

Beyond the Hook: A New Zealand Food Story

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Abstract

The dissertation is a narrative interpretation, utilising a gastronomic lens, of an Italian fishing family living in Taputeranga Bay (Island Bay) Wellington, New Zealand. This study explores how the privatisation of the commercial fishing industry resulted in changes in the community's dynamics between 1970 and 2021 and how the quota management system (QMS) was the supposed catalyst for the family's displacement and eventually resettlement in Australia. The research reflects on personal beliefs held over 30 years and refutes previous views by providing an alternative narrative of New Zealand in the 1980s which was a time of civil and social unrest with changes in gender roles and government policy that focussed on creating a free-market economy. The results highlight the inadequacy of government policies in relation to the commercial fishing industry, the exploitation of workers, human rights abuses, mismanagement of the marine ecosystem, and false claims of sustainable and ethical fishing practices. The last and most prominent finding is that within culture and traditions, one's identity is stable, and through food, regardless of physical location, people will always find a sense of belonging.

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Signed: Tina Greco

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background to the Study

Who are we if we do not have an identity? What makes us who we are? How do we know what we know? When did some people disconnect from their food production, traditions, and food rituals? These questions formed basis of the inquiry that started this research project, especially when I thought about my childhood in Island Bay, Wellington, and, how the food and people are linked. These relationships form a significant part of how I see and communicate in the world today. I grew up with food as a bonding agent between family, careers and employment, and the local community.

In 2013, I returned to New Zealand after living abroad for many years, and barely recognised my country. The New Zealand of my past had seemingly morphed into something resembling a transient railway station, with a rich tapestry of cultures and foods to explore. I struggled to see myself in this new New Zealand, so I looked for things that were familiar: food. I found Indian foods, Chinese foods, Korean foods, Italian foods, Turkish foods, and many more in the heart of Auckland City. It sparked a thought: if Auckland had changed, I wondered if Island Bay Wellington had too; after all, it had been 30 years since I had last seen the Bay.

I come from one of the Island Bay Italian fishing families. I am identified as an Island Bay Greco; our industry, culture, and traditions are so intertwined we become more than a family and are something akin to an institution. My family has been in the Bay from the early 1900s to the present day; I lived in Island Bay between the 1970s and 1980s. Therefore, my recollections come from that time.

One of the unanswered questions that haunted me was why we left New Zealand in 1988, and what promoted my father's decision to sink the De Vinci, his 108-foot deep sea fishing boat in Wellington harbour, as a protest against the Quota Management System. What could have happened that influenced a man that vowed never to leave New Zealand's territorial waters, to suddenly take up his belongings and migrate to Australia?

Brillat-Savarin, in the 19th century in France, asserted that food was more than nourishment; it was an identifier of class, status, and social capital. To paraphrase, "you are what you eat": a common term many now use today. Brillat-Savarin (2003), who became the father of the new food science of gastronomy, extended people's ideas and

notions from rituals to the meanings of dishes and, of course, what separates feeders¹ from gastronomes. Brillat-Savarin identified a system of responsibilities around food, such as how food was to be prepared hygienically for cooking, which foods were to be presented and consumed on different occasions, and what foods were appropriate for different genders; with these guidelines, the idea of “gatekeepers” was born. *Gatekeepers* are gastronomes that advocate for food chains, food chain systems, and preservation rituals (Brillat-Savarin, 2003). The food chain and food chain systems are the processes of primary production, such as the production of the goods and their consumption, as well as the political processes that control the supply and demand of food products within domestic and international markets. These processes involve all aspects of food production, such as resource allocation, research and development, environmental impacts, and the long term variability of the food being produced (Horton, 2019).

Italians in Island Bay extended these ideas to "you are what you eat, and you eat what you are." Many of the Grecos in Island Bay that were fisher people ate fish, bartered in fish, and understood that fish was not a commodity but an integral part of our identity. This notion of how employment becomes heavily entrenched in one's identity is not new. An example of this is found in McKinley's research on British surnames, which explores how and why surnames came into being. For example, “Smith” denotes a person or family of smiths; these could have been blacksmiths or goldsmiths, but the trade of smithing belongs to the people who bore this name initially. Another example is found in “Cooper,” which means the people were originally barrel-makers (McKinley, 2013). McKinley's work on medieval England explained what occupation you had, and how that became a part of your identity today.

Herz (2019), a neuroscientist, explained that food is not just a fuel, but in many aspects, our food choices can be influenced by DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid). This links to the Italian belief I grew up with, that all living beings are a part of the animal kingdom, and are therefore governed by primitive drives. Over years of evolution, people adapted to live off the land and sea where their ancestors came from (Herz, 2019). For example, the Inuit of the Arctic circle traditionally had high-fat diets, which were healthy for them; their bodies adapted to this food over many generations. They were sealers and whale hunters; therefore, their jobs became a part of their identities (Chen, 2015).

¹ “*Feeders*” refers to Brillat-Savarin's 19th century categorising of how he saw people's social capital in relation to food: “*Beasts feed: man eats: the man of intellect alone knows how to eat.*” (Brillat-Savarin, 2003).

This study is about the identity of people and communities, and of course, who I am as a person. I am a storyteller. I come from a long line of storytellers stretching back to Italy before Italy was even a nation. Oral traditions of myths and legends are an integral part of ensuring core beliefs stay alive as living history. Brown's (2005) research explored the needs and roles of first nation peoples' identity and well-being, connected with having a voice and telling their story. I come from a first nations people in Italy, the Etruscans.

This study touches on people's lives, thoughts, beliefs, and core being, and therefore, respect for each person and their community is maintained throughout the dissertation. Their story is told, even though the people are not named, and their influence is lifelong, so a humanitarian lens is more fitting than a cold, stark quantitative approach.

This study links identity to food, which relates to employment and well-being, and is undertaken through a narrative inquiry. It uses a political economy framework to explore the context, the location, the relevant history, and the cultural changes of the community studied.

1.2 Research Objectives and Questions

The research objectives is to provide an introspective view of Italian fishermen and their families, to examine the relationships that formed around food and fish in Island Bay Wellington, and to explore the importance of food culture and traditions to the community in Island Bay. The following research questions are addressed:

1. What was the relationship of Italian fishermen and local Māori like, before the privatisation of the fishing industry in 1986?
2. What changes occurred in the community after the introduction of the quota management system?
3. How did these changes affect the food culture and traditions?

These questions led to a discussion of the inevitable clashes and changes in a growing society, shifting from traditional core ideas to those of contemporary New Zealand, that we have today.

1.3 Dissertation Outline

The dissertation first focuses on the foundation of Island Bay itself, who the first people were there, how this tight-knit fishing community formed, and why this area became a focus of Italian immigration chains? Then the study explores food, culture, and identity, and what this meant to my family and the Island Bay residents This includes the language of food, the expectations the community held, and how social conformity formed into an endogenous system that was focused on the fishing industry.

Then, I examine the external forces that impacted life in Island Bay, such as how religious institutions influenced daily life, as well as other factors such as the education system and freeing up of the market economy. The discussion includes findings on other social and civil events in the 1980s that fundamentally changed New Zealand society, and provided a context for why people reacted the way they did to the changes in society and external global pressures. Examples of this are the political turmoil and loss of confidence in government policies and decision making, as a whole such as the introduction of free market economy and privatisation of the commercial fishing industry. When the quota system was implemented, the ongoing effects from those decisions heavily influenced how my family reacted to other changes.

Why undertake such a study? This study aims to give a voice to people in a history that was left unwritten. Munslow (1997) explained that historians have bias, and depending on the social and temporal location, each lens they view history through can give a different version of reality. These lenses helps view parts of the kaleidoscope that makes up Island Bay Wellington's fishing community.

All of the findings that explore my personal experiences of that period (from the early 1970s to 1988) provide an insight into why my immediate family left New Zealand, and why my extended family chose to stay. Also, no matter where in the world we settle, we still practise and keep food rituals we have learned over many generations. This raises another question: What makes Italian families so dogmatic and passionate about keeping traditions?

1.4 Personal reflection

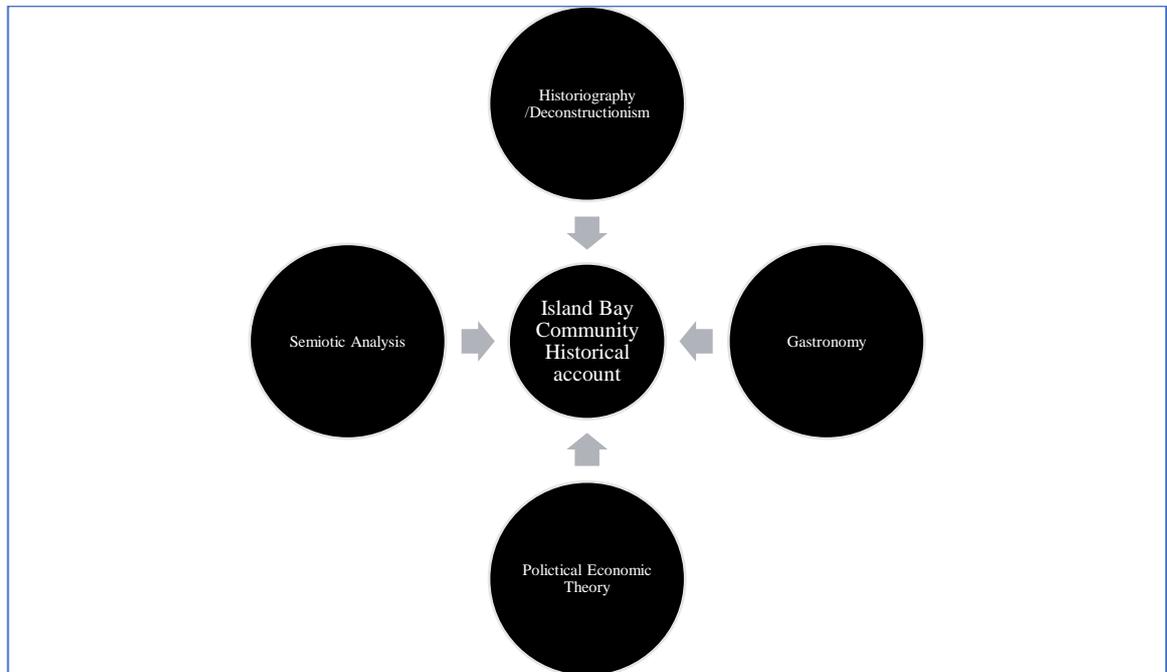
I started my journey in life living in a community that revolved around food, and from there I chose careers from the medical field, involving nutrition in the hospitality industry.

I often wondered why food plays a major role in most of my life decisions, and the only answer I could find, was because it is my life. So, I embraced it, and from there I expanded my knowledge and went to university. I am the first in my family to gain a degree, and progress to a master's dissertation. Being a role model and gatekeeper for my family is how our knowledge and traditions are safeguarded. Italian women are the first teachers our children have, and we can pass knowledge down only if we understand where we come from.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The theories outlined in Figure 1 provide the framework for this study, and how the information was organised.

Figure 1a *Theoretical Framework for Research on Island Bay Wellington (1970-2021)*



This study focuses on a subgroup of New Zealand society within a commercial fishing industry setting. Previous research from Lepionka-Strong (2013) and Elenio (1995) on Island Bay has focused on aspects of culture and family units; this study uses related social theories to explore a deeper connection between peoples. It also explores the formation of commercial enterprises from a collective mindset, in relation to how food and food traditions were the core base for people's lives in Island Bay.

An understanding of the traditions of this community shows how economic systems were developed and how they achieved endogenous growth from 1900 to 1988. It also includes the limitations faced, how government policies affected Island Bay, and the relationship between agency and structure. Social conformity theory plays a vital role in maintaining community and economic structures. Evidence shows that when this system breaks down, the structures in place are less effective (Feldman, 2003).

The conceptual framework examines how the development of endogenous growth within a tight-knit group affected the community's welfare, and over time, which external factors

impacted change (see Aghion et al., 1998; Elder-Vass, 2010). Island Bay is a close-knit community centred around the commercial fishing industry. From this, a political economy perspective can be used to explore the relationships between fish and food, and how food became more than just a commodity, but a means of exchange for goods and services, and a social bonding agent. Misselhorn (2009) explored these issues, but focused on a small African community. Misselhorn's (2009) lens was from a food security perspective, which is vital for the current study. When communities are poor and developing an economic network, their cultural base is the foundation from which they build their systems. Food and money are basic human needs, and the differences between societies relate to how they achieve these, which methods they use, and what criteria they deem as ethical and aligned with their core values (Misselhorn, 2009).

2.1 Gastronomy

My academic discipline is gastronomy; therefore, I use a social sciences lens to view the culture of society, its structures, and how its mechanisms influence the agents within each social group and subgroup. *Gastronomy*, in simple terms, is the study of good eating (Brillat-Savarin, 2003).

Some people do not consider how food gets to their dinner plates, or why they are eating their choices of food. In 19th century France, such people were termed “feeders” by Brillat-Savarin. Brillat-Savarin was a politician and lawyer who became famous for creating the field of gastronomy; he wrote about rituals and behaviours he believed created gastronomes, the ideal diners (Brillat-Savarin, 2003).

It can be argued that gastronomy is not an academic discipline, but more an overarching theme. This can be counteracted by exploring gastronomy as an interdisciplinary study that encompasses all the social sciences that include food within their scope. These disciplines may be history, geography, economics, law, politics, language (linguistics), psychology, archaeology, or sociology (Neill et al., 2017). Each of these disciplines interlocks with others into a giant jigsaw, in which each piece can stand alone and has value, but when the puzzle is completed, only then can the overall picture emerge. That picture shows the inter-relationships of a gastronomic field of study.

Gastronomy evolved from Brillat-Savarin's original ideas of what makes a gastronome, to include a wider field of human interactionism with food and its sources (Santich, 2009).

It is important to look at established beliefs, and understand that these are socially and temporally located. Therefore revisiting, analysing, and exploring deeply into the cultural core of a society, can assist researchers in developing a rounded view of life in that era.

For example, was lobster always a symbol of luxury? Lobster was food for prisoners, slaves, and the poor in 19th century America (USA) and Europe. It was commonly named by colonists in America as the “cockroach of the sea” because lobsters were so numerous that they became a food source that was undervalued. In some parts of the world, lobsters were just used as fertiliser for field crops, but in modern terms, because of overfishing, lobsters have increased in value and become a desired resource (Townsend, 2012; Willet, 2013). Therefore, the ritual treatment of lobsters in the 19th century is vastly different to that of the 21st century, when lobsters take pride of place in fine dining restaurants and are used as a food to symbolise luxury (Townsend, 2012). In my family in the 1970s and 80s, lobster was common, because it was a part of our deep-sea catch; the value of lobster for us was no more than that of a frozen chicken. Many a time, if a lobster or crayfish sat for three days in the refrigerator, it was considered inedible, and fed to the cat.

This example demonstrates that gastronomy is more than the art of good eating. Questions arise such as who were the fisherman that caught the lobster. What was their social positioning within that community? How did they distribute the item, and what process did they go through to prepare the food? What rituals were undertaken, and did they include any religious taboos?

Food symbolises more than just a source of nutrition. It becomes embedded in all aspects of culture and human behaviour, although there are no doubt people who just see food as fuel. This subgroup of non-gastronomes is as important as everyone else, as their rituals, beliefs, ideals, and philosophy had to be generated from some aspect of their lives (Gillespie & Cousins, 2001).

No person is born without a food drive. Babies cry when they are hungry and need to feed, as their crying is an automated response. What a person chooses to eat as they become more mature, is deeply rooted within their culture and society, which encompasses a wide group of individuals and food preferences. This highlights a psychological point in the nature versus nurture debate. Are we a product of genetics or society, or possibility both? (Plomin, 1994). Food preferences are solely dependent on

what resources are available, either from what is primary produced, or what can be brought in from markets beyond a society.

In many societies, legislators create laws in relation to education, health, infrastructure, religion, human rights, and commodity trading. Government level decisions impact on which foods are available for members of a society, and from there, each subgroup of that society develops food preferences depending on other factors.

The field of gastronomy covers many areas, starting with the primary production of food. Deciding which food items are considered edible includes choosing which crops to farm, and research and development into crop availability and sustainability; for example, if food is harvested from the wild, can it be collected to ensure cautious production, and what impact does its harvest have on the wider eco systems? Other considerations include questions such as how the food is transported, by road, sea, or air?. How many food miles does each product generate? Is it commercially sound to import food or export?, and do free markets influence agribusinesses? Does public opinion on corporate social responsibility influence which products are locally available?

The final part of the food chain process to consider is waste disposal; how the waste product is moved or stored, can it be repurposed or minimised, and the environmental impact it has, including that of its carbon footprint. This is the system of how society chooses, uses, consumes, and values food items. Every food source is a limited resource, and every resource has an economic and political value in modern societies (Gillespie & Cousins, 2001).

To argue the value of gastronomy within an academic discipline is to argue about the foundation of why it has merit at all. If gastronomy were not important, then no focus would be placed upon it, but that is simply not the case.

As humans, we continuously try to understand the world around us, from the development of language and the arts, to scientific discovery. This can be seen in the early rock art in the outback of Australia, and in the halls of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington DC, but none of this could be achieved without basic human needs being met, that is food, water, and shelter.

We can stay alive for between 8 to 21 days without food or water (Kottusch et al., 2009), but only three hours without shelter. In order of importance to human development and

evolution, one could therefore propose that after shelter, the field of gastronomy ranks high priority in terms of knowledge required for survival.

Once the foundations of civilisation are met, the next step in human evolution is migration. Travelling and settling in new areas to create new population centres requires a new set of gastronomic knowledge as part of establishing the new settlement. How will the settlers farm, what seeds did they bring, and will those crops grow in the new climate? What cultural and traditional practices does this new community practice? Do they share knowledge with indigenous people? Are there poisonous indigenous flora and fauna, and how do they establish what can be harvested safely?

With growing communities and societies, come immigration chains, the movement of people between established cities, villages, and tribes from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. What happens with the assimilation of food culture, and food insecurity and availability? What of religious practices? Are there clashes of people and cultures? What happens to the minority people?, and do racism and discrimination occur? (Bodvarsson & Van den Berg, 2013)

In this study, I have narrowed my scope of gastronomy to include political economy theory, semiotics, and historiography. These areas were included because they form a network of theories to allow me to explore the social connections my family has with fish and the Island Bay community. I considered this could help me develop a greater understanding of my identity, which in turn could answer the questions I have about our family's emigration from New Zealand to Australia, in 1988. It was also likely to help me explore how my time in Island Bay influenced my lifestyle, including the lessons learnt about safeguarding culture and traditions, the importance of being a gatekeeper, and most of all, never losing the spiritual connection to food.

2.2 Political Economy Theory

Political economy theory explores the relationships between government, economies, and people; these components can be either domestic or internationally based (Milonakis & Fine, 2008). An example of this is found in the trade agreement of New Zealand with China. New Zealand produces primary products such as dairy, and developed a market in China for its sale, creating exports. With this development, many negotiations took place, with agreements that created this trade.

Trade agreements impact the domestic market within New Zealand either positively or negatively, depending on the terms of the agreement. Tsoulfidis (2019) suggested some of the effects of political and economic forces include social-economic changes in the rural areas where farms are located, changes in employment figures locally and around the country, amended immigration policies due to work visas, housing issues, education requirements, infrastructure, transportation, pressure on the health system, and environmental concerns.

Political economy theory concerns actions and reactions, and is focused on what commodities there are, what resource value they hold, and what markets they can be traded in. This is why the theory is a structural base to this study, because it is focused on a commodity with a large resource value, and on the impact of government's changes affecting the producers of that commodity. Also, this theory allows comparisons with other economic systems, such as showing cause and effect if one part of the dominant network and markets changes, affecting a lesser established market in the same region.

There are two economic systems to consider in the Island Bay case. First, there was endogenous growth (within a community and self-sustaining), whereby individuals formed a collective, this system ended in the late 80s for the Island Bay inhabitants. Within such a group, a community can produce goods and services independently from other communities. This system is used by countries such as Italy, where some of the population lives in poverty. For example, most of the people in Naples are considered poor, compared to those living in Rome or Milan, where the populations on average, are wealthier and do not require to have endogenous growth due to a greater economic stability and status. Therefore reliance upon community produce and products is much less to sustain an adequate standard of living (Aghion et al., 1998; Romer, 1994).

The second economic system being used in this study is neoclassicism. According to neoclassicism, government policies direct economic growth, such as international trade structures, health and safety regulations that include food safety, employment laws, the taxation system, and any government policy that supports people (such as those in New Zealand) in their commercial enterprises, such as a free trade policy. Each economic model has its own set of variables to consider when creating an overarching picture (Milonakis, 2008). What individuals choose to participate in as a society is primarily due to their cultural capital, as every society and community is influenced by the makeup of the people that live within it. If the culture values human rights over material goods, then

humanitarian projects and policies will support that system of behaviour. Conversely, if material goods are valued over human rights, then the society would be commodity-based (Nicholls, 2018). These concepts extend to the form of government the country adopts; New Zealand is a democracy, in which the government represents the majority of the citizens with elected officials, chosen by the majority of the people. With this form of government, the premise is that legislation will benefit the majority of the citizens, but unfortunately, this is not always the case (Roberts, 2020).

Of all types of legislations, I chose to focus on food politics; Henry Kissinger is an excellent example of how food politics operate on a global scale, as he could see how the allocation of resources globally could lead to greater national power.

Who controls the food supply controls the people; who controls the energy can control whole continents; who controls money can control the world. (Brewda, 1995, pg 15)

Food politics is controversial, sensitive, and one of the major issues that globally is worth billions of dollars; I do not believe Brillat-Savarin would have dreamed his ideals of the gastronome would have manifested to the notion of a form of world order.

This core idea in Kissinger's career, of power and distribution, is used in this study to analyse the events from the 1970s onward in Island Bay; events that affected my family, as it is easy to think food has no power until there is no access to a supply. A recent example of this is found in the Covid-19 lockdowns in New Zealand, leading to hoarding, panic buying and food insecurity (Radio New Zealand [RNZ], 2021). The phenomenon of food insecurity is not isolated to pandemics; industrialised Western governments use food insecurity to create policies, as governmental control over food systems dictates which foods are supplied into the domestic market, and which foods citizens have available (Nestle & Pollan, 2013).

When a vital resource is threatened with a lack of supply, civil unrest is a likely response. Government response then in turn offers solutions, and these solutions can be influenced by lobby groups within society. Some of the lobby groups directly influencing the New Zealand (NZ) parliament are the NZ Special Agricultural Trade Envoy, Fonterra Co-operative Group Ltd, and Federated Farmers of NZ. The following paragraphs explain what these groups are (Walters, 2017).

The NZ Special Agricultural Trade Envoy is a part of a department appointed by the New Zealand Government to develop international trade for large agricultural companies in NZ. The spokesperson for this lobby group is Mel Poulton, a former primary producer that exported products globally (New Zealand Government, 1992). Poulton is also a member of a larger organisation that focuses solely on international trading markets for farmers, the Global Farmer Network (GFN) (Global Farmer Network, 2021).

Fonterra Co-operative Group Ltd., is New Zealand's co-operative dairy farmers' industry group, made up of many small dairy farmers that have contracts to meet quotas agreed with Fonterra's main processing plant, to be sold as multiple products for the domestic and international markets (Fonterra, 2021).

Federated Farmers of New Zealand is a trade union that was first formed in 1899 for primary producers that had crop yields and dairy. It has an extensive history and developed into a union to include the wool industry in 1944. Federated Farmers now encompasses most of New Zealand's agri-food industries (Federated Farmers, 2021).

These three influential lobby groups focus on land-based farming and exports. However, what is missing from the parliamentary Government lobby groups, is any organisation to represent the commercial fishing industry, marine safety and protection, or sustainability. Currently, New Zealand citizens therefore lack full representation of all the primary producing industries that are a part of the food chain supply (Walters, 2017).

The role of a lobbyist in the political process is to provide an advocacy service to help protect the future and rights of citizens by either supporting a particular legislation, or lobbying to have it rejected. A lobbyist can be from big corporations, or small communities, and come from any demographic group; they are important in the process of bringing other perspectives into government decision making.

Simon-Kumar's (2019) study explored lobbyists in New Zealand communities, to evaluate the inclusion rate of minorities in government decision making. His findings were not favourable in terms of representing diverse groups, such as (for example) Māori, migrants, women, and those from non-English speaking backgrounds. This brings into question whether the New Zealand people are being adequately heard by the government.

It seems counterproductive for the New Zealand Government not to be inclusive in its decision making on policies, because for this strategy to work, an understanding of people

in their communities must be taken into consideration. Each community is made up of multiple cultures and beliefs, and within each of these communities, families create micro- realities. The difficulty facing both government and families, centres around which belief system the policies truly focuses on within the agri-food business, or any current legislation (Howard, 2016).

Economic reforms, government policies, lobbyists, agri-food businesses, imports, exports, logistics, trade agreements, countries, citizens, communities, and minorities, all make up the complex and varied area of politics, and are a part of the network of relationships in food politics. A recent example of food politics in play was the offering of bacon sandwiches to a town in Taranaki in New Zealand, to encourage people to be vaccinated against Covid-19 (Harvey, 2021). Similarly, the New Zealand Government requested access to vaccinate drivers in the drive-through takeaway areas of various fast food outlets (Bostock, 2021). This could suggest that some minority sections of New Zealand communities value buying takeaway food over making the decision to get vaccinated with a possible life-saving vaccines during a global pandemic. Accordingly, the health authorities had to devise another strategy with government approval to achieve the goal of 90% of citizens being vaccinated. No single policy can be implemented country wide, that will appeal to every citizen.

The appeal factor of legislation is a focus in this study in relation to the Government's QMS introduction in the 1980s, which at the time was believed to be a good strategy for the fishing industry. That belief was not shared by my family.

2.3 Semiotics and Semiotic Analysis

Another aspect of gastronomy important to my study is semiotic analysis, which is the study of signs and symbols as a language, what those symbols mean to a group? how they are used? and why that language developed? (Curtis, 2011). Semiotics was developed by Ferdinand de Saussure (Chandler, 2007). He believed signs and symbols had a greater meaning than they may appear to have initially, but are a communication system based on icons. For others to understand an icon's message, they must be aware of the denotation and connotation of each symbol, so they can interpret the message. By analysing symbols using the sign, signified, and signifier method, De Saussure suggested that a hidden meaning can be interpreted. A sign is the object itself, such as a cat, and the denotation is that it is feline. The *signified* is the concept of the symbol, which is the

connotation meaning, such as that a cat is a family house pet, and has emotional value. The *signifier* is the cultural concept, the ideological meaning, the myths around the idea of the cat, and the development of the archetype of the cat (Chandler, 2007). All this creates a complex language, and this language is how people explore the world, and develop understanding from it.

Throughout human history, the need to be understood and the desire to communicate has driven many civilisations to develop a semiotic form of communication; without this ability to pass information, activities would be severely restricted and potentially dangerous. As a species, we are not alone, as the animal kingdom also has the ability to understand symbols: birds chirp, bees dance, flowers use colour and scent to attract bees, and some animals even use echo locations to send messages. De Saussure developed a theory on how to explain this behaviour in more detail and delve deeper into identifying the real message and how it is important.

Semiotics is a fascinating area of behaviour and linguistics, and used in every area of our daily lives, from media, the internet, electronic devices, buildings, roads, food, chemicals, and art. Every society or culture has developed its understanding of each symbol, even its placement or context or size. For example, two common symbols are “:” and “)” . First, I have made text bold, which indicates they are of importance, but how do we know that? We know because we understand the semiotic analysis of the typed text. We have that knowledge because someone taught us, so this became common knowledge in our society.

Secondly, if I combine some symbols, my computer automatically does a smiley face: 😊. My computer was not created by my origin community or country, but comes from China, a linguistically foreign society. However, the global understanding of these combined symbols is widespread, because they were used repeatedly over time until a common meaning was formed.

If I use this symbol “😊” common usage and understanding of it would only apply to those people who have the relevant social capital for interpreting it. This applies to all forms of communication, from sign language, to semaphore, morse code, Braille, Java code and more.

Signs and symbols are continually in use, whether in military applications, civil applications, foreign or domestic, past or present. They are a part of each country's and society's core, and when people migrate to new locations, a new set of information and decryption needs to be acquired. This complex system of interpretation does not just apply to culture and location, but encompasses, age, gender, religion, professional employment, and academic knowledge.

In this study, I use research to decode my family's semiotic language and explore the culture within. Semiotics allowed me to explain in greater detail what my culture believes, why those beliefs are important, and how the signs and symbols are used.

To understand how my family lived in Island Bay is to understand what food means, what it symbolises, and how its relationship affects family and community dynamics. Such an understanding revolves around looking beyond the obvious and seeing culture as an iceberg. The top part of the berg is above the sea: this can be called surface culture, which makes up a small percentage of the overall structure. The language spoken, how people dress, the foods they eat, and the belief system they observe, becomes culture on public view, and is how other parts of society judges people and identify another culture's members.

Below the surface or awareness boundary, is a deep culture, such as the concept of justice, relationships to things, gender roles, norms, and notions of logic and validity (Hall, 1989). This includes everything that only the subgroups of a society know and understand, such as their inner workings and core values. The deep culture level is rarely seen by others that do not fit into this subgroup, but is critical in understanding how people react to events and why they choose their actions. This deeper level of meaning is what creates narratives, and the narratives from a culture are what society should focus on to understand, if they are to minimise discrimination and prejudice.

The food story of my family in Island Bay is not unique, but represents a recurring theme around the world, as seen in Jung's theory of the collective unconscious and archetypes (Jung, 1939). Jung's theory explains how groups in society create a mechanism to explain who **you** are and why you do what you do. These archetypes become a pattern or blueprint of the ideal created by a particular society (Waude, 2016). Jung (1939) explored how the histories of many civilisations developed independently, but also hold similar themes of

belief. It is important to note that what a society collectively agrees upon as important, is how that society will evolve and base its core beliefs.

In this study, I focus on fish and how fish was more than a food, but also a communication tool, and how the animal itself was integral to the dynamics of my culture and identity. I also examine the rituals involved with the fish symbol, and the spiritual connection that was formed, which mirrors other first nation people's ideals. To believe only one cultural group in society has spiritual connections to land and sea is a disservice to the wider field of sociology; my study aims to inform and educate beyond the bicultural approach in New Zealand, to a more multicultural reality.

2.4 Historiography

The narratives in this study take a reflective and collective perspective of a community built on global immigration and assimilation into New Zealand society from 1970 -2021. The focus of Italian immigration to Island Bay New Zealand, was to create economic opportunities within the commercial fishing industry. One of the groups that immigrated was the Calabrian families from Massa Lubrense in Southern Italy (Copland, 2015).

Some research has already been conducted on the immigration of Island Bay people and their cultural traditions. One book which is widely referenced, is *Alla fine del mondo (To the ends of the earth)*: a history of Italian migration to the Wellington region, written by Paul Elenio in 1995 with help from other local historians and community members, including some from the Petone Settlers Museum. This book gives a stylised base view of Italian immigration into the Bay; members of my family are mentioned in the work on pages 22, 24, 30 and 32. However, I can see there may have been misinformation given or perceived that does not appear in my family's version of events, exemplifying how a collective/social memory is not a fully encompassing method for recording events

The issue of collective/social memories raises the question of historiography, the history of history. Who writes history, to what purpose, and through which lens or gaze is the writer perceiving the history? Is history objective or subjective? Should storytelling play a more active role, or should a clinical approach be taken? Munslow (1997) explored theories about how history is written, and analysed ideas from Michael Foucault to develop ideas of power and knowledge within society. White (2000) suggested that historians create history, just as artists create a painting, depending on their bias and the

motivations that direct their making of meaning, and interpretation of events. Considering differing viewpoints of how history becomes history from notable historians and theorists, one can conclude that academic disciplines influences how one perceives history as a reality.

Munslow's (1997) work proposed that historians' own biased views on ontology and epistemology were the main criteria they used as their frameworks. From this idea he created his theory on deconstruction, reconstruction, and construction, all being separate yet valid forms of documenting past events. Within this idea of a relativist perspective, I adopted the position that all viewpoints are important and equally valid, but the truth is only relative to the individual. Munslow's (1997) theory has limitations; for example, a social temporal location view of what was deemed a correct view in 1970, may not be accepted as correct in 2021. The criteria used to analyse the data, and the result expected, determine what is considered a fact at a certain time . Also, it is necessary to consider how the data were collected in different periods and how they can be compared. How much influence does the researcher's bias affect the results, who were funding the researchers, and ultimately what was the agenda or reason for the research in the beginning? (Fernandez, 2001; László, 2017). There are countless variables in any fixed point in time, and understanding the freedom of Munslow's theories acknowledges the limitations of researcher and historian bias.

The uncertainty within these theories is the reason Munslow's (1997) deconstructivism guided my research. Searching for and revealing gaps left by other researchers and historians, means my truth is as valid and important as that of others.

The premise that one person's reality is true to them, and that bias is a part of a researcher's perspective, led me to autoethnography: the telling of one's narrative to inform and educate in research (Tolich, 2010). The advantages of autoethnography are the personal connection and humanising of issues that are explored, and giving history and events a new life and complexity that may not have been fully conveyed by other methods. However, Tolich (2010) argued to be cautious with this approach, because no person is an island. We interact and experience the world around us as it overlaps into other people's personal lives. Therefore, documenting our history will affect others, and ethical issues arise such as consent. Did the individuals give consent for the researcher to use their personal information?, and could that data then cause unintentional harm to a community, group, or society?

If using photographs, have the people consented to their usage?, as photos could reveal information the subjects do not want made public. For example, a person could be photographed in an area at the time they claim to be in another location; this issue of privacy has been controversial in New Zealand; and the Privacy Act was implemented to protect people's rights (Privacy Act, 2020).

Another area of caution arises if the narrative involves people that have died, as consent cannot be obtained from a dead person unless specified in their will. Most commonly, obtaining permission from their next of kin is required, unless the information sought is in the public domain. The overriding ethical principle in autoethnography is to minimise harm and to write a narrative that would be accepted by the people involved.

For the researcher there are also future considerations involving what material and information they wish to share publicly about their private lives. Sharing private information offers opportunities for others to criticise, condemn, or use the information to discriminate against and persecute the author, privately and professionally. This method does leave the author of an autoethnographic study vulnerable, but the insights, clarifications and understanding of the studies topics can be invaluable.

Social memory is a tool used by historians and sociologists to explore the connection between social identity and recorded historical events. French (1995) explored the ways writers, governments, and nations, select memories that reflect their political positioning to influence society to their agendas. This theory coincides with collective memories. *Social memory* is the collective pool of knowledge and information gained by a group, either in memories or through other sources like social media, and how outsiders perceive those people and create a collective identity (DeSoto, 2016). Using social memory means people can selectively forget events or details they do not deem valuable at the time. This is why the community in Island Bay is interesting to research, as there are so many different versions of events that run alongside the documented history, such as in The Island Bay Oral History Project (Patete & Garibaldi, 1993). This project is a collection of interviews from people living in Island Bay, how they see life there, what influences their beliefs, and how others affected their values. The collective identity the people have is core to how food, fishing, and acceptance was key to endogenous growth.

A part of a community's structure can be explained through social conformity theory: why people follow others, and why they change and adapt behaviours to fit into a group

(Deutsch & Gerard, 1955). This idea of a collective of people from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds conforming to community standards is fascinating, especially when this theory is applied to the Island Bay community in the 1900s to 1980s. I was influenced by my upbringing in my family, but that does not account for the thousands of other people in the area that chose to follow a particular social norm. Exploring human behaviour is a part of gastronomy, and delves into the rituals and symbolic meanings held by the group. When a study is about a food culture that transcends other established cultural practices, the question arises as to why they transcended them, What are the benefits for others that are outside that original group?

An excellent example of social conformity is demonstrated in the omnivores paradox, which refers to the lack of knowledge early humans had about what was edible and what was poisonous; it appears that some brave people tried the food, and if they survived, their tribe ate it as well. We all have an inbuilt fear and fascination of new things; this is a part of our genetic code (Fischler, 1988; Pollan, 2006). This early act of survival has manifested into a behaviour to follow a dominant group. Deutsch (1955) suggested that we are driven by two separate goals. The first relates to normative conformity, in which people actively seek to follow the norms of a group to be accepted, and therefore have the benefits that that group provides. The second relates to informational conformity, in which an individual lacks knowledge and seeks out a group to fill that knowledge gap. Using these ideas when researching the Island Bay community and my family, allowed scope to understand the actions that were taken, and why the Bay was such a tight-knit community.

This brings the literature review full circle; in summary, history is fluid and can be interpreted through many lenses to create multiple versions of reality. This study explores this loophole in historical accounts. The version of events in Island Bay I will narrate is from a Greco family member's perspective. I watched family members develop their archetypes and beliefs but still intrinsically hold the core values from traditions held in Massa Lubrense, Italy. This study was undertaken on the premise that all the mentioned theories are interwoven and relate to the significant idea that society is multi-faceted. Depending on social-temporal location considerations, each facet affects the collective.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The ontology I used is relativist, because I believed all points of view were relevant and equally important to the individuals in terms of their reality and truth. This idea is explored within my research when I use deconstruction of history theory to delve into the deeper levels of culture in Island Bay.

Subjectivism was chosen as the epistemology, because my bias is a part of my identity and family traits, and this study was about narratives, and understanding the complex relationships between the tangible and intangible factors that make up mixed communities, and that community is also being a part of my own family.

I followed an interpretivist paradigm to explore the common practices and beliefs of a community from an insider's point of view, to help outsiders better understand the culture, especially how the act of fishing and food connects people of diverse backgrounds in Island Bay.

The methodology was narrative inquiry, and I used interpretivist description to pull these stories together to recreate a foundation that I could build on with autoethnography to tell my own story.

This was a multi-layered study. I started with Munslow's (1997) theory of deconstruction of history, which explains how the writing of history itself is naturally biased according to the bias of the historian or writer. This method was best suited for this research to explore past historians' missing contents. No one account can tell the entire story or encompass all data. All the new data I found were carefully examined and assessed to determine what value they could add to the overall picture of the community in Island Bay.

The narratives used are in the public domain, in newspapers such as *The Dominion Post* (Wellington's major print media), documentaries such as those on *NZonAir*, social media sites like Facebook, internet services, books, journal articles, and government sources such as census statistics, the *Oral History Project of Island Bay* from the NZ Archives, the Ministry of Primary Industries (MPI), and the Department of Internal Affairs. The gathering of material from multiple sources, informal and formal, helped me develop an overall view of life in Island Bay, Wellington.

I then analysed this information to create a coherent narrative of all the stories, to retell them from a gastronomic lens. Previous research had focused on racial profiles and stereotypes; the denotation was given, but the connotations were lacking. I conducted this study on the premise there are many perspectives, and each view is as important as the next, creating multiple versions of reality. The narrative inquiry aimed to explore the social construction of the community around food, the location, and the people, to provide alternative accounts and fill the gaps in knowledge from past investigations, based on the understanding that my positioning is subjective, and therefore includes my personal bias.

I collected the data to look for common themes in the interviews, using a thematic framework. The interviews from *the Oral History Project of Island Bay* from the NZ Archives were in digital format that I applied to access. I selected random interviews to develop a set of data that was not influenced by my bias. This developed a control group in my research. In each interview, I looked for family history, which region the families came from, how long they had been in the Bay, and what made these families different or similar in traditions and cultures from my family. I looked for what was unique in the interviews, in terms of food traditions, participation in the fishing industry or associated with it, family unit structures, and data on themes that were not a part of my family values.

The interviews from the public newspapers were used to see what events were reported on in Island Bay. Were they food or commercially related, did they have information about family units, and what was the information given? Was it religious content or ritual based? These data formed the public cultural view of the makeup of the Bay. It was as important to see this from an outsider's viewpoint as well as from an introspective one. I similarly analysed documentaries, books, social media, and websites, and recorded the data on the Zotero research assistance program to allow for better data retrieval.

Other forms of data analysis included mind mapping. On two blackboards, I kept two sets of data descriptions. The first board was themed from the combined data collection, family values, food use, rituals, traditions, immigration origin, and social capital, and the second board had four sections, as explained next.

1. The first section contained the research context, location, history of immigration, cultural makeup, institutions (church and state), and constraining behaviours such as economic enterprises and local government.

2. The second section contained collective behaviours: what drove people to do what they did, economic needs, cultural needs, how the wealth was distributed, opportunities created into resources, and the sharing of food and knowledge. This section also introduced the bartering system around home, or commercially produced food items, why the fishing industry was a collective focus, how fishing became the core way of life, and what this meant to all aspects of the community.
3. The third section addressed conflicts of interests: which parties were involved, what events took place, and was it internal or external forces to the Bay. It included government policies that came into direct conflict with the endogenous system, and the effects of the privatisation of the commercial fishing industry on the local community and food insecurity.
4. The fourth section included changes and instability created by conflicting interests and limited resources, and how cultures were affected. I noted if changes were positive or negative, then developed an overall picture, or the aftermath of the events.

All these data were then collated together in these four core topic areas and systematically reduced to subtopics and then individual topics, narrowing them down to ensure the interpretive narrative was focused on the research questions.

Chapter 4: Findings and Discussion Part 1

4.1 Endogenous Aspects

This chapter explores the social and cultural influences on Island Bay, and how these affected my family. The findings focus on the deep culture level rather than on the surface culture discussed in Elenio et al's (1995) research. Elenio et al's work is a stereotypical view of the immigration of Italians, but it did not dig deeply into the ideological views held by many southern Italians.

This chapter is designed to describe the social environment of Island Bay; who lived there, what were some of their core beliefs, and why they did what they did. It is also designed to create an understanding of a group and its mindset, as well as introduce concepts that are unique to southern Italians.

Presented first is an historical account of immigration patterns, before the chapter moves to a discussion of the communities' behaviours and delves into cultural beliefs.

4.2 Traditional Ownership² / Colonial Government Resettlement³

Island Bay is a region located on the south coast at the bottom of the North Island (Wellington City Council, 2020).

Figure 2 *View of Island Bay, Wellington, New Zealand, and Taputeranga Island*



Figure 2 shows a view of Taputeranga Island, which according to Elsdon Best, had a small *pa* (Māori village). In 1640, there were conflicts between Te Āti Awa of Whanganui-a-Tara (the main *iwi* [tribe] in the Wellington area) and other visiting tribes. Ngāti Ira (Ngāti Porou, a relative of Te Āti Awa) had used the island as a shelter away from the wars that were occurring in the region. Taputeranga Island then became a protected shelter for the tribe until the hostilities were resolved (Best, 1924). This island became the focus of the Bay before European settlement; Island Bay was then called “Taputeranga.” Over the years, many tribal members of Te Āti Awa relocated because of conflicts and marriages, and headed to Auckland and Taranaki. Te Āti Awa that stayed in 1839 had to contend with the New Zealand Company, bringing in Europeans to settle within the Wellington region. Lieutenant Colonel William Anson McCleverty headed the negotiations resulting in Te Āti Awa, who were offered more cultivated ground outside

² *Traditional ownership* is defined in this dissertation as the common usage of the land by *iwi* prior to colonial settlement. This usage includes all land and sea for food gathering, settlements, and ritual events. After the 1830s, British land ownership concepts were introduced, and the term “traditional ownership” was refined as ownership by the *iwi* that held the land deeds to the area under British law (McAloon, 2008).

³ *Colonial Government Resettlement* is defined in this dissertation as the Colonial Government of Britain’s (led by William Hobson, the first British Governor of New Zealand), plan to relocate *iwi* from one area to another for British settlement purposes (Simpson, 2017; Watters, 2021).

the Wellington region, while British settlers took over the occupation of the Wellington area (Love, 2017; Wellington City Council, 2020).

From a gastronomic perspective, this showed that the Wellington area had established settlements, and those settlements would have had supply lines to receive food resources. Wellington Harbour is sheltered and makes an ideal area to moor ships, and to fish. Māori would have known the local foods, how to prepare them, and even what grew seasonally in the bush. Māori knew which season was best for planting native crops, and how to raise livestock in New Zealand, which included their existing pig stocks (Cooper, 1857; Leach, 2010). All this was vital information for new settlers and their survival. For them to gain that knowledge, some Māori assisted the colonists in farming methods. An established system of government controlled the food resources. The British Government's agreement with Māori highlighted this, as Māori were offered more cultivated ground outside the Wellington region. This is key to understanding that farming and cropping activity was already occurring in the area before British settlement. This meant Māori had food and supply chains, which could not only feed their population, but enabled them to form trade with others.

4.3 Multiculturalism⁴

It is important to recognise the conflicts and ownership changes of land and territory before the current ownership form. The identity of Taputeranga Bay has a deep and rich history with Māori that live there. That identity continued to change with different people coming and creating homes in the area. The area became commonly known as “Island Bay” with the Italian community renaming it as “Little Italy.” This use of common names reflects the Bay's diversity over time, including the immigration chains⁵ of Greeks, Italians, and Shetland Islanders (Chapman, 2010).

⁴ *Multiculturalism* is defined as a diverse group of migrants that live in a host country, in contradiction with the current New Zealand Government's defining of a bicultural New Zealand. The recognition of non-British ethnic minorities is the focus of these findings (Simon-Kumar, 2019)

⁵ *Immigration chains* refers to when a male family member immigrates to a country and creates a safe environment so he can relocate his family as well (Burnley, 2009).

Figure 3 Map of Italy Showing Chain Migration Sources



From <https://teara.govt.nz/en/map/442/chain-migrations-from-italy-1890s-1970s>

Note: Italians created immigration chains to New Zealand in the 19th and 20th centuries. Including essential skills, the migrants also brought associated industries, which they soon established in New Zealand. Note the light blue code for the fishing activity from Italy to New Zealand to the Port of Wellington, from there migrants moved to the suburb of Island Bay.

The Italians mostly came from southern Italy. On arriving in New Zealand, the families began to build boats and create a fishing port. Along with the fishing industry, they also planted market gardens to support local families with vegetables and fruit (Atkinson, 1994; Elenio et al., 1995). This activity was the start of the endogenous growth for the Italian community and the development of their economic systems with others in the area.

Many other settlers came from Europe to New Zealand and engaged in similar activities, advancing their families' culture and traditions here, creating new food knowledge and markets, and refining their traditional farming methods to create greater crops to suit the New Zealand climate (Luciano & Mayes, 2005). This growth of a community, collective

memories, and knowledge, could only be achieved by commonality and social conformity.

Figure 4 *Shetland Islanders and Italian Fishermen in Island Bay, 1925.*



Note: From *Alla fine del mondo (To the ends of the earth): A history of Italian migration to the Wellington Region*, by P. Elenio, D. Stephens et al. (1995), Petone Settlers' Museum. Copyright 1995 by Club Garibaldi. Reprinted with permission

My family emigrated to Island Bay, because, as the story was told, Massa Lubrense was not an affluent area. My grandfather's family was poor. They had heard about the virgin country of New Zealand, how the land was fertile and lush and the seas teemed with fish. To my family, this sounded like God's own country, Italy, but located at the bottom of the world; a land of opportunity. Since other young Italian men from Naples and Massa were going, my grandfather joined them. He was a young man in his late teens. Other family members joined because granddad was going. In my family, you never have just one Greco;⁶ you get them all; we were strong if we were together, and travelling to the other end of the Earth for a family was then considered normal.

These new waves of Italian migrants also brought with them different taste profiles such as the preference for garlic, and herbs such as basil, chilli, and vanilla. The Greeks and

⁶ Greco family numbers in New Zealand in 1996, were around 23,000, according to a relative in Tasmania, Australia. No official count has been made.

The Scots also brought with them cultural and traditional knowledge of their country's cuisines, allowing for a cosmopolitan dynamic in the food supply chain.

Figure 5 *My Family and Other Fishing Families that Migrated to Island Bay for a New Life*



Note: From *Alla fine del mondo (To the ends of the earth): A history of Italian migration to the Wellington Region*, by P. Elenio, D. Stephens et al. (1995), Petone Settlers' Museum. Copyright 1995 by Club Garibali. Page 32. Reprinted with permission

4.4 Culture, Food, and Identity

Food has been used as a symbol in many cultures, and different interpretations and meanings have been given to foods over time. The following example is about the fish, which has often been associated with long life and good fortune. In early Christian and Italian cultures, the fish was associated with the gods, and became a prominent fixture, the symbol appearing in sculptures, pottery, on walls, and even on grave stones (Werness, 2004). This symbolism has been passed down many generations with other traditions, and the spiritual connection to God and the food source remains strong in my family today.

A large part of Italian culture is religion, and the importance of Jesus to fisher families. Taking a semiotic analytic approach, the deep cultural connection can be more clearly understood.

Evidence supports the Italian view of fish is as early Christianity itself, and as the earliest symbol of faith, referred to as the “Jesus fish” (Rasimus, 2012). This symbol is that most used to denote Christianity, along with the cross that came after Jesus was crucified. In the 4th Century, Emperor Constantine of Rome became a Christian, and as Emperor he removed the laws that stated Christians should be put to death, a law that had been implemented in the time of Pontius Pilate. After the threat of the death penalty had gone, Christians started to use the cross more openly as their symbol (Britannica, 2021c, 2021b).

Figure 6 *Origins of the Jesus Fish*



Note: From <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xEoKDxfUdM>

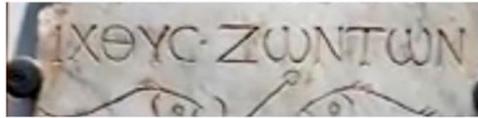
Figure 6 presents the symbol of the Jesus Fish, which appears just as the fish symbol or with the Greek letters, depending on the personal choice of the Christian writing or drawing it. The fish was common in graffiti in Ancient Rome, as graffiti, along with documenting everyday life, became the artistic expression of one’s identity. The Epigraphic Database Rome (EDR) is an international database that stores and collects ancient graffiti. These inscriptions assist archaeologists, historians, and academics in piecing together cultural ideas from that time, and shows that Italians have long used symbols to signify aspects of their identity and culture (Epigraphic Database Rome, 2021).

Understanding the relevance of the Jesus Fish helps understand what it represents other than Jesus Christ as the son of God. The fish became a symbol of the divine right of Baptism. This ritual was first performed by John the Baptist (who later baptised Jesus), so the symbology is about rebirth into the world as a child of God. A person being baptised is submerged three times into the sea, and promises to follow God and leave behind the other life to start anew. Therefore, a baptised person is a child of God and born from the sea, which fits well with Etruscan beliefs.

Figure 7 *Origins of the Jesus Fish.*



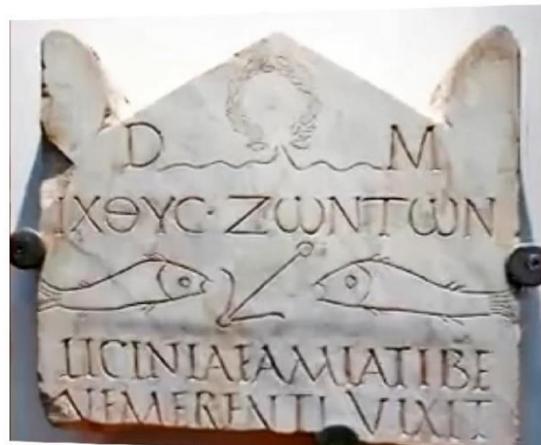
Common on Roman Head stones, this denotes its a Roman grave dating from 200 BC



This section is Greek first that denotes this is a Christian grave followed by Latin



This section is the Jesus fish with Latin to denote this is an Italian grave



The completed Grave stone showing that Early Christians combined Rome, Greek and Italian into their lives. Supporting my families tradition of inter cultural beliefs.

Note: This figure is a composite I created to illustrate intercultural beliefs. From <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xEoKDxfUdM>

Figure 7 presents an example typical in Ancient Rome, of the intercultural connections that existed, and how Italians assimilate other people's traditions into their everyday lives and deaths.

This same phenomenon is evident in Island Bay's Italian community, where seashells are seen embedded in garden walls. We even had dried sea horses on the wall in the dining room, and a scallop shell artwork my mother made on another wall. To have such symbolism around our home created a strong connection to the sea and the spiritualism that comes from that. Italians have a long history of having gods within their homes and in every aspect of their lives. Spirituality is like the air you breathe, it is essential for life. Members of my family, like those in many others, were all christened (baptised) early in

life. Christening arose from a drive for protection that could only come from God. We then honour God in life and death by maintaining these symbols.

The belief of this interconnectedness is held within Italian culture. The need to communicate through signs and symbols is metaphorically fused to the DNA, with gestures such as the *mano a borsa* (purse hand) gesture; it is difficult for Italians not to use their hands while speaking. The gestures are not random, but a complex form of non-verbal communication. Italians are visual and auditory communicators with a direct and indirect system of body language cues (Kendon, 1995).

Globally, other cultures can recognise Italians by this behaviour, and can use this as an identity marker. This supports the theory of deep culture, as unless one is a part of the community, it is extremely difficult to understand the significance of these codes. This raises the question around why there are hidden signs and symbols in the first place; the answer is to ensure social conformity that safeguards traditional knowledge and allow the security of one's identity.

The southern Italians from Massa Lubrense brought with them a food philosophy that demonstrated De Saussure's theories about the hidden meaning of items. The philosophy extended the meaning of food not just as a source of nutrients, but as a language and currency, and many Italians that have left their home towns and immigrated to other parts of the world continue these traditions (Zimmermann, 2017). Grossi et al's (2012) study concluded that Italian's wellbeing is directly linked to their cultural practices, which supports Zimmermann's (2017) ideas, and the observations of Italians in Island Bay made by Elenio et al. (1995). Lepionka-Strong (2013) explored these cultural identity links in detail, in her study of the Island Bay Italian community. The bonding agent in Lepionka-Strong's article was also food, but focusing on market gardening and home produce.

Food was a social catalyst to ensure the community members' mental health and physical health remained strong (Lepionka-Strong, 2013). These results support my observations in the 1970s and 1980s, where food was bartered for other goods and services. Even in the school system, in my recollections of Island Bay Primary, no child was hungry in our social groups; we shared food. Children often forgot lunches, but the unspoken rule of dividing up the food collectively ensured that everyone ate. This cultural practice was recognised amongst the Māori, Italian, Chinese, Indian, and Greek children that attended school with me.

To extend and explore cultural inclusion at Island Bay Primary (now renamed Island Bay School) in the 70s and 80s, I also remember Māori culture being a part of our everyday lives; it was never separate. Māori culture was always there, and on the current website belonging to Island Bay School, there is a section called “Our People.” The *kawa* (opening of a new house) protocol is provided for new students, who are welcomed to the school at the beginning of each year as *manuhiri* (honoured guests). A *pōwhiri* (welcome to visitors, in this case, new students and teachers) is held each term. Everyone must follow the protocols, part of which is the sharing of *kai* (food); the food itself is from all the families in the new student’s group and is shared amongst everyone, so no matter what the student's ethnic background is, all the foods are welcome. A part of the school year was a food festival, to which every student’s family came. Cooked dishes from different cultural background were brought and celebrations were designed so everyone ate from all the stalls. The *kai* became a language and symbol of the people, knowledge of the ingredients, ritual behind the dishes, and exploration of other traditions. Island Bay School has always embraced and respected local iwi and different cultures, and children are there are taught this from their first day at the school. This behaviour is an expectation set by the wider community (Island Bay School, 2021).

This exemplifies how the wider community in Island Bay used food to symbolise unity, acceptance, and family. It shows how Māori culture was embraced within a multicultural arena, and how the celebration of food connects individuals on a personal level. The rituals were a part of this bonding, and supports the notion that food itself is an integral part of being, and in itself holds a deep cultural and spiritual significance.

Another expectation is that death is a part of life in Italian belief; how Italians deal with death is centred around food, given either to the living or the dead. As soon as it is known someone has died, the family has large amounts of food sent to the house of the mourners, with full dinners, desserts, fruits and vegetables, bread, and wine. Then at the funeral, while the priest is speaking, it is always announced that there will be a feast in honour of the dead person, always at an event centre or the local town hall. Food is the love and the family bond, so vast gatherings happen at death to show how the departed person impacted the community. The richer the person, the more luxurious the feast, and the idea of food and riches will be taken into the afterlife, in a manner reminiscent of ancient Egyptian beliefs (Funeralwise, 2021).

There is an ancient belief called the “cult of the dead,” and what happens to the deceased is dictated by which-ever superstition a family holds. In my family, being Etruscans, we cremate the dead, but many family members follow Catholic rituals and bury family members in a mausoleum. Our family mausoleums cater for cremated remains and embalmed bodies, and are made from Italian Marble; this shows our status, as our family has marble quarries in Pompeii, Italy. If a relative dies outside Italy, marble can be shipped to that country. The departed person is entombed in a part of Italy; in essence, the body has been returned home (Bezzone, 2019).

Marble is compressed mainly fossilised fish bone (limestone). If a person cannot be cremated and returned to the sea, being placed in marble symbolises this ritual but respects the Catholic customs that they returned home to the sea with the fishes. Consistent with this returning home idea, food is placed in the burial chamber, so the person does not need to stay on Earth; they can continue to the afterlife with a full stomach (Bezzone, 2019).

Figure 8 *The Crypt in Italy for the Greco Family: Great Great Grandfather and Mother, with Uncles.*



Note: From the Greco family private collection:. Reprinted with permission.

The continuation of food and death is the ritual of All Saints Day, which for Italian families is like Halloween. All Saints Day is the honouring of the Saints in heaven; my grandmother used to put out a bowl of water for the ghosts to pass through. Along with water, cookies are also put out as offerings. All Saints Day is 1st November each year, and followed by All Souls Day on 2nd November, honouring the dead that have not reached heaven. These Catholic holidays originated in ancient Rome, but continue with the belief that food in life must be given in death to ensure ancestors do not go hungry and are remembered by the family. Food is a token of respect and love. These traditions are very similar to the Mexican tradition of the Day of the Dead; both are based on

Catholic beliefs but interpreted through a different cultural lens (Portillo, 1988; Tetrault, 2021).

Figure 9 *Ossa de Mortu Cookies, Made as Offerings for the Dead*



Note: From Sourced: <https://www.italianfoodforever.com/2019/11/all-saints-day-cookies-ossa-dei-morti/>

Traditionally *ossa de mortu* (the bones of the dead) cookies are offerings, and simply made with almond flour and sugar etc. Once completed, they are eaten in a shared event, remembering the dead, as if they were in the room with the bereaved. This period is important, because Italians also believe that remembering people at times other than on All Souls Day can cause their spirit not to move on to the after- life, but get stuck on earth (Tetrault, 2021).

Food is an intrinsic part of Italians' spirituality, which reflects Brillat-Savarin's theory of gastronomy as the art of good eating. To Italians, good food, good drink, and good company is the secret to happiness, and being a happy spirit is precisely the result they want.

4.5 Social Conformity

Social conformity is defined as people modifying their behaviours to fit into a dominant social group. In *private conformity*, people adjust their behaviours to conform to the norm

within family or living situations, and public compliance. Each of these behaviours allows an individual to navigate life (Feldman, 2003; Sun & Yu, 2016).

Social conformity at a child's level is directly influenced by what they had observed from adults in their community. Sun (2016) ran a set of experiments to observe this behaviour in six year olds and found behavioural changes in different settings. This helped support the belief that influences outside the home such as primary school environments, can influence a child's social capital. This experiment was done at the School of Psychology, Center for Studies of Psychological Application and Key Laboratory of Mental Health and Cognitive Science of Guangdong Province, South China Normal University, Guangzhou, P.R. China.

This notion aligns with the mimicry of behaviours, attitudes, and values, which can be an influence on a child's development (Schaik & Hunnius, 2018). My childhood behaviour of sharing food, using food as support for others, and exchanging food for services or goods, could only have come from seeing it in the adult community's daily life in Island Bay in the 1970s and 1980s. An example of social conformity was found even in the clothes worn by fishermen and their families. In 1962, my family had government archivists come to their home and take photographs to show the working clothes that were popular in our community.

Figure 10 *Some of the Greco Fishing Family*



Note: My three uncles, Ruffy, George, and Mariano, then Granddad, Liberato, and my father, Liberato, also known as Jack. This photograph was taken at my grandfather's house in Island Bay. From: sourced: <https://teara.govt.nz/en/photograph/4158/working-clothes>

The Swannndri brand woollen shirt was considered typical working man's garb, and especially favoured by fishermen because it provided warmth and waterproofing (Swannndri, 2021). My family viewed wool as a natural fibre that breathes, and on boats, wool draws the sweat away from the body, keeping the men warm and dry in sub-Antarctic waters. The trousers were always cotton or wool blend, because my family viewed denim jeans as road workers' clothes, and fisher families did not wear those "types of clothes," according to my father Liberato (Jack) Greco. My father had a hierarchy of a working-class in his mind which was all his own, which no-one else in the family truly understood at times. My family is still recognised for wearing Swannndri products and my father wore this same style of clothes until he died in 1996. The Island Bay Italian community also had dress codes when they were not working. The men were always in tailored trousers, button-up shirts, leather shoes (in a very Italian style), and the ladies wore dresses almost as an unofficial uniform.

The Italian community shared their food, their dress sense, their core beliefs, and their compassion for others. The fishermen of Island Bay were also the region's search and rescue service; they risked their lives to save others and they got into their boats and mounted a rescue mission when other vessels were in trouble. In early 1931, the steamer SS Progress ran aground, and lives were lost. The local Island Bay fishermen rushed to assist and save the survivors from the dangerous sea. Two of my relatives were awarded medals of bravery for their selfless acts. In a news article in 2011 called "Shipwreck toast for saviour and saved," the same two men were merely mentioned as just fishermen, and their actions disregarded. The 2011 article glorified only one man that assisted in the rescue efforts: Figure 11 presents the text from *The Evening Post* newspaper dated 3rd March 1932, and clearly shows that many assisted (Donohgue, 2011).

Figure 11 Newspaper Article about Salvi Greco's and Raffaello Persico's Awards

PROGRESS WRECK RESCUES

The presentation of the awards recently made by the Royal Humane Society of New Zealand to those who assisted in the rescue work at the wreck of the Progress in Ohiro Bay last year is to be made by His Excellency the Governor-General at the Masonic Hall, Island Bay, to-night. The Mayor (Mr. T. C. A. Hislop) will preside.

The following will be the recipients of the awards:—Silver medal, Walter Sydney Hammond, Frederick Arthur Horace Baker, Claude Francis Petherick, Raffaello Alfano; bronze medal, Peter Isbester, Salvi Volpicelli, Salvi Greco, Hugo Lupi, Cataldo Mazzola, Andrew George Tait, T. A. Humphreys, Raffaello Persico, Ernest Cannon

Note: Salvi Greco and Raffaello Persico, my relatives, were presented awards for bravery in the rescue of SS Progress survivors. From:

<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP19311107.2.18>

Another well-known example of a sea rescue in New Zealand is that of the Wellington ferry, the TEV Wahine, which on 10 April 1968, capsized in a massive storm. Fifty-one people lost their lives and two more died later from their injuries. Island Bay fishermen, including my father, rushed to save as many as they could from drowning. This event, even to this day, is stamped on the hearts of all that were involved. This shipwreck is the worst modern sea ferrying disaster New Zealand has faced (New Zealand History, 2014).

New Zealand has a history and legacy of death, shipwrecks, and disasters at sea. Fishers and their families are more than aware of this in their daily lives. We know that each time a boat goes out, it may be the last time we see our loved ones again.

In the early days of the fishing industry, there were few safeguards, yet the men risked their lives to save others at their expense and risked them again every day to catch fish for the New Zealand markets. Food politics surrounds these issues; for example, how well does the Government monitor safety? Is the price of fish justified in the markets, and is it enough to compensate the fisherman for this level of danger? Can alternative options be

found that are less risky and more productive? Another part of this debate is the question, when does politics become so complex that traditional fishermen lose their right to continue fishing? What does this do to their culture, when their identity can be seen by the clothes they wear, the foods they eat and the jobs they perform?

4.6 Semiotics of Food in a Southern Italian Culture

Food is a method of communication that reinforces my memories of my life at the Bay. My observations of my family exchanging fish and crayfish for doctors' services, getting fences built, fruits and vegetables, and being told about the broader community barter system, taught me that food is more than a commodity, but also a language. Jurafsky (2014) examined the meanings and rituals behind common foods in research about food as a communication tool, and described this kind of food as an "interconnectedness" between people. When I was growing up, this became second nature. If someone was unwell, you showed care and love by making them some soup; if you did not like a person, you did not share any food (or break bread) with them, and for a celebration, you made a lovely meal; these are typical examples of human behaviours that use food to communicate unspoken emotions. Our actions spoke for us, not our words; food was our ultimate medium. Maisto (2009) explained in a narrative light-hearted way, how the marriage of people from different cultures blended over the dinner table, and food became a symbol of love and identity. This viewed food rituals, culture, and traditions from a different perspective, and allowed readers to relate to habits they might have formed in their marriages.

Food being a communication tool, also involves what was left behind. In contemporary terms, this is now called "food waste.", and in archaeological terms, it is called a "midden" (pile of discarded rubbish) (Phillips, 2006). In Island Bay, shells from paua, pipi, and *kina* (sea urchin) were commonly found around the edges of the Island Bay beach towards Houghton Bay, in middens around used fire pits. These places were a favourite for children and adults to collect shells for artworks and ashtrays, if the paua shell was large enough. When we were young, the adults in the family told us that local Māori used the beach to collect seafood and cook it there. I grew up aware of Māori customary fishing, and we were instructed not to disturb the pits, but that we could take the shells. These instructions came from the Italian community, demonstrating the respect of common usage of the environment between peoples. The lesson was clear: we were to respect the food, respect the people, and live in harmony, and these values were shared

within the Island Bay community. I witnessed on a few occasions, elders of the community telling outsiders to leave if they were caught vandalising these sites.

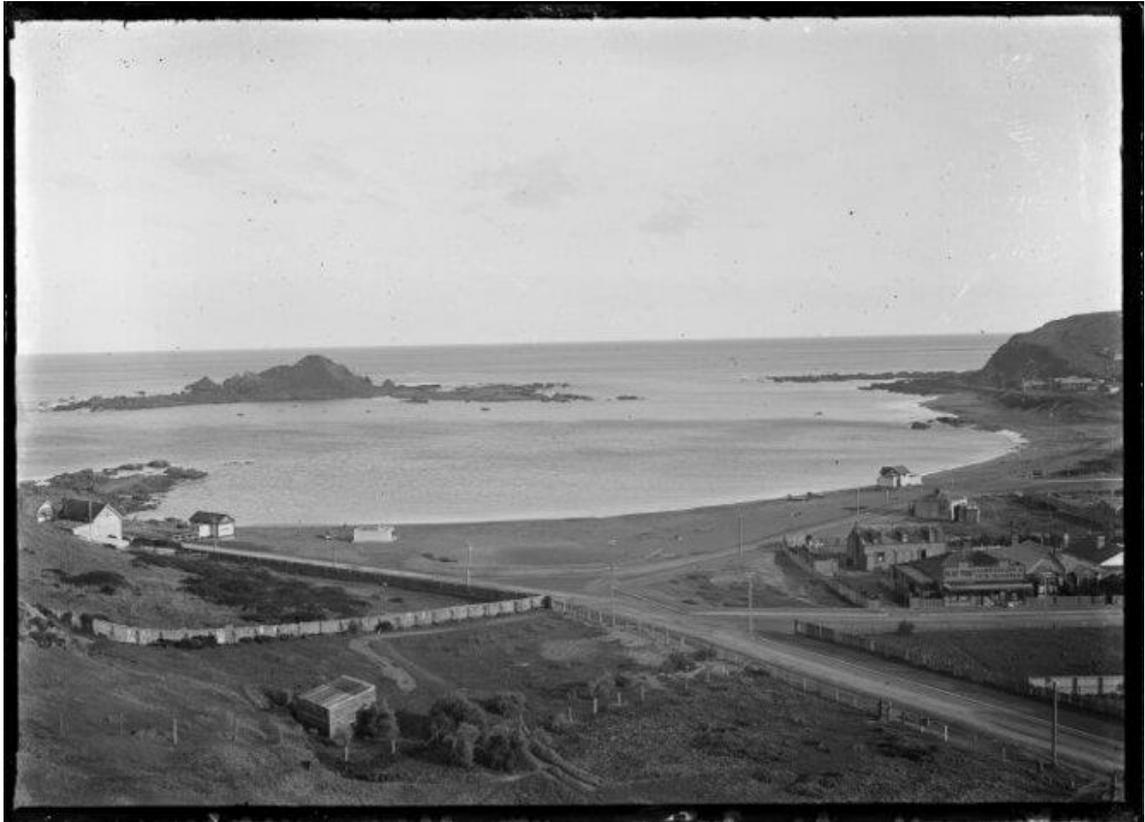
When I look back on my past and examine it through the analytical tools I gained in academic study, I am amazed at the complexity of my culture and my childhood. It is extraordinary what we take for granted in our everyday lives and what is considered the norm. The principles of gastronomy expand everyday sameness into the unknown world of forgotten knowledge, when considering why we use food in the way we do, why we value it as a communication tool, and why these items hold so much symbolic value compared to other resources in the natural world. For example, I am sure if there were a wedding, we would be puzzled and unhappy if bottles of water were served instead of a wedding cake.

Humans have taken an essential element of survival and made it into something more. One of my fondest memories in Island Bay is that of the Māori fire pits on the beach. It was like a treasure hunt to see what shells I could find in the rubbish pile. I had full knowledge of who was using the pits and why, and many a time I would sit amongst the group and enjoy some pipi. That was an era when this could happen - the sharing of food without separation or discrimination - and it saddens me to think this is a part of New Zealander that might now have passed.

As a gastronome, I see other aspects: Māori practising customary fishing rights, the cooking methods, the skills used to collect the seafood, how it was prepared, the rituals of eating, who got served first, how much was given to each person, and the hospitality shown to a little Italian girl that just showed up for something to eat. The spiritual and cultural meaning of the act itself is so important, and this is where I acknowledge again, the interconnectedness and social conformity that bonded the community.

4.7 Endogenous growth⁷

Figure 12 *Island Bay, Circa 1910*



⁷ *Endogenous Growth* is defined as economic and developmental growth created by internal forces that work independently from external influences (Liberto, 2020)

Note: The second photograph is an enlarged portion of the first, and clearly shows the Kai Toa tea rooms. The house directly behind them, became my grandfather's house. From sourced: <https://viviennemorrell.wordpress.com/2020/06/23/island-Bay-around-1910/>

Figure 12 shows the Kai Toa tea rooms, one of two tea rooms in the Bay. *Kai toa* translates as food store. The use of Māori language in the name is an example of how business was conducted in the Bay, using and supporting bilingual signage even in the early part of the 20th century.

Figure 13 *Island Bay, 1920s – 1930s*



Note: https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE18796702 Island Bay 1920-30s

Island Bay was a tight-knit community, and families were aware of other families' financial situations, and who was sick, elderly, or unable to work outside of the Bay (Chapman, 2010). This allowed networks of assistance to be established that operated independent of established government welfare networks. The system came in the form of a barter system, in which goods and services were exchanged for similar items without any money changing hands. For example, when the doctor made a house call to us, my father would pay him with three live crayfish or a *hapuku* (groper).

The benefits of this system are that people who could not afford some goods and services could obtain what they needed through their skills, increasing their quality of life,

personal health, and welfare. The main issue to government institutions in relation to bartering, was that activities could not be monitored or tracked; therefore, they could not be taxed because no money was exchanged, or official accounts made of these transactions. For example of a country that recognizes a barter system is The United States of America's tax system, unlike that of New Zealand, made provisions for this type of commerce. They were able to collect tax on a non-monetary transaction. The New Zealand Inland revenue Department did not follow America's example, and eventually bartering was replaced, mostly with monetary exchange.

Because my family's economic output was fish, our currency exchange was deep-sea fish and crayfish. This economic system relied on a community meeting place, which was the beach wall. Island Bay beach itself has always been the communities' focal point. The next figures show Island Bay in the 1930s and 1970s. The men are grouped above the beach, which was a common sight throughout the Bay's history, while families played below. Note in Figure 14, the far-right hand side building is the fish shed where fishermen offloaded their catch.

Figure 14 *Island Bay Beach, 1930*



Note: From <https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22316680>

Figure 15 *Island Bay Beach, 1970s*



Note: This is Island Bay in the 1970s, where the local fishermen gathered to talk business. This tradition continued for many years. From <https://www.islandBaylittleitaly.com/photos-from-the-past.html>

Shown in Figure 15, the concrete wall was called the “beach wall,” and had the function of retaining and protecting the beach, by stopping storm tides from pushing sand up, and ocean rubbish from the storm drain system and street down to the beach. The social function of the wall was that of a gathering point, an icon of the Bay and its people. It represented stability, security, and tradition. In 2013 when storms damaged and broke the wall, it also damaged Island Bay communities’ identity, well-being, and health of the Bay, as the Bay is the people, and the people are the Bay.

Figure 16 Damage After the 2013 Storm, incurring a NZD 1.3 Million Repair Bill



Note: sourced: <https://www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/news/71159404/seawall-in-wellingtons-island-repair-bill-climbs-to-13m-after-it-takes-further-damage>

The damage to the wall is a gaping wound, as seen by the locals looking at the damage, who are still shocked by the event.

Along with foods being bartered, skills were also a prime item within the Bay, as local fishermen and their families made cray pots and nets. Cray pots were made from long lengths of cane soaked in water for 24 hours so the cane would bend into the shapes required. As a child, I used to watch family members making pots and repairing them. It was critical that this was done correctly, or the deep-sea cray would escape. My family could have used steel pots, but the cane pots were believed to prevent damage to the live crays, which increased a higher quality catch. To our family, it was better to have quality than quantity, as increasing low-grade sea food into the market would only drive prices down. Also, if the crays had to be released due to their being undersized, or females with eggs, the animal could survive the catch and release process.

The nets were customarily made from hemp rope, but as modern materials were introduced, many of the nets became made of nylon. In the early 80s, my family started mending nets with a bright orange nylon rope, which could be easily seen against the traditional hemp. Nets were mended, because traditional fibres rot in the sea water, and other ocean creatures used to tear into them for the catch. The problem with the

introduction of nylon nets was that many fishermen started cutting them and leaving them to drift if they got damaged, rather than bringing them back to be repaired. These nets became an environmental issue because the nylon does not rot or break down in sea water, causing risk to wildlife. The current issue with nylon nets is becoming a part of the plastic rafts of rubbish in the oceans, such as the Great Pacific Garbage Patch, which now covers 1.6 million kms of ocean (Leberton, 2018).

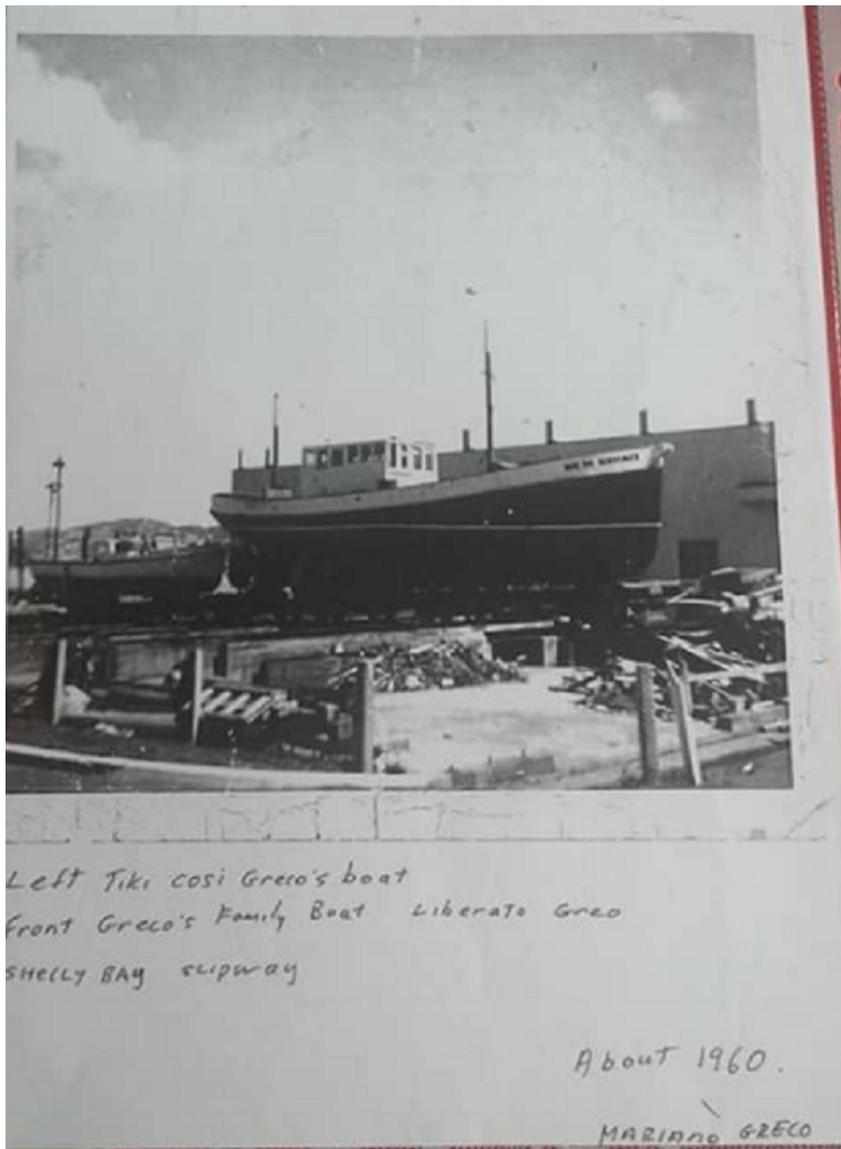
Young people were often taught how to mend and make these items, because a part of the community's belief was to be self-sustaining. Maintaining nets became a cottage industry within the network of families. Elenio at al's history of Island Bay documents fishermen making their boats and fishing equipment as a part of this lifestyle, showing that this extended not just to my family, but also to other families in the area (see Elenio et al., 1995; Walrond, 2006).

The Greco family boats were all for deep sea fishing, using long lines and cray pots. Our boats were (and are):

Figure 17 *Greco Fishing vessels*

Boat Name	Builder /Owner
Ajax	James Imlach (in-law)
De Vinci	Liberato Greco
Ika	Raffaele Persico (in-law)
Kitty	Salvatore Greco
Nannina	Joe Greco
Rex	Giuseppe Greco
San Giuseppe	Giovanni Greco
Southern Cross	Tom Isbister and James Imlach (in-law)
Tiki	Cosi Greco

Figure 18 *Greco Family Boats in Dry Dock for Maintenance*



Note: From the Greco family private collection, 1960

The photograph in Figure 18 shows the Tiki as smaller than the family boat, because one is a traditional (small) boat, and the other is a commercial (large) fishing boat. From the 1960s, our family boats started to include freezers in the hulls and motorised winches for nets.

Figure 19 *The De Vinci, Owned by Liberato Greco*



Note: This photo shows the boat in the finishing stages of being built. She was 108 feet long. From the Greco family private collection.

Figure 20 *Ruffy Greco and Liberato Greco Long Lining for Groper*



Note: This photograph was taken off the coast of the North Island within territorial waters. From the Greco family private collection.

As seen in Figure 20, the photograph of Liberato Greco (my grandfather) and Ruffy Greco (my uncle) used traditional Italian long lining methods from their Etruscan heritage. Long lines are long ropes with hooks attached to lines. Each hook is baited and placed over the side of the boat by hand. Once the line has been cast out to sea, the fishermen wait to catch the fish and hand-pull the lines back in. This activity is a very physical and hazardous occupation.

In traditional Italian long lining, the fishermen have lower catch numbers because they are physically fishing. There are codes of behaviour and beliefs. One of these is to only take what you need, and to respect the sea, which is spoken of as a “harsh mistress.” To Italians, the sea is a woman. She had moods and can be very savage, but if she is treated with respect, she will give love, food, and richness; she is *Calypso*⁸.

⁸ Calypso is a sea nymph in Homer’s poem, *The Odyssey*, and daughter of a Titan (Britannica, 2021a)

The traditional Italian long lining methods differ significantly from modern methods. Italian methods are based on ethical and sustainable ideas, and the lines are brought in after only a few hours. The reason this is different from the traditions of some other cultures, is that the ethical code is just to take what is needed and preserve for the future. If the breeding stocks are heavily reduced, the fishermen will have been considered to have disrespected the gods, and the area will not be blessed with future bounty. Thankfully, with efforts from the Marine Stewardship Council (MSC), the current long lining practice is being monitored and brought into line with global environmental policies. Modern methods are more of setting lines in deep sea and leaving them moored to a buoy, returning 24 hours later to check the catch. This action has the potential of generating vast amounts of bycatch⁹ and does not allow an opportunity to release non-targeted species (Marine Stewardship Council, 2021a). In the 1970s and 1980s, the bycatch created from our boats were used as exchanges in the barter system; in this way, we used all of our catch.

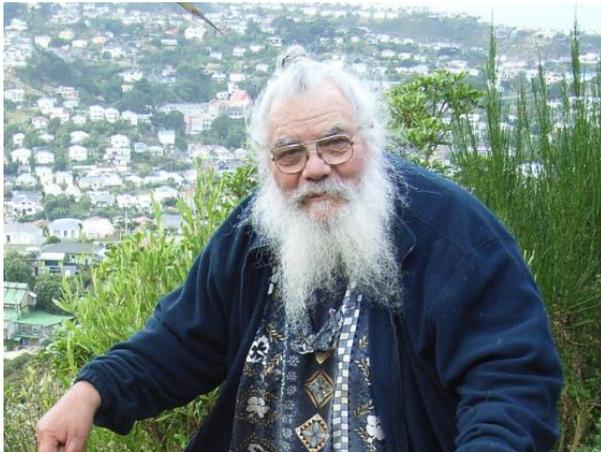
Fishing methods differ from country to country, so what is deemed ethical in one culture may not necessarily be ethical in another. Food politics therefore become increasingly complex, as the global commercial fishing trade is worth billions of dollars, the trend is for green and sustainable seafood as requested by customers, but the label “sustainable seafood” is vague. In a film documentary, Tabrizi explored the concept of sustainable fisheries, and asserted that the words “sustainable” and “ethical” are political-economy terms (Laird, 2021); this was also the perspective of my family. People can talk and offer idealistic visions of the fishing industry, but rarely does this become a reality. In the Tabrizi documentary, no large multinational fishing companies could provide evidence of ethical practices.

Island Bay became a self-sustaining bubble around the fishing industry. When most of the Italian fishermen retired, they created market gardens. Food was exchanged between families, goods and services were bartered, and most importantly, there was a collective approach to looking after the family first, which extended not just to Italian families, but also to Greeks, Māori, and the Chinese. In the early 1970s, a family friend, Bruce Stewart, developed a life skill programme with Italian fishermen, offering young Māori boys that were unemployed the opportunity to work on the boats as trainees. The programme was

⁹ *Bycatch* is defined as unwanted species in a catch, or a species that is not part of a quota system (i.e. the unsellable portion) (MSC, 2021b).

very informal but filled the community's need to keep people employed and start their careers. My family took on many new trainees that later became “adopted” into our family. This concept of extended family was common to most who lived in the Bay. Therefore, economic projects such as building churches, fences, garages, or the Tapu Te Ranga Marae, were achieved on small budgets, because the currency of exchange was rarely monetary.

Figure 21 Bruce Steward, Founder of Tapu Te Ranga Marae and Beloved Family Friend



Sourced: https://www.taputerangamarae.org.nz/1_28_h-tori.html

In 2019, *NZ on Air* aired a programme called “Marae DIY - Tapu Te Ranga Marae.” This programme showed the aspects of *marae* (meeting house) life that Bruce Steward the founder always talked about, this being the family and spirit of support and love, as well as the sharing of traditional knowledge that he believed was key to having a fulfilled life. This included the importance of identity, continuation of traditions and core beliefs, and most of all, being proud of who you are and where you came from. The marae was a testament to the ability of the Island Bay people to come together and create what was needed without money. Regardless of race or background, the marae was like a living heartbeat of the Bay (Screen, 2019).

Figure 22 *Tapu Te Ranga Marae on 9th June 2019*



Source: [https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/113340258/marae-on-fire-in-island-bay-wellington,](https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/113340258/marae-on-fire-in-island-bay-wellington)

On 9th June, 2019, the marae caught fire and was burnt to the ground. Immediately after the fire, the people of the Bay pulled together food, clothing, shelter, and money for those affected. This coming together exemplifies how the community of the Bay could survive, because of their social conformity.

Gastronomy is more than food, rituals, politics, and money. Gastronomy is also about people, and what they think, feel, care about, and believe. The Island Bay community is just one example of how all these concepts can work together, and I consider myself privileged to have been a part of it.

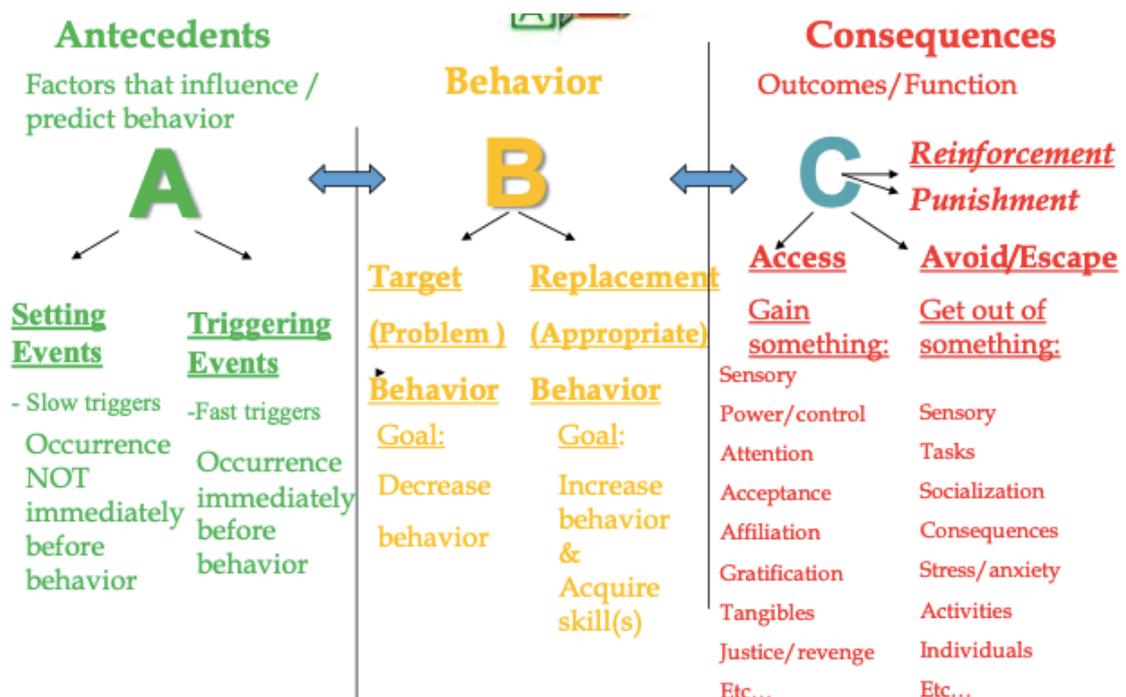
This chapter has provided a picture of a harmonious community, growing, and enjoying life, so what made my family relocate to Australia in 1988? Life was so comfortable and secure before that security was threatened by the QMS introduction, which caused shifts in family attitudes. Some of my family, such as my cousins, did remain in Island Bay, and chose to continue into government jobs such as at the New Zealand Mint, the national archives (Archive New Zealand), the Beehive, and as heads of other government departments; it is now rare to see a Greco family boat out fishing. The next chapter of findings explores some of the external factors that caused that insecurity, and which contributed to my father's grief of losing his identity, and sinking of his boat in protest before our emigration to Australia.

Chapter 5: Findings and Discussion Part II: Exogenous Factors

This chapter explores the external factors that influenced the Island Bay community and my family, and explains the political and economic climate of New Zealand in the 1970s and 80s. No single event or person exists in a vacuum, as everything is interconnected to form a chain of events, and those events affect people very differently. How people react to them, depends on their own personal coping methods.

Figure 23 presents a human behavioural model indicating that behaviours are made up of a few core ideas. The first is the environment, what was going on at the time of the incident, and what this triggered, and secondly is the behaviour itself: what occurred, and to whom. Thirdly are the consequences or outcome of the stimulus (Staubitz & Lloyd, 2016).

Figure 23 Model of the Procession of a Human Behaviour



Sourced: Model of the procession of a Human Behaviour (Staubitz & Lloyd, 2016)

Using this model as a framework, the findings in this chapter reveal the triggers to the behaviours of the community in Island Bay and what led to the changes that occurred. In the methodology section, I explained my selection criteria for analysing the data related to areas of interest. These were:

1. Context: location, institutions, and constraining behaviours such as economic enterprises and local government.
2. Collective behaviours: what drove people to do what they did, economic needs, cultural needs, how the wealth was distributed, and opportunities turned into resources.
3. Conflicts of interest: which parties were involved, and what events took place.
4. Change: what was the instability created by conflicting interests and limited resources, and how cultures were affected.

The four main structures of political-economy theory are context, behaviour, conflict, and change; this is a simplified view, but serves as a foundation for analysis (see Milonakis & Fine, 2008).

5.1 Changes in the power structure

Island Bay had three main powerful institutions that influenced the community, the first being the Church, then the education system, and lastly, the fishing industry. Between these groups, the division of resources was allocated to the community in the form of social status, land, food, and employment. Over years of government policies, the power of each of these sections changed, which allowed for the empowerment of women, religious institutions, the introduction of the QMS in 1986, and other social and civil events, all of which became strong influences. Improved opportunities for more diverse employment ultimately led to structural changes within the community.

5.2 Religious Institutions

The religious institutions in Island Bay were predominately Christian based: Catholic, and Anglican. The Island Bay community embraced different religious beliefs (Palmisano, 2010). Using the meeting halls and churches as event centres for social gathering places was common, as the Italian belief is that as these were God's houses, and we are God's children, it is our house too. It is challenging to explain what religion and spirituality are in Italian culture, and how Italians see the Church as an institution. Italians are free thinkers and happy having their version of belief, which does not mean their neighbour thinks the same, but it is none-the-less acceptable (Tokrri, 2020). Most Italians are more superstitious than they are religious, which dates back to ancient Rome when Pontius Pilate, the Governor of Judaea, ordered the crucifixion of Jesus. Early

Christians decided to blend in and not be killed, so from then on, Italians used social conformity to survive, which also included hiding their *vecchia religione* (old religion) from the Roman Inquisition (Britannica, 2021c; Mayer, 2014; Palmisano, 2010). The Italians in Island Bay were aware of discrimination and persecution because of a person's belief, so they were more accommodating to others.

The Island Bay Presbyterian Church, Wellington South Baptist Church, St Hilda's (Anglican), and St Francis de Sales Catholic Church, were the principal churches in the centre of the community.

Figure 24 *Island Bay Blessing of the Boats, 2021*



Sourced: <https://www.islandBayfestival.org.nz/blessing-of-the-boats>

Island Bay has a close community of families with different beliefs, and growing in peace alongside each other is a testament to the people of the Bay and their acceptance of others.

Island Bay, as mentioned, has many cultures and denominations. In photograph on the left (Figure 24, four men from different churches and beliefs can be seen blessing the boats. This event was 2021's blessing of the boats in Island Bay. This ritual has been formally practised in New Zealand since 1933, but performed for centuries in Ireland, Italy, and Scotland, whose diasporas currently make up most of the fisher people in the Bay (Island Bay Festival, 2021). The ritual entails a group of prayers for the boats so they stay safe at sea, and so the catches are good and can feed the families. The Seafarer's Prayer is one of the ancient examples of what is commonly used around the world; there is no hard and fast rule for blessings, but the intention is always to return the people home safely. The Seafarer's Prayer is "Dear God, be close to me, Your sea is so wide, and my boat is so small," and is of unknown origin.

Italian fisher people like to ensure God blesses their activities, just in case something goes wrong. This idea goes back to a spiritual/superstitious belief rather than a religious one, because the sea is a *calypso* (nymph). It is better not to upset anyone and take precautions, even if they were just following superstitious rituals, because if something were to happen, the gods or goddesses would then look favourably on them. The Blessing of the Boats became an institutionalised ritual, and has controlled fishing activities ever since, because if there are no blessings, the boats do not go out until they can be conducted.

Also, in the Christian Bible, New Testament, Matthew 4:12-22, Mark 1:16-20, and Luke 5:1-11, all mention Jesus, son of God, as a fisherman and fisher of men, and how fishermen need to follow Jesus' teachings. In Mathew 14:13-21, Jesus fed 5000 people with five loaves and two fishes. It is not unreasonable to conclude if Jesus blesses a boat, good things will happen, because He favours fishermen and believes in feeding people; this is very much an Italian fisher families mindset.

Having a religious connection with food is an aspect of gastronomy that emphasises food are being more than just calories. The importance of religion and its continued practice is the spiritual connection to food, family, and wellbeing. How food is collected, hunted, and harvested, holds symbolic meanings and values that may not always be obvious. One example is in the long line method from my culture, where the lines are not left for 24 hours, but are monitored and pulled in often. This is a spiritual belief in action, in which respect for the sea and all its life is honoured. This cannot be practised by commercial boats, where profit outweighs religious concerns, as in previous findings has explained the difference between Italian traditional fishing practices vs other commercial practices. Food politics drive agribusiness in the same way, but is profit more important than customary rights? This is an ethical dilemma; what happens if customary methods cannot produce the quantity required? Should that food source be limited? Should the product be imported or should all cultural attachments be ignored? Whatever strategy is chosen people, still need to be fed.

5.3 The New Zealand education system and its effect on Italian girls and women

The state-run school system had a considerable impact on Island Bay Italians, especially on girls, who were not highly educated in my family. Girls were brought up with a domestic focus; cooking and cleaning, sewing, embroidering, tapestry, lacework, and painting art works, were valued skills, so when a girl married, she could run a household.

This activity included the tradition of keeping a glory box, which was often in the bottom drawer of a chest of drawers, or a wooden chest in which unmarried girls kept items for when they left the family homes for their new homes (Else, 2018; Rotorua Museum, 2019). This tradition was practised by my family; I had the same training, and use the same skills today.

Compulsory education in New Zealand (NZ History, 2021b) allowed girls from my family the opportunity for an education; this was a fundamental change for the Italian households of Island Bay. Chores had to be restructured around school hours and the school year, and the older women in the house no longer had assistance during the day, but had to wait until the children returned home.

Therefore, many food dishes that were labour intensive had to be adapted or left out, because it became impossible to have them made in time on a daily basis. The housewives became more inventive and started adopting new cooking methods and buying new equipment. With the younger girls now able to read English, they could assist the older women left at home by reading the instruction manuals and calculating temperature conversions for the ovens.

Older Italian women learnt English from the radio or family members that were away during the day on business or at school. Later, they learnt English from television, and from their neighbours (Giorgio, 2015).

New Zealand had primitive gas stoves in the 1800s in the more densely populated city areas (Burton, 2013). Island Bay had more coal and wood feed stoves such as the Swedish AGA stoves, that also heated the house and incorporated water pipes as a wetback arrangement to heat the water. When the electric and gas stoves were introduced, they required less maintenance and physical work to operate. This freed up time in the day but posed the problem that the cook had to adjust recipes and styles to be able to use this new equipment.

In Italy in the late 1800s, there was a wave of feminist thinking, and middle to upper-class women were leaving home in favour of academic studies and careers (Willson, 2009). The home structure was changing, and traditional ways were being adjusted to suit a more modern lifestyle. When relatives would visit from Italy telling stories of women

at universities and exploring the academic world, this started influencing and inspiring my family in New Zealand.

Opportunities were created for girls to understand more than a social construct of society, and have a broader understanding of the political and economic issues that affected their daily lives. Qadri (2017) proposed that a woman's education affected her critical thinking and decision making. This gave women in Island Bay opportunities, once they had received a good education, to seek employment beyond traditional roles, and possibly beyond Island Bay itself.

The education system not only enabled Italian girls to have an academic career, but also gave them access to other cultures and cultural ideas in New Zealand. This helped them develop a greater worldview and opened up new choices they had not been aware of. Government statistics show that since 1986, the increased number of women in the workforce (in 2017, just over 62% of women were working) gave families a greater ability to reassess their family structure and financial position. These figures correlate to higher education levels, higher incomes, higher standards of living, and moving from traditional family models to post-traditional models (Else, 2018; Ministry for Women, 2012).

A study by the Pew Research Centre in the USA, showed the inherent changes that occur to a family when both parents are in the workforce. The dynamics in the home change from the traditional roles of parents to a shared ungendered task allocation (Pew Research Center, 2015) which in traditional Italian households, places pressure on women to fill not just the housewife's role but also that of teacher and full-time worker. The men are asked to do "women's tasks," which in a cultural context is emasculating them in the Italian community.

This research supports my families' experiences in the 1970s - 1990s. There was the traditional view that girls should be housewives, and I was trained in that respect. Furthermore, once I got to secondary school, the opposition to my gaining an education was strong. Fortunately, my mother, had a high education level and pushed against traditional thinking. The premise around this issue was that higher education brings more economic opportunities, and this positively influenced the debate in my family. A person's employment job status is a part of the identity valued in an Italian family. Changing the traditional view to encourage girls to pursue a higher education, meant more money to the family.

Giorgio (2015) showed how changes occur within Italian households, and why women are the focus of change in an Italian family's dynamics. This supports the catalyst for change in my family that started with traditions being removed, and women prioritising the safety of the family over financial rewards of the commercial fishing. Education was a life-changing factor, and even now, my family closely follows my academic career and asks for the knowledge I have gained through study. Previously no-one in my family had ever heard of gastronomy, but now they educate their friends on the principles of gastronomy, and use me as a role model. I am the first to get a degree in my family and to return to university as a mature student. This has motivated other Greco women to seek a higher education. A part of gastronomy is being a gatekeeper, and without education, there is no way to preserve that knowledge; traditionally women are the first teachers we have in an Italian family, and I feel it is fitting that education was a key to our change.

5.4 The 1980s Social and Civil Unrest in New Zealand

To understand the social and economic climate in the 1980s in New Zealand, it is important to understand the mindsets of workers and families living through this decade. Many New Zealanders left the country and headed to Australia and other parts of the world, desperate to stabilise their economic situations; most of these immigration moves were to take them far away from the toxic environment they felt New Zealand had become (Choy & Glass, 2002).

The 70s and 80s was a time in New Zealand history that was volatile in terms of social changes. These changes include the Human Rights Commission Act 1977 (a law for ensuring New Zealand citizens' equal rights and making discrimination illegal, the Homosexual Law Reform Bill 1986 (making the act of homosexuality legal, and a significant step in gay rights that progressed on to same-sex marriages in 2013 (Gatty, 2017).

New Zealand was politically changing to humanities led policy reforms. Other major events were the protests of the 1981 Springbok tour, when New Zealand finally took a stand against apartheid in South Africa. The South African team, the Springboks, toured New Zealand and played against the All Blacks. New Zealanders had to acknowledge the extreme racism of the apartheid system. Many looked directly inward at New Zealand's treatment of non-white citizens, which caused 56 days of protests, violence, and civil unrest. The legacy these events left were permanent scars on communities where

neighbours turned on neighbours over differing opinions, breaking the fundamental social community bonds. In Island Bay where everyone was Kiwi, suddenly there were racial divides (New Zealand History, 2021a). My standout moment when I was young was when I witnessed a lady not wanting her baby near an Indian baby, because she claimed “it might rub off.” This was the first time I saw overt racism.

In 1985, the Rainbow Warrior was bombed in Auckland harbour. This Greenpeace boat was set to protest the French Government’s nuclear testing at Moruroa Atoll. Instead, the French Secret Service blew up the Rainbow Warrior to prevent future protests. This was the first openly terrorist-style attack in New Zealand by a foreign government to my living memory. French and New Zealand government relations were extremely tense, which affected trade and other economic dealings. Suddenly New Zealanders found they were no longer isolated from the rest of the world, and political activities could result in violent actions (Greenpeace, 2021; New Zealand History, 2021e).

There was also an international crisis with the United States military, when New Zealand refused the USS Buchanan entry in 1984, and declared itself a nuclear free zone a few years later. A Labour lead government by Prime Minister David Lange was at the forefront of this policy, placing pressure on the ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand and USA) military agreement. The USA then reacted by no longer guaranteeing military support if New Zealand was ever attacked. For some reason, it was a common fear in New Zealand society that New Zealand would be a possible nuclear missile target in the event of World War III ever starting. However, there was no evidence to support New Zealanders’ beliefs at that time (New Zealand History, 2021c).

In 1984, Finance Minister Roger Douglas of the Labour Government created and implemented an economic plan to create a free market, with the idea that New Zealand’s economy would improve. This became commonly referred to as “Rogernomics.” Douglas believed that creating free markets could enable New Zealand to compete better internationally. The result was that New Zealand’s economy did not perform as expected, and there was soaring unemployment, which destabilised investment and industries, as well as stimulating a massive stock market crash. In 1988, this all resulted in the Finance Minister’s dismissal (New Zealand History, 2021d; Museum of New Zealand, 2021). Lange’s economic reforms were not a success, as evidence by his own statement:

For the people who don't want the government in their lives...this (Rogernomics) has been a bonanza. For people who are disabled, limited, resourceless, uneducated, it has been a tragedy. David Lange (1996)

With the Labour Government's political-economic policies in disarray in the 1980s, it was increasingly more difficult for family-owned businesses to continue operating. For Island Bay fishermen, these external pressures from the Government were a driving force for many to reassess if the commercial fishing industry were still viable.

Clark et al. (1988) explored these dynamics from an economic perspective, including that of the commercial fishing industry. Clark et al. (1988) mentioned that New Zealand waters were being exploited by foreign companies from Japan, Korea, and the Soviet Union, which added to the list of events, concerns, and issues. Just two years before Clark et al.'s report, the privatisation of the commercial fishing industry had taken place, which led to my questioning what the QMS was, and how could it have failed, rendering our waters exploited, in such a short period of time. Could this have been the reason for my father's protest? Was the family belief true, that this event was the key to our family's departure.

5.5 Quota Management System

New Zealand has a diverse marine environment that has become globally recognised for its sustainable policies (Marine Stewardship Council, 2016). In 1986, the Quota Management System (QMS) was introduced in the Fisheries Act 1996. The QMS was developed to create a commercial fishing system that considered the long term goals of ethical and sustainable fishing practices in New Zealand. In essence, it was based on taking a public asset and privatising it. The dividing of quota allocations was based on a government committee that included acknowledging and recognising Māori fishing rights and customary practices, supporting the Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Claims) Settlement Act 1992. Despite the quota system, research has indicated (Hersoug, 2018; Libecap et al., 2020; Lock & Leslie, 2007) a failure to reduce overfishing and restore fish stocks. These political dilemmas flow to social-cultural issues in coastal communities that rely on customary and/or commercial fishing. The development of the QMS was meant to safeguard New Zealand fisheries:

Only New Zealanders or New Zealand-owned companies can own fishing quota in New Zealand. Foreign ownership of shares in New Zealand quota-owning companies is strictly limited. (Walrond, 2006).

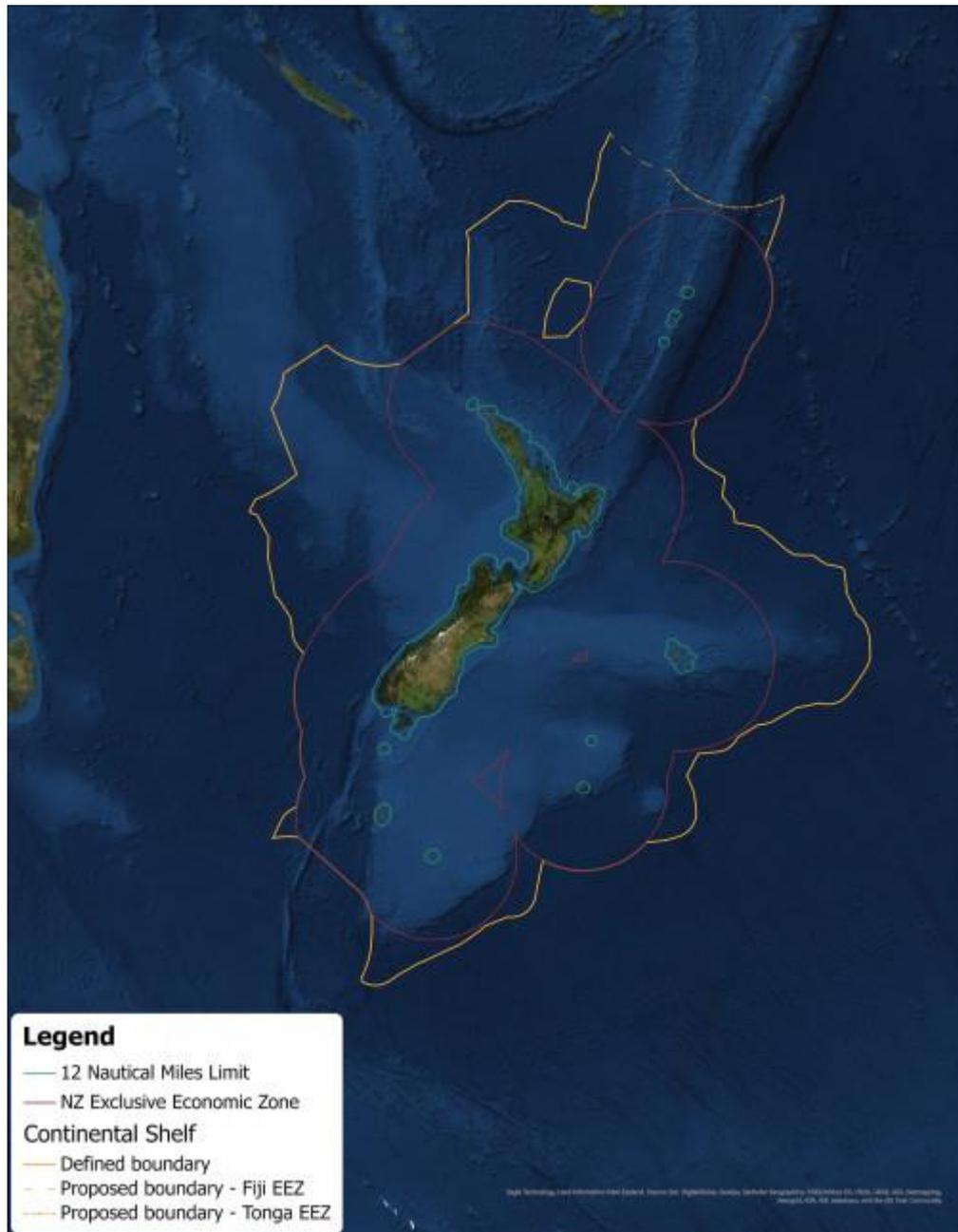
This quote is an official government record, stating New Zealander's ownership of quotas and that selling quotas to foreign companies is limited. However one of the largest commercial fishing companies is Sealord, which is owned 50% by the Japanese (Sealord, 2019), taking over 60% of the quota systems' individual transferable quotas.

In 1986 during the privatisation of the fishing industry, interim measures were put in place to address issues around the Treaty of Waitangi. These were a precursor to the settlement claims in 1992. Under these conditions, the pressure of uncertainty in the fishing industry grew, so the Government developed the QMS. The sea is no different to land-based economic zones and each country has its own territorial waters, which are the area of coastline and seafloor allocated to the country. New Zealand has a border of 0-12 nautical miles. That distance varies on international treaties and trade agreements, and which part of the world a country is located in. These areas are defined as exclusive economic zones (EEZ).

In 1982, the United Nations Convention on the Law at Sea issued the decree that each sovereign state (country) with an area of the sea was able to use its resources. These resources are water, wind, and mineral rights such as to offshore oil drilling, mining etc. (Environmental Protection Agency [EPA], 2021). This area is where all lawful commercial fishing activities take place under the current system, and is still strongly disputed in treaty fisheries claims. Ongoing claims and tribunals are continuing to try to resolve these past issues.

The EEZ is a zone legally enforced by the EPA and governed under the Exclusive Economic Zone and Continental Shelf (Environmental Effects) Act 2012. The Act aims to protect all natural resources within the sovereign state, focusing on sustainability and ethical usage.

Figure 25 Environmental Protection Agency's Map of the Territorial Waters Around New Zealand



sourced: <https://www.epa.govt.nz/industry-areas/eez-marine-activities/roles-and-responsibilities/who-does-what-and-when/>

Within the EEZ, there are 10 fishing management areas (FMA). Each of these areas is managed by government and local entities and each area has its fish species monitored under the QMS and EPA. For example, in the Wellington region, which is FMA2 or Central East region, the fish species commonly caught under the QMS are tarakihi, gurnard, John Dory, kingfish, cod, and rock lobster (Fisheries NZ, 2021)

Figure 26 Fishing Management Areas in New Zealand and some of the Fish Species Associated with the Area



sourced: <https://fs.fish.govt.nz/Page.aspx?pk=45&tk=389>

Each FMA has a total allowable catch (TAC), which means that in that area, whether recreational, customary, or commercial fishing, a set limit of finfish and shellfish can be taken within a year. Therefore, within the TAC limit, there is a total allowable commercial catch (TACC) which is the total amount of finfish and shellfish that can be taken commercially by New Zealand fishing companies. The TACC is applied to an FMA, which becomes the formation of the QMS. Every year, the TACC is monitored and adjusted to calculate the metric tonne weight of each legal catch. The QMS is then allocated to individual transferable quotas (ITQ); these were given in perpetuity to commercial fishermen in 1986 as a part of the privatisation of the fishing industry. Each of these quotas belongs to that fisherman forever but can be sold or traded at any time (Deweese, 1989; Ministry Primary Industries, 2021a). The ITQ became a point of conflict in Island Bay in the 1980s and was a catalyst for change in the community.

The diagram in Figure 27 shows the process of how ITQs are created.

Figure 27 Diagram of the Process Used to Create the Quota Management System.



As a part of the Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Claims) Settlement Act 1992 and the 1992 Deed of Settlement, Māori secured their fishing rights for commercial and customary practices. From this agreement, *mātaitai* reserves were formed. These marine areas are developed and maintained by the *iwi* (*tangata whenua*, people of the land) of that area. The sites are for cultural practices and recreational fishing only, and no commercial fishing is to take place within the reserves. *Taiāpure* were also formed. These are marine and coastal areas that hold customary rights for gathering food, spiritual significance, or another cultural purpose for the *iwi* or *hapū* (tribe) of the local region (Ministry Primary Industries, 2021b).

During these interim years, the Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Claims) Settlement Act 1992 and the 1992 Deed of Settlement were finally confirmed. This meant that from 1986 to 1989, 10%¹⁰ of the ITQ was transferred to the Waitangi Fisheries Commission and this commission held Māori quotas allocated to *iwi* and Māori owned fishing companies. Shares were given to other companies and included a NZD50 million pay-out to Te Kawai Taumat, the governing body for the Māori fishing settlements.

In these afore-mentioned agreements, the fishing industry was a public asset, which is defined as a Crown-owned asset open to all citizens regardless of race, gender, religion etc., to use and develop private businesses from (Both, 2021). After 1986 the industry became privatised, which meant it changed from regulated government control for the benefit of the nation as a whole, to private companies controlled by market forces, or whatever other global economies dictate (Hargrave, 2021). That meant the commercial fishing industry changed structure and ownership, giving away (without being sold) a public asset without the New Zealand people's consultation. The State-Owned Enterprises Act 1986 was in full swing politically at the time, meaning the New Zealand

¹⁰ 10% of ITQ means 10% of all the whole commercial fishing industry in New Zealand was given over for Māori management.

Government was selling many publicly owned assets, of which the fishing industry was just one (Williams, 1992).

In 1992, the New Zealand Government formalised a more encompassing treaty settlement, and Māori ITQ changed. This negotiation now is commonly referred to as the “Sealord deal.” At the time, Sealord, Sanford, and Talley’s held the most significant control over the fishing industry. The agreement was that Māori were given 50% ownership in Sealords, with the other 50% owned by a Japanese company. Māori were then allocated another 20% of the new future quota¹¹, additional shares in other fishing companies, and an NZD18 million pay-out. Currently, all these quotas and pay-outs amount to 30% of the total commercial fishing industry and NZD350 million in assets, and their partners the Japanese quotas, comes to around 60% of the whole industry affected by this settlement agreement (Deweese, 1989; Hersoug, 2018; MPI, 2021a; Libecap et al., 2020).

Within this settlement, new Māori trusts were established to safeguard the money and quota allotment, with the understanding that these assets would allow new Māori economic ventures to develop. These entities became Te Kawai Taumata, a board of directors made up of one representative from a Māori organisation and one member from ten regions representing 58 iwi. Then seven directors were chosen from Te Kawai Taumata to form Te Ohu Kai Moana Trustee Limited, which has two sections: the corporate trustee for Te Ohu Kaimoana, and the Māori Commercial Aquaculture Trust (Takutai Trust). The Takutai Trust was established in 2004, under the Māori Commercial Aquaculture Claims Settlement Act 2004.

The next tier of the settlement claim relates to the Pūtea Whakatupu Trust, which was established for education programmes for the industry, supporting research development, and continuing career upskilling. Te Wai Māori Trust was established to protect freshwater fishing concerns, also heavily focused on research, education, and training. Lastly, Moana New Zealand was established as the commercial fishery entity of this structure, which is Aotearoa Fishing Industries, which under the 1992 Deed of Settlement is the corporation that has 50% ownership of Sealord and is the one referred to in the Sealord deal (Sealord, 2019).

¹¹ New future quota is any future species of finfish or shellfish that may be added to the QMS after that date of settlement.

It is important to understand that each trust has a role within the greater umbrella of the Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Claims) Settlement Act 1992, which gives rise to more structural organisations that have equal say in the settlements. This complex system of legal and bureaucratic paperwork and policies became and still is highly restrictive for commercial fishing families to navigate, creating increased dissatisfaction with Māori and other fishing communities (Hersoug, 2018; Lock & Leslie, 2007; Simmons, 2016).

To compound tensions within the commercial fishing industry, it is useful to refer to the original aim of the quota system: to maintain the industry for all New Zealanders, limit foreign ownership, and remove a public asset to fill settlement claims so Māori can regain cultural and economic opportunities. Sealord, a Māori representative in the commercial fishing industry, claims only 36 iwi groups benefit from their quota (Sealord, 2019). Out of 58 iwi, Te Ohu Kai Moana Trustee Limited is meant to represent all iwi, but instead leaving 22 iwi without the financial and economic security promised and granted under the settlement agreement.

It was then discovered that some quotas were used for modern-day slavery and foreign interests. Stringer et al. (2014, 2016) detailed that some of the Māori quota has been used for acts of slavery, with some fishermen receiving just 15 cents a day in wages, while others faced human rights abuses and even death (Macfarlane, 2017; RNZ, 2018; Stringer et al., 2014, 2016). The commercial fishing industry is not the only food chain supplier that is experiencing such acts of modern-day slavery; a recent article in *Stuff*, a popular online news site in New Zealand, explained that the hospitality and agricultural industries are also engaged in this practice (Anderson, 2021).

The University of Auckland's Business School has been researching these events and documenting them in research papers to assist community groups in helping the victims. These acts in which people are forced to work long hours without pay, kept in squalid conditions, threatened to have their visas terminated, and subjected to multiple other human rights violations, affect many people of Indian descent (Anderson, 2021). In August 2021, New Zealand's first slave trader conviction was issued against a Samoan chief that lured victims to New Zealand and forced them to work in the horticultural industry; some of his victims were children (Sharpe, 2021).

Slavery is fundamentally abhorrent to all New Zealanders. In the foundation of the colonial legal system, the common law followed the Magna Carta¹². In 1971, the Race Relations Act 1977, The Human Rights Act 1993, and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, all assert that slavery undermines the very core of New Zealand's society (Human Rights Commission, 2021).

These acts of modern day slavery were also found in New Zealand's commercial fishing industry (RNZ, 2018), which was the turning point for many traditional fisher families to sell their quotas, as some wanted to distance themselves from those human rights abuses. Some sections of the New Zealand public blamed the industry as a whole, as it became a case of guilt by association. Also, the privatisation of the industry brought in changes in fishing practices, including the increased use of trawling instead of traditional long lines. Both methods have been around for a very long time(Harré, 2011) .

Trawler fishermen use nets to drag along the sea floor, collecting whatever species of fish are there, including coral, rubbish, and sea sponges. This method fills the net up fast, and therefore the catch time is quicker. Traditional long lining, on the other hand, as demonstrated in the first set of findings, is more time consuming, highly physical, manual labour. Traditional long liners have an issue with the massive environmental impact trawling has on breeding grounds and the long-term health of the marine habitat. Early in 2021, Allot (2021) expressed concerns from the environmental activists Greenpeace, on the adverse effects of trawling in New Zealand waters, and called for government reviews to impose a ban on this fishing practice. In July 2020, Sealord was caught poaching in marine protected areas of New Zealand waters, and their multimillion-dollar vessel was confiscated, and the company fined NZD24,000 (Newman, 2020). The QMS is open to abuse not just from labour issues, but for blatant abuse of the TAC and ITQ, which creates an environment for black markets to emerge. Southern Ocean Seafoods Limited in October 2021, was fined NZD1.05 million for taking illegal catches of pāua and crayfish. Southern Ocean Seafoods Limited was also organising other quota holders to join in this illegal trade. All tolled, 12 tonnes of this unreported catch were traced back to these activities, which is a glaring oversight in the QMS system, which purports to protect the breeding stock of these sea creatures. How can the quotas be effective if it allows this level of poaching in New Zealand waters without adequate safeguards, and enforcement

¹² The Magna Carta is a British document that was in essence Britain's first Bill of Rights (National Archives, 2015)

measures? To put a monetary figure on this level of poached stock, 12 tonnes is worth NZD9 million on the current legal market trade (1News, 2021).

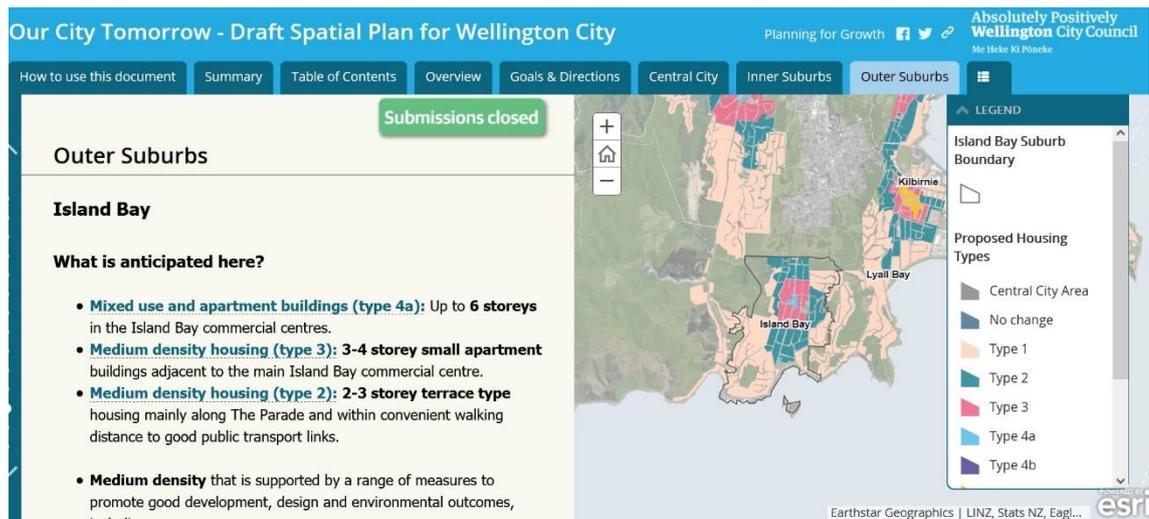
The decisions made at government levels are challenging. In any negotiation, there are winners and losers, but to use a well-known aphorism, you must break some eggs to make an omelette. From a chef's and consumer's point of view, this is an essential supply and demand transaction, but for the chickens, they have just killed and eaten her unborn children, and many in Island Bay at the time identified with the chickens.

In Island Bay, government policies created instability within the fishing industry by introducing the QMS, uncertain job security, and the removal of the bycatch, which was critical to the survival of many families that relied on this extra food to reduce their grocery expenditure. Their traditional way of life was being threatened. With marine knowledge, many could see the industry's future would be in trouble, because the QMS meant massive waste, with little concern for the long term renewal of fish stocks. The propaganda machine was so loud, the traditional fishermen's voice was lost in the noise of political policies.

The political economy affects people in ways that are more than just financial. Taking away a person's security of wellbeing is detrimental to their mental and spiritual health. The gastronomic lens takes a holistic approach, and these issues with the QMS stopped being about money and became more about humanity. The threat to anyone's family's welfare is not a light issue or something that can be dismissed because it does not affect others, because it does. If people believe something bad will never happen to them, they are living in a comfortable fantasy that the rest of the world does not share. All these government policies set a precedent for future legislation; it was not just the privatisation of the fishing industry, but other industries such as farming were affected. What happened to my family happened to others; some with more dramatic results.

800 farmers left the industry and in 1986 8-9000 farms were said to be in serious financial difficulty. Those with big debts on their land suffered the most and banks and politicians had to run to prevent a tsunami of bankruptcy and land price collapse: some assistance became available to manage farmers out of their farms. Suicides spiked with 52 farmers killing themselves in a year. (Wallace, 2014)

Figure 28 Possible Planning for Island Bay 2020-2050



sourced: Wellington City Councils Draft Spatial Plan <https://arcg.is/mKXff>

Another vital issue affecting Island Bay is that of urbanisation. Figure 28 shows a projected plan of the Island Bay community in the coming years. Island Bay will go from a fishing village style of single storey dwellings to large scale medium density housing of structures ranging from two to six storeys high. What does this indicate? It clearly shows the Wellington City Council (WCC) will change the appearance and social dynamics of the Bay physically (Chapman, 2010; Wellington City Council, 2015). More people making homes in Island Bay from different countries, suburbs, or other parts of the country will result in the endogenous economy dying out in favour of the existing economic structure the rest of New Zealand has adopted.

The positive outcomes of increased housing for any population are higher living standards for citizens, more diverse cultural interaction, the introduction of new food options, and exposure to other cultural and traditional rituals that can enrich the community. Examples of cultural enrichment could be the light festival of Diwali from India, and the Chinese Lantern Festival, both of which offer food enjoyment and celebration. Such festivals are a gastronome’s playground, with so much to explore, from customs, taste profiles, new food experiences, and life stories, to the sharing of knowledge, and ultimately, the understanding of others.

Urbanisation does come with negatives attributes at society’s level, as there can be clashes of cultures and intolerance. Physical issues include increased pressure on existing infrastructures, such as roads, public transport, retail, health care, energy suppliers, waste

management, water supply, and increased risk of communicable diseases. Does the existing infrastructure accommodate the increases in demand? Increased demand can cause environmental impacts such as soil contamination from increased construction, high levels of waste, chemical run offs, destruction of natural habitats of some wildlife, and increased predators in the form of family dogs and cats. However, the effects of urbanisation are not limited to the land (Kuddus et al., 2020).

What happens on land does affect the marine environment; no change is in a vacuum - it has other effects that flow on. The connection between urbanisation and QMS and the breeding stock in the ocean was found in the Morrison report. Morrison et al.'s (2009) report found that the QMS was in place but did not support biodiversity within the marine environment, and progressive governments had overlooked the effects of urbanisation on the oceans around New Zealand. This study included comments on the absence of research projects and studies in this area, concluding that there were limited data to assess breeding stocks or patterns of fish within the EEZ.

The report was commissioned and published by the Ministry of Fisheries (Morrison et al., 2009). To date, the research projects and studies on the QMS have only ever come to the same conclusion, as that of the Morrison Report. The only target species suitable for harvest was monitored, and the rest of the vital information was overlooked.

I love that the Island Bay Community is growing, but the price of growth both culturally and environmentally I believe, needs to be considered more closely. Housing is important, but so is the marine environment, the land, and its people. From a food politics perspective, the clash of the need to increase affordable housing, and the protection of future fish breeding stocks is an ethical dilemma, and the question is what do you value most, shelter or food?

This dilemma of growth and change I believe was forefront in my father's mind; he had assessed the situation from a political and economic perspective and social aspects. New Zealand had been through massive changes and created an environment where my father only saw the loss of the family identity. What happens to a farmer that cannot farm, and a fisherman that cannot fish? Unfortunately for some farmers, their answer was to commit suicide. This narrative is about a government taking everything, and society changing to an unrecognisable place for some people, as when a man has lost everything, what possible thing does he have left?

For many people, the answer is to upskill to create a new life path, but what is the answer for people deep within traditions and their culture? Who has a job just for money; a job is a part of someone's being. This is the essence of the reason for the migration, the change of one's whole life path. My father was grieving for the loss of who he had been, and had no vision of what he possibly could be if he could not fish any more. Both my parents decided to start over again, and the hurt, the deep loss, the betrayal my father felt, triggered the ultimate ending of his fishing career. He took his boat, the De Vinci, that he built by hand, and sank it in the middle of Wellington harbour, stating that if the Government wanted his boat, they could go and get it.

All the findings build to this point, and the understanding that this complex interconnectedness of life, food, family, and identity is not separate from the jobs Italians choose to do in life. On 1st February 1988, we departed from New Zealand's shores and landed in Melbourne Australia. This was not originally our final destination, because my father wanted to go to the Greek Islands so he could live his life out there. God intervened however, and showed my parents the potential of Australia for us children, and my parents sacrificed businesses, homes, money, and family, to ensure my brothers and I could have better opportunities.

My father never worked again. He became increasingly depressed and health issues affected him to the point that he refused to leave the house. He still talked about fishing, and dreamed one day of having a boat again, but this was never to be. In 1996 he passed away in my home with his wife Moira and me at his side. Liberato (Jack) Greco still held his skipper's licence, and he never gave up his quotas. He was a fisherman in life and also in death.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This study set out to provide an introspective view of Italian fishermen and their families and to examine the relationships that formed around food and fish in Island Bay, Wellington. The dissertation asks: How did food culture and traditions become important to the community in Island Bay? What relationships formed between Italian fishermen and local Māori before the Quota Management System was introduced? The study explored the changes that occurred in the community after the QMS introduction in 1986, which included how these changes affected the food culture and traditions in the Bay, and how my family reacted to those changes.

The context of the research was based on a 30 year assumption that my family had left New Zealand due to changes from a political economy perspective that made it extremely difficult for them to stay on New Zealand shores. My study at university in gastronomy, mainly the political and ethical considerations of food supply chains, made me wonder if this long-held family belief was correct. To explore those ideas, I had to take an in-depth look at the area I grew up in, and the last point of origin in New Zealand: that was Island Bay in the 1970s and 80s.

The beliefs I held were from my father, a commercial fisherman who owned deep-sea fishing boats in Island Bay. He had informed us we had to leave and emigrate to Australia because the QMS had restricted the industry and it was no longer viable to remain. Even though our quality of life and standard of living was very high in New Zealand, and we were centred in a very large supportive community, it seemed something was missing in his reasoning. My father passed away in 1996 therefore I could not get an answer directly from the source, so I investigated what I knew.

I looked firstly at the inner workings of the community in Island Bay, such as the history of the area, the traditional owners, and why had they settled there. I looked at how the community started to form, including the multicultural settlement and immigration chains. With Italian settlers being my family members, I focused on culture, food, and identity, how these concepts were linked, and why they were important. In terms of cultural aspects, I explored the deep cultural layer around food, what expectations the community held, the use of food as language, and food as a form of exchange for goods and services.

Then I explored the over-arching idea of social conformity, and why the community in Island Bay transformed into an area of endogenous growth and how that was maintained. I examined what this all meant to the individuals that lived in the area, and questioned whether the community values continued to the present day.

Once the context of Island Bay was established, I then looked at exogenous factors. What was the rest of New Zealand like in that period, what were the effects of prevailing economic systems and social structures such as the education system, religious institutions, and what major social and civil events occurred? How gender roles changed traditional structures within families such as by providing increased employment opportunities and increased personal wealth and disposable incomes were discussed. I then focused on the political and economic policy reforms around the commercial fishing industry, largely resulting from the introduction of the Quota Management System, its effects on the people in Island Bay, and how it impacted the marine environment and legal breaches of the legislation to safeguard the industry.

The last external factor to the community in Island Bay to be discussed was the urbanisation of the suburb. I touched on other effects of urbanisation such as the impact on the ecosystem of the area, and the social dynamics that would eventually change due to new settlements in the area.

The theoretical frameworks used are based on a gastronomic lens and focused on human behaviour and rituals around food and fish. The collective and social memory formed the start of my research, analysing the book *Alla fine del mondo = To the ends of the earth: a history of Italian migration to the Wellington Region* that has become a symbol of the ideal life of Italians in Island Bay. The theory of collective and social memory interested me because it is human nature to believe or create an ideal world through memories. As we all have our own bias and version of reality, going deeper into the memory of the past held by many within a community can highlight facts that were purposely left out of formal accounts. It is those gaps that held the answers or clarity I needed to support or reject my personal beliefs.

Because I was researching the omissions of historical events, I used the theory of historiography, how history was written, why, by whom and who for, to create a template of what historical events were recorded. The deconstruction of history was used to investigate my research. Munslow (1997) was the main theorist I used; his argument that

historians have a bias that affects their version of events created an avenue for me to seek a deeper cultural meaning in food. This allowed me to explore Island Bay through interpretive narratives and explore beyond the archetypical version of Italians that was presented by Elenio et al. (1995).

Apart from the culture exploration, I looked at how people interpret culture itself and used the iceberg model to explain the levels of conscious awareness. In this model, the surface culture layer is the observable culture, the tip of the iceberg, and what people see in their daily interactions with others; this includes the language a person speaks, and their clothes and mannerisms, which many use to judge and assess other cultures. Below the surface, or awareness barrier, lay the deep culture layer, holding the core beliefs and fundamental views of a group of people, ranging from their social norms, sense of justice or injustice, to spiritual and symbolic meanings they hold, that creates a hidden language.

This allowed semiotics and semiotic analysis to be used to explain and highlight this deep culture regarding fish, the community, and the power structures that were a part of the social networks in Island Bay. Semiotics is the study of signs and symbols, and how this creates a language only those within that society can understand, until they are shown and taught to others outside that area.

Endogenous activities are not the only consideration in any community, as external factors are a part of the social fabric as well, and mainly come in the form of governmental policies. Within all forms of society, there is authority and governance, and political-economic theory is one tool this structural entity uses to create economic growth.

Political economy theory, at its core, focuses on four main areas: context, behaviour, conflict, and change within a group, and these four processes are led by government legislation that affects economic policies and growth (Milonakis, 2008). This theory allowed me to focus on the wider aspects of life in New Zealand to gain a greater perspective on events, and how they might have occurred. This can result in which option or series of options people can choose, so they can comprehend and assess what they are going to do in the future. From this political standpoint, I narrowed the investigation by focusing on food politics; this area of study and theory is based on all political actions regarding the food supply chains of a country.

I used food politics to explore the issues of the commercial fishing industry and the individual quota system. This allowed me to develop a pathway to highlight social and civil issues that impacted New Zealand society.

The data were collated and analysed using a systematic method of gathering broad information and narrowing it down to subgroups and then individual topics. The four core themes to emerge from the data?? were context, behaviour, conflict, and change, these four themes fit nicely into the human behaviour model and political economy theory. These headings were on a mind-map board, and each set of data was placed in the correct quadrant of the board for later analysis. The data came from interviews already in the public domain, such as from government departments, academic research databases, social media, mass media newspapers and websites. My own memories and photographs were included in this data collection.

The subject matter was focused on community and culture in Island Bay from the 1970s to the present day, with the direct objective of collecting data on the fishing industry, ethnic and cultural activities, as well as to overview data on the social temporal location of the 1980s, as that was the most influential decade in my search parameters. These final individual topics of interest provided the structure for this dissertation.

The analysis method was directed towards behavioural markers, the same markers that political-economy theory follows (Nicholls, 2018). These were the context and environmental setting; what was the precursor to the event, what was the catalyst to spark the chain of events, and what were the actions taken and why? Using these methods from two different points of view allowed a deeper look into the spiritual, symbolic, and ritualistic culture people had in Island Bay, especially around food and fishing.

The key findings were that Island Bay was a tight-knit community; each ethnic group had similar core beliefs, and each group saw value in preserving a way of life that benefited the community as a whole; this attitude held for most from the 1900s to the 1980s. Island Bay itself became a symbol of nurturing and protection, and developed common names that reflected the dominant ethnic group that lived there. Over time, government economic reforms changed the dynamics of the Bay. It moved from an endogenous community to embrace a more diverse population, which included more women in the workforce as gaining higher education levels. The shift from primary production from the marine environment to more land-based careers was a catalyst in the loss of the bartering

system that relied on fish for its currency. This shift was sparked by the introduction of the QMS in 1986. Many fishermen at the time protested against the introduction of the system, claiming it was neither ethical nor sustainable, and several research papers have supported the fishermen's claims. The most striking change was the shift in the younger generation from traditional beliefs to more modern ideals, when opportunities starting to appear due to the political climate in New Zealand, began to settle after the 1980s.

This sparked more government reforms that included a free-market economy that attracted overseas interest, and new waves of migrants arrived. This triggered the urbanisation plan that will change the physical structure of Island Bay life and ultimately see a reduction of traditional activities.

The implications relate to how life was in Island Bay in the early days through to the late 1980s in an era of interconnectedness. The people that lived in the Bay relied on everyone filling a role in the community. I showed how Italians, especially, embraced New Zealand and developed networks and systems to continue to practice what they believed. What was in the past cannot be relived, but can be learnt from. In Italian families, these ingrained ideals of keeping traditions and rituals alive have allowed Italians to be world travellers. However, they still maintain their spiritual link to Italy, ensuring their identity is not lost. A large portion of Italian identity is through food, its use, its meaning, and its status, and for my family of fisher people, and all the responsibilities that come with that.

Understanding this allowed my question to be answered about why we left New Zealand, and why we left a community that was a part of who we were. It was not the implementation of the QMS, but the change in New Zealand society itself, the decrease of economic growth and jobs for us as young adults, our future in New Zealand was not supported by the massive changes that occurred over the 1980s. Australia offered increased opportunities for higher education, the chance for better and safer careers, outweighed the comforts of a close-knit community, as my father saw an opportunity for growth in Australia. New Zealand had changed in my fathers' eyes and not for the better, so he chose to give his family a new chance in life. The knowledge of the marine environment and fishing methods allowed my father a perspective into the fishing industry that is now shared among current researchers, that the QMS system was not adequate to the needs of sustainable fisheries. My father chose to leave the industry in hopes that a move to new country would provide more security for his family.

Overall, this study supported the notion that food has remained a social bonding agent for Italians, that the symbolic meaning remains within the traditions, culture, and rituals, and that these are performed in Italian homes worldwide. Food and fish is a part of our identity in life and death. The family became the driving force behind most of the decisions, especially in Island Bay. Where family was expanded to encompass Māori, Greek, Chinese, Shetland Islanders and anyone else living there, was the key to the uniqueness of the area.

After our relocation to Australia for a better future for his children, which my father sacrificed his own financial stability and family unity for, we continued our family traditions and culture, but as a part of our Italian beliefs, we also adapted to our new country.

To clarify yet again, my father gave up everything he knew to secure our future (his children's future), so we could have the best opportunities in life, that New Zealand could not provide but Australia could offer, that was better jobs, better education, more options for success. The same reason as thousands of other people who left New Zealand at time.

A home is more than a physical location: home to an Italian family is the spiritual connection to our ancestors, their teachings in us, and our ability to pass down that knowledge to future generations. Our families' beliefs and lives are not linear but more complex, like a quantum cube, with multiple sides with multiple dimensions. The enduring nature of the Italian love of food and its communication is not held by time or space, but deeply embedded in our souls.

My father left New Zealand out of grief, and that grief was fuelled by his love for his family to give them a chance to rebuild and create new lives.

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