

FOOD AND FOODWAYS IN TRANSITION
(A Socio-cultural Study of Domestic Dining in Goa)

by

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*Certified that the corrections suggested have been
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DECLARATION

I, Jeanette Gonsalves, hereby declare that this thesis entitled "Food and Foodways in Transition (A Socio-cultural Study of Domestic Dining in Goa)" is the outcome of my own study undertaken under the guidance of Dr. Ganesha Somayaji, Reader and Head, Department of Sociology, Goa University. It has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or certificate of this or any other university. I have duly acknowledged all the sources used by me in the preparation of this thesis.

Date: 30th May 2007



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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled 'Food and Foodways in Transition: A Socio-cultural Study of Domestic Dining in Goa' is the record of the original work done by Mrs. Jeanette Gonsalves under my guidance and supervision. The results of the research presented in this thesis have not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or certificate of this or any other university.

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Food intake is an inevitable physiological activity that sustains life. But, unlike lower animals, in fulfilling the need to satisfy hunger and thirst, human beings form foodways, patterned ways of food production, distribution, and consumption. Foodways are always in a flux like any other aspect of socio-cultural world. They change along with the changing socio-cultural world. Though I belong to Goa, I started to stay in Goa only after my marriage. Before marriage I was only an occasional visitor, for I was staying in Mumbai. During those visits I had some impressions of Goa's food. After my arrival to Goa for residence in 1970s and thirty-five years thereafter I noticed changes in the foodways of my people. My interest in the present qualitative research stems from this observation. Dr. Ganeshā Somayaji, my research guide, suggested me that this observation needs systematic exploration and may constitute a subject for a full-length exploration. I thank Dr. Somayaji for his inspiring guidance and encouragement in completing this thesis.

During my study I visited several Libraries. I take this opportunity to gratefully acknowledge the help extended by the Librarians and staff of the Goa University Library, Library of the University of Mumbai, and Library of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai.

I owe my gratitude to Professor N. Jayaram, the former Head of the Department of Sociology, Goa University who encouraged me to continue my studies when I approached him after a long break (almost twenty five years) from academics. His comments in the meetings of the Faculty Research Committees have helped me in organising the thesis. I thank Prof. Jayaram and other faculty members of the Department of Sociology, Goa University for their critical comments during the development of the thesis. I take this opportunity to thank the anonymous external

examiners for their valuable suggestions to improve the academic standards of this thesis.

Last, but not the least, I gratefully acknowledge the support and encouragement of my husband and children during my study.

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INTRODUCTION

This study explores the socio-cultural aspects of foodways in Goa. The study assumes that current foodways, containing elements of novelty and tradition, communicate to us the nature of socio-cultural changes and other transformations in general. An exploration into the formation of these foodways in Goa facilitates understanding the nature of the structural as well as processual aspects of food related aspects of society and culture.

Basically, the study focuses on the foodways located in the domestic sphere and the emerging and also expanding extra domestic sphere. By conducting fieldwork and analysing the oral narratives of the people an attempt has been made to have a glimpse of their recent culinary past, say for example, on the eve of liberation and afterwards. An attempt is made to observe and describe the socio-cultural aspects of the contemporary culinary practices.

While anthropological and historical interest in food and eating are as old as the disciplines themselves, it is only recently that the sociologists have become sensitive to food related issues. No wonder, in their first of its kind review volume on *Sociology of Food* Mennel *et al.* (1992) begin their introduction by stating: "Until quite recently, few sociologists have given much attention to food and eating as topics of serious intellectual interest." According to these pioneering sociologists of food the taken for granted nature of the culinary realm may be the reason for this neglect.¹ In order to emphasize the centrality of food for human social relations and cultural practices and also as a prelude to the elaboration of the issues addressed and the procedures followed in my study, I will describe the interface among food, society and culture: The interface constitutes the legitimate domain of sociological/anthropological study.

FOOD, SOCIETY, AND CULTURE

Biological Foundations of Food

Food intake is an inevitable physiological activity for all animals. This activity provides required nutrients for the biological sustenance of the animals. In other words, food is a bio-chemical process and a product, which sustains life. On the basis of types of food consumed the biologists and nutritional scientists classify animals into herbivores, carnivores and omnivores. Humans fall under the omnivorous category, for they obtain their nutrients from both animal and plant sources.

Nutrients or the chemical components of foods contribute to vital bodily processes: the production of energy, the growth and repair of body tissue, and the regulation and control of energy production and generation of tissue. To fulfil these functions we have nutrients that can be classified under five basic groups: carbohydrates, fats, proteins, minerals and vitamins.

There are diverse sources from which human beings can obtain and do obtain nutrients. They include a whole range of plant and animal products that contribute to the human diet. Perhaps this nutritional versatility has been a vital factor in the evolutionary success of our species, for humans have successfully colonised virtually every available habitat type (Beardsworth and Keil 1997: 50-51).

Biological Necessity and Human Culinary Practice: Towards a Definition of Foodways

Evidently, for humans eating is not simply an activity aimed at obtaining required nutrients. There is clearly much more to it than that. Moreover, there is a fundamental difference between human eating practices that are different from the food and eating habits of animals. While fulfilling their hunger and thirst humans form culinary practices -used interchangeably with the term 'foodways'- that are not

simply matters of 'fuelling' or alleviating hunger pangs or taking enjoyment in gustatory sensations: Food and eating are shaped and reshaped by culture on the one hand and individual likes and dislikes on the other. Simultaneously, the type of food, the availability of food, and the political economy of food influence the context and content of eating practices. The animals do not store for tomorrow. It is common sense knowledge that only the hungry lion hunts. While the humans not only procure food, they also store food and spend most part of their life in ensuring sustainable supply of food. For humans therefore it is not enough to procure food but also preserve it. In the human socio-cultural world food procuring and preservation are important primary foodways.

Let us elaborate the issue of diversity in human foodways as a preparation to define them. Even though the universal human requirement of certain specific nutrients, very rarely do humans consume similar foodstuffs throughout the world. Even a casual observer finds plurality of foods being consumed in plurality of ways. This observation clearly demonstrates the multiple influences on the selection of foodstuffs and foodways. These influencing factors may be economy, ecology, culture, and subjective liking.

The last factor, the liking, also answers the question why people rarely eat only the essential food. Many a time we consume those substances which may not be a proper meal as per the standards prescribed by a dietician. An important socio-cultural aspect to be noted here is the concept of taste or palatability. Taste is not a constant phenomenon. It continues to change with cultural innovations. Throughout history, humans are consciously or spontaneously engrossed in inventing different techniques of eating food and thereby making it enjoyable. Our ability to recognise taste and modify it and develop foodways, according to social anthropologists, is a

'marker' underlying the transition from 'animal hood' to 'human hood' (Cohen 1987: 77).

Apart from taste, selection of food and eating habits, food preferences and avoidance have meanings surrounding them. In other words, the foodways are influenced by food ideologies¹ that are being evolved in the course of our interactions with other people, cultural artefacts and the surrounding environment. Food ideologies are ideas and beliefs pertaining to the realm of food and eating. While they are the part of the abstract aspects of food, foodways, the concrete expressions of these ideologies, constitute the practical aspects of food.

Now we are ready to attempt at a definition of foodways as used in this thesis. Recently sociologists have paid increasing attention to food, eating, and nutrition, as evidenced by the growing number of publication on the subject. This newly emerged sub field of Sociology has foodways as its focal attention. This is evident from Beardsworth and Keil's textbook on the Sociology of Food entitled "Sociology on the Menu" published in 1997. The foodways are a type of 'folkways', the general standards of life developed around food and eating by the people of a given context. They are the group habits surrounding food.

The term 'folkways' defined as standards of group behaviour has been introduced by W.G. Sumner (1906), one of the early American Sociologists. Sumner, also a Social Darwinist, provides an account of the evolution and transformation of individual habits into group habits. He conceptualises group habits or the repeated ways of doing things by the members of a given group as folkways. "The folkways of a social system are a set of norms governing commonly accepted practices, customs, and habits that make up the fabric of everyday life" (quoted in Johnson 2000: 124). In this sense, foodways are a case of folkways. Social scientists studying group aspects

of food use this word interchangeably with such usages as all manners of food (Mennel 1985), foodways, menus (Beardsworth and Keil 1997), dietary patterns (Vidyarathi *et al.* 1979), ways of handling foods (Khare 1976) and food habits and culinary practices. Among these multiple terms I have taken the term foodways to designate human socio-cultural practices surrounding food and eating. In this sense, Foodways make the culinary social system of a given social context.

Reciprocal Relations Between Food and Eating and Society and Culture

It is possible to identify the ways in which food and eating reflect society and culture. Firstly, in all human societies there are many-fold cultural meanings and discourses surrounding food - food is a symbolic medium par excellence. Secondly, food consumption habits mark boundaries between social classes, geographic regions, nations, cultures, genders, life-cycle stages, religions and occupations. They are used to distinguish rituals, traditions, festivals, seasons and times of day. Thirdly, food structures the 'personalities', for example, dietary habits are used to establish and symbolise control over one's body (Lupton 1996: 1-2).

Similarly, we can discern the influence of society and culture on the selection of food and institutionalisation of foodways. One glaring example is classification of foodways into a number of binary categories and restraining ourselves in preferring certain foods and foodways. Though fish and fish products are available in plenty in the coastal regions many Brahmanical traditions practice a taboo on eating fish. Only the Gouda Saraswat Brahmin groups in Goa eat fish. As Falk (1994: 69) rightly recognises, food as a biological category is replaced as something 'edible' in the course of cultural evolution. In the next step of cultural evolution, "the original *Homo Culinarius* divided the world into edible and inedible. For example, the Hua people (Papua, New Guinea) have a word for 'everything' (do, 'ado'na) which literally

translated means 'that which can be eaten and that which cannot be eaten' (Falk 1994: 69)". On this line we can identify several other culturally constructed binary oppositions of food and foodways such as good or bad, masculine or feminine, powerful or weak, alive or dead, healthy or unhealthy, a comfort or a punishment, sophisticated or gauche, a sin or a virtue, animal or vegetable, raw or cooked, self or other. These binary oppositions constitute the subject matter of structural study of foodways.

Food scarcity and food phobia are some other instances wherein we can identify the socio-cultural influences on food and foodways. Giddens, for example, describes the relationship between cultural notions of body image and food phobia in advanced industrial societies (1998:116-117). He recognises the specific problems experienced by western teenagers in relation to anorexia and bulimia². The occurrence of starvation deaths amidst plenty due to political economic dysfunctions³ is yet another example.

Religious beliefs may also play a role in the exclusion of certain items from the diet. The avoidance of pork prescribed by Judaism and Islam and the avoidance of beef prescribed by Hinduism are examples. Every human diet carries an emblematic charge along with the bundle of nutrients. Thus our view of a particular food item is shaped as much as by what that item means to us as by how it tastes or by its ability to satisfy the body's nutritional needs.

In fact, the symbolic dimension of the foods we eat are of such central importance to us that in extreme instances we might even envisage starving rather than eat technically edible substances that our culture defines as prohibited. Thus it is no exaggeration to say that when humans eat they eat with the mind as much as with the mouth (Beardsworth and Keil 1997: 52).

The above discussion clearly demonstrates the polyvalent significance of food and eating for human culture and civilisation. Occupying a central place in the biological and socio-cultural life of human beings, food and eating play a key role in the formation of socio-cultural institutions and processes. Such a significance of food and eating has been reiterated by Hartog and Staveren (1985: 4-7 quoted in Doshi 1995: 25-26) in their 'Manual for Social survey of Food Habits and Consumption in Developing Countries'. In their view, food performs several functions for society such as gastronomic function, means of cultural identity, religious and magical function, means of communication, expressions of economic wealth and status and means of exercising influence and power. In short, it can be stated that the food of a people is evolved through a joint process wherein the people, food ideology, environment, nutritional requirements and socio-cultural institutions and processes continually interact with each other.

The issues dealt in this study squarely fall within the act of eating that "lies at the point of intersection of a whole series of intricate, physiological, psychological, ecological, economic, political, social and cultural processes" (Beardworth and Keil 1997: 6). The foodways in the domestic dining zone in Goa are subjected to multiple influences and are in a state of flux. Such a foodways constitute the subject matter of this study and I will attempt a statement of my concern in the succeeding discussion.

THE CONCERN OF THE PRESENT STUDY: DOMESTING DINING IN GOA

Domestic dining zone

For analytical purposes we can categorise the foodways as located in two different but related zones: the domestic and the extra-domestic. Whereas the former is the household set up where our daily alimentary requirements are regularly taken care of, the latter sphere includes occasions to dine/eat out side the home. In Goa, this

latter zone is expanding day by day and this study focussed on the nature of this expansion under such items as transformation of the kitchen and the swelling extra-domestic sphere in the study area.

As far as India is concerned, the domestic zone or the domain of the household is the central part of social arrangement. Indian sociologists have shown time and again that the institution of the family (household is its central zone) in association with *jati* and village community is the basis of Indian social organisation. The human network begins here in the household and expands from here. Effects of socio-cultural change on foodways and *vice versa* are encapsulated in the domestic dining practices. Domestic dining has bearing on foodways and food ideologies in the extra-domestic zone also. In fact, the domestic zone is the centre and the other zones are appended to it. The axial problem of the study is to give an account of the constant interplay between the central domestic on the one hand and the surrounding and swelling extra-domestic on the other with the principal aim of understanding the changing nature of the domestic dining zone.

Domestic Dining Zone and Societal and Cultural Changes

The dining practices in the domestic zone have a bearing on several aspects of society and culture. We may, for instance, look into the process of gendering of foodways. Food preparation at home absorbs huge amount of time. Provisioning and shopping, storage and preserving, preparation and cooking, serving and cleaning are regular activities necessary to sustain the regular eating habits of all. Much of such work has been done by women. Studies on domestic division of labour have shown that women's role was mainly to carry out the domestic cooking and other related household tasks (Warde 1997: 22).

Feminist scholars also raised several questions relating to gender implications of culinary practices such as dual role management, technological changes and changing structure of kitchen and so on. In this regard, it has been observed that notwithstanding modern gadgets helping the women in the performance of domestic chores, the expectation that the women are the custodians of domestic kitchen remains unaltered. The questions like, is it so in Goa, if so why, were the initial exploratory points for us. They facilitated us to raise certain other questions like who are associated with the task of provisioning, preparing, arranging, serving and cleaning? What changes are taking place?

Along with social arrangement for cooking and serving, foodways in the domestic zone have bearing on several other aspects of society and culture such as *jati*, religion, economy, health, and ecology. Let us take the example of religion. Several domestic foodways are at the centre of the institutional complex of religion and the system of rituals among the households of the members of different religious groups. The practices of offering food to the deities and retrieving it as '*prasad*'; fasting and food-avoidance; categorising food stuffs on the basis of notions of purity and pollution; performance of *sanskaras*, special *pujas* and associated ceremonial feasting - these and many other aspects of religion-food interface in the domestic zone are sociologically relevant. We have taken religion as a point of illustration in general. The study considered several other societal domains.

The foodways in contemporary society have been influenced by several new trends and pressures linked to the expansion of market in terms of globalisation and changing notions of good health and 'well-shaped body', and revolution in visual and print media and migration both within and outside the country.⁵ Thus food ideologies and practices associated with food have been changing through the times. It is an

established sociological fact that the socio-cultural changes are associated with the encounter of different cultural groups.

Writing as back as 1966, Douglas noticed an ideological distinction between raw and cooked food in the context of Indian caste system. According to this ideology, when *raw* food is *cooked* it becomes ritually superior and cooking thus signifies ritual *break* which removes impurity caused by the contact the food has had with the lower caste when it was in raw form (quoted in Falk 1994: 71). This Western structural interpretation of ritual status of food is problematic. It does not take into consideration empirical variations in food ideologies in India. Among the cooked food also there are degrees of purity and pollution. Food cooked with ghee is superior to all other cooking mediums. Food cooked in water is very much volatile and a Brahmin could eat food cooked in water only in another Brahmin of similar status. This ideology along with other aspects such as proper food items, eating territory, times and frequency had undergone revisions and adaptations. Such changes indicate the nature of socio-cultural changes that may be systematically studied by students of sociology.

What are such practices in Goa? What are the food ideologies behind them? What are the changes and how can we account for them? To arrive at an understanding, a systematic study of the making of food ideologies and foodways in the domestic zone was undertaken.

Available Published Knowledge With Reference to Food in Goa

We can identify a few scholarly works that make a mention of food items and food habits of the people of Goa. In his attempt to give an historical and archaeological sketch of the city of Goa, Fonseca (2001 originally 1878) gives an

account of the social background of food of the people of Goa. His account is highly impressionistic.

‘Rice is the favourite article of diet, supplemented among the upper and middle classes by various dishes of meat, fish, and vegetables, dressed in the modern European style, and among the poor by fish and vegetables, meat being indulged in on Sundays or festive occasions alone. The meals are generally wound up by a course of fruits and sweets by those who can afford these luxuries. (2001: 13).

Shirodkar and Mandal (1993) have listed about 34 communities and have described in detail the food items and habits of these communities along with other ethnographic details. In his ethnographic study of village Chandor in South Goa, Gomes (1987) makes certain references to the traditional foodways of some *jatis*. He takes note of the prevalence of the hierarchical social order among both the Catholics and the Hindus of the village and its bearing on the celebration of the feasts. He observes how certain feasts are exclusively celebrated by only certain Brahmin Christian *Goankars*. Along with documenting the restrictions on the commensal activities, he describes the types of food being distributed during various occasions and feasts and underlying social connotations.

A recent attempt at describing the culinary transformation in Goa is found in an article by Coelho and Sen (2001). They contended that the spread of South American and African plants imported by the Portuguese was responsible for the change in culinary habits and lifestyle of the people of India especially in Goa. Chillies were specially imported from the New World and became essential ingredient in Goan cuisine. They also described how the Portuguese introduced meat in the diet of the people of Goa. The introduction of Christianity contributed to making Goans

more 'catholic' in eating of meat. While Hindus abstain from beef and Muslims do not eat pork, the Goan Christians eat both these in addition to chicken and lamb. The Portuguese method of cooking both fish and meat were combined with the Goan mix of spices.

Many in Goa feel that the introduction of beef and pork is associated with evangelical activity. Rodrigues (2000: 13) writes:

'The Portuguese introduced meat in the diet of Goans, especially those converted to Christianity. In fact, beef and pork were used as a means of converting people. Historical accounts disclose that pieces of meat or animal blood were thrown on the roofs of houses to pollute Hindus and Muslims, since both beef and pork were religious taboo for the former as pork was for the latter.'

Notwithstanding the cultural significance of the above observation, the absence of specific historical account, references, and analysis makes this observation incomplete⁶. However, the differences between the cuisine and culinary practices of the two communities, the Hindus and Christians of Goa, are too conspicuous. It may be naive if one takes the Hindu culinary practice as the earlier point in the culinary continuum, and the Christian culinary practices, because they are the product of the encounter with the European foodways, constitute the later points in the culinary continuum. With Liberation came about substantial transformation in Goa. Not only that the migration of the people of Goa within and outside Goa picked up momentum, but also there has been an increase in the number of people migrating into Goa. The various categories of people migrating to Goa brought with them their sets of foodways. Along with these instances of culture contact, the domestic foodways in Goa are being influenced by many other transformations such as occupational

transformation, market expansion, increasing dining/eating out and pressures such as the revolution in the print and the virtual media.

As yet, we do not have any systematic discussion on the making of the foodways in Goa, let alone with special reference to the domestic dining. To begin with, anchoring in the domestic zone, I explored the ideological makeup and empirical expressions of foodways in transition.

Specific Objectives

1. To explore the aspects of change and continuity in the food items of the people of Goa.
2. To understand the dynamics of food related beliefs in Goa with reference to the domestic dining zone.
3. To explore the dimensions of and influences upon the foodways in the domestic dining zone.
4. To attempt at an understanding of the emerging extra domestic zone.

It has been attempted to fulfil the above objectives with the help of ethnographic exploration into the food and foodways of identified people of Panjim as core area and relatives and friends of the researcher who are spread across the length and breadth of Goa.

The core area has been selected as the universe for my fieldwork due to historical, socio-cultural and personal reasons. Historically, the village Taleigao rose along with the growth of Panjim as the capital of the colonial power. In fact, by the 17th century, Panjim, which was inclusive of the narrow strip of the village of Taleigao shot up into prominence when the capital of Goa was shifted from Old Goa to Panjim (Fonseca 2001, originally 1878).

The surrounding rural areas of Panjim including Taleigao, Caranzalem, St. Inez began to undergo transformations due to the processes of urbanisation. Though well up to October 1995 the parts of Panjim Municipality in this area included only those areas falling within 30 meters of the direct road from Panjim to Miramar right up to the Dona Paula Jetty, afterwards Panjim Municipality absorbed the entire Taleigao-Dona Paula village.

The area of Taleigao has been selected due to its rapid social ecological transformation. In this sense it can be considered as representative of Goa as a whole where social ecological transformation due to development is widespread. Some three or four decades ago Taleigao was thinly inhabited and the Plateau was almost empty. But of late it has shot up into prominence and is now considered as an elite locality. Now we find here inhabiting people from within Goa and outside Goa. The researcher herself has migrated to this area in the wake of post-liberation transformations in Goa. This helped her bring in pertinent autobiographical reflections wherever necessary. Thus in this area are inhabited original villagers who follow agriculture and fishing and members of modern occupational categories, people from other parts of Goa and from other parts of India and from abroad.

Ethnography was the orientation of this research. Taleigao-Dona Paula was the geographical context of the research. During the fieldwork along with the interactions with the members of the households of the area with the help of interview guides the researcher participated in traditional and modern dining events. It is the established view that ethnographic field research requires a high level of creativity as it aims primarily at exploring the meanings and producing meanings. To achieve this the researcher was sensitive to many aspects of the interrelations between food and socio-cultural reality.

I collected information with the help of fieldwork, the experiences of which are narrated below.

Field Experiences

In order to achieve the identified objectives, I decided that my research should be a qualitative ethnographic exploration into the food and foodways of the people of Goa. Due to the general nature of the problem, from the commencement, I felt that the study should be more of a hypothesis generating one rather than a hypothesis testing one.

Much of the data is qualitative, explorative, though there is some quantitative data material. There is no question of sampling in numbers as the research was not planned for a hypothesis testing study and such data has played a limited role in the research work.

The core area selected was the Taleigao- Dona Paula region, due to its rapid socio- ecological transformation. This area includes people of different social strata- ranging from the elite to the simple village folk- with diverse occupations including agriculture, fishing industries and business.

My field work began within a year of my registration of Ph.D., i.e. from January 2001 right unto December 2003; adopting various techniques in stages, depending on the required information. The techniques included participation/ observation, eliciting oral narratives, collection of articles, advertisements and write-ups from newspapers, magazines, taking photographs, engaging in preparation and consumption of food items/events, collection of cook-books on Goan food and cooking and constructing case-histories.

The participation/observation technique was utilized for collecting information while attending several events: such as parties, weddings, religious and social

festivals, organized by known families, Institutions/Clubs and local Committees. Explanations and narrations from the people were elicited through probing questions during conversations.

During the two-year period of fieldwork, I collected relevant material on food from newspapers and magazines. Articles and advertisements on food and drink, commercial, industrial food items, write-ups and articles on health, diseases and nutrition and body care were part of the collection. I interviewed three hundred and fifty women from the field area who are known to me with the help of an interview guide which is given in the Annexure I. I want to state here that the data collected has only supportive nature and it can not be used for any generalisation for the whole of Goa for my respondents are not identified on the basis of sampling. The opinions and beliefs of these women have been used to develop my arguments in some chapters.

Cookbooks on Goan Food and cooking were also collected in order to enable me to know the trends in cooking and their influences.

The task of building up case histories of purposively selected households with reference to changing food ways – based on the material drawn from the interview guide was outlined. This was to include the observation of household –specifically in relation to the kitchen layout the store-room wash –room, dining room, kitchen garden domestication of animals agricultural activities, etc. The observation would be linked to the interviews, thereby discerning the contemporary food habits and constructing the meanings and discourses surrounding them.

The thesis has been organized around the following themes: -

1. Introduction
2. Sociological study of food: An Overview of literature (Chapter one)
3. Domestic dining: A prelude (Chapter two)

4. Documenting food items: Ecology, food, and society (Chapter three)
5. Domestic foodways: Towards industrial food (Chapter four)
6. Expansion of the extra-domestic zone (Chapter five)
7. New influences and pressures on the domestic and extra-domestic spheres (Chapter six)
8. Summary and conclusion

NOTES

1. Here, the word 'food ideology' is used not in the sense of dominant political idea, but in its most general connotation as people's thinking about each of the different items that might be considered as food. This connotation is very general and includes food related beliefs, attitudes, ethos, conventions and convictions held by a group of people. It includes people's concerns about the effects of eating various foods on their health and well being and suitability of some types of food for certain categories of people (Eckstein 1980: 222 quoted in Doshi 1995: 51).
2. Anorexia is an illness with no known physical origin. It is an illness of the body associated with the obsession of teenage girls and women with the ideal of achieving a slim body, who eventually give up eating altogether. Anorexia is an eating disorder, and illness of the affluent. It has no connection with religious beliefs. This notion of slimness originated among women of middle-class groups in the late 19th century. Bulimia is bingeing on food, followed by self-induced vomiting. Anorexia and bulimia are often found together in the same individual. It is obsession concerned with dieting and bodily appearance. Eating disorders are now part of the lives of millions of people in industrial

countries. Besides being purely a personal problem it can turn to be a sociological issue (Giddens 1998: 116-117).

3. The works of Amartya Sen (1981) are illustrations. The weekly News Magazine 'Outlook' dated September 17, 2001 in a prime article narrated the pathetic situation of 50 million starving Indians when 60 million tones of food grain rots in the *godowns* of the Food Corporation of India.
4. A few years ago there erupted a controversy over the publication of a book by Professor D.N. Jha entitled *Holy Cow: Beef in Indian Dietary* wherein he argued that long before the advent of Islam, a typical Indian meal included beef. The Viswa Hindu Parishad was against the publication of this book and held the view that Professor Jha had probably not referred to the correct textual sources (The Times of India, 10 August 2001).
5. One need only go through the diet and nutrition columns of popular magazines and newspapers.
6. Rodrigues (2000: 13) does not give any specific historiographic reference to her observation. It is curious to note that this view is very strongly held in the popular memory.

CHAPTER ONE

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF FOOD: AN OVERVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this chapter I am attempting a description of the various social scientific perspectives on the socio-cultural dimensions of food and eating. This exercise familiarises ourselves with the research trends and theoretical convergence in this area of sociology which in turn will help us clarify our research objectives and locate the thesis in the scope of sociology of food.

‘FOODWAYS IN TRANSITION’ AS TOPICS FOR SOCIOLOGICAL/ANTHROPOLOGICAL THINKING

As a preparation to the presentation of the outcome of this research work we will now discuss the possible ways of incorporating food and eating as topics for sociological/anthropological studies. We will attempt to achieve this through an overview of a few social scientific perspectives on food and eating.

In the absence of a long-standing sociological legacy based on the study of food and eating¹, it is relevant to look into the possible ways of incorporation of food related issues into sociology. We may conceive two major routes through which the study of food and eating can be incorporated into the main stream of sociology. The first involves the analysis of foodways to illuminate existing sociological preoccupations. For example, the underlying dimension of social differentiation including gender, age and class can be illustrated by an analysis of patterns of food allocation and consumption. In the second route, the food based topics become ends in themselves. It involves an analysis of food-based topics such as how we obtain, share, select, prepare and eat our food and how we allocate meaning to what we are doing. As stated by Beardworth and Keil (1997: 5), these two approaches may coexist

within one piece of work, since the difference between them is essentially one of emphasis. Both these routes will be considered in the present research work.

Categorisation of Available Studies on Food and Eating

In order to analyse the socio-cultural aspects of food and eating the social scientists have adopted several approaches. The categorisation of approaches has been attempted by Goody (1982), Mennel *et al* (1992) and Beardsworth and Keil (1997). Whereas Goody (1982) identifies three main approaches, the functional, the structural, and the cultural and considers his own study as historical and comparative, Mennel *et al* (1992), suggest functionalism, structuralism and developmentalism as convenient heads under which studies of food and eating could be taken up. Developmentalism has been a new label to identify the studies of historical and comparative nature. This approach should not be confused with the theories of development and underdevelopment. Beardsworth and Keil retain this classificatory scheme and omit the cultural category stating that culture “is a concept so fundamental to the other three approaches” (1997: 57).

The functionalist study of food and eating are to be found within the British school of social anthropology. Bronislaw Malinowski (1935), for example, provided a highly detailed ethnographic account of food production and allocation systems in the Trobriand Islands, and complex patterns of belief and social reciprocity, which articulated these systems. Audrey Richards, one of Malinowski’s students, studied from the functionalist perspective the ways in which the production, the preparation and the consumption of food among the Bantu were linked to the life cycle, to group structures and to the social linkages which constituted them (1932). In a later study she attempted to place the nutritional culture of the Bemba into its broader economic setting (1939). The functional significance of food and foodways was also highlighted

by Radcliffe-Brown (1922) and Evans-Pritchard (1967). In his discussion of the Andaman Islander, Radcliffe-Brown demonstrated the way in which food-related rituals and taboos act as devices for dramatising the collective sentiments of the community. In his documentation of the political and ecological dimensions of the Nuer society, Evans-Pritchard demonstrated the extent to which the food system of this pastoralist people was based upon a form of “symbiosis with cattle” (quoted in Beardsworth and Keil 1997: 60).

The virtue of structuralist approach is that it clearly recognises that ‘taste’ is culturally shaped and socially controlled. The structuralists have turned to the aesthetic aspects of food and eating and mainly cooking and cuisine (Mennel *et al.* 1992: 8). As rightly pointed by Goody (1982: 17), the analysis of cooking has been associated with the name of Claude Levi-Strauss. The categories of culinary domain constituted for Levi-Strauss a ‘royal road’ in a double sense: the cuisine of a society is a language into which its hidden contradictions can be uncovered and they lead towards a revelation of the fundamental structures of human thought, even though the contents assigned to them are peculiar to each society (Mennel *et al.* 1992: 9). The most famous example of Levi-Strauss’ exploration of the ‘royal road’ in the direction of universal patterns of the human mind is his ‘culinary triangle’ (1966, 1970). He relates the three poles of the raw, the cooked and the rotten to human thinking about ‘nature’ versus ‘culture’.

The direct structuralist influence on the sociology of food and eating comes from Douglas (1975). Analysing the food system of her own household, she found out that food categories encode social events; they express hierarchy, inclusion and exclusion, boundaries and transactions across boundaries (quoted in Mennel *et al.* 1992: 10). The strength of Douglas’s (1984) use of structuralist perspective as

recognised by Beardsworth and Keil (1997: 63), is that she never loses sight of the fact that, while food may be seen as a metaphor, a symbol or a vehicle of communication, it is, above all, a life-giving substance, and a meal is a physical as well as a social event.

One of the criticisms levelled against structuralism as an approach is its inability to throw light on the historical and processual aspect of social reality. All other works that are sensitive to the historical dimension of food and foodways have been grouped under the developmentalist category by Goody (1982), Mennel *et al* (1992) and Beardsworth and Keil (1997). Developmentalism² is not a perspective in the strict sense of the term. The works grouped under this category spring from the belief that an understanding of contemporary cultural forms or patterns of social relations must take into account the ways in which these are related to past forms. Hence, social change and transition are the primary focus in terms of their direction, processes and origin. Let us look into a few of such studies, for they not only inform us of the research trends in this area but also draw our attention to trends in and dimensions of culinary practices in various parts of the world.

Development of cooking. The studies of the development of cooking point out that 'nature' and 'culture' did not stand in static contrast but in dynamic interaction with each other. In Stahl's (1984) view, the regular consumption of a wide range of cooked food most probably influenced the biology of the human digestive system in the long run. Therefore cooked food cannot be assumed to be a natural constant. These are the nutritional effects of cooking. Goudsblom (1992: 34-5) argues that cooking has also affected social organisation and mentality.

'Cooking developed into a complex set of activities which was far removed from the simple reflex chain of hunger, food-seeking, eating

... Like the control of fire, cooking is an element of culture. It has to be learned and such learning is done in groups. It demands some division of labour and mutual co-operation and, individual attention and patience. One has to watch the food from time to time and postpone eating it until it is well cooked and has cooled off a little' (quoted in Mennel *et al.* (1992: 14-15).

Development of food preferences and avoidance. The humans do not eat all foodstuffs that contain nutritional value. They develop preference to certain foods and aversion to certain other foods. The orthodox anthropological view is that the connection between food objects and their meanings is arbitrary and no instrumentalist explanation of food avoidance can be valid. Harris (1986) challenges this view through his historical explorations of the developments of beef avoidance among the Hindus, the Jewish and Islamic taboo on pork, eating and non-eating of horseflesh, dogs and other pets and milk in China (Mennel 1992: 15-16).

All these, food preference and avoidance are puzzles for him. Such cultural categories, apart from having symbolic power, explain the development of a group's idea on the practical costs and benefits of preferring one culinary practice to the other in the broad social and ecological context of the region. The recognition that the cow is a symbol of sacredness for Hindus will not explain the apparent irrationality inherent in the fact that India has the largest cattle population of any country on earth along with very large population of humans many of whom are short of dietary protein. How to account for this taboo?

Harris gives a pragmatic explanation to this taboo on beef, which may otherwise appear as an absurdity to a European. The prohibition may actually have crucial practical advantages, protecting and enhancing the living standards of some of

the poorest sections of Indian society. The humpbacked Zebu breeds of cattle in India are capable of providing the motive power for ploughing, even in extreme conditions of heat and drought, and can survive on very meagre rations of feed and fodder. Such animals are far more cost-efficient than tractors for ploughing the small farm holdings. In addition, cows provide the Indian peasant with several valuable products: oxen for ploughing, milk, and dung. Thus in pragmatic terms Harris argues that the prohibition on killing cows effectively enhances the long-term viability of Indian agriculture (quoted in Beardsworth and Keil 1997: 206-207).

Development of systems of cuisine and culinary cultures. Social and cultural conditioning of cooking and cuisine and macro-sociological analysis of manners of food³ were the focal issues dealt with some of the leading theorists on food and eating. Goody (1982) attempted to answer the question why a 'high' (elite) and correspondingly 'low' (peasant) cuisine emerges in some societies but not others. He attempted to explain what contributes to the emergence or non-emergence of *hautes cuisines* in different societies. It cannot be merely a matter of degrees of social and political complexity.

Goody comes to this conclusion on the basis of his fieldwork among two Ghanaian tribes in Africa where cuisine differentiation is not a hallmark. Then he turns to societies for which differentiation is a hallmark. He compares culinary cultural history of Egypt, India, China, and of Western Europe and also considers the contemporary development of industrialised eating and trends towards a world cuisine. Coming back once again to the field where he started his study, the West Africa, Goody recognises the specific globalising impact of the industrial food and the world cuisine. On the basis of comparative evidence, Goody examines the role of certain key factors in the emergence of *haute cuisine* such as a) the hierarchic nature

of the social structure, b) social differentiation on the basis of literacy, and c) organisation of household and structure of kinship.

In his study of the development of culinary culture Mennel (1985) applies Elias's 'process sociology' approach (Mennel 1989). In his books *The Civilising Process* (1982 originally 1939) and *The Court Society* (1983 originally 1969), Elias develops an understanding of how broad social, political and economic changes shape the expression of emotion, manners, taste and lifestyle. Mennel applies this in accounting for changing food preferences and emerging cuisines. He explores changing habits and cuisine over several centuries in France and Britain. He discerns many changes including emergence of bodily discipline rise and fall of class differentiation in diet and the commercialisation and internationalisation of food production and distribution.

Taste in eating and even appetite itself, Mennel (1986, 1987) argues is formed in the same way that Elias details the shaping of personality make-up more generally. "The transition from the medieval oscillation between feasting and fasting, plenty and want, to an emphasis on discrimination at table parallels-indeed is an aspect of -the broader shift in the balance between external constraints and self-constraints" (Mennel et al 1992: 17). In this transition many contrasts have diminished. Social inequalities in the qualities of food consumed have declined, appetite has been civilised in the form of self control over body and weight-watching, difference between seasons and between festivals and everyday eating have diminished so also towns and country food habits are less in contrast. While manufactured food have become part of the diet of every social class there is also a 'democratisation' and simplification of eating. The disappearance of the rigid ten-course dinners for the

middle classes at the end of the 19th century is an example. The cookery books and the diversified opportunities for out-door eating have contributed to these processes.

Now in the place of dominant, rigid, stylistic hierarchy in food, which used to characterise an older Europe, pluralism and contest emerge where there is a celebration of diversity of coexisting tastes, encouraged by fashion and the spread of international restaurants. Now there is a growing interdependency between the professional and the domestic cookery. This occurs through increasing eating out on the one hand and increasing influence of food technology and marketing on the domestic eating on the other (paraphrased in Warde 1997: 24-29). Breakdown of monotony, shift from class differentiation to plural tastes and increasing variety are the manifest consequences of these modern trends. However, the other less apparent trends need to be explored yet and other explanatory questions remain unanswered. As Warde pointed out, “he says little about how social and commercial processes from such plural taste, nor does he consider how such tastes might subsequently divide the population” (Ibid.: 29).

Development from gastronomie to gastro-anomie: A pessimistic outlining of foodways in transition. Claude Fischler, a French anthropologist of food and eating, has introduced the idea of gastronomy (1980). Used in the literal sense, the word denotes the traditional norms, rules and meanings which structure human food intake. Regarding the future of this situation Fischler is very pessimistic. In his view the contemporary world is now being subjected to the process of ‘dis-aggregation’ (Ibid.: 947), involving a breakdown of long established rules. This crisis situation will lead to a state, which Fischler terms as ‘gastro-anomie’. The factors responsible for such a situation according to him arise out of a proliferation of contradictory and inconsistent pressures acting upon contemporary food consumer by way of food industry,

advertising and the State. The expansion of agro-industry and industrialised food production seem to create disturbances of uncertainties and anxieties arising from gastro-anomie. Of course, there are certain developments that may contribute towards restoring some order in the culinary sphere. They are found in the emerging dietary regimes such as weight loss diets and vegetarianism.

Development of menu-pluralism. Not all theorists on foodways share Fischler's despair and anxiety. Changing foodways are seen as quite normal and constitutive of contemporary social reality according to some social theorists. Beardsworth and Keil (1992) who proposed 'menu pluralism thesis' belong to this genre of writers. For them the alimentary totality of a society would include the whole range of aliments available during a particular period. The aliment is recognised as any basic edible item within a given nutritional culture (Levi Strauss prefers to use the term 'gustems'). The set of principles that guide the selection of aliments form the available totality has been defined as 'menu' by them.

The menu principles can take multiplicity of forms. Hence 'menu pluralism' is the characteristic feature of any given culinary situation. There are 'traditional menus' which are based on customary practices built up over many generations that derive their authority and legitimacy from long-established status. These traditional menus have been thus taken for granted and their sociological acceptance appears natural and immutable. Any violations of these rules are very likely to induce contempt or disgust.

In contrast to these, there are the 'rational menus' that are based on selection criteria and are designed to achieve specific goals like the weight lose or weight gain, improvement of physical or mental performance, avoidance or particular disease or for promotion of general health. Closely related to rational menus, can be identified

others like 'convenience menus' based on minimisation of time and effort required for acquiring, preparing and presenting food; the 'economy menus' based on cost consideration; the 'hedonistic' menus based on maximising gustatory pleasure or the 'moral menus' that are based on ethical consideration. The menus of last categories can be related to ecological issues, political issues or issues relating to animal welfare or animal rights.

Beardsworth and Keil further state that in any given society we might expect a degree of menu differentiation wherein different categories of individuals within the population (defined in terms of gender, age, class caste etc.) would make different choices from the aliments available in the given menu. The degree of differentiation is higher in contemporary societies, which are characterised by menu pluralism, a situation being experienced in the wake of rapid social change. There are choices existing in competing and contrast in menu principles making selection of aliments possible. Thus individuals find it easier to draw up their own personal diet and adjusting their menu choices to suit their mood, economic circumstances or the setting in which the eating events taking place.

Thus the contemporary food situation is understood quite differently from that of Fischler who saw it as the decline of value consensus and confusion. However, for both Fischler and Beardsworth and Keil the processes that underlie the making of this situation are same - the globalisation of food supply, its industrialisation and production and distribution.

Codification of sociological theses on consumption foodways in transition.

The recognition of consumption as an important socio-cultural process by the social theorists has been very noteworthy at least from the point of development and

sophistication of social theories on food and eating. While codifying them all Warde (1997) groups them as four theses.

1. Towards arbitrary individual diversity. Fischler's 'omnivore's paradox'⁴ and 'gastro-anomie' thesis have been included in this group. He interprets food fads, fashions and sects such as vegetarianism as evidence of atomisation and the disintegration of social regulation.
2. Post-Fordist food. According to this second thesis, there is all agreement that the European world is becoming more and more pluralistic in terms of food availability and consumption patterns. However, this state is not conceived as pathological. But the situation can be explained in terms of the emerging concerns in the post-Fordist western society. As per John Urry's (1990: 13-14) formulations, in the Fordist society the producer rather than the consumer is dominant where there is relatively limited choice. This was a condition of mass production for mass consumption. On the contrary in the post-Fordist phase the consumption process is dominant. Urry (quoted in Warde 1997: 34) suggests five distinctive attributes of consumption behaviour in a post-Fordist world: (1) consumers will make more use of commodified provision; (2) there will be 'much greater differentiation of purchasing patterns by different market segments'; (3) there will be 'greater volatility of consumer preference' (hence products have a shorter life); (4) consumer movements will proliferate; and (5) there will be a, presumably conscious and active, 'reaction of consumers against being part of a "mass"' - which will involve seeking out specialised, and perhaps 'natural', raw materials. Warde observes that though there is some supporting evidence for all the shifts

towards post-Fordism listed by Urry, there is no sufficient evidence to demonstrate this to be the overarching tendency. There may be more powerful forces and some of the contemporary features may not clearly separate post-Fordist from mass consumption. (Ibid.: 35).

3. Mass consumption in a mass society. In his overview of social trends Ritzer (1996) proposed a mass society thesis. In *The McDonaldisation of Society*, mainly an account of continuing rationalisation in the present world, Ritzer takes the operating principles of the global chain of fast-food producers as metaphors for general social trends especially towards massification. Now the food is manufactured at a mass scale and targeted at a mass. McDonald's meals, Kelloggs cereals, Coca-Cola and Pepsi-Cola are but a few examples. The issue to be addressed is the multiple responses of the people towards this trend relating to the global politics of food distribution vis-à-vis other related trends such as health promotion campaigns, nutrition related policies of the governments. The question being raised under this massification thesis is: Is the human culinary culture marching towards homogenisation? Drawing on cross-cultural data on culinary practices of certain national communities (Appadurai 1988; Douglas 1975; Murcott 1982; Charles and Kerr 1988; and Charsley 1992), Warde (1997: 38-39) concedes that some powerful homogenising forces do exist. It means that amidst available variety of items and prevailing diversity among the individuals of styles 'it remains plausible to argue that the principle characteristic of recent times is mass conformity in dietary matters' (Ibid.: 39).

4. The persistence of social differentiation. The above three theses note the reduction in degrees of social regulation of structural features of social differentiation such as class, gender, ethnicity, generation and life-course stage. However, they have not become totally irrelevant. 'The fourth thesis suggests that structural differentiation in general, class differentiation in particular, is likely to persist in the field of food' (Warde 1997: 39). In his *Distinction*, Bourdieu (1984), applying his social reproduction approach to French eating habits anticipates continued differentiation. He demonstrates that eating habits express class differences in France. There is a limitation with this social reproduction thesis: It privileges the dimension of continuity over change (Jenkins 1992) and because Bourdieu relies on data from only France, his conclusion applies more effectively to France (quoted in Warde 1997: 40). Notwithstanding these criticisms the emerging foodways in the whole of the Europe and also in USA as found out by Levenstein (1993) show that class distinctions may even have grown in the field of food in these regions. Thus the fourth thesis 'maintains that there remains very significant structural differentiation in eating behaviour, indicating its social embeddedness and its social regulation, and which is primarily manifest as hierarchical class difference' (Warde 1997: 41).

Salience of Continuity and Change

The socio-cultural perspectives on foodways in transition reflect the theoretical trajectories in social sciences. Initially, interest in food was never central given the overall interest of the social scientists in the production related social processes. Formulated within the perspectives of evolutionism, functionalism or

structuralism initial works were characterised by teleology and ahistoricity or explanation by purpose and the neglect of the changing nature of social reality. In most of these studies food is not the central point of reference; nor were they concerned with illuminating food related socio-cultural reality.

The so-called developmentalist perspectives, having food related social reality as the central focus, are sensitive to dimensions of change and history. They have noticed several trends and issues that contain in them aspects of continuity and change. Several formulations have been suggested to understand these trends: gastro-nomie, world cuisine, diminished contrasts and increased variety, homogenisation, menu pluralism, McDonaldisation and massification, and the like. All of these formulations have supportive facts observable in the current world. Notwithstanding their common interest in the nature of continuity and trends of change, there are differences in their conception of the nature of the current foodways. Apart from the differences in the specific aims of their research, this is also because of the differential nature of the research universe, its specific micro-historical experiences and its location in the network of global macro-relations. The rationale for the study of the foodways in transition in Goa and its delimitation into the domestic domain can be located in this circumstance.

As a next step towards the statement of the present research problem let us overview the available material on food and eating in India with reference to the domestic dining.

FOOD IN INDIA

As rightly noticed by Olivelle (1995: 367), the cultural landscape of India, from the earliest Vedic period to contemporary times, is littered with food. Food in

Aryan belief was not simply a means of bodily sustenance; it was a part of a cosmic moral cycle. The *Taittiriya Upanishad* states:

‘From earth sprang herbs, from herbs food, from food seed, from seed man. Man thus consists of the essence of food...From food are all creatures produced, by food do they grow...The self consists of food, of breath, of mind, of understanding, of bliss’ (quoted in Achaya 1994: 61).

Olivelle (1995: 367) succinctly records the polyvalent significance of food in India.

‘As a biological necessity, as an economic commodity, as the primary ingredient of ritual and social transactions, as a medium of social and familial interaction, as a marker of social boundaries, as a principle of classification, and as a focus of ethical concerns of both religious virtuosi and common people, food has always been and continues to be at the heart of Indian ritual practice, social behaviour, common etiquette, and theological speculation.’

As far as ethical issues are concerned Indians did not have any confusion as to what should be their behavioural orientations. On the basis of a careful perusal of the Indian texts Bajaj and Srinivas (1996: xii) claim: ‘Indians have always considered growing a plenty of food and sharing it in plenty with others as the primary attribute of human living. Food and sharing of food, *anna* and *annadana*, are at the foundation; all else, even the search for *moksa*, the ultimate state of liberation that Indians are taught to always strive for, is built on this foundation.’

These ethical considerations apart, food has been put to several uses. Madan’s (1975: 86) observations on the food management among the Kashmiri Pundits are

relevant here: ‘...[T]he Pundits have a deep Epicurean interest in food; they also make much symbolic use of it to establish links between kith and kin and between man, beast and god.’ This functionality and food symbolism is pan Indian, of course, with regional and other specificity. So much so that Khare (1992) in one of his edited volumes attempted to go beyond the particular customs, rules, and meanings of food and to discover the underlying ‘gastrosemantics’ of Indian civilisation (quoted in Olivelle 1995: 371).

In spite of the multivariate roles of food ideology and foodways in the making of society and culture in India, they have ‘largely remained implied and unexplored in the usual ‘village, caste, and kinship’ stance of South Asian social anthropology’ (Khare 1976: vii). One need only go through the reports of the successive Surveys of Research in Sociology and Social Anthropology, sponsored by the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR), New Delhi. So far the ICSSR has undertaken this activity three times and has come out with three sets of reports edited by Rao (1974), Ferreira (1985) and Gore (2000) respectively. In all these three sets, we do not find a single reference to a study conducted with an aim to throw light on the food related socio-cultural reality.

In fact there are several questions that could be answered satisfactorily with the help of social scientists. What is the functionality of foodways in the fast changing contemporary world? What are the new influences and pressures? In the new circumstances what new meanings the old symbols acquire? What is the nature of the interplay between the old and the new food symbolism? How to account for the contemporary division of labour around the hearth and emerging food ideologies that underlie culinary social reality?

In some sociological/anthropological works some of these issues have been dealt with as supporting evidences to their overall non-culinary concerns such as stratification (Ghurye 1963; Marriott 1968; Dumont 1970) and family and kinship (Madan 1965). The studies of the former category have been designated as commensal studies that hint at the 'necessity for a closer study of domestic modes of food handling...' (Khare 1976: 7). There are a few social scientific studies conducted having some of the questions raised above as their foci. Based on their disciplinary orientation they can be classified as economic, historical and anthropological/sociological.

Economists addressed mainly the twin processes of food production and food distribution. Enhancing agrarian production and ensuring its equitable distribution has been their long-standing concern. Among them welfare economists like Sen wrote extensively on famines, and the question of entitlement (for example 1981, 1999). The various dimensions of the issue of ensuring food security are recurring themes (Rao 1999; Rao 1999; Sinha 1999; Asthana 2001; Devadas 2001; Gopalan 2001; Sengupta 2001; Shiva 2001; Singh 2001; Swaminathan 2001; Mukherji and Mukherjee 2001; World Food Programme 2001).⁵

Among the works of the Historians who studied food and its social and cultural dimensions, Achaya's (1992) work is noteworthy. It is a comprehensive documentation of the making of the Indian food-culture and contains in it very minute details of formation of regional cuisines, variety and migration of food stuffs, and the evolution of the food ethos of Indian civilisation covering the vast historical time span, from the Indus Valley Civilisation to the contemporary times. It is a 'historical companion' in the real sense of the term to anybody interested in the socio-cultural reality of food in India. Notwithstanding its lack of coherence between topics and

rugged narration, it is invaluable for a beginner in the systematic study of foodways in India especially for one who is interested in the transition in the domestic dining sphere in India⁶.

Among other themes of the historical studies, beef avoidance engaged the attention of scholars every now and then (Harris 1966; Diener et al. 1978; and Nair 1987). In fact the prevalence of food ideologies in the form of food avoidance and food preference was the focus of several anthropological studies (Ferro-Luzzi 1975 and 1980; Moskowitz 1975; Pool 1986). The communication of culturally constructed meaning systems through food continues to engage the anthropologists and cultural historians. Such studies examined the food related categories and practices in the domestic and the public domains depending upon their research interests. Food symbolism has been at the heart of such studies (Appadurai 1988; Chakraborty 1992; Khare 1976, 1992a, 1992b, 1992c; Moreno 1992; Ramanujan 1992; Toomy 1992; White 1992).

Another line of research incorporates in it the concerns for the relationship between socio-cultural changes and foodways. They consider continuity and change as the characteristic feature of socio-cultural transformation. Of course the content of the transformation is context specific and the divergent studies are relevant in their own right. Such studies vary from each other as far as their conceptual clarity and analytical rigour are concerned (Khare 1976; Rao 1986; Vidyarthi et al. 1979; Bhowmik 1984). While a few studies have attempted to document the contemporary food habits (Sanyal 1979; Sen 1980; and Singh et al. 1992), some others attempted to give an account of the contemporary socio-cultural changes through food (especially Appadurai 1988). Food items consumed and prevalent food categories have been examined to throw light on the indigenous nutritive standards (Vidyarthi et al. 1981),

social differentiation and nutritional differences (Ahmed et al. 1998; Chakraborty 1992; Chen *et al.* 1981) and the medical lore (Sujatha 2002).

Most of the historical studies are Indological in nature and they borrowed the supportive data almost entirely from the literary sources. The economists relied generally on the statistical data published by several agencies to analyse the aspects of food security or famine. The food habit surveys conducted by the anthropologists are purely empirical. However, in the works of Harris, Appadurai, Khare and Rao we notice the mixture of empirical sensitivity and theoretical ingenuity. They are attempts at interpreting the complex socio-cultural processes that are taking place in the realm of Indian Food and eating. However, theoretical elucidation of the processes of change and continuity in the domestic domain, attempted by Khare long ago (1976), needs further attention and concern. This is very important in the face of multiple transformations in contemporary society and culture. At this academic backdrop the present study attempts to explore aspects of the changing domestic dining in Goa in the context of many socio-cultural transformations.

NOTE

1. After a thorough examination of the writings of eminent classical sociologists Mennel *et al.* (1994: 1-6) state: "One looks in vain for any discussion of food and eating in the work of most of the classical sociologists". However, he also notes that some notable sociologists like Herbert Spencer and George Simmel have said about food and eating in passing hinting at the potentiality of the topic for sociological inquiry.
2. The term 'developmental' is used in the sense of growth from one point in the socio-cultural continuum to the other. It does not correspond to the theories of economic development and underdevelopment.
3. The phrase 'manners of food' corresponds to the term foodways or culinary practice.

4. Fischler (1980) feels that the insurmountable question before the contemporary food consumer is what to choose among the plethora of edible items? The source of the problem is 'the omnivore's paradox': omnivores need variety, but unknown foodstuffs may be poisonous (quoted in Warde 1997: 30).
5. The list is illustrative and not exhaustive.
6. Especially the chapters on Indian food ethos and utensils and food preparation elucidate domestic dining (Achaya 1994).

CHAPTER TWO

DOMESTIC DINING: A PRELUDE

In this section an attempt is made to clarify the nuances of domestic dining. After a general discussion on the domestic hearth it prepares us to move on to the detailed presentation of domestic dining in Goa in subsequent chapters.

The significance of the domestic hearth magnifies the role of the family and its concerns on food and eating. Speaking of the private sphere of the family we do not imply that this private sphere is some kind of microcosm to be examined in isolation. The domestic world of the family is inextricably linked to the structures of the wider social system and this is no less true of eating than any other aspect of family life. The sociological analysis of the family is important as the family contributes to the continuity and sociability of society as a whole. Moreover the family is viewed as the continuing important unit of consumption as it asserts a powerful formative influence on its members.

In Kare's (1973) view, at the moral economy of the Indian meal lay the customary practices of domestic eating and feeding. Though much is changing socially and economically, at the domestic hearth most of the daily meal distribution and use occurs at this locus. A domestic hearth usually has to face a whole range of strains that fluctuations in income, family size, interpersonal relationships, personal health and moral choices produce, and has to find its way through them to provide feasible and acceptable meals to the household everyday. Again, it is at the domestic hearth that new notions of good taste, sufficiency, satisfaction and survival have to be negotiated. The strains of larger society get reflected sooner or later at the domestic hearth. The household clearly mirrors the moral and material condition of the larger society (*Dharmasastra* literature, Kane 1973 quoted in Khare 1973).

The significant contribution of the family's role in matters of eating makes this unit, not just an area where food is consumed but also much more. First of all, the social dimension of eating and those of emotions are tied together in the context of the family. It is here that food beliefs and behaviour are developed from early childhood, and become part of the family unit. It is for this reason that the family meal is considered, even today as an important site for the construction and reproduction of the contemporary 'family'. Meal times are also integral events at which children are acculturated into the rules and norms of 'civilized' behaviour. Of late, concerns are often expressed about the prevalence of take-away foods and the tendency of family members to eat meals at different times and to eat the evening meal before the television sets.

Social scientists in their studies on the significance of food and eating have emphasized the importance of family and food. According to Morag Frazer, the sharing of food is very ancient (1994:15). Frazer goes a step further and adds that meal tables are the training ground of a family, a community, and a civilization. In fact, the 'family meal' and the 'dinner table' are potent symbols of family itself.

Through her structuralist approach Mary Douglas suggests that foodways can be seen as a kind of language encoding patterns of social relations, particularly, those connected with social boundaries and with processes of inclusion and exclusion (Douglas, 1975). She analyses the food-related ideas, categories and practices in use in her own home to examine the food language and its message.

Another sociologist Lalonde (1992) while discussing Douglas's structural analysis of the meal as an object, prefers to describe the meal as an event and a lived experience which draws its meaning from a complex array of sensory and cognitive factors. The food consumption patterns can be seen as highlighting the boundaries of

the nuclear family. Domestic food and eating can act as linkages between the nuclear family and the extended family and indeed between the nuclear family and the wider community. According to Khare and Rao (1986) the moral and sociological conception of the Indian meal rests on the notion of both eating and feeding (i.e. shared consumption). Eating and feeding domains in India like the food in general are recognized as essentially moral activities and conditions. What people eat matters to them among other reasons for staying healthy and satisfied. One's diet is considered to be a part of one's medicine and both diet and medicine become an essential part of one's "effort" (*Purusartha*) to maintain and regain health.

Domestic Dining: Documenting the nostalgia with the help of Memory

The patterns of eating and feeding are handed down from one generation to another. Though much is changing socially and economically, yet we all to some degree relish and retain some of the specific tastes we have acquired from our childhood days. The nostalgic memories of certain food items fill us with yearnings for the traditional items. Some of the food items still relished in the study area include the locally prepared bread or *paun* brought to our doorstep by the *Poder*. Every village had its own traditional bakery with its old-fashioned 'hole-in-the-wall' oven. This *paum* is baked fresh everyday (twice) flavoured with toddy and sold by the *Poder* who carries his basket of fresh bread from door to door. In the earlier days when I used to visit Goa during vacations i.e. soon after liberation I was awakened each morning with the sound of 'zang-zang' made by the bamboo staff to which loose metal discs were attached by the *Poder* to announce his arrival. Even today people say they prefer the local bread to the sliced bread prepared by modern industries like the Monginis, Modern or the Spencer.

Another item still eaten with much relish is the traditional *sannas* with *sorpotel*. The *sannas* are prepared from soaked rice, ground into paste to which toddy is added. These are steamed giving it an idli shape. The *sorpotel* is a delicacy of the Christian folks, made of pork meat and this is an important dish prepared for feasts.

Most Goans consider their '*xit-coddi*' as their main item of diet; no meal is complete without this item. Even when they travel they are on the look out for restaurants that can provide them with this specific Goan Dish. The Goan curry differs depending on the use of type of fish. It is prepared from ground masala and the main ingredients are coconut juice and chillies. The Goan diaspora spread throughout the globe reminisce fond memories of their favourite *xit-coddi* with its gustatory appeal.

Pickles (*lonchem*) and salt fish are also widely eaten. These are special items prepared and preserved for the monsoon period when fish is a bit expensive and rare. In the seasons other than the monsoon the woman brings her basket of fish calling out as she passes from door to door 'Nistem zai ghai'.

The change from the Traditional to the Modern

A visit to any supermarket, with its elaborate displays of food from all parts of the world, is a readily available demonstration of the choice and variety available to the modern consumer. The supermarket itself may be considered one of the most successful outcomes of the development of modern systems of food production and distribution. It indicates also the extent of control over quality, quantity and the reliability of supplies.

The modern market with its organized set of links between food production, distribution and consumption depicts the ongoing process of change – from the past to the present – and the ongoing period. In trying to understand the making of the

modern food system, it is necessary to be aware of both continuity and change in the social processes, which shape the ways in which food is produced, distributed and consumed. The psychological and physiological need for variety of food, the constant interaction between humans and their environment, the development of newer technological inventions and innovations all tend to cause the gradual change in the food production and distribution and the acceptance or rejection of the many changes, in eating, cooking presentation and modification of food and food items. In fact the modern food system is merely the most recent attempt of human societies to come to terms with the perennial problems of producing food.

I will specifically categorize the changes in the eating habits, cooking and preservation including storage and the latest developed trends in culinary practices of the Goans in the study area.

Staple Food

The cuisine of Goa before and soon after liberation was a blend of Portuguese preparation with Indian condiments. Traditional Goan cooking needed plenty of muscle and time for preparing food by way of grinding and marinating.

The staple diet in Goa is rice and fish curry. This 'Xit-Coddi' had its gustatory appeal to all high and low, rich and poor. A visitor to the house was invited to partake of Xit-coddi in true traditional Goan hospitality. The Goan curry is not stereotype; it varies for fish to fish. Varieties of fish purchased from the market made it necessary to cook the particular fish in a specific way. The curry masala was prepared from freshly ground masala, the main ingredients being coconut and chillies (dry, red). Curries would include 'bangdeamchi' (mackerel), tarleamchi (sardines), mori (shark) or sweet curry 'Caldin': Others included Khube curry, crabmeat curry, tisreao curry,

oyster curry salt fish with bimblim, or samarachi curry of fresh or dried prawns with solam and pari.

For breakfast, the upper class and rich preferred tea or coffee with bread, butter, and eggs while others prepared wheat or rice chapattis such as bakri, coiloeo poe eaten with the previous days curry or meat dish which was usually congealed in an earthen vessel over a woodfire. Goan labourers mainly ate nasne bakri or amil. At midday the meal consisted of *pez* (canjie) eaten at about 11 a.m. and 12 noon. The hot steaming gruel was relished with *attoilolem umon* and *lonchem*.

Lunch consisted of side dishes of meat, fish and vegetables with bread or rice, chapattis, but the main dish was xit-coddi with toca-boca (tonac launc) such as fried fish, chourisas, pickles etc. The poor and labourers have large quantities of rice/curry with lonchem (pickles or salt fish). Pork is consumed by Christians mainly on Sundays and every feast day.

Goan housewives in the past, as it is now, were mainly relegated to the kitchen. For the evening tea, they had homemade snacks like shevio, pudde, patoleo, pinaca filoz etc. Evening meals or supper usually consisted of meat, fish and vegetables with bread or chapattis. When traveling to and from, people in the 1950s and 60s carried home cooked items for the way. This bundle or pottli or bhuthi consisted of bhakris wrapped in plantain leaf.

If they were pilgrims going to old Goa for the exposition they carried their clothes, food provisions, essential kitchenware, bedding etc. they cooked their food around the church premises. The pilgrimage of Goencho Saib was a very significant journey. People being devout prayed throughout their journey (usually by foot) and ate frugal meals mainly of pez and bakri or plain rice green chutney sukee khareacho (dried fish) and lonchem (pickle). Some carried egg pao or rice.

At the church premises the familiar *cheoris pao* and *sorpotel* were the snacks/dishes available from the good old days till date. Today the hotel business in old Goa is so lucrative that people install stalls around the fair where there is a brisk business or readymade snacks, drinks, alcohol and many other goodies sold to the pilgrims. Around the church devotees stop to purchase the eatables like *bazlele chonnem* (fried grams), *kaddieo-boddieo* and *Khajem* (mannem) Goan sweets. Every one returned home with these eatables, which are then distributed to others at home, neighbours and relatives.

Modernization and technological advancement has opened up vistas of changes in man's environment, life style, eating habits, in fact in all his living conditions. It is no less significant in his food habits and consumption pattern. It is very obvious that culinary habits are undergoing drastic changes. On my several visits to Goa before and soon after liberation, the people I reacted with spoke to and questioned on the eating habits of Goans revealed much information on the peculiar food items and choice of foodstuffs. Since 1970 I have settled in Goa and observed the process of change upon change and today the scenario is far different to the old traditional lifestyle and culinary tastes among the Goan – even the old folk, and the villager mention the specific changes in their diet which is due to many factors that have crossed the Goan soil and condition.

In the past, just prior to liberation a visit to Goa, transported me straight to a Portuguese town. Everything - the people, the culture, the dress style, the food habits and cuisine -- reflected the Portuguese. The food was typical of a Portuguese cuisine – the items of meat, fish wine desserts – everything to the last detail – including the table etiquette, cutlery, crockery – prevailed in every upper middle class and the elite society of Goa. The aristocratic rich followed closely (copied) all the customs of the

Portuguese and even observed some reserve regarding their association with the lower class or labour communities who were engaged in working on farms and plantations.

Domestic Kitchen

The traditional Goan kitchen would be large, and usually attached to the well. It had a high tiled roof with ventilators for the smoke from the chulas to escape. There was a stone sink for washing the utensils, Close to the chulas or fireplace for cooking was to enclosure for the immediate requirement of firewood. Overlooking the well was the windows fitted with a pulley to draw water from the well and a large copper pot for storing water. Cooking water was stored in mud pots. In a corner of the kitchen was placed the gunsuno or rogdo (masala grinding stone) with a stool to sit on. Rice that was cooked in earthen pot was placed on the condfo – a special mud vessel for straining rice cooked in modki (mud pot). Besides there were kitchen tools like adavo (to scrape coconut and to clean fish); coito (big knife or chopper) to break the coconut or to chip firewood; a sinc-o, a coir rope contrivance to place cooked dished out of the reach of pets and children and a nolli i.e. a small 6” long copper pipe to keep fire aflame by blowing through it.

In the background, there was an outhouse for storing firewood and a ghur for pigs or fowls. There was also a khono (a big mud wall enclosure) in which all this household sweepings and other waste was dumped and burnt. The accumulated gobor (ashes) from the chulas was dumped in it and this along with addition of salt was used as manure for the coconut trees or for the fields. Also significant was the Mitachi Confi for storing the salt (a must during the monsoon period). Every household had pigs (Christian houses) and fowls reared and at times some kept cattle and goats.

Today the scene has completely changed even those who live in large bungalows do not have the old traditional kitchens. Some have maintained the old

types with or lot of modifications. Wells are to be found in village homes and rearing of animals is fast disappearing among the upper classes with the availability of government sachets of milk and all types of meat, available at the market which one usually visits almost every day, people have given up the old traditional living styles.

The old grinding stone is no longer in use. Masalas are either ground in the mixer or grinder or purchased as readily available packets from the markets.

The paddy rice is replaced by raw polished rice and except those who own and maintain fields, the Goan of this period state they prefer to use the easy to cook raw rice like the basmati and other varieties as the old chulas have made way from the modern kitchen fitted with gas stove cooking. Hence one does not use mud pots, they may be seen on very remote villages where the gas cylinder have not found their ways. Another important feature is the use of pressure cookers by the women folk which saves a lot of time and since the modern housewife has to take up a job to make both ends meet – most of the modern houses are fitted with the latest household gadgets – including water heater, refrigerator, micro-wave ovens, washing machines etc.

In the recent decades many small nuclear families have opted for a living in small flats. This had of late changed the house styles, living conditions and even cooking ways of the modern homes. With the availability of all items of food and cooking needs in the supermarkets and even small village bazaars, the trend is now for easier, faster and more convenient ways of cooking and eating meals. Another feature of modern house is the style of outdoor or extra domestic eating. People prefer to go out and eat or bring ready to eat items home for consumption.

With the in migration into Goa, there has been a gradual change in food items consumed. In fact the people I have met and spoken to and at times had the occasion

to share meals with admit that they have now adopted or modified food consumption pattern. The old xit-coddi is in many a home replaced by different curries prepared fast and with ease by purchasing ready to cook sachets 'from the bazaar – like the curry-in-a hurry, karma's caffreal masala, chandelkars mutton masala etc. chapattis made less often and poe or rice chapattis hardly eaten. Even the sannas are available in the market.

Storage

Traditional Goan society with its ideas of storage of food items like grain, cooking ingredients, pickles, salt and other items for cooking was based on the concept of storage and storage facilities. Thus every house had a store room (dispensa) where provision and other things were stored. In it were placed much needed household amenities like the codd- or bamboo mat, dalli for small bamboo mats for sleeping, khono or big shallow mud vessel with a cover to hold fire on the top, used for baking pastry; a compro – or copper vessel to bake sannas dantam to grind grain into flour, a bhaan or pot (either copper or mud) to place paddy, rice, cereals or mirsango a coblem or big bamboo pole with a net bag and a small knife tied at the top, used for plucking fruits such as mangoes etc. a coddem or wide mouthed mud vessel for washing clothes. In the storeroom were also found bundles of onions placed on bamboo poles on top (candeamchi mouli).

Much of the items that were required to be stored especially for the heavy monsoon rains were purchased from the bazaar like the weekly Mapusa market. People from all villages of Bardez made their way towards the Mapusa Bazar held every Friday. Even till date it is famous and because of its popularity or perhaps due to the force of habit people still visit the bazaar to buy all sorts of provisions. Assorted items like Moira plantains, Aldona chillies, salt fish, jaggery, fish,

vegetables, fruits, plants and pots and household tools and other paraphernalia are sold.

Vessels of copper, mud and stainless steel utensils are also sold. It is a tempting market place for the Goans, as well as people from Bombay and other tourists. Furniture too is sold here. Like the Mapusa Bazar there are other mini bazaars held at Calangute on every Saturday and Banasterim on Friday.

Although there is a definite change in people's attitude regarding storage of food items yet in the villages many people, especially those in traditional village houses at Ribandar and Taleigao that I visited still go to Mapusa bazaar to buy stocks especially during the month of May. Though the items to be stored have decreased in quantity and type since the Panjim and other markets sell all food articles and items throughout the year yet – they have not given up their habits of securing household articles for the monsoon period. The present domestic dining zone is the new one with modern gadgets but nostalgia for the past guides the dining practices. It is believed that the salt stored before the onset of monsoon is tastier than that which is available in packets.

It must be noted that when people change from traditional to modern food in the domestic realm they do not altogether lose their taste for the old. They believe that the traditional food is tastier because of the particular method of preparation and the use of specific vessels for preparation. As the traditional food items are rare the people develop nostalgic memories of those food items. We have to note that the methods of cooking and eating are guided by the dining practices of the past coupled with introduction of new food items due to modernisation and globalisation. Thus we find the continuation of the past with the addition of the new. There is no total dichotomy between the past and the present.

CHAPTER THREE

DOCUMENTING FOOD ITEMS: ECOLOGY, FOOD, AND SOCIETY

A food item is the primary element of any gastronomic system. Here I regard food items in very broad sense including both raw foodstuffs and prepared food items. I will also describe the changes that are taking place in the preferences for the food items. Also the traditional and present utensils will be noted. While documenting the food items and vessels, I will attempt to establish a linkage between ecology, food and changing Goan society.

In fact, structural anthropological analysis of foodways begins with a food item. In Levi-Strauss's structural anthropology an item is a 'gusteme', which is a constituent element of any given cuisine. He analysed the gustemes in terms of such binary oppositions as endogenous/versus exogenous (local versus exotic), central/peripheral (staple versus accompaniment), and marked/nonmarked (strong flavour versus bland flavour).

The best known and most widely quoted example of Levi-Strauss's anthropological treatment of cuisine is his analysis of the transformations in the actual cooking of food. In consonance with his overall interest in showing how the entire human civilization has certain common cultural structures and his search for universal human thought, he links the distinction between the raw ingredients and the cooked food to the distinction between nature and culture (See figure 3.1).

His culinary triangle is a succinct exposition of the most fundamental culinary transition from raw to the cooked and then to the rotten state in the nature. Along with developing the basic culinary triangle, Levi-Strauss puts forward a more elaborate triangle of recipes, arguing, for example, that roasting is a cooking technique which is

THE SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF THE FOOD SYSTEM

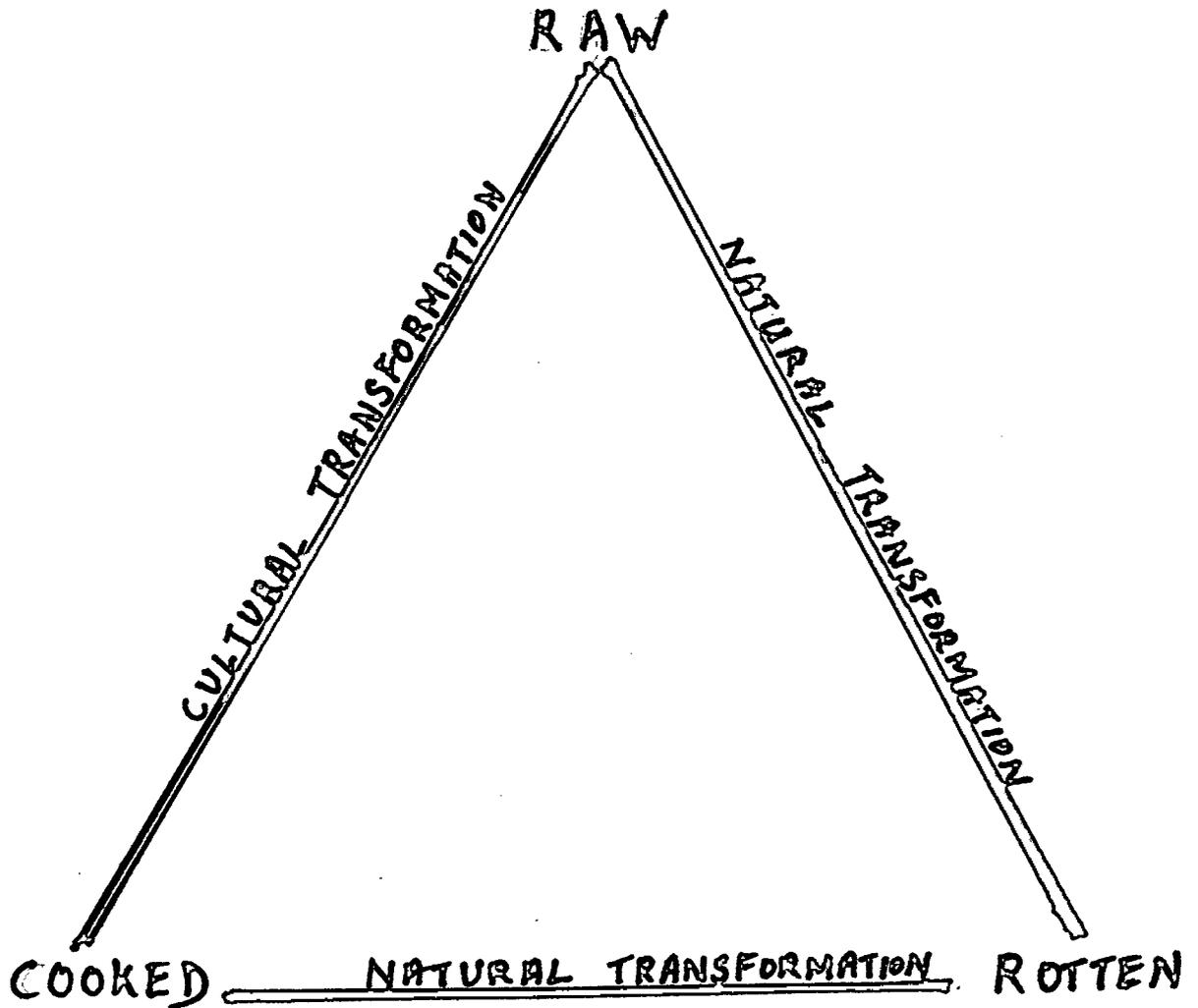


FIGURE 3.1. THE CULINARY TRIANGLE

closed to the raw since it is seen by him as producing relatively little change in meat. On the other hand he sees smoking as a technique more close to culture, since it transforms meat into a durable commodity. In this way fanciful categorisation continues.

Mary Douglas (1975) is another anthropologist who studied the culinary practices from structural point of view. Pursuing an unusual and elaborate strategy (studies her own family meals) she brings out the socio-cultural meanings associated with food. She has considered the food items as basic elements of her analysis. She has noted that all meals incorporate a broad range of nutrient sources. She has given a cultural perspective to study food items as parts of meals. Food has a structure just as language has a structure. She claims that she has found out the structure of the British meal though the actual food items of various houses that constitute the meal might vary.

Each household has a notion of proper meal having one main and other supporting items on the menu. Meals have a characteristic tripartite structure, consisting of one main element accompanied by two supporting elements. The functions of such a structure we will consider in chapter four.

Food items are studied in greater depth by the nutrition science. This perspective, which until recently dominated research into eating practices, was based on a highly instrumental view on food and eating (Lupton 1996: 6-7). This perspective known also socio-biological perspective has related food habits and preferences to the anatomical functioning of the human body. The nutrition scientists study the properties of food as biochemical entities supplying required nutrients for proper biological functioning of a living organism.

The Nutritionist is concerned with knowing what can be the perfect human diet. The very term nutrition is a health and functionally oriented one: food is for nourishing, for fuelling the body, for building bones, teeth and muscles, and a means to an end.

On the contrary sociological and anthropological approach to food items deal with their non-nutritional aspects. Food and eating practices, for a student of sociology/social anthropology, are always mediated through social relations. Documenting the actual use of food items and other aspects in this chapter is a preparation to perceiving the changes in preferences for food items in the next chapter.

The information has been presented under such heads as a) food items consumed by the people on a daily basis, b) items specially prepared for festival occasions and other events c) food items for specific categories. Overall attempt has been to trace novelty and tradition while presenting my observations.

My interactions with the people above sixty years or so disclosed the many differences in the present and past foodways and eating habits. They remembered with nostalgia the food items, vessels used to cook, and storage systems. Nostalgia resulted in emotional recollections of how each partaking time was a family affair, a time for reiterating the family bond.

The type of items used and the name of the preparation differentiated the regular and the quotidian from the festive and special occasions at home. Whether it is regular or special occasion, the food items prepared exhibit ecological and socio-cultural influences. The staple food of Goa, fish curry and rice originate, as Claude Alvares argues, from the ecological situation of Goa.

“For us Goans, fish curry and rice reflect the basics of our ecology. We are first and foremost a coastal people, occupying a littoral niche. For centuries, we have harvested our principal source of nourishment from the seas. But people do not live by fish alone. So we used the plains that lie between the Western Ghats and the coast as a vast fertile medium for growing rice. And to blend the two, fish and rice, together in a remarkable recipe that binds all Goans from Pernem to Canacona, and Calangute to Volpoi, we have nurtured and raised and tended coconut palms, hundreds and thousands of them (Alvares 2002: 2).

Food Items Consumed on a Daily Basis

Documenting the food items is one of the programmes of historians of a particular period of a given civilization. In India, Achaya (1998) is one such historian who has provided an elaborate compendium of Indian food items. A thoroughly researched work, this book also gives authoritative descriptions of regional cuisines. Writing about Goa he opines that the cuisine of Goa is an extraordinary amalgam of Portuguese and local sensibilities. My empirical auto-ethnographic reflection reiterates the conclusions of Achaya. The reflection shows the complexities of transition from Indian to Indian and Portuguese food items. A popular notion that the Catholics have more of Portuguese and overseas items on their menu need to be taken only partially. About the staple food there is no much difference.

The difference between the two religious communities is mainly the use of some specific items like pork, beef, vinegar, wine, and *feni*. I will demarcate the food consuming time and items.

FIGURE 3.2: FOOD ITEMS IN FOOD REGIME

Regime	Time	Food Items consumed			
		From memory (old)	Any Diet restriction	From practice (Now)	Any Diet restriction
Early morning soon after getting up from bed	6-7am	No such thing	No	Tea with milk is consumed after brushing/new health drinks	Health conscious
Breakfast	8-10am	Pav and Baaji/Pav with tea/western type	Only for special category	Pav and Baaji/chapati western type	Health conscious
Lunch	1-2pm	Invariably fish, curry and boiled rice	Only for special category	Preferably fish, curry, and boiled or raw rice/bread with chicken or mutton curry	Health conscious
Evening Tea	4-6 pm	<i>Godshem</i> (sweet snacks made of anything like moongdal, channadal or puffed rice)	Consumed by all family members	Godshem is Now found in Taleigao and Ribandar. Not in Donapaula area. In these areas readymade snacks like biscuits and wafers.	Health conscious
Dinner	9-11pm	Invariably fish, curry and boiled rice	Only for special category	Preferably fish, curry, and boiled or raw rice/bread with chicken or mutton curry	Health conscious

The word regime has been used to denote the routine in the figure 3.2. Taking clue from the figure, I will describe matters relating to some main items and issues relating to them. In the course of fieldwork, I noticed some elderly Goans drinking tea without milk. At present use of milk and milk products has been taken for granted. As a matter of curiosity when I asked them why milk is not added in their tea, they told that they are used to drink tea without milk since childhood. In Portuguese Goa use of

Milk was not as common as it is now. Only the rich and well to do could use powder milk. Large-scale milk production or import of milk from neighbouring states started only after Liberation. Of course, now Goa boasts of Goa Dairy, a large Milk Producers' Cooperative Society on the lines of *Amul* in Gujarat. However, the white revolution is not yet complete and therefore now milk is imported from Karnataka and Maharashtra.

The staple food of Goans consists of Fish curry and boiled rice (*xit-curry*). This combination is the product of the region's ecological condition. One need only glance through Claude Alvares' compendium on social ecological struggles of the peoples of Goa metaphorically titled as 'Fish Curry and Rice' (2002). This is not a recipe book in a conventional sense. It is a recipe for life in the world obsessed with development. Its major concern is environment. The main concern is how development induced stressors destroy the very food sources and hence survival of Goans and the way they had been living.

The three primary items on the Goan menu – fish, curry, and rice – reflect the foundation of culinary culture on Goa's ecology. For Goans, living in coastal region for centuries, fish was a major source of nourishment from sea. People of Goa used the plains that lie between the Western Ghats and the coast to grow rice. The raw rice was rarely used for cooking. After the harvest the paddy would be parboiled, sun dried and de-husked. This rice has several names: paddy-rice, *gaoti* rice, boiled rice, parboiled rice, and *ukdo tandool*. Little larger in size than raw rice, it is believed that this rice consists of higher nutritional value than the raw rice.

The main item on the menu was invariably boiled rice. Now the boiled rice is being replaced with raw rice. Paddy is the main crop because of the prolonged monsoon season throughout the west coast. In all regions of the west coast boiled rice

is the staple food item. Several varieties of rice were traditionally grown in Goa before the Green Revolution varieties displaced them. These varieties after harvesting are sent through a precooking stage called parboiling. If it is left unpolished, the rice has red streaks on it. In Alvares' view parboiled rice is the best in its *curmot* (an indigenous seed) variety.

Curry, prepared with abundant use of coconut blends the fish and rice together. Hundreds and thousands of coconut trees are nurtured and raised throughout the length and breadth of Goa. From the coconut and also the cashew fruits the Goans have learnt the art of brewing the two *fenis* used as indigenous intoxicating drink.

Curry, the regular item on the menu has been described as 'the dish of dishes' by Rodrigues (2000: 33). Though the ways of preparing curry differs from the household to household the basic ingredients are chillies and coconut. The taste of the curry depends on the type of the main component: fish, prawns, beef, chicken or lamb. In order to bring sourness, if the Hindu's use tamarind/kokum/dry mango pieces the Catholics along with these also use vinegar, which is the final fermented version of coconut toddy. The pork dishes are never complete without vinegar. The Saraswats and Brahmins end their meal with *sol codd*, a thin curry made of kokum and coconut juice. Thus food items mark the boundaries between castes and communities.

Goans, irrespective of cast and religion, consume *pav*, a local version of bread for their breakfast and along with chicken or mutton curry. The Portuguese in Goa, other parts of India, Malaysia and Macau first introduced this variety of oven-baked bread. Over the years this item has developed almost into an institution by name *podeiros* (*poder in Konkani*), the village baker. People all over Goa wake up between 5.30am and 6.30am to the honking of a bicycle horn that is the harbinger of their daily activities. The *pavwala*, traditionally the *poder*, supplies pav on his bicycle. The older

people recall that before the arrival of the bicycle the *poder* was walking with his load of *pav* on his head making the bell sound, tinkle... tinkle.

Bakeries begin their baking in the late evening and continue till the early hours of the early morning, ensuring that one gets bread oven-fresh as one gets up. It is often still warm when it is delivered.

Goans love bread and every village has its own small bakery and the produce is delivered fresh to the doorsteps of the consumer at dawn. The baker's boy moves around on a bicycle to the back of it strapped a large cane basket filled with fresh *pav*. When he honks loudly on his bicycle horn people come to know of his arrival. The *pav* is common man's bread because it is available for only two rupees a piece. Moving with times most bakeries have also begun to bake sliced bread, though, it has not conquered the traditional *pav*. New large-scale factories producing sliced bread and cakes such as Spencer and Monginis have come up recently. They have brisk trade in the towns. But the institution of village *poder* continues along with baker's boy's morning and evening circuits.

The centrality of *pav* in Goan's culinary culture was evident in the commotion in 1997 when bread prices were almost doubled due to an increase in the price of subsidised flour supplied by the Government. From one rupee for a *pav* the price was increased to two rupees. The local newspapers carried opinions of intelligentsia and commoners alike on the price hike. The debate continued for quite some time neglecting other issues of national and international significance. Ultimately, the bakery owners agreed to increase the size of the *pav*.

Due to the central place of bread in Goa's culinary system, I have identified and interviewed the bakers and confectioners in the city of Panjim and surrounding village areas as in figure 3.3.

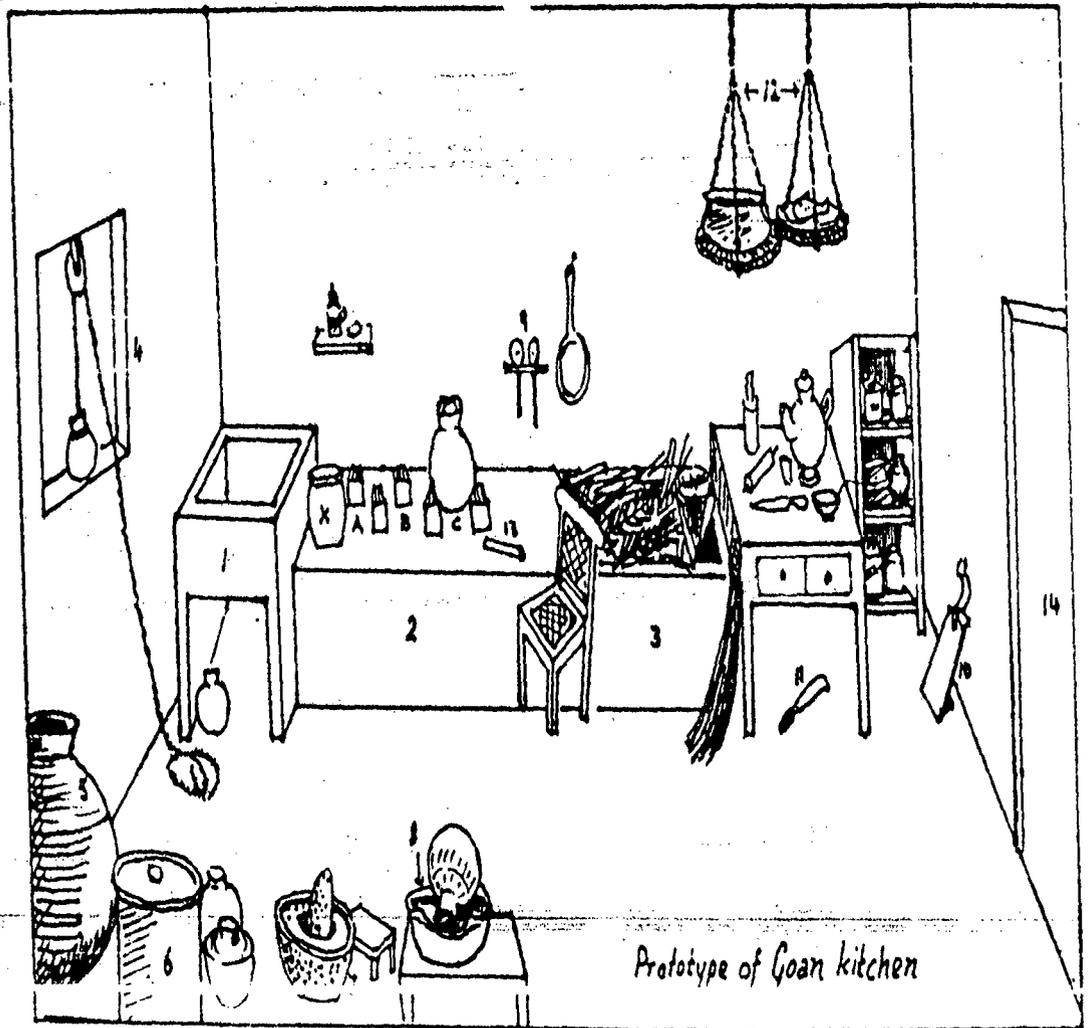


FIGURE 3.4: A PROTOTYPE OF
GOAN KITCHEN

A GOAN KITCHEN

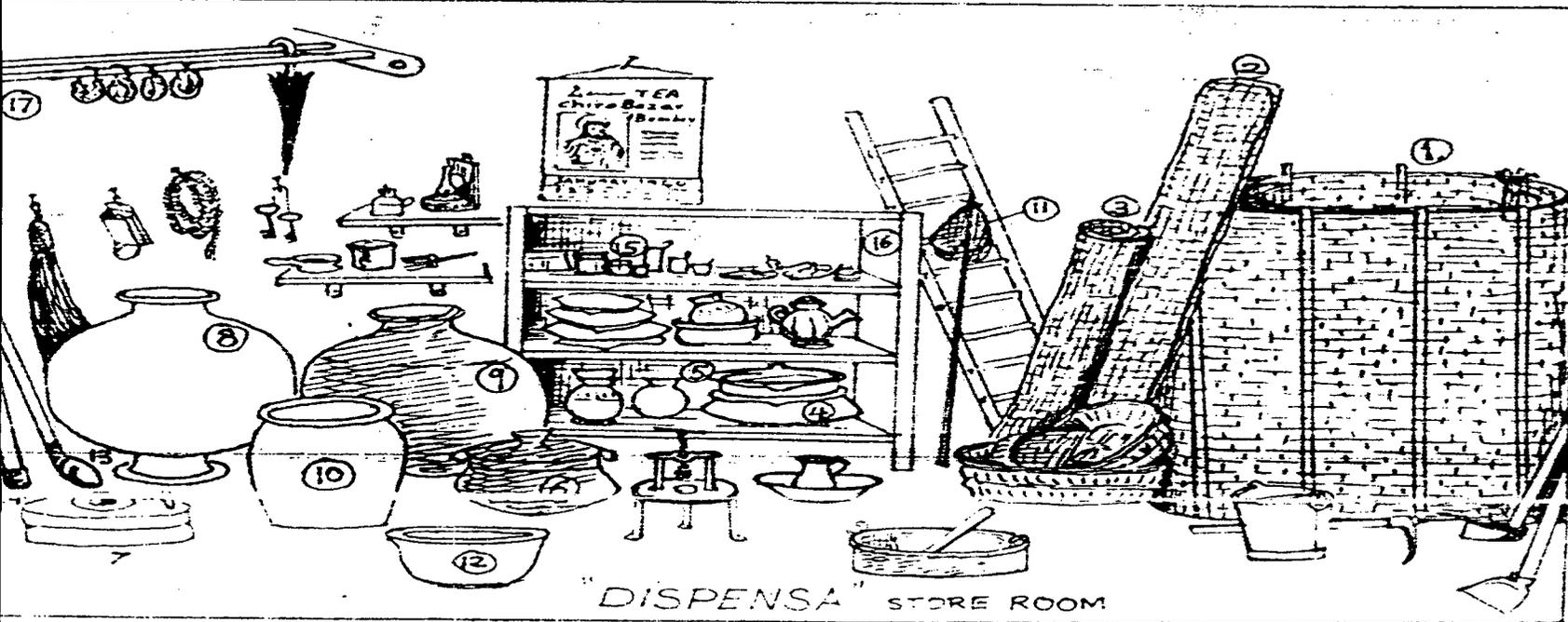
The kitchen would be large, and usually attached to the well. The high tiled roof had ventilators for the smoke from the *chulas* to escape.

- 1) The stone sink for washing the utensils.
- 2) The stone platform for the *chulas*.
- 3) Enclosure for the immediate requirement of firewood.
- 4) The window with the pulley to draw water from the well.
- 5) Big copper pot for storing water.
- 6) *Topo* (copper drum coated with *koloi*) for storing water for cooking. Cooking water was also stored in mud pots.
- 7) *Gunsumo* or *Rogdo* (masala grinding stone) with stool.
- 8) *Condfo*, special mud vessel for straining rice cooked in *modki* (mud pot).
- 9) *Doule*, on the rack.
- 10) *Adavo* to scrape coconut and to clean fish
- 11) *Coito* (big knife) to break the coconut or to chip firewood.
- 12) *Sinc-o*. From the kitchen ceiling hung a coir rope contrivance like a scale. Hot cooked dish was kept open for cooling in this suspensor away from the reach of the domestic pets, cats, dogs and fowls.
- 13) *Nolli*, a small 6' long copper pipe to keep fire aflame by blowing through it.
- 14) Kitchen door leading to the backyard.

A. B. C. *Chulas* of various sizes. A *chula* is made with three red laterite stones of about 4" to 6" height. These stones are arranged in a triangular form with space between. The vessel is placed on the top and the wood (fuel) burns in the centre.

A'. *Vaila* - a mud pot serving as one of the legs of the *chula* (instead of stone). This *vaila* was filled with water, so a constant supply of hot water was available so long as the *chula* was on.

FIGURE 3.5 A PROTOTYPE
OF A STORE ROOM



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Dispensa (Store Room)

Every house had a large store room called *Dispensa* where provisions and other things were stored.

1. *Coddo* - a bamboo mat about 9' in height and a length to make a circle of about 4' dia. It was rolled round and fixed in a corner of the storeroom to store paddy or coconuts.
2. *Soviem* - a big bamboo mat about 8' x 15' or 10' x 20' used for drying paddy or even as carpet on occasions for cowdung matted floors
3. *Dalli* - small bamboo mats used for sleeping.
4. *Tizu!* - a big, shallow mud vessel for cooking
5. *Khono* - a big, shallow mud vessel with a cover to hold fire on the top. It was used for baking pastry.
6. *Compro* - a copper vessel to bake *sannas*.
7. *Dantem*.
- 8, 9. *Bhaan* - big copper or mud pot about 3' in height (capacity to hold a *khandi*) of paddy, rice, cereals or *moirecheo mirsango*.
10. *Dhond* - a big mud drum about 1'-2' in height and 1' cir. for storing cereals.
11. *Coblem* - a big bamboo pole with a net bag and a small knife tied at the tip. It was used for plucking fruits such as mangoes, etc.
12. *Coddem* - wide-mouthed mud vessel for washing clothes.
13. *Tambeacho doulo* - a big copper spoon with a long wooden handle. It was used to unload the paddy boiled in huge copper pots.
14. *Mussou* - used for husking the rice.
15. *Paili* - a measure for rice, paddy, cereals, etc.
16. Rack with big *burnies* containing coconut oil, coconut toddy vinegar and jars of pickles.
17. Onions tied in bundles (*Candamchi Mouli*)

FIGURE 3.3 BAKERS AND CONFECTIONARIS

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Shop name</i>	<i>Owned by</i>	<i>Run by</i>	<i>Fuel used</i>	<i>Location</i>
1.	Confeitaria	Man	Owner's wife (sales counter has girls)	Fire wood and Electrical	31 January Road Panjim
2.	JB Bakery	Man	Mainly by Owner's wife (sales counter has girls)	Fire wood and Electrical	Mala, Panjim
3.	Hot Bread	Man	The owner	Only the retail out let. Factory situated outside the city using firewood and electrical	Near Mandavi Hotel Panjim
4.	Mr. Baker	Man	Mainly by Owner's wife (sales counter has girls and a boy for the tea counter)	Only the retail out let. Factory situated at Saligao using firewood and electrical	Municipal Garden, Panjim
5.	Pastelaria	Man	Run by the owner (boys and girls in the counter)	Only the retail out let. Factory situated elsewhere using firewood and electrical	Near Mahalaxmi temple, Panjim
6.	Pastry Palace	Man	Run by the owner with the help of counter boys	Only the retail out let. Factory situated elsewhere using firewood and electrical	Panjim
7.	Pastry Cottage	Man	Owner and Wife (girls and boys)	Only the retail out let. Factory situated elsewhere	Panaji

				using firewood and electrical	
8.	Simply Delicious	Man	Owner (counter girls)	Only the retail out let. Factory situated elsewhere using firewood and electrical	18 June Road Panaji.
9.	Perfect Bakery	Man	Owner and son with the help of boys	Electrical	Panjim
10.	Geeta Bakery	Man	Owner and male helpers	Firewood and electrical	Market Panjim
11.	Monginis	Man	Manager and counter girls and boys	Prepared in the factory at Verna	AB Borker Road, Panjim
12	Café Central	Man	Owner and son and male helpers	Firewood and Electrical	Panjim
13.	Oven Fresh	Woman	Owner and male and female helpers	Only the retail out let. Factory situated at Agacaim using firewood and electrical	Near Hotel Manoshati, Panjim
14.	Anthony Bakery	Man	Owner and wife	Firewood	Caranzalem
15.	Silva Bakery	Man	Run by wife	Firewood	Taleigao Market
16.	St. Anthony's bakery	Man	Owner and wife	Firewood	Amaral Vaddo, Taleigao
17.	Gautam Bakery	Man	Owner and Male helpers	Firewood	Amaral Vaddo, Taleigao
18.	Fatima Bakery	Man	Owner, Wife and male helpers	Firewood	Nagali

As seen in figure 3.3 two types of bakeries are found in Panjim, one is the traditional and modern and the other is an establishment selling factory produced bread and bakery items. I could discern some sociologically relevant developments.

1. The traditional bakeries like Confeitaria and JB Bakery are just a few of the last of traditional bakeries, which follow the Portuguese introduced art of baking bread in Goa. The modern establishments do not have a bakery attached to them. They are agents that sell slice bread and other pastry items produced at units located at the industrial estates. Like in Verna we have Monginis and Modern Bakery factories.

2. The general liking (expressed by those whom I asked) is towards traditional bread, pav and poie.

3. Traditional bakeries are owned by the Goans and have a history of more than fifty years.

4. The majority of the bakeries are managed by the women folk who take active part in preparation, supervision, sale and accounts.

5. The owners of traditional bakeries state that though the profits are not too high they prefer to continue this business, as it is a source of steady income and the continuation of their ancestral trade.

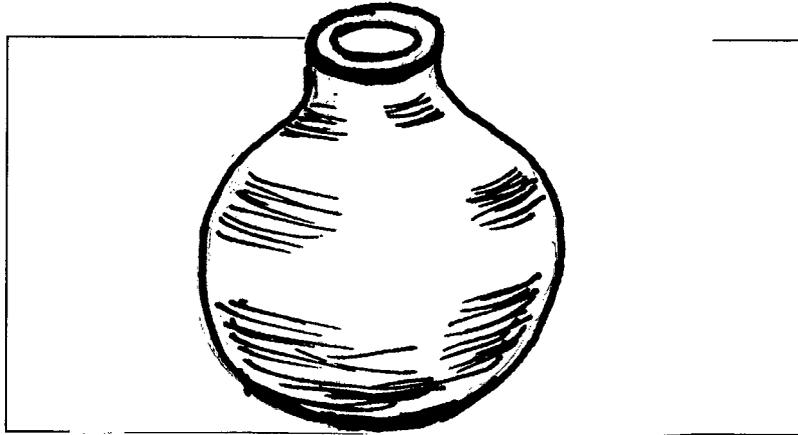
6. The future generation are not keen on learning and maintaining the baker's business. The youngsters declared that they most probably either give up or rent out.

7. The bakery owners claim that they incur huge losses when agents or the distributors (poder who goes door to door to sell the bread) who are most unreliable and often do not return with the amount collected from the sale of bread.

Certain Utensils and Food Related Equipments of the Past

I could get information on a few utensils of the past used and preserved in a very few households of my study area.

1. The *Bhaan* is a large copper vessel used for either storing water or for warming water for bath. Before the arrival of water heater usually every family had one such vessel. In a Catholic household every evening warming water for bath in a *band* was a routine.



2. A *kail* and large wooden spoon were used for making sweets like *doce*, *dodol* and *cokad* in large quantity. The ingredients are poured into the vessel and placed on fire. The large wooden spoon is used for stirring the item constantly so that the sweet being prepared would not stick to the sides.



3. *Kofro*: - This copper vessel consisting of two separate utensils (a vessel to place on fire and a cover on top) was used for steaming *patoyo* or *sanna*.



4. Other than these copper vessels each house had varieties of mud containers such as *tovli* (to cook *fish curry* or any *gravy* dish), *Budkulo* (a pot for cooking rice or *kanji*), *vaijal* (mud pot serving as one of the legs of *chula*).
5. Other than the vessels a few other items also find place in the kitchen. One such item is *Zablo*, which is a sort of net bag made of coir rope resembling a modern housewives large nylon thread bag. This was used to store *kholio*, dry leaves of mango or jackfruits and cow dung cakes. As in any other parts of India firewood was to be stored in the out-house. Before the onset of Monsoon each household would purchase big logs of wood (*Zolo*) from nearby market and chop into small pieces. Along with the wood *Kholio* and dry cakes of cow dung too were stored. *Sovin*, a large bamboo mat was used to dry parboiled paddy under the Sun.

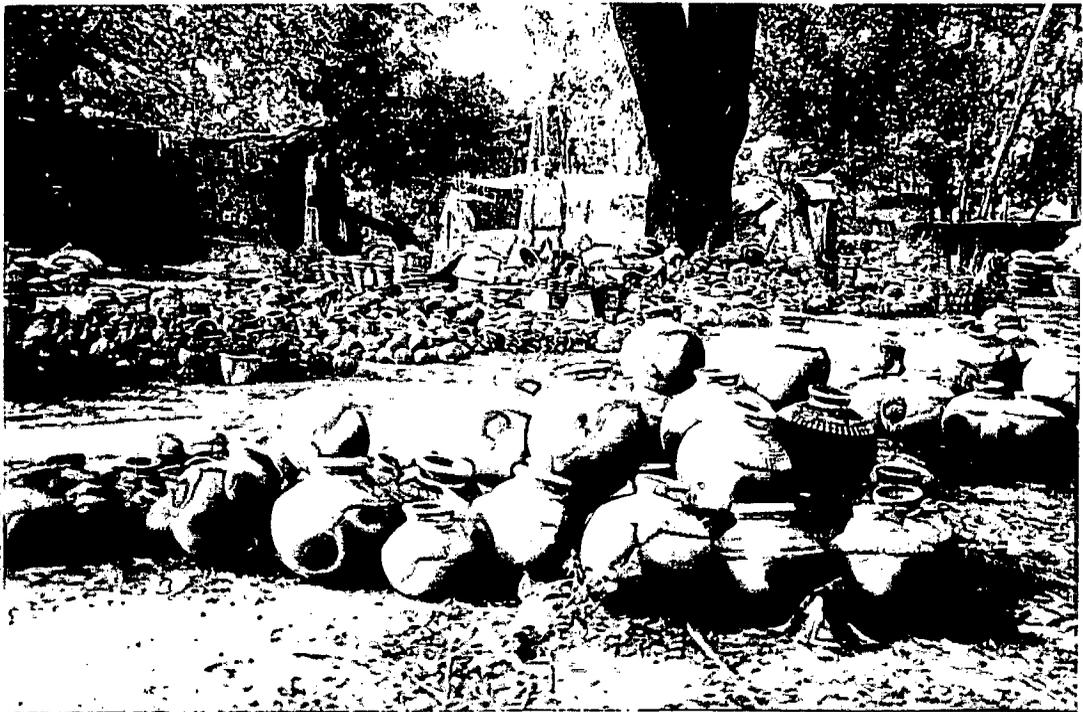
We can get a picture of the traditional culinary equipments in figure 3.4, a prototype of Goan Kitchen and figure 3.5, a prototype of a storeroom. Both these are idealized versions of a traditional kitchen and storeroom. Almost all households

owned the items mentioned in the figure. Only those households that had big rooms stored them in one room. In my own old house and old houses of my relatives I have noticed that these items are kept in the way the figure depicts. In the flats and bungalow residences many of the items are not needed. On the basis of these two figures we can conclude that the tools making culinary culture of Goa are many and they served the purposes of storing and preserving, cooking, serving and cleaning. They all have their counterparts in other parts of India.

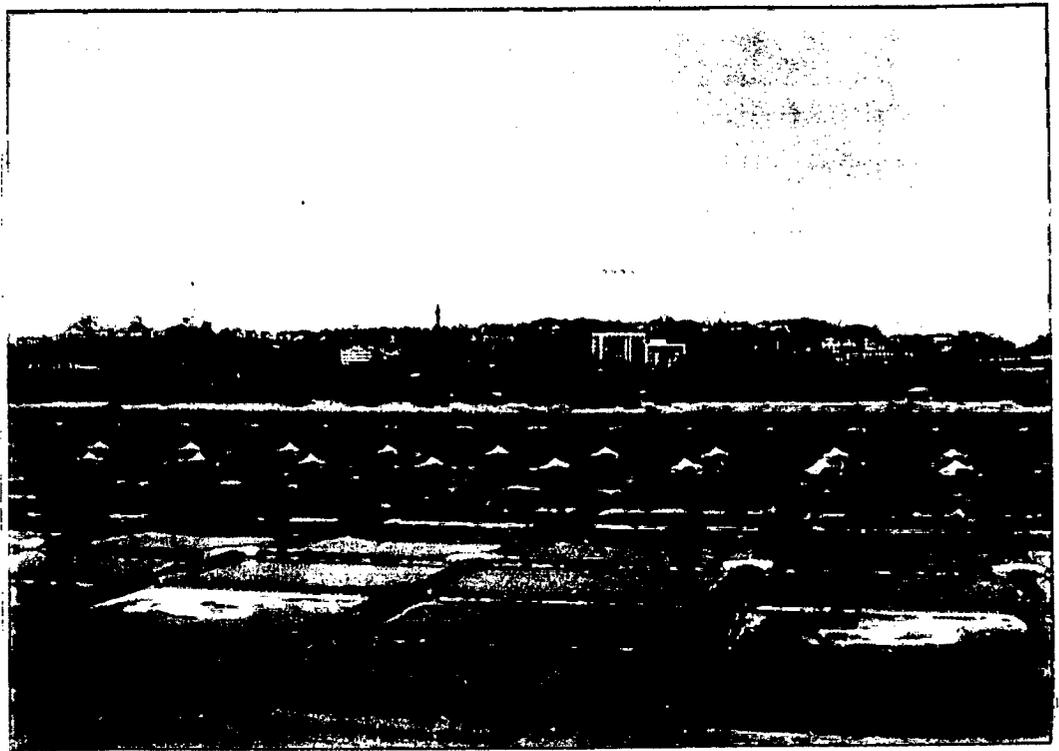
As far as vessels are concerned the transition is from clay and copper to stainless steel vessels. In Goa cooking was done in red clay vessels. Even now the potter has his business (see plate 3.1). Only when large scale cooking was needed big copper vessels were used. Some houses are still using clay vessels to prepare rice, fish curry and specialized pork dishes. The readymade answer for using clay vessels in this modern age is the belief that food cooked in clay vessel on firewood is tastier. Notwithstanding this subjective perception, clay vessels have certain scientific validity too. Vinegar-containing food, as most of Catholic Goan preparations were, was safe to cook and keep in clay vessels for several days without deleterious effect. Some special dishes like *sorpotel* taste better after one or two days.

Preparing and storing food items for monsoon season had been an important culinary activity for Goans. The women in my research field nostalgically recollected those days, without a refrigerator, when the womenfolk had to stock non-perishable food to last through the monsoons. Fresh fish was almost non-available in the rainy season, and other commodities scarce or very expensive, so in the hot dry months preceding the rains every village household was busy bottling, sun-drying and stocking up for the lean and very wet months from June to September.

3.1 THE POTTER STILL
HAS BUSINESS



3.2 A SALT PAN



In the rural areas of my field even now the households start preparing for the monsoon as early as February, making home made vinegar that will be ready for use in May. These items are many and varied: *Gaoti tandool* (boiled rice), *meet* (*gaoti*/local salt or the salt manufactured in Goa's salt pans: see plate 3.2), local dry chillies, salted fish, *cheurisam* (sausages), *kobrem* (dry coconut), and *kokum* (some kind of dry fruits used to give sour taste to the dishes. This is used in lieu of or along with tamarind or vinegar), bottling pickles and jams, salting meat, sun-drying variety of vegetables like *alsande* and varieties of fish.

In the backyard of a village house *Mitachi Confi* for storing the salt for monsoon used to be kept. Salt was stored outside the house because it corrodes the house walls. Every year before the onset on monsoon in late May small carriage vehicles carrying local salt move from one village to village selling salt produced in salt pans. The belief is that fish curry prepared with this salt, local dry chilly and homegrown coconut is tastier. Therefore in the storeroom big baskets of local chillies too are stored. These beliefs are very strong and act as identity markers for Goans and turn them into connoisseurs of fish curry and rice.

Vinegar preparation is an important pre-monsoon culinary preparation, which is specific to Goa. When prepared at home vinegar is very cheap and it is natural and one can avoid the side effects associated with synthetic vinegar. This ingredient is used mainly in pork dishes. The elderly ladies recollected and narrated the method of making vinegar at home. The same method is reproduced below.

“Ingredients required: 20 bottles of pure toddy, six small pieces of roof tile, one kg paddy, one tea spoon sugar. Method of preparation: Strain the toddy through muslin cloth into a porcelain jar. Close it and let it ferment for about three weeks without opening. Open the jar after

20 days. Light a fire in the compound with firewood. Put the tile pieces on the fire until they are red-hot. Remove with tongs and drop them immediately into the toddy jar. Close it immediately. On a *tawa*, roast about one kilo of paddy (in batches if necessary), preferably on a wood fire. Roast till it turns black. Tie the roasted mixture tightly in a muslin cloth, and drop this into the vinegar. Close the jar. By the end of the 3rd month it should be ready. It should be noted that the porcelain jar should be clean and thoroughly dried in the sun before beginning the process.”

Salting the meat and preparing such masalas as xacuti, sambhar and garam masala were specialized tasks of elderly women. Usually salting procedure has been used to preserve pork meat, the procedure is described below.

“Prick the meat well, with a fork. (Do not wash the meat). Put the meat in an earthenware vessel (*touli*). Add a lot of salt (at least 300 gm of salt per kg of meat) to the meat and prick it again. Let the meat absorb the salt for two or three days. Then either dry in the sun or leave it as it is – it won’t spoil. But do not transfer it from the earthenware vessel to an aluminium or steel vessel that might corrode or react with the salt. When required, just cut off a piece and soak in water till the meat loses its saltiness. Wash it well.”

The monsoon preparations also include making of raw mango water pickle, Xacuti masala, Goan sambhar masala, and Goan garam masala. All these are prepared for the whole of the year. Before powdering the ingredients will be invariably roasted over the *koili* (broken earthen pot).

All these masalas are now available in shops specialised in selling Goan condiments. Experienced and enterprising women make them in large quantities and deposit in select shops for sale. Such shop's claim that they prepare these items following traditional methods. One such shop is Nana's Foods and Spices, Ponda, Goa. Their advertisement caters to Goans both inside and outside Goa (figure 3.6). Like MTR in Bangalore, the Karma's has established a factory of preparing packaged food for ready consumption (see plate 3.7).

Figure 3.6: A specimen advertisement of industrialised traditional food shop

NANA'S
Simply indispensable!

Nana's brings into your kitchen **Ready-to-Use Curry Pastes** – Vindalho, Cafreal and Xacuti; **Marinades** – Recheado and Balchao Masala and **Table spreads** – Lemon, Mango and Prawn Chutneys, Besides, Nana's has its own popular set of traditionally prepared Goan **Pickles**

Website: <http://www.infolineindia.com/nanas>

Nana's Foods and Spices, Ponda, Goa - India

Items specially prepared for festive occasions and other events

Let us start with the festival associated with the feast of our Lady of Assumption celebrated by the Christians on 15 August. A sweet dish by name 'patoyo' distinguishes this feast from others. It shows the relation between man and ecology. Patoyo preparation is very elaborate. On the eve of the feast the required amount of boiled rice/paddy rice is soaked in water. Early morning it is grinded to fine paste. During this time of the year plenty of turmeric leaves are available. The

Figure 3.7: Specimen of Industrialized food

KARMA'S
M A S A L A S & P I C K L E S
Monsoon Specialities

FRESH PRAWN BALCHAO

FRESH PRAWN PICKLE

DRY PRAWN BALCHAO

BOMBAY DUCK BALCHAO

FRESH PRAWN MOLHO

MACKERAL PARA

GOAN FISH PICKLE



For details contact : Karma Foods, Phone : 2511028

Ad Graphics

AVAILABLE IN ALL LEADING STORES

paste is applied on the leaves with a mixture of desiccated coconut and jaggery. Then they were steamed in utensils known as 'kofro' brought to the house by each bride of the house. This dish is shared with those neighbours who are mourning the death of one of their members. Usually the bereaved house does not prepare any sweet dish for about a year. It has been noted that a bride comes to a house along with household equipments and utensils. The social aspect of food may be noted here.

This feast coincides with the Hindu festival of *Nagapanchami* when the snake god is worshipped and offered with the same dish. In the preparation of patoyo there is a slight difference. Instead of boiled rice the raw rice is used by the Hindus for the boiled rice is less sacred and cannot be offered to God. The belief is that it is already cooked once as we have noted earlier.

I also participated in the celebration of the feast of Ganesha Chaturti that falls in the Bhadrapada month of Hindu calendar. On this day I visited my Hindu friends in the village of Taleigao and Ribandar. The celebration lasted for one and half to five days. The belief is that Lord Ganesha likes varieties of eatables. A special dish by name Modaka is at the centre of meal offered to the Lord. Modaka is a rice flour dish stuffed with coconut and jaggery mixture. Other dishes being the neureo, laddus, channa ross and mung ross, and sweet puris. Sending food gifts (*vojem*) to neighbours of other religions is a general characteristic of this festival. Almost all Hindu households of the village I visited during the festival either celebrate the festival at their present house or went to the ancestral home. As all Hindu households prepare the special dishes, among them there is no exchange of food items.

I have noticed the spontaneous exhibition of communal harmony during this festival. On the first day, especially, I have seen Catholic boys help preparing the *Mandap* and sing *Bhajans* along with their friends. Though every day neighbours visit

the houses that have kept the Ganesha idol, on the immersion day each house will have many visitors. Before immersion procession starts, *prasad* is distributed among all visitors irrespective of religion.

Food transactions take place while celebrating Christmas too. Friends of other religions were invited to visit during the Christmas week. Usually a distinction is made between very close and not so close friends. Not so close friends are received in the hall during non-meal time. On a table in the hall of the house various items specific to the occasion such as cakes, chocolates, *neureo*, *dos*, coconut burfee are arranged in a plate and covered with a thin cloth. The friends are requested to partake of them over drinks of their choice, alcoholic or non-alcoholic. Though the food items are more or less same in all households, the drink served surely exhibits the financial condition of the household. In the upper-middle and upper class households there is an abundant flow of hot beverages. In the middle and lower middle classes there is always a control over the distribution of the drink.

The friends invited over mealtime are treated with grand banquet with several courses. One conclusion is, richer the household more fabulous the courses of the meal. I have noted a third category of dealing with food, which refers to sending trays containing food (*vojem*) to the neighbours. All these three food dealings are marked by competitions, extravaganza, and conspicuous consumption.

Especially, during Christmas a new trend is noticed, i.e. the purchase of eatables which hitherto were being prepared at home by the ladies. Such dishes as *bebinka* (a layered sweet prepared from a lot of egg) and *doss* were prepared in large quantity at home by inviting specialists. In Taleigao and Ribandhar I have identified elderly ladies specialised in the preparation of such sweets. As the number of people inviting them has drastically decreased, they prepare such dishes in large quantity at

their own homes and keep in supermarkets or bakeries. One lady has industrialized her job and employs several women to prepare in large scale to cover many areas in Panjim. Throughout the year she runs her kitchen like a factory and takes orders for bulk preparation of such items. She tells the Christmas season keeps her very busy and more often than not she has to decline accepting orders. The number of women knowing the preparation too is declining.

Apart from these general feasts I have observed two local feasts associated with Hindus and Christians in Chimbél, Ribandhar. These are the calendarical events occurring in the month of Shravana during the rainy season. Except for the change in the God being propitiated and food items served, both these events have a number of similarities and show continuity from pre-conversion status to that of converted status of the Catholics. The first is the Hindu Palki of Chimbalker, the Lord of Chimbél who is a folk deity. We see an influence of Marathi Bhakti tradition here. The Palki, local version of palanquin carrying the God Chimbalker is taken from house to house to the accompaniment of Bhajans sung in Marathi language. Some houses invite their neighbours of other faiths to take part in this visit of Chimbalker. The houses inviting the Palki distribute prasad consisting mainly of boiled *channa*. The second is the Christian celebration of Saibini or the procession of the statue of the Our Lady (symbolising the arrival of Mary). In the Saibini season each Catholic house keeps the statue of Our Lady for one night and before the statue is taken in procession to the neighbour's house a small *pooja* is conducted wherein the invitees sing Konkani songs praising Mary, a form of metamorphosis of the Hindu Bhajans.

Let me now narrate the harvest festival of Taleigao, which revolves around the cultivation of the staple food item 'paddy'. The festival is celebrated by the Gauncars of Taleigao. There are nine gauncars belonging to *primare* class (First Class) with

different surnames. Each of these gets to celebrate the feast once in nine years. The feast begins early in the morning when the *alvorad* (musicians) move round the village playing music to announce the feast day. The *alvorad* starts from the church and ends at the President's House where the musicians are treated to snacks and tea. This feast is celebrated for four days.

On the first day, the corn is cut from the special field of the *comunidade* (can be roughly translated as village community). The procession along with the *alvorad*, the Parish priest, the President, and the members of the *Kofrad* (the group of nine Gauncars) go to the earmarked area to ceremoniously cut the corn, which is then offered at the church. In the olden days, on the evening of the first day there used to be a bull-fight (*dhirio*). Now this has been legally stopped.

On the second day, one of the members of the chosen household sends the *fau* (beaten rice) to all the homes of the gauncars, which is sent in a procession carrying a big red umbrella accompanied by the band. There one *podd* (a local measure) of *fau* is given to each gauncars' household.

On the third day, one of the members of the chosen family is nominated to take a special silver tray with the *fau* accompanied with the band and members of the family to the church to be given to the parish priest. The tray is placed on the altar along with some ears of cut paddy. Prayers are recited and the priest gives light refreshments (cake and tea) to all.

On the fourth day, which is the final day of the harvest festival, there is a grand finale. On this day, the members of the chosen family along with three members nominated by the *comunidade* and the band gather at the church compound. They all proceed by bus carrying with them the harvested ears of paddy along with the *fau* to Old Goa. Here the *fau* and the harvested ears of paddy are

offered at the altar of Se Cathedral before a Mass. After the Mass the group visits the Bishop's palace at Altinho. The Bishop receives them and in turn presented with the paddy and *fau*. After this the group goes to the Cabo palace to offer the paddy and *fau* to the Governor. Thereafter the whole group returns to the house of the President for Lunch.

This Lunch is very significant because the host has to prepare and lay out at least nine courses (nine represents the union of nine gauncars), on the table. All the gauncars sit in their respective places and enjoy the fellowship.

Food items used as medicine

In this section we describe use of some food items as medicines, which shows how people in this region, as anywhere else in India, have found out medicinal values in the items they have in their kitchen or kitchen garden. The documenting of the same will be useful for everybody. For most common ailments such as cold, fever, and constipation the elderly women of the village prescribe medicines made of herbs and root that are available around. For cold and fever onion juice was applied on patients head or an *empras* (pulp of onions and mustard) is smeared over the body.

Removal of *dist* or evil eye: - Usually an elderly woman waves a fist full of red chillies and salt around the principal joints of the body and finally with a circular movement over head, she mutters a few words to remove the curse cast over the person. This is usually done on a Wednesday or a Sunday. For those suffering from stomach related problems a dose of purgative (*bairi*), could be castor oil or Epsom salt, is given early in the morning on an empty stomach followed with a strict diet of *Kanji* and a piece of water pickle in the later part of the day. Some times people are treated with rice with *acsal* (a non-pungent fish furry made of dry coconut and few

chillies without other condiments). This rice and curry is served with *potachem nistem* (diet fish) such as murdoli or verli. This curry is appetising too.

Treatment of cold: - Cashew feni is placed in a hollow plate and lit with fire. The liquor burns for a while and then the fire is blown of. To this hot feni is added a spoon of sugar and given to the patients to be sipped hot.

For rash and infectious wounds: - Rice is cooked without salt and well drained and this rice is then placed on a piece of cloth and tied to the wound preferably a bit hot.

Within two or three days the infection decreases.

Channa flour with egg yoke serves as a facemask. Egg is also used as a remedy to avoid a miscarriage. It is smeared on the stomach and the patient is asked to take bed rest. Raw egg is also given to a person to drink who has had a fall from a height or received an electric shock. Egg flip made from the yoke of local eggs beaten with sugar is given to a patient suffering from cold and fever.

Cumin seed is considered useful for many ills. Roasted *jeera* is eaten for digestion. Jeera boiled in water and drunk to clear gastric problem or upset stomach. The cumin seeds ground with feni is applied on the wounds and swelling.

For ear pain a garlic pod is boiled in a teaspoon of coconut oil. When the oil is cool it is poured into the infested ear. Crushed garlic is also used for a person who faints or one who has high blood pressure by giving the concerned person to smell the crushed pods. The crushed garlic is also placed to a child's navel that is suffering from worms problem.

Fenugreek seeds are soaked and eaten by diabetic patients. For relief of all types of pains soaked fenugreek seeds are eaten. The kokum fruit is dried in Sun for a few hours. The skin can be boiled in water and the juice is considered healthy. ~~for~~

Pork fat or grease is applied on head to get thicker hair growth. Vinegar is used as anti-septic lotion. The water in which coriander seeds are soaked is used for reducing burning sensation in soar eyes.

Local salt is used for many non-cooking purposes. Gargling with salt water cures throat infection. To revive a drunken and semiconscious person salt is rubbed under his foot. Ginger juice extracted and given as a treatment for cough, stomach disorder or colic. Lime is useful for treatment of over secretion of bile or *pinth*. A lime is cut into two halves and into each half a little salt is added and then these halves are heated on low flame. The limejuice is sucked when it is still hot. The dry ginger root is rubbed on the stone with a little water and the paste is warmed up and applied to the whole body or the forehead of the patient suffering from cold and fever. The seeds of pomegranate fruit are given to patients suffering from diarrhoea.

Preferences for food items

In order to discern the preferences for food items, I met and discussed the issues of food and eating with the three fifty women whom I know enquiring into their daily food habits and food items selected. The questions put were: What is your staple food – traditional or modern? Why do you prefer to eat this type of food? With the same women I also asked questions about preferences for locally available food items and cooking techniques which are discussed in the next chapter.

The answers to these questions have shown that the trend is towards maintaining the staple food that is fish curry and rice for meal and packaged food items for non-meal time food. The answers to preferences for the choice of contemporary packaged food items are varied as documented below.

1. More tasty
2. More attractively packed

3. Easily available
4. Any and everyone can cook her/his own food
5. Does not need too much strain and stress for preparation, where as the traditional elaborate cooking needs much time and attention.
6. Most members prefer latest advertised food items
7. Children prefer mainly advertised items
8. Considered fashionable

Among the various reasons, compulsion and children's preference are main reasons for using new food items cited by the women. The overall examination of food items consumed during the mealtime shows that the staple food items along with rituals such as harvest festival associated with them show clear-cut association with the ecology of the west coast. Other new food items have come from outside and are popular during the non-meal time.

CHAPTER FOUR

DOMESTIC FOODWAYS: TOWARDS INDUSTRIAL FOOD?

While dealing with the domestic foodways the Anthropologists, for analytical purposes, classify the food related activities into various phases as parts of the food system. The term "food system" is used frequently in discussions about nutrition, food, health, community economic development and agriculture. The food system includes all processes involved in keeping us fed: growing, harvesting, processing (or transforming or changing), packaging, transporting, marketing, consuming and disposing of food and food packages. It also includes the inputs needed and outputs generated at each step. The food system operates within and is influenced by social, political, economic and natural environments. In this chapter I will describe the domestic foodways as parts of food system and trace the movement toward industrial food. Goody (1987) provides a conceptualisation of food system, which is oft quoted.

At the backdrop of previous anthropological works Jack Goody (1987) sets his own observations on cooking in West Africa. He criticizes earlier approaches, which overlook the comparative historical dimension of culinary, and other cultural differences that emerge in class societies. The central question that Goody addresses in his book is why a differentiated '*haute cuisine*' has not emerged in other parts of the world. His account of cooking in West Africa is followed by a survey of the culinary practices of the major Eurasian societies throughout history - ranging from Ancient Egypt, Imperial Rome and medieval China to early modern Europe - in which he relates the differences in food preparation and consumption emerging in these societies to differences in their socio-economic structures, specifically in modes of production and communication. He concludes with an examination of the worldwide

rise of 'industrial food' and its impact on Third World societies, showing that the ability of the latter to resist cultural domination in food, as in other things, is related to the nature of their pre-existing socio-economic structures.

In his view providing and transforming food can be conceptualised in terms of five main processes, each process representing a distinct phase and taking place in a characteristic location, as shown in table 4.1.

TABLE 4.1

FOODWAYS ACCORDING TO GOODY

<i>Processes</i>	<i>Phases</i>	<i>Locus</i>
Growing	Production	Farm
Allocating/storing	Distribution	Market/Granary
Cooking	Preparation	Kitchen
Eating	Consumption	Table
Clearing up	Disposal	Scullery

Source: Goody (1982) as adapted in Beardsworth and Keil 1997: 48)

Taking clue from Goody's typology, Anthropologists identify five sets of foodways in the domestic sphere: 1) food production and distribution, 2) procuring and provisioning, 3) cleaning and storing, 4) food preparation and serving, and 5) clearing and cleaning. These five sets make up the food system of a given society. I will attempt to elucidate them in the study area.

FOOD PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION

In addition to autobiographic reflections a focussed fieldwork has been conducted in Village Taleigao, Taleigao Market, Nagali, Donapaula, and Caranzalem with the help of an interview guide to find out the changing foodways. In village Taleigao food production is actually taking place. The low-lying areas are fields

where two crops are grown, main paddy crop and after that vegetables. In the areas where underground water table is high two crops are grown. Entire Taleigao village is gifted with high underground water table. The first and the primary crop is paddy in the monsoon. Before the onset of monsoon the fields are cleaned of weeds, ploughed, manure put, and prepared for sowing and implantation (see plate 4.1). Though a few houses still rear bullocks for ploughing and transporting manure (see plate 4.2), the small tractors have entered the scene. Several varieties of rice were traditionally grown in Goa but with the arrival of shorter varieties introduced by Green Revolution these varieties have disappeared.

The crop that followed the paddy crop is known as *porsum*. Soon after the paddy harvest, the farmers of village Taleigao would grow on the same fields quick crops such as chillies, tomatoes, onions, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, watermelons and other vegetables. Temporary wells were dug for them as the water was available at a low depth of about six to ten feet, and water was drawn out and channelled to the vegetable fields. Some times watering the vegetable plants is done every morning and evening manually with the help of pots. At the end of the season, in April, these wells were buried and the ground levelled for the paddy crop.

Usually the womenfolk sell these vegetables either in Taleigao market or take them to Panjim (see plate 4.3 showing women who are busy in selling the vegetables grown by them). The Corporation of the City of Panjim has provided a separate place for these women in the market yard. Those villagers who do not have a fixed place sell their produce to those who regularly sit there.

Goans attach much importance and pride in consuming locally grown vegetables and fruits, which they call *gaunti* (of the *Gaun*, or village or local) as opposed to *ghanti* or from above the Ghats or mountains. In Goa the identity question

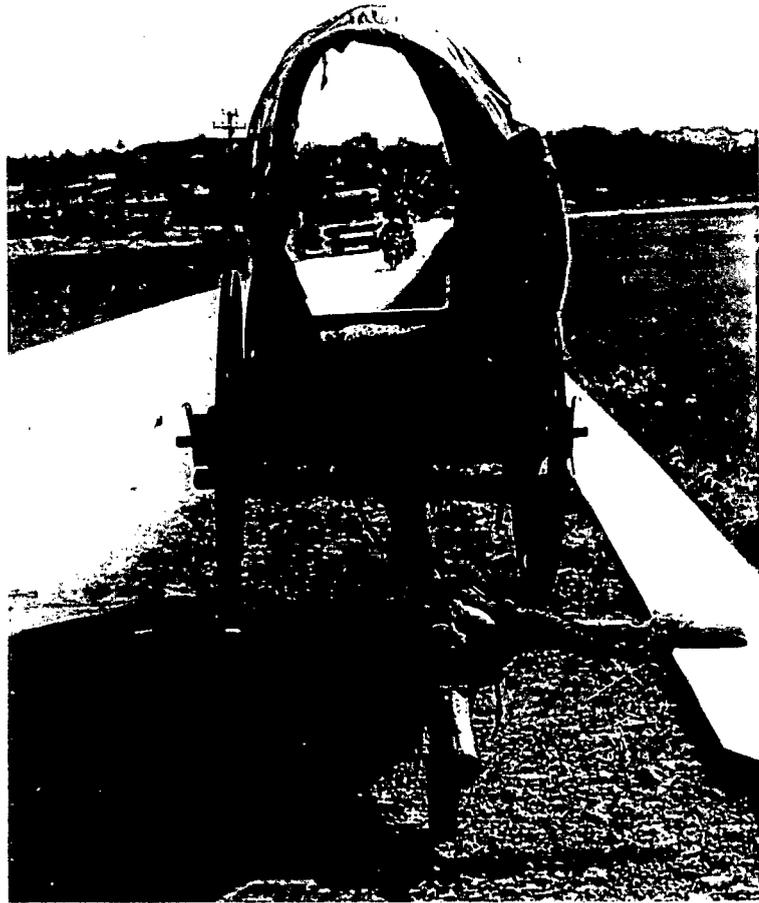
is very pertinent. Even a food item is used to demarcate the *inside* from the *outside*. The latter refers to the vegetables and fruits that come from above the Ghats or the Sahyadri ranges mainly from Northern Karnataka. They include beans, carrot, beetroot and the like. Though many of these vegetables are cheaper to the former, the women selling local vegetables and fruits have brisk trade thanks to the extension of political notions of Goan and non-Goan to the realm of taste. Those whom I talked to near these local vegetable vending women told me that the *gaunti* vegetables and fruits are tastier. They have a pragmatic reason why it is so: The local cultivator uses traditional manure. Some customers want to help the hardworking Goan women who sell these vegetables. Needless to say those whom I met are from Goa.

I attempted to know the extent of the preferences for locally grown food items such as rice, coconut and salt among the 350 women interviewed with the help of a guide, which included questions on their preferences. The graphic representation of the answers is given in the figure 4.1. This figure cannot be used to generalise the preferences for entire Goa, for these 350 women are from the study area whom I met purposively without any sampling exercise. The figure only indicates the prevalent ideas.

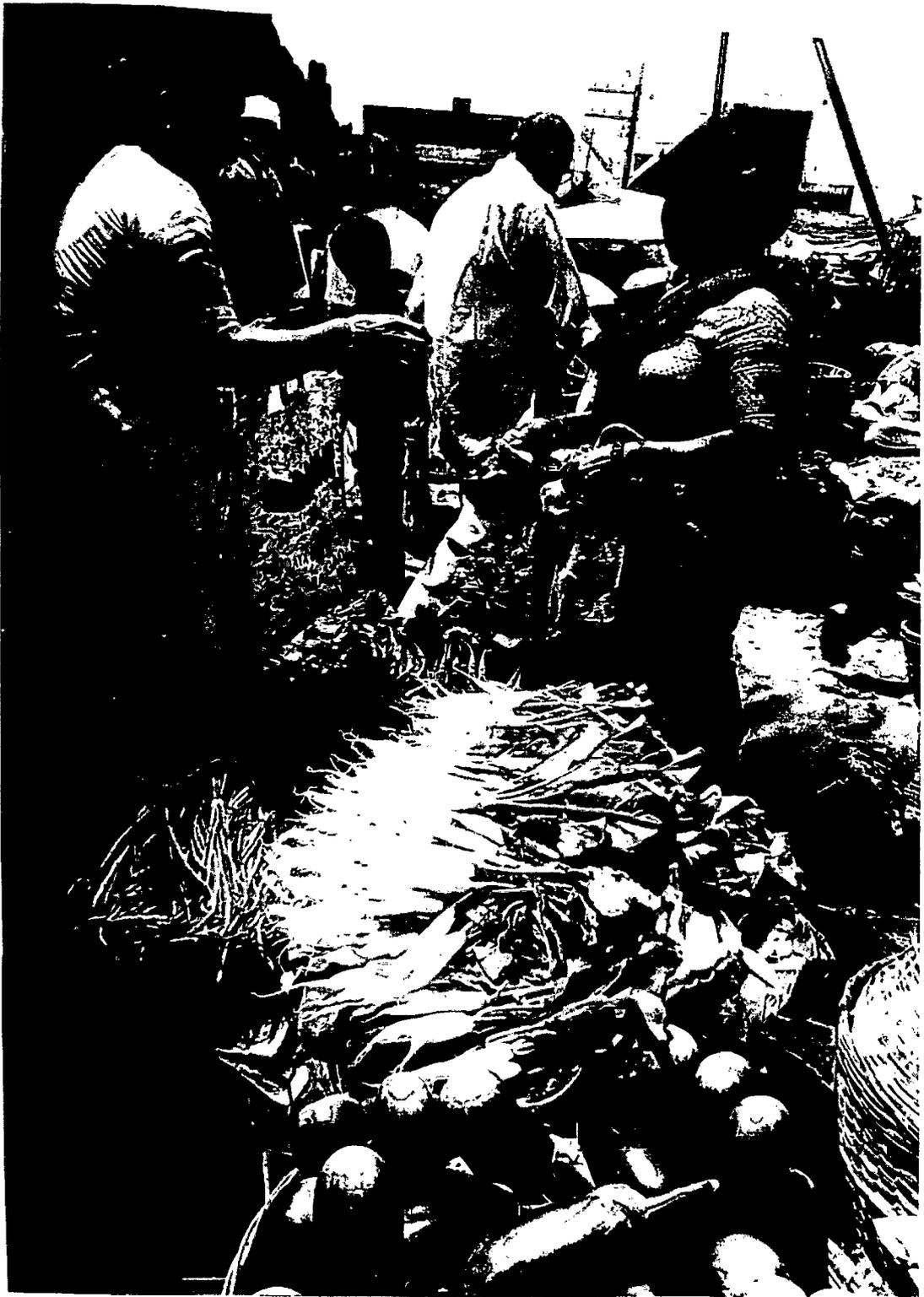
Plat 4.1 PREPARING FOR PADDY
PLANTATION

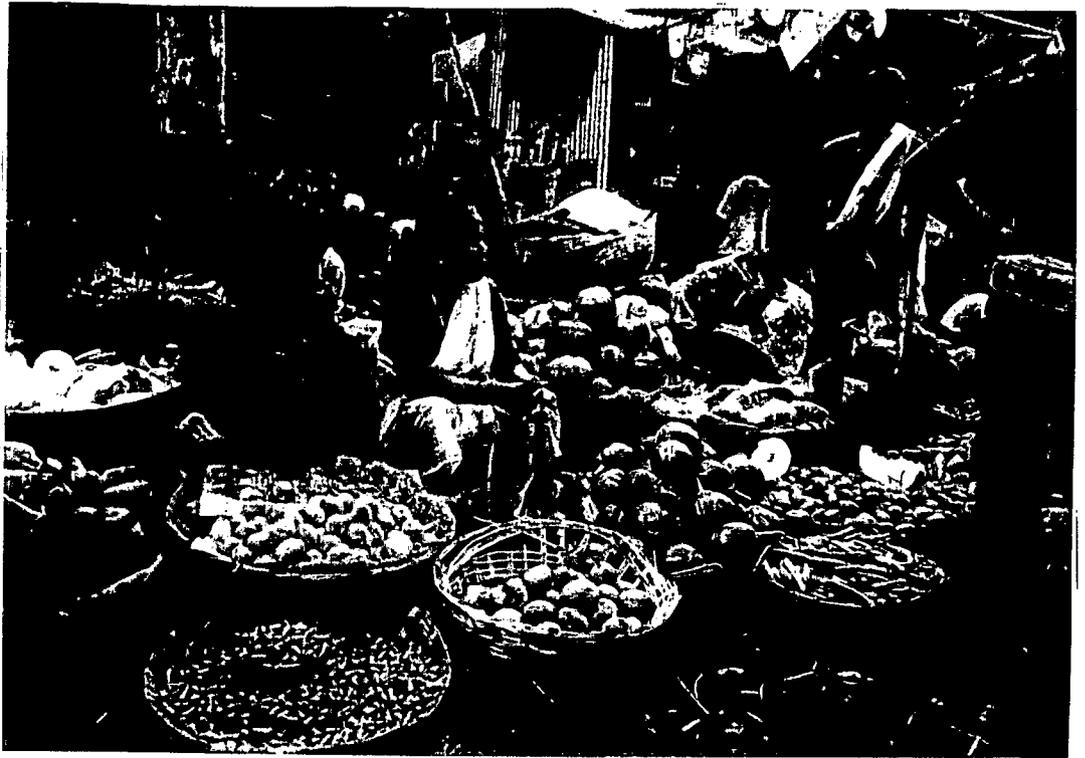


PLATE 4:2 BULLOCK CART
STILL USED



4.3 WOMAN SELLING LOCALLY GROWN
VEGETABLES





14.3 WOMEN SELLING LOCALLY GROWN
VEGETABLES



L44 A COUNTRY BOAT WITH ITS NET
READY TO SAIL TO SEA



4.5 FISH CATCH IN SHALLOW WATER

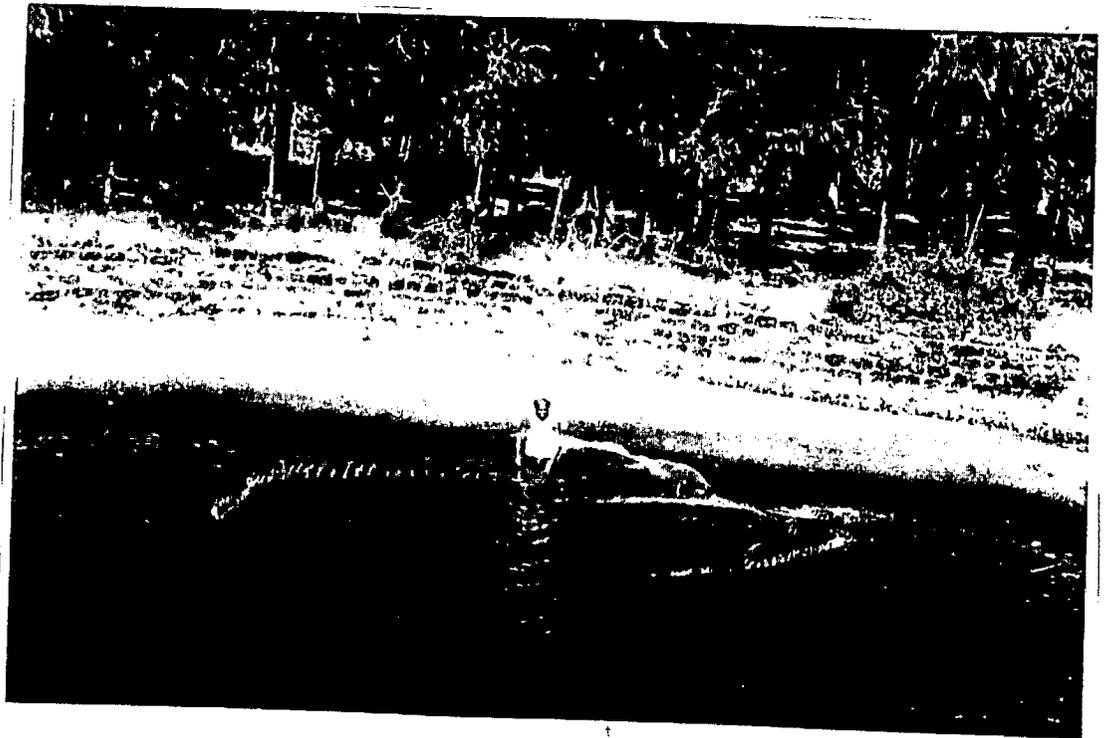
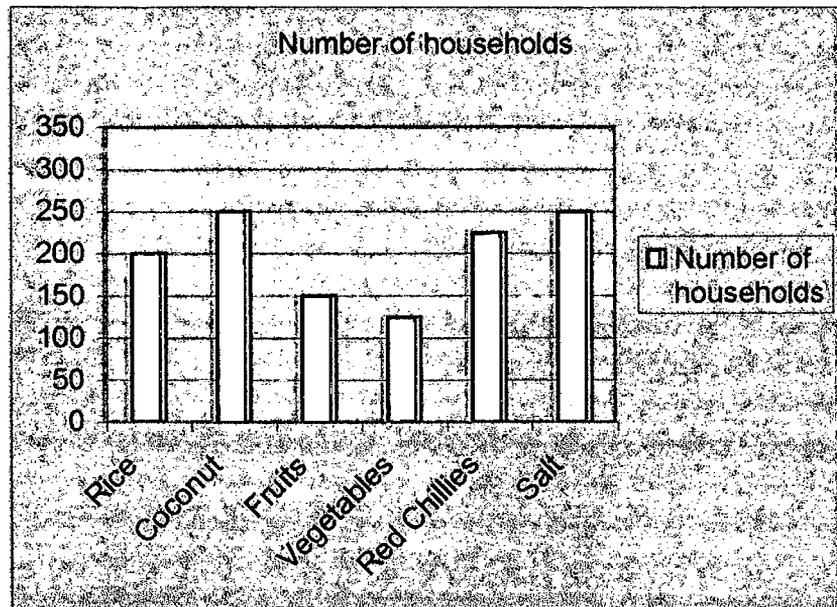


FIGURE 4.1 PREFERENCES FOR LOCALLY PRODUCED FOOD



In Taleigao such vegetables as ladies finger, *tendli*, *tamdi bhaji*, pumpkin, drumstick and *brinjals* are grown. Many of the vegetables are season specific available in plenty in certain seasons. Therefore looking at the vegetables available in the market one can make out the season. The preference for the local is extended to coconuts and coconut oil too. Those who sell coconut also keep with them coconut oil in old alcohol bottles. Many tourists mistake these bottles for feni bottles. The women selling coconut oil now grumble that the popularisation of new bottled coconut oil has affected their business. In Goa coconut oil is used only for smearing on the body and head before bath. It is not the cooking medium as it is in other coastal areas.

When I visited the fields where vegetables are grown I observed that mostly the elder members of the family are engaged in the work in the field along with unmarried daughters. The grownup boys usually do not help in the manual work in the field. The farmers who grew vegetables did so, not only for economic reasons,

though it is the main reason. They have been doing so since their childhood and they loved doing so and got pleasure out of the job. All villagers do not possess land and all are not involved in this primary activity. The neighbours who own fields give extra vegetables to the neighbours. A lady in the field says: "I give some fruits and vegetables to my neighbours and relatives. They feel happy and it also helps to maintain good relations. When I need their help they readily oblige me." It can be said that locally produced food acts as a linkage between the individual families and the larger community.

Along with coconut villagers grew varieties of fruits in the garden around their houses. The study of essays by historians on food production informed that the sea routes discovered by the Portuguese contributed to the circulation of food items across the globe. This route linked Goa with Africa, Europe, and Latin America. Gracias *et al.* (273- 287) give a detailed account of global migration of food items during the Portuguese colonial period. Their examination shows that the Portuguese used various methods to introduce food habits, recipes and related customs. Though people of all communities in Goa have been influenced by the Portuguese cuisine, the influences from the outside world are more evident among the Christian community than the Hindus and Muslims.

In Mennel's (1992: 75) review of sociology of food, the impact on food of colonialism and migration has been recognised as an area less researched by the sociologists than anthropologists and historians. These essays, though scarce, by historians and anthropologists are of much use to sociologists to know about the migration of foodstuffs, delocalisation of food supply along with migration of people. The travelling overseas, followed by colonialism and widespread migration has brought about a two-way exchange of foods: the import of staple products and other

food stuffs from the colonised to the colonising countries and vice versa. The most well known examples are potatoes, maize, sugar cane and salt. These products travelled around the world and were incorporated in foreign diets, each in its own way. In his developmental perspective on food Goody considers this an example of development of 'world cuisine'.

The course of the development of 'world cuisine' may be conceived in terms of three phases in world history. The first is the geographical discoveries and the founding of the new world consisting of the United States, Canada, and Australia. These places were melting pots made of people from diverse places on earth. People migrated here with their food items and cuisine. The second is the phase of industrial revolution facilitating colonialism and empire building. With this phase the possibilities for exchange of people and foods were enormously enhanced. After the Second World War, the third phase, the colonial empires slowly crumbled away. With this the process of migration did not come to an end. On the contrary, new waves of migration and flow of people in the form of tourism took place and continue to take place.

These processes of colonisation, decolonisation and migration have had implications for introduction of new food items and foodways. At least for Goa these changes have implications for evolution of unique culinary practices, which are almost absent in other parts of India. Adding to this the Portuguese connection in this part of the subcontinent introduced several new food and fruit varieties.

The Portuguese brought goods to India for their own consumption, or as a part of their trade. They carried them to other areas in Asia. Food products and recipes came from such far places as Brazil. From the routes discovered by the Portuguese came a host of plants/roots producing fruits and vegetables never seen or heard before

such as potato, tomato, chestnut, pimento, papaya, passion fruit, pumpkin, aubergine, pineapple and guava. According to Nandakumar Kamat, a Botanist (quoted in Coelho and Sen 2001: 149) “the Portuguese imported about 300 species of useful plants to India, and Goa was her chief emporium. For example, cashew, chickoo, papaya, and tobacco came to India through Goa. Chilly came in via the Portuguese...as well as guavas and pineapples...Before Vasco-da-Gama, India did not cultivate sweet potatoes, tapioca, tomatoes, or pumpkins.”

In the same way as food varieties came to Goa they also migrated from Goa. Goans carried recipes of how to prepare sorpotel, Goan sausages and prawn curry to various places in British India, Burma, Australia, Canada, Europe, the Americas, Africa to name a few. Many of these especially Goan food items are now distributed outside Góa through a network of international marketing.

Fishing is an important economic activity in food production throughout the 105 km long coastline in Goa. Alvares (2002: 173) estimates that around 40,000 to 50,000 people are dependent on fish harvesting for a living and states “it is difficult to overstate the importance of this commodity in either the Goan economy or diet.” Stating further the significance of fish in Goan diet Alvares writes:

Walk into any restaurant and half the menu is composed of seafood. Visit any Goan family at lunch and you are served fish curry.

Travel in many a bus in Goa and your nostrils are assailed by the smell of fish being transported to the market or being carried home.”

Fish catch constitute an important primary occupation concerning food in Donapaula area where there are no fields but only riverside. Except for the fisher folk families in the Dona Paula region other houses adjacent to the Zuari River own small country canoes that are taken early morning to the sea via the river mouth for fish

catch (see plate 4.4). A few families in the region own mechanised fishing vessels. They use them for commercial fishing. The small country canoe owners primarily fish for daily consumption. If the crew arrives back with plenty of fish the women take the catch to market after earmarking for domestic consumption. The practice in most Goan fisher folk families is for the husband to go out fishing and for the wife to take the produce to the market. The fisherwoman is one of Goa's familiar sights.

In village Taleigao I have also noticed the primary food production activity of domestication of pigs and hens for domestic consumption as well as commercial purposes. The women are the custodians of this activity. Those who are rearing pig said that initially they started to rear pig for two reasons: scavenging and business. The use of septic toilets is a recent phenomenon in Goa. The villagers were attending to nature's calls either in the isolated places covered with bushes near by the residence or in pig toilets. Found in traditional Christian households these toilets were built on a platform with an opening on the rear end. Pigs wait from that end for excreta. Pigs were, in this sense, scavengers. They used to eat human excreta and also used to live on left over food items from the owner's and neighbours' houses. After fattening, the pigs are sold either directly or in the form of pork meat in the Sunday market. Even sausages are made at home and sold. Domestication of pigs has now become a habit for many women and even after the construction of septic toilets villagers are still continuing tending pigs. The pig has set some routine for a woman's life. The routine includes such chores as bringing leftover food and rice cleaned water from the neighbours and properly storing them and cleaning the pig-stay.

Consumption related domestic foodways

Many foodways centre on food consumption. These foodways are mundane and taken for granted, therefore, the contribution of those who participate in them go unnoticed. For analytical purposes these foodways are identified as: procuring and provisioning, cleaning and storing, preparation and serving, and clearing and cleaning. These are also the activities associated with food. I wanted to know who in the domestic domain are associated with these activities and what they think about these activities and what are the recent trends.

The sociologists of food in Europe have given considerable attention to these foodways. They had extensively dealt with food linkages in the household. A useful review of such works is available in Beardsworth and Keil (1997: 75-99). Mary Douglas, a structural anthropologist describes foodways in the family as marking the boundaries of the family. By following an unusual methodological strategy of studying culinary practices in her own family, she first argues that there is a crucial distinction between drinks and meals. Meals are sequenced through the day and their elements are linked together in pre-determined combinations and successions of courses. Drinks, on the other hand, are not so organised. Her main aim was to find out the universal meaning structure that underlies food consumption. She finds that the people with whom they shared meal are close to them, and, with strangers and not so close people they shared only drinks.

Consumption related foodways within the family communicate more than the meaning structures in structural sense. They exhibit certain linkages between families and show the positioning and privileges of members of the family. They show even power distribution within the family. Theopano and Curtis (1991) through their in depth study of two Italian-American families in an industrial suburb of Philadelphia

demonstrated the multiple linkages that foodways can establish. The families belonged to a close-knit community, which they referred to by the pseudonym 'Maryton'. Their findings make it very clear that women bear the main responsibility for sustaining domestic and social life and maintaining social networks. They conclude that through the food system, women express and maintain their social positions in the community.

The positive picture of women's dealings with foodways found in the above study may not be taken as universal. Dealings with food need not always make women powerful in the domestic and community set up. However studies conducted from feminist perspectives identify foodways at home as reinforcing gender stereotypes and perpetuating gender discrimination. For long it has been assumed that women wield considerable power at home acting as 'gatekeepers' controlling the flow of foods into the household and controlling the channels through which food reaches the table. However, McIntosh and Zey (1989) and others demonstrate that though women deal with food they do not have control over it. Actually the earning male members (father and husband) exercise power in making food related decisions.

In my field area the women attend to the chores related to food. All jobs associated with foodways such as procuring and provisioning, cleaning and storing, preparation and serving, and clearing and cleaning are attended to and managed by the women.

In a few cases of husband and wife working outside the home the male members participated in procuring and provisioning. The women who go for selling vegetables and fish did this work also. I have noticed the joint participation in these works in the upper class settlements in Donapaula area.

Today the kitchen lay out has undergone a total change. The prototype of Goan kitchen in figure 3.4 is found in only a few households I visited. Such a reorganisation of modern kitchen has made some to lament the disappearance of the traditional kitchen (Rodrigues: 2000). It is modern and fitted with latest gadgets including a Refrigerator, Washing machine, Mixer/Grinder and the much needed cooking gas facility. Even in the villages firewood is used for certain purposes like heating water for bath or boiling home grown paddy. Every house possesses cooking gas with essential equipment. Kitchens are now stylishly designed giving a show of sophistication compared to the traditional kitchens. Much of the kitchen tools are now limited. (Even desiccated coconut and masalas are available in readymade packages. Grinding is slowly vanishing.) The heavy (cooking for large number) type of cooking is hardly possible in modern day kitchens. Hence majority of items available as pre-cooked food items in markets and stores. These are stored at home as long as they have shelf life.

Housewives and Foodways

A housewife or an adult woman was to look after the four major foodways of 1) procuring and provisioning, 2) cleaning and storing, 3) food preparation and serving, and 4) clearing and cleaning.

Three hundred and fifty housewives were met and inquiries were made about the type of food items they prepared at home and those purchased from outside. They were also asked about the food preferences of the members whether they preferred the traditional food items or the latest food stuffs sold in the market. About seventy per cent declared that they consumed certain items that were basically traditional but the technique and the ingredients used varied from one individual to another. Village house wives strictly prepared traditional menus, for example, paddy rice by those who

owned fields. They also prepared coconut curry by grinding the masala with the use of grinding stones. Most of them consumed fish and vegetables. For breakfast they either purchased locally baked fresh bread or made chapattis at home. The employed housewives usually made use of electrical gadgets for cooking like grinder, cooking gas as shown in table 4.2.

TABLE 4.2
COOKING TECHNIQUES

Sl No	Techniques	Frequency of use			Total
		Yes	No	Sometimes	
1.	Use of old fashion grinding stone	35	300	15	350
2.	Modern gadgets for cooking	253	09	88	350
3.	Preserving items (para, pickle, salt fish)	98	211	41	350
4.	Storing of items before the onset of monsoon	49	162	139	350

Some of them used readily available masala and various items available at local stores. Career women in charge of cooking preferred food items that could help save time and which could be cooked easily. Time is the important factor, which has compelled many a housewives to resort to purchase foodstuffs that are ready to eat precooked items or take away food. For example, stalls opened at different points in this area sell cooked food comparable to that of house preparation. Many plan their meals in such a way that house members outside the home often consume lunch. The housewives state that the children always carried tiffin boxes to school. Now they prefer to purchase snacks from the school canteen. In the Donapaula area, the family assembles only for the dinner.

TABLE 4.3

WHO COOKS AT HOME?

Sl. No	Area	House wife	Husband and wife	Husband	Grown up children	Maids	Total
1.	Taleigao village	75	5	2	8	10	100
2.	Nagali	40	3	1	11	30	85
3.	Donapaula	07	03	--	--	140	150
4.	Caranzalem	03	02	01	02	07	15
TOTAL							350

As shown in the table 4.3 the well to do families of the Donapaula area have housemaids who make most of the cooking. Women, both working and housewives, in this area manage procuring and provisioning. On the basis of their location the households may be classified as semi rural and new settlements. Donapaula is an example of a new settlement in Goa. The number of new settlements has been increasing. In these new settlements a clear trend towards industrial food has been noticed. These settlements depend on the market for ready-made food. As testimonies of emerging industrial food new influences such as 'curry in hurry' and 'tiffin service' can be identified. 'Curry in a hurry' is a brand name of packed fish curry powder. Use of this readymade masala saves time for the housewives. This brand is becoming popular among diasporic Goans too. Some houses prepare food in large scale and as per orders supply lunch and supper in tiffin boxes. This service is fast gaining popularity among the working couple and also the elderly. As the interest in industrial food is observed more in the new urbanised settlements this study generates a hypothesis that more the urbanisation of an area higher will be the use of industrial food.

CHAPTER FIVE

EXPANSION OF THE EXTRADOMESTIC ZONE

In the previous chapter we have noticed changes in the private sphere of domestic foodways where the influence of industrial food has been observed among the residents of new settlements. Not only that new gadgets are replacing old manual ways of preserving, preparation, and clearing, new food industries have been set up influencing the domestic kitchen. In this chapter I will discuss the foodways in the extradomestic domain, which is expanding now. With members of the family going out for work in the morning and returning late in the evening, the culinary role of the family is changing. Conceived analytically, the domestic dining zone is shrinking, whereas the extra-domestic (participation in dining outside home) is expanding.

I will first attempt at clarifying meaning of the extra-domestic domain, for though we participate in it in our mundane life we are not conscious of its expansion and the word is yet to be made sensitive to social scientific discussion. The extra-domestic need to be differentiated from and understood along with such other domains as 'eating out' and 'dining out'. The extra-domestic is the combination of beliefs and practices relating to eating outside the home and eating inside the home. Extra-domestic zone is created when the members participate in eating outside the home identifying themselves as members of a family. This includes such activities as entertaining others and getting entertained by others. Some examples are - inviting guests for partaking of food at home, going to other's house to participate in dining activities, the family eating out experiences, arrange food for others (relatives and friends) outside home.

I have considered a) partaking food outside home as a family, and b) extending hospitality for others and receiving hospitality. These are analytical points for my discussion.

Family dining out and takeaway food

Eating outside home has become quite common in modern societies where family members are always mobile due to various reasons. Children go to attend educational institutions, employed members go to the workplace, and geographical mobility too is on the increase. Such compulsions make family members to take food outside home.

In sociology of food such activities are labelled as eating out practices. Sociologists have identified eating out as the 20th century revolution. Why should members eat outside homes, why such occasions are increasing, and how and why eating away from home emerged, established and organized and staffed and how such eating out opportunities are used, perceived, and experienced by the customers are substantive issues for sociological research. Since the beginning of the 20th century, food is made available for money from commercial outlets such as shops, take-away, fast-food and other restaurants, that has been identified as a twentieth century revolution in our eating habits. The identification of these commercial food outlets also draws our attention to the fact that the food sold is eaten in public rather than in private and that it is likely to be eaten alongside, but not with, strangers. These eating practices are described as 'eating out'

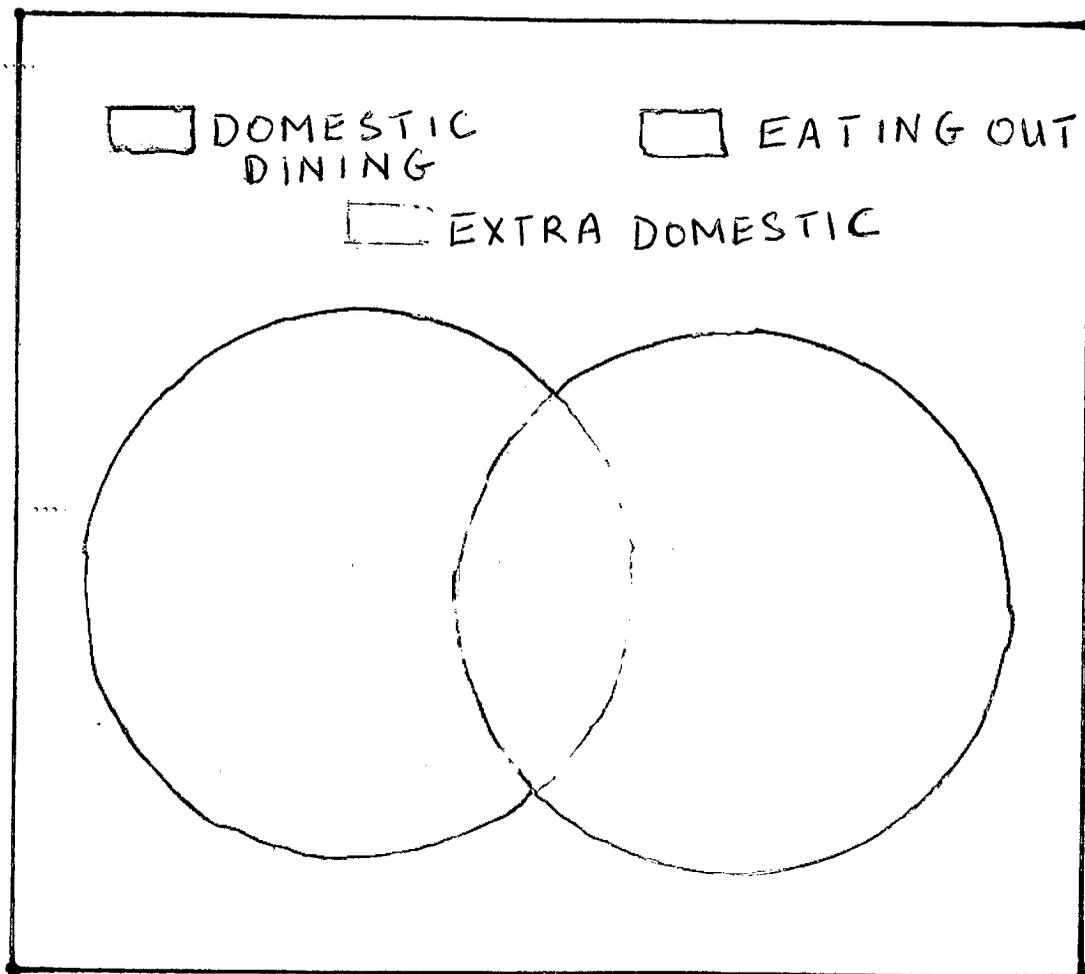
Comparison with the past suggests that there are differences of degree as well as of kind in the balance between public and private eating. It would not be possible to argue that there was no market for food outside the home before modern times, but it was a relatively underdeveloped market. In India hospitality was the accepted norm

and most food requirements of those who are away from home during the time of food consumption would have met within the framework of social obligation rather than as a commercial transaction.

In social anthropological and historical accounts of traditional societies there is strong emphasis on the importance of hospitality. Such hospitality would be extended to travellers. In India there are strong culturally defined obligations to welcome strangers. The stranger who comes to the house during mealtime was regarded as a guest (*Atithi*), who is next only to god. In such cultural context there is no need for commercialising food transactions. In modern context though such values still exist as householder's dharma, part of the idealized role of a householder, the practical life is not suitable to practice today. There are a number of commercial outlets selling food to travellers, visitors to city and domestic holidaymakers, and workers and professionals. These food transactions are grouped under the concept 'eating out'. Though the examination of the history and changing attitudes of people towards this transition constitutes a legitimate subject for foodways in transition, I will not include it within the purview of my discussion. However, I will point out to transitions in this domain that have implications for domestic domain. I have considered the intersection between domestic dining and dining out as the extradomestic as shown in figure 5.1.

Family dining out is becoming increasingly popular in the field area. This is happening even to the extent of the decline of the kitchen for certain occasions and days. One such occasion is the *Shravan* month when many Hindu households do not cook non-vegetarian food. During this month there are a few restaurants in Panjim that cook only vegetarian food items. Hotel Delmon is one such restaurant where during shravan and all other *shivrak* days vegetarian food is sold. *Shivrak* in Konkani

FIGURE 5.1 EXTRA DOMESTIC AS COMBINATION OF DOMESTIC AND EATING OUT



stands for total vegetarian food intake during ritually special days such as Monday, Thursday, and Friday and religious occasions. If Hindus in other parts of India dedicate some days to Gods and Goddesses and practice fasting on certain days of the week, in Goa vegetarian food is consumed on such days. On these days all non-vegetarian foods are avoided. Very religious people even do not consume garlic and onion.

In Hotel Delmon, the wife of the proprietor herself cooks the *Shivrak* dishes. Here in Goa, Shivrak is Gowda Saraswat Brahmanical (GSB) ideal. Other religious Hindus follow these practices. Therefore, during the fasting days Hotel Delmon is always full. Apart from office goers and casual visitors, the Hotel receives 'full family guests'.

Varieties of food festivals and specialist restaurants attract the family dining out. Dining in these festivals and specialist restaurants is increasing over the years among the households I visited. An example is *Dravida Yatra*, a South Indian specialist wing at Goa Marriott Resort's restaurant *Palmeira*. The restaurant is playing host to *Dravida Yatra*, a South Indian food festival regularly. This festival essentially features cuisine from the four states of Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. From *sambar*s to *rasam* to sweet dishes this festival takes the guests through all the elements of a South Indian meal including chutneys, pickles, rice dishes and payasams. On the menu card are printed the names of such specialist dishes as *kozhi Melagu kozhambu* and *Nellore fish curry*. In this way the specialist dishes associated with some places in the South are included. The Manager of the restaurant tells that including the tourists even locals visit the restaurant for dining.

Because Goa attracts tourists through out the year, specialized Food Festivals take place here and there. Some hotels are specialized in them. Saraswat Food

Festival of Hotel Rio Rico and Punjabi Food Festival at Food Land Panjim are examples.

Over all, I have noticed that there are varieties of family dining out places frequented by the people of my study area. They cater to different classes of people. On the basis of their price range and the economic background of the guests they may be classified as in table 5.1.

TABLE 5.1 FAMILIY DINING OUT PLACES

Sl. No.	Class of Guest	Class and Name of Restaurant	Location
1.	Very Rich	Star Hotels – Cidade-de-Goa	Donapaula
		Goa Marriott Resort	Mira Mar
2.	Upper Class	Nova Goa, Shere Punjab, Delhi Darbar	Panjim
			Panjim
		St. Anthony, Britto's, Titto's	Calangute
		Coquero, Cosmo	Porvorim
		Joia de Goa	Old Goa
		Alua	Sangolda and Merces
		Martin's Beach Corner	Majorda
3.	Middle Class	All Udupi Hotels, Hotel Shivsagar	Panjim
4.	Low class and casual eaters	Roadside eateries	Near Market and Mira Mar Beach

The last category of dining out caters to both casual eaters and the members of the lower strata of the society. Among such eating-places, the food carts near Mira Mar Beach in Panjim are very popular. In this area now there are more than twenty food-carts making brisk trade in the evening. They cater 'junk' foods like 'chat items' in the evening. Sociologically, one can observe the blurring of class distinctions in this area. All categories of people throng around these carts. Now people do not consider eating food prepared in these carts below their dignity. Extreme competitions have made them acquire some institutional characters such as a menu card and laying plastic chairs around the cart. The social world near the Mira Mar beach made up of

the cart-owners and cooks, menu-card holding soliciting boys, and the leisure consuming beach visitors constitute an intriguing field for White (1948) type of intensive ethnographic study.

The members of upper class along with the tourists frequent the dining places mentioned in serial number two in table 5.1. Apart from the restaurants located in Panjim all others are shacks, which are a kind of makeshift arrangements, many a time closed during Monsoon. The shacks have rustic appearance and are set up on the beaches. Usually the dining table and the chairs are spread on the sand facing the water. The shacks mentioned in the table 5.1 are very famous and the upper class families in the study area visit them with families and foreign returned relatives and guests. Especially to enter the Martin's Corner in Majorda, cars will have to wait in a long queue.

Hospitality

Entertaining others and being entertained by others on special occasions is continually increasing in the study area. In Mary Douglas' view exchange of hospitality is an important aspect of the extradomestic domain. Taking culinary activities in her own house as examples she discovers socio-cultural structures in relation to exchange of hospitality. She makes a distinction between drinks and meals served to guests at home. As a structural anthropologist she elucidates the structure of family boundaries. Her concern is basically the day-to-day hospitality. Participation in the repetitive, structured sequence of meals at home is one of the key ways of expressing an experiencing family membership. The sharing of meals is drawing the boundaries of the family's symbolic and emotional existence, and only certain very specific categories of non-family members are permitted to cross these boundaries. Her family shares at best the drinks with strangers. In her family the meals are for

family, close friends, and honoured guests. These are the aspects of daily extradomestic sphere.

The later studies especially that of Theopano and Curtis (1991) have noticed that while food consumption patterns can be seen as highlighting the boundaries of the nuclear family, food and eating can also act as linkages between the nuclear family and the extended family, and between the nuclear family and the wider community especially in the domain of extending hospitality and building the extradomestic domain. In their study of two Italian American communities they found out that the extradomestic foodways take five forms:

1. the exchange of hospitality (inviting guests and being invited);
2. the sharing of non-mealtime eating (snacks, etc.);
3. the exchange of raw food stuffs or cooked dishes;
4. payment for services with food; and
5. co-operative provisioning and preparation of family dinners, celebratory meals and so on.

Entertaining guests on special occasions is another dimension to hospitality. On the basis of my participation I classify them into two – the secular occasions and ritualistic. The secular occasions refer to celebrating good examination results of children, feasts arranged by the Lion's Club, picnics, and seminar and symposia of the college where I am working, which conclude in lunch and dinner in Marriott Resorts. The ritualistic celebrations primarily concern life-cycle ceremonies of relatives and friends. The list of such occasions is pretty long. Engagements, Wedding receptions, celebrating the birth of the child, Birthdays, Wedding anniversaries, Death anniversaries, Silver weddings, and other events such as baptism ceremony are occasions of banquets for the guests.

I have made use of autobiographic information to find out the recent trends in extending hospitality. The various occasions for arranging lavish food are many. I will list them in the order of grandeur and magnitude.

1. Wedding receptions
2. Birthday parties
3. Festivals and village feasts
4. Wedding anniversaries
5. Engagements
6. Death anniversaries

All wedding receptions invariably are celebrated in places meant for them. Such places abound in Goa. The richest in the Dona Paula and Caranzalem opt for Cidade-de-Goa where it is mandatory to order the food from the Hotel itself. Bambolim Beach Resort, Rendezvous, Kesarval Hotel, Mandovi Rivieira, and Cotta mansion are upper middle class marriage places. Mary Immaculate Church Hall, Gasper Dias, Mae de Deus hall are middle class marriage venues. Club National and Club Vasco-da-Gama were the two much ~~so~~^{sought} after halls from the Portuguese days till the late seventies.

These marriage celebrations are occasions for conspicuous consumption. A look into the menu reiterates the point. The figure 5.2 contains a model menu. This is a typical menu of a Christian Wedding, wherein we even find the use of Portuguese. All marriage banquets do not have menu cards. Even if they have menu, it is written in English. The one given as figure 5.2 is exceptional. It is a remnant of the colonial regime.

As a standard there will be four main items in a dinner – the drinks, the starters, the main course, and desserts. Invariably in all marriages and occasions of

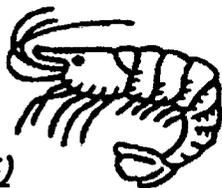
extending hospitality to many people caterers are given contract. Therefore catering as a new occupational category has been evolved in Goa.

Before the emergence of the catering occupation special dinners were prepared and served in the household itself. There were cooks specialized in cooking meal and sweets. They were invited on the eve of the event to prepare sweets and on the day of the event to prepare food. Now except for a few who have enough space around their house all large scale hospitalities are offered at places meant for them.

Catering as a profession

The catering and food industry has developed into a skilled art with a number of institutes that have recently cropped up to train young people in this career. Since there is definite scope for development this industry is growing as it is based on the demand in the modernised world for specialists in hotels, catering profession, airways, cruiseliners, railways, and other modes of transport that include passengers that need to be fed.

In Goa the food craft industry is rising with leaps and bounds. Not only in the state of Goa which is centred round tourism but there is also an increasing demand outside Goa that has prompted youngsters to opt for this career. They are very satisfied with the scope it offers along with the gains in income. Though the job means putting in hours of hard work the rewards are manifold too. In the last few decades the catering industry has received a tremendous boom. We have a long list of flourishing caterers throughout the state. Right from the famous Pascoal caterer who was the first leading caterer from the Portuguese time right up to the present day with a large number of non vegetarian and equally good number of vegetarian caterers that have sprung up in the last decade to serve the different people, Christian, Hindus, and others as well.



EMENTA (MENU)



APERITIVOS (APETISERS)

- Torrinhas de Sardinha (Sardine on toast)
- Forminhas de Mayonnaise (Veg. Basket)
- Rissóis de Camarão (Prawn Rissóis)
- Fofos de Queijo (Cheese balls)
- Sanduche de "Chutney" (Chutney Sandwich)

Caldo de Galinha



Peixe Mayonnaise (Fish Mayonnaise)

Balchão de Peixe (Fish balchão)

Filetes de Peixe (Fish Fillets)

Peixe Recheado (Stuffed Fish)

Caranguejos Recheados (Stuffed Crabs)

Camarão Panado (Prawn Panado)

Galinha assada (Roast Chicken)

Galinha à Cafreal (Chicken Cafreal)

Vindalho de Galinha (Chicken vindalho)



- Rolo de Pato (Duck Roll)
- Pastelão Folhado (Pork & Chicken Pie)
- "Xacuti" de Cabrito (Mutton Xacuti)
- Sarapatel de Porco (Pork sarapatel)
- Porco assado (Roast Pigling)
- Arroz com Passas, Cebola e Castanhas (Pulao with raisins, onions & cashewnuts)



"Ross" de grão (Chana masala)

Arroz vegetariano (Veg. Pulao)

Aloo Gobi

Palak paneer

Kurma

Raita Salada

Saladas



SOBREMESAS (DESSERTS)

- Bebinca
- Pudim de Chocolate (Caramel Pudding)
- Fios de ovos
- Dedos de dama
- Bolo sem Rival
- Fruta da Época



BEBIDAS (DRINKS)

- Champagne
- Cerveja (Beer)
- Whisky
- Rum (Bacardi)
- Vodka
- Brandy
- Vinho Tinto (Red wine)
- Vinho Branco (White wine)
- Refrescos diversos (Soft drinks)



FIGURES 2 A MODEL MENU



Vegetarian food orders are exclusively given to Hindu caterers like Bhosle, Shree caterers, Sai and Saraswat Caterers. These caterers provide food, drinks, sweets dishes and snacks for all occasions. But mainly for wedding receptions wherein they prepare food for 500 to 1000 people also. They charge by the plate and charges are also according to the number of items in the menu.

The caterers bring their own decorations, tables, cutlery, glasses, plates, serviettes, and serving dishes. Equipped with all the paraphernalia and the assistant workers and helpers they lay out the prepared food, decorate the food, serve and later clear and clean the buffet area, and carrying all their stuff including the leftovers back. At times people insist on permitting to take home the balance of food items ordered.

Certain hotels where receptions are held don't allow people to get outside caterers as they serve their own food. (Mandovi, Alua, Emerald Lawns, Cidade-de-Goa, Marriott, and the like)

Trend has shifted from bringing cooks at home to cook for guests attending marriages and festivals to give orders to caterers. This enterprise is fast growing. Among them the most ancient (Famous even before Liberation) and well known is Pascoal caterers

Case history of Pascoal caterers (One of the prominent caterers in Goa. The researcher and her relatives are his clients.)

The researcher interviewed the owner of this business enterprise on 20 September 2002, Mr. Diago Inacio Peieira, whose family is originally from Curchorim was born in Panjim and residing at St. Inez, Panjim. Part of his house and the courtyard outside is used for cooking for mass consumption. He took over the business from his late father, Pascoal Manuel Pereira, who was involved in catering for over forty to fifty years. His father at times catered for some parties that had a crowd of over two thousand. His father was working as government servant and he took up this job as part-time work. Mr. Diago learnt this trade from his father. His wife helps him in the business but not very enthusiastic about him continuing this. His children too do not want to take up this job. He employs over a hundred helpers and caters for all types of parties and for all classes of people. The guests he catered for are over 1500. The cooking is done on firewood as the clients prefer and believe that such a food tastes better, As heat is evenly distributed the food does not get burnt.

Menu:- He is capable of preparing varieties of dishes. He claims of knowing fifty types. His orders come mainly from the Christians, though, on several occasions he has served Hindus too. He prefers to take orders for the Christian non-veg dishes due to his specialisation.

He has noted a change in the way the food was served. Earlier invariably the food was served in the plates directly and given to the guests except for some high-class Portuguese families. Now it has almost become a norm to serve food in buffet style among all classes of people.

Break up of caterers in and around Panjim who serve limited non-veg (six) and extensive non-vegetarian food items (six). By limited non-veg I mean those who

mainly cater to Hindu clientele by serving chicken and fish. By extensive non-veg I mean those who serve all kinds of meat dishes.

1. Just one or two have been in the profession before liberation. All others have joined the business in the last one or two decades.
2. It is a very profitable business and investment required is minimal.
3. No academic qualification is mandatory.
4. Most of the caterers stated that initially they did very well and since the last four or five years their business is slack due to too much of competition.
5. Entire family is not involved in the business. Some of the caterers preferred to employ non-Goans because they were better workers.
6. The clients mainly on the basis of religious affiliation selected the caterers. Main consideration was the type of people invited.
7. Now people employ them even while organising small birthdays.
8. Losses are always in the form of losing cutlery and breakage of dishes.
9. Left over food and waste disposal is their main problem.

The number of courses depended on the economic condition of the clients. Usually a banquet could consist of four snacks, twelve courses of dishes and four or five desserts. Even Hindu caterers serve Catholic food items.

The Goa Food Festival

Food festival is an occasion for family dining out in the study area. The Goa food festival is held every year since the last decade. This is sponsored by various organisations. Here different types of food items and beverages are sold in one place for three days. There are stalls of Chinese, Indian, Portuguese, Goan, Mogalai and Punjabi food sold. There are entertainment programmes to attract the crowd: dance, music, and fashion parade. Games like Giant wheel attract children. Huge crowd throngs to participate in this festival.

In Goa, every household holds parties on various occasions. In the study area the number of such parties is increasing. In my own house the number of party suppers are increasing. In this study I have noticed the swelling of the extra-domestic domain. As I stated in the introduction this observation can be taken as a hypothesis for future study. While testing it, the future study may also explore the latent functions of such a development.

CHAPTER SIX

NEW INFLUENCES AND PRESSURES ON DOMESTIC AND EXTRADOMESTIC FOODWAYS

There has been a growing concern over what food is right and what is not. The media, both the print and media of mass communication, is influential in shaping the consumption foodways. As Alan Warde (1997: 26) notices there is some kind of an enlightenment of the domestic cook in contemporary times. The domestic cook and the family members are now exposed to varieties of influences and pressures. This chapter describes a few of them observed by me in the study area.

Now enormous foodstuffs are available in the market and there is corresponding increase in food related scares and advices to overcome them. I have noticed a few of such scares. Fear of negative influence of food on health and ideas on the relations between food and body image are found in the newspapers and journals. These influences contribute to food avoidance and preferences. In the study area I have noticed that many new pressures are on the relationship between diet and health

Diet and Health

The linkage between diet and health is an inescapable fact of life. While this link is widely recognized in human culture, there are seemingly endless variations in the ways in which it is conceptualised and in the ways in which such conceptualisations are translated into actual beliefs and practices. These conceptualisations of the relationships between diet and health have two opposed aspects: positive and negative.

The positive aspect is based upon the idea that certain food items, combinations of food items or diets can produce beneficial health outcomes and the

negative aspect is based upon the idea that most obviously, a grossly inadequate food intake will lead to weight loss and eventually to death. The new emphasis is how people present themselves and appear to others. Featherstone (1991) draws attention to the contemporary emphasis on general body maintenance that sometimes culminates in an obsession with a procedure for presenting oneself as youthful, healthy and beautiful, almost regardless of biological age. Food scars, dietary regimes, and ideas of correct body are now the concerns of the people of Goa as seen in the dietetic columns in local press. From this observation emerges another hypothesis for further study.

The dietetic regimes in some middleclass and upper class households tend to be overtly directed towards the pursuit of an idealized body weight and shape. A new gymnasium has come up in the study area. My interactions with those who frequent the gym told that they attend the gym for the promise of good health, longevity and a slim, youthful and attractive body. They consume right food along with practising physical exercises. The trained instructors in the gym help them in selecting the right food. The diet columns in the print media and the television shows and suggestions from the elderly members of the family help them in deciding the right food. Such a food is presented as a solution to the problems of illness and old age. Here a combination of ideas of good and right food from the past and present is found.

Even a casual glance at the Doctors' page of The Sunday Navhind Times, a popular Newspaper from Goa informs that almost all articles on health suggest proper diet as means to fight with or prevent various diseases. Apart from studied articles from such doctors as Rajan Mahatme, S. M. Palkar and Vithal Kamat dietetic facts from other magazines and internet are printed. A few captions are: 'Diet for Diabetics', 'The need for a balanced diet and healthy life-style', and 'What Causes

Thinness?’ Thus the medical knowledge on food is abundantly available in the public sphere. In the context of increasing access to such knowledge by all the literate persons and a few of the people openly quoting these articles in the discussion I have noticed an academic need to find out the extent of the influence. For a future quantitative study of diet and health role of medical knowledge on food in the public sphere may be a relevant problem.

The availability and influence of cookbooks in Goa (Who uses them?)

The cookbooks as well as recipe columns in the newspapers and journals are popular among the housewives in the study area and my relatives. In fact, through out the world there is some kind of a revolution in the publication of cookbooks. They are found everywhere, in all languages, covering all cuisines.

The phenomenon of cookbooks has attracted the attention of social anthropologists. Appadurai’s (1988) study of cookbooks in contemporary India has shown how cookbooks construct a national cuisine for a rising middle class. Bower’s (1997a; 1997b) research on community cookbooks has demonstrated that cookbooks reveal class anxiety on the part of immigrants, and that cookbooks can be read as autobiographies. Neuhaus’s examination of 1950s American cookbooks shows how cookbooks revealed deep ambivalence about gender roles and “the tenuousness of the domestic ideal” (1999, 531). Finally, Siporin’s (1994) account of Jewish cookbooks in Italy shows how one immigrant community (Jews) struggled with cultural assimilation through modifying traditional menus to suit their new cultural environment.

The above studies show that cookbooks are more than recipe books. A careful reader will find non-culinary functions/dimensions of cookbooks. For my examination I have selected five very popular cookbooks of Goa, which are listed below.

1. Fernandes, Joyce. 2002 (sixteenth edition). *Goan Cookbook*.
Published by the Authoress herself.
2. Fernandes, Joyce. 1996 (second edition). *Home Style Cooking*.
Published by the Authoress herself.
3. Rodrigues Maria De Lourdes Bravo Da Costa. 2000. *Tasty Morsels: Goan Food, Ingredients and Preparation*. Tiswadi: L&I Publications.
4. Sequeira Melanie. 1999. *Food Stop: The Complete Food and Drink Guide*. Panjim: Creative Ideas.
5. Amonkar Sudha. S. 2003 (seventh edition). *Goan Dishes*. Panjim: Rajhauns Vitaran.

All the cookbooks address the housewife and reiterate the gendering of cooking. This is very vocal in Joyce's introduction:

"...And this cookbook contains recipes from some of the once-upon-a-time zestful women of Goa...women who had (and still do) a sincere interest for good food and drink... women who used a handful of this and a pinch of that formula for cooking....women who cooked in large quantities, in earthenware and copperware, on firewood....and women who believed that Goan cuisine is top!"

All cookbooks are written by women catering to the requirements of women. Most of the authors are catholic Christians. May be among the Christians many people purchase cookbooks. Even Sudha Amonkar, a Hindu authoress, has dealt with many typically Christian dishes.

The cookbooks communicate the essentials of authentic Goan identity. They give Goan recipe as distinct from other recipes. In the era of globalisation and migration of outsiders to Goa these Cookbooks remind Goans of *Goanness*. They also

show that Goa has an authentic cuisine as North Indian cuisine or Chinese cuisine. The role of cookbooks in Goan homes and in Goan society is a potential topic for further anthropological analysis.

Vegetarian Ideology: Its History and influences in Goa

The influence of vegetarian ideology through Goa Chapter of the International Vegetarian Society is felt in the study area. Though for predominantly non-vegetarian Goans vegetarianism is a new ideology, as such the ideology is very ancient. A vegetarian ideology was practiced among religious groups in Egypt around 3,200BC, with abstinence from flesh based upon beliefs in reincarnation. Abstention from meat was central to such early philosophies as Hinduism, Zoroastrianism and Jainism. Vegetarianism was encouraged in the ancient verses of the *Upanishads* and also mentioned in *Rig Veda* -- the most sacred of ancient Hindu texts. Pivotal to such religions were doctrines of non-violence and respect for all life forms.

Famous philosopher and mathematician Pythagoras encouraged vegetarianism. While wishing to avoid animal cruelty, he also saw the health advantages in a meat-free diet. Pythagoras viewed vegetarianism as a key factor in peaceful human co-existence, putting forward the view that slaughtering animals brutalized the human soul. Other notable Ancient Greek thinkers favoured a vegetarian diet. Socrates, Plato and Aristotle all advocated a 'natural' life that did not involve animal cruelty.

Vegetarianism has always been central to Buddhism, which enshrines compassion to all living creatures. The Mauryan king Asoka, the Great (who reigned between 264~232 BC) converted to Buddhism, shocked by the horrors of battle. Animal sacrifices were ended, as his kingdom became vegetarian.

With the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century there emerged a new appraisal of man's place in the order of creation. Arguments that animals were intelligent feeling creatures were voiced and moral objections were raised, as there was an increasing distaste for the mistreatment of animals. Amongst western religions there was a re-emergence of the view that, in fact, flesh consumption was an aberration from God's will and the genuine nature of humanity.

In the West the Vegetarianism has been an ideology for social movement and facilitated the establishment of Vegetarian Societies. In Europe there is European Vegetarian Union (EVU) and USA has Vegetarian Union of North America (VUNA). In India this movement is slowly gaining momentum. In India the Vegetarian Society with its office located at Mumbai decided to host the First Asian Vegetarian Congress and selected Goa as the venue for the event. Therefore, the First Asian Vegetarian Meet was held during 14-20 October 2001 at Dona Sylvia, Cavelossim in South Goa.

His Excellency Shri R. Venkataraman, the former President of India inaugurated the meet. At this meet was also inaugurated the Goa Chapter of the Vegetarian Society. Dr. Pande is its chairman and Mrs. Sylvia Albuquerque is its treasurer. The Society meets once a month on the second Tuesday at Yatri Niwas (Youth Hostel), Panaji. Their specific aim is to avoid cruelty to animals and to help people attain a healthier life style. Membership is open to all on payment of a nominal fee. The Society is now planning for next 37th International Vegetarian Society's (IVU) World Vegetarian Congress being held at Goa. The President of the IVU claims that the venue is ideal for a Congress that has as its theme "HEALTHY LIFESTYLE - VEGETARIAN WAY!" The Goa Chapter is now mobilizing local membership for the forthcoming event. The sensitivity of the predominantly non-vegetarian Goans to this movement is slowly gaining momentum.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

As far as the food consumption among the humans is concerned there is combination of biological necessity and socio-cultural practice. While fulfilling their hunger and thirst humans form foodways- that are not simply matters of taking enjoyment in gustatory sensations. Food and eating are shaped and reshaped by culture on the one hand and individual likes and dislikes on the other. Simultaneously, the type of food and the availability of food influence the context and content of eating practices. Food and eating on the one hand and society and culture on the other have reciprocal relations. Starting from the sociological observation that society is always in a flux this study attempted to explore the changing foodways in Goa's domestic dining sphere.

I have selected the domestic dining because in India, the domestic zone or the domain of the household is the central part of social arrangement. The human network begins here in the household and expands from here. Effects of socio-cultural change on foodways and *vice versa* are encapsulated in the domestic dining practices. The dining practices in the domestic zone have a bearing on several aspects of society and culture. Take for example the issue of gender. The patriarchy is reflected in the gendering of foodways. Food preparation at home absorbs huge amount of time. Provisioning and shopping, storage and preserving, preparation and cooking, serving and cleaning are regular activities necessary to sustain the regular eating habits of all. Women do much of such works. The expectation that the women are the custodians of domestic kitchen remains unaltered. Women are expected to dutifully associate with the tasks of provisioning, preparing, arranging, serving and cleaning. It may be concluded that over the years no change has taken place in this expectation. As such a value is taken for granted it may appear that my conclusion is hackneyed.

My attempt at locating my study in the general corpus of social/anthropological disciplines led me to go for an overview of works in these areas. It has been noticed that the direct intellectual attention to food and eating is not very ancient in sociology. Over the last forty years the anthropologists have shown interest in this area as shown in the classification of social study of food and eating by Goody (1982), Mennel et al (1992) and Beardsworth and Keil (1997). I studied foodways in the domestic dining sphere with a main intention of generating some hypothesis for further quantitative study. In this regard some of my conclusions are listed below.

1. Enormous numbers of new products are constantly made available by food manufacturer. Due to globalisation fresh and new products from around the world are now routinely available everywhere in Goa.
2. The component parts of the average diet are changing driven partly by more prominent concern with health and nutrition.
3. Domestic routines are altering - cooked breakfasts and midday meals at home are on the decline and domestic kitchen displays a greater variety of equipment.
4. The market had expanded for the commercial delivery of meals and snacks, at fast food restaurants in public houses, through home deliveries of take-away food, as indeed it has for complete, pre-prepared chilled or frozen packages purchased from the super market and reheated at home.
5. Food scares, eating disorders and obsession with body shape equally suggest enhanced concern, and often anxiety, about food.
6. An inquiry into the changes in food beliefs has shown nostalgia for the old.

On the basis of their location the households I visited in my study have been classified as semi rural and new settlements. The number of new settlements has been increasing. In these new settlements a clear trend towards industrial food has been noticed. These settlements are cut off from the original source of food. There is no more primary food production practices found here. As testimonies of emerging industrial food new influences such as 'curry in hurry', 'tiffin service' and precooked packaged food can be noted.

There is a clear move towards industrial food. Certain food items which were prepared in the households are now coming into the market as readily cooked packaged food. Some individuals at home traditionally prepared food items in large scale and kept for sale in the market (For example, Sannas, Christmas sweets (Neuros, dodol, pinak, bebinka). In the past every home prepared Christmas sweets, now people prefer to buy from the market. A few of such small entrepreneurs are heading towards the commercialisation of these products. Commercialisation has its own limitations, for certain items have to be consumed fresh having limited shelf life. Certain items like Bebinka are produced by industries using preservatives to extend their shelf life.

Eating habits of villagers and those living in new settlements are different. The villagers prefer traditional food items, fresh fish, meat, fruits and vegetables that are locally grown. Cold or frozen meat is rarely used. The preference is due to the belief that the moment meat is stored in ice it loses its originality. The locally grown vegetables and fruits are preferred as they have been grown with the use of natural manure.

The residents of the new settlement partake more of commercial products. Their children also prefer junk foods available in shops. The higher earnings of their

parents is responsible for this. The peer influence acts as pressure for the children. All these processes constitute prima facie evidence of transition of foodways.

I will list a few hypotheses generated on the basis of my observations in the present study. The first hypothesis is about the use of industrial food. The trend is that more the urbanisation of an area higher will be the use of industrial food. As I have observed the swelling of extra-domestic domain the hypothesis is: The participation of the members of households in eating out practices is increasing over the years. The more and more members of the younger generation are participating in eating out practices. Therefore the hypothesis generated is: The eating out practices are more among the adolescents and the youth.

I would like to conclude this study by identifying some limitations. First and foremost it should be noted that this is not a quantitative study. Except for an interaction with a few purposively identified women there is no much statistical data in the study. In the absence of hypothesis testing, it has not aimed at generalisations. It indicates some insights for further hypothesis testing studies. Secondly, the geographical area covered is limited. The findings of the research could have been rigorous if I had taken into consideration and probed into the statistical examination of growth rate of industrial food to find out its impact on the social relations in Goa. The researcher feels that exhaustive family histories in the study area could have been constructed to note the change and continuity of foodways.

The academic contribution of this study consists of its recognition of future areas of study such as industrialising domestic dining, expansion of extradomestic sphere and new influences and pressures on dining.

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