except if required by law.

Access to data is strictly limited to the researcher and the research supervisor.

A summary of this study and its findings will be available on request.

The completed thesis will be available at the Macquarie University Library, and if published, will not disclose or include any information identifying individual participants. All participants will be given pseudonyms to protect their identity. Once the data is submitted, it cannot be identified with specific individuals. I am happy to provide a copy of the thesis at your request.

This research is being conducted to meet the requirements for the degree of Master of Research – Anthropology. This research is undertaken under the supervision of Dr Eve Vincent, Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Arts, Macquarie University, Office: W6A/611, Phone: 9850 8026, E-mail: eve.vincent@mq.edu.au

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics & Integrity (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

Participants have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give a reason and without consequence.

I have read and understand the information above, and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this information and consent form to keep.

Participant's Name:

Participant's Signature:

Researcher's Name: BRYON BOYD

Researcher' s Signature:

Appendix F – Ethics approval

Final Approval - Issues Addressed_5201700127(R)

Faculty of Arts Research Office <artsro@mq.edu.au> Mar 27

Ethics Application Ref: (5201700127) - Final Approval

Dear Dr Vincent,

Re: ('Shopping at the Australian Supermarket for Meat, Eggs, Dairy Goods, and Other Items with Animal-Based Ingredients.')

Thank you for your recent correspondence. Your response has addressed the issues raised by the Faculty of Arts Human Research Ethics Committee. Approval of the above application has been granted, effective (27/03/2017). This email constitutes ethical approval only.

If you intend to conduct research out of Australia you may require extra insurance and/or local ethics approval. Please contact Maggie Feng, Tax and Insurance Officer from OFS Business Services, on x1683 to advise further.

This research meets the requirements of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007). The National Statement is available at the following web site:

http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/_files_nhmrc/publications/attachments/e72.pdf.

The following personnel are authorised to conduct this research:

Dr Eve Vincent
Mr Bryon William Boyd

NB. STUDENTS: IT IS YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TO KEEP A COPY OF THIS APPROVAL EMAIL TO SUBMIT WITH YOUR THESIS.

Please note the following standard requirements of approval:

1. The approval of this project is conditional upon your continuing compliance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007).

2. Approval will be for a period of five (5) years subject to the provision of annual reports.

Progress Report 1 Due: 27 March 2018
Progress Report 2 Due: 27 March 2019
Progress Report 3 Due: 27 March 2020
Progress Report 4 Due: 27 March 2021
Final Report Due: 27 March 2022

NB: If you complete the work earlier than you had planned you must submit a Final Report as soon as the work is completed. If the project has been discontinued or not commenced for any reason, you are also required to submit a Final Report for the project.

Progress reports and Final Reports are available at the following website:
http://www.research.mq.edu.au/current_research_staff/human_research_ethics/resources

3. If the project has run for more than five (5) years you cannot renew approval for the project. You will need to complete and submit a Final Report and submit a new application for the project. (The five year limit on renewal of approvals allows the Committee to fully re-review research in an environment where legislation, guidelines and requirements are continually changing, for example, new child protection and privacy laws).

4. All amendments to the project must be reviewed and approved by the Committee before implementation. Please complete and submit a Request for Amendment Form available at the following website:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/forms

5. Please notify the Committee immediately in the event of any adverse effects on participants or of any unforeseen events that affect the continued ethical acceptability of the project.

6. At all times you are responsible for the ethical conduct of your research in accordance with the guidelines established by the University. This information is available at the following websites:

http://www.mq.edu.au/policy/

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/policy

If you will be applying for or have applied for internal or external funding for the above project it is your responsibility to provide the Macquarie University's Research Grants Management Assistant with a copy of this email as soon as possible. Internal and External funding agencies will not be informed that you have approval for your project and funds will not be released until the Research Grants Management Assistant has received a copy of this email.

If you need to provide a hard copy letter of approval to an external organisation as evidence that you have approval, please do not hesitate to contact the Faculty of Arts Research Office at ArtsRO@mq.edu.au

Please retain a copy of this email as this is your official notification of ethics approval.

Yours sincerely

Dr Mianna Lotz
Chair, Faculty of Arts Human Research Ethics Committee
Level 7, W6A Building
Macquarie University
Balaclava Rd
NSW 2109 Australia
Mianna.Lotz@mq.edu.au

Appendix G – Some of the anecdotal media releases relevant to the thesis that were collected by me, but were not used in this research.

Better the Burqa than budgie smugglers, Gabriel Wingate-Pearse, The Newcastle Herald, October 3, 2014
http://www.theherald.com.au/story/2602737/opinion-better-the-burqa-than-budgie-smugglers/

Burqas reveal more about men than women, Jacqueline Pascarl, The Sydney Morning Herald, October 20, 2014
http://www.smh.com.au/comment/burqas-reveal-more-about-men-than-women-20141020-118mce.html

Cory Bernardi says 'we need to talk about Islam', insults Muslims with offensive graphic, Jacqueline Maley, The Sydney Morning Herald, June v5, 2017
http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/cory-bernardi-says-we-need-to-talk-about-islam-insults-muslims-with-offensive-graphic-20170605-gwkt71.html

Guest Chef Recipes, MasterChef, Ten Network, Australia
https://tenplay.com.au/channel-ten/masterchef/recipes/celebrity-chef-recipes

Halal Hysteria: It's About Muslims, NOT Animal Welfare, Chris Allen (University of Birmingham), Huffington Post, U.K. Edition, May 12, 2014
http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/dr-chris-allen/halal-meat-hysteria_b_5306911.htm

Hanson questions halal certification practices, SBS News, 24 May 2017
http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2017/05/24/hanson-questions-halal-certification-practices

Leaping into the Halal meat debate? Mind the Islamophobic bandwagon, Yvonne Ridley, Ceasefire Magazine, U.K., May 19, 2014
https://ceasefiremagazine.co.uk/leaping-halal-meat-debate-mind-islamophobic-bandwagon/

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