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

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

**Family dining out and takeaway food**

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

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

Comparison with the past suggests that there are differences of degree as well as of kind in the balance between public and private eating. It would not be possible to argue that there was no market for food outside the home before modern times, but it was a relatively underdeveloped market. In India hospitality was the accepted norm
and most food requirements of those who are away from home during the time of food consumption would have met within the framework of social obligation rather than as a commercial transaction.

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

Family dining out is becoming increasingly popular in the field area. This is happening even to the extent of the decline of the kitchen for certain occasions and days. One such occasion is the Shravan month when many Hindu households do not cook non-vegetarian food. During this month there are a few restaurants in Panjim that cook only vegetarian food items. Hotel Delmon is one such restaurant where during shravan and all other shivrak days vegetarian food is sold. Shivrak in Konkani
FIGURE 5.1 EXTRA DOMESTIC AS COMBINATION OF DOMESTIC AND EATING OUT

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

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

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

Because Goa attracts tourists through out the year, specialized Food Festivals take place here and there. Some hotels are specialized in them. Saraswat Food
Festival of Hotel Rio Rico and Punjabi Food Festival at Food Land Panjim are examples.

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

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

The last category of dining out caters to both casual eaters and the members of the lower strata of the society. Among such eating-places, the food carts near Mira Mar Beach in Panjim are very popular. In this area now there are more than twenty food-carts making brisk trade in the evening. They cater ‘junk’ foods like ‘chat items’ in the evening. Sociologically, one can observe the blurring of class distinctions in this area. All categories of people throng around these carts. Now people do not consider eating food prepared in these carts below their dignity. Extreme competitions have made them acquire some institutional characters such as a menu card and laying plastic chairs around the cart. The social world near the Mira Mar beach made up of
the cart-owners and cooks, menu-card holding soliciting boys, and the leisure consuming beach visitors constitute an intriguing field for White (1948) type of intensive ethnographic study.

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

**Hospitality**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

As a standard there will be four main items in a dinner – the drinks, the starters, the main course, and desserts. Invariably in all marriages and occasions of
extending hospitality to many people caterers are given contract. Therefore catering as a new occupational category has been evolved in Goa.

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

**Catering as a profession**

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

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

APERITIVOS (APETISERS)
- Torradinhas de Sardinha (Sardine on toast)
- Forminhas de Mayonnaise (Veg. Basket)
- Rissóis de Camarão (Prawn Rissóis)
- Fofos de Queijo (Cheese balls)
- Sanduiche de “Chutney” (Chutney Sandwich)
- Caldo de Galinha
- Peixe Mayonnaise (Fish Mayonnaise)
- Balchão de Peixe (Fish balchão)
- Filetes de Peixe (Fish Fillets)
- Peixe Recheado (Stuffed Fish)
- Caranguejos Recheados (Stuffed Crabs)
- Camarão Panado (Prawn Panado)
- Galinha assada (Roast Chicken)
- Galinha à Cafreal (Chicken Cafreal)
- Vindalho de Galinha (Chicken vindalho)

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

BEBIDAS (DRINKS)
- Champagne
- Cerveja (Beer)
- Whisky
- Rum (Bacardi)
- Vodka
- Brandy
- Vinho Tinto (Red wine)
- Vinho Branco (White wine)
- Refrescos diversos (Soft drinks)
Vegetarian food orders are exclusively given to Hindu caterers like Bhosle, Shree caterers, Sai and Saraswat Caterers. These caterers provide food, drinks, sweets dishes and snacks for all occasions. But mainly for wedding receptions wherein they prepare food for 500 to 1000 people also. They charge by the plate and charges are also according to the number of items in the menu.

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

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

Trend has shifted from bringing cooks at home to cook for guests attending marriages and festivals to give orders to caterers. This enterprise is fast growing. Among them the most ancient (Famous even before Liberation) and well known is Pascoal caterers.
Case history of Pascoal caterers (One of the prominent caterers in Goa. The researcher and her relatives are his clients.)

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

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

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

Break up of caterers in and around Panjim who serve limited non-veg (six) and extensive non-vegetarian food items (six). By limited non-veg I mean those who
mainly cater to Hindu clientele by serving chicken and fish. By extensive non-veg I mean those who serve all kinds of meat dishes.

1. Just one or two have been in the profession before liberation. All others have joined the business in the last one or two decades.

2. It is a very profitable business and investment required is minimal.

3. No academic qualification is mandatory.

4. Most of the caterers stated that initially they did very well and since the last four or five years their business is slack due to too much of competition.

5. Entire family is not involved in the business. Some of the caterers preferred to employ non-Goans because they were better workers.

6. The clients mainly on the basis of religious affiliation selected the caterers. Main consideration was the type of people invited.

7. Now people employ them even while organising small birthdays.

8. Losses are always in the form of loosing cutlery and breakage of dishes.

9. Left over food and waste disposal is their main problem.

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

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

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