CHAPTER 2:

LITERATURE REVIEW
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This step of the research it aspires to review the relevant literatures, theories, economic policies and initiatives and various studies both at the international and national levels which have helped to develop the concept of ‘eating out’ and also provides a map to gauge the very concept of cosmopolitanism and the related different fields that have cursored not only the journey of food from traditional times to it’s current status in the face of globalization but also the simultaneous processes that monitored and induced this shift. The purpose of literature review is to compile the following purposes:

i) to summarize the results of previous research to form foundation on which the research is build

ii) to collect ideas on how to gather data

iii) to investigate methods of data analysis

iv) to study instrumentation which has been used

v) to assess the success of various research designs of the studies already undertaken

The various studies and literatures that have been reviewed being considered relevant to this research in this chapter will ensure that all these purposes of literature review are fulfilled and it will adequately provide certain theoretical frameworks on which this research is based and will help to define the concepts intended and undertaken for this research.

The rough synopsis of the modernization theory identifies progress as a relative term and advocates that it occurs through developmental stages, the entire world is steadily progressing to reach high levels of consumption. Some countries are ahead of others in this journey towards modernization; those countries which are lagging behind are just because of their own fault. Globalization has brought about an increasing inter-connectedness and interdependence of places globally. But globalization operates on the basis of the top-down approach, i.e. it occurs from above. With the financial markets transcending borders, the various global and local, foreign and private food chains operate simultaneously, specially in the urban sectors to create a wide array of choices for the people but the irony of economic globalization is that these choices, options and rules governing these are written by the global elites and people are perhaps at the consuming ends whereby the choices are not only pre-determined but also moulded by others through ways less noticed. The ever-increasing role is played by the
media through advertisements, brand names etc. in drawing people towards these preordained intents of those benefiting in economic terms from these practices of masses. The uniformity of the development process can be challenged reiterate to the growing gap between the core and the periphery.

The Classical Sociological Theorists, first mention may be made of **Auguste Comte** (1798-1857), being the father of Sociology and coining the term of the discipline itself has strong relevance which can be related to the field of sociology of religion and secularization, as the initial ideas emerged. Comte when he talks of the laws of three stages the stages being **theological, metaphysical** and **scientific or positive**, then he equates each evolving stage with it being more progressive and whereby the stronghold of the supernatural, the God being minimized to the evolution of the final, positive stage, which is marked by the ‘natural’ and the ‘scientific’ ideas. It can thus be commonly assumed that in the positive or scientific stage the supernatural has lost its hold and reason play a pivotal role in the everyday life and thus makes this theory relevant for this research.

Moving back to the origin of the term ‘identity’, which can be traced back to **Erik.H.Erikson** (1904-1994) of the Harvard University. The author in the year 1970 coined the term ‘identity’ and based on the ‘**epigenetic principle**’ which is derived from the growth of organism in the utero, has analyzed that, a ‘ground plan’ is essential for anything that grows to be a functioning whole. Further this principle is used to highlight the development of the sense of an ‘autonomous being’, ‘personality’ or ‘identity’ in a child but this sense of identity does not develop in a child prior to the age of two years. Within the human organism certain pre-determined steps asserts the development of identity. These steps are: readiness to be driven forward, to be aware of and to interact with an increasing radius of significant individuals and institutions. The author has also arranged each step in order with the ascending of a stage, followed by the crisis that each stage meets and towards the end of each stage a lasting solution is worked up on. With the onset of each stage, the child’s specific contact with it conveys to the child it’s particular concepts and ideas of autonomy in ways that decisively contributes to the character, relative efficiency and the sense of his/her vitality. Now what is to be drawn from this analysis of Erikson is that his conception of identity has its roots in the utero that brings to the forefront it’s biological roots. But this sense of identity in today’s globalized world perhaps
move on to a sense of association with those people who lead a particular lifestyle or consume similar products. So those people on the same ground share the identity which is imparted not on biological but in terms of economic status and the consequent sharing of the same class.

Marijke Van der Veen (2003) argues that luxury foods are those that offer refinement in texture, taste, fat content and has other qualities of being inebriant and stimulant. It is further argued that luxury foods are used as tools to mark social distinction both in terms of quality and quantity. The social context of food, i.e. seeing food as a material culture is what makes this study interesting. It is placed on the basis of Ethnographic studies that societies without strong forms of social stratification emphasis is on the quantity of food and elaboration of common staples while societies with institutionalized forms of social rankings emphasize on the styles and quality of food. Consumption of luxury foods primarily create or increase social bonds and serves to maintain exclusivity and distance.

Patrick V. Kirch and Sharyn Jones O’Day (2003) recognizes the correlation between social status as reflected in Social differentiation and hierarchy and the consumption of luxury foods. Luxury foods are valued both ways ceremonial use i.e. ritual presentation and also because they are prized by the elite class. Differential access to luxury foods as in terms of regular sumptuary consumption for the elites and ritual and ceremonial access to the same are used as symbolic markers to define eliteness.

George Ritzer and Michael Ryan (2004) argues that the balk over the external control of the international agencies and other nations, specially the United States always is accompanied by the fear that the global culture will take over the indigenous culture. Globalization opens up greater choices on one hand and on the other create a sense of lost identity. Globalization focuses on the realm of consumption and this is re-inforced by the various social institutions. The author further differentiates between ‘nothing’ and ‘something’\textsuperscript{14} and even though they lack distinctive meaning, adds the same when both are placed in juxtaposition. The ‘form’ or the ‘structure’ even though remains the same the ‘content’ varies cross-culturally. Globalization involves a number of transnational processes of which the two most important are ‘Grobalization’, which consists of proliferation of nothing and the other being ‘Glocalization’\textsuperscript{15}, which can be related to the constant effort of creating something ‘glocal’. The distinctive

\textsuperscript{14}Ritzer, George and Ryan Michael (2004: 299)
\textsuperscript{15}Ritzer, George and Ryan Michael (2004:300,303-307)
content of the local causes a major hindrance of it to produce in large amount. The specific locales manufacture those things, if the same are also produced in mass will vary in terms of taste and authenticity. But now the space-time differentiation has collapsed and so it has become easier for the manufacturers to retain cost benefits by dropping the nullities as a particular tie to a place is not present, they can drop certain features and add on others depending on the local demands, even though the production is mass or global. The overarching influence of the mass consumption of the internet and how the thoughts and practices of the people are universalized have been also addressed by the author in the text.

**V. Kumara Swamy (2010)** over the controversies raged against the commercial production of Bt brinjals which genetically modifies this food crop. The voice is raised against the biased implementation of the Biotechnology Regulatory Authority Bill, 2009 as they are far from saving the bio-diversity and protecting the environment as the bill is placed under the umbrella of the ministry of science and technology instead of the environment ministry. The biosecurity of the nation is ensured under the conditions of economical and ecological sustainability, the well-being of the farming families and the safety of the environment and so Genetically Modified Organisms (GMO) are an obvious threat to which a veg-rage is raised. The unquestioning acceptance of the scientific community and ‘misinformation’ being punishable under Section 63 of the same law which punishes offenders of misleading the public about the safety of organisms and products for a period not less than six months and a fine up to Rs. 2 lakhs or both, are the gears that the government has adopted. This engineering of the food crops have long term effects on the human health and environment and hence setting a time limit of two years to lodge a complaint against the GMO crops is in itself sarcasm, according to the skeptics. What is noteworthy is how people being coupled with various voluntary organization are no longer at the receiving end of the agricultural products but they are raising their voices and fighting against the legislative stands that are aimed to protect the interests of the consumers.

**Colleen Taylor Sen (2004)** links food with total wellbeing both spiritual and material and recognizes that the life of all living beings is food and the whole world is after seeking food. Complexion, clarity, good voice, long life, understanding, happiness, satisfaction, growth,
strength, intelligence, etc. all stem up from food. Pertaining to the Vedas, food is whatever that is required for the worldly happiness and the spiritual salvation. The *Humoral Theory of Disease*, which influences the science of medicine and includes the four humors namely: blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile constitute sound health if they are mixed in correct proportions, a deviation from it will lead to the opposite.17

**Harold Adams Innis** (Nov.5, 1894-Nov.8, 1952) identifies the role of media in shaping the culture and the expansion of civil and strike a balance between the oral and the written forms of communication. Western civilization is now powered by imperiled, advertising driven media which is obsessed by ‘present-mindedness’ and ‘continuous, systematic, ruthless destruction of elements of permanence, which are essential to cultural activities. The author applied the dimensions of time and space and also distinguished between ‘time-bound media’ (which are permanent like clay, stone tablets) and space building media which are ephemeral (modern media). The author also talks about ‘Media Empire’, i.e. how controls over space and secular dimensions are taken over by the media.

**Jean Francois Lyotard** (1924-98) advocates how post modernism not only seeks to deconstruct the accepted social categories but to depict a world produced by multiple discourses produced by the endless dimensions of life getting endlessly constructed. The traditional exercises of sensing reality through binary categories find no place in the post-modern era.

In the year 1960 **Walt Rostow** (1916- ), an US economic historian who has made significant contributions to the field of Economic and Social Development needs mention. In his most famous work, he has identified a series of stages of growth and development that a country passes through as their economy grows. The first stage is the ‘Traditional Society’, where subsistence economy based on farming and limited technology or capital to process raw materials or to develop services and industries are present. ‘The pre-conditions of take-off’ marks the second stage where, with the augmentation of technology coupled with the development of the transportation system encourages trade. The third stage is the ‘take-off’ stage where manufacturing industries grow along with the growth in airports and railways. The growth is further increased with the emergence of increase in the investments. The ‘drive to maturity’ is the fourth stage when the country should be self-sustaining. A network throughout

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17 Taylor, Sen Colleen (2004: 176)
the country should be set-up, urbanization must occur, number and types of individuals must increase and transportation system must develop further. To complete his model of development he marks the concluding stage as the age of ‘mass consumption’ where rapid expansion of the tertiary industries must occur with the recurring decline in the manufacturing sector.

**Immanuel Wallerstein** (1930- ), the United States sociologists and social historian, whose first volume of ‘*The Modern World-System*’ appeared in the year of 1974. The world, as depicted by Wallerstein post 16th century has been divided into a centralized core consisting of the industrialized, capitalist and dominant countries like that of England, France and the Netherlands on one hand and the rest of the world specially the Third world countries on the other hand the later being both economically and politically weaker than their on the other hand the later being both economically and politically weaker than their counterparts. As a part of the process, other countries became a source of cheap labour suppliers, in the most common form of unfree labour in the form of *slavery of debt peonage*, food stuff, luxury goods and raw material suppliers to the other mercantile economies who dominate the world trade. This unevenness and dependence of the Third world countries with and on the core countries hinders the real development of the periphery and contributes to the ever-increasing widening gaps between these countries. The core countries use these Third world countries as the source of supply of resources that result in a lower production cost and these peripheral countries are used as markets for selling of the produced goods of the core. A core ideology operates in the periphery which the later considers as the ideal to be reached or attained. Whether such similar ideologies operate in case of food in the proposed peripheral research setting obviates this as a relevant piece of literature.

**Vivien Burr** (1995) projects an altogether different view about the world that we live in; it is an alternative approach which is much different from the common sensical view of the world. It further views human beings as social being. It is the common link between post-structuralism, discourse analysis, critical psychology and deconstructionism. How social phenomenon is developed in social contexts is thrust of this view. The author argues that we can see things which are really, actually, not there because of the discourse and once when the elaboration of the object in the discourse has occurred then the object in no time is identified as the real. General and tactical reason that seems self-evident is power, and its success depends on its
potential to hide its own mechanisms. One’s identity is constantly constructed and produced with a multitude of discourses being at work simultaneously. So the origin of one’s identity emerge out of social realm and not out of the self the manifestations of such an origin are rendered invisible because of it being our medium of existence as a social being and it is done through a wide range of languages and signs. To be a self implies not to be a certain kind of being but to be in possession of a certain kind of theory\textsuperscript{18}. The author talks about the ‘interpretative repertoires’ which are the building blocks that the speaker uses to construct an own version of actions, cognitive processes and phenomenon. Any repertoire consists of a specific style, use of grammar and derived from a metaphor and is signaled by certain figures of speech. Truth our socially accepted ways of understanding the world varies cross-culturally and historically is not a result of objective observations about the world but is developed in ways in which people constantly engage in social processes and interactions. The way sexual conduct is encased in the notion of the powerful is derived from this understanding.

\textit{Pierre Bourdieu’s} (1930-2002) analyses of the different elements or dimensions of consumer goods, the presentation of the food, eating meals, home furnishings and interior decoration are used as a tool of differentiation by the various socio-economic classes to mark themselves off and their distinctive way of living. Bourdieu uses two types of capital namely economic and cultural to place his argument. On one hand while individuals in a society in the initial phase invest in the cultural or intellectual capital to obtain a rank in the social hierarchy, while on the other hand this particular membership in the social class, which the person has entailed through his position in the social hierarchy and also shared by the others with similar capital investment potentialities, shapes tastes and preferences owing to this particular membership. Economic capital is central to the business, entrepreneurial, management, commercial and financial groups who lead a flashy and lavish life as a part of emulating the aristocratic lifestyles. The other motive of preservation of power over the society dictates the need of accumulating of the economic capital by the bourgeoisie class. The education system generates another structure of capital, one which entitles the individual to talk and write about culture and to create new cultural items like paintings, texts, music etc. so it follows that the longer a person can have access to education the more he can accumulate cultural capital and the more power he can hold

\textsuperscript{18} Burr, Vivien (1995:86)
and thereby in turn denies others of not only the power but also the associated benefits that power brings about. This case is just the same for the other forms of capitals also. The difference between accumulation of high cultural capital and other forms of capital is that the former is rare and favours cultivated and abstract pleasures as against the direct and immediate pleasures of the body, which is mostly the case as with the economic capital. The cultural capital also favours subtle, inconspicuous form of consumption and display as against the overt display of wealth and consumption. The one-off attribute of the cultural capital obviously calls for the protection of the same within group and if these exclusivities of the objects, the qualifications and cultural practices starts getting accessibilities by others then these groups change to retain their ‘distinctiveness’. Consumption can be seen as a set of social and cultural practices that serve as a way of establishing differences between different social groups not only in terms of consumption but also becomes evident in the ways lifestyles are expressed which are determined by the accessibility of the different economic and cultural capitals. A process of picking up of cues from the higher classes of how and what to consume operates among the middle class. The working class gives more importance to the immediate, direct and bodily pleasures. Unlike Karl Marx, Bourdieu is of the opinion that the position in the social structure does not produce politically unified groups and practices, when this occurs it might be credited to the consequence of certain other activities. The role of education is central to the link between social status and consumption as it inculcates in an individual the quality to make aesthetic judgment which is learnt, acquired, developed and cultivated in educational settings, in which education becomes the necessary platform for cultural transmission. Corrigan exemplifies this with the fact that the wealthy send their children to schools to acquire aesthetic knowledge which is prioritized over the fact that the bourgeoisie class’ intent of sending their wards to become teachers. Differences entail struggle for defining and identifying the cultural capital among the industrial class and their intellectual counterparts. The constant class struggle for prioritizing the superiority of their own capital is inherent, integral and continuous in the social hierarchy. The following table shows the distribution of economic and cultural capital among different groups in the society:
Table: 2.1: **Distribution of Cultural and Economic classes and their mobility chances:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LA (No Movements)</th>
<th>LB (Movements)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High economic and cultural capital- e.g. lawyers</td>
<td>High economic and low cultural capital- e.g. petite bourgeoisie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LC (Movements)</th>
<th>LD (No Movements)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low economic and high cultural capital- e.g. teachers</td>
<td>Low economic and cultural capital- e.g. unskilled labourers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bourdieu (1984) points out that no judgment of taste is innocent. The author bringing in the situation of the middle class, in the modern world, specially the French bourgeoisie identifies that their tastes and preferences call them snob. The bourgeoisie mind is dissected by what he calls distinction, which is at once a vast ethnography of contemporary France. The aesthetics and the tacky feeling of what is ugly or trendy guide the choice of people that they make in everyday life. In the empirical survey conducted in the 1963 and concluded around 1967/68 finds out that a French man’s choices of menu of food for guests, clothing, furniture’s etc. are all guided by a multitude of social factors. The author identifies the omnipresence of ‘social snobbery’ in the bourgeoisie world. The aesthetic choices that people make are distinction in the sense that these choices are made in opposition to those of the other classes. Taste thereby is not pure and in our cult for thinness Bourdieu finds a world of social meanings in the decisions to order bouillabaisse in our contemporary ‘cult of thinness’. The social world functions simultaneously as a system of power relations and also he argues as a symbolic system minute distinction of taste becomes the basis for social judgment. The social class in one hand moulds the likes and the dislikes of a person and on the other hand, the distinctions on the social class get re-inforced everyday in daily life. The curiously engaging strategies of social pretensions have also been pointed out by the author.

The relevance of Bourdieu’s work in this research work is the way the middle class takes clues from the higher and upper middle class and engages in ‘conspicuous consumption’ and adopts lifestyles related to food consumption, dining styles presentation techniques and the like, following them on the other hand the later increasingly goes on to change the exquisites related to food and cuisine in order to maintain what Bourdieu identifies as ‘distinctiveness’.
Zygmunt Bauman (2005) puts forward that the liquid modern era is marked by a loss in self confidence and the courage of imagination. Consumers in Liquid Modern Society Consumer society are marked more by an oasis-like never-ending case of satiating human desires in a way no other society in the past could do or even imagine. The society from modernity to liquid modernity is featured by the replacement of the society of producers to a society of consumers. The security in this society is imparted to enjoy increased freedom, freedom to purchase, to consume, and for the enjoyment of life. The problems of modernity and liquid modernity has been identified by Bauman as being more or less similar but the diffusion causing pinning down of the problem is what makes the later stage more complicated.

Peter Corrigan (1997) talks about food and drink, advertising, objects, commodities and non-commodities, shops and shopping. The author recognizes that consumption even though has been a feature of all the human societies but mass scale consumption has featured as foundational and not epiphenomenal characteristics of this society. Following Marx, the author points out consumption over production to be the main driving force of the contemporary society and this argument is premised on the negation of the ‘functional’ logic which holds true only when what is produced is consumed. But for engagement in what he calls ‘consumptionist pleasure’ production must be more than consumption so that there is surplus and that surplus is distributed. Identifying the ‘Great Transformation’ as the economic, political, social changes accompanied by the process of capitalist industrialization in the 19th century Europe he moved away from seeing the process only in narrow lens like his predecessors. With a detailed analysis of the factors like, food and drink, advertising, objects, commodities and non-commodities, shops and shopping, the departmental stores he explores a universe of meanings in which the modern-day consumers live by identifying the relationship between the processes of production and consumption. Drawing heavily on McCracken and Campbell, he relates:

- patterns of consumption to the realms of politics, economy and culture of self-satiation
- the shifting of shopping from departmental stores to shopping malls, marking a parallel shift from ‘modern’ to ‘post-modern’ societies

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19 Bauman, Zygmunt (2005:65)
20 Bauman, Zygmunt (2005:80)
Following the Marshall Plan during the course of the Second World War period entailed an economic boom that social classes who previously did not have access to consumerist objects, their later generations started having it since 1950s due to the new-found wealth.\(^{21}\) Even though this is not the first instance of consumption but the nobles, i.e. the higher classes engaged in consumptionist behaviour. A break from tradition in these times made making money and engaging in consumption of goods an end in itself. A shift from *proper consumption* to a general orientation towards *consuming* is what started to appear during the post industrial revolution epoch. *Catholicism* glorified *production*, whereas *Romanticism* hyped over *consumption* and the resultant *expressive individual*. A process of politicization is definitely intertwined with the process of consumption. A conflict or differentiation over ‘new’ and ‘old’ money was found in Europe. Those of the prior category are the ones whose family has been successful over generations, commands secure and high social status and they are ‘naturally’ rich. ‘Richness’ is inherent in their nature of things and they are living as rich manner over generations.\(^{22}\) The latter category is the one with new found economic capacity. The concept of ‘*patina*’ in the European context serves as a symbol to show that the family has been rich for generations, it serves as a visual proof of status. ‘Patina’ guards them against the pretenders, i.e. those who have recently acquired money. Expensive objects without the signs of ageing revealed that the person owning it is rich, but says nothing about his family. McCracken, devised his ‘*invisible ink strategy*’ to figure out the pretenders by creating a group closure, by sharing traits which are exclusive to the in-groups, like the table manners.

*Zygmunt Bauman* (2003) has been an example of dealing with the issues of exclusion for the ‘liquid moderns’. Liquid love emphasizes on the frailty of the human bonds in the post-modern era. His books are aimed at forming a relation between modernity, bureaucracy, rationality and social exclusion. They are marked by loosing faith in the future, commitment phobia and having the least number of kinship ties. The liquid modern as finds less reliability in the traditional forms of kinship less reliable so induces skills, tactics and wits to create provisional bonds, which are neither too tight to lead to suffocation but are grounds for providing support. The liquid modern person is always working, he is ever busy, interested in replacing quality of

\(^{21}\) Corrigan, Peter (1997:2)
\(^{22}\) Corrigan, Peter (1997:2)
relationship with the quantity and is always suffering from insecurities and fear that he might be left behind or might become archaic. The ‘liquid modern’ is always in a race to reinvent oneself so that he does not become unloved, or be friendless. People must be capable to be adaptable and flexible to be able to change at short notice and immediately plunge into opportunities available at hand. Abandoning commitments without regrets tactically and arranging the life with short-term episodes and concentrating on ‘profit’ and ‘loss’ or ‘career’ and ‘progress’ above and over anything else characterizes a ‘liquid modern’ individual.

Alan Warde and Lydia Martins (1992) studied eating out as a case study of consumption and developed a sociological perspective of the same in the light of a number of dimensions. The author identified easily ‘the service positioning framework’ both analytically to the systems of production (Warde: 1992). An intensification of consumer culture and the commodification of services have occurred in the recent years. Leopold’s 1993 study of the ‘systems of provision’ approach is derived from the political economic understanding of consumption and production. All services and products involve a residue of labour and that affects the status and meaning of the product. The author distinguished between the different phases of the production-consumption cycles and identified the different modes of service provisions. Goods arrive the consumers as commodities through the market and involve wage labour, but it is not the case with the services which arrive us from different sectors of non-resident kins. The relationship between the consumer and the producer are entailed and that is crucial in determining the amount and the range of services that the former will receive. Manner of delivery is the defining aspect of the relation between the server and the served. Central to the concept of eating out is the final experience of either of gratification or discontent that the consumer derives after service consumption. Mennell (1985) calls ‘variety’- the prime talisman of consumer societies where people often choose and mix in a random way, these combinations conveying social meanings. But this variety can be termed superficial as it does not really provide us with choices but is a matter of disguising standardization. Following Mennell we can say that the physiological phenomenon of hunger is transformed to the sociological phenomenon of appetite. A process of informalization\(^{23}\) seeks to crumble down the boundaries between popular and high culture. Informalization though often conflated with individualization is different as

\(^{23}\) Informalization is defined as the processes in which the social and cultural rules are less clear and their non-observerance less consequential. (Warde)
the former can be collective and does not mean breaking away from one’s group and social sanctions (Warde: 1997). The displacement of the integrity between food and ‘habitus’, Fischler (1980) argues, freed it from the routinization of behaviour concerning food and with so many options being made available at hand and the diffusion of authoritative rules of conduct creates a situation which can be best termed as what he calls ‘gastroanomie’. The domain of food has now been relegated entirely to the commodification arena with the thrust moving from agricultural to the retailing sector and with the onset of semi-processed food which are present in the supermarkets. So ‘eating out’ has now become part of the process which involves ‘commodity exchange’.

Beardsworth and Teresa Keil (1947) that food is the carrier of multifaceted symbolic charges and also the continuity of any society. The chain of interaction between the human and the non-human entities is the basis of the social organizations. The numbers of social and cultural processes are associated with the presentation of food. The current changes in the food habits in the developed countries are because of the interplay of the social forces between stability and continuity on one hand and on other the forces of change and innovation. The human brain being of a superior kind demands high quality of foods than other animals but these just are broad frameworks within which human beings have the liberty to opt for what people think will suit him.

Anthony Giddens (2003) relates social changes in the contemporary world with the diseases like anorexia, bulimia, which following the author stem up from the anxieties related to the food we eat. The changes associated with the globalization were not present till the 1960s. In today’s world the production and processing improvements, in developed countries provide us with so many options of eating in relation of what we want to be and how we want to look i.e. it calls for a diet for oneself with the prevalence of so many options in the supermarkets. Consequently what follows is the ‘ontological insecurity’, i.e. a deep concern or anxiety about our own existence. The ways we see ourselves have largely been altered post industrialization and globalization. Our social identity at every moment is made and remade at the backdrop of endless social changes, often inter-twined with the element of exerting social control over the social world, in terms of one’s lifestyles. In the world signified by amorphous pluralities and ambiguities such behaviour are resulting from the need of individuals to command social
control. It is the constant strive for attaining security and control. Young girls today also are judged by their appearances, so an ‘additive cycle’ sets in and one starts starving or vomiting so no end as to the that ‘I am thin enough’ as the behaviour becomes additive so breaking free from it becomes next to impossible. In the medieval Europe instances of starvation were not altogether unknown as people engaged in the same to attain spiritual salvation which has now shifted to the self-denial of food. The situation is however perceived to be different in the developing countries where frequent famines and people starving to death are found, so the fat is a sign of health and wealth as it implies that the affluence of the person opens tem up to highly valued, scarce resources. However in case of India, similar pressures of being thin are operating, it being a developing country. The global media also projects ultra thin models that are widely admired by the developed countries. The men resorting to attain security and exert social control are found by their desire to attain muscular bodies and that compulsively guides them to exercise and to the abuse of body building drugs and steroids for attaining the same. The concern of men about their physical appearances are found in the increase in the number of using face creams and undergoing plastic surgeries to stay young. Even though this addiction for staying thin is a highly individual phenomenon but Government, voluntary organizations must take a step to fight against it as an individual losses control over one’s behaviour as the same is additive in nature, so the individual is not free but is running out of control because of anxieties.

Alexandra Howson proposes that how certain aspects of our body like the shape, size, smell, demeanor reveal about the social organization of everyday life and how we engage in ourselves with the world and the people surrounding us. Body is just a medium through which establishment and maintenance of social life occurs. The features of this phenomenon can be outlined as:

- This occurs through an embodied perspective as represented in the engagement with the social world.
- The author talks about the dichotomies of bodily conduct as against bodily betrayals, in which the former projects that to be socially accepted presentation of ourselves must be done in socially approved manner and the later is the deviation from the former which might break the interaction.
The body grooming establishes an identity for us.

The rules of bodily conduct being socially shaped make it obvious to change from time to time and cross culturally.

Body is lived by the individuals and the crucially granted behaviour determines the ways of engaging in the social world. Thus even it being an experience but is influenced highly by social processes and social contexts. The body is inseparable from the ‘we’ and so for competent social interaction to take place one must engage in competent social rules pertaining to the same.

The variety and options are more in case of the rich than that of the poor (Tannahill 1973). Pelto and Pelto, relates delocalization as affecting the developed and the developing countries as crucial to the determinant of the transformation of the dietary practices of the world. In case of the developing nations the changes in the traditional means of subsistence, self-sufficient economies have declined and through remote commercial channels they have to get access to the food, whereas the increase in variety, imports of food endorse the features of the developed countries. At the cost of the economically marginal people greater variety and options are being made available to those who are far outnumbered by the former.

Krisnendu Ray identifies two old ethnic successions in the American cuisine, one is in the labour force and the other in the way a food is served. Both are shaped by counter-intuitive ways, changing hierarchies of taste and ethnic succession in fine-dining in American restaurants.

The Neo-Classical theories of Development are crucial to estimate the privatization and the state’s taking of back-seat in economic endeavors as they are the factors which in ways prompts the liberalization process and the free-market economy aims to invite investors both private and foreign sectors. The same applies in case of food with so many global food chains operating. Deepak Lal, Bhagwati and Little were against the interventionist dominant public sector and a non-existent private sector. The performance of the public sector is often poor and needs to be backed up. But if the private sector is controlled it be inefficient, counterproductive and costly. For example, when the industries are backed up, subsidies and aides are given and exclusive markets are set up the prices of the products go up as these companies face no competition which is ultimately not good for the economy. During 1980s The World Bank has asked the
developing countries to promote private sector. Optimal production and distribution is possible only when the market is free. Adoption of the free market economy, Deepak Lal argues does not mean absolute state minimalization, but what he calls for is transit dogmatic state control or rational form of state control, whereby the state intervention is reduced which must be done only for political priorities. Bhagwati, coming close to the Utilitarian position talks of ‘Direct Unproductive Profit-seeking Behaviour’ whereby the nature of every economic actor be profit seeking, it would ultimately be good for the society. In case of state control often resources are wasted for seeking permits and licenses, which is the unproductive behaviour. Little, however has identified the problems with the state. The author points out that the state operates on the basis of incomplete information the self-seeking behaviour of the state employees or the bureaucracies as their constituent corrupt officials. Identifying the problems with the officials, politicians, lack of competence among administrators, lack of knowledge about the private sector, the solutions offered for the developing countries were to initiate the Western model of development and making the market open, allowing foreign trade, considerable reduction in the size of the public sector, less intervention etc. during the 1990s state intervention played an important role as the awareness, context, environment for free trade is provided by the state. The World Bank also identified state’s role in capacity building. Market and state are not contradictory, both are institutions where individuals have a role to play, both have division of labour. For the market to develop a kind of generalized morality like honesty needs to develop accompanied by a distant, impersonal relationship between the consumers and the shopkeepers. So the market and the state must go hand in hand as they are interdependent. For the market to develop, a stable legal structure (law) must be present while on the other hand the state must provide with a proper, unwavering socio-economic environment for the market to operate. In case of market failures, the state must act as a buffer. Privatization is not an end in itself but its outcome depends upon: the availability of the skills and resources, legal framework, competitive environment. Post-liberalization in the 1990s India also emitted such signals. In case of India, modernization was the Planning objective of the Sixth Five Year Plan which documented a variety of structural and institutional changes in the composition and framework of the economic activity. A budge in the sectoral composition in production, diversification of
activities, advancement of technological and institutional innovations have all been part of the
drive to change a feudal and colonial economy into a modern and independent entity
In the Indian context 1991’s liberalization through investment, dismantling of the regulatory
laws, concerning labour rights, import-export laws, taxation system and dismantling of the
security net, has brought about a huge change with massive number of people living in the
urban quarters. ‘Changing the built environment’ in the urban quarters with so many high rise
buildings and malls coming up has created a clearly visible category of the distinction between
the socially visible recipients of consumer experience and the excluded other category. Cultural
signifiers of positive development are engineered as apart of modern consumption experience
and the changing conceptions of the ‘democratic space’- which is constantly reconfigures the
social status and the norms of work in the service economy. Suparna Gooptu (2006)
recognizes globalization as a term popularized by Theodore Levitt of Harvard University in the
1980s. It has been defined as a process marked by the intensification of trans-border inter-
connectedness in all spheres of economy, politics, social and cultural domains without any
national boundaries and distance. Imperialism under the guise of capitalism in newer and newer
forms continues to impede the construction of a world based on equity and justice.24 India is
also undergoing economic and socio-cultural transformation being a part of the process.
Saskia Sassen (2007) highlights the growing authority of the non-state actors as well as the role
of government through deregulation and privatization is increasing its participation in the global
economy. The institutional and locational embeddedness of globalization ensures that the state
is engaged in and not subjected to globalization. Thus denationalization of a state functions
within the capacity that arises out of its own participation. Globalization has been extended
from the realm of narrow economic aspects so that the state participation is not limited only for
channelizing of the global corporate capital and must open ways to ensure greater accountability
and public scrutiny.
Leslie Sklair (2007) distinguishes three modes of globalization25 both in Theory and Practice like

i) Generic globalization

ii) Capitalist globalization and

24 Gooptu, Suparna (2006:135)
25 Sklair, Leslie (2007:40-41)
iii) **Alternative globalization.**

Further recourse is taken to assess three types of theories of globalization which have been developed using three different units of analysis namely:

a) **Inter-nationalist** (state-centric and *state* is the unit of analysis): which believes that globalization is a power-play between the powerful and the weaker nations whereby card is played by the former and advocates what can be called *newer variety of Imperialism*.

b) **Transnationalist** (globalization as a contested world historical project with capitalist and other variants and TNPs or Trans National Practices is the unit of analysis): it is accepted as the most coherent one by Sklair and is considered as a mix of the other two perspectives.

c) **Globalist** (capitalist globalization as a more or less completed and irreversible neoliberal capitalist project and nameless and faceless *market* is the unit of analysis): this strain proposes that globalization has made us enter into a borderless world and the process of globalization is irreversible and is nearing completion. This Globalist approach is referred as *neo-liberal globalization*.

Sklair, routes all forms of globalization from **Generic globalization** and identifies four factors as crucially contributing to the phenomenon at the second half of the 20th century:

i) The electronic revolutions, notably transformations in the economic base and global scope of the electronic mass media and to most of the material infrastructure of the world today.

ii) The post-colonial situation.

iii) The subsequent creation of the trans-national social spaces and

iv) Qualitatively new forms of cosmopolitanism.

The **Global System** is mounted on the TNCs or Transnational Corporations and incorporates the TNPs which operate at three-fold spheres like:

a) **Economic:** This is characterized by the institutional form of economic transnational practices.

b) **Political:** from which evolves a Trans-national Capitalist Class (TCC).
c) **Cultural-ideological**: the culture-ideology of consumerism.

**Transnational Capitalist Class (TCC)**: constitutes people from different parts of the world and is comprised of four fractions each of which performs different functions at the global capitalist system:

i) Those who own and control TNCs and their local affiliates (corporate fraction)

ii) Globalizing state/inter-state bureaucrats and politicians (state fraction)

iii) Globalizing professionals (technical fraction)

iv) Merchants and Media (consumerist fraction)

Local business, if not globalizing has to perish in the face of the globalizing economy. The members of the TCCs tend to share similar lifestyles, higher education mostly in business schools, consumption of luxury goods and services, membership in exclusive clubs and restaurants, stay at ultra-expensive resorts in all continents, private as opposed to mass forms of travel and entertainment and increasing forms of residential segregation of the very rich, secured locality armed by electronic surveillance. Pursuit of profit and corporate aggrandizement and flaunting the status of ‘citizens of the world capture TNPs. They are called the “big linkers” because of the network they have on a global dimension. But as the Capitalist Globalization brings with it the problems of class polarization and ecological unsustainability so the author calls for alternative forms of capitalism.

**Samir Dasgupta (2004)** identifies a phenomenon that he termed the “burst of globalization” post incidences like the cold war Asian crisis etc. that contributed to the same. How the globalization discourse on one hand talks about integrity, homogeneity and co-existence and on the other promotes disparity, dejection, difference between ‘the West and the rest’. The way globalization is spreading its wings then it can be said that the people in the remotest corner of the world, who can be identified as real people suffer and are becoming part of a capitalism, which can be identified as a ‘flexible’ or ‘managerial’ version of the same in the name of humanity. Massive privatization is leading to mass lockouts of factories, schools, hospitals etc. Globalizations aim is to promote altruism if it is practiced in its true spirit. What goes on in the name of development, is something even not near to it as it has to be something which has to be ‘by’ or ‘for’ the people and must involve them as ‘beneficiaries’ or as ‘initiators’. 1960s onwards income gap among countries have increased substantially, with the poor countries
GNP decreasing alarmingly. Debt burden among the Third World Countries are increasingly mounting and the loans from the world bodies like that of International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Trade Organization creates a concern for them to subscribe to the terms of the later because of their dependence on the same sometimes even at the cost of their own countries. Sociology of Humanity, having its roots in the Hindu philosophies and is not practiced in real terms, altruism is something different from the ways in which it is used, the economic uncertainties being the proof of the same.

**Manfred B. Stegar (2006)** identifies the role of deconstruction of the images as necessary instruments to unfold the nature and dynamics of the phenomenon called ‘globalization’. Cultural globalization has been identified as the intensification and expansion of cultural flows across the globe. The realm of ‘cultural globalization’ encompasses the symbolic construction, articulation and dissemination of meaning. Given that language, music, and image constitute the major forms of symbolic expression, they assume special significance in the sphere of culture. Even though the idea of civilizational exchanges are much older than modernity but the present day cultural transmissions have exceeded all levels, backed by the new technologies the dominant symbolic systems of meanings of our age-like individualism, consumerism and the various religious discourses circulate more freely and widely. The rapid transmission of images and ideas more freely and widely profoundly impact the way people experience their everyday lives. The cultural practices frequently escape fixed localities such as town and nation, even acquiring new meanings in interaction with dominant global themes. The ideological dimension along with the economic, political, social and cultural dimensions act to sell globalization to the global audience by justifying the inevitability, irreversibility, notions of progress as are associated with globalization. The way globalization has been treated by interrogating ‘globalism’ as an ideology of globalization endowed with neoliberal ideas and thoughts is interesting. The critical treatment of the engulfing process of globalization is relevant for this piece of research.

**Zygmunt Bauman (2007)** recognized consumerism as something that involves production, distribution, desiring, obtaining and using of symbolic goods. In lines of Zygmunt Bauman it can be argued that the current era is marked by depthlessness and hypersized asociality robbing  

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27 Blackshaw, Tony (2007:113)
subjectivity and making individuals irrelevant over the supreme reign of the illogic of consumer code declaring the victory of the anti-social signs over the social ones. Consumption is seen as an endless process whereby people consider the consumer objects as something that makes happiness visible or is the means that makes it palpable. The *homo sapiens* are seen to be turned to *homo consumens* in the liquid era. Freed themselves from the burdens of ‘reflexivity of the self’ the consumers are always involved in making decisions regarding what to consume being pre-disposed to numerous choices that are offered by consumerism. *Tony Blackshaw (2007)* argues that ‘BOGOFs’ (Buy One Get One Free) have become the *sine qua non* of market success in the current era of consumerism. The author identifies consumerism as a culture marked by excesses. Oversupply often tending to produce innumerable endings leaving lives often untied, messy. The interplay of commodities with the consumer’s cultural competencies is what makes the consumer consume an object. Consumption acts according to the worth as something that makes happiness visible, palpable and life worth living. Purpose is something that is lost in the era of consumerism. Consumerist societies feature a life full of excesses marked by an array of choices whereby market emerges as the central core turning people to consumers and objects to commodities. It always ensures that the cycle of developing and then in turn fulfilling wishes and desires is on the move.

*Featherstone (1990)* has identified certain features as associated with consumerism. These include:

- Consumerism is encouraged in order for production to occur and to provide inducement to work.
- It serves as a significant source of status differentiation for all social groups.
- It is the source of pleasure and dreams.

The way consumerism is conceived is what makes Featherstone’s work important for this research.

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28 Blackshaw, Tony (2007:112)
29 Blackshaw, Tony (2007:114)
30 Blackshaw, Tony (2007:159)
31 Blackshaw, Tony (2007:111)
32 Blackshaw, Tony (2007:116)
33 Blackshaw, Tony (2007:115)
Ruby Sain (edited) (2008) the various horizons of developmental perspectives and the emerging problems have been identified through various articles. James D. Welfensohn’s identification of development being impossible without the process of cultural continuity and this process is echoed by the establishment of the “World Commission on Culture and Development” in the United Nations in 1992. The World Bank too identifies culture as a potential input for development and the social development task force recognizes how culture provides a lens for development. The relationship between the water resource management and food security also relates food to the wider and central issues of our sustenance. How the sine qua non the diseases of development emerge have also been identified. The importance that Bengalis’ impart to the digestive health referred to as the ‘culture of the abdomen’ referred to as the ‘bowel obsession’ also is an unconventional take related to food and eating. This book also brings forth the re-conceptualization and redefinition of the social problems. Our uncritical acceptance of social problem only highlights the mindless acceptance of problems the way they are provided. The neutral representation of a social problem is identified as a myth. The claims of capitalism like the elimination of poverty have not only not been achieved but newer forms of economic inequality, poverty has been propelled by capitalism even in a level, never thought of. The flip side of capitalism has never been questioned even though the history of capitalism is premised on exploitation, plundering, destruction and colonization. Thus viewing capitalism as a social problem is what makes this text relevant for this research.

**WHO (World Health Organization)** recognizes that a raised BMI is a major risk factor for non communicable diseases such as:

- cardiovascular diseases (mainly heart disease and stroke), which were the leading cause of death in 2008;
- diabetes;
- musculoskeletal disorders (especially osteoarthritis - a highly disabling degenerative disease of the joints);
- some cancers (endometrial, breast, and colon).

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34 Sain, Ruby (2008:88)
The risk for these noncommunicable diseases increases, with the increase in BMI. Childhood obesity is associated with a higher chance of obesity, premature death and disability in adulthood. But in addition to increased future risks, obese children experience breathing difficulties, increased risk of fractures, hypertension, and early markers of cardiovascular disease, insulin resistance and psychological effects. Whether eating out exposes the people to an increased BMI is the concern of the researcher. A BMI of 17 or lower in the absence of any disease has been identified as an indication of anorexia nervosa and a case of BMI greater than 40 has been identified as to carry high risk of stroke, heart attack and type 2 diabetes. In case of Anorexia Nervosa (established by Sir William Gull, Queen Victoria’s personal physician in the year 1873) refers to distorted self-image. The symptoms of the disease are dramatic weight loss, vomiting, engagement in strenuous exercise, lethargic, swollen joints, abdominal distension, perception of self as overweight and others as thin, consuming pills and laxatives, solitude etc. Whether such symptoms are noticeable in Kolkata is what the research intends to find out.

**Verghese Chirayath and Ernest De Zolt (2004)** as the very name suggests deals with the adverse consequences which arise because of the interaction between transitional economies and the multinational companies (MNC). The weak environmental regulations, low wage labour and other lucrative financial terms attract the MNCs in the name of making the developing nations economically self-sufficient actually serve as platforms of corporate criminality.\(^{35}\) In *Empowerment Versus Development: the Effects Of Women’s Empowerment And Economic Development On Children’s Nutritional Well-Being*, author **Robyn Bateman Driskell** identifies that with the growth in economy an increase in wages makes exposure towards greater variety of foods a reality, but women’s empowerment is also the issue that must be well looked after to make this availability sustaining, pertaining to the fact that women have greater influence on children. Quoting Youssef and Roggers, the author acknowledges that ability on the part of the women to create income and to allocate resources are positively related to the nutritional well-being of the children. Women’s control over the resources affects the entire gamut of outcomes from food availability for the children of a particular family to how much food is grown in a particular country, so women’s empowerment must be conceptualized in the following terms of control over key economic resources including income, property, food and control over other

\(^{35}\) Driskell , Robyn Bateman (2004: 168)
means of production. Education obviously paves the trajectory towards empowerment and even in a minimum most increases the status and power of women in the society. Education enlightens and thereby creates more choices of parents towards the health of their children. Women’s employment and labour force participation obviously contributes to women’s empowerment and this work outside by the women increases the family income so in a way makes the options of nutritional choices more at hand, while the propensity of working mothers not taking care of their children is also present. The research shows that primary education enrollment ratio even though shows an increase and the reduction even though to the slightest in the degree of underweight, stunting and malnourished children as an increase in the per capita income is witnessed. The policy makers, especially in developing countries must aim at provisions for bringing the women to the mainstream and make the opportunities being made available to them to improve their power and status. An increase in the human-capital resources and empowerment of women must be specially taken care of by the policy makers and the social service agencies. Unemployment must also be treated as a crucial factor and ways of minimizing if not eradicating the same must be looked after.

*Njoke Njoroge Njehu (2005)* identifies globalization as a well-planned “project”. The author identifies certain institutions, images, policies, claims, demands and programmes associated with globalization. These are:

- Free trade [North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Free Trade Agreement of America (FTAA), World Trade Organization (WTO) etc.]
- Multinational Corporations like: Nike, McDonalds, Wal-Mart, Shell, Nestlé, etc.
- The stock Market
- Exploitation, colonization, oppression
- International Wealth, Odious debt, stolen wealth
- Profits before people
- Privatization
- New, more efficient technology in transportation and communication

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36 Driskell, Robyn Bateman (2004: 171-172)
37 Driskell, Robyn Bateman (2004: 172-176)
• International financial institutions; World Bank, IMF, regional development banks, the Group of 8 (G8)
• Increasing trade between far-flung countries
• Hegemony
• Uneven balance of power and wealth between and within countries
• Hunger, poverty, disease (especially HIV/AIDS, named over and over)
• International solidarity, World Social Forum, anti-sweatshop campaigning
• Genetically modified foods
• Free or de-regulated international trade, which works for the most developed industries and markets and not for others
• Sweatshops, maquiladoras, export processing zones and many others. (398-399, 2005)

The global economy is increasingly entering the lives of people, either by choice or by design. The ‘free trade’ makes the global availability of goods possible. Neither it comes for free nor is it possible to sustain. It comes with the high price of pollution and environmental destruction; the violation of human rights and labour laws and the exploitation of the finite resources, workers and the communities in which the resources are located. Corporate control is increasing in the lives of people and communities across the globe.

Lauren Langman and Karen Halnon (2005) presents the argument that even though the neoliberal globalization fosters vast wealth for the elites while the majorities face greater inequality, exploitation, alienation, declining incomes and retrenchment of benefits. But the majorities “willingly assent”, if not support the system because the ‘globalized culture industries’ serve to entertain, distract, erase critical reason and render the historically arbitrary nature of neo-liberal capital as ‘natural’. Productions, distribution of hegemonic identities that secure its reproduction are all ensured by the global capital. The universalization of the ideology of consumerism and the set of practices that articulate identities and lifestyles are recognized by the authors as factors that make “willingly assent” to domination possible. For large number of people, consumerism, with its promises like ‘goods life’, consumer-based, fantastic forms of ideal selfhood, and fandom or audience ship as communities, provide realms of personal gratification encapsulated from the social that fosters a withdrawal of concerns from social issues to a privatized hedonism and dulling of critical consciousness that helps in sustaining of
hegemony. Liminality is produced as a commodity that serves to produce global social order. “Carnivalization of culture” takes place in the modern world in which the ‘grotesque’ is sold to niche markets after packaging, as it is treated as a commodity. Whether or how through food the “Carnivalization of culture” takes place is what is to be gathered in the research.

**Dr. Ruby Sain’s (1994)** wonderfully analyzed based on empirical research about the local tribals of the district of Birbhum in West Bengal. The author successfully further evades the rural-urban space to move on to the realm of the further marginalized section of the tribal population, who are perhaps out of our vision and thereby of our concern. The rural population suffers even when the urban dwellers engage in conspicuous consumption. Then it is quite imaginable that what position does the tribal folk stands. The study even though conducted on the tribal children’s nutritional status in this particular district, as children are not only the most vulnerable and affected but they are also the future illuminates us about the other sections of the tribal population. The children suffer from malnutrition and undernourishment, high mortality and low fertility rates. The condition as reflected by this study also throws light on the condition and status of tribal women as they being closer to their children are supposed to be more sufferers of nutritional deficiencies. Nutritional deficiencies also make the children vulnerable to diseases. Even standing at the era of globalization when the middle class shifts to the global level the inner pockets suffer from increasing pauperization. The state policy is aimed more at the economic reforms and cultural homogenization and so the policies rarely aim at their benefit. The environmental degradation also has affected their access to resources of the nature that traditionally they had access to. So while eating out moves on to an ever increasing elevated status every moment, the real people fight for their basic survival. While the global middle class who are closer to the culture restricts food intake voluntarily but sarcastically those who are close to nature are denied basic resources for proper survival.

**Ted Goldammer’s** identifies a contrast of linguistic, ethnic, cultural plurality among the 1 billion people and ranking second in terms of its population. India boasts a mixed economy of traditional village farming, modern agriculture, handicrafts and support sector services. Liberalization has brought about changes but the prices are still among the highest in the world. US food companies’ opportunities in the Indian market being small at present are heading towards a rise. Food retailing sector is highly compartmentalized consisting of mostly small,
owner managed shops. India is the largest exporter and consumer of spices and the largest exporter of cashew. The special import license has enabled India to import semi-processed vegetable preparations but it remains mostly out of reach for the majority of population as the cost of the same is quite high. In the Food Service Sector 22,000 registered restaurants with sales of over $15,000 per month, 100,000 more roadside stalls in cities and highways and 1700 registered restaurants in hotels are present. Even though the per capita income is very low in India and the distribution of the same being skewed highly, but the increase in the number of households in the upper-middle and high income categories have increased even though there is a decline in the number of households. The swelling in the number of dual career families coupled with the propensity to spend more on food have increased not only the demand for various international cuisines but also contributes to the total number of meals taken outside the home. In the Food Service Sector hotels and restaurants even though are much less than the developed countries but the demands and supply to this sector is mounting. In case of the Restaurants, an expansion of the major hotel companies on one hand is found to co-exist with the increase in the Indian budget travelers calling for middle budget restaurants. $30 million food products consisting of alcoholic beverages, fruits, meats, sauces, cheese etc. are imported. Restaurants cater to the various ethnic groups on one hand and simultaneously on the other we find rise in demands of foreign foods over the traditional ones, foreign food chains make people aware about their branches and services. The fast food industry is a slow but steady follower whereby indigenous companies like Nirula’s, Pizza Inn etc. co-exist with the foreign ones like McDonalds, Dominos etc. Value-for-money restaurants are the most opted ones. Availability of consumer food products are made available most 1991 of the liberalization and that opened up the Indian consumers donuts, cheese, packaged food grains, potato chips, pulses, ketchup, packaged ready to eat foods etc. However the Food Processing Sector remains undeveloped and for the packaged foods the imported ones are more relied on. The change in the Consumer Purchasing Behaviour is found. 20% of the population being vegetarian because of Hinduism and also because of lack of resources to afford a non-vegetarian diet, the rest consuming meat once/twice a week and less than 30% consuming meat regularly given to the high price and predominance. Middle class exhibit diverse purchasing habits, 95% of the people prefer to shop from local shops and vendors over supermarkets because of the freshness, lower prices,
proximity, attention etc. The alterations in the export-import policy, with the liberalization of the import license restrictions which have effectively banned imports at least partially on several food items by shifting them from negative import list to OGL (Open General License), make the options of import easier. The first major step of liberalization was announced by government in the five years (1997-2002). Even though prior to that during the period of 1991-1997 certain quota restrictions were lifted but were actually not effective. Next during the 1998s and 1999s, 470 agricultural products were moved to the OGL list, thus making the market more open to consumer food products. During the late 1999s certain other quantitative restrictions were lifted from an additional 1400 agricultural products, half of which were done within three months and the others within 1st April, 2001. In the fiscal year of 1996 Indians consumers spend around 24% on foods in hotels and restaurants, which even though is much less as compared to the 46% of America but the mounting of the amount in the following years is worth noting. The total sales of $6 billion in the fiscal year of 1999, in the food service sector and companies constituting of 39% of institutional and 50% of the food service sales. The lift in the import restrictions was guided by the prescriptions of the World Trade Organization’s (WTO) and also to balance the yawning balance of payment deficit. Agriculture contributing to the 26.6% of the Gross National Product (GNP) forms the backbone of the Indian economy.

Wonderful insights about the importance of Sociology of Religion as it operates at the level of setting out of the agenda which sets to cover all the vital issues relating to the Sociology of Religion in today’s world and also interrogating this agenda at the other level to map its viability is captured by Grace Davie (2007). The author presents an overall purview maps the origin of Sociology of Religion and also digs out answers to its relatively late entry and initial neglect before its incorporation into the field of mainstream Sociology. This book on one hand measures religion at the backdrop of modern social theory on the other hand it grabs the methodological challenges of the field. Further it critically examines the issues of religious minorities and margins while setting out the schema for debate and research in this field. The issues which are to be analyzed in greater details for the purpose of research are the issues of the process of ‘secularization’, the meaning of religion in relation to modernity and globalization and the comparative analysis for religions in the West. To find answer to the issues of secularization one point comes out very firmly that is Pluralism in the modern world is a very
significant force and that obviously undermines the taken-for-granted nature and forms of religious assumptions as it opens up a range of religious choices available to the individual. But the critical turn arises if it is examined as to whether these ‘choices’ can be considered to be equivalent to or to be leading to the process of secularization. The way Davie refers to the definition of secularization as offered by Bryan Wilson, it lays the fat pretty clear that religion declines in modern societies in its social significance is the point of reference of the scholars of this field. The transformation of religion is predicted over its disappearance, at least in the European context. Until the 1990s modernization was equated with secularization but the context of Poland or Ireland being cases of increasing religiosity among people even though could be justified as they equate religion with national identity but the same among people in America opened up avenues for further debate. Europeans these days are ‘opting out’ of the historic churches and ‘opting in’ many different kinds of religious groups and even to the historic churches. The paradigm shift in case of sociology of religion is that secularization as a process in the European context and the absence of religion in the modern world holds hardly relevant in the western context so the cases of the developing countries stand irrelevant. Davie draws from the phenomenologists Berger and Luckmann’s concept of religion as a ‘sacred canopy’ emerges as social constructions and is the process built from below as individuals struggle for human existence. Death even though is inescapable, but this ‘sacred canopy’ protects the individual and thus the collectivity, conditions the human existence often coming out of the surface in times of crisis. Given to the hold of the global era the religious monopolies of the past are taken over by the pluralistic tendencies of the individuals. Peter Berger’s book ‘The Heretical Imperative’ that Davie refers says that people no longer accept the sacred canopies the way their predecessors did but they now decide it for themselves. Whereas Bryan Wilson defined ‘secularization’ as a central social process which operates in the culture, the organization and the collective mentalité. Secularization following Wilson is not the disappearance of religion but the process through which religious practices, institutions and thinking becomes less important for the operation of the social system. Social organization be it the authority, the rational drive in the workplace or the nature of knowledge or enquiry are all freed from the religious hold in the modern societies. The behaviour and practices of the people

38 Davie, Grace (2007:62)
39 Davie, Grace (2007:63,64)
change. Further Steve Bruce (1996) writes that Reformation gave birth to individualism and rationality and religion as it undermines the individualism so it took a backseat in the modern societies marked by excessive individualism. Religion and God has entered the domain of options and so people pick and choose from the diversity on offer. The relation that globalization holds to religion is quite challenging depending on how globalization is defined. If it is defined as an ideology primarily guiding economic movements and operating at the macro-economic level then it religion stands remote from it. But if the definition is not confined to the economic level but also sets to include a whole range of cultural, social, political movements, the one which seeks to transform actors into global actors then it influences both the individual and also the collectivity and thereby highly ascertaining the place of religion in the modern era. The debate as to whether in this new age the debates concerning the institutional forms of religion and the clash with the organized religions stands relevant as the beliefs and practices in this world are lesser corporate and more guided by individuals’ internal motivations and lesser by external constraints. New-age or self-spiritualities express through ‘hard’ or ‘softer’ ends whereby individual through religion aims to self-discovery or to healing or to establish interconnectedness or even connectedness to the cosmic whole. The conventional religions are both friend and foe to the self-spirituality. It is ‘friend’ as far as it rejects the emphasis on materialism as the primary goal of human existence whereby happiness does not lie in excessive consumption or accumulation of big possessions but they are indicative of unmet desires and needs and in no way are signs of fulfillment. They are ‘foes’ in the sense that Christians submit to the God who is transcendental and not to the one who is immanent and within. There can be no second thoughts to ascertain the importance of Sociology of Religion in the modern globalized world; however differences exist not only between the religious South and the secular North but also within the churches itself. Quoting Casanova, Davie points out that a significant change in orientation of the Catholic Churches from the status of nation-state to the civil society, the later being much global in its reach is found because of a combination of globalization, nationalization, secular movements and voluntary disestablishments.

40 Davie, Grace (2007:164)
41 Davie, Grace (2007:164,165)
42 Davie, Grace (2007:204)
Given to the modern debates and issues it comes out pretty clear that no longer can the churches of the North ignore what is happening in the rest of the world nor can it act to control the North solely. Roland Robertson theorizing during the 1960s incorporates religion in the global perspective and highlighting the inter-connections it has with the spheres of culture, ideology, politics, etc. no longer can in the modern world can religion be said to cast the role of either the inhibitor, through which it stands in the development of a fully modern society or being epiphenomenal depends on the interconnected global economy. So referring religion as inconsequential in the twentieth century stands baseless. Further David Lehmann (2002) argues that religion even though is the ‘original globalizer’ but is no more part of the process of globalization. The author uses the term ‘cosmopolitan’ to describe how the elites introduces a clash of religious systems the ‘other’ culture’s contextualized and historical ‘theory’. The civil religion in Britain revolves around the liminal movements in national life within which royal occasions remain surprisingly prominent. Hervieu-Léger observing the French cases concluded that the French Catholicism has collapsed, so much so that it implies a shared culture, drawing in turn a shared body of knowledge and accepted norms of behaviour. Following Davie, pluralism facilitated rather than inhibiting religious activities not only in urban areas but also in the global regions. Davie points out that a wrong inference has been drawn between the necessary incompatibility between religion per say and modern, primarily urban life. Religion has undergone a transformation and has not disappeared in the modern world and has taken the form as defined by the individuals. Davie refers to the concepts of ‘Opting In’ versus ‘Opting Out’ of Hervieu-Léger whereby people these days are ‘opting out’ of the historic churches while ‘opting in’ different religious groups. Peter Berger referring to religion as a ‘sacred canopy’ in ‘The Heretical Imperative’ draws connections between increasing prosperity and declining religiosity. Bryan Wilson identifies “secularization as a central social process which operates at the level of culture, organization and collective mentalité”. Secularization is also a process in which for the operation of the social system religious thinking, practices and institutions become less significant. Admitting the declining social significance of religion, Wilson puts forth the idea of ‘religion as a chain of memory’. In the 1996, Steve Bruce very logically presented that post reformation rationality and individualism has relegated religion and God a

43 Davie, Grace (2007:48)
domain of picking and choosing from the diversity offered. The chart below highlights the place and propositions relating to the role and place of religion in the modern and post-modern era.

### MODERNITY:  
- Industrialization  
- Urbanization  
- Production

### POSTMODERNITY:  
- Post-industrialization/Information  
- De-urbanization  
- Consumption

*Both modernity and post-modernity are problematic for religion but in different ways:*

#### MODERNISM:  
- The grand narrative: religious or anti-religious  
- Progress

#### POSTMODERNISM:  
- Fragmentation/decentering of the religious narrative, but also of the secular; i.e. of the scientific, rational or Anti-religious Narrative e.g. rationalism/communism

- Secularization/secularism  
- A space for the sacred but often in forms different from those which have gone before

- God, the Son  
- The institutional churches  
- Medical science  
- Agribusiness  
- Obligation

- The Holy Spirit  
- Varied forms of the sacred  
- Healing/ alternative medicine  
- Ecology/organic foods  
- Consumption

**Figure 2.1: Religion and modernity: a schematic representation**

*Source: The Sociology of Religion; Grace Davie pg: 90 (2006)*

(2006) gives a brief history about the fast food chains and their origins. It locates how the drive-inn restaurants of Los Angeles got the shape of the modern-day fast food restaurants have been well stressed in the book. How the initial efforts got shaped and it because of certain constraints took the shape of the Fast food restaurants were highlighted with the examples of Kentucky Fried Chicken and McDonald restaurant. The features of secret recipes, speedier system, disposable plates and cups, self-service options which are considered as global standards are results of accommodation and survival of business and profit-seeking strategies are well-traced.
in the book at length.\textsuperscript{44} The important point analyzed is that the success of franchisee lies in the sameness is an interesting point that is deemed relevant in this research.\textsuperscript{45}

*Nirad, C. Chaudhuri (1979)* argues that Hinduism is a religion to live by. Focusing on the Hindu religious psychology and behaviour descriptions and interpretations of the religion of the Hindus has been presented.

*D.R. Jatava (2001)* has presented that Hindu sociology is something that has been presented and passed on through various social institutions\textsuperscript{46}. Thus the absence of vital scriptures in shaping the lives and rituals is what makes this work relevant for the research.

*Wilfred Thomason Grenfell (1926)* provides at the backdrop of Christianity various dimensions of the adherents’ lives, conduct, spirituality and examined the role of Christianity in the construction of their religious selves.

*Gerhard Schutze* identifies that a change in the moral discourse concerning consumption in experienced in the modern world. Moral discourse is based on taking and renouncing whereby taking is considered as a modern cult. Appeals to take are re-inforced in advanced cult of consumption whereas individuals are made to digest more goods and production than are needed for survival. Preachers are substituted by the salesman who says it would be a great fault not to take. Morals of taking are omnipresent today.\textsuperscript{47} Wealth in the form of money is all powerful only when it is placed in relation to products it can purchase. Thus, increasing wealth is directly proportional to the increasing possibilities, a new unlimited contingency of choice provided by the departmental store which is the new locus of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. “Selector” is the paradigmatic personality type of the present society. Unlimited choice turns people into what the author calls ‘catalogue turners’, ‘composers of menus’, ‘possibility managers’.\textsuperscript{48} It is a society based on influencing (accepting a situation and changing it to one’s own benefit) and selecting (answering the question what can I do and what do I want?).

*The Shalti Research Group (2008)* concentrates on the entry of organized capital (like Reliance) in the retail sector and the consequent process whereby the retail sector being man-power intensive opens up employment opportunities but on the coarser side is done at the

\textsuperscript{44}Wilson, Charles, Eric Schlosser (2006:24)
\textsuperscript{45}Wilson, Charles, Eric Schlosser (2006:32)
\textsuperscript{46}Jatava (2001:1)
\textsuperscript{47}Schutze, Gerhard (:39)
\textsuperscript{48}Schutze, Gerhard (:42)
overhead of millions of hawkers, petty vendors, and small traders. While it is easy to enumerate that almost two million jobs are likely to be created within the course of five years it is not even close to the innumerable people who are to loose their livelihood. The government while responding to the forces of globalization somewhat counters its logical role of ensuring livelihood. The policies are the intents of the elites and the governments and it is no wonder that legislative changes are targeted at the ever-increasingly affluent and aspiring middle-class within the broad frameworks of opening up of the sectors and freeing the markets. In today’s world with the diversification of the production and consumption units the surplus value reaches the producer only when the product reaches the consumer, so it becomes extremely important role is played by the organization who acts as a buffer between these two and so a share of the surplus is intended for it also. This turn is likely to increase the employment opportunities as more things are consumed the more it is to increase productivity and the more people are to gain employment. This book highlights that how the political party did not show adequate concerns that the entry of the Multi-National corporations in the retail sector would bring about a threat to the millions of hawkers, petty vendors and small traders. It would be impossible for them to stand at par in competition with the global giants and how given to the forces of globalization how the government is standing away from its role to ensure adequate livelihood for all. It is also highlighted that how the government stands in favour of the affluent and aspiring middle-class and the elites and the policy makers in conjunction with the legislation how formulates laws which regards hawking as illegal. The big branded outlets even though are targeted for the upper-middle class or the elites people from the middle-class adequately throngs the malls, discount shops etc. as the prices that they offer are often more lucrative than the ones available with the small shop owners. So the mall culture is quite pervasive in case of Kolkata and the package that the malls offer obviously shows the best shine of a dream life that all wants to indulge in. In case of agricultural marketing which involves in the simplest form buying and selling of agricultural produce undergoes a series of transfers and exchanges from one hand to another in the modern day before reaching the consumer finally. At the top of the market hierarchy are the primary wholesale markets, which are called mandis are regulated by the Agricultural Produce Marketing Committee (APMC) Acts which prohibits purchase from producer by traders outside mandis. Sale in mandis is only by open auction, commission agents
are barred from auction and payments are to be made on the same day. However there are certain unregulated markets like the hats, peta, angadi, hatwari, shandies, chindies or painths which remains unregulated by the government where the local farmers can sell directly to consumers or small rural units. Even though these are devoid of basic facilities like electricity, platforms for auction, drinking water but the local bodies collect taxes of charges from the participants but these ultimately remain outside the development ambit. State regulation of agricultural markets although was meant for protection of farmers from the exploitation of intermediaries and traders and to ensure timely payments and better produce but these have given way to restrictive and monopolistic markets. The mandis remain outside the reach of the small farmers and the market intermediaries called the dalals or adhaatis purchase the produces from small farmers and sell them to the wholesalers in these mandis. So these state-controlled mandis are so struck by monopolistic practices and the modalities that the private investors remain outside the purview of this.\textsuperscript{49} The systematic inadequacies like the absence of cold storage units, storing and grading facilities have not been adequately addressed by the government and so this facilitated the entry of corporate farming and the global integration of the agri-business. The poor and the marginal farmers are the ones who suffer the most and the falling input and rising output costs are threatening for the cultivation. Competition from highly subsidized production in today’s post-liberalization era where the farm sector has opened up and for the purpose of profit resources are being tapped by the private traders the farmers stand at a very vulnerable position. When we equate the growth, development, prosperity of a country with the agriculture then large amounts of investments must be made with regard to this sector, whereby to save the farmers’ interests cold storage units must be made near to the farmer’s fields, the direct link between the farm production, the retail chain and the food processing industries must be made also to protect the farmers from the post-harvest losses. State regulation and policy formulation favouring the farmers is a must towards this end. Private procurement of food grains by large players who have the power to manipulate the market should be discouraged. Cornering and hoarding of food grain stocks by food retailers must be stopped to safeguard the interest of both the consumers and the farmers.

\textsuperscript{49} Shalti Research Group (2008:47)
It provides a very systematic analysis of the pros and cons of the Multi-national corporations’ entry in the ambit of Kolkata’s retail horizon. How this affects the consumers, the producers, the hawkers, the small traders and the farmers in the light of the critical examination of the government’s role and legislative policies have been analyzed. The table below shows the different formats of in-store retailing in this era of globalization and in the face of mall culture in Kolkata.

**Table:2.2 Major Formats of In-store Retailing:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Format:</th>
<th>Major Formats of In-store Retailing:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Description:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Branded Stores</td>
<td>Exclusive showrooms either owned or franchised out by the manufacturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speciality Stores</td>
<td>Focused on specified consumer need, carry most of the brands available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department Stores</td>
<td>Large stores having a wide variety of products, organized into different departments such as clothing, house wares, furnitures, appliances, toys, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Super-markets</td>
<td>Extremely large, self-service retail outlets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discount Stores</td>
<td>Stores offering discounts on the retail price through selling high volumes and reaping economies of scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyper-mart</td>
<td>Larger than a supermarket sometimes with</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Value Proposition:**

| Complete range available for a given brand, certified quality products |
| Greater choice between the consumer, comparison between brands is possible |
| One stop shop catering to varied consumer needs |
| Low prices |
| Low prices, vast choices |
a warehouse appearance, generally located in quieter parts of the city

available including services such as cafeteria

Convenience Stores
Self-service formats located in crowded urban areas.

Convenient location and extended operating hours

Shopping malls
An enclosure having different formats of in-store retailers all under one roof

Variety of shops available to each other

Susmita Saha (2010) that how the television’s top chefs are serving up even more sumptuous and gastronomic offerings. The new age cookery show’s anchors how are reaching out farther in search of the ‘exotic’. How a renaissance is undergoing in the television’s culinary shows, where a rare blend of the international chefs are found to be in search of the local, specific, authentic spices and dishes which puts together the experience of culture, travel and history on one hand, while on the other the locals are interested and show a blend of spices from abroad. The television shows are interested in putting up out of the box dining concept that aims to explore the unknown and the unseen. The professionals are preferred for these shows as they through the feel of the heat as expected to provide much more and not marked simply by traveling or dining a lot or by leading a glorious lifestyle. These new shows put the contemporary rages in food fashion, livening up recipe workshops with behind the scenes commentary, hot culinary trends, movements, popular and legendary food haunts and dishes that have attained an iconic status. The taking up of gastronomic challenges and bizarre eating is also a hit. Quick recipes often with picks from the garden are also shown perhaps as a part of making meals easier. The television shows have a large number of viewers and the number is ever increasing as these shows become a window through which people start viewing the world cuisines. The trivia and the audiences’ interest in the global cuisines make it a hit. The gastronomic skills are easily learnable through the silver screen. The authentic recipes from the unusual places, adding texture, unveiling the secret kitchen, whatever be it all the shows are unique as they no longer follow the set routine and the pact between the idiot box and the cookery shows is interesting though. The introduction of the terms like ‘culinary celebrity’,
'culinary programming', 'culinary landscapes', 'exotic', 'food fashion', 'food worshippers' in the regular magazines highlight how the focus has shifted even in a more specific ways to the sphere of food consumption among the masses is what is very fascinating.

Figure: 2.2: Structure of Operation of Consume Redressal.
The Consumer Protection Act, 1986 (The Telegraph, Metro 17\textsuperscript{th} August 2009 \{page: 18\}) has been an effort to stand for the consumers in case of an adverse situation put forth by the manufacturer or service provider. The main aims are:

i) right to complain and expect a speedy recovery

ii) can claim compensation for any loss or injury suffered on account of any negligence and deficiency in the service of the manufacturer or service provider

The consumers can file a complaint at the District, State or National Forums depending on the amount of money involved. The National Consumer Disputes Redressal Commission is situated at the Janapath Bhawan and is scheduled to deal with cases above the amount of Rs. 1 crore. The features of this system are very consumer friendly and are supposed to grant relief to parties within a stipulated period of time. No lawyers however are required to file cases but the cases are to be filed in the district forum where the opposition falls into. Individual or group of individuals suffering from similar problems may come together to file a complaint. The court fees are also minimum, for up to Rs. 1 lakh it is Rs. 100 and it keeps escalating but for the holders of Antyodaya Anna Yojana Card it is nil. The Government’s website: www.ncdrc.nic.in or efforts like The Consumer Education and Research Society, Ahmedabad have been devised to sensitize consumers about how to file a complaint even though are being made but how effective or widespread this system is needs exploration. According to the act, a three-tier quasi judiciary machinery redressal commission is set up:

\textbf{Figure: 2.3: The Three-Tiers of the Consumers Dispute Redressal Commission.}
The gap between the legislative provisions and its implementation is well portrayed in an article titled ‘City Eatery Survey Nails Puff Ban’ published in The Telegraph, Calcutta on Wednesday, the 3rd of February, 2010. This survey conducted by a Voluntary Organization in association with Cancer Foundation of India, West Bengal, critiques the effective implementation of the ‘Anti Smoking Laws’ in the city eateries. The city eateries that do not allow smoking in the eating areas allow it in passages from where the smoke returns to the eating areas making the count of fine pollutants less than 2.5 microns in diameter (PM 2.5) to 77 micrograms per cubic meter. While the eateries that allow smoking in dining areas count to 138 micrograms per cubic meter, whereas the permissible rate following World health Organization (WHO) is 10 micrograms per cubic meter. This not only by-passes WHO’s levels but is much more than the eateries of Delhi, Chennai and Jaipur whose average counts for non-smoking eateries are 36, 20 and 21 micrograms respectively. Worst affected is Coffee House in Kolkata. The lack of fines is of course one of the major reasons stands in the way of the effective implementation of the law. The eateries not only provide us with a place to dine, it involves a lot more often accounting to the issues of health and environment which makes this article relevant for this research.

Swarajit Jana et al.(1999) it is recognized that in Japan a study of 1400 school kids in 1968 revealed that they all suffered from CRS (Chinese Restaurant Syndrome) with symptoms of irritability, impatience and behavioural problems. Dr. Swarajit Jana in September-October, 1987 argued that Chinese food contained MSG (Monosodium Glumate) called Ajinamoto, that is used to enhance taste, flavour of the ingredients. It is also used in sauses, seasonings, tinned and canned food. A brief peep in the history of fast foods reveals that the first fast food was milkmaid. It was followed by milk powder, lactogen, cerelac, etc. The rampant indulgence in the eating of fast foods not only has an impact on the health but also the consciousness about such indulgence is considered important.

New techniques are put into practice by various organizations one being National Institute of Plant Genome Research (NIPGR), Delhi to successfully developing the world’s longest lasting tomatoes that would be fresh till forty-five days without refrigeration. Instead of introducing any new genes, two genes involved in fruit ripening alpha Man and beta-Hex are shut down involving the gene- silencing technology. This technique can be further used in cases of papayas.
and bananas, but before making it available for consumption it has to pass field trails and animal safety tests. This would help farmers to save from post-harvest losses owing to the lack of cold storages, enhance shelf-life of the vegetables and increase food supply that accounts for 40% of India’s fruits and vegetable produce.

The Food Laws in India as enumerated by the *Society of Indian Bankers, New Delhi, 1987* are *The Prevention of Food Adulteration Act, 1954* and *the Food Safety and Standards Bill, 2005* are of course legislative benchmarks in the Indian context. The Rule 26 of the *Prevention of Food Adulteration Act* permits the use of colours like beta-carotene, beta-apo-8’ carotenal, carotenoic acid, canthaxanthin, riboflavin, chlorophyll, caramel and saffron in food. However manufacturers add non-permitted colours or dyes which are not food grade and are high on toxic level to add a gloss to their wares by cutting the costs that permitted colours bring with. Bijon Mishra, the CEO of Consumer Voice that cheating the consumers and posing serious health hazards are done by using these in sweets, snacks, biscuits, soft drinks and what not. Recent studies in the University of Jaipur concluded that the tomato red, a dye commonly used has serious effects on the vital human organs. Not only packaged foods but aluminium or even coal tar is used in spices, salt, fresh fruits to give it the right hues. Diseases like asthma is provoked by Yellow G, auramine causing liver and kidney dysfunction, allura red leading to stomach cancer, Malachite Green causing decrease in apetite, fertility and growth etc. can be caused according to Dr. Somnath Bhadra. Heavy metals like mercury, lead and arsenic have serious effects specially on children as they are not excreted. Under *The Prevention of Food Adulteration Act*, the food inspectors are supposed to look into the manufacturers’ court and book them as consumer’s safety cannot be played with. Corruption cripples the system and raids are often eyewash. Awareness on the part of the consumers, honesty and concerns on the part of the manufacturers and the retailer’s duty of providing honest chain of products etc. can help fighting with this odd. The various measures that can be undertaken are:

i) reading the fine print on packaged food to make sure that only permitted colours have been used

ii) washing of fruits and vegetables to which potassium permanganate has been used

iii) fish, rice and pulses must be washed repeatedly in fresh water to remove the urea used to whiten them
iv) avoiding colas, ice-creams that are not branded  
v) encouraging children to have sweets that are not coloured  
vi) discouraging children to have coloured foods even if the colours are marked as permitted.  

Manas Joarder (2009) brings forth that India’s position in the global hunger map would have been much better if the funds would not have been mostly usurped or under-utilized by the politician and bureaucrats. More than 150 countries observe World Food Day on 16th of October every year to commemorate the foundation of the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) in the United Nations in 1945. The Millennium Development Goals adopted in 2000, 189 countries even though promised inter alia the eradication of extreme hunger within 2015 but the graph is not steady in its decline. The World Bank redefined the poverty line from $1 per day to $1.25 in the year 2008. In case of India the Planning Commission defined poverty line as one’s daily food consumption of 2,400 calories and 2,100 calories in rural and urban areas respectively. Those below it are said to be Below Poverty Line (BPL). A committee formed under the chairmanship of NC Saxena submitted a report for the BPL Census for the 11th Plan Period in August 2009 doubting the decrease in the number of BPL population devised a different methodology to identify the rural poor. The BPL households as per as the calorie-specific conditions is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>RURAL</th>
<th>URBAN</th>
<th>ALL India</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>66.1%</td>
<td>60.5%</td>
<td>64.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-2005</td>
<td>79.8%</td>
<td>63.9%</td>
<td>75.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Courtesy: The Statesman, Kolkata, Friday 16th October, 2009, page 7)

The Global Hunger Index (GHI) has been devised by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) as a measure of hunger and malnutrition. India ranks 66th among 88 developing countries in the world wide GHI scale. A similar scale has been devised in India called the International State Hunger Index (ISHI) which can be enumerated as in the following table:
Table 2.4: Hunger Index of Indian States:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>ISHI</th>
<th>RANK</th>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>ISHI</th>
<th>RANK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PUNJAB</td>
<td>13.64</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>KARNATAKA</td>
<td>22.33</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KERALA</td>
<td>17.66</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>ORISSA</td>
<td>23.74</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANDHRA PRADESH</td>
<td>19.54</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>MAHARASHTRA</td>
<td>23.79</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSAM</td>
<td>19.85</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>GUJARAT</td>
<td>24.69</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HARIYANA</td>
<td>20.01</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>CHATTISGARH</td>
<td>26.65</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UTTAR PRADESH</td>
<td>20.88</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>BIHAR</td>
<td>27.30</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAMIL NADU</td>
<td>20.99</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>JHARKHAND</td>
<td>28.67</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAJASTHAN</td>
<td>21.00</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>MADHYA PRADESH</td>
<td>30.90</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEST BENGAL</td>
<td>22.17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>ALL INDIA</td>
<td>23.70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Courtesy: The Statesman, Kolkata, Friday 16th October, 2009, page 7)

Even though it is understandable that globalization acts perverse in case of the developing nations but efforts like pro-people development, humanitarian aid, guaranteed food supply and conservation of the environment can soothe extreme global poverty to a significant level. Toning down of hedonism and food wastage will help both the rich and the hungry benefit. Corruption, displacement of the poor farmers and tribals in the name of development are all paying heavy in the Indian context.

*Bharat Dogra (2009)* shows concern about how the all important agricultural system have been ruthlessly destroyed by the commercial interests. It contains a plea to save the ecology and the small farmers. Food security has been affected by floods and famines. Food security, in order to be effective must be rooted into equality and environmental protection. This must be ensured from the base which comprises of equal distribution of land, the implementation of the ecologically effective protective methods and the adequate protection of the rights of the small farmers. India’s problems of the recent years have been malnutrition and hunger amidst adequate food stocks which raise the question to the food security system in India. The ‘Grainline’, according to a famous economist would reach the moon if bags of grains are placed in a row, this obviously puts a question on the security network that jams certain corners while over pours certain others leading a system of extreme inequality of the food grains in India. Comparing India’s situation to the colonial past or to the recent cases of China or Bangladesh.
being devastated by massive famine deaths, India post independence have not as such been affected by famine deaths but malnutrition in various regions more so worst affected by large-scale hunger deaths in times of any other natural calamity. The Great Bengal Famine’s washing away 4 million people’s lives in 1943 has been last such instance though. Ecological havoc coupled with glaring inequalities leading to poverty has played havoc on the sustainability of adequate food production and availability. The challenge for India is to provide nutrition to all sections of the people on a sustainable basis and in an ecologically friendly manner. The villages must be self-sufficient in the sense must be free from external sources for meeting its basic needs of food and water. All must have equal access to these essentials to ensure food security. A healthy food and agricultural system can ensure satisfactory livelihood to all members of the farming community and nutritious food for all. Certain threats obviously emerge as machines have taken over the manual labour so treating farm animals like commodities, the shifting of the skilled farmers and not protecting of the soil for future generations are the threats. Glaring economic inequalities make the food not unavailable to large sections of people but those with adequate purchasing power also suffer as they are deprived of nutritious food and open to foods full of chemicals. The basic priorities have been ignored owing to the earning of quick profits out of agri-business. Even the long-term interests of ordinary farmers have been undermined. A wide network of farmers, consumers, environment safety, animal rights and other activists will have to make a concerted effort to stand up to save the all-important food and agricultural system. However the basic priorities aimed at improvement of the farm and agricultural system must be enumerated as:

i) empowering the farmland workers to maintain a close link with the land so that they can earn an adequate livelihood by cultivation

ii) ensuring the productive use of farm animals so that they can bring economic returns without being cruel to them

iii) establishing direct links between farmers and consumers so that consumers can get quality food and the farmers can get a fair price in lieu of that

iv) monitoring trade, processing and the interests of the middle-men to ensure that the interest of the consumers and farmers are not violated
Anjana Ahuja (2009) *Calcutta* concentrates on the rise in the ‘nutraceutical’ i.e. functional foods or foods that are supposed to yield health benefits. But the labeling is often misleading and various studies show that as there is no way of policing extravagant health claims, so the claims that they advertisers make and the ones found in reality are often remote from each other. Even though the health claims may also not be suitable for a particular individual and might have adverse effects. These functional foods and drinks in certain quantity must be accommodated along with a healthy, balanced diet. The Food Standard Agency (FSA) occasionally clamps down by working with trading standards officers on misleading claims but it has to be based on complaints to be lodged with for breaching of the claims but that requires sensitization on the part of the consumers. Balanced diet over and above nutraceuticals is what the body needs. The European Union is to take legislative stand to scientifically vet the health claims before being labeled as a nutraceutical. However the consumer’s awareness is of crucial importance in this regard.

Asef Bayat and Kees Biekart identifies that more than half of the world’s population now live in cities. Within two decades it would amount to 60%. Kofianan says that the world has entered an urban millennium. Late-comers in this run end up to be under-serviced, over-crowded, polluted, noisy slums, harassed by slum-lords and brutally by the police. Modern city has been identified as the locus of both opportunity and inequality, the latter being intensified with the neo-liberal policies of the 1980s. City is guided as the author says more by the logic of the market, which includes privatization, class- spatial divide etc. over the needs of the citizens. Globalization is leading to juxta-position of various social classes as per-urban areas priorly occupied by the rural people are also coming under the development of globalization through the process of sub-urbanization. The crushing of distance between various social classes leads to what the author calls the emergence of ‘neo-liberal’ metropolis. The metropolis at the same time is experiencing what can be called a new urban condition.

Philip Cooke (1990) criticizes the ‘Modern Urban Theory’ as the author places it against the ‘Post-Modern Social Theory’ as it is pointed out by the author that owing to the growth in the city a sufficient restructuring have snatched and replaced the ‘essentialist’ dimension of the modern theory. The post-modern social theory conceives of a future in which society is: (i) prone to sensory domination by electronic media imagery. (ii) prey to colonization of its
lifeworld by markets (economic, political, social). (iii) inclined to glorify consumption as the expression of self. (iv) culturally plural in the horizontal rather than vertical (mass: elite) sense. (v) socially polarized by expanded income differentials. (vi) locally distinctive in its conceptions and interpretation of reality. (vii) democratic in social, cultural and economic as well as political spheres. (viii) pragmatic in its social interaction rather than utopian. (ix) more self-supportive economically through networks. (x) less dominated by master-narratives of militarism and war. The author even identifies that the architectural and managerial changes that can be located in the post-modern city can be attributed to the changes brought about by what has been referred to as the post-Fordist regime of industrial organization. Post-modern cities are taken over more by urban entrepreneurship whereby city-marketing, in which city is made open to a new mission: in which cities are sold as places to visit for tourism or business. So there is also a trend to install the facilities necessary to such functions-conference centers, hotels, cultural, facilities-a package of devices to encourage spending in this rather than that city. Hence city marketing is much more than promotion; it involves management, commercialization of public services and even, in some cases, the complete transformation of the urban planning process into a marketized service. The way the author characterizes the post-modern city is considered resourceful is analyzing the urban-setting in which the research is set.

David Drakakis-Smith (1991) identifies that urban poors in Asia are the most affected ones owing to the supply shortages of food, price-hikes etc. Food is the most basic of the needs of the urban poor in developing countries, and yet relatively little is known about the supply systems through which such needs are met. The author concentrates on the food supply system to locate the alternative. The urban food supply system is a complex network of production, distribution and consumption linkages, but three main sources of food for the poor may be identified. With the is the conventional retail sector which has become increasingly dominated by imported commodities and retailing methods, much of which is the consequence of changing dietary preferences and has led to growing food dependency, formal and informal sector of food sources are recognized. The poor are found to spend the maximum of their incomes in acquiring food items and consuming them. It makes it difficult for them to maintain a proper or at least basic livelihood. The subsistence sector in every urban area is often overlooked as it goes
against the ‘Western’ model of ‘development’. The author calls for a change in policy that would benefit the urban poor.

*Gurushri Swamy and Hans P. Binswanger (1983)* recognizes the recent advances in duality theory and index number theory to estimate a disaggregated system of consumer demand equations for India. The estimation uses a data set consisting of a time series of cross-sections over twenty years and ten states of India. The demand equations are derivable from a flexible cost function and are, therefore, specified with real income and nominal prices. The author estimates the maximum likelihood that procedures of becoming expensive and cumbersome. It is also shown that income effects are often nonlinear, especially for disaggregated food groups. This clearly indicated that it is realistic to assume that the income elasticity of food grain consumption will not be constant over an extended income range.

*W. Crooke (1990)* is a wonderful contribution in the field of Sociology of Religion. The author devices that those who have gained personal experience of the races of India can realize the widespread influence of the veneration of the sacred cow in the country. However the worship of the cow is found in many parts of the world but the Hindus are identified as the most passionate of the worshippers of cow and that is reflected in the various religious, social and domestic observances that range from keeping the cow in the house as a good luck symbol to avoiding to food before decorating the cow to installing stalls of cow in the house so that a glance can of her can be seen prior to leaving the house. The complexity of the Hindu society because of the plethora of observances this passion for the cows and the stand against the slaughter of the same is the common tie that binds the Hindu society. However the author resents the ill-treatment that the cows face in the ploughing field and also in the death ditch. The author gets back to the previous times and locates that the cow being an extension of men and his herds through kinship has always been an object of superstition and veneration and the products were thought to possess magical powers. It however goes without saying that with the ‘holiness’ attributed to the cows are enmeshed the conceptions of ‘pollution’ or uncleanliness and ‘purity’. Two prominent facts underlie the whole history of the evolution of Hinduism: first, the conflict between the Northerners and the races which they found in possession of the land; second, that between the Brahman or priest and the Kshatriya or warrior tribes. It is significant that the question of the cow appears prominently in both these conflicts.
The ISO 22000 series, ‘Global standards for safe food supply chains’ by Jacob Faergemand recognize the launching on 1 September 2005 of the ISO 22000 series, developed by ISO technical committee ISO/TC 34, Food products, signalled the arrival of a truly global option for ensuring safe food supply chains. The safety of feed and food at any point in the chain from producer to consumer is of worldwide concern. Food safety hazards may be introduced at any stage, therefore adequate control throughout the production chain is essential. The outbreak of diseases are harmful for the consumers and the industry might also suffer from serious disadvantages.

Kevin S. Seybold and Peter C. Hill (2001) identifies the otherwise sought complex relationship between religion, spirituality and health, both that of physical and mental health. Even though religious and spiritual perceptions are the basis of the social constructions of the same, but certain dimensions have been recognized by National Institute of Aging (NIA) in the USA for purposes of rough standardization which are:

- religious-spiritual history,
- preference affiliation,
- social participation,
- private practices,
- coping styles,
- beliefs and values,
- commitment,
- experiences,
- sense of support,
- and motivation for regulating and reconciliating relationships.

Lifestyle can also act as a mechanism through which religion and spirituality have their positive effects. For example, religious commitment can lead a person to adopt better health-related behaviors, such as abstinence from smoking, alcohol and drug use, and risky sexual behaviors. Indeed, religious groups that follow a strict behavioral lifestyle (e.g., Mormons, Old Order Amish, Orthodox Jews) tend to have a better health status than the population as a whole (Hill
Raphael Kaplinsky (2005) calls for the heterodox policies as against the Washington Consensus’ policies of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) that schematized a one-size fits all approach to growth and poverty alleviation based on the residual explanation of the global poverty and inequality that undermines the heterogeneity of a country or overlooks the regional experiences or the global poverty’s relational determinants. What the author highlights is the need to address three types of policies,\(^{50}\) namely:

- Functional Policy: affecting investment and production.
- Horizontal Policy: addressing cross-sectoral market failures.
- Selective Policy: that targets sectors, firms and regions.

So what is the very result is what the author calls a an half empty glass, i.e. the very cause of success of some is the very cause of the poverty of the others. The author defines globalization as ‘the cross border flows which is not only economic but also the global extension of knowledge, interests, belief systems, ideas and values.’ He further defines globalization as ‘ambitions and actions of key global actors, including farms and groups seeking political and religious harmony. Globalization is the outcome of technological advances, natural curiosity of the human species, fuelled by increasingly cheap and sophisticated communication systems’ (pg 8). To locate the ‘boundary definition or to identify the political, social factors’ flows Globalization can also be identified as the ‘the extension of western values and the domination of the third world governments by the imperial powers and the global financial institutions, cococolarization\(^{51}\) or by what Charles Dickens has called ‘the global shift’. But this kind of definition lacks the importance of agency which is very crucial to the process of globalization. So by incorporating a third perspective on globalization it can be defined as the as the ‘different lens that reflect the weakening of the barriers or the widening of the horizons of the entrepreneurs and the power hungry political process. Globalization is the natural outcome of the growing complexity and reach of the scientific and technological advances. Production is highly specialized and requires extensive division of labour, technology is also very expensive and if the technological produce can be spread over a large market then only can profitability be ensured. However the negative sides to this process is the ‘spoilage of the global commons’ or

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\(^{50}\) Kaplinsky, Raphael (2005:240)

\(^{51}\) Kaplinsky, Raphael (2005:9)
what is identified as “negative externalities” by the economists. Like the carbon based fuels’ emissions in North America and Europe is leading to changes in the ecosystem of the Antarctica. The speeding technology is making ways to experience other’s cultures, places and the extension of the global economy in the second half of the 20th century leading to the ‘global production networks’. The global trade in manufacturers fuelled by a systematic reduction to the barriers of the trade involving semi-processed manufacturers produced in co-coordinated global production networks involving high Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). The locally owned farms benefited mostly from the global mobility of finance with the increase in the productive capabilities. Globalization is off course not a recent process but was also present, i.e. the first global era was the second half of the 19th century but the global spread causing a world-wide social, political and economic intercourse was that of people and finance and not of trade as is the case of the 20th century process. Globalization is an inevitable process occurring in terms of ‘inward-outward breath’.

Kaplinsky also talks about what he calls Global Value Chains. A value chain is defined by the author as the one which ‘describes a full range of activities required for bringing a product or service from conception, through phases of production, delivery to final consumers and disposal after use’ (Kaplinsky: 2005). Global Value Chains for firms for selling into the global market for attaining competitive advantage a relationship of a firm with other firms is what is important. Value chains at one end comprises of loose impersonal relationship between firms while at the other end within a single TNC all the firms are institutionalized. The long-lined relationship between parties who conduct production between known firms involves an element of trust. Two types of chains can be identified:

- ‘Governed by Key Producers’
- ‘Governed by Key Buyers’

In case of low-income economies generally the buyer’s drive chains is what the countries’ producers export.

Governance Structures in Value Chains i.e. the ways through which in a value chain the producer and the consumers can be related can be identified as:

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52 Kaplinsky, Raphael (2005:12)
53 Kaplinsky, Raphael (2005:103)
- Arms-Length Chain: buyers and sellers are anonymous and the relationship between them is temporary making switch over easy and less costly. Undifferentiated and commodified products are manufactured.
- Relational Value Chains: identity of the consumer and the producer is known. A trust factor is involved and the relationship between them is enduring. The products they create or manufacture can be differentiated and made visible through brand names, certification concerning quality, impacts on the environment, labour standards and safety.
- Internalized Chains: this refers to the different stages a value chain has undertaken. These Value Chains are upgraded following the enumerated processes:  
  - Process Upgrading- aimed at improving efficiency.
  - Product Upgrading- aimed at innovation enhancement.
  - Functional Upgrading- aimed at moving to other links of the value chains.
  - Chain Upgrading- aimed at moving to new chains.

*Figure:2.4: A Simple Value Chain:*

Source: Raphael Kaplinsky, Globalization, Poverty and Inequality: Between a Rock and a Hard Place (page 100)

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54 Kaplinsky, Raphael (205:103)
Figure: 2.5: The Connection of the Producers with the Final market:

Source: Raphael Kaplinsky, Globalization, Poverty and Inequality: Between a Rock and a Hard Place (page 113)
Joseph S. Tulchin and Gary Bland (2007) brings forth the absence of the effective national policies that have the power of dampening the effects of globalization as because the short-term effects of opening the global economy has depressing effects on the levels of poverty and inequality. The way globalization affects the individual nations is largely determined by the International governance. Globalization involves the unequal distribution of goods and services, cultural values and also comes in the form of sacrifices being imposed on developing countries so that they can enjoy certain benefits in terms of goods and services which are controlled by the developed countries. Getting globalization right aims at making the development’s benefits more equitable by making them available across and within countries. The global integration of a country obviously has certain positive benefits under the influence of sound economic and social policies. Following Ulrich Beck (2000) the authors relate globalization with politicization. Initially during the 1990s globalization, in terms of increase in trade and investment has been beneficial for all the participants of the international community as it was only sustained economic growth that was seen to alleviate poverty. But with the onset of the negative impacts of globalization it was argued that it can only be good if it is sustained with good economic policies, i.e. a call for ‘pro-poor development strategy’ was made. The accompaniment of globalization with appropriate social policy can only help the poor. Lacquian, points out that the needs of globalization are three-fold namely, liberal democracy, strong civil society and a free media. Selective interventions into the market must be instituted including environmental and labour regulations, effective social safety nets for the poor, welfare and rights of the indigenous population. Shreekant Sambrani (2010) has estimated the Central Statistical Organization’s (CSO) report of the decline in the agricultural sector’s output during the years 2009-2010 to be highly optimistic. The CSO reports that the decline is only of 0.2% but that has been considered as a myth by the author as he forecasts on the basis of the sowing and rainfall data. The CSO has not revealed that what provides a premise for such an optimistic estimation. So the author critically acclaims that such estimation is based on vacuum and is quite romantic as it talks about a bumper Rabi harvest that will neutralize the effects of the drought. But considering the previous estimates the Rabi crop this year would be more or less the same or even less compared to that.

55 Tulchin, Bland (2007:2)
56 Tulchin, Bland (2007:2)
of the previous year. If the agriculture is affected then obviously it has a direct impact on the Minimum Support Price (MSP) and that would be adversely affecting the inequality and the purchasing power.

**Jung Min Choi, John W. Murphy and Manuel J. Caro (2005)** drawing from Marshall McLuhan’s concept of ‘global village’ the authors identify the perspective of the countries at the periphery of this global village as having least trust in this increasingly integrated system. Globalization is an inevitable process and the ultimate road to happiness, growth and attaching supremacy to the market-value. However despite this optimism, the third world countries project a mixed market. Following Herbert Marcuse, the authors quote that ‘the days of Great Refusal is a long past’. The difference between ‘global’ and ‘globalization’ has been identified the former referring to the collapse of space and time being brought about by increased travel and communication, while the later refers to the process which is based on the market-culture on a world-wide scale. The values that globalization encourages are those of individualism, pragmatism, profitability, universal utility and applicability. “Total Market” is what the new image of society is. The plea that is what is called for, for effective implementation of globalization and benefiting the humanity is ‘globalization from below’. Globalization thus should divert from its prior aims of reducing poverty and inequality. Latin America’s intellectual circle “la globalización desde abajo” (page; 19 article; John W. Murphy: the traditional ontology of development, history and globalization from below) calls for a New World: that is the resurrection of civil society as the base of social planning and development.

Following Alejandro Serrano Caldera, “public space should be the site of planning. The world has been told that the market represents a triumph of history and the accompanying values transcend culture. It is only by the process of internalization of the values that will incorporate the follower into the new global humanity. Markets work best when the messages and actions are standardized that keeps the room for anticipation open, so the market must be kept devoid of ideas, behaviours, ethnicity and culture that can actually slow down the efficiency of the market. Marginalization from the world affairs is no longer an issue as the global interconnectedness makes everyone a part of the ‘single composite whole’. But a closer examination reveals that globalization is not something that is equal to pluralism. As

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57 Choi, Murphy, Caro, (2005:2)
58 Choi, Murphy, Caro, (2005:21)
internalizing the traits by remaking oneself in a mould not in contradiction with that of the market will affect in losing the effects of intellectual independence, cultural or ethnic uniqueness and will entail a simultaneous acceptance in the global marketplace. Power and domination have acquired new forms and due to the diffused and undetectable means through which it is exercised through ‘manipulation’, it is unrecognized and hence least vulnerable to attack. Powerful classes have devised new techniques of domination, control and exploitation which is hidden. Market is thus serving to re-inforce the empire. The market serves under the illusion of being autonomous, so beyond politics, neutral, fair. The abuse of the entire class of the entire class of persons goes on behind the façade of neutrality and rationality. The new era of social control is operative and the social classes do not clash in the market as they fulfill their own interests. The imposition of consumerism and materialism undermine the local economy and community supports, thus increasing strifes and re-inforcing the local elites and their ties with the foreign investors. Thus making the local institutions more dependent on the outsider interventions or investments, making the hierarchy more powerful. A globalization from below, a globalization driven by local concerns and masses of people who have no control over corporate boardrooms is what is aimed at. An economic system based on justice is called for. General assimilation of persons on a cosmopolitan ideal is thought to enforce civility, rationality and restore a strong sense of community. A community in which no one is by nature an outsider and so no one deserves a special treatment and that obviously entails the absence of any group to exploit. It resembles a journey from globalization from old cultural ways to new economic realities.

Ramesh Chand (2010) very insightfully points out to that the food prices are uncontrollable due to the supply shock due to the 2009 drought and because of the carry over effect of the low growth of food production in 2008-2009. India needs to have an effective food management strategy coupled with other strategies like maintaining buffer stocks, using trade effectively. Economy must invest heavily for expanding storage capacity of food, both in public and private fields. India, mainly as an exporter of food, so what is exported needs to be used as a part of domestic stabilization of stocks. Food inflation based on Wholesale Price Index (WPI) for food articles and food products entered double digits in April 2009 and crossed the 20% level in December 2009. Inflation at the retail level affects the consumers and the consumers in order to
maintain their consumption level Indians have to invest 20% more than the preceding year. As many households cannot afford such increase in consumption budget so that will further aggravate the problems of malnutrition and food and nutritional deficiency in India. Average rate of Annual Inflation according to the WPI has been during 1993-94 at 6%. During 1994-95 to 2004-05 food items’ inflation was at 5.64%, the lowest inflation affecting sugar and the highest in case of fruits and vegetables. In 2009 the food prices increased 12% over 2008; January 2010 witnessed a 20% increase in wholesale prices. Annual average food inflation from 2006-09 has been more than 80% over inflation of the non-food commodities. After 2005 the real prices of food increased the highest affecting the pulses and the lowest in case of the edible oils. Despite 5% annual growth in food output during 2005-06 and 2007-08 did not enter the domestic supply during the 2009. As global markets become high priced the local markets experience more lucrative increase from the share of exports in domestic production which rose from 6.2% in 2003-04 and 2005-06 to 10% in 2006-07 to 2008-09 is influenced by exports led by high global prices. Food and Agricultural Organization’s (FAO) devised Food Price Index (FPI) notes a decrease in 2009 but India witnessed a domestic increase in 2009. Owing to the carry over effect of low growth of food production in 2008-09 the effects were felt in 2009 as food is consumed in the next financial year. So, low food production in 2008-09 was felt in 2009, drought and flood causing a loss in Kharif output for 2009-10. The imbalance in demand and supply causes the increase in the prices of food. The author identifies under the factor of trade and global prices that the domestic food prices are influenced both directly and indirectly either by trade or by the adjustment of domestic policies. The author draws reference from the fact that despite the decline of oilseed production, as 40% of it is imported so edible oil’s prices has gone down. Lack of quick execution of the import option to meet domestic shortage, lack of Centre and State’s co-operation for effective import has led to the immense rise of prices of sugar. The prices escalated from $290 per tonne to $470 to a price just double it during the first the course of the first to the third to the last quarters of 2009 respectively. The rise in the prices of pulses could not be controlled as only 30% of pulses are imported, constituting a very meager amount of India’s demand. Strong institutional mechanism for an early warning system relating to food demand and supply situation is required. Semi-perishable and perishable foods cannot be stored. Technological improvement to check inflation as inflation is dependent on production
and the later being dependent on technological advance. The timely release of food stocks by the Food Corporation of India is required.

*Joseph E Stiglitz (2003)* deals vividly with aspects like capitalist market liberalization, more advanced industrialized economy, global collective action, East Asia, foreign trade regime, international finance, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and certain economic aspects of globalization. The author elaborates on the promises of globalization and the eventual non-fulfillment of the same. Even though globalization has been able to fight with the issue of isolation and even by export an unprecedented growth in the developed economies have been attained but on the flip side in case of the developing economies working in a Nike factory is much better than working on the farms but the lower wages as compared to the developed countries obviously brings forth the issue of exploitation. In this context mention must be made of the International Landmines treaty of 1997 which was signed by 121 countries to stop the defacement of children and other innocent victims in the mines across the world. Globalization has both positive and negative impacts, to illustrate this point the author brings to the forefront the effect of the U.S. import of milk in the local Jamaican milk market. On the negative side the monopoly of the local milk market by opening it to the global competition is evident, but that ensures that the prices of milk in Jamaica will fall and the local poor can have access to milk at a cheaper rate. The projections of globalization as the only path towards the progressive economy or stage and so should be followed by the developing economies have been criticized by the author. As many developing economies have followed this path but the desired benefits have not been attained yet. The total world income even though has increased by 2.5% annually but poverty has increased for more than 100 million. So a glaring difference between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have-nots’. The entire world economy was posed a threat by the Asian Crisis of 1997-98. The Western countries have been described as hypocrites as these countries have forced the developing countries to shed their own boundaries but they have not shed their own. Western countries have induced Globalization in the sense to garner benefits at the cost of the developing countries. The ever-increasing role played by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the constant plea over

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60 Stiglitz, Joseph E. (2003:7)
their programmes by the developing countries were lent no ear but now with similar cries from the developed countries, they are given larger attention.

**Rowena Robinson (2004)** recognizes that *Pluralism* in the Indian context has developed quite naturally as the way the historical and geographical realities do not permit the scope of a single, exclusionist nationalism. In India truth like its various approaches is multi-faceted. India is the birthplace of four-major namely, Hinduism, Sikhism, Buddhism and Jainism. Not only is the spread of religion diverse but within a single religious ranks there are multiple orientations like the castes and sub-castes making the scenario more complex and plural. The politicization of the religion has problematicized what was otherwise, very simply the ways of lives of the Indians. The difference among the different religions is *functional* as it creates a separate individual identity and thus ensures that the person will never be lost in the ‘melting pot’. Further, *plurality* entails *functional integration* as it is by its means that a society is sustained. It is to survive in this plurality and to engage in what is called symbolic interactions it is essential to have a knowledge that in turn will provide the power to predict others behaviours and actions and also act in a way by knowing how the ‘others’ would react to that. The role or the way through which the native or the dominant cultures act to influence other cultures has been also addressed by the author. The hallmarks of Indian Religion peeping out of diversity and co-existence are the concepts of Liberalism, Tolerance and acceptance.

**Marshall McLuhan (1962)** distinguishing between the concepts of *Galaxy* and *Environment*. The introduction of a new technology how changes the character of the ‘public’ is what the author stresses upon. How a new technology with its inception creates a new environment, thus implying that the definition and re-definition of environment resting on the technology. The concept of ‘galaxy’ remaining unchanged, on the other hand, with technological intrusion. The author brings forth the clash between electric, mechanical and print technology. Television causes immense visual stress with its accompanying isolation of the visual faculty from the other senses. The emphasis is on how the extensions of the visual modalities of the factors like; *uniformity, connectiveness* and *uniformity* of the organs and spaces alike.

**Marshall McLuhan (1964)** popularized the concept of *Global village* connected by the electronic nervous system is a part of the popular culture. Media, technology, communication
forms an electronic nervous system which integrates the planets, events in one part of the world with the distant other who can experience the same in ‘real time’, just as possible as in a small village. The author theorizes that the ‘medium is the message’, i.e. the quality of the medium have as much effect as the message itself or it transmits. The content of the message imparts lesser impacts over the medium through which it is transmitted. The author differentiates between the ‘hot’ and the ‘cool’ mediums. The different mediums have different sensory effects associated with the media of higher or lower definition. The ‘hot’ mediums include radio, photography, cinemas are the ones that are fuller of information and allow less involvement. However the ‘cool’ mediums on the contrary are less full of information but allow greater sensory participation by the user, this category includes cartoons, telephone and television. Televisions have soporific effects that cause people to settle in passive brain-wave pattern. Extrapolation of current trends in communication, technological advance and specialized effects on human communication along with television are acting as major forces in integrating the world into a single tribe. The idea of integrated planetary nervous system is a part of our popular culture. Development even though has been described as positive and the effects of media on our behaviour and thought is immense but the effects of very sophisticated, manipulative, advanced media has been put under question by the author.

Christopher Butler (2006) identifies that the postmodern society is primarily a society of images in which there is a constant production and consumption of the simulacra. In the current knowledge-dominated, technologically driven society information has emerged as the sole important thing that people buy. The author has referred to the Nietzschean assumption that everything from newspaper to television are all concerned secretly with the service in maintenance of power over truth is all-pervasive. Baudrillard’s hyperrealization has been referred by the author whereby people live in a world dominated by signs, i.e. simulacra generated by capitalism to synthesize the desires which refers to one another in an entrapping chain of ideas. What goes on is a sort of sign-play and advertising has a major role in inducing people to buy something; it acts to synthesize wants that people actually do not have. The new media accelerates social change through an extraordinary compression of time and space.

61 McLuhan, Marshall (1964:405)
62 Butler, Christopher (2006:113-114)
63 Butler, Christopher (2006:117)
There in the post-modern world is a sensory overload of images in magazines, cityscapes, television, newspaper, etc. Vocabularies just succeed one another through history along with their competitors in post-modernity. As post-modernity is devoid of inherent moral consequences so engaging in a practice even though disapproved by one’s religion as entails in participation in culture or way of life which otherwise would deserve a source of defense of the whole is asserted as an individual right, not adversely affecting the rights of others.\(^{64}\) The way the postmodern society engages in discourse formation through media-channels, both international and local and how far it acts to penetrate into the mentality of the people in the context of food choices and eating out options make this literature relevant for the research.

**Ashwini Deshpande (2008)** suggests multiple alternatives to globalization and development, refuting the ‘one-size fits all’ approach. The plea for a specific approach is called for. The author examines the various trade regimes, exchange rate policies, financial fragility, currency convertibility, monetary policies, labour and employment and compares the cross-national growth comparisons. Washington Consensus constitutes orthodoxy as the prescription for all nations to come out of underdevelopment by follow a single path has been recommended. Eliminating restrictions on movement of capital, when a country does not perform well emphasis is laid on the in-adherence to the whole package over the inappropriateness of the system for identifying the problamatique. The ‘social safety nets’ offered by World Bank are palliative in terms of the social tensions and vulnerabilities that this system propels. A contextual application of the mainstream prescriptions is what is called for. Dominant, developed economies, in the name of development are imposing certain prescriptions on the developing economies. Small elites even though enjoy a higher living standard but the working class becomes very vulnerable. ‘Policy space’\(^{65}\) ha-joon chang in policy space in historical perspective with special reference to trade and industrial policy) in the developing economies have shrunk so much so in the last quarter of the decade that sovereignty n the realm of economic policy is vanishing. Under what the author calls ‘creep-mission’ all the areas are approached by the banks and the funds do not have ample influence. The trade regimes have become all important and it is the rules of ‘this’ game that is always in motion. Special and

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\(^{64}\) Butler, Christopher (2006:121)

\(^{65}\) Deshpande, Ashwini (2008:12-13)
Differential Treatment (SDT); pável Isa-Contreras and Miguel Ceara-Hatton, Special and Differential Treatment in trade regimes: a comparative analysis of GATT, the WTO, the FTAA and COTONOU) as has been the cause of development of certain developing economies and its weakening has lead to an adverse consequence. China’s economic growth beyond human development has been possible because of the right kind of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI).

Pranab Kanti Basu (2008) assumes that through the Midas Touch even though was supposed to decline poverty and propel growth in the last two decades but those factors are now actually being the ones that are acting to produce a polar opposite consequence. ‘Globalization’ though is endowed with certain self-professed goals like that of growth and expansion but also has political overtones as by dismantling the local economy it creates and expands the industrial capital. Globalization takes the form of global capitalism as it is the site where the global confronts. This is positive as the local builds an alternative model an alternative model of social construction based on communitarian ethics, what the author calls nirman and the non-capitalist organization of surplus. The author elaborates on how a clash between nirman and sangharsh and how a process by which the former becomes the later and vice-versa. The author illuminates on how capitalism develops and also there is sufficient resistance to it with a special reference to the Indian context. Transmission from national empire to global capitalism by the process of globalization involves breaking the local market, creating the rules of competition and accommodating it into the global camp. In the creation and organization of market state plays a role that is played by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB) World Trade Organization (WTO). New global orders are established by destroying the local. The way global capitalism enterprises in association with the international agencies and state are remapping the global into the local space. The ‘commons’ of the local communities is shared at the community level. The global is exploitative of the surplus and so both at the ‘public’ and ‘private’ levels ‘commons’ are used as ‘land banks’. The process of ‘rent appropriation’ is taken as rent is extracted from the property holders. The process of ‘good for all’ actually acts as ‘good of few’ at the cost of others. How language, how the global construction of knowledge of violence, “scientific nature” of the discourses are also re-affirmed in capitalist-induced industrialization which not only accounts for structural transformation. The subjectivity is also transformed from

\[\text{Deshpande, Ashwini (2008:27)}\]
communitarian to individualized spheres. Conjoined Socialism operating as a democratic process and democracy leads to a new way of rethinking socialism in the 21st century.

S.L. Rao (2010) made liberalization and globalization responsible for increasing greed and the consequent loss of moral values. The author has recognized the modern era as the one whereby corruption has been institutionalized. Being engaged in high-paid jobs the parents’ of young people engage themselves and also their wards in unnecessary forms of consumption. Loss of compassion as a feature of this era leads to hedonism. The counterpart of the allures of consumption is the desire for more and more money and goods and easy way out is to resort to swindling or theft. The opening up of the economy started with Rajiv Gandhi and widely under P.V. Narasimha Rao, who made it possible to buy goods elsewhere even at comparable prices with other countries. The last food inflation was linked with bureaucrats and ministers who were benefitted by holding back stocks at the cost of millions of people. Post economic globalization government takes a lesser important role in decision making. It has also reduced apparent chances of corruption and illegal opportunities of making money as technology has replaced humans. The National Council of Advanced Economic Research (NCAER) identified that in India the number of very poors has reduced and an increase in the number of better-offs. Till the 1980s the mental conditioning of avoiding ostentious consumption that prevailed has gone off in the current era. Leaders must act as example setters added with that a control of personal debt. Immediate consumption of each and every goods increases the number of people living on debt both at an individual and country level.

Jacques Baudot, and Jomo K. S. (2007) the authors contest the view of many economists that globalization would lead to a world-wide growth and the economic liberalization would mean a global convergence and that would act to decrease inequality. But an adverse turn was seen with the increase in the national level inequalities and with slower economic growth since 1980s. Empirical studies on how economic liberalization affects inequality, poverty, development in the recent era shows reveals the recent trends, the comparative experience of the countries and how the pursued economic and political trajectories effects the process of globalization. The Copenhagen’s Social Summit in the year 1995 focused on the international attention on the social and distributional dimensions of recent economic development trends. The lack of consensus on whether the global inequality is increasing or decreasing is a result of the
employment of different methodology towards the study. Sutcliffe points out that, ‘the rich and the poor, for both extremes the inequalities are increasing while the intermediate income group of the world’s population is moving closure (jose gabriel palma, Globalizing inequality: ‘centrifugal’ and ‘centripetal’ forces at work).’67 The industrial economy projects the middle classes as the administrative class and especially the upper middle section reaps the benefits of the distributional safety net. Maddison (2001) argues that inequalities despite the promises of globalization have grown in China and have worsened in India. Inter-country inequalities even though have shown signs of flattening but the intra-country conditions have worsened only. Economic globalization, economic growth and convergence in terms of economic development, incomes and human welfare are to be measured. Also since 1980s, most developing countries have shown growth which has been much slower than the previous two decades. As India and China have performed exceptionally well so other than these two and East Asian countries the per capita growth of vast majority of low, middle income groups have fallen. Wage inequalities coupled with the increase in self employment and even increase in the number of workers not working in under minimum decent work conditions have grown. However this does not necessarily lead to the issue of causation between globalization and the increasing inequality. The authors prefer a co-relation between these variables. The government spending or what is called social expenditure has been restrained owing to the regressive tax structures, increasing insistence of balanced budgets or fiscal surplus and lower tax revenues. The resultant deflation has showed up. Even though privatization increases tax revenues but they are indeed short-term and in the long run it leads to the concentration of wealth in the hands of few. Even the International Monetary Fund or IMF’s policy did not help the poor in the developing countries. Sutcliffe points out that the inequalities are decreasing in certain ways while increasing in certain others thus making the world a complex site. East Asian countries even though have reduced poverty dramatically but the cause of it can be located in the growth and structural changes in these countries and not because of egalitarian growth or progressive justice. The causes of inequality and poverty in India in the economic liberalization’s period during the 1990s are indeed widespread. Poverty has been vertical and has suffered from regional increase and what can be called persistent poverty. The macro-economic policies like the fiscal

discipline, regressive tax reforms, financial sector reform reforms among producers, institutional credit flows to small farmers, liberalization of the foreign and domestic investment regimes leading to more skewed investment patterns, exacerbating regional inequalities and trade liberalization adversely affecting employment generation and livelihoods.

*Bina Agarwal (2010)* identifies the overall empowerment of the poor in the market economies requires the strength and collectivities for enhancing their socio-economic well-being. It must include the power of making their voice heard and most importantly a political and social space for them. The bottom-up agricultural production activities i.e. the group approach to farming offer sufficient scope of poverty alleviation, empowerment of the poor, remarkable increase in agricultural production and most importantly this procedure of group farming benefits the women who can benefit by participating in the process. The author recognizes the ideational impact as in the early socialism this collectivization emitted certain adverse effects so the government overlooking the positive impacts as found in certain other instances and is being policy-blind in case of the developing economies like India. The need for collectivization for effective agricultural production has been logically identified. The sensitization of the policy circles is what the author calls for above the collective ventures. The local level inequalities like those based on class, gender or caste may also be overcome to a significant extent.

*Harvie Ferguson (1996)* identifies the present foundation of consumers upon the liberation of wishful fantasies over the regulations or simulations of desires upon which the consumer’s of the past were founded. Individuals in the current era express themselves through their possessions. Accordingly, he locates that the advanced capitalist societies are constantly aimed at the continuing expansion of production and paving way for what he calls the ‘psychic economy’. The expansion of production leads to limit the psychological framework of the individuals within the horizon of economy. The author very ideally differentiates between wish and desire and points out that the forces of consumption have replaced the former with the later.

*David Held (1990)* argue that the struggle over the accountability of the world economic order is becoming increasingly intense. The extremely challenging and complex, but fundamental issues concerning the nature of free markets, the relation between the corporate and the public agendas and the political intervention in the economic life, how they are framed, disseminated in the transnational global markets have been addressed. Cosmopolitanism calls for greater
accountability, democracy and social justice in the arena of global politics. The growing extensity, intensity and speed of trade have become increasingly enmeshed with national economies across the globe. Key elements of the production process have been sliced up and dispersed and located across the globe, often in the developing and emerging economies. Thus not only an increase in the consumption of foreign goods found but a country’s own production process becomes extremely dependent upon the overseas. Economic activity in one country is largely affected by the economic activity in other countries. World financial flows have increased manifold and alongside transnational production networks global finance have become central to economic globalization. The way accountability is considered at stake with the emergence of the global free markets and the world wide operations of the trans-national corporations, the original idea of cosmopolitanism is contested, whereby people have themselves become a member of the ‘cosmos’, but rationality is at stake.

_Zygmunt Bauman (1996)_ recognizes the striking feature of the post-modern society being that it engages its members primarily as consumers and not as producers. It is different from the past societies as no conformity is found between to ‘keep up’ between the bottom line and the upper limit. The life in this society is the life of what Bauman calls ‘universal comparison’. No norms are present in this society which is guided by the laws of reduction; no normative regulation is present coupled with an ever increasing desires and volatile wishes. The concept of ‘luxury’ has been contested as in the effort ‘to take the waiting out of wanting’; today’s luxury is converted to tomorrow’s necessities. The aim that drives all towards a single goal that is of minimizing the distance between ‘today’ and ‘tomorrow’. The drive of adequacy for being ‘ever-ready’ is what the author expands into the differentiation and the later on identification of transition between the regimes of _health_ and _fitness_. The concept of Health of the prior societies has been replaced by the concept of Fitness in the consumer society. Even though both health and fitness both refer to the care of the body but both have considerable difference between them. Even though fitness is good for health but fitness cannot be fitted solely into what constitutes the entire realm of health. However health can be defined as proper and desirable physical and mental state. Fitness is defined as being able to do anything and so it relates to breaking the norm whereas keeping to it is what health is. Health is quantifiable but fitness is subjective and so varies from individuals to individuals and hence its quantification is difficult. Now, in this consumer society
the idea of ‘disease’ is ever-changing and the discovery of the ever new states of the body makes it open for increasing medical intervention. Health care today becomes more and more the pursuit of fitness. The various weight-watching programmes among the ‘fitness regimes’ makes the domain quantifiable with the vanishing inches and the disappearing ounces just like what the scales of thermometer does.

**Robert Reich** is very relevant in this era as the author in this book very pertinently categorizes all the people who are engaged in every type of economic activities into four groups. These four categories are not only inclusive but also they are very ideal in understanding the social order as they indicate the economic hierarchy. These groups are:

- **Symbol Manipulators**: these include people who are involved in inventing ideas and devicing out the ways in order to make them desirable and marketable.
- **Reproduction of the Labour**: these people are involved in the innovating ways which are related to the reproduction of labour.
- **Personal Services**: this category involves people who deliver personal services based on face-to-face interaction or encounter between the provider and recipients of the service.
- **Routine Labourers**: who forma social substratum of the labour.

**Tahire O Kocturk (2002)** argues even though it has been written in an altogether different Scandinavian context but it bears high relevance as it throws light on the importance of the knowledge of food rules in the multi-cultural setting. The author combines and compares the Koran verses and the traditions regulating food consumption among the Muslims. How the food rules revolving around the concepts of *halal* and *haram* aims to dictate food consumption among the Muslims. The halal stands for the lawful foods that are prescribed by the Islam and the haram being the ones not regarded as lawful by the same. Food rules, as the author argues are meant to be observed by the post-pubertal people in sound mental and physical being. Peaceful economic and social conditions also indicate the observation of the food laws.

**M. Montanari (2006)** delineates that the entire processes involved with the capturing, cultivation, preparation and cultivation of food is a cultural act. The author argues that a constant relationship stands fundamental which is the relationship between health and
pleasure that guides the cultural experience of the *homo edens* (man and the consumption of good food).

Pekka Sulkunen (1997) declares how Consumerism as an ideology has been seen as displacing class awareness by promulgating an illusion of united interests of consumers instead of recognizing conflicting interests in sphere of production and distribution. Primacy shifted in the consumer society from conflicts over the distribution of products and the burden of producing them towards conflicts over individual freedom against control. The new consumer society is concerned about the unintended consequences and latent motives, desires and functions of individual behaviour. The underlying issues concerning the social and political order of affluent societies and merely doesn’t mark a shift from orientation in production to that of orientation in consumption. The new affirmation of happiness in affluent societies whereby the guilt for consuming rather than saving has lost it’s hold; the sentiment of sacrificing momentary pleasure for the sake of accumulation in the future has been dethroned by the spirit of ‘hic et nunc’. Consumer society gives importance to body mainly because in its social and historical constitution the nature of social bond remains crucial and not merely because body consumes and processes immediately what we take in through the tactile senses of touch, smell, taste or through the distant senses of eyes and ears. The aesthetisation of life is part of the new affirmation of happiness in contemporary affluent societies but uncertainties and disappointments come as inevitable consequence of the possibility and necessity of choice. The author identifies that the less the aesthetic designs of one’s life depends on external factors like needs, situations and traditions the more uncertain one is likely to become about the value of choices. The inner-directed personality becomes other-directed in a neurotic search of affirmation and reassurance always becoming vulnerable to disappointments. The way consumerism indicates own judgements as free decision makers reflects and embodies our relationships to objects as choice and pleasure through the exploitation of goods and services usually produced by them. The role of modern technologies of power has been highlighted as a disciplining exercised through the body aims at internalizing the social order as anonymous norms guiding the individual’s conduct. The basic contradiction in consumer society is between

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69 Sulkunen, Pekka (1997:3)
70 Sulkunen, Pekka (1997:5)
the sovereignty of consumers and their need for protection against various ills related to
cosumption and this contradiction is comparable to the contradiction between labour and
capital as was found in the society of production. The author argues that deregulation itself
brings about new needs of direction in others. Addiction and other health related problems have
been compared with the environmental risks. The new consumer society is based on suspicion
as the information on healthy life styles and healthy nutrition are produced by experts and reach
us via media and thereby it is not immediate. The author identifies that a radical
incommensurability of ends is the problem of social order in a subject-centered culture, where
the way of life, style, identity and even adherence to social groupings are chosen rather than
situationally determined. The lost idea of progress, the corruption of the values of
Enlightenment, the primacy given to the body or to ritual and emotions instead of instrumental
reason, are common elements according to the author to construct tools essential for the
understanding of the post-modern condition. Deviant observations in this condition are pushed
aside as unimportant exceptions instead of making it open for critical examination and
correction of the theoretical model. The author has also referred to John Holmwood’s critical
standpoint where the author mentions that those who open themselves towards free and
uncontrolled uses of pleasure capitulate the incommensurability of ends and may sacrifice the
values of inclusive citizenship and equality, represented by the welfare state, to the benefit of
the free reign of the market-forces. As the situational determinants of lifestyles have become
weak and the inner-directed drive to Beautiful Life has become self-imposed on us by necessity
to choose, individual happiness and pleasure are elevated to the centre of our existential order.
The quest for certainty about the value of choices, but also about their rationality in terms of
risk avoidance, has nowhere to look. The critical overview and analysis of the concept of
consumerism and the dimensions and trends of the consumer society makes this article highly
relevant for analysis.

Zygmunt Bauman despite of the heaping disasters has been viewed as a century of progress by
various actors and interpreters. This century views ‘change’ as a pre-condition and not as a
process. Society as Bauman argues, society is no more proclaimed or believed to be the
guardian of certainty. Uncertainty is no more proclaimed to have been unduly demonized in the
past. Fighting the risk and taming the future, like many other orthodox functions of the state, is
being deregulated and shifted to individual initiative and responsibility. Society, which stood up as against the uncertainties of nature, stood as the stern protector of game’s fairness, sovereign rule-setter and an advocate of the victims of the unfair moves. Society itself has turned into one of the ‘players’. Society now stands for those invisible, untouchable and inscrutable entities that carry obscure names like ‘world finances’, ‘global markets’, ‘international investors’, ‘competitiveness’ or ‘efficiency’. The 20th century was the culmination of the long and torturous modern crusade against uncertainty. It is both the ‘beginning’ and the ‘end’, according to Bauman, it is the end of arms and it is also the beginning of the long process whereby reshuffling and refurbishing of our joint, enlarged, global home in which uncertainty has been issued with permission to stay and made to feel welcomed. The way society has been treated in this article as ‘players’ is interesting and how liberalization of 1990s in the Indian context has acted to shift the status of society needs examination and is relevant in this research.

Zygmunt Bauman (2004) argues that the question of identity is associated with the breakdown of the welfare state and the subsequent growth in the sense of insecurity coupled with the ‘corrosion of character’ that is the fruit of flexibility and insecurity which is the characteristics of the modern workplace. The conditions are created for hallowing out of democratic institutions along with the privatization of the public sphere, which increasingly goes on to resemble a talk show where everyone shouts out their own justifications without ever managing to affect the injustices and lack of freedom which are a characteristic feature of the modern world. The ‘corrosion of character’ is characteristic feature of the modern world men and women seen as a manifestation of the profound anxiety that typifies the behaviour, decision-making and life-projects of men and women in Western societies. The desire for identity emerges from the desire of security. The abundance of engagements on offer, but even more the evident frailty of each of them does not inspire trust in long term and personal, intimate relationships. To ‘identify’ with one self means to give hostages to an unknown fate, this is beyond one’s influence let alone control. The horrors of exclusion emanate from the source of ‘forces of globalization’, which brings about random, haphazard, shifts and drifts, the changes coming without any warning and at an unprecedented force. The media supply ‘virtual extraterritoriality’ to its audience who are denied of a real access to the global space where cosmopolitan global elites reside. Thus the ‘substitute extraterritoriality’ or ‘imagined
extraterritoriality’ act to shift the attention to the objects over the expanse of the globe. The way identity, in the liquid modern era has become a matter of concern and the role of media in creating the extraterritoriality and thereby dislocating the time and the space is what is considered as important from this piece of literature. 

**Barry Smart (1994)** identifies the anxieties of postmodern eating practices. Contemporary eating practices are like fragmented snap-shots. People nibble in the cafeteria, and wander over past myriad of food items arrayed up and down mega market aisles. Glossy cookbooks are ‘gastro-porn’ which are very pleasurable to look at yet is unattainable. It becomes difficult for people to choose foodstuffs and recipes. Glossy cookbooks and the cookery shows demonstrated and the images of celebrity chefs project what one can become yet the expectations of gratification that they inspire are quite unrealizable by the individual. The result of such kind of behaviour is ‘panic eating’, an ‘orgy of gastroglobal eclecticism’, which is the result of taking charge of one’s own life. How individual responds to these diversified choices and how that leads to ‘panic eating’ or ‘gastroglobal eclecticism’ is what is deemed relevant for this research.

**R. C. Woods (1995)** differentiates between notions of meal and snacks. The former is regularized one, is a structured event, a social occasion with food governed by values specifying time, place and series of actions whereas the latter in an unstructured food event.

**David W. Marshall (1995)** proposed that humans are always interested on alternative comestibles as to safeguard themselves against shortages. To let the cycle of food provisioning system rotate endlessly the process is often resorted to might be without being aware of it. The cycle according to the author is like:

![Food Provisioning Process Diagram](image)

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Food is guided by culture which develops often in lines not so rationalistic but based on ideas of convenience and purity. Culture teaches itself to choose from a wide range of ingestible substance available subsuming and ignoring physiological reasoning. Functions of eating somewhat revolves following the author are:

- It is the means by which one is permitted transgression of the bodily membrane that acts to hold people as discrete individuals separate from the outside world.
- It incorporates part of the vegetable, mineral universe into the individual subject.
- It keeps people live.

Thus the way food, eating and its functions have been conceptualized makes this literature relevant.

**Eric Schlosser (2001)** described ubiquitous American fast-food centre which projects a universal ‘interchangeable sameness’ which results from mass production. The ambience of the fast food restaurants has become so ordinary and mundane, unexceptional and routine that it has been taken for granted. A homogenized international culture has been created out of this routine experience. Standardization pervades all aspects of the fast food industry, affecting employers, employees and consumers. The type of interaction that occurs are employer mandated and scripted and that creates an illusion of quality service while helps to maintain a social distance and impersonality between the employees and the customers. Certain standard forms of behaviour prevail in the fast food restaurants like the floor plan, counter plans, queuing up for order and delivery, taking the food to the table, self service etc. The way stability and universality can be achieved through standardization embodying a form of social control is what relates this work to this research.

**Robin Leidner** argues that an effort of deskilling people is operative across the globe whereby the trainees are taught lessons of standardization to affect every aspect of services and products. The employers are always proactive to control the overall behaviour of the employees. Massive efforts to set up organized intervention to control interactions between the workers and customers are set up specially in the fast food industry. It acts to severely undermine shared understandings about individuality and social obligations.

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S.W. Mintz (1996) presents that the choices of food are shaped by vast and increasingly complex global economy which is characterized by a surprising and enormous significance being offered to food.

Arjun Appadurai (1988) elaborates on how cookbooks act as a medium of construction of identity. How certain cookbooks create a national cuisine in contemporary India. The middle-class women across the nation communicates with each other through the medium of cookbooks, which serve to blur regional, ethnic and caste boundaries and thereby foster a sense of national identity, integrity and national identity creation. Food is turned by people into powerful symbols of group affinity. How the contents of cookbooks act to diffuse boundaries and create a fusion in culinary art is what is important in this research’s context.

Sharon Zukin (1995) brings to light at the backdrop of New York as the ‘cultural capital’ that how the three notions of culture includes ethnicity, aesthetic and marketing tools as means and methods of reshaping the urban politics and conflicts over revitalization. The author highlights that cities don’t have a singular culture or multiple sub-cultures rather culture is constantly negotiate in the city’s central places like that in the streets, parks, shops, museums and restaurants, which are symbolic places of city’s modernity. Using the concept of ‘landscape’ the author focuses attention from social communities to postmodern cities as both material and symbolic construction. City is depicted as a ‘symbolic economy’ based on tourism, media and entertainment. Public spaces are open for maximum surveillance and thus the key figures in the symbolic economy are the immigrants, artists, street peddlers and security guards. The treatment culture in the city as being constantly constructed in places like the public spaces like the restaurants, parks, streets etc. is what is important in this piece of literature.

Lawrence Rubin (2008) recognizes McDonald’s failure to guarantee health as the entire process creates an extraordinary hype that dislocates individual’s perception from the distressing objective conditions that would have otherwise re-oriented food practices. The “All you can Eat” logic with a seemingly advantageous deal of fun, excess and profit conceals the latent anxieties about the source and processes involved in the production. Ritzer’s McConsumer accordingly becomes as predictable as McWorkers. The buffet produces docile and uncomplicated consumers who in an approximate period of time have to ingest as much as
possible.\textsuperscript{73} This leads to something that the author calls “Infantilization”\textsuperscript{74}, which by flattening the consumer’s narcissistic needs and characteristics of the infantile mind by bragging about quantity and size. Consumers following the author become passive, obedient, repetitive, purposeful and simplistic. A duality can be located as McDonalds on one hand alienates the consumer from the local by imposing the same bland taste on the rest of the world and this hypermodern man is supposed to be unpredictable, seeking new innovations, variability etc. \textsuperscript{75}

Deborah Lupton (1996) conceives of the experience of embodiment as socially produced and of food and eating practices as always mediated through social relations is linked with the sophisticated awareness of the ways in which society, subjectivity and the body are interrelated. The sensations and emotional state’s experience of early infancy are less likely to be remembered but they influence the response of the individual later in life to food. Food and ‘culinary practices’ hold the extraordinary power in defining the boundaries between ‘us’ and ‘them’. American cultural imperialism is achieved by food preferences, which have been generated by the perceived glamour of the American culture in popular forums. To eat American food is to incorporate some of the desired attributes of the American culture, and at the same time to discard one’s own cultural food practices. The nutritional value of such food is immaterial to the desire to consume it, it is considered desirable as it is indicative of American success. The cultural category of ‘nutrition’ is wider than that of ‘diet’, but narrower than that of ‘food’. Not all foods are regarded as nutritious, yet foods are regarded as those which are digestible by the body. A plethora of medical conditions and diseases are currently linked to food habits. Food practices and habits are now experienced through the farming of medical concerns about diet. The meanings and emotions that inhere around food and eating are linked to the understandings of health and medical associations of food. Food, emotion and subjectivity are closely connected. The strong connection is evident from the link between the sense of taste and smell and the emotional dimensions of human experience. Alcohol, standing in the liminal category of food signals after consumption an escape from the ‘civilized’ body and self-indulgence. The symbolic meanings constructed around food via acculturation into a culture by learning which kind of food are considered pleasurable and which revolting, but also

\textsuperscript{73} Rubin, C. Lawrence (2008: 56)
\textsuperscript{74} Rubin, C. Lawrence (2008: 57)
\textsuperscript{64} Rubin, C. Lawrence (2008: 60)
involves personal experiences through the unconscious. Food is an element of the material world which embodies and organizes the relationship with the pats in socially significant ways, the link between food preferences and memory is regarded as ‘symbiotic’. A close association between food and perfumery is seen as the perfumes containing aldehydes are particularly popular in Asia as the spices of Asian cuisine are rich in aldehydes like: citrus, coriander, coconut and ginger. Meals become a marker of social status and distinction; food has been taken to the extent of fashionable commodity. The ‘home-cooked’ meal as is taken-for granted is gauche compared to the dishes served at fine-dining restaurants. Expectations around food at a restaurant are high as it is ‘culturally positioned’ as a special occasion than a meal at home and also because it is expensive. In a restaurant a heightened sense of self-awareness and uncertainty about social competence operate leading to the fear of being shown up in public. Dining out experience, in the Western societies is in itself an individual’s public demonstration of the possession of economic and cultural capital, phrased as their sense of taste. Choice of restaurants and dishes are all markers of a person’s identity like other commodities. In the aesthetics dimension food can be placed in aesthetic substance and pleasure-giving substance continuum. Discourses around the body for both men and women are operative. Cultural distastes are expressed towards ‘grotesque’ or obese body.  Obese men are seen as gluttons and monstrous whereas obese women draw sympathy, as they are unable to help themselves, are emotionally sloppy and sexually ambiguous. The modern body may find pleasure in the regulatory practices around food through fasting and dieting as they may provide intense pleasure. Fat is seen as polluting the ‘cleanliness’ of the body as well as causing to make it become obese. The way the meanings and discourses are articulated around food in media, public health literature etc., the role of culture towards food preferences, how dining out acts as an identity marker and the perceived superiority of the Western food and the associated designation of the same as ‘modern’ and a ‘status symbol’ makes this article relevant for research.  

Annechen Bahr Bugge (2003) identifies how the domestic cook in the Norwegian food discourse is relegated the status of a scientist, an artist, an expert, the protector of nature, the gourmet, a good mother, a good wife, a politician and a domestic mistress and this acts to

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76 Lupton, Deborah (1996:137)
convert the everyday mundane activity of cooking into an activity through which self-presentation and identity formation can be obtained. In the kitchen, which has become more fashionable with the introduction of foreign labour saving devices and cooking has become a front-stage activity from a back-stage one. That however created an extreme demand of expert domestic cooks in Norway. In the western cultures traditionally the preparation of food even though was regarded as a low-status activity and was regarded as a practical pastime, not theoretical, manual in nature, not mental and a skill and not an art. Referring to Plato, the author subscribes that cooking falls in the trap of the distinction between the head and the hand, whereby as it is associated with the manual dimension so, the status is much lower than that of the activities which are associated with head. The health gourmet appear to be antitheses where weekdays and weekends are relative time-spheres whereby the weekday syntax the elements are the kitchen, health, fish, fibrous bread while the weekend syntax contains the living room, fry fritters, white bread and alcohol. These spheres are ritually separated from within the weekly-cycle and the weekend or holiday cycle. Holidays are marked with more of the “prohibited” or “sinful” foods, which are desirous by the individual over the weekly “structured” or “disciplines” meal.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media</th>
<th>The Gourmet Discourse</th>
<th>The Health Discourse</th>
<th>The National Discourse</th>
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<th>Opinion Formers</th>
<th>The Gourmet Discourse</th>
<th>The Health Discourse</th>
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<tr>
<td>Celebrity cooks, Culture and media personalities.</td>
<td>Medical experts, State authorities (such as the National Council on Nutrition and Physical activity)</td>
<td>National authorities</td>
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<th>Target Group</th>
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<th>The Health Discourse</th>
<th>The National Discourse</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Parents, young women, mothers, middle-aged men</td>
<td>Ethnic Norwegians, Working women</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social Field</td>
<td>Leisure kitchen</td>
<td>Everyday kitchen</td>
<td>Everyday kitchen, festive Holiday Meals</td>
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<td>Orientation</td>
<td>Hedonism, distinction, Conspicuous Consumption, Relation-building (dating)</td>
<td>Everyday responsibilities, sensibility.</td>
<td>Nostalgia, transmission of Norwegian food culture, mobilization against everyday decline and decay.</td>
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<td>Subject Position</td>
<td>The Gourmet</td>
<td>The Therapist</td>
<td>The Traditionalist</td>
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<td>Key Words</td>
<td>Haute cuisine, ruccula lettuce, Mediterranean style bouquet Garni Balasmico, Olive(-oil).</td>
<td>Healthy, therapy, fat, cholesterol, Vitamins, digestion, dieting (slimming), Glycaemia index.</td>
<td>Meat balls, boiled potatoes, traditional Norwegian food etiquettes, (Grand-)mother’s Kitchen.</td>
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**Table: 2.5: The Norwegian Food Discourses:** *(page: 5 Cooking-As Identity Work)*

The way these three discourses appeal to pleasure (the gourmet discourse), reason (the therapeutic meal) and national sentiment and nostalgia (the national meal) and what kind of status is relegated to cooking and whether the status is changing or not in the context of Kolkata and the way the food discourses operate in India makes this work important for the research. The weekday and weekend or holiday syntax whether they operate in relation to food and cooking in Kolkata also needs analysis.

*Ulrich Beck (1999)* identifies that in the era of transnational dependence, no bipolarities, movement from enemies to dangers and risk aimed at forcing and controlling future consequences of human action. It is an institutionalized attempt, a cognitive map, to colonize the future, unintended consequences of radicalized modernization. Risk is global and involves responsibility and thereby, the issue of responsible globalization becomes a public-political issue declining in the hold of the prior domains of nation-state. ‘Individualization’, i.e. Institutional Individualization, ‘welfare states’ are all the benefits which are aimed towards
individual development. A new social cohesion, a new cosmopolitanism in which the creative uncertainty of freedom replaces the hierarchical certainty of different political experimentation has emerged to form a global morality of shared risk. Beck has typified global threats in the following order:

1. Wealth-driven risks (risks directly related to the poverty)
2. Nuclear-Biological-Chemical Threats (weapons of mass destruction)

These first two are the natural ones, but we live in a hybrid world whereby the risks are man-made hybridity. The way individuals in the risk society have to behave in a responsible manner so that in this hybridity, globalization can be channelized towards used individual development is what makes this literature important.

George Ritzer (2001) recognizes that McDonaldization, consumerism and entities like fast-food restaurants as ‘obscene’ powers mostly made ‘invisible’ from the consumers. In the modern world thus are all aspects which can be seen as to increasing the external control over the consumer’s life along with that acts to pose a threat to human rights, social justice and democratic decision-making. The vast majority of ‘haves’ within advanced societies eagerly welcome and embrace processes like McDonaldization and consumerism and are always eager to eat in the fast-food restaurants, use credit cards to the maximum and spend their leisure times by shopping and in malls, theme-parks or cruise ships. Not only are the ‘have-nots’ in these countries interested in switching their positions and embrace these practices but also those in less ‘advanced societies’ are after these obscene powers. Those who have connections with processes and entities are quite content with them and those with little or no involvement crave to be more implicated by them. Consumerism serves to increase demand and lower prices and thereby bringing a wide range of products and services to an ever-increasing number of people.

A McDonaldized kind of diversity has been brought to parts of the world by the fast-food restaurants which were priorly monocultural. The first criterion involved in obscenity is that it is ‘invisible’ or at best ‘barely visible’. McDonaldization involves elements of standardization and what is noticeable that how in a more visible or invisible degree that innumerable phenomenon or social structures and setting in the world is adopting and adapting to the principles of

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77 Beck, Ulrich (1999:9)
78 Beck, Ulrich (1999:34-35)
79 Ritzer, George (2001:223)
McDonaldization and thereby becoming McDonaldized. McDonalds, becoming part of the local culture and local setting and adoption of the principles of McDonaldization pose greatest threat to local communities as the process becomes invisible. The similarity in all these settings involves disenchantment. McDonaldized settings in which to eat and to work in McJobs are highly dehumanized settings and a human face is rendered. The environmental destruction, the nutritional value of fast food posing a threat to health and the lack hospitable environment hidden behind the advertisements that pose a community feeling among those who dine in the same kind of fast-food restaurants are all part of the hidden obscenities. The shift in post-modern society from problematic producer to problematic consumer whereby the latter has been termed as ‘dangerous consumer’, as these consumers resulting from a dearth of adequate resources tend to consume wrong things. The possible threats to consumer society are also consumers as the imperatives of consumer society are so high that no one is able to come out of the fold of consumerism. The revolutionary potentiality of the consumer society is literally absent as the ‘dangerous consumers’ themselves are also after the means of acquiring more and more resources. The obscenities involved in consumerism, the consumer society’s conception along with the conception of the consumer and consumer sovereignty makes this study relevant for the research.

_Gabe Mythen (2004)_ identifies that the changing patterns of risk distribution alter the dynamics of lived experiences in contemporary society.\(^8^0\) The second half of the twentieth century saw a rapid social change, flux, distinct transformation of the structure and functions of the dominant social institutions generated a mix of liberties and constraints. The Fordist era was marked by families which were relatively cohesive, localized and formally based on the model of nuclear family. The shift of collective experience from the family to the self-management of the lifestyles is possible through individualization. Disipitation of class distinction is a result of the combination of the standard of living, educational opportunities and geographical mobility leading to diversification of lifestyle. The families now has been undergoing reformation and re-ordering. Living in the ‘run-away world’ featured by changing family structures, shuffled gender roles, and fragmented social identities, it is quite obvious that risk would emerge as a routine feature of modern society. The notion of ‘progress’ also involves ‘risk’. Developmental

\(^8^0\) Gabe, Mythen (2004: 117)
changes in technology, medicine and science, greater access to information, positive lifestyle changes in realm of health, fitness and diet are all features of the risk society. The composition and function of risk as a social, economic and cultural construct has been unpacked. The global interconnections in the capitalist markets make all the economic opportunities vulnerable and precarious. Nation-states lose its structural anatomy and control. The inclination of people is lesser towards acquiring ‘social goods’ and more towards avoiding ‘social bads’. Contemporary society is subjected to the ‘boomerang effect’, whereby everyday life is problamatized and contested and the dominant social institutions loose their hold while people are always in an effort to negotiate with the risks and uncertainties. ‘Elective affinities’ become more important while the personal relations are injected with higher doses of choice, decision and change. The diffusion of risk and the individual causes structural changes and residual continuities. The material impacts of risk and the individual’s routine cultural practices, tangible effects of the individuals operate in the key social domain where risks are operative. How in the contemporary society the dynamics of lived experience are altered through the changing patterns of risk distribution is what makes this literature relevant for the purpose of research.

Chitrita Banerjee (1991) argues that despite the increasing urban trend of eating out among the people of Bengal the absence of successful restaurant offering typical Bengali cuisine in both East and West Bengal because the real food of Bengal is not easy to reproduce on a mass scale owing to the nuanced flavours which get destroyed after repeated heating or long hours in storage. The common daily items of food are generally avoided for the guests, unless specifically requested. But they are the ones which give the best offerings of the Bengali food as they are meticulously made by the incorporation of the local ingredients. Until twenty years ago, at traditional Hindu wedding ceremonies typical Bengali food was served, but only consisted of the richer or spicier variety. Fish and rice happens not only to be found in abundance in Bengal but also the Bengalis happened to continue their subsistence on them despite the various political and religious influences on them. The disapprobation of non-violent Buddhism and also the frowns of vegetarian Brahmins of North and South Bengal could not stop the people of Bengal specially the Brahmins (the only exception in India) from consuming fish, apart from on special occasions. Ghee (clarified butter) is integral to Bengali cuisine and

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81 Banerjee, Chitrita (1991:3)
on special occasions they are an integral part of meal and so a little ‘pot-belly’ is considered as the most natural of the developments and aesthetically not at all unpleasing. In Bengali culture the ‘superior’ sex would first have their food and the women would hover around them anxiously serving second offerings. After the best portions of fish and meat are gone the women in order to make the best use of the secondary resources, but would however be happy by savouring the long female tradition. The Bengali tradition is also characterized by strict dietary strictures. The Hindus, specially the Vaishnav sect is averted to fish and meat. But other Bengalis have fish and meat, but only the goat meat. Holidays are marked with particular pleasure of gorging on to spicy meat dish at lunch followed by an afternoon nap. Chicken was avoided as not only it was costly but also because the bird has strong connections with the Muslims and Westerners. The way life, food and culture of Bengal’s tradition has been described makes this work very relevant for this research. The inherent intertwining of the role of women with food and through food how traditionally the women submitted as the ‘inferior’ sex to men is what is interesting and will help to gauge the differences in the Bengali culture.

Richard W. Lacey (1994) argues that a shortage of vegetables and fruits compelled the earlier ancestors to incorporate meat into the diet. On one hand it is possible to sustain on a diet devoid of meat, but a diet solely comprised of meat is not an option. Each type of human society for various reasons, tend to develop particular attitudes towards the varying species of mammals it meets. Many religious groups refrain from certain species like the Jews and Muslims do not eat pig and Hindus do not eat cattle. People tend to have three different kinds of attitudes towards animals:

i) One is that of Reverence (shown towards the companion animals like: dog, cat)

ii) Neutral feelings of indifference, tolerance, curiosity, affection (shown towards non-domesticated animals like: rabbits, birds, hedgehogs )

iii) Concerns those we eat, where we dissociate our eating needs from the circumstances of the animal’s rearing and slaughter.

The social attitudes towards these animals are deep-seated but are devoid of any logical basis. Regardless of their origin some people adopt dietary practices of their country of residence. However there are no dietary reasons to assume that why some animals are not kept as pets,

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82 Banerjee, Chitrita (1991:31)
social attitudes may be responsible. The attitudes towards animals whether can hold dietary prescriptions or restrictions in the cosmopolitan environment are what make this literature significant.

Richard Sennett (1978) admits the intrusion of both friends and strangers into the individual’s lives. The two realms that co-exist are the private and the public realm. The private sphere is considered as the locus of self-disclosure, intimacy and ground for sharing feelings. But the modern industrialized world kills the public sphere as the public stands as an extension of the private. Thus what results in is the overlapping of the public by the private.

Bryan S. Turner (1996) identifies the oddity of the failure of Sociology to develop a theory of the body and the bodies are emphasized by the prevalence of commonsense notions that diet, jogging, fasting, slimming and exercise are not merely essential aids to sexual fulfillment, but are necessary features of self-development in a society grounded in personalized consumption. Sociology, especially the portion related to narcissism with capitalist development, has illustrated the awareness of the changing symbolic significance of the body. In the everyday world, people are constantly confronted by the problem of ‘disrupted life’. The notion of ‘disruption’ leads one towards the reflexive uncovering of the frailty of lives and the precarious character of the institution which underpin them. Identity is fundamentally embedded as the subjective and objective identity cannot be easily separate from embodiment. The ‘self’ is not an enduring or stable fact but changes with ageing, life course and the disruptions of the self can occur because of traumatic illness. The relationships with ones significant others can break, can act to reorganize ones life world and threaten to destroy the comfortable relationship between self, body and significant others. The continuity of personal identity is merely an illusion as disruption to life is a constant human experience. The only definite continuity is the continuity of the embodiment, even that is vulnerable. Everyday world involves a constant struggle to sustain the illusions of order and continuity against the backdrop of persistent but unpredictable disorder. The social world has been constantly constructed against disruptions that threaten the continuities of identities of the social actors. The de-traditionalization of the society through individualization and reflexivity has undermined the vitality of the metaphoricality of social life. There is what is called the ‘eclipse of metaphor’. 83

**Jock Young (1999)** charts the transformation of social fabric in the last third of the twentieth century from an inclusive of stability and homogeneity to an exclusive society of change and division. The author has identified three levels like that of *economic exclusiveness* from the labour market, *social exclusiveness* of people in civil society and the ever-expanding *exclusionary* activities of the criminal justice system. Taking account of the massive structural and cultural changes that have beset the society and relating this to the quantum leap of crime and incivilities. The author has developed major theory based on a new conception of citizenship and reflexive modernity.

**Tibor Scitovsky (1976)** uses theories of behavioural psychology to the questions of consumer behaviour. The author places that more is not necessarily better, the position placed in direct conflict with mainstream economic thought. Economic progress and rising productivity are forever increasing the public’s demand for activities pursued for their own sake.

**Elise S. Lake and Minjoo Oh** recognized Sociology of food and eating as emerging sub-specialties of Sociology. It is rooted in sociological history and status as a small but expanding sub-field that intersects with other disciplines. 19th and 20th century social theorists laid the groundwork for food as both an object of human activity and an indicator of human condition. **Friedrich Engels** connected worker’s food/ration with wages thereby indicating that low-paid workers thrive on adulterated, spoiled food.

**Eugene Anderson (2005)** recognises that the best way to improve world nutrition is by picking up the best ideas from the thousands of cultures that humanity has developed. Each culture encodes a vast amount of knowledge of local foods which involves processes like: how to identify them, prepare them, and grow them (if they are planted). Each culture has its own ways of enjoying food and of construction of foodways as social entities. Other people’s foods are not merely to be perceived as ‘exotic delicacies’ to be eaten for variety but should be seen as sources of ideas for saving the planet. Food is pleasure. It is human nature to derive delight in satisfying survival needs. Satiation has been identified by the author as a ‘neutral state’, which neither gives a feeling of good or of bad. The enjoyment comes in the process of moving from State-A (hunger) to State-B (comfortable fullness). People almost always act as a social act. Food serves as the means to the ends of socializing and survival. The recent concern over ‘bulimia’, an act in which people engage in under their desperate desire to be thin or under
darker psychological forces originated with the ancient Roman women who ate, vomited and then ate again, just for pleasure. These days other people choose food with minimum caloric value – a less drastic way of accomplishing the same goal of eating for pleasure rather than nutrition. Socialized food is always structured along particular lines. It conveys message about the group identification, region or locality, religion etc. Religions are defined by food taboos. Taboos are often used as rules for sharing. Religion conveys a rich symbolic mix of religion, philosophy, lifestyle, and identity in a complex, shifting, and exquisitely fine-tuned pattern.\(^8^4\) Religion towards this end, takes up the most vital function through which people tend to classify the world by treating ‘similar’ things as if they were the same (aggregation) and to treat things perceived as even slightly ‘different’ as if they are utterly different (differentiation). Vegetarians often form a sub-culture of their own and quite militant, zealously propagate their cause, often to the acute discomfort of the meat-eaters. Food fights have erupted over the frenetic huckstering of junk food that passes for ‘modernization’ in the modern world. The way the author has treated food as a source of pleasure, the concept of ‘satiation’, the role of religion in aggregating and differentiating food items are important for this piece of research.

*Ashler* identifies man in the modern world as an ‘eclectic eater’. The author argues that on deciphering meals it can be seen to be tied to the social habitus of man. But it is tied to in terms of variables related to taste.

*Ray Oldenburg (1989)* identifies ‘third places’ as the ones in between the private and the public spheres. These include coffee shops, restaurants where coexists home-style familiarity and informal interaction. These ‘third places’ not only nourishes the body but also highlights the community spirit and the pride of the place.

In the study of the occupational rhetoric of chef in upscale restaurants *Gary Allen Fine (1996)* shows that the chefs use languages of professionalism, art, business and labour to claim prestige and maintain a sense of self-worth in an occupation of ambiguous status, i.e. that of a cook, manager, artist-in the public’s mind.

*Manpreet K. Janeja (2010)* identifies through a new theoretical focus on the Anthropology of food, material culture and everyday life. By a comparative analysis of the culinary practices of Bengali Hindu and Muslim middle and lower class people of both Calcutta and Dhaka the

\(^{84}\) Anderson, Eugene (2005:128)
author has thrown light to discover the constant negotiations that people make for their identity at the backdrop of the cultural economies that seek to include processes of production, consumption, exchange and ownership.

*Michael Pollan (2006)* argued that each and every food has a story to convey. It is the story that acts to satisfy not only the body but also the soul of the individual to eats. Whether and how food satiates the soul is what makes this literature relevant for the research.

*Civitello, Linda (2007)* presents the argument that the religious, national, ethical identities are tied up with food. The author has referred to the ideas of Michael Freeman in presenting the definition of cuisine as a self-conscious process of cooking and eating with a set of attitudes about food and its place in the life of man. The incorporation of the style of cooking coupled with an awareness about the preparation and consumption of food in totality thus following the author constitutes cuisine. It also incorporates the ideas of removal of any type of traditional constriction while eating together with a constant urge of experimentation. The ideas and ways through which the concept of cuisine has been described make it a point of reference for this research.

*Mark Conner, Christopher J. Armitage (2002)* sets forth the role of various factors that influence food choice, the process of dietary change, the role played by food in weight control, disorders of eating, stress and how it dictates notions of self-presentation.

*Melanie A. Katzman, Richard A. Gordon, Mervat Nasser (2001)* presents that the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM) as the major manual that socially constructs the fat phobic tendency called anorexia nervosa. The concern of body fat and the resultant phobia even though is not in a phenomenological condition but is an universal concern across the globe in both Western and non-western countries. The author has referred to Kleinmann (1999) to note the dialectical relationship among the cult representation (the collective patterns of meaning that informs art, theodicy and cultural forms) collective experience (the events and experiences that help to define the lives of the whole generation of people) and subjectivity (the somato-moral where expressions of illness typically occur) as factors crucial in recognizing the everyday social experience and global social change. On application of these three factors it can be seen to factors that identifies fat phobia in a market-driven consumerist society that malign fat as bad

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85 Pollan, Michael (2006:408)
86 Katzman, Gordon, Nasser (2001:46)
and that reinforces the experiences of fat people as loathing by undermining the individual, local, moral world.

Christopher G. Fairburn (2002) threw light on the total network that acts to bring about detrimental consequences for eating disorders. It includes an array of biological, psychological, social processes on one hand and on the other the non-intervention and lack of assessment of clinical methods. The author has identified certain potent factors that act as barriers to early diagnosis and intervention. These are:

- Patient’s delay in presenting their eating problems.
- Doctor’s delay in diagnosing eating disorders at an early stage.
- Communication difficulties between doctors and patients of eating disorders.
- Attitudinal biases of general practitioners towards these patients.
- Gender differences between patients and doctors.
- Inadequate interventions by general including referrals to specialists.

Barbara Kingsolver (2007) has put forward the basic argument that is ‘you are eat you eat’. Referring to the baby boom psyche’s basic assumption that education is the driving force towards moving away from manual labour (including farming) the author placed that people generally assume that there is a group of people who would always look after the food-needs of the majority of the rest. Humans have an in-built weakness for fatty foods and tend to gorge on items which are high calories. And it is this weakness that may be knowingly or unknowingly food marketers have exploited mercilessly. Obesity is viewed following the author not as falling prey to these conspiracies but is seen to be because of failure of personal resolve. Children are the main targets of these high-caloried food items. The author has equated obese children with cigarette-addicted adults to highlight on the intensity of the problem.

Juka Gronow (1997) argues that the legitimate taste of society is identified by the taste of its ruling class. Taste becomes hierarchically arranged. Understanding modern consumerism is to understand the game of distinction that is being played constantly. Fashions always are class fashions which see their origins in the higher stratum of the society. The classes are engaged in a constant struggle which always redefines the social esteem being at stake for the determination of the good and legitimate taste. The process of constant social emulation leads

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87 Fairburn, Christopher, G. (2002: 45)
to constant refinement and development of subtle specificities of taste over drastic reformation of cuisines. Thus the aristocratic classes are the ones least motivated to change over the new middle class whose hedonistic, consumerist tendencies are always dynamic but operates as a very narrow, historically emergent social phenomenon.\textsuperscript{88}

Kate Cregan (2006) has through a diverse set of theoretical perspective refocused on the gaze of human embodiment. The ideas of embodiment are formed by different social formations. Following the author the modern day sees an instance of medical abstraction of the body.

W.J. Balasco (2008) identifies that with the corporate, global, industrial nature of the American fast-food system the manipulative techniques that produce, preserve food and the infrastructure that supplies it are elaborate, energy-intensive and opaque.\textsuperscript{89} Even however food is taken for granted but it on one hand invokes pleasure yet on the other is the cause of death and disease.

On highlighting on what factors prompt people to eat interplay of three factors can be made responsible as to the one guiding people’s choices of food. These are:

- the consumer’s identity (both social and personal)
- matters of convenience (price, skill, availability) and
- a sense of responsibility (an awareness about the consequences of what people are eating)

Marion Kerr, Nickie Charles (1988) recognizes at the backdrop of British families the relationship that each woman has with the provision of food as that is rooted in the gendered division of labour in the family\textsuperscript{90} which confronts to the patriarchal family structure whereby the male performs the task of a breadwinner and the women works primarily as a homemaker. Providing special meals that conform to the taste of the male member and also that of the children makes women suppress their own food preferences particularly at that stage of the lifecycle when women enter family life. Food is often used as a means of bribing for the children by the mother. Providing healthy eating for the males and children served to treat health and nutrition by means of social category. Food is also considered a source of pleasure and thereby women cook food and control the provisions within the family from time to time. Food also involves the double standards of sexuality whereby food acts as both a woman’s

\textsuperscript{88} Gronow, Juka (1997: 28)
\textsuperscript{89} Balasco, W.J, (2008:23)
\textsuperscript{90} Kerr, Marion Charles, Nickie (1988:229)
friend and a foe. A friend as it satiates hunger and provides pleasure at times of depression and a foe as food intake is related to weight gain which is not encouraged as women are seen as attractive if they are slim and not obese. Food eaten and valued conforms to ‘dominant’ food ideology. ‘Alternative’ food ideologies like vegetarianism find expression with middle class women, but are influenced by other social factors like class, income etc. The significance of food in the daily lives of the people and the relationship of food with women is what makes this work relevant for the research.

Brian E. Saelens, Karen Glanz, MPH, James F. Sallis, Lawrence D. Frank (2007) recognized that as increasing number of Americans are eating out at restaurants so by developing the NEMS-R scale proposed that the restaurants must offer better nutritional choice to the clients. They argued that fast-food restaurants had greater healthy entrée and main-dish salad availability compared to sit-down restaurants which offer a greater proportion of healthy main-dish salads and more healthy food and beverage items. The issue that how fast food restaurants promote large portions, unhealthy eating and overeating and offered relative cost savings for combination meals, but were also more the ones who provided more nutritional information and highlighted healthier options that were made available. The observational method they employed helped them to put forward various factors that affect food choices of people in the restaurants. They concluded that offering a healthy menu can promote healthier eating options among the people and thereby can promote health and can prevent health disorders. Whether such options can be made viable in the context of contemporary Kolkata is to be explored in this research.

Chris Gosden and Jon Hather (1999) examined inter-relationships between food, ecology and biology. The way cultural intervention affects consumption patterns and how the changes in the socio-economic patterns are reflective of the innovations in the cooking techniques. The consumption and perception of culture are highly reflective of the production and consumption pattern of food. The concept of ‘subsistence’ has been placed socially by the authors.

John Bennett (1943) introduced a strain of thought that was referred to as the ‘sociology of diet’ by the author. It was basically an attempt to highlight and describe studies conducted by

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91 Saelens, Glanz, Sallis, Frank (2007:273)
rural sociologists that aimed at establishment of co-relation between the meanings of what people ate.

**Anne Murcott (1983)** drawing on a wide range of theoretical issues related to the sociology of food and eating has exposed its interdisciplinary possibilities by establishing connections between food, nutrition, eating disorders the anthropological dimensions of culinary traditions, cuisines, famines etc.

**Alex McIntosh (1996)** by widely arguing on a wider spectrum of the social dimensions involved with the intake of food and nutrition highlighted that food as a strong medium or delivered food as a strong catalyst which can both make and break social relationships. The author also developed an outlook that is aimed at establishing between individual and the wider cultural aspect. The author delineated sociology of nutrition as different from sociology in nutrition. The former relegates to the examination of the social organizations, policies and practices that constitutes the field of dietetics, nutrition and their linkages with food industry, field of medicine etc. The later however is part of social epidemiology that highlight on the social factors that control food intake and their consequences. The author highlighting on the basic aspect of nutrition highlighted on the much diffused structure that are actually operative that influence the dietary choices of the people.

**THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS:**

These following theories bare relevance to the research and so have been referred for this research.

**Karl Marx (1818-1883)**, whose notion of ‘alienation’ bears relevance here. In the modern industrial world the production system is so very constraining that it ‘alienates’ the worker from the entire production process and results in a sense of a loss of association with others who share similar platforms. Not in terms of the production process but in terms of the so very specified and elaborate consumption patterns whether it does go on to the ‘alienation from the self’ or from the ‘community’ of the individual occurs from the idea having roots in the concept of ‘alienation’ of Karl Marx.

**Ferdinand Tonnies (1855-1936)**, whose perceptions of ‘Gemeinschaft’ and ‘Gesellschaft’, which are ideal type distinctions between ‘natural will’ as against ‘rational will’. The author points out that in modern societies the relationship between men has become more formal,
individualistic, impersonal and calculative as against Gemeinschaft or community where relations were much more face-to-face, spontaneous, affective, less individualistic and strong. In modern societies, people experience a loss of community because of the breakdown of the traditional social structures and the extent to which it happen needs examination.

**Emile Durkheim (1858-1917)** idea of ‘anomie’ or ‘relative normlessness’ in the modern industrial society because of excessive division of labour also needs mention. Due to excessive division of labour in the modern society wherein organic solidarity, a solidarity based on differences operates, the society is highly segmental and the parts are interdependent. These too many divisions distanciates individual from the social whole or the collective body and so the crucial link creates a situation of anomie in society. Whether too many distinctions create the same in case of the eating out practices is to be scrutinized.

The sociobiological perspective represents food preferences as emerging from a ‘natural basis’ for the human diet which is both guided by genetic predispositions and culturally structured preferences. The nutritionist perspective sees food preferences, tastes and habits as secondary to what food does biologically to the body, important only in their shaping of what kind of food enters the stomach. The term ‘nutritional pharmacology’ as coined by nutritionists denotes the concept of food is treated as a medicine or drug used to prevent diseases or to treat them. Culture is often viewed as an impediment to the goals of nutrition. How food practices are more complex than mere the biological intake of food is what is represented in this research.

The structuralist perspective takes into account food practices and habits as if they were linguistic texts with inherently explicit rules. The functional structuralist views food as a part of social life and the ways in which food practices serve to support co-operative behaviour or structures of kinship in small groups.

**Claude Lévi-Strauss (1970)** conceived of a ‘culinary triangle’ comprising of three categories of food: the cooked, raw and rotten. While the transformation from raw or cooked to rotten is a natural one, while that of raw to cooked is a cultural one. Strauss understood food beliefs as cosmological and treated food practices as a language based on the primary binary opposition between ‘nature’ and ‘culture’. Culture, being the unique, identifying character of humans and food practices accordingly exemplify the binary opposition between the raw and the cooked, between the food and non-food. Lévi-Strauss theorized cooked food as the cultural
transformation of the raw, in which nature is transformed and delimited. The ways in which this transformation is carried out as part of everyday life serve to define cultures. Food has been analyzed as a language by exploring conceptual categories for food classification along with the customs and rules for food preparation is treated by Strauss as a means of understanding universally shared structures of human cognition. The way through the binary alteration between ‘raw’ and ‘cooked’ food serving to define culture is sought relevant for this research.

*Mary Douglas* (1984) theorized the process of ‘deciphering a meal’ with the premise that food categories encode and thereby goes on to structure social events. Food, following the author has to be treated as a ‘code’ and by decoding that a message can be found which reveals the patterns of social relations encoded within it. Different degrees of hierarchy, inclusion, exclusion, boundaries and transactions across boundaries are the messages that are encoded in the food. Across all cultures the consumption of food is a ritual activity. Food categories constitute a social boundary; a potential disorder makes way for an order arising out of the predictable structure of each meal. The meal thus is a microcosm of wider social structures and boundary definitions. Different linguistic terms like grammar, taxonomy, syntagm, paradigm, lexicon, along with tastes, textures and rules dictating the British meals are used by Douglas in support of her theory. The treatment of food as something creating order out of the potential disorder and thereby is a way of structuring social events along with the need for decoding the messages encoded in food which reveals hierarchy, inclusion, exclusion etc. makes this relevant for this research.

*Mary Douglas* in the year 1970 identifies that a social distinction is sustained through the consumption practices around goods, foods and drink which were considered as ritual activity.

*Marvin Harris* explained the Hindu reverence for the sacred cow and the Semitic disdain for pig eating by calling upon the environmental roles played by these animals as well as the social implications of their use by the humans.

*Norbert Elias* (1939, 1978) argues that the civilizing process of the West over the country and the subsequent shift from the exercising of external control on individuals to internalized constraints on themselves leads to better self-discipline and self-control. *Stephen Mennell* subsequently extended this theory to something that has been referred as “civilizing appetite” reflecting in a gradual increase in self-control over appetite. Thus following the European upper
class there is a shift from quantity to quality. Feasting, being a sign of wealth shifted to elegance and refinement to be represented by the delicacy of the food eaten along with the moderation of the appetite.

Food practices since times have been the most accessible, feature of everyday life which can be easily manipulated and hence, throughout and across history the management of food has been the most consistent means of restricting secular socialization and have an important role in designing a secular self (Margaret R. Miles)\(^{92}\). Food in this sense has always been social and not individual as it is generally assumed. The symbolic value attached to food in the sense that food is used to earmark one religion from the other is not new to history and practice. Food is loaded with meanings as Barthes (1961) identifies the general semiotics of food whereby a wide range of symbolic property associated with food makes it highly communicative. ‘Gastrosemantics’ recognizes the usual powers of multiple symbolization and communication, wide ranging cultural meanings and uses that are implicit in food.

*Mircea Eliade*, identifies certain elements through universally recognizable types of orientation (sacred time and sacred space), narrative (myth), and activity (ritual). Religion accordingly, essentially concerns the otherworldly expressed and responded to patterns, which often involve among others food. Sacred space is the place where the divine and human communicate, very often over a meal. As domestic eating spaces can be sacralized so eating was always encouraged to be a private act or an act to be shared among kins or close community. Sacred time is also often delineated by food. In many religions, time is marked by periods of feasting and fasting. These are holy times, where one’s relationship to food expresses one’s connection to holiness through a balance of disciplined avoidance of carnal pleasures. Both feasting and fasting are concerned with the notion of submission to the Almighty. Ritual unites believers with the holy as they carry out patterned activities. Profane experiences of eating may be meaningful bases for memory, reflection, and orientation and can be recognized as such to the extent that they are patterned on hidden sacred structures.

*Daniel Lerner (1907-1987)* proposes that globalization is benefiting some of the core and periphery citizens. In the Indian context not only it is the fact that the urban, literate has

\(^{92}\) Miles, Margaret R. (549,550).
benefited from globalization but the way the consumption levels are rising every split second makes this study beneficial for our end.

One of the most prominent figures engaged in re-conceptualizing the official boundaries of Marxism and Sociology during the 1900s is of course Herbert Marcuse (1964) of the Frankfurt school. Marcuse added a new flavour to Marxism as he invited to comprehend the changes in the scope and social structure of advanced capitalism. The author located new forms of contradiction characteristics of the latest stage of capitalism in the global framework. His thoughts are acceptable today not as an adjustment of the Marxian theory but as a logical elaboration of the same. The author saw the current organization of society producing surplus repression by imposing socially unnecessary labour, unnecessary restrictions on sexuality and a social system organized around profit and exploitation. The ‘One Dimensional Man’ is a critique of both advanced capitalist and communist societies. Here he theorized that the decline of the revolutionary potential of the capitalist society and the emergence of new forms of social control. The author argued that advanced industrial societies create false needs which integrated individuals within the existing systems of production and consumption. Mass media and culture, advertising, industrial management and the contemporary modes of thought all reproduced the existing the result was a “one-dimensional” universe of thought and behaviour in which the very aptitude of critical and oppositional behaviour was withering away. The author found that capitalism has integrated the working class, the source of potential revolutionary opposition, but they have developed new techniques of stabilization through state politics. How or whether all these are applicable in today’s scenario and how consumption in general and food consumption in particular is spearheaded, if at all is to be examined through this research. This theory relegates one to the realm of symbols and the internalization of the same, similarly this paper seeks to explore that how through food such symbols are constantly created which are also status-markers and are blissfully internalized by individuals, how these are reinforced through brands and advertisements and thereby simulating false needs are drawn from the ideology of Herbert Marcuse. Increase in production and progress in technology makes no sense until and unless produced goods are consumed. In the economic sense, consumption refers to economic policies placing emphasis on consumption. Free choices of the individuals must dictate the economic structure of the society.
John E. Kennedy (1994) puts forward that modern advertisement connects mass markets and mass media. The author has recognized the dual notions involved the word “mass” itself. It is anonymous on one hand and on the other it is considered to comprise of individual buyers. Drawing upon Marx, he has analyzed that the particular mode of production in the modern world has led to the transformation of concrete products into representations, into complex meanings carried out by images and words. The mass consumers on one hand are irrational and ‘adult children’, whereby on the other they are capable of making sensible decisions and choices, they have turned Janus-faced. The author has recognized confrontation of two antithetical perspectives behind the dual consumer’s role. On one hand the producer is after realizing mass of similarity (mass product) on what is regarded as a homogeneous consumer market. Advertisements aides in this as correspondence between the masses are made possible through this. On the other hand, the produce and the marketing apparatus must recognize the individual consumer’s inalienable freedom of choice. Coming to the context of needs and desires at the point when readiness to sell is transformed into an active intuition to sell every product turns necessary (you need this), desirable (this is what you desire), missing (you still lack this), a product becomes something that is good for the consumer. Because of this strategic significance ‘will’ supersedes both needs and desires, whereby the consumer is motivated by a will to buy certain goods. The discourse of needs and desires is replaced by will and preferences. The author has drawn upon Melanie Klein (1932) to infer that a product must provide a positive decision to buy it. Naming the nameless by branding accompanied by packaging and other means becomes something more than a single product. Singularization of the product and its representation as a complement to an identified deficit and or the surplus which produces the wholeness. In this world fundamentally ‘sensible’ goods have entered the realm of experiential representation.

The ‘Uses and Gratification Theory’ propound that media is used by people to gratify various desires. People are not simply helpless victims of media but they use it as means of gratification of various ends, which provide the impetus for using the media. These, as identified by Jay G. Bluner and Elihu Katz are:

i) Escape—an escape from reality by subscribing to that world.

93 Falk, Pasi (1994:82)
ii) Social Interaction—a personal relationship with the characters of the media.

iii) Identify—identifying oneself with the media text.

iv) Inform and Educate—by consuming the products that the media offers.

v) Entertainment—this also has strong intents of social integration. By impressing and manipulating others through status enhancement, the need for economic exchanges and obtaining information.

The Hypodermic Syringe Model was envisioned by the Frankfurt school. The targeted audience is immediately knocked by ‘hitting’ as it acts like a magic bullet. Media by injecting its influence in the society immediately manipulates it. Media’s content is injected into the minds of the people in such a way that the targeted audience accepts the ideas, beliefs without questioning.

The Cultural Effects Model believes that the media has what they call ‘drip effects’, that do brainwashing. Dominant people influence media, so much so that no space is left for individual opinion to develop, but has the long-term consequence of influencing people’s ideology.

Jean Baudrillard’s (2011) view on consumption is also relevant here as he equates consumption as partly a phenomenon of the consumption of symbolic signs. It is noted by the author that the contemporary society whereby dominance is increasingly shifting away from modes of production to codes of production. Modernity underwent a process of differentiation whereas, post-modernity is characterized by dedifferentiation. The post-modern world is characterized by simulations, which leads to the creation of simulacra; i.e. reproduction of objects or events it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish between the real and the things that simulate the real. Culture has undergone a massive “catastrophic revolution” making the masses as passive and robbing away their revolutionary potential and making them apathetic, indifferent in a saturated position with media signs, simulacra and hyperreality. Seduction involving the charms of pure and mere games and superficial rituals are seen as a perfect alternative in post-modern society whereby meaninglessness, playfulness, depthlessness, irrationality overpower the society characterized by production. Consumption is identified by the author as a matter of cultural signs and the relation between those signs. Consumption necessitates the object’s journey to the realm of signs. The relationship between signs is the

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94 Baudrillard, Jean (2011:612)
95 Baudrillard, Jean (2011:613)
factor that enables the establishment of the difference. This ‘difference’ is considered as one of the main ‘uses’ of consumption. People emphasize that they have more ‘tastes’ than others. These signs and symbols are not expressed as a pre-existing set of meanings for a person or a group or a class but the meanings are constantly generated to engross the consumer within the system of signs and symbols. The consumer is actively engaged in creating new identities, and this involves the active process of symbolic constructions of both individual and collective identities. For Baudrillard, people are shaped and moulded relentlessly by the products we buy. In this modern world the ‘symbols’ have occupied the primary zone likewise, ‘images’ take a frontline over the actual ‘material needs’. Drawing reference from Immanuel Kant, it can be said that shopping has become a totally idealist practice, which entails consumption of ideas over objects and can be put perhaps as, ‘I shop therefore I am’. As ideas know no bounds consequently consumption turning into an idealist practice is day by day moving remote from the final physical satisfaction. We are in an era which perhaps brings us to our destiny of continuous desires of consumer goods and consumer experience. Food following Baudrillard has journeyed from use value to the experience value via exchange value. Extending Marx’s ideas of man as a producer to a consumer has led Baudrillard to categorize the history of food consumption into three stages, like:

a) food having exchange value only
b) food inhering exchange value over and above its use value
c) food donning the attire of symbolic value sub-setting the exchange value where the use value is often lost and its exchange value is immediately invisible.

**Joel I. Nelson (1994)** argues that as far as shopping is concerned retailers apart from monitoring inventory sales tries to alter the experience of the shoppers through techniques that go well beyond the dazzling display of products, which was a technique of the past to modern day techniques to entertain and excite customers that include themed restaurants, children’s ride, movie-theatres etc. The shopping malls are designed with inherent control mechanisms through the placement of the escalator, mix of shops, use of the lighting. All are aimed at increasing the time spent at shopping and to stimulate impulsive buying. Fantasy allows consumers to play with and explore different presentations of self. Shopping which was formerly in the domain of work has now become a form of entertainment and leisure. Not only in the consumer society
dose the author identify the extension of a product’s use and exchange value to that of the symbolic value which acts to distinguish a product as socially desirable, but he also argues that in the media-laden world what is seen is the ‘death of the real’.

**Jacques Derrida (1930-2004)** a French philosopher who argued that the human language’s first principles or essences are in no way unambiguous carrier of truth. As the signifier and signified are hidden in structures of differences so the absence or the deferral makes essences incomplete and always sliding over an endless chain of signifiers. Meanings lose their transparency as signifiers and signifieds are always tying and untying them in an endless chain of combinations. How languages regarding discourses of food and eating out are engaging themselves in a chain of combinations resulting in the loss of essences of the signifiers is what this research seeks to unfold.

**Thornstein Bunde Veblen (1857-1929), in the ‘Theory of Leisure Class’ (1899),** argued that the instincts of predation and emulation play an important role in any society. The rich and the poor both seeks to impress others, by what he calls ‘conspicuous consumption’ and thereby engage in ‘conspicuous leisure’, both the terms being coined by the author. Much of the modern, advanced societies also the ever-expanding middle class, in the Indian context, operate following his model. The author continues that from the traditional times, no society operates on the basis of utility. Constant consumption is a waste of money and of resources by people to display a higher status than others. Consumerist leisure is a waste of money by people to give themselves a higher status. Etiquettes, following the author are nothing other than ‘conspicuous leisure’ without any practical value and all these have consequences for the social order. Whereas, Anti-consumerism, is identified strongly with products and services, brand-names as they have strong status-enhancing appeal. A culture that is permeated by consumerism is called consumer culture. Impulse buyers cannot be equated with shop-alcoholics. Luxury and consumer products have social significance as the like-minded people by using similar products come together. However in this consumerist society’s environment is damaged to a great extent and it causes climatic changes as more resources are utilized or used. No permanence in the consumer culture is evident as no desire is permanently fulfilled as people go by the latest trend. **Thornstein Bunde Veblen (2001)** following a similar line of argument adds that the intrinsic value of an object does not make it desirable rather certain objects are consumed because they
are considered to be socially meaningful. Emulation has been identified by the author as the prime motive behind consumption. The modern era does not only indicate that it has moved from a society based on work and production to that of consumption but it also highlights simultaneous irrational consequences to the rational desire of consumption. The modern society has created new cultural spaces like, hotels, casinos, shopping malls etc. that he calls ‘cathedrals of consumption’. The author has identified how the process of transgression is bound up with consumerism. Elites are seen as brand loyals and signs associated with goods are considered so very important that it forms the basis of consumption so much so that the ‘labeling trend’ in the modern society is all pervasive. The brand stores, which are identified as the same place for buying the same thing. The spectacle that is the new means of consumption is the one that integrate, dazzle, homogenize and pacify. That is the nexus of development in capitalism, the vanguard of commodification, technological development and spectacularization. The walls mystify and pacify individuals with images (both virtual and real) that act to legitimize and reproduce social relations.\footnote{Veblen, Thornstein Bunde (2001:199)} He further analyzed that people will endure a shabby private life in order to possess public symbols deemed important.\footnote{Veblen, Thornstein Bunde (2001:220)} Mcdonaldization is seen by the author as the triumph over the local, cultural imperialism and as a homogenizing process. The local economy does not only burdened but is also undergoing transformation. A collective realization dominates the mindset of the people that the true happiness lies in the ‘cathedrals of consumption’. People lead meaningful lives as defined by consumption. A dialectical role between the consumer and the means of consumption whereby the latter determines what role the consumer is supposed to play. McDonalds operates with the illusion of frugality and efficiency.\footnote{Veblen, Thornstein Bunde (2001:26)} Fast food restaurants, food parks make people remember the fun quotient with a clown being made to wait outside. The modern era upholds that it is always better to have mediocre food at a great setting over having great food at a dull and boring setting. More theater than food is what marks the modern food consumption.\footnote{Veblen, Thornstein Bunde (2001:26)} Referring to Daniel Boorstein he calls amusement in deceptive settings and events ‘pseudo events’, ‘unreality industry’ whereby human relationships are governed by false friendliness or what he calls false ‘fraternization’ with a plastic smile at all the time is what marks the modern era. The features of modern
consumerist society and his treatment of McDonalds and food consumption is what that makes this piece of work relevant.

Following Foucault, the ‘food discourse’\textsuperscript{13} consigns food a status that contributes to the ‘thingification’ or what can be called ‘commodification’ of food and in turn exposes the historical and contemporary forces that contribute to such an appearance. Discourses\textsuperscript{100} are practices which engage in a systematic process by which it creates the object. Direct connections between the discourse analytical approach and social constructivist approaches can be traced as both have an eye towards the dual processes of description and construction. A transliteration of Berger and Luckmann (1966) expresses Foucault’s concern with the social construction of reality as to be viewed as discourse in practice. Specific mannerisms are used by various social phenomena for the construction of the social reality. Power being an outcome of the personal discourse, under any circumstances is not derived from the personal property. With the description in precise terms we tend to propagate specific knowledge which is the source of power differences between groups. A central tenet of the discourse-analytic approach is that what constitutes the subjects are the various social phenomenon, events, people etc. are prone to various possible social constructions and representations. A wide array of discourses are always to be found neighboring a social phenomenon so it leaves room for multiple views and actions, a power play does take place with some constructions or discourses being more powerful, dominating and correct than the others already existing.

Pierre Bourdieu’s notion of ‘Habitus’ (1984) internalized structures that shape individual’s action without necessary reference to the beliefs or awareness of the individuals’ actions without necessary reference to the beliefs or awareness of the individuals who have internalized them. How through the concrete details of the lifestyles-attire, manners, eating practices etc. help to recognize how an ideology is specifically or practically implemented even without the consciousness of the actor. Symbolic capital, for Bourdieu is nothing more than economic or cultural capital which is recognized and acknowledged and which tends to reinforce the power relations which constitute the social space. Habitus is a system of durably acquired schemes of perception, thought and action engendered by objective conditions, but tending to persist even

\textsuperscript{100} A discourse refers to a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories and statements which together forms a particular version of an event. Discourse is defined as an analytical concept which refers to a tradition for exchange of ideas. It denotes a collection of statements, theories and hypothesis which comprise an articulate presentation. (Foucault)
when there is an alteration of those conditions. The author analyzed how one generation of economic class ensures that it reproduces itself and passes its privileges to the next generation. Bourdieu sees ‘Habitus’ as the key to reproduction as it is what actually generates the regular, repeated, routine practices that constitute social life. It is the product of social conditionings so link can be drawn between actual behaviour to class structure. How through food and eating practices have notions of symbolic capital and how food is structured as habitus and the practices associated with food are not only indicative of ‘distinction’ but that is also socially acknowledged and reproduced.

*Georg Simmel (1991)* viewed meal as an exemplar of the culture’s inevitable, pernicious movement from nature towards increasing formality and social order. By contrasting with the simple communal meal of the farm workers with the formal dinner of the higher classes, the theorist argues that the formal dinner with its highly regimented manners, symbolized a modern culture hostile to individual uniqueness despite its “cult of individuality.” The meal represented conformity while the plate symbolizes order. All the plates, glass-wares must be identical, any individual differences represents ugliness or absolute senselessness. Food and eating habits are inextricably linked with and tied to powerful societal structure. How food and eating habits are indicative of powerful social structure is what needs analysis in this thesis.

*George Ritzer (1993)* highlights how the fast food industry becomes both a model of and metaphor for modern organizational behaviour. In the year 1999 the author identifies the process of McDonaldization as a case model and defines it *as a process by which principles of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as the rest of the world.* It is a concept designed to bring the idea of rationalization into the 21st century and to extend it from the roots in production (the capitalist system) and work (bureaucracy) to the realms of consumption (the fast food restaurant) and the culture (valuing efficiency, rationality etc.). Ritzer describes the rationalization of the fast food industry whereby predictability (of the product, behaviour), calculability (of time, of quantity), efficiency (of food preparation, service) and control (of managers, workers and consumers) through substitution of non-human for human technology, are the key factors beyond their immense profit and popularity. McDonaldization or McDonaldized systems tend to produce a disenchanted world in
which life is robbed of its mystery\textsuperscript{101}. The homogenization that accompanied the transition to a global mass culture has stood in the way of the heterogeneity and a threat to the local flavours, spices, flavours, food stuffs, and culinary practices.

\textbf{Joanne Finkelstein (1989)} identifies the evolution of restaurants as an institution as measured by virtue of its popularity and the breadth of economic significance. The author recognizes the sociological significance of dining out is amplified by the way it illustrates the individual’s participation in the public domain along with the kind of social relationships that are pursued and cultivated. Dining out impacts on the styles of sociality and the expressions of civility which are considered as the most illuminating character of the social epoch.\textsuperscript{102} In modern society, foodstuffs and their manner of consumption have become symbols of social differentiation and individual preference. Dining out itself has become something more than that of immediate physical gratification to become a commodity reflective of desires. Restaurants in the modern history have emerged as a social institution playing an instrumental role in the promulgation of certain styles of public conduct. Dining out is seen as a public performance. There is a paradox involved in the practice of dining out as a source of individual pleasure. As, eating is a pleasure as accepted to the physiological processes makes little sense if it is conducted in public in the close proximity of others. Eating is a sensory process involving the olfactory, the visual and the tactile. The presence of other individuals during this exercise is not only unnecessary, but is also distracting as in public sphere all aspects of one’s physical bearing needs to be governed by social courtesies and prescriptions. The table manners in public constraint’s eating out coupled with the constant need for controlling natural bodily functions. It is necessary to overlay alimentation with strata of cultural constraints resting upon previous interdictions. In this practice of dining out the lower order of being, i.e. bodily nourishment is intertwined with a higher order of experience, embedded in taking pleasure acts to raise the banality of eating to an abstract level involving symbolic notions. Restaurant has been depicted as a ‘\textit{diorama},\textsuperscript{103} which heightens and intensifies perceptions and how restaurants act as a tool capable of shaping interior mood of dinner. The ‘consumer par excellence’ sees a merge between the material conditions like style of cuisine, services, price and the abstractions of

\textsuperscript{101} Scott, John (2006:96-97)
\textsuperscript{102} Finkelstein, Joanne (1989:25)
\textsuperscript{103} Finkelstein, Joanne (1989:27)
pleasure, entertainment and desire. The *diorama* highlights the complexion of contemporary styles in sociality as it is a space to project how personal desires are purchased and for the *gastronome* a potential way to display personal wealth. The author has referred to the study by Brillant-Savarin to note that restaurants as they offer greater variety of food options than average household ensured to make diner an interesting event. Restaurants as commercial enterprise acts as an important instrument in forging new social values insofar as it was an democratizing institution which disseminated knowledge of foods and set examples of higher living standards for all in the community to appreciate. Restaurant is also seen as a forum where people could encounter each other as equals. Savarin notes, that the clientele in the restaurant react in different ways and public decorum is maintained and cherished by the regular patrons while strangers and travelers overindulge in foods and wines as they don’t have any fear of lasting social embarrassment. Seven types of restaurants can be identified as can be clubbed under three categories:

i) **Fête spéciale**: it includes the *Formal* and the *Informal* Restaurants: these are basically restaurants which are tourist’s attraction and dining out there is in itself a reputation and are best illustrations whereby economic and cultural capital i.e. between a person’s monetary resources and developed aesthetics is confronted individually.

ii) The **Bistro mondain** (equal importance is asserted to cuisine and ambience, they trade upon the diner’s willingness to pursue and purchase pleasure, it provides new culinary experiences and sustained fashionability as demanded by the diner) and the **Parodic restaurant** (most authentic of the restaurants and the entire presentation is in terms of parody) or Café: the restaurants in this category are chosen by diners who commonly want to be amused or entertained.

iii) The **Convenience restaurants**: it includes the *Café mundane* (similar to bistro but prices are comparatively lower), the *local, ethnic restaurants* and the *fast-food chains*.

While dining out a variety of other needs and desires are pursued above the prosaic need of bodily sustenance. It involves a search for excitement as it breaks routine, a feeling of participation in the on-going stream of social life, as it is carried out in the physical proximity of others and a sense of self enhancement supposedly to be derived from conspicuous consumption and the display of fiscal strength. The physical setting of the restaurant can exert an influence
upon the body which affects its physiology, particularly digestion. The level of noise, the type of lighting, the temperature, odour, influences one’s physiological state. Ambience or atmosphere of the restaurant is long accepted as a feature of dining out equal in importance and sometimes more important than food itself. Ambience not only includes lighting, temperature, décor and style of the furniture but also the less obvious features like height of the table, the size of the table and the surface of the sitting arrangement. At the time of dining out, other features, not related to the foodstuff are also considered like one’s appearance, posture and demeanour, although these constraints may vary according to the type of restaurants. Eating and drinking do not require the presence of others but the modern pleasure of dining out in public links one with the propinquitious others. The physiological logic is defied by eating out in the public arena while the other bodily pleasures like sleep, sex and washing are done privately.¹⁰⁴ A good restaurant needs something more than good food. Ambience is an ornament of mood, the physical realization of the state of mind. Noise is also an important element in ambience of restaurant. Not only the noisy kitchen and clattering plates that interfere with good meal but also the intrusiveness of the conversation of the diners also matters. The dining out experiences, the forms of social exchanges the lures the consumers and the evolution of restaurants and how dining out stands a performance engaged in by people across society in Kolkata’s contest makes this study important for research.

Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno (2002) have used the notion of ‘culture industry’ in order to analyze the spread of mass culture and the commodification of cultural standards. The growing sameness of cultural practices across the globe, whereby people becomes passive consumers because of standardization, whereby millions and millions of people buy fast food without knowing from where they have come from and how they are made.

Thomas Luckmann (used the concept of ‘bricolage’ in the domain of sociology of religion, originally coined by Claude Levi-Strauss) that the modern society signals what can be called ‘the individualization of religion’ whereby people ‘pick and choose’, ‘what to believe, ethical options and preferred religious practices. Religion like food has become á la carte in the order of modern world as people are disregarding the set-religious menus. Evolvement of a personal religious system based on patchwork as per convenience is what that marks the modern era.

¹⁰⁴ Finkelstein, Joanne (1989:65)
Anthony Giddens’ (1990) in his discussion identifies that the recognition of dynamics of modernity together produce a globalised modernity. The globalization of the social life is on one hand unique to modernity and on the other an expression of it. Giddens has recognized that the spread of the features of modernity on a global scale has been made possible because of three processes which are unique to modernity.

 i) The separation of time and space

 ii) The disembedding of social systems

 iii) The reflexive ordering of the social relations

Each of these has a going beyond here and now, beyond the immediate social relations by defying the constraints of the physical and the temporal. The author identifies that four broad components make up the world and give it a basic institutional shape. These include:

• The division of world into nation-states
• The creation of an international division of labour
• Operation of the world in a world-capitalist order and
• The domination by a world military order.

How the three processes unique to the modern world shape not only the availability of food but also how the food culture is taking new shapes is to be found in the research.

Anthony Giddens’ (1991) theory of ‘the reflexive project of the self’ can be referred to that highlights that people in the modern society face burden as well as the liberation of constructing their own identities. ‘How one shall live’ is always answered in day-to-day decisions about how to behave, what to wear or what to eat. The traditional society is marked by a relatively straightforward ways related to the acts to making choices. In post-modern societies it is complex, stressful and risky as information is fragmented and diversified. These diversities make it extremely risky if one takes charge of one’s own life. It makes scope for a double-edge in the life of the individuals, one of that of burden and also that of liberation of taking charge of one’s own life. Anthony Giddens’ identifies “disembedding mechanisms”, in the postmodern world, the new facilities that make actors see time and space separately. Social actions are lifted out of time and place. Religion as expressed through ‘expert systems’ (like church) has been has been disembedded as people know little about them. Expansion of space distanciates the experts and the expert systems. Disembedding mechanisms are acting as forces that transcend
boundaries of society and thus operate at the global level. Religion’s edge is constantly being stretched and a certain amount of diffusion is experienced in case of religious values and guidelines.

*Ulrich Beck theorized Risk Society (2004)* developed upon the theorist’s notion of Risk and the concept of (world) risk (society means):

- neither destruction nor trust/security but real virtuality;
- a threatening future, (still) contrary to fact, becomes the parameter of influence for current action;
- both a factual and a value statement, it combines in mathematized morality;
- control and lack of control as expressed in manufactured uncertainty;
- knowledge or unawareness realized in conflicts of (re)cognition;
- simultaneously global and local reconstituted as the glocality of risks;
- the distinction between knowledge, latent impact and symptomatic consequences;
- a man-made hybrid world which has lost the duality between nature and culture.

Risks are referred to as manufactured or man-made by Beck. Beck further has pointed out some of the core hazards of the risk society. These are organized irresponsibility, relations of definition, social explosiveness of hazards and to summarize the arguments of the welfare state and these have combined to call them ‘Risk society and not merely ‘risk culture’ which is devoid of the institutional dimension. The risk society is characterized by the paradox of more and more environmental degradation coupled with the extension in the number and extent of environmental laws. Yet no institutions in the modern world are held responsible for the environmental degradation. Beck however has remained comparatively silent about the identification of political subject of the risk society but he has identified certain questions made to address about the risk society:

- Who is to determine the harmfulness of products, the danger, and the risks? Where does the responsibility lie—with those who generate the risks or those who benefit from them, those who are potentially affected by them or with public agencies?
- What kind of knowledge or non-knowledge about the causes, the dimensions, actors and so on are involved? To whom have evidence and ‘proofs’ be submitted?
What is to count as sufficient proof in a world where knowledge about environmental risks is necessarily contested and probabilistic?

Who is to determine on the compensation to be afflicted, and what constitute appropriate forms of future damage limitation control and regulation?

The risk society is caught in the paradox whereby in each times of these manufactured uncertainties as the threats and hazards are seen to be more dangerous and obvious the more it becomes difficult to establish proofs, attributions and compensations by scientific and legal means. The position and the causes and consequences as related to food and consumption in the backdrop of the manufactured uncertainties along with its impact on environment is what makes this theory relevant for research.

The major theoretical framework of this piece of research is Zygmunt Bauman’s concept of liquid modernity (2000). Singing on the same note as Paul Valery, Bauman writes that no longer individuals are in a state to bear anything that is long-lasting; bearing a fruit out of boredom is a story of the predecessors. Any Liquid or Gas is featured by ‘fluidity’ that makes it difficult for them to sustain a fixed shape when at rest and so they undergo a ‘continuous change in shape when subject to such a stress’ (Source: Encyclopedia Britannica). The resistance that solids unlike the liquids, gases put up against the separation of its atoms signifies stability in solids and account for a tight bonding between the constituent atoms. Fluids are unstoppable, their lightness accounting similarly for their readiness or proneness to movement or mobility outside the pursuits of fixed time and space. Bauman wonderfully deployed this metaphor of fluidity as a leading metaphor for the present stage of modern era. Solids have melted into certain stages, so the first sacred to be profaned were:

- Traditional loyalties
- Customary rights
- Obligations (often irrelevant which bound the hand and feet of the individuals and hindered movements)

Following Weber, it freed the business from the household duties, ethical responsibilities and the shackles of the family. The resultant world being melted into a complex network of social relationships which are exposed, unarmed, stuck and guided by the business inspired rules of action and business shaped criteria of rationality. Following Marx’s model of base and
superstructure, economy has emerged out as a determining base and others just being conditioning factors that are just endowed with the function of smooth operation of the system. Weber’s view of Instrumental Rationality has been referred to define the new order primarily in terms of economy and economy being progressively untied from the political, ethical, cultural entanglements. This era is featured by an ever-increasing distance between the overall order and the agency. The potentialities of the revolution are lost through the processes of flexibilization, escapism, passivity and by-passing each other through the techniques of speed. The disillusionment of the forces has occurred that were originally engaged in keeping the question of order on the political agenda. The collective actions and projects and the individual choices are devoid of any connection. The individuals are recasting, re-fashioning, breaking the mould, being transgressive, boundary breaking and all-eroding themselves at every point of time. So the task of the free individuals is to through conformity, by using their new freedom and by faithfully following the rules and modes of conduct that are deemed suitable for that location. Following Bauman, what can be said is that individuals ‘have moved from pre-allocated reference groups to an epoch of universal comparison’. Liquidization powers have moved in the level of social co-habitation from ‘macro’ to the ‘micro’ levels. The patterns of dependency and interaction has been liquefied and the lack of collective orientation made individual responsible for his own failure. The domain of the inexperienced and unimaginable has been reached by the liquid modern individual, but then again shaping it is easier than keeping it in shape and it requires a lot of attention and perpetual and constant effort and vigilance. Human condition is constantly changing. The changing relationship between time and space is found in liquid modernity. Time has a history as it has a carrying capacity of its own, it can pass, or it has to be covered or conquered. Space indicates mobility and the modern technology have made the conquering of the space inevitably and instantaneously. Post-panoptical era has been reached whereby constant presence of people in the controlling towers has been replaced by the nomadic and extra-territorial elite who rule over the settled majority. The processual, dynamic, mutual relationship between time and space has been emphasized by the author. The end of mutual engagement in the lives of both the capitalist and the labour and no longer does it require for the elite to know what is happening in the life of the subordinate and the position of the absentee

105 Bauman, Zygmunt (2000:7)
landlord has been successfully taken over by the global elites in the fold of the global free trade. Mutual commitments can no longer bind up individuals as bonds can be developed even elsewhere. The ideas of rationality, improvement and progress are central to the universal patterns of development. Community in this fluid modern era is marked by instability, insecurity, uncertainty, a new loneliness of the body and community. Two groups “we” and “they” are existent, in which the former contains people like us and the later connotes to people different from us, however in case of the former the differences more than being non-existent is neutralized or diffused.\(^{106}\) Instant gratification, the concept of ‘now’ has developed as the keyword of today’s life strategy.\(^{107}\) Human social bond are now plastic, transient and temporal. The shift has been from the concept that ‘till death do us part’ types to ‘until satisfaction lasts’. Precariousness of social existence, disintegration of human bonds, makes us vulnerable to loneliness. In today’s world partnerships and bonds are not produced but are consumed and unlike production, which is a collective action, consumption is a lonely activity. The network of the Trans- National Corporations (TNC) is ideal and projects an ideal in which no states or at best small states could be accommodated. Media resides as the virtual common purpose around which virtual communities are building up. In the run to move forward, previously the soul vehicle of progress being the labour, it has shifted to being de-regulated and privatized. Work has itself developed an aesthetic significance that allows for the de-unification of the capitalist and the labour.\(^{108}\) Continuity in work has been taken over by flexibility and short-term growth of the giant organization. Following, Lewis Coser it can be said that the antagonists i.e. the capitalist and the labour has been tied together for mutual dependency. The notion of ‘civility’ is very crucial in the fluid modern era. It requires learning of the skill as in how to live in a family at the basic. When one meets a stranger in a social setting wearing the mask of civility is essential as it helps one to share a social setting or space of consumption with a stranger even without actually sharing any social interaction with the person. Civility involves self restraint, reciprocation and is not private as it occurs in a social setting so it gives rise to the ‘public personae’.\(^{109}\) It gives us the power to talk and interact with a stranger. The ‘public’ becoming featured by the redundancy of interaction which develops in us the ability to live with

106 Bauman, Zygmunt (2000:176)
107 Bauman, Zygmunt (2000:163)
109 Bauman, Zygmunt (2000:96)
differences, whereby the common good is at stake and the common interest have been negotiated. Fluid modern era is an epoch of elusiveness, disintegration, facile escape and hopeless chase. Rational choice in this era of instaneity leads to the pursuance of gratification without taking responsibilities of its consequences. Bulkiness and size has moved on from assets to liabilities. Power residing in the hands of those who are always at the tip to move without any prior notice. Following Ritzer it can be said that the ‘collective consumption’ is devoid of its character of being collective. The lack of bonds and loyalties of people entering those places are said to be “interpellated’ qua individual”. The trip to the consumer spaces offers the myth of communal solidarity. Non-places i.e. public but non-civil sites are these days occurring a never before-like so much space. The concepts of eternity, durability have given way to brittleness, friability, mobility etc. in which the territorial binding of the various social bonds hold less importance. The global powers are dismantling the prior networks for the sake of continuous and growing fluidity and the principle source of their power lying in their invincibility.

Written even though in the context of Paris during the early break of this century, it even after a decade of time it is to be replaced in the local context to figure out that whether the eventual, if at all the manifestations of liquid modern or the fluid modern individuals are to be found.

From the above discussion it becomes quite evident that there are various theories and literatures on nutrition, food, media, restaurants, often exploring the sociological dimensions of the phenomenon. But the array of literature review does not explore any sociological assessment of the concept of ‘eating out’. Thus the researcher aims to unfold eating out as a social phenomenon in the current era and in the following chapters would like to establish ‘eating out’ as a feature of the post-modern society.

CONCEPTS DEFINED:

Drawing from the review of literature the following concepts are being defined as they have been used in the research from the following standpoints.

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110 Bauman, Zygmunt (2000:128)
111 Bauman, Zygmunt (2000:121)
112 Bauman, Zygmunt (2000:102)
• **Archetypes** refer to the symbols that share the common psyche. The archaic brain is the core and prime repository of images that are shared with the symbols, which are the archetypes.

• **Bricolage:** In cultural studies bricolage is used to mean the processes by which people acquire objects from across social divisions to create new cultural identities. A concept coined by Claude Lévis Strauss and used in Sociology of Religion by Thomas Luckmann. It means ‘picking’ and ‘choosing’ according to one’s own choice to create a patchwork.

• **Capitalism:** Capitalism is a system of economy, and a form of society characterized by generalized commodity production, in which all economic relations are monetized and the boundary of economic itself expands to include all aspects of life.113

• **Class Imagery and Class Attitude:** Following Lockwood, it deals with the ideas and images of class structure and the distribution of power held by social actors.

• **Collective unconscious:** a concept developed by Carl Yung in the year is the reservoir of the experience of the human species. As each society’s set of experiences is different and unique, so the common, shared set of symbols across societies are not universal.

• **Community:** Community refers to the traditional notions of shared locality and neighbourhood along with the ideas of solidarity and connections between people who share similar social characteristics or identities. The concept is also used to explore the nature and extent of people’s involvement with one another.114

• **Consumer Culture:** the orientation in modern capitalist societies to marketing and consumption of goods and services. The ‘status differentiated’ and ‘market segmented culture’ not only reflects the social locations (age, gender, occupation, ethnicity etc.) but also social values and lifestyle of the consumers. Featherstone’s conception of consumption culture as ‘state-managed’ and manipulative is also important dimension as related to consumption.

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113 Scott, John (2006:16)
114 Scott, John (2006:35)
• **Consumption:** Consumption in the theoretical sense means much more than the acquisition and depletion of commodities. Instead of production, which implies a plan deferral of gratification, integrated social order and coordinated action, the logic of consumption collates action and its purpose in the here and now. Consumerism in the era of globalization operates at the realm of culture-ideology.\(^{115}\) Consumerism in the era of globalization operates at the realm of culture-ideology.\(^{116}\)

• **Cosmopolitanism:** is related to the notions of democracy, capitalism and human rights. The idea of cosmopolitanism is quite ancient and had its most important modernist reincarnation in the proposal of Immanuel Kant at the end of the 18\(^{th}\) century for the achievement of a perpetual peace through the construction of the cosmopolitan society.\(^{117}\)

• **Culture:** Culture is defined as ‘the social realm in which shared meanings are produced’.\(^{118}\) It consists of symbol, symbolic system (system or patterns of symbol), social code (system or pattern of meanings that undergrid specific situation, norms, values, attitudes and sub-culture).\(^{119}\)

• **Discourse:** A specialist term used by Michel Foucault to describe the prevailing modes of debate and conversation that go on in society and that tend to be shared across different branches of knowledge. Discourses can be regarded as paradigmatic for the way social actors interpret the world around them at a particular historical moment.\(^{120}\)

• **Eating Out:** Refers to the practice of eating at a public setting outside the confines of the private, i.e. the house. The research essentially concerns with the eating out practices of the first kind (as analyzed earlier) (i.e. eating outside food at a public setting) as data has been collected at public eating out set-ups but as the research also takes into consideration the overall food habit concerning the nutritional realm of individuals so certain aspects of the second kind of eating out (i.e. having outside food

\(^{115}\) Sulkunen, Pekka (2012)

\(^{116}\) Sklair, Leslie (2007: 44)

\(^{117}\) Sklair, Leslie (2007: 42)

\(^{118}\) Scott, John (2006:46-47)

\(^{119}\) Alexander, Jeffrey and Thomson, Kenneth (2008:68)

\(^{120}\) Ransome, Paul (2011: 434)
at a private setting) would automatically come under the light of analysis for generating an all-encompassing account of the practice of eating out in Kolkata.

- **Globalization:** i) Refers to a multidimensional set of social processes that create, multiply, stretch and intensify worldwide social interdependencies and exchange while at the same time fostering in people a growing awareness of deepening connections between the local and the distant.\(^{121}\)

  ii) The concept of globalization reflects the sense of an immense enlargement of world communication, as well as horizon of world market, both of which seem far more tangible and immediate than earlier stages of modernity. (Fredric Jameson)

iv) Globalization compresses the time and space aspects of social relations. (James Mittelman)

- **Liquid Modern Attitude:** Drawing from Zygmunt Bauman, liquid modern attitude is the manifestation of behaviour whereby individuals suffer from a constant agony of indecision, excessive gratification of desire, involvement in lesser kinship ties, engaging in provisional bonds, panicked about being obsolete or being left behind, involved in loose bonding, not bound by fixed space or time, freedom and proneness to experiment, freedom is bound by free market and free choices, disengagement, class-bound social types, ‘community-building’ is short lived, commercialization of hospitality, addiction to make compulsive choice, etc.

- **Malnutrition:** Following World Health Organization (WHO) Malnutrition has been defined as ‘bad nourishment’. It might crop up from too much of food, too little of food or refer to a situation whereby bodily infections retard the absorption of bodily required nutrients. Clinically, malnutrition is characterized by inadequate or excess intake of nutrients that might result in infections or diseases. People are malnourished if they are unable to utilize fully the food they are eating. It can be secondary malnutrition caused by diarrhoea or other illness, it can be overnutrition caused by too much calorie intake, or it can be undernutrition or protein-energy malnutrition caused by inadequate intake of

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\(^{121}\) Stegar, Manfred B. (2006:13)
vital nutrients. Thereby malnutrition encompasses all the cases of overnutrition and undernutrition in this research.

- **Post-modernity:** The cultural and ideological changes taken to have replaced modernity. Post-modernity is seen to be the one involving such features as the world of flux, fragmentation and flow. A shift from ‘productive’ to ‘reproductive social order’ can be identified with post-modernity [following, Baudrillard (1983) and Lyotard (1984)] in which simulations, models and signs increasingly goes on to constitute the social world consequently blurring the distinction between the appearance and the real.  

- **Restaurant:** in economic terms restaurant is a ‘business (that consists in) offering to the public a repast which is always ready and whose dishes are served in set portions at set prices, on the order of those who wish to eat them.’ (Brillant-Savarin, 1825). The beginning of the restaurant has been a business, part of a new unfettered market and service economy demanded by the bourgeoisie. The restaurant provides convenient foods to the clients as their lives are more regularly conducted in the public domain. The service in the restaurant added on to a new type of convenience as food was available at any time of the day, evening or even night. The advertising of the prices prior to consumption is to make consumers aware of the obligations and to escape embarrassment and over expenditure.

- **Religion:** Religion concerns the other-worldly extended and responded through patterns which often involve food. Food also denotes the *sacred space* (as expressed through food and table settings) and also *sacred time* (as expressed through abstention of food).

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122 Jary, David and Jary, Julia (2000:478)  
123 Finkelstein, Joanne (1989:38)