

**Cultural Studies**  
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**Module No.#03**  
**Sites**  
**Lecture No. # 09**  
**Consumption (Part Two)**

Hello, welcome back to NPTEL - the National Programme on Technology Enhanced Learning, a joint venture by the Indian Institutes of Technology and the Indian Institute of Science. We have already spoken about consumption in the last lecture and I had said that, we would be discussing consumption within cultural studies as it is studied under that rubric over two lectures. This is module 3 which is entitled sites and today, we are in the 9th lecture in this module; as always, let us do a recap of the last lecture.

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**Studying Consumption**

First stage:

- Social deprivation
- Poverty and its consequences
- Policies on consumption, deprivation and poverty alleviation



In the last lecture, we found that according to sociologies, according to cultural studies colors, consumption which is a part of our lives and which needs to be studied as a part of our cultural practices and forms was studied initially under sociology. From the point of view of - let us look at this slide here, from the point of view of - social deprivation poverty and its consequences, and policies on consumption to do with the alleviation of the deprivation and poverty.

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**Second Phase: Bourdieu, Castells**

- A relative refinement in sociological thinking on consumption, social position, lifestyle
- Empiricism



Slowly, we saw that there was what some critics term as a further sophistication or a refinement in the study of consumption, where we find in a second phase, there is refinement in or say more subtle proposition on consumption from the point of view of terms like life style, like social position, and at the same time, there was empirical exploration of the phenomenon of consumption.

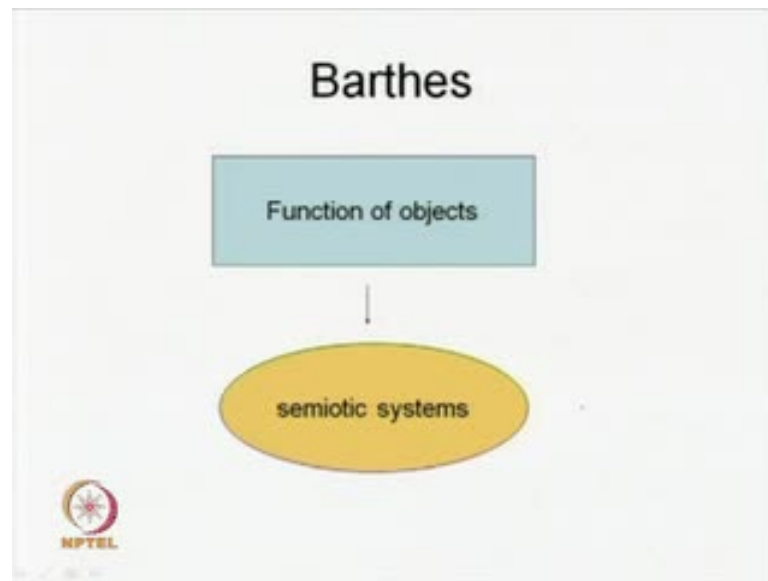
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Then we found that, there was a cultural turn even after these first two phases, a cultural turn which had a multidisciplinary approach which was post-utilitarian and which focus like most cultural analysis do on semiotic systems, on the science and signifying practices within the phenomenon of consumption.

This was seen as related to postmodernism in which, the analysis was not an analysis that you would find from a Marx's perspective for instance, with a clear focus on the political economy. It was more about signifying practices, images, symbols, science to do with the consumption process and as it says here in this slide, the experiential, aesthetic and emotional aspects of consumption.

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So, then we also found that Roland Barthes talks about, the function of objects even within consumption practices as related to semiotic systems.

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Well, we will now continue without discussion on consumption, but in this second lecture on consumption, the difference from the first lecture is this; the sense that we have dealt with the development of how theorizing has developed and changed over many years as far as consumption studies is concerned. We also looked at what is entailed in the

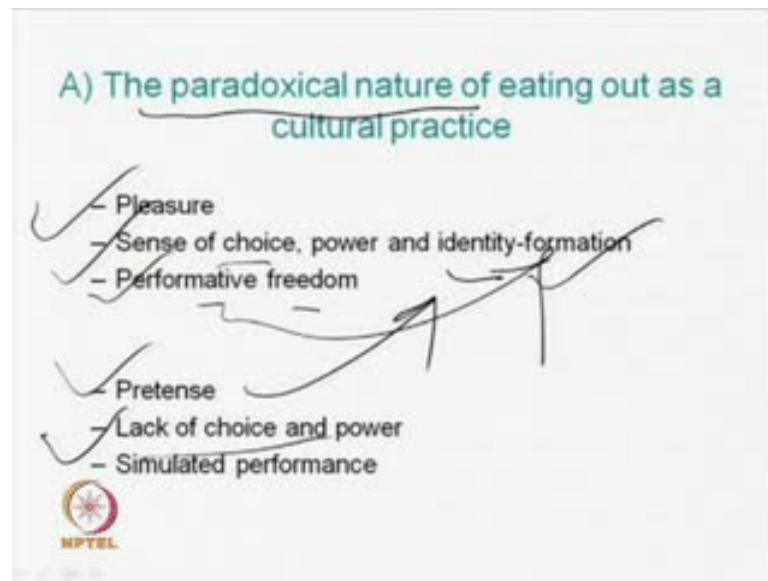
cultural, you know theoretically, what are the changes in the cultural studies exploration of consumption.

And today, we are going to look in a bid to show you, how this is done and not to remain only at an abstract or theoretical level. Today we are going to show you, how one aspect of consumption that is the process of eating out, which falls under the general rubric of food studies. What goes into this phenomenon called eating out? Is it simply a choice that we make of not eating in the house, simply a choice or what goes into the choices that we make as and what is the cultural experience, the aesthetic experience even the political aspects of eating out.

So, we have a change in the text; obviously here, the key source text in this lecture is Joanne Finkelstein. He is a very well-known name in food studies, particularly in studying, as far as studying -eating out in the restaurant experience is concerned. Then we also referred to Gabriel and Lang's, the unmanageable consumer, and Warde and Martens eating out: social differentiation, consumption and pleasure.

Let me say **at the also** that, even though these books are obviously, they look like, they are from sociology, but we will be looking at it from of a cultural studies perspective. The first point that we would like to discuss has been mentioned by the critics; talking about the sociology of eating out, the cultural studies of eating out is this, please look at this slide, the paradoxical nature of eating out as a cultural practice.

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Now, if you look at it in a **untheoretical** untheorized sort of way at the practice of eating out, one of the first things that comes to our mind is definitely this, that eating out going to restaurants or eating in malls etcetera is a very pleasurable exercise. As a cultural practice, it is definitely one that is saturated or filled with pleasure. Otherwise, why should one go out at all? But, this is how you go about theorizing a seemingly simple practice like eating out.

We say that this phenomenon has a paradoxical aspect, whether it is paradoxical in nature. One of course, there is a sense of pleasure in eating out and as I said, why would we go out, why would we step out of our homes to eat, if it did not give us pleasure?

There is a sense definitely, we have of choice; we choose to eat out, sense of power and even identity formation, the places where you choose to go to eat out. For instance, if you go to McDonald's or if you go to Domino's for instance, so you have a sense of identity being formed, you belong to a certain social group for instance or if you are young then, you identify with all the young people that hang out in such places of eating out.

And there is also a freedom that is performative, if you observe people in these places you will find that, there is a certain performance that is being played out, one simply does not go and consume the food and come back. So this performance and this freedom are

definitely related to identity formation. And as they want their identities to be perceived by people, people perform that act which they think is one of freedom and choice in such places. But, we shall argue eventually that it is not as simple, there is not a practice where it is completely willed by you or that you choose to make these performative acts.

So, what does the paradox entail? The paradox entails this, that there is along with these three things that we looked at, there is also an element of pretense. It is but natural that, in this performance and freedom and identity formation, there will- definitely because there is a performance element here, so there will - be a sense of pretense.

Next, there is actually where we find when you think one thing, there is a sense of choice, and there is actually a lack of choice and power. So, it is how critics say that, at the same time as you feel that there is a sense of power and sense of choice and freedom actually there is also the opposite, which is a lack of choice where there is a pretense and the performance is not one of performative freedom, but of simulated performance.

So, you see how right away I think, we have already problematize this seemingly simple practice of eating out. From a cultural studies perspective, eating out as has been shown by scholars like Finkelstein and others, it is paradoxical exercise or it is rather paradoxical in nature.

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Well, so, let us see what are the areas that what is entailed in a study in a cultural studies analysis of food and practices associated with food? To delineate the scope, let us look at this slide, to delineate the scope we find that, cultural studies and food it is a wide spectrum; the scope is very wide and unless you are familiar with it, one would be quite surprised as to how an everyday practice like food, like consumption etcetera.

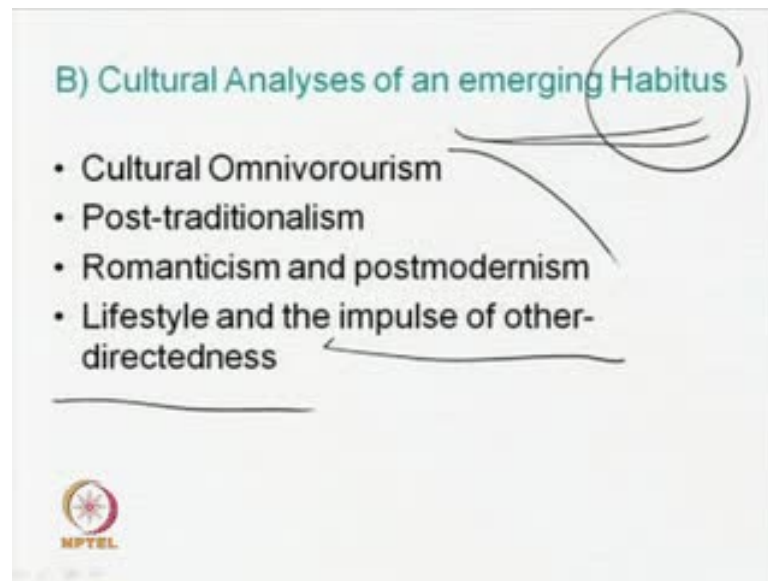
How these can be theorized very richly from so many perspectives and of course, a lot of work and lot of study and research has gone into exploring food and consumption from these perspectives. For instance number one, nationalism and diet is one how identity formation as far as nation is concerned, even nationalism is concerned is also related to practices of diet.

Then globalization and multi-cuisine with the coming in of globalization, how the variety, the diversity of food items has grown; then writing on food, whether it is food journalism or a book on food or travel logs based or focused around food is also another area of study. Eating in and eating out, and are we have chosen eating out to give you an idea of how to theorize a food practice. Consumption and taste, eating and identity, body, diet and health, disorders, anxieties and ethics like bulimia for instances, eating disorders, anxieties and matters to do with etiquette and socializing.

So, you see here, there is a very rich area or there are very rich areas very potentially you know, very rich areas as far as studying cultural studies, a food from a cultural studies point is concerned.



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So if A, we found that scholars like Finkelstein and others point to the paradoxical nature of eating out. On the other hand, there is also another aspect to which **is we** one can have cultural or several cultural analysis of an emerging habitus and this word habitus you found, we had occasion to look at it in the last lecture, the part 1 of consumption and we find that, there is an emerging habitus as far as cultural of eating out is concerned.

For instance, there is this phenomenon called cultural omnivorourism sort of which has been identified. So, to speak by scholars and they call it a post-traditionalist change, that is post-traditionalist in nature in the sense that, if one is cultural omnivore what happens is obviously, one has to leave behind one's traditional diet; diet that is associated with class, diet that is associated with in India with caste, diet associated with one's even ethnic community for instance.

So, one crosses these borders and barriers if I may use the word of food of consuming food, when one is not simply eating in, but particularly it seems like when one is eating out, then there is a tendency in people to break these barriers.

But, it is also termed as a romantic term and a postmodern term in food practices. Finally, a cultural analysis of this new habitus is of concern with lifestyle and importantly, the

impulse of other directedness, which is also related as you will see to cultural omnivorourism.

So, there isa lifestyle which is again,it does not kind of implode into oneself, one is looking outward and trying to - alsoif not appropriate - at least experiment with the kind of lifestyle that is being led by people from outside ones, community, caste or ethnic affiliations. So, this we use the word certain adventurousness that is there, which isdefinitely a post-traditionalist one that breaks away from tradition.

So, you see how we can theorize,how people like or scholars like Finkelstein and others have very richly theorizedthis area on food consumptionand eating out for instance.And have shown that, how new cultural orientations, new cultural practices for instance emerge - you calla new habitusemerges - as identity formation practices shift as identityas a desiring certain identities also shift with the coming in of globalization,where there is adventurousness also in practices relating to food and consumption.So, I hopewe have been able to beginto see, how this theorizing offood and eating out in particular is being done from a cultural study's perspective.

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Now, Grabiell and Lang, the unmanageable consumer, which is also one of our source text.Point 2 what we call the foodie,now in general parlanceand inmore formal terms, we

call the connoisseur. So, there is also the emerging person also, to speak of the foodie or the connoisseur, which changes in cultural practices with eating out for instance.

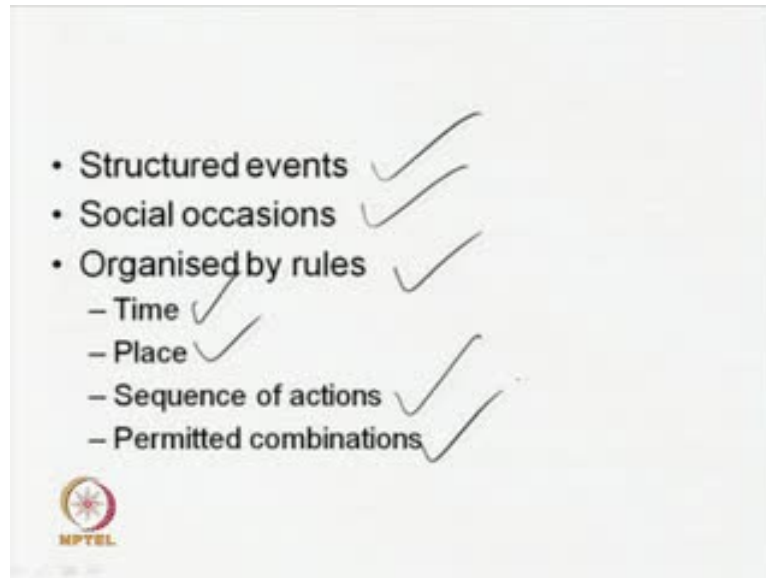
One of the very clear examples, one of the very common and popular examples are these shows related to food that you have on television nowadays, which are being hosted and the so-called the foodies and connoisseurs who give you; it is not simply about food, if you look at it carefully, you will understand this not simply about food, but it is to do with let us look at these points here.

These are the points that are concerned with the foodie and the connoisseur. The connoisseur or the foodie therefore, is a chooser according to a culture theory. He or she is a communicator of not just food, but also of culture, is an identity seeker, is an explorer in this sense, in which one can be an explorer of places.

A foodie or a connoisseur is also an explorer of domains of food in different areas of the world. It is also perhaps hedonist in the sense of wanting to both experience and experiment with pleasure as far as food is concerned, is an artist at the same time if you look at definitely the paradoxical nature, you may also be a victim of his or her own enterprise is a rebel, is an activist and a citizen.

So, well next time you look or you happen to come across such programs on television you look at it, anew you look at the program anew and you look at the host or the food connoisseur anew and you see in that person in so many different aspects. This is the way one does cultural studies or cultural studies analysis of food and the representation of food in the media.

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Now, eating out therefore is like many other cultural practices. There are certain relations or there are certain parallels, we can draw with other kinds of cultural practices like many cultural practices therefore, if you look at this slide here, **eating out** the phenomenon of eating out is really these are structured events. In many times, these are also social occasions they are organized by rules. So, it is not, this is where the paradox or our realization of the paradoxical nature slowly begins to seep in. We said a while ago that, normally people conceive of the whole process and phenomenon of eating out as one that is imbued with power, with identity formation, one's will's, performance etcetera.

But slowly, we see that these are also structured events. For instance, they are organized they are also organized like other cultural events and practices. Practices to do with food and things like eating out or going out on an invitation, these are also organized by rules. And what are the delimitations? These are to do with the time, place, the sequence of actions that are to be followed and the permitted combinations. So, like all social practices that are informed by rules, by certain norms also the practice of eating out is informed and a very structured event.

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Then scholars like Finkelstein and others also say that well, if you look at food practices in general, we may divide them into a couple of aspects and the first aspect that is brought to us is the cognitive aspect. Now, what is cognitive, what does it mean when we say cognitive? Cognitive as you know is to do with attention, is to do with memory with perception and the like.

So, also to do with food therefore, there are cognitive aspects for instance, aspects of health, there are aspects of calorie consumption of vitamins and also in food practice; in general of the convenience of preparing food of different ways of preparation of storage and ability, these are the cognitive aspects of food preparation.

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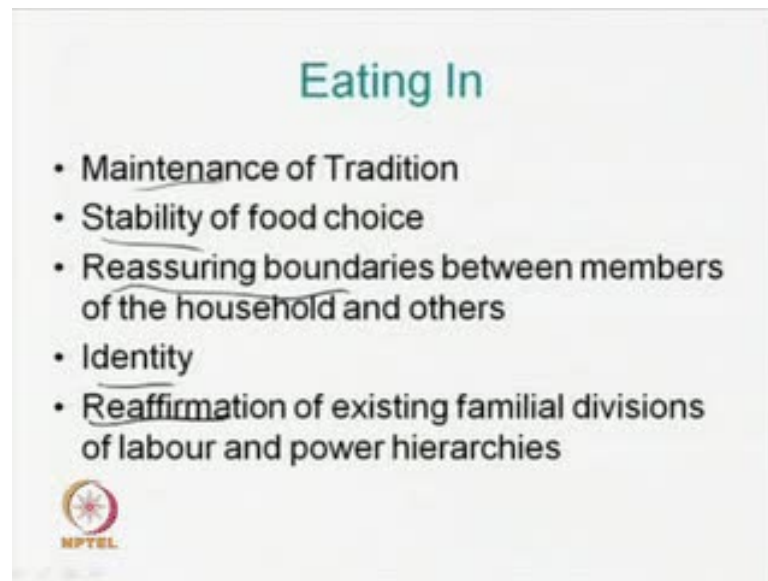


Then apart from the cognitive, there are also the affective aspects. Now it is not that affection or emotion, it is not to do with many scholars would certainly say that, cognition perhaps also from a certain point of view, also involves affective aspects or aspects of emotions. So in this, however we may make a subtle differentiation in the sense that, there are sensory aspects to it; for instance food has to be found appetizing, palatable, and tasteful.

Definitely, when one goes or when one eats out, these are some of the sensory delights that one looks forward to or one at least expects, when one is being served outside the house. These are that the food has to be appetizing, palatable, and tasteful along with the sensory elements are also the purely emotional aspects of eating out which is to do with friends, happy memories and being with friends feeling of conviviality.

So, we found that there are two aspects to it, you may divide them into cognitive aspects to do with things like our perception of our health, once perception of health—calories, vitamins, preparation, storage, etcetera and ones affective aspects like whether the food or expectation of food particularly when being served outside one's home is that food has to be palatable, well prepared and to do with feelings, emotions and memories.

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Then, if we compare eating in and eating out as cultural practices that from a cultural studies perspective, we find some interesting differences as far as tradition is concerned, as far as the breaking of taboos is concerned or the retaining of taboos is concerned. Now in eating in, we find that, **there is** we may theorize it as a practice which maintains tradition. So, there are households or communities have their own idea about what good food is, what clean food is and what healthy food is.

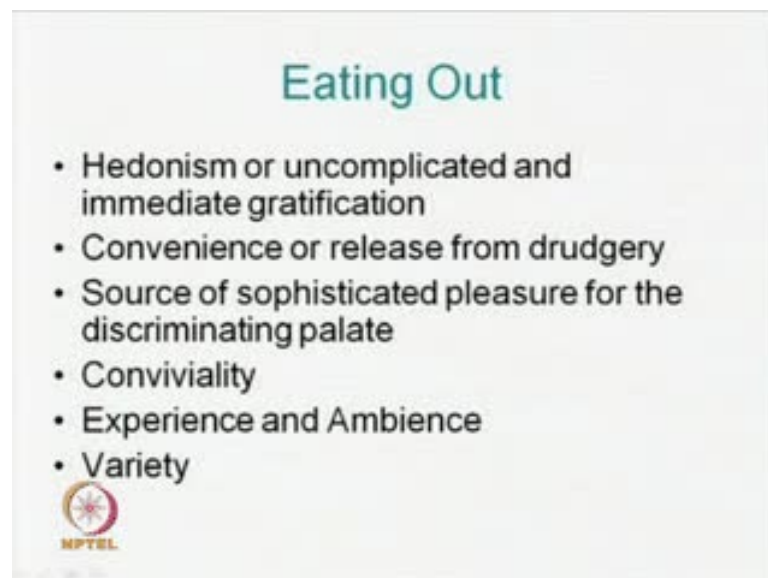
So, **there is an** accordingly there is a maintenance of tradition, particularly as food practices being the way they have been passed on from generation to generation. Then there is also sense of stability of food choice, it is expected that **was one** there is certain regularity, look at the words here maintenance, stability. So, there is also certain regularity, if not predictability of food practices when one is eating in.

So, what are the first two that we found? Maintenance of tradition, stability of food choice, third is the reassuring boundaries between members of the household and others. So, look at the words here, maintenance, stability, reassuring then a retaining of identity and a reaffirmation of existing familial divisions of labor and power hierarchies. So, who is going to do the cooking? Who is going to do the washing and who is going to kind of a supervise the cooking? For instance, these are reaffirmed, day in and day out as food is prepared and consumed inside the house.

So, really if you look at, all these words are to do with stability are to do with resistance to change as far as food practices are concerned. There is also an attempt if not a very overt one, but it is understood that these are attempts, an identity retention, these are attempts at reaffirming either to existing hierarchies in a particular family that has been there for some time and of division of labor within a family.

So, it is not that it is something that never changes in. It is generally observed that, divisions of labor for instance, as far as food preparation is concerned is not really radically changed as far as eating in practices is concerned.

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Next eating out, so we have looked at eating in, now we look at eating out. Now eating out is usually perceived by cultural studies, scholars and sociologists as hedonism or uncomplicated and immediate gratification. **One of** This is one of the aspects, so it is not that, all as you see in a while, it is not by only means the only aspect that leads one or kind of motivates one to eat outside the house, but definitely an immediate and uncomplicated gratification of one's culinary desires is something that eating out serves the purpose.

Second, there is also the convenience or release from drudgery. Definitely there is for the person in the household, who is always responsible for whether it is by supervision or whether it is actually doing the work in the kitchen, there is also an aspect in which there



is a break in the monotony and the break in the drudgery, the **release in a** temporary release in the drudgery of being in the kitchen.

Third, it is considered in cultural studies, a source of sophisticated pleasure for the discriminating palate. So, where on the one hand, it may be an act of simple gratification of one's culinary desires; in certain cases, this is also a practice in which, one looks at eating out as a source of great pleasure and discriminating pleasure.

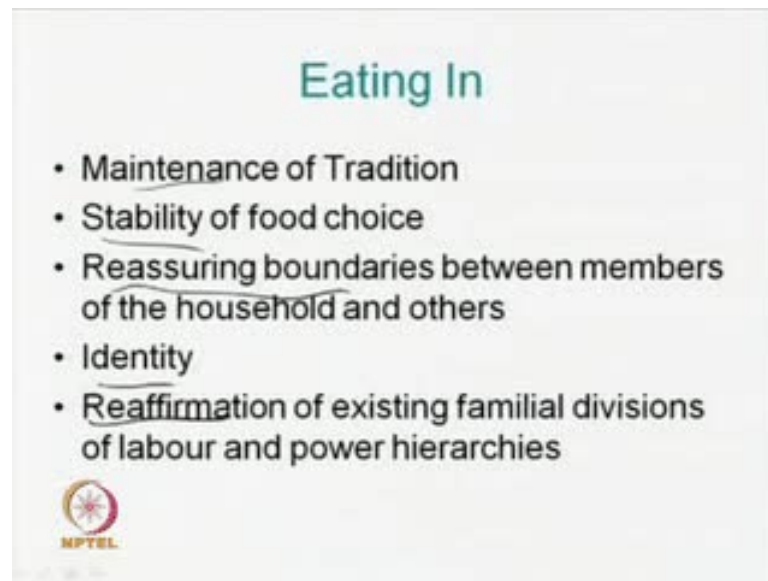
For instance, a discriminating in the sense of how well you can judge the food, the ingredients that go into the preparation if it is something that is not within your usual daily pattern of consumption, if it is different. How do you then derive a certain sophisticated pleasure, as you understand how a particular item has been prepared which you are not used to?

So, it is apart from straight forward hedonism and gratification, for some people it is also an exercise of the palate that can discriminate among different kinds of tastes. Then conviviality, when one eats out and particularly when we are talking about situations in which one is with family, sometimes with extended family and with at times also with friends. So, it is also a platform or it is also an arena for conviviality of socializing and exchanging pleasantries with one another.

Then there is the overall experience of eating out, the overall as we said the aesthetic, the cognitive, the emotional, and the identity forming. So, overall experience of eating out is the general kind of general umbrella that is there and in different situations, there may be difference in degrees, but generally it is a whole experience of eating out that we are supposed to look at. Particular this various aspects and the ambiance, the ambiance the atmosphere of eating out is also one that is amenable to cultural studies, especially the way of the restaurant is laid out, the way it is built.

And it is a very rich text, if I may use the word a very rich text, which tells you so much about the symbols, the signs and what they mean and how they relate to the actual practice of people eating in that restaurant. These are also very rich processes of signification and signifying practices; well trained cultural scholar can draw very rich inferences from even the ambiance of a restaurant and of course finally, variety. Variety is also another variable in these, as we study the processes of eating out.

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So, let me quickly summarize where in the case of eating in, what did we see? We saw that there was whether you do it overtly or you do not realize that you are doing it, there is definitely it is a more tradition based exercise in the sense or even if the tradition of a particular household, even if it is a kind of nuclear family.

So, traditions are maintained, boundaries are maintained, work divisions of labor is maintained and borders of boundaries regarding ones community, caste, class etcetera are usually retained and reaffirmed in everyday practices of eating in.

On the other hand, as far as eating out is concerned, it is considered a more exploratory, a more adventurous exercise whereas, we said it is considered, a post-traditionalist exercise where traditions are sometimes deliberately broken. Taboos also are deliberately broken and it is seen not simply as regular routine based exercise as one, it is also seen a scene of or a platform for conviviality as one eats out with friends and family. And also the entire experience of eating out is also considered different as the variables are different from the phenomenon of eating in.

So, you see how practices that seemingly are nothing do with academic study for instance. Once they come into the purview of cultural studies and other kindred domains like sociology, anthropology, etcetera they offer a very rich interpretation and analysis of our every day practices.

Now, I will make go to show you how scholars have tried to differentiate between the whole aspects of eating out really, unless one is eating out on one's own, is definitely you will agree a social practice.

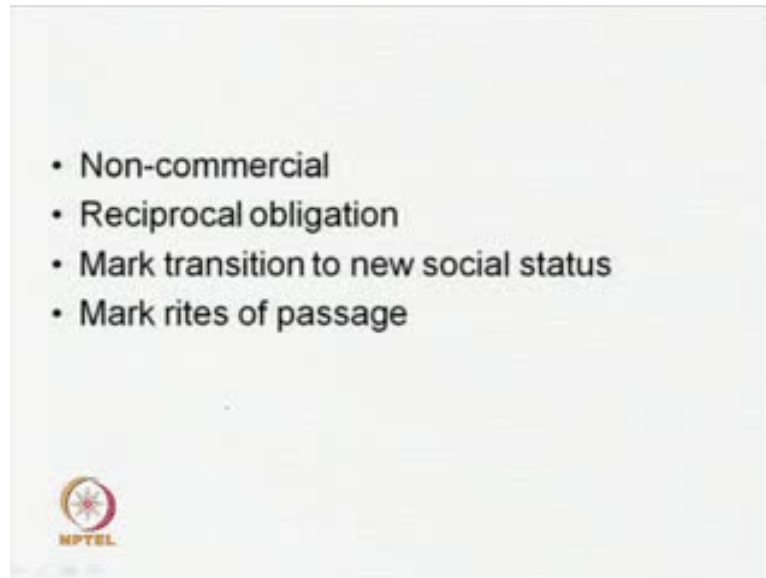
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So, social dining in pre-modern times was slightly different from that, that we find in the modern times. So, as scholars like Finkelstein and others have pointed out in pre-modern times, definitely there was a relatively under developed market and social obligations were very strong and the transactions were non-commercial hugely or even large extent non-commercial in nature with the realities of an underdeveloped market, there was a great importance on hospitality on gifts and feasts, the sharing of food surpluses within members of a community, there was a virtual guarantee of food and their food practices were also particularly eating out was also an expression of social solidarity.

So, these are the points underdeveloped market, non-commercial nature of the transactions, the importance on feasts and gifts, sharing guarantee of food, expression of solidarity, these are the hallmarks of a social dining or what we call eating out in pre-modern times and we shall see, how these are different from the modern times.

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So, again importantly in pre-modern times, it was a reciprocal obligation and they mark the rise of passage as they are observed in different communities and cultures.

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But, now we shall see that with the rise of the market something else happens. So, the rise of the market, there is more individualism coming in and there is also the breakdown of kinship obligations, as families begin to break out of the joint family system and they have their own nuclear families, the growth of organization there is a breakdown of kinship obligations, there is also increase in travel and with travel also, there is also the increase

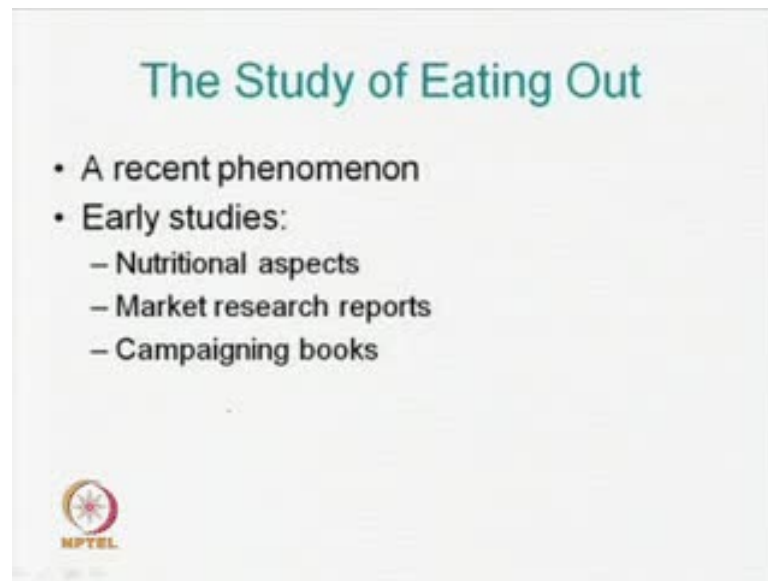
in coffee houses. Importantly if you compare this to pre-modern times, it is very important to note that coffee houses came about and when we do social history, find that coffee houses came about in say 18th century, late 17th century, 18th century in England. Where we find even till today, that there is a it is an anti it is an establishment that is anti-hierarchical in location and also anti-hierarchical in practice for instance any one can go into a coffee house.

Coffee houses are also they are not, you do not expect huge feasts in coffee houses. Coffee houses are areas, places you go to for a short duration, for a short exchange of conviviality for a short exchange of discussion, for instance of short duration of participation in discussions. And the coffee house really is such an important marker that we find as we move from pre-modern times to modern times.

And also where in the modern times, there was this great is an obligation or great transaction of giving feasts, for instance of showing social solidarity or even probably one hierarchy and of guarantee of sharing of food supplies among members of community, we find here that eating out also becomes an act of necessity than only being an act of pleasure as you move on to modern times.


So, these are the things that one needs look, not only at the experience of one or two events of phenomena of eating out, but generally also the historical development and changes in the practices and what they signify? In pre-modern times, you would see that it would signify a feast would signify social solidarity for instance; whereas today it may not do that all the time. It was a traditional exercise and it was one where you know, there was a marking of hierarchy; but today, we find that particularly in the symbol or sign of the coffee house, coffee house becomes a sign of an anti-hierarchical orientation in society.

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## The Study of Eating Out

- A recent phenomenon
- Early studies:
  - Nutritional aspects
  - Market research reports
  - Campaigning books

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Then the study of eating out really against as Finkelstein and others have pointed out, this kind of eating out as far as modern times is concerned, it is really a phenomenon that is the academic study of eating out is really not one that has been done for several years. But, it is a recent phenomenon and early again like in the first lecture, we saw that there are different phases or studying consumption; here also in one consumption practice that is of eating out, the early studies looked at nutritional aspects and they brought out market research reports and the campaigning books also. So, the early phase looked at these kinds of studies, which was empirical in nature and which was utilitarian in nature.

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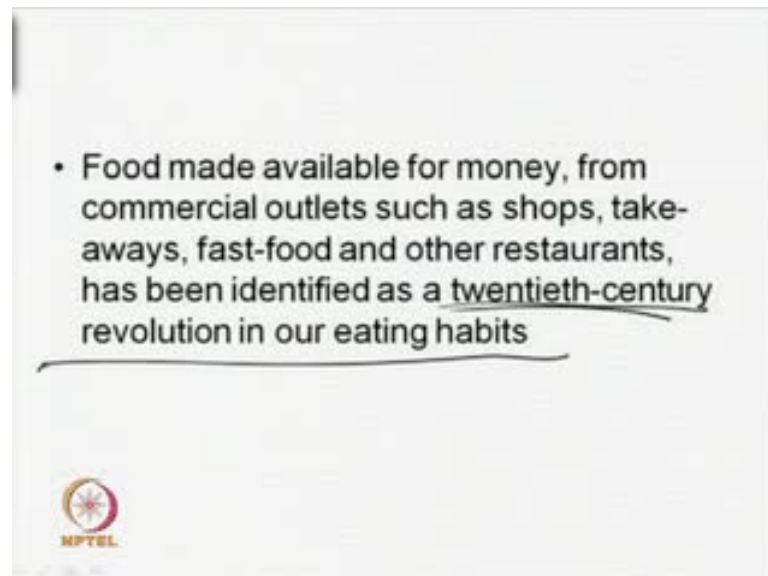
The slide features a title 'Eating Out' in green. Below it is a bullet point with a quote: "...eating out has serious implications for any comprehensive understanding of the nation's diet. Eating out ... throws into sharp relief narrow concerns with food as merely a means of subsistence, for eating out seems to be expanding as a form of entertainment and a means to display taste, status and distinction. Also significant is the willingness of people to swap their private domestic food provisioning arrangements for commercial or communal alternatives." (Emphases added). The quote is attributed to Warde and Martens, *Eating Out: Social Differentiation, Consumption and Pleasure*, Cambridge UP, 2000. At the bottom left is the NPTEL logo.

Now, if we look at Warde and Martens books in fact, the title of the book is Eating Out: social differentiation, consumption and pleasure. I am reading out from this and we shall unpack it, eating out has serious implications for any comprehensive understanding of the nation's diet. Eating out throws into sharp relief narrow concerns with food as merely a means of subsistence, for eating out seems to be expanding as a form of into this is important, eating out seems to be expanding as a form of entertainment and a means to display taste, status and distinction. Also significant is the willingness of people to swap their private domestic food, provisioning arrangements for commercial and communal alternatives.

So, this becomes a very important word here, for where the commercial aspect is foregrounded in contemporary practices of eating out. And what Warde and Martens have referred to is, eating out is definitely not just one of necessity as one is in a nuclear family and one eats more frequently outside, it really involves much more than that in the sense that, it is also means to display taste. Remember the foodie or the connoisseur who can who as a discriminate palate and can give so many pronouncements and judgments on food of different cultures. Therefore, it is eating out is also a symbolic practice, this is a point that we need to look at very carefully if you are doing a cultural studies perspective of eating out.

Eating out is an act and also involves acts of identity formation. It also involves acts of displaying one's taste, the status and distinction words that we found in the first lecture, was coming from scholars and sociologists like Bourdieu etcetera. The formation of a new emerging habitus, a new emerging habitus where one of the most important differences is the commercial aspect.

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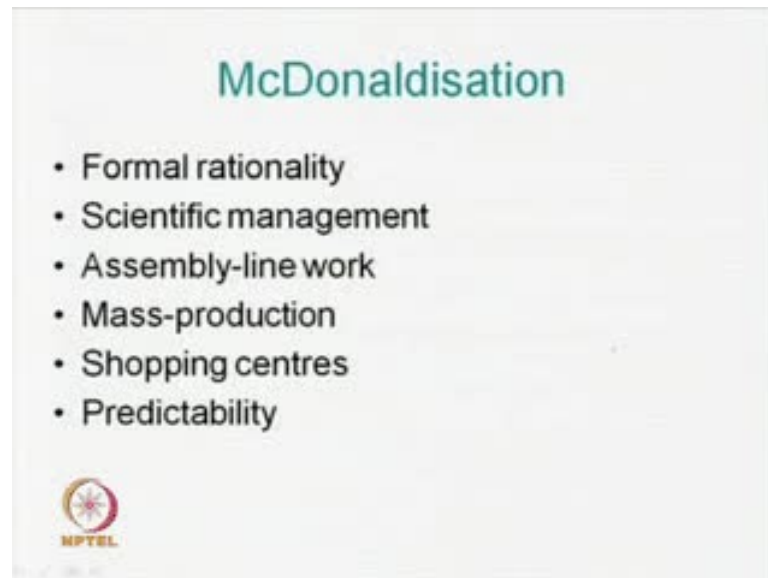
Now, again as Finkelstein and others have pointed out, I am quoting food made available for money from commercial outlets such as shops, take-always, fast-food and other restaurants has been identified as a particularly 20th century revolution in our eating habits.

So, if I may use the word the grandiosity, the grandiosity of social dining in the pre-modern times of course, we have social dining as a platform for the display of social status of the display of taste, distinction etcetera. But, as an important corollary and running parallel to this, is also as first we saw the coffee house remember, where it is not necessary one that it is an environment for display, it is more environment for food for thought really. Also the other, if that was an aphenomenon beginning in the 18th century; today in the 20th century, the important places for eating out or things like the take-aways as it says here, the commercial outlets such as shops, take-aways, fast-food and other restaurants where you get quick food.



So, this is a cultural practice which is definitely a 20th century practice, a 21st century practice and is a recent addition to food studies.

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Now, the next term and this is a term that I am sure many of you have come across McDonaldisation. McDonaldisation of course, refers to McDonald's, the very popular food outlet which you will find in many parts of the world. So, scholars too - it is not just a media, but scholars too - have used this term McDonaldisation to make some very important theoretical pronouncements on food practices.

For instance, McDonaldisation as a cultural studies person or as a sociologist, would put it involves, you can theorize it using terms like formal rationality. Formal rationality there is a very efficient scientific, almost a scientific management of these kind of food outlets like for instance Domino's or McDonald's and KFC for instance.

So, there is a formal rationality to it, it is a scientific management, it is almost assembly-line it is almost done in an assembly-line format the work performed there by people is almost on an assembly-line format of mass production available in shopping centers and also with such sort of hyper efficient, management and such great formal rationality behind it. There is also certain predictability, the predictability note only as you watch the work force in such outlets, but there is also predictability as far as the food that is doled out is concerned.

So, you see again as I said, these seemingly simple things like going out to eat in such places involve totally different orientation **as far as** particularly, when you compare it even to coffee houses or even to the pre-modern times, where there is a hyper scientific management and assembly, and resultant predictability to it.

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So, the sites of such places 20th and 21st century are sports stadiums, health clubs, airports, bus and railway stations, museums and galleries, bookshops, supermarkets, cinema halls and malls. And all these places, you will notice one thing in common here is that, you are not expected to spend much time in these places whether they knew eateries and museums, books shops or cinema halls, supermarkets etcetera.

Eating places, places for eating out that are attached to these places are always to do with also to do with speed, as the speed as hallmark of the modern times. So, you see as economies change as economies open out, as it becomes more globalized there is diversity and variation everywhere also affects the processes of food consumption and of particular practices like eating out.

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Therefore the restaurant experience as Finkelstein and others have pointed out is a whole consumption package. So, we are coming to the close of this lecture and we would like to wind up by saying that, the entire restaurant experience is one which entails a variety of pleasures and with themed restaurants, we also have occasion to have certain themed experiences.

And also it's a multi-sensory experience of taste, sights, sounds, smell and touch. It is not to say that taste, sight, sounds, smell and touch are not part of eating in inside the household, but importantly these are far more heightened in the restaurant experience.

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**Finkelstein**

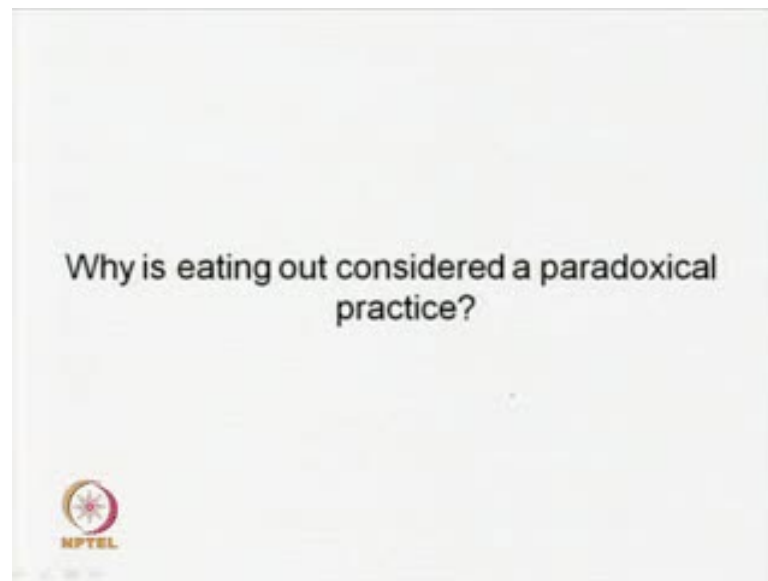
- The modern restaurant designs its décor, service and atmosphere in such a way as to relieve the customer of the responsibility to shape sociality
- Encourages simulated rather than genuine social engagement
- Obligation to give a performance according to the normative demand of the circumstances

  
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Therefore, let me quote from Finkelstein, the modern restaurant designs its décor, service and atmosphere in such a way as to relieve the customer of the responsibility to shape sociality, why? Because it is already there for you, the template is already there, you do not have to work for it. It encourages simulated rather than genuine social engagement and there is an obligation again, as we have come across this word before to give a performance, according to the normative demand of the circumstances.

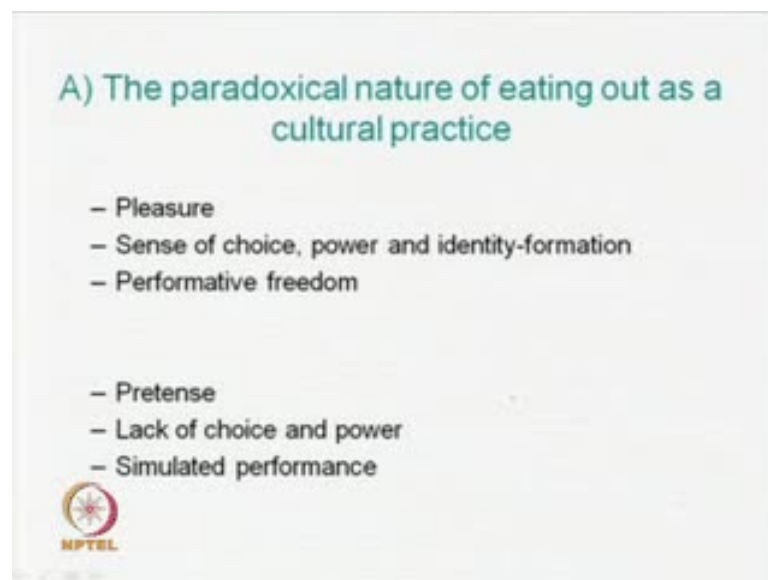
Therefore, if you thought that eating out or eating in restaurant is an act of performing involving power choice, Finkelstein and others would say no, why because the format is already laid out. So, you may simply, you may not even be genuine in where you actually think you are being convivial, we need not be genuine because the circumstances determine you to speak the performance, which you think that you are making or doing with so much of freedom.

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So, let us come to the discussion and we will quickly look at one or two questions for instance, why is eating out considered a paradoxical practice?

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Eating out is considered paradoxical because, it involves both pleasure a sense of choice and power and performance and at the same time, it involves pretense and where there is actually, we may argue a lack of choice and power, since the performance is a simulated and a simulated one, where the parameters are being drawn by other people and not by yourself.

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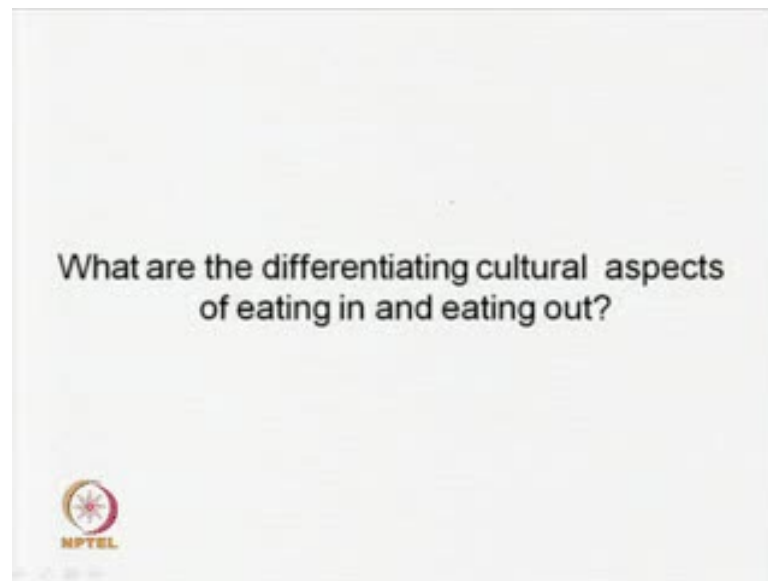


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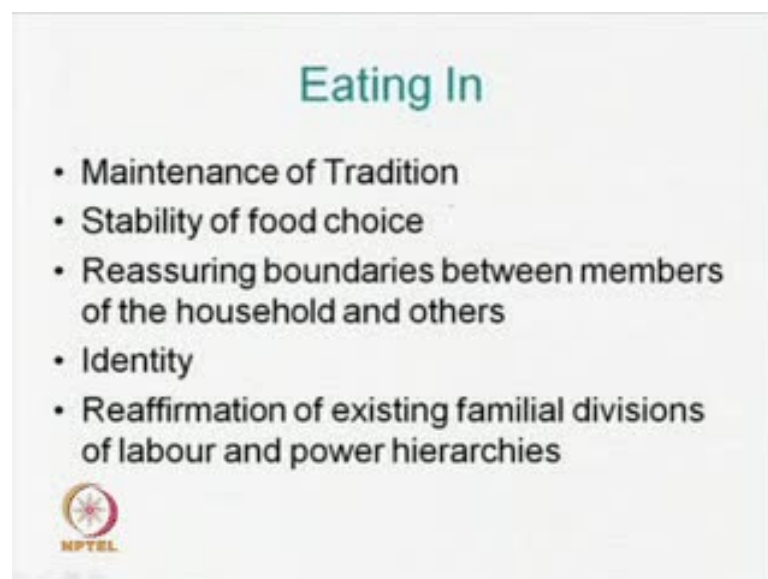


Then, what aspects of food are considered under cultural studies? The aspects of food in cultural studies in a general sense, may be nationalism and diet, globalization and multi-cuisine, food writing, eating in and eating out, which was our concern today, general theories and consumption and taste, eating and identity, identity formation and identity retaining, body, diet and health, disorders are very important aspects; here disorders like bulimia for instance, anxieties to do with eating and diet and health and ethics and etiquette and socializing.

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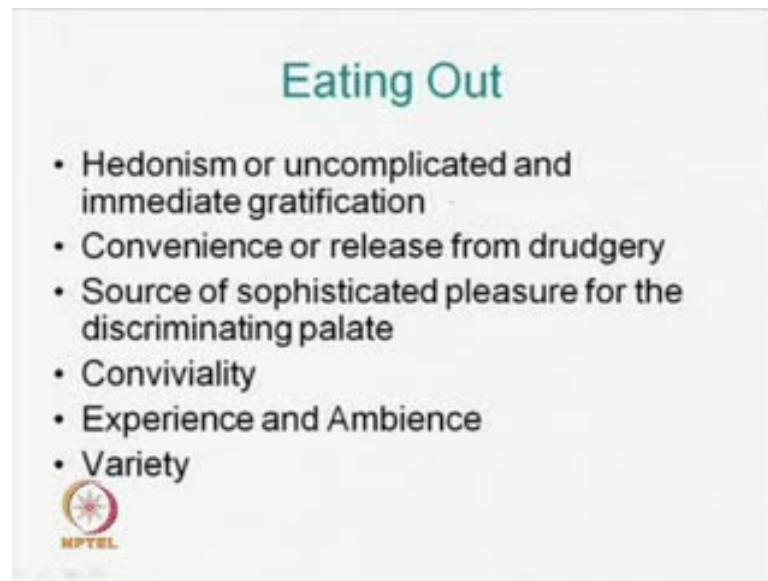


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Then, what are the differentiating cultural aspects of eating in and eating out? We found that eating in is a traditionalist exercise where we go on to the maintenance of tradition, maintenance of practices, of hierarchies, of power, of division of labor on the reassuring practices which are reassuring by the sheer replicability and the sheer repeatedness.

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Whereas, eating out is also concerned with both immediate gratification as well as sophisticated pleasure from foodies or connoisseurs. It is also seen as however controlled by somebody else, a scene of conviviality of performance, of a change of experience and ambience.

Again however, paradox being it is also being created by somebody else and a variety and definitely, a release from drudgery from the eating in framework of drudgery, for those who are in charge of giving food to the family members.

So, well thank you for being here and I hope, I have been able to show you how eating a practice like eating out of your house is so infused or it infused it so much. So, many aspects to do with aspects of power, of pleasure, of signs symbols, of contractedness even the eating out process phenomena, phenomenon is one that has been constructed within which we try to exercise our power in however, paradoxical away in another important aspect of cultural studies of identity formation and identity and playing out a performance of one's identity.

Well, thank you so much and I shall meet for in the last lecture of this module like which is devoted to biology in the sense that, we are trying to now wrap up module 3, which is devoted to sites it began with the body and we are also going to end with the similar topic which is biology. Thank you, so much.