

# 1 | Food and Identity among the Students of Gujarat Vidyapith

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## 1. Introduction

This paper analyses the food habits and identity among the post graduate (PG) students of Gujarat Vidyapith (GV).<sup>1</sup> The school was founded by M. K. Gandhi (1869–1948) in 1920 and has played a very important role in educating students along the Gandhian principles. In recent years, most of the students belong to the Backward Classes<sup>2</sup> from all over Gujarat.

The author conducted a survey and group interviews from 2012–14 on the food habits of PG students. This paper intends to reveal changes in food habits and identity with a special focus on the influence of modernisation,<sup>3</sup> globalisation,<sup>4</sup> and Sanskritisation<sup>5</sup> among the sampled PG students.

Figure 1.1 Map of South Asia



Source: (<http://gujaratvidyapith.org/roadmap.htm>, accessed on 18/8/2015)

Note: Ahmedabad is shown with an arrow in the map.

Within this broad analytical framework, the author examines the regional

and historical changes in food habits by religion, social group, and rural–urban background among the sampled students, and concludes that many changes have occurred in the consumption of grain, cooking oil (edible oil), sweets, beverages, and fast foods.<sup>6</sup> The author also emphasises the importance of maintaining fasts (upvaas) as an essential feature of the Indian diet.

The survey of GV students is a useful case study in which to examine the correlation by social group, region, and rural–urban origin, and change in food habits over 10 years with the use of panel data. In this paper, the author supplements the GV survey with the National Sample Survey (NSS)<sup>7</sup> data on food consumption. For comparison with the reference period of the GV survey (2002–2012), the author uses data from the NSS 55<sup>th</sup> round (1999–2000) through the 68<sup>th</sup> round (2011–12).

**Figure 1.2 Gujarat Vidyapith : Chancellors**

• Mahatma Gandhi	18-10-1920 to 30-01-1948
• Shree Saradar Vallabhbai Patel	14-06-1948 to 15-12-1950
• Dr. Rajendra Prasad	14-03-1951 to 28-02-1963
• Shree Morarjibhai Desai	16-06-1963 to 10-04-1995
• Professor Ramlal Parikh	23-06-1996 to 21-11-1999
• Dr. Sushilababen Nayair	26-06-2000 to 03-01-2001
• Shree Navinchandra Barot	26-06-2001 to 01-08-2002
• Shree Navalbhai Shah	04-10-2002 to 15-02-2003
• Shree Ravindra Varma	18-07-2003 to 09-10-2006
• Shree Narayanbhai Desai	23-07-2007 to 07-03-2015
• Shree Ela Ramesh Bhatt	07-03-2015 (continue...)

Source: (<http://gujaratvidyapith.org/chancellor.htm>, accessed on 18/8/2015)

## 2. Objectives and Method of Investigation

### 2–1. GV and its hostel foods

M. K. Gandhi, the founder of GV, was a vegetarian. Food represented a very important part of his life and he conducted various experiments of selecting and processing (cooking) ingredients. He excluded various stimulants from his diet, including beverages such as tea and coffee, and these norms were followed on campus. There was neither a canteen nor a supply of tea/coffee on campus until recent years. The boys and girls who are residents of the hostel are expected to have their meals there.

**Figure 1.3 Canteen**

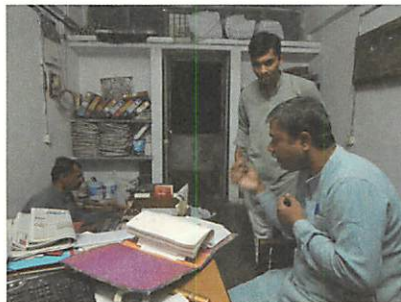


Source: Gujarat Vidyapith Survey, Ahmedabad, August 2012  
 Note: Previously, tea was prohibited in the campus. Now, students enjoy tea at the canteen.

## 2-2. The survey methodology

The survey was jointly planned with Mr Pradeep Sonar, the administrator at GV. We did not adhere to random sampling due to technical and administrative difficulties in distributing and collecting the questionnaire from the sampled students. We also desired recruitment of students from several regions of Gujarat, and from different religions and social groups to trace the diversity of food culture. Therefore, we have selected sample students purposely to meet these requirements. Mr Sonar distributed the questionnaire to and collected it from a sample of 100 students.

**Figure 1.4 Warden of the PG Hostel**



Source: Gujarat Vidyapith Survey, Ahmedabad, August 2012  
 Note: A student reports to the warden.

The distribution of the 100 sampled students was as follows: male (59) and female (41); rural (53) and urban (47); Hindu (87), Christian (5), Muslim (5), and Jain (3). As shown in **Table 1.1**, the distribution of students by social group is Backward Classes (Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs), and Other Backward Classes (OBCs) (64) and 'Others' (caste Hindus) (27). The number of 'Other Religion' that were non-Hindu (9) was due to us grouping the four ST Christians into the ST category in this table.

**Table 1.1 The Distribution of Students by Type of Social Group and Region** (persons)

Social Group	Region					Total
	Kutch	Saurashtra	Central	North	South	
SCs	1	4	5	2	7	19
STs	0	1	1	0	14	16
OBCs	0	7	12	9	1	29
Others	0	3	15	8	1	27
Other Religion	0	2	3	1	3	9
Total	1	17	36	20	26	100

Source: The author's survey (2012-2014)

I have learnt from the GV administrator that: (1) male students outnumber female students, (2) students from rural areas outnumber those from urban areas, (3) the Backward Class students are the majority, and (4) the largest social group is OBCs followed by SCs and STs in this order among the PG students. In this regard, we may find some compositional similarity between the general

**Figure 1.5 Group Interview**



Source: Gujarat Vidyapith Survey, Ahmedabad, August 2012

Note: Students reply in a group interview.



population and the sample. The only exception is that a relatively higher number of students practising Islam, Christianity, or Jainism are included in the sample in order to analyse the diversity of food culture by religion.

There is no data available on the geographical distribution of students' native origins, but the administrator observes that many students are from Central and South Gujarat followed by students from North Gujarat and Saurashtra. The geographical distribution of sample students also maintains this order.

### 3. Key Foods

In this survey, a questionnaire was prepared to trace changes in the food habits of the respondent's household with the collection of current (2012) and past (2002) consumption data. The main foods I selected for inclusion were: grains, pulses, vegetables, cooking oil, milk and milk products, meat, eggs, fish, confectioneries, and drinks. In order to examine the influence of globalisation, I also asked about the consumption of fast food.

**Figure 1.6 Cooker in the Kitchen**



Source: Gujarat Vidyapith Survey,  
Ahmedabad, August 2012

I have noticed that many changes took place in the combination and consumption of food items of each food group during the past 10 years. Among the various food groups, grains, cooking oil, milk products, sweets, beverages, meats, and fast foods are particularly important and interesting due to significant changes under the influences of modernisation, globalisation, and Sanskritisation.

**Table 1.2 The Distribution of Students by Type of Answers Regarding Change of Food Habit**

Change of Food Habit	Region					Total
	Kutch	Saurashtra	Central	North	South	
Yes	1	12	31	19	20	83
No	0	5	3	0	6	14
No Answer	0	0	2	1	0	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: The author's survey (2012-2014)

Before exploring the details of each food group, let us examine how respondents recognise changes in their food habits during the past 10 years. As shown in Table 1.2, 83 respondents answered that there was a change in their food habits. The number of respondents who reported changes was higher among those originating from the economically advanced areas of Central and North Gujarat. The number of respondents from rural backgrounds was also slightly higher than those from urban backgrounds. When considering social group, the number of respondents who reported changes was greatest among 'Others' (Caste Hindus) because their regional distribution was more concentrated in Central and North Gujarat.

**Table 1.3 The Distribution of Students by Type of Answers Regarding Change Items**

Type of Change Items	Region					Total
	Kutch	Saurashtra	Central	North	South	
Veg-non veg	0	2	3	1	4	10
Replaced by	0	3	5	2	1	11
Consume More	0	4	15	10	13	42
Consume Less	0	1	1	3	0	5
Quality Change	1	0	1	1	0	3
Cost	0	0	2	0	0	2
Market	0	0	1	0	2	3
Others	0	2	3	2	0	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>83</b>

Source: The author's survey (2012-2014)

Next, let us examine changes in food habits. The respondent was asked to point out the single most important change. As shown in Table 1.3, the most frequently reported change was 'more consumption' with 42 responses. Items

such as 'development of a market' and 'more availability in a general store' are also associated with 'more consumption'. The high number of these responses can be understood as a reflection of expanding consumerism backed by economic development and an increase in income.

The second ranked response, with 11, was 'substitution of foods'. Among them, six respondents reported 'substitution of cooking oil' and five reported 'substitution of grain'. Cooking oil is a very important food item as it determines the flavour of a meal and is indispensable for Indian cooking. Since there are large price differences among the variety of cooking oils, poverty greatly affects the type of cooking oil selected. The students who reported 'substitution of grain' revealed that it was the change from miscellaneous cereals to wheat.

The other important change in food culture was a shift from non-vegetarian to vegetarian, reported by 10 respondents. The aspects of this change will be addressed in detail later on from the perspective of Sanskritisation. Additionally, seven respondents reported 'consumptive reduction' and 'a rise in food prices', suggesting that less control of food option and a decrease in food consumption were the most important changes.

### 3-1. Grain

#### 3-1-1. GV survey data

There was considerable change in the consumption pattern of grains during the past 10 years. As shown in Table 1.4, 40 students reported a change in their consumption pattern of grains. Students from South Gujarat represented the greatest number reporting a change, while the reply of 'no change' was more common among students from other regions of Gujarat. Analysing responses

**Table 1.4 The Distribution of Students by Type of Answers Regarding Change of Grain Combination Pattern**

Change of Grain Combination	Region					(persons)
	Kutch	Saurashtra	Central	North	South	Total
Yes	0	7	11	4	18	40
No	1	10	24	16	8	59
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>99</b>

Source: The author's survey (2012-2014)

based on social group reveals the share of those reporting a change was larger among the STs and SCs than among the OBCs and 'Others'. Thus, the magnitude of change among the lower ranked social groups appears greater than among the higher ranked social groups.

Let us examine how grain consumption has changed during the past 10 years. Common grain combinations in Gujarat are, for example, wheat-rice, wheat-bajri, and wheat-jowar-rice. These grain combinations were more diversified 10 years ago. At the time, less-frequently used grains such as maize, barley, and ragi were also consumed. This diversity is reflected in the number of respondents who consumed three types of grain, declining from 16, 10 years ago, to 9 at present.

**Table 1.5 The Distribution of Students by Type of Answers Regarding the Major Grain 10 Years Ago (2002)**

Major Grain	Region					Total
	Kutch	Saurashtra	Central	North	South	
Wheat	1	12	28	16	5	62
Rice	0	0	0	0	15	15
Bajri	0	5	5	3	0	13
Jowar	0	0	1	0	4	5
Maize	0	0	1	1	1	3
Nagli	0	0	0	0	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>99</b>

Source: The author's survey (2012-2014)

Now let us examine the distribution of main and secondary grain combinations. As shown in **Table 1.5**, grain combinations were more diversified as a whole in Gujarat 10 years ago with large regional differences in the type of main grain consumed. At that time, wheat was the most important main grain according to 62 respondents followed by rice (15), bajri (13), jowar (5), and maize (3). The share of wheat consumption was higher among students from Central and North Gujarat, while the share of rice was higher among students from South Gujarat. Bajri was the most important main grain after wheat in a wide area including Central Gujarat, North Gujarat, and Saurashtra, while the consumption of jowar as a main grain was limited to South Gujarat. Though the number was small, there were respondents who reported the consumption of maize as a main grain. Thus, main grains were more diverse 10 years ago.



**Figure 1.7 Bhakhri–One of Their Soul Food Items**



Source: Gujarat Vidyapith Survey, Ahmedabad, August 2012

Note: Bhakhri made of bajra is often prepared for lunch.

Currently, those who reported wheat as their main grain comprise the overwhelming majority (93), followed by those who reported rice (5). Miscellaneous millet has lost ground as a main grain, with wheat emerging as the main grain consumed in respondents' households, even in South Gujarat. In the other regions, wheat has become the only main grain.

Analysing responses based on social group reveals that only ST students

**Figure 1.8 Students Help the Preparation of Roti**



Source: Gujarat Vidyapith Survey, Ahmedabad, August 2012

Note: Roti needs time for preparation. Students help in rotation.

reported main grains other than wheat, and the remaining groups only reported wheat as their main grain. Thus, the consumption of main grains other than wheat is limited to STs who reside in South Gujarat.

### 3-1-2. NSS data

According to the NSS data, as shown in **Table 1.6**, the monthly consumption of total cereal per household has declined from 51 kg to 40 kg during the data period. The most commonly consumed grain in terms of its percentage distribution among households was rice, followed by wheat. The percentage distribution of rice consumption has slightly decreased, while wheat has increased during the period. However, the decline in per household consumption of wheat was larger than rice. Per household consumption of miscellaneous grains has declined drastically during this period. Jowar, in particular, has lost importance both in the percentage distribution among households and per

**Table 1.6 The Percentage Distribution of Households by Type of Grain and the Quantity of Monthly Consumption Per Household in Gujarat**

(1) NSS 55 (1999-2000)

Social Group	Unit	Grain					Total
		Rice	Wheat	Jowar	Bajra	Maize	
STs	Qty (kg)	15	19	21	17	30	51
	HHs (%)	98	59	52	8	35	99
SCs	Qty (kg)	9	26	21	22	22	49
	HHs (%)	98	88	19	49	10	99
Others	Qty (kg)	10	29	17	23	19	51
	HHs (%)	96	87	17	42	10	98
Total	Qty (kg)	11	28	19	23	25	51
	HHs (%)	96	87	17	42	10	98

Source: NSS 55 consumption expenditure unit data (1999-2000)

(2) NSS 68 (2011-12)

Social Group	Unit	Grain					Total
		Rice	Wheat	Jowar	Bajra	Maize	
STs	Qty (kg)	14	13	11	11	22	43
	HHs (%)	91	65	35	13	38	98
SCs	Qty (kg)	7	22	11	13	9	41
	HHs (%)	87	87	5	62	7	97
OBCs	Qty (kg)	8	22	8	14	17	43
	HHs (%)	91	91	7	62	11	98
Others	Qty (kg)	8	22	5	8	3	35
	HHs (%)	95	95	9	45	5	98
Total	Qty (kg)	9	21	8	12	17	40
	HHs (%)	93	88	12	48	13	98

Source: NSS 68 consumption expenditure unit data (2011-12)

household consumption, while bajra and maize have slightly increased their percentage distribution among households.

Grain combinations and the quantity of each grain consumed vary greatly among social groups. Rice has been the most common grain consumed by many households irrespective of social group. Wheat has been consumed widely among 'Others' and OBC households. Disparities between social groups' consumption of miscellaneous grains are greater than observed for rice and wheat. Jowar and maize are most often consumed by STs, while bajra is more commonly consumed by all social groups except for the STs. The consumption of miscellaneous grains tends to depend more on local production than do rice and wheat.

**Figure 1.9 Dining with Friends**



Source: Gujarat Vidyapith Survey, Ahmedabad, August 2012

Note: Students dine at the dining hall with friends.

### 3-2. Cooking oil

#### 3-2-1. GV survey data

Cooking oil is an important food item that influences the flavour of Indian food and is heavily consumed in daily cooking. Since there are large price differences among the varieties of cooking oil, economic status influences the type of cooking oil used at home. Cooking oil is, therefore, an income-elastic food item. As shown in **Table 1.7**, 57 respondents changed the variety of cooking oil they use in the past 10 years. The percentage was particularly high among the students from North Gujarat and Saurashtra. Since many households used two

or more kinds of cooking oil, we collected information about the main and secondary cooking oils in our survey.

**Table 1.7 The Distribution of Students by Type of Answers Regarding Change of Cooking Oil**

Change of Cooking Oil	Region					(persons)
	Kutch	Saurashtra	Central	North	South	Total
Yes	1	10	18	14	14	57
No	0	7	18	6	12	43
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: The author's survey (2012-2014)

The survey reveals that, 10 years ago, the most common main cooking oil was peanut oil (54) followed by cottonseed oil (40). Notably, many respondents who reported peanut oil as their main cooking oil used cottonseed oil as their secondary cooking oil. Peanut oil was the dominant main oil used in Central Gujarat, while peanut oil competed with cottonseed oil in South Gujarat.

The main cooking oil has now changed from peanut oil to cottonseed oil. While 61 respondents use cottonseed oil as the main cooking oil, most of them reported that they also use peanut oil as the secondary cooking oil. Importantly, other types of cooking oil have not been reported as the main cooking oil.

**Figure 1.10 Edible Oils**



Source: Gujarat Vidyapith Survey, Ahmedabad, August 2012

Note: 15 ltr can of cottonseed oil and peanut oil. olive oil and rice bran oil are also available in this supermarket.

Cotton and peanuts are very important agricultural products in Gujarat. As a result, cottonseed oil and peanut oil, by-products of these agricultural goods,

hold the positions of dominant cooking oils in the region. Though peanut oil was widely used as the main cooking oil, a price hike in recent years has resulted in an observed shift towards cheaper cottonseed oil. This switching between cooking oils was related to the economic position of the respondent's household.

### 3-2-2. NSS data

NSS data supports the results of the GV survey. As shown in Table 1.8, edible oil is an indispensable food item in India. The majority of households consumed it. The overall quantity of edible oil consumed per household has increased during the data period. However, among social groups there is a wide variation in the major type of edible oil consumed and the quantity consumed per household.

**Table 1.8 The Percentage Distribution of Households by Type of Edible Oil and the Quantity of Monthly Consumption Per Household in Gujarat**

(1) NSS 55 (1999-2000)

Social Group	Unit	Edible Oil			Total
		Ground Nut Oil	Vanaspati	Edible Oil (Others)	
STs	Qty (kg)	3.0	0.6	2.3	3.1
	HHs (%)	82	5	5	98
SCs	Qty (kg)	3.4	0.5	2.4	3.5
	HHs (%)	85	12	5	98
Others	Qty (kg)	4.6	0.8	4.6	4.7
	HHs (%)	88	12	2	97
Total	Qty (kg)	4.3	0.8	3.7	4.3
	HHs (%)	87	11	3	97

Source: NSS 55 consumption expenditure unit data (1999-2000)

(2) NSS 68 (2011-12)

Social Group	Unit	Edible Oil			Total
		Groundnut Oil	Refined Oil	Edible Oil (Others)	
STs	Qty (kg)	4.3	4.3	4.1	4.2
	HHs (%)	7	44	45	98
SCs	Qty (kg)	5.1	4.1	5.2	5.1
	HHs (%)	26	28	44	97
OBCs	Qty (kg)	5.1	4.5	5.4	5.3
	HHs (%)	23	23	51	98
Others	Qty (kg)	5.0	4.8	5.2	5.2
	HHs (%)	34	18	46	98
Total	Qty (kg)	5.0	4.5	5.1	5.1
	HHs (%)	25	25	48	98

Source: NSS 68 consumption expenditure unit data (2011-12)

NSS data shows that the major type of edible oil consumed has changed drastically from groundnut oil to cottonseed oil (the main oil among the group of edible oil (others)), during a relatively short period of 15 years.<sup>8</sup> Obviously, the cheaper price of cottonseed oil is the most important factor behind this shift. Two other important factors are the technological advancements in filtering and refinement, and the health advantages of using cottonseed oil, which has zero trans-fat and is, thus, heart-friendly. Refined oils, such as sunflower oil, soybean oil, and saffola oil, appear to have increased their market share in recent years by meeting diverse demands for price and quality.<sup>9</sup> They serve as alternatives to groundnut oil due to their lower prices. Refined oils were not widely available at the time of the NSS 55<sup>th</sup> round.

The NSS 55<sup>th</sup> round data shows little difference among social group households in the distribution of groundnut oil consumption. It was, at one time, as high as 87% of households among all social groups. It has declined to 25% of households in the NSS 68<sup>th</sup> round. Notably, the percentage share of groundnut oil among the STs has declined more sharply than other social groups, while the share among 'Others' has remained relatively higher than other social groups. Interestingly, we do not find much difference in the percentage share of edible oil (others) among the social groups. We observe that many ST households have shifted to the use of refined oil, particularly sunflower oil. The per household consumption of all edible oils has increased slightly during the data period. Thus, edible oils are a common food item that has experienced diversification and seen drastic change in the types.

### **3-3. Milk products**

#### **3-3-1. GV survey data**

As shown in Table 1.9, milk and milk products are consumed in various forms in Gujarat. Milk, buttermilk, and dahi are the three major forms of consumption. Of these, the percentage shares of milk and buttermilk are particularly large and have increased slightly during the reference period. Gujarat has been one of the major milk production centres in India. As such, milk is generally consumed with kichidi at dinner and buttermilk is a preferred beverage at



lunch in Gujarat. Some PG students reported that they would not enjoy lunch and dinner without buttermilk and milk, respectively. This tradition of habitually consuming milk products at meals continues. Among other milk products, dahi and ghee have diminished in importance, while milk sweet has raised its share. The other milk products have remained low in percentage share over the 10-year period. Interestingly, there is not much difference in the types of milk products consumed among social groups.

**Table 1.9 The Percentage Composition of Milk Products Consumed by Students During the Reference Period.**

**(1) Ten Years Ago (2002)**

Milk Products	Social Group					Total
	SCs	STs	OBCs	Others	Other Religion	
Milk	39	44	34	35	33	37
Butter Milk	34	28	33	29	33	31
Dahi	24	28	24	23	24	24
Sweet				2		0
Cheese	2		1	5		2
Butter			3	2	5	2
Mavo				3		1
Tea			1			0
Ghee			4	2	5	2
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
No.of Report (No.)	41	36	76	65	21	239

Source: The author's survey (2012-2014)

**(2) At Present (2012)**

Milk Products	Social Group					Total
	SCs	STs	OBCs	Others	Other Religion	
Milk	47	42	46	43	47	45
Butter Milk	37	31	31	30	21	31
Dahi	16	17	12	15	21	15
Sweet		6	2	4		2
Cheese			5	2		2
Butter			2	2	5	1
Kadi		3	2			1
Tea			2	4		1
Peda		3		2		1
Ghee					5	1
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
No.of Report (No.)	38	36	65	54	19	212

Source: The author's survey (2012-2014)

### 3-3-2. NSS data

According to the NSS 55 data from 1999-2000, as shown in Table 1.10, the most important milk product in terms of value was liquid milk, which comprised 85% of the total milk products followed by ghee at 11%. Other milk products, including ice cream, were negligible in terms of the percentage share of value. By 2011-12 (NSS 68), the percentage shares of the value of ghee, curd, and butter had declined. High calorie ghee has been avoided on health grounds, and curd and butter have been consumed less with the sale of liquid milk emerging as a major source of income among bovine owners. As a result, the value share of liquid milk has increased. The share of ice cream has also slightly increased. Buttermilk was counted as part of the "other milk products" category in this survey.

**Table 1.10 The Percentage Distribution of Households by Type of Milk Products and the Quantity/Value of Monthly Consumption Per Household in Gujarat**

(1) NSS 55 (1999-2000)

Social Group	Unit	Milk & Milk Products				Total (Rs)
		Milk (ltr)	Curd (kg)	Ghee (kg)	Ice-cream (Rs)	
STs	Qty/Value	16.6	1.4	0.7	32	147
	HHs (%)	87	19	9	1	88
SCs	Qty/Value	21.1	1.7	0.8	17	190
	HHs (%)	98	21	25	1	98
Others	Qty/Value	34.9	2.1	1.0	43	328
	HHs (%)	97	21	40	6	98
Total	Qty/Value	31.2	1.9	1.0	42	291
	HHs (%)	96	21	34	5	97

Source: NSS 55 consumption expenditure unit data (1999-2000)

(2) NSS 68 (2011-12)

Social Group	Unit	Milk & Milk Products				Total (Rs)
		Milk (ltr)	Curd (kg)	Ghee (kg)	Ice-cream (Rs)	
STs	Qty/Value	20.5	0.9	0.6	56	687
	HHs (%)	89	15	18	4	92
SCs	Qty/Value	26.7	1.2	0.7	75	1023
	HHs (%)	96	21	42	11	96
OBCs	Qty/Value	32.7	1.1	0.8	125	1193
	HHs (%)	97	16	43	8	98
Others	Qty/Value	34.8	0.9	0.8	98	1376
	HHs (%)	98	23	61	19	98
Total	Qty (kg)	31.2	1.0	0.8	102	1172
	HHs (%)	96	19	46	12	97

Source: NSS 68 consumption expenditure unit data (2011-12)

As many as 96% of households consumed on average 31.2 L of milk per month in both 1999-2000 and 2011-12. The share of households that consumed ghee and ice cream have increased slightly during the reference period though per household quantity of consumption has decreased as it has for ghee. Curd consumption has declined both in quantity and percentage share during the period.

With all milk products but curd, we observe very clear differences among social groups in terms of per household quantity consumption and the percentage share of household that have consumed the milk product. The social group, 'Others', topped both criteria, while the STs consumed the lowest quantity of milk products. These tendencies have been observed throughout the reference period. Thus, the consumption pattern of milk and milk products has much to do with income, economic class, and social group.

### **3-4. Sweets**

According to the GV survey, as shown in Table 1.11, the variety of sweets reported has decreased from 33 to 24 during the 10 years. The decline in variety has common features such as the loss of sweets that were very local or prepared mainly at home. These items include shiro, lapsi, and sukhdī. Over this period, more commercial products and those from outside of Gujarat have gained more popularity. Gulab jamun and kajukatri are the most popular sweets in this category. Interestingly, those sweets are regarded by the respondents as 'modern' compared with 'traditional' local varieties.

We can classify these sweets into four groups on the basis of their key ingredients. The first group is wheat-based sweets such as ladu, lapsi, fada lapsi, shiro, halva, jalebi, suckdi, kansar, and churmo. This group of sweets contains wheat, ghee, and sugar/gul. The second group is mava-based (a thick creamy milk product) sweets, which includes gulab jamun, peda, barfi, gundarpak, and toprapak. This group generally contains ghee, sugar, and dried fruit in addition to mava. The third group is chanadal-based sweets, which includes mohan thal and mesur. The fourth group is milk-based sweets such as dudhpak, khir, and fruit salad. This group of sweets contains milk, sugar, and

**Table 1.11 The Percentage Composition of Sweets Consumed by Students During the Reference Period.**

(1) Ten Years Ago (2002)

Group	Sweet Item	Social Group					Total
		SCs	STs	OBCs	Others	Other Religion	
"Wheat" Based Sweets	Shiro	8.8	5.3	17.2	19.4	10.0	14.5
	Ladu	8.8	10.5	17.2	16.1	10.0	14.0
	Lapsi	8.8	10.5	8.6	16.1	15.0	11.9
	Sukhdi	8.8	10.5	5.2	8.1	5.0	7.3
	Jalebi	2.9	5.3			5.0	1.6
	Kansar			1.7	3.2		1.6
	Halva	2.9		1.7			1.0
	Fada Lapsi			1.7			0.5
	Churmo			1.7			0.5
	Subtotal		41	42.1	55	62.9	45.0
"Mava" Based Sweets	Peda	11.8	15.8	6.9	6.5	20.0	9.8
	Gulab Jamun	2.9			4.8	5.0	2.6
	Barfi			3.4	4.8		2.6
	Mavo	5.9				5.0	1.6
	Gundarpak			1.7			0.5
	Toprapak					5.0	0.5
Subtotal		20.6	15.8	12	16.1	35.0	18.6
"Chanadal" Based Sweets	Mohan Thal	5.9		10.3	9.7		7.3
	Mesur			1.7			0.5
	Subtotal	5.9		12	9.7		7.8
"Milk" Based Sweets	Dudhpak	2.9	5.3				1.0
	Khir			1.7			0.5
	Subtotal	2.9	5.3	1.7			1.5
Sweet		18	15.8	12.1	6.5	10.0	11.4
"Others"		11.6	21.1	6.8	4.8	10.0	8.5
Total (%)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total No of Report (No)		34	19	58	62	20	193

Source: The author's survey (2012-2014)

Note: "others" includes sutar feni, sukomevo, chikki, shrikhand, kuler and kajukatri.

(2) At Present (2012)

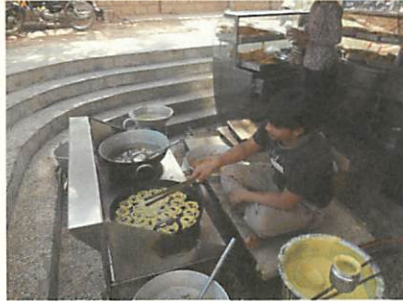
Group	Sweet Item	Social Group					Total
		SCs	STs	OBCs	Others	Other Religion	
"Wheat" Based Sweets	Ladu	14.3	3.6	17.3	11.3	5.0	11.7
	Shiro			9.6	9.4	5.0	5.9
	Lapsi	11.4		7.7	1.9	5.0	5.3
	Fada Lapsi	2.9	10.7	9.6	1.9		5.3
	Halva	14.3	3.6	1.9	1.9		4.3
	Sukhdi			1.9	5.7	5.0	3.2
	Jalebi		10.7				1.6
Subtotal		42.9	28.6	48	32.1	20.0	37.3
"Mava" Based Sweets	Gulab Jamun	14.3	17.9	11.5	13.2	10.0	13.3
	Peda	5.7	21.4	5.8	9.4	25.0	11.2
	Barfi	5.7		5.8	7.5		4.8
	Mavo			1.9	1.9		1.1
Subtotal		25.7	39.3	25.0	32.0	35.0	30.4
"Chanadal"	Mohan Thal	11.4		5.8	7.5		5.9
"Milk" Based Sweets	Fruit Salad	2.9		1.9	3.8		2.1
	Dudhpak	2.9			1.9		1.1
	Khir		3.6		1.9		1.1
	Subtotal	5.8	3.6	1.9	7.6		4.3
Sweet		8.6	17.9	13.5	15.1	10.0	13.3
"Others"		5.8	7.2	5.7	5.7	35.0	9.0
Total (%)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total No of Report (No)		35	28	52	53	20	188

Source: The author's survey (2012-2014)

Note: "Others" includes sutar feni, matho, jadariyu, shrikhand and kajukatri.

nuts/rice. The other sweets including kajukatri (made of cashews and sugar) are classified as 'others'. One additional clarification about the usage of the word 'sweets' is that it literally means any kind of sweets. However, according to the warden, the word in this context refers to the modern type of sweets.

**Figure 1.11 Making Jalebi**



Source: Jalebi making, Ahmedabad, 2012.  
 Note: People buy Jalebi, Fafda, and Khaman for breakfast. Gujarat has a rich food culture of snacks.

Interestingly, the percentage share among the four groups has changed considerably during the reference period. Ten years ago (2002), the wheat-based sweets were dominant by a large margin followed by the mava-based sweets. The share of milk-based sweets was very minor, while chanadal-based sweets, particularly mohan thal, was one of the major varieties. Now, the most important group in terms of percentage increase is mava-based sweets, while the percentage distribution of wheat-based sweets has declined considerably. The share of milk-based sweets has also increased.

We must recognise the relationship between sweets and festivals/celebrations. In particular, mava-based and wheat-based sweets are largely consumed at these events. There are many such occasions in India throughout the year, which maintains the importance of these sweets. However, this does not mean that these sweets have been consumed as much as they have previously. The per capita quantity of sweets consumed has actually decreased over time. Nowadays, it is very commonplace for people, particularly young people, to display a strong reluctance to eating sweets, but finally having a very

little piece in the spirit of festivity. Western sweets, such as cakes, are occasionally consumed at a time of celebration by the urban middle class, but their share of the total sweets consumed is very small.

**Figure 1.12 Sweet Shop**



Source: Sweet Shop, Ahmedabad, August 2014.

Note: Still, Penda, Ladu, and Halwa are the major sweets related to festivals in India. That's why these are displayed in the best corner.

Among social groups, the ST respondents reported the least variety in their sweets consumption, while 'Others' reported the largest variation. Interestingly, the varieties consumed by STs are mainly mava-based sweets, which are more commercialised than the other types of sweets. Homemade sweets are rarely prepared in the households of the ST respondents. These findings reveal a homogenous food culture of sweets among the STs. We can assume that STs are not as inclined to partake in Hindu festivals/celebrations and this would be a major reason for consuming fewer sweets. Also, their consumption of milk and milk products still remains relatively low, which may result in consuming less quantity of sweets made of milk and milk products. This is reinforced by responses from 'Others', who mainly consist of middle-upper caste Hindus and have a rich food culture of sweets. Their role in and attachment to Hindu festivals/celebrations seems to be the main reason for this.



### 3-5. Beverages

#### 3-5-1. GV survey data

Beverages are foodstuffs which generally respond quicker to modernisation and globalisation than the other types. As shown in **Table 1.12**, we observe some change in percentage share among the major beverage groups during the 10 years. Firstly, the share of cold drinks has increased remarkably. Secondly, the share of juice has declined considerably. Thirdly, the share of hot drinks has maintained a high percentage share.

The percentage share of beverage groups varies considerably among social groups. Though hot drinks and cold drinks are two major beverage groups for all social groups, STs have a relatively higher percentage share of cold drinks. Likewise, 'Others' have a higher percentage share of juice and OBCs have a higher percentage share of milk and milk products in recent years. Notably, these tendencies have been observed throughout the reference years.

Now, let us examine the distribution of beverages in detail. Tea has maintained a high percentage share and coffee has doubled its share among hot drinks during the reference period. The juice group consists of lemon juice, aniseed juice, mango juice, and juice (not specified by the respondents). The most popular juice 10 years ago was lemon juice. Nowadays, the types of juice have become more diversified. Juice has been displaced greatly by cold drinks among all social groups but with some variations. This shift from juice to cold drinks is clearly observed among the STs, while 'Others' have maintained a relatively high share of juice. According to the warden and some PG students, 'Others' are more health conscious and tend to consume more juice, although juice is more expensive than cold drinks. Among cold drinks, Pepsi is most popular followed by Coca-Cola and Maaza. According to the warden, students tend to consume a variety of cold drinks when they are available as single items on the campus. He also observes that Pepsi and Coca-Cola are getting popular among the students because these particular drinks are included in fixed set menus, along with pizza or a burger, in a fast food restaurant where they often visit. Milk is the most important of the milk products. Milk is generally consumed as a beverage in the form of hot milk with sugar. The OBCs consist of the core group that is dominant

**Table 1.12 The Percentage Composition of Beverages Consumed by Students During the Reference Period.**

(1) Ten Years Ago (2002)

Beverage Group	Beverage Item	Social Group					Total
		SCs	STs	OBCs	Others	Other Religion	
Hot Drinks	Tea	31.6	19.4	31.0	22.9	10.5	25.3
	Coffee	2.6		8.6	10.4		5.7
	Hot Drinks	7.9	12.9	1.7	8.3		6.2
	Subtotal	41	32.3	40.0	38.5	10.5	35.8
Cold Drinks	Cold Drinks	5.3	3.2	6.9	6.3		5.2
	Pepsi		9.7		4.2		2.6
	Cocacola	5.3	9.7		6.3	5.3	4.6
	Soda	5.3	9.7	5.2	2.1	15.8	6.2
	Soft Drinks		3.2			5.3	1.0
	Subtotal	17.9	35.5	11.7	17.3	26.3	19.4
Juice	Lemon Juice	13.2	9.7	12.1	14.6	26.3	13.9
	Juice	5.3	19.4	8.6	14.6	15.8	11.9
	Aniseed Juice			3.4	4.2	5.3	2.6
	Mango Juice	2.6					0.5
	Subtotal	21	29.0	23.3	30.8	47.4	27.9
Milk & Milk Products	Milk	10.5	3.2	17.2	4.2	5.3	9.3
	Lassi			1.7			0.5
	Butter Milk	5.3				5.3	1.5
	Ice Cream	2.6		3.4			1.5
	Subtotal	17.9	3.2	21.7	3.8	10.5	12.4
Soup				2.1	5.3		1.0
Others		3		3.3	7.7		3.5
Total (%)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total No.of Report (No.)		39	31	60	52	19	201

Source: The author's survey (2012-2014)

(2) At Present (2012)

Beverage Group	Beverage Item	Social Group					Total
		SCs	STs	OBCs	Others	Other Religion	
Hot drinks	Tea	29.3	28.1	23.9	21.3	25.0	24.9
	Coffee	12	3.1	11.9	11.5	10.0	10.4
	Hot Drinks	7.3		4.5	1.6		3.2
	Subtotal	47.6	30.3	40.3	33.9	33.3	37.8
Cold Drinks	Cold Drinks	9.8	18.8	7.5	4.9		8.1
	Pepsi	9.8	18.8	7.5	8.2	15.0	10.4
	Cocacola	4.9		6.0	8.2		5.0
	Soda	4.9	3.1	4.5	1.6	5.0	3.6
	Maza	2.4	12.5	4.5	4.9		5.0
	7up		3.1	1.5	1.6	5.0	1.8
	Thumsup			1.5	4.9	10.0	3.2
	Soft Drinks					5.0	0.5
	Sprite			1.5	1.6		0.9
	Fanta			1.5			0.5
	Marinda			1.5			0.5
	Subtotal	33.3	54.5	37.3	35.5	38.1	38.7
Juice	Lemon Juice	4.9	6.3	4.5	4.9	5.0	5.0
	Juice	2.4		1.5	9.8	5.0	4.1
	Aniseed Juice			1.5	1.6		0.9
	Fruit Shake				1.6		0.5
	Subtotal	7.1	6.1	7.5	17.7	9.5	10.2
Milk & Milk Products	Milk	9.8	6.3	11.9	9.8	5.0	9.5
	Lassi			3.0	1.6	10.0	2.3
	Subtotal	9.5	6.1	14.9	11.3	14.3	11.6
Others		2.4	3.0		1.6	4.8	1.8
Total (%)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total No.of Report (No.)		42	33	67	62	21	225

Source: The author's survey (2012-2014)

in agriculture and dairy industries. This is one of the major reasons why their consumption of milk and milk products exceeds other social groups. Lassi follows milk in the percentage share of this group.

### 3-5-2. NSS data

The NSS compiles limited data regarding beverages such as tea (cup and quantity), coffee (cup and quantity), cold beverages, fruit juice, and mineral water. Milk and milk products are not treated as beverages. As shown in Table 13,

**Table 1.13 The Percentage Distribution of Households by Type of Beverages and the Quantity of Monthly Consumption Per Household in Gujarat**  
(1) NSS 55 (1999-2000)

Social Group	Unit	Beverages				
		Tea: Cups (no.)	Tea: Leaf (gm.)	Coffee: Powder (gm.)	Cold Beverages (no.)	Fruit Juice & Shake (glass)
STs	Qty	20	344	44	4	6
	HHs (%)	41	98	1	10	5
SCs	Qty	24	445	25	5	12
	HHs (%)	48	98	1	3	1
Others	Qty	28	519	68	6	7
	HHs (%)	50	98	6	11	5
Total	Qty	27	488	66	6	7
	HHs (%)	48	98	4	10	5

Source: NSS 55 consumption expenditure unit data (1999-2000)

(2) NSS 68 (2011-12)

Social Group	Unit	Beverages				
		Tea: Cups (no.)	Tea: Leaf (gm)	Coffee: Powder (gm)	Cold Beverages (ltr)	Fruit Juice & Shake (ltr)
STs	Qty	16	381	60	1.3	0.7
	HHs (%)	31	96	1	4	1
SCs	Qty	20	509	57	1.2	1.5
	HHs (%)	45	96	4	8	1
OBCs	Qty	17	530	83	1.3	1.2
	HHs (%)	42	98	4	8	2
Others	Qty	22	490	48	1.6	1.4
	HHs (%)	44	97	5	11	5
Total	Qty	19	490	62	1.4	1.3
	HHs (%)	41	97	4	9	3

Source: NSS 68 consumption expenditure unit data (2011-12)

NSS data reveals that tea has been the dominant beverage. Tea leaf has been consumed by almost all sample households, while tea (cups) has been consumed by nearly half the sample households in both 1999–2000 and 2011–12. Coffee follows tea but its consumption is very limited in Gujarat, even in 2011–12. Fruit juice has declined considerably during this period, both in terms of percentage share among households and the quantity of consumption per household. These findings are generally consistent with the GV survey data and its interpretation. However, the NSS 68<sup>th</sup> round data on cold beverages appears very contradictory to the GV survey result. According to NSS 61st round data (2002–03), the percentage distribution of households that consumed cold beverages was 15% in Gujarat. We would assume that an increasing trend of cold beverage consumption between NSS 55 and 61 would have continued until NSS 68.

We do not observe much difference among social groups in their consumption of tea. However, for other beverages, we observe some difference, particularly between 'Others' and Backward Classes. Fruit juice, which is very income-elastic, is a prime example.

### **3-6. Fast food**

#### **3-6-1. GV survey data**

Many respondents reported that the consumption of more fast foods was the most important food habit change during the past 10 years. In our survey, 25 out of 83 respondents who had reported a change in food culture responded this way. As only a single reply was possible, a large majority of respondents may have responded with fast food if allowed multiple answers.

According to the superintendent of GV, respondents include various food items in the category of fast food such as: South Indian dishes like dosa and idli, Chinese restaurant food, local snacks like batatawada and pavbhaji, as well as pizza, burgers, and sandwiches. Thus, the term fast food represents a range of food items that are easy to be eaten out as well as taken out. This mode of consumption could be a reflection of the modern preferences of respondents.

Moreover, most respondents also consume a lot of snacks, like potato chips, in the dormitory. In Gujarat, fast foods, snacks, and soft drinks have spread

Figure 1.13 Growing McDonald's in India



Source: : McDonald's Shop, Delhi Airport, October 2016.

Note: McDonald's has promoted the globalisation of food culture in India.

rapidly, even to remote villages, thus food culture has also been drastically changing in rural areas.

### 3-6-2. NSS data

The NSS has just started to collect some additional information about fast foods in recent years. Therefore, we only examine NSS 68 because it includes the data on 'cooked snacks purchased (samosa, puri, paratha, burger, chow mein, idli, dosa, vada, chops, pakoras, pao bhaji, etc.)', 'other served processed food (chaat, golgappa (phuchka), bhel puri, etc.)', 'namkeen, papad, bhujjiya, mixture, chanachur, etc.', and 'chips' which are not dealt with in NSS 55 and 61. For comparison, as shown in **Table 1.14**, the fast food related items are grouped into beverages, served processed food, and packed processed food. Gujarat's share of all of India's monthly household consumer expenditure is shown in the bottom line of the table. Its share of all items is 3.4%, while the percentage is relatively higher in 'beverages: subtotal' (4.4%) and lower in 'served processed food: subtotal' (3.2%). The percentage of 'packed processed food: subtotal' (3.6%) is the same as the percentage for all items. This simply shows that people in Gujarat tend to spend more on beverages but less on served processed food compared to the average household consumer in India.

The most widely consumed item among the 'served processed food' group

**Table 1.14 The Percentage Distribution of Households by Type of Fast Food Related Items and the Value of Monthly Consumption Per Household in Gujarat (2011-12)**

Social Group	Unit	Beverages	served processed food				packed processed food					HH Size (persons)	***MPCE (Rs) -MRP
		Subtotal	Cooked Meals Purchased	Cooked Snacks Purchased	Other Served Processed Food	Subtotal	Prepared Sweets	Biscuits, Chocolates etc	Namkeen etc	Chips	Subtotal		
STs	Value (Rs.)	130	524	87	59	334	87	78	53	32	132	4.8	1558
	HHs (%)	98	5	41	7	66	10	78	55	18	88		
SCs	Value (Rs.)	187	1230	115	43	294	85	68	54	48	119	4.8	1904
	HHs (%)	99	7	55	15	71	10	71	52	13	87		
OBCs	Value (Rs.)	184	606	104	52	264	134	73	60	38	138	5.0	1938
	HHs (%)	100	7	52	14	69	15	72	50	14	89		
Others	Value (Rs.)	204	697	129	63	298	139	85	69	42	173	4.3	2927
	HHs (%)	99	14	63	14	73	20	70	57	22	89		
Total	Value (Rs.)	183	682	114	56	290	129	78	62	39	149	4.7	2241
	HHs (%)	99	9	54	13	70	16	72	54	18	89		
	*GUJ ME (Rs)	621312	220174	211540	24920	698501	69871	192967	113962	23738	451781		***767674240
	**GUJ-INDIA (%)	4.4	25	35	4.3	3.2	1.9	3.9	4.8	4.6	3.6		3.6

Source: NSS 68 consumption expenditure unit data (2011-12)

Notes: \*\*Total monthly expenditure of Gujarat samples.

\*\*\*The percentage distribution of Gujarat in India

\*\*\*\*Total monthly expenditure of Gujarat samples for all items

\*\*\*\*\*Monthly per capita expenditure (MPCE) based on mixed reference period (MRP).

is 'cooked snacks purchased' with a household share of 54%, which is followed by the 'other served processed food' with a household share of 13%. Among the group of 'packed processed food', 'biscuit, etc.' and 'namkeen, etc.' are very common items with household shares of 72% and 54%. The item 'chips' has also increased in importance in recent years. The table is consistent with the warden of GV's account that demand for chips is increasing, while the consumption of prepared sweets is declining among the GV students.

**Figure 1.14 Instant Noodle Corner in the Supermarket**



Source: Instant Noodle Corner, Ahmedabad, 2012.

Note: Instant noodles have much to do with the globalisation and individualisation of food habits in India.



Interestingly, we do not observe much difference in the consumption of fast food by social groups both in terms of the percentage of households consuming and the value of consumption per household. The disparity in consumption among social groups is particularly small for major fast food items such as 'beverages: subtotal', 'served processed food: subtotal' and 'packed processed food: subtotal' though 'Others' do display some difference in 'cooked meals purchased', 'other served processed food', and 'prepared sweets'. With these considerations in mind, we may safely conclude that fast food has gained a steady base within the food culture of Gujarat and represents a major change in food habits across religions and social groups.

**Figure 1.15 Pictorial Menu in a Family Restaurant**



Source: Family Restaurant, Mumbai, March 2015.

Note: Remarkable increase in the number of family restaurants with multi varieties such as South, Punjabi, Chinese, Pizza and Burgers.

## 4. Vegetarian and Non-vegetarian

### 4-1. GV survey data

As shown in Table 1.15, 78 respondents are currently vegetarian and the remaining 22 are non-vegetarian. Among the social groups, the proportion of vegetarians among the 'Others' and OBCs is overwhelmingly large. While the share among STs and SCs is less, the majority of these groups report being vegetarian at present.

We also have meat consumption data from 10 years ago (2002). As shown

**Table 1.15 The Distribution of Students by Type of Food Habit at Present (2012)**  
(persons)

Type of Food Habit	Social Group					Total
	SCs	STs	OBCs	Others	Other Religion	
Veg	11	10	28	25	4	78
Non-veg	8	6	1	2	5	22
Total	19	16	29	27	9	100

Source: The author's survey (2012-2014)

**Table 1.16 The Distribution of Students by Type of Answers Regarding Meat Consumption Ten Years Ago (2002)**  
(persons)

Meat Consumption	Social Group					Total
	SCs	STs	OBCs	Others	Other Religion	
Yes	13	11	4	4	6	38
No	6	5	25	23	3	62
Total	19	16	29	27	9	100

Source: The author's survey (2012-2014)

in Table 1.16, there were a total of 62 vegetarians 10 years ago, with that number now increasing to 78. This simply shows that 16 out of 38 people (42%) changed their food habits from non-vegetarian to vegetarian in the past 10 years. Notably, this change has taken place among all social groups and religions. Ten years ago, the number of non-vegetarians among 'Others' and OBCs was already small, while the majority of SCs and STs were non-vegetarians. The shift to vegetarianism is particularly remarkable among STs and SCs.

Forty-seven people replied with a reason for their present food habits. As shown in Table 1.17, many replies were related to the doctrines and principles of religion, such as 'religion', 'vegetarianism', and 'religion and health'. Among social groups, the share of 'health' was high only among SC respondents, while the share of religion related replies was overwhelmingly high among the other social groups. Conversely, 'health' was the main reason among the non-vegetarian respondents, which contrasts with the reasons of vegetarian respondents.

In a group interview with students, I noticed that there were two major reasons that had fostered change in food habits from non-vegetarian to vegetarian. One reason was the Sanskritisation movement, in which lower social

Table 1.17 The Distribution of Students by Type of Answers Regarding the Reason of Food Habit (2012)

Reason of Food Habit	Social Group					Total
	SCs	STs	OBCs	Others	Other Religion	
Religion	2	3	6	8	1	20
Health	7	1	1	1	3	13
Vegetarian	1	3	2	3	0	9
Cost	1	0	0	0	0	1
Health & Religion	0	1	1	0	0	2
Favor	0	0	1	0	0	1
Doctor's Advice	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total	11	9	11	12	4	47

Source: The author's survey (2012-2014)

groups tried to imitate the customs of Brahmin and mercantile castes to uplift their social status. Food habits were one of the most visible customs targeted for Sanskritisation. The other reason was the impact of Hindutva,<sup>10</sup> which had swept over the whole of Gujarat since the 1990s. Among the Backward Classes, OBCs responded most significantly to the Sanskritisation movement and Hindutva, followed by STs and SCs.

Figure 1.16 Rare Kind of Vegetables



Source: Gujarat Vidyapith Survey, Ahmedabad, August 2012

Note: Rare kind of vegetables of foreign origin are also available to meet a growing demand in this supermarket.

Moreover, change was observed among the non-vegetarians in the types of meat consumed during the past 10 years. The data from 10 years ago in

**Table 1.18** shows that meat consumption had basic features, including that the share of chicken was high as the main meat, the share of fish was comparatively large, eggs were not yet very important, and the combination patterns of main meats and the secondary meats were more diversified. Nearly half the respondents reported chicken as the main meat, followed by mutton, fish, and eggs in this order. Chicken was consumed in both rural and urban areas all over Gujarat. Fish was mainly consumed in the rural areas of South Gujarat, which contrasted with the regional distribution of chicken consumption.

**Table 1.18 The Distribution of Students by Type of Answers Regarding the Meat Consumption Ten Years Ago (2002)**

Main Meat Group	Meat Combination	Social Group					Total
		SCs	STs	OBCs	Others	Other Religion	
Chicken	Chicken-fish	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Chicken-egg	4	3	1	2	2	12
	Chicken-egg-fish	4	0	0	0	0	4
	Subtotal	8	4	1	2	2	17
Mutton	Mutton-chicken	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Mutton-fish	0	0	0	0	2	2
	Mutton-egg	0	1	1	0	0	2
	Mutton-chicken-egg	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Subtotal	1	1	1	0	3	6
Fish	Fish	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Fish-chicken	1	1	0	0	0	2
	Fish-mutton	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Fish-egg	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Subtotal	3	2	0	0	0	5
Egg	Egg	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Egg-chicken	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Egg-fish	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Subtotal	1	2	0	0	0	3
General		0	1	3	2	0	6
Nil		0	1	0	0	1	2
<b>Total</b>		<b>13</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>39</b>

Source: The author's survey (2012-2014)

Current meat consumption habits are shown in **Table 1.19**, with the relative share of mutton as a main meat now larger, a decrease in the share of chicken and fish, an increase in the share of eggs, and a decrease in the combination patterns of main meats and secondary meats. Many of those who

shifted to vegetarian, mostly OBCs, STs, and SCs, had previously consumed chicken. The number of non-vegetarians among the other religious groups had not decreased. The main meat for these groups was mutton. Therefore, the relative share of mutton as the main meat increased and that of chicken decreased. The decreased share of fish reflects the changing combination of meat consumption in South Gujarat. The share of eggs shot up due to increased production and distribution, low prices, and their easiness of cooking.

**Table 1.19 The Distribution of Students by Type of Answers Regarding the Meat Consumption at Present (2012)**

Main Meat Group	Meat Combination	Social Group					Total
		SCs	STs	OBCs	Others	Other Religion	
Chicken	Chicken-mutton	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Chicken-fish	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Chicken-egg	1	0	0	0	1	2
	Subtotal	3	0	0	0	1	4
Mutton	Mutton-chicken	0	0	0	0	2	2
	Mutton-egg	0	1	0	0	1	2
	Mutton-chicken-egg	0	0	1	0	1	2
	Subtotal	0	1	1	0	4	6
Fish	Fish-egg	1	0	0	0	0	1
Egg	Egg	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Egg-chicken	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Egg-fish	0	2	0	0	0	2
	Subtotal	0	3	0	1	0	4
	General	4	2	0	1	0	7
	Nil	5	5	4	2	1	17
<b>Total</b>		<b>13</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>39</b>

Source: The author's survey (2012-2014)

#### 4-2. NSS data

As shown in Table 1.20, NSS data shows that the number of households that have consumed meat and eggs remained relatively low in Gujarat during the reference period. Notably, the percentage share of households that had consumed meat has remained the same as a whole during the period in spite of modernisation and globalisation. Still, we observe some changes in the importance of meat types. For example, chicken and eggs have slightly

increased their share in terms of both percentage and the quantity consumed per household, while the corresponding share of fish/prawns has remained the same and the importance of goat/mutton has declined during this period.

**Table 1.20 The Percentage Distribution of Households by Type of Meat, Egg, Fish and the Quantity/Value of Monthly Consumption Per Household in Gujarat**  
(1) NSS 55 (1999-2000)

Social Group	Unit	Meat, Egg, Fish					Total (Rs.)
		Eggs (no.)	Fish (fresh) (kg)	Goat (kg)	Buffalo (kg)	Chicken (kg)	
STs	Qty/Value	9.9	1.5	1.1	2.2	1.2	75
	HHs (%)	19	24	34	1	15	53
SCs	Qty/Value	12.8	2.0	1.0	2.3	0.7	58
	HHs (%)	15	6	15	11	2	41
Others	Qty/Value	16.5	2.4	1.7	2.5	1.3	105
	HHs (%)	10	7	13	2	2	19
Total	Qty/Value	14.5	2.1	1.5	2.4	1.2	89
	HHs (%)	11	9	16	3	4	26

Source: NSS 55 consumption expenditure unit data (1999-2000)

(2) NSS 68 (2011-12)

Social Group	Unit	Meat, Egg, Fish					Total (Rs.)
		Eggs (no.)	Fish/Prawn (kg)	Goat/Mutton (kg)	Beef/Buffalo (kg)	Chicken (kg)	
STs	Qty/Value	12	1.0	0.8	2.1	1.1	202
	HHs (%)	24	15	7	1	36	42
SCs	Qty/Value	13	1.5	1.1	1.8	1.4	241
	HHs (%)	20	6	13	5	17	34
OBCs	Qty/Value	19	2.8	1.5	1.9	1.5	397
	HHs (%)	15	10	9	5	14	24
Others	Qty/Value	18	1.8	1.2	2.1	1.4	401
	HHs (%)	14	5	10	2	13	18
Total	Qty/Value	17	2.0	1.3	2.0	1.3	331
	HHs (%)	16	9	9	3	17	26

Source: NSS 68 consumption expenditure unit data (2011-12)

Among social groups, there was a considerable difference in the percentage share of households that consumed meat in 1999-2000. More than half of the ST households consumed meat. The ST households preferred goat and fish in 1999-2000. The SC households also consumed meat in 1999-2000. The uniqueness of their meat consumption is apparent in their relatively higher percentage share



of beef/buffalo consumption, which has been religiously banned among the Hindus. Notably, the gap between STs and 'Others' in the share of households that have consumed meat was 34 points in 1999–2000, but had shrunk to 24 points by 2011–12. The major reason for this change was a decline in the share of households that have consumed meat among the Backward Classes (SCs, STs, and OBCs). In this regard, NSS data is consistent with the GV survey data.

**Figure 1.17 Thali**



Source: Vegetarian Thali, Mumbai, March 2015.

Note: Thali is the most common fixed menu available throughout India.

## 5. Food Culture and Fasting

Although observing fast makes an important aspect of the food culture in South Asia, little research has been conducted on the implications of fasting in the food system and culture. The main food culture research themes have been 'what to eat' and 'how to eat', without inquiry into 'why not to eat' and 'how to refrain from eating' with the exception of research on rituals and taboo.

Fasting is widely observed though the manner, reason for fasting, and explanation may vary among religions in South Asia. Interpretations also differ among those who observe fasting. Yet, we know there are common reasons for fasting such as faith in God, sympathy for fellow beings, a vow, and astrological considerations. Moreover, there is also a view that connects fasting with a diet or healthcare. Furthermore, the practice of fasting may be maintained under the influence of Sanskritisation.

Now, let us examine fasting among the respondents. As shown in **Table 1.21**,

Figure 1.18 The Flying Bhakhri



Source : A packed Bhakhri, Ahmedabad Airport, September 2016.

Note: A vacuum-packed Bhakhri for international travelers. Many Gujarati businessmen survive with Bhakhri, Khakhra, Thepla abroad.

52 respondents observe fasting at present. Interestingly, the share of fasting practitioners was very high among the respondents who belonged to religions other than Hinduism. Within Hinduism, the share of fasting practitioners was highest among the OBC respondents, followed by 'Others' and STs at more than 50%. The lowest share was the 26% of SC respondents.

Table 1.21 The Distribution of Students by Type of Answers Regarding the Observance of Fasting at Present (2012)

Observance of Fasting	Social Group					Total
	SCs	STs	OBCs	Others	Other Religion	
Yes	5	7	17	14	9	52
No	14	7	12	13	0	46
No Answer	0	2	0	0	0	2
Total	19	16	29	27	9	100

Source: The author's survey (2012-2014)

Let us examine how often and at which opportunities respondents fasted. As shown in Table 1.22, 3 out of 41 respondents who provided details of their fasting reported weekly fasting.

**Table 1.22 The Distribution of Students by Type of Answers Regarding the Occasion and Frequency of Fasting at Present (2012)**

Occasion and Frequency of Fasting	Social Group					Total
	SCs	STs	OBCs	Others	Other Religion	
Weekly	0	2	0	1	0	3
Purnima	0	0	1	0	0	1
One Month	0	0	2	2	2	6
Festivals	1	0	2	1	1	5
Four Mondays Shravan	0	0	2	1	0	3
Randomly	1	4	9	6	3	23
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>41</b>

Source: The author's survey (2012-2014)

According to the warden of the PG hostel, some students, who have faith in Shiva, prefer fasting on Mondays, while those with faith in Hanuman prefer Tuesdays. Some students observe weekly fasting according to the advice of an astrologer, paying attention to a special day of the week. The warden reported that about 5% of male students and 10% of female students in the hostels observe weekly fasting. The share of respondents who reported weekly fasting corresponds with the information provided by the warden. There were six students who reported fasting as long as a month, which included fasting on Purnima, in Shravan month, and during Ramadan. The rest of the reported fasting, observed for fewer than 30 days a year, was put in the 'randomly' category, which included fasting during Navratri, the four Mondays of the Shravan month, and other festival occasions. Thus, we observe a variety of fasting reasons and durations.

As examined earlier, fasting has been fostered under the influence of Sanskritisation and political movements such as Hindutva. Moreover, some students referenced the influence of religious movements on fostering the fast during the group interview. There were two religious movements identified by the students: the Swaminarayan movement<sup>11</sup> and the Swadhyaya movement.<sup>12</sup> Interestingly, the warden noticed a change in the manner of fasting over time. He reported that previous students observed fasting silently without informing others, but nowadays students tend to demonstrate and declare their fasting

openly to others.

Upvaas means 'a deed to please the God' and is also written as Vrat. Although one of its aspects is to control self-desire, self-control itself is not the purpose. It is important to be connected to the God through upvaas. Upvaas is generally observed at the time of festivals, on a particular day of the week to respect a favourite god/goddess, or on any day set up by the fast practitioner for personal reasons. The mode of fasting also varies; some people do not eat at all on the day of fasting, while some avoid certain food items (e.g. grain produce) only. Thus, the fasting practitioner has a wide range of choices regarding the day and the mode of fasting.

We also observe the influence of Sanskritisation on fasting. Nowadays, many respondents from the Backward Classes observe fasting. We also know that vegetarians are more inclined to fast than non-vegetarians among Hindus. The recent change of fasting observers tending to demonstrate their fasting in the hostel can be understood as a phenomenon related to Sanskritisation.

## 6. Conclusion

In recent years, the regional variation in food culture has been decreasing due to the reorganisation of production and the development of the distribution network. A typical example is grain, where there was fairly diverse grain consumption in Gujarat 10 years ago, but the consumption of various miscellaneous millets is now decreasing and being displaced by wheat and rice.

Moreover, the deployment of sales networks and outlets has made it possible for consumers, even in remote villages, to buy fast food and soft drinks. Through the development of infrastructure and information technology, modernisation and globalisation have an enhanced influence on consumers, resulting in the unification of food culture across regions and the removal of rural-urban barriers.

Apart from modernisation and globalisation, economic disparity also has a decisive influence on the selection of food items by the rich and the poor. A prime example is cooking oil, a special item that influences the taste and flavour of cooking. People tend to stick to their favourite cooking oil if they can afford

it. However, in reality, the type of cooking oil consumed is very much influenced by economic class. In this sense, a shift in main cooking oil from peanut oil to cottonseed oil is a serious issue among consumers of the lower economic class.

The diversity of food items and food culture among the social groups has tended to decrease over the past 10 years. Sanskritisation has been a very important factor in the reorganisation of food culture as shown in the survey results revealing the massive shift from non-vegetarian to vegetarianism among the Backward Classes. Sanskritisation has been promoted and enhanced by the Hindutva movement and religious movements like Swaminarayan and Swadhyaya in Gujarat.

In this paper, the author emphasised the need to regard fasting as a very important aspect of food culture. Although there were considerable individual differences in motives for fasting, generally, it has been strongly affected by the influence of social political change and religious movements.

To conclude, the change in food culture has been closely related to the reorganisation of identities in terms of region, social group, and economic class. This reorganisation of food culture identities has been strongly affected by globalisation, Sanskritisation, and various political and religious movements.

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### Notes

- 1) Gujarat Vidyapith has been considered a university since 1963. Gujarat Vidyapith is funded by the University Grants Commission (U.G.C.) for higher education programmes. It was started as Rashtriya Vidyapith (National Institute of University Education) in the wake of the non-cooperation movement. Mahatma Gandhi remained its life-long kulpati (chancellor). The institute imparts education with an integrated system of teachings from the nursery school to doctorate levels. The main objective is to prepare workers of character, ability, culture, and dedication to conduct movements connected to the regeneration of the country in accordance with the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi (URL: <http://www.gujaratvidyapith.org/overview.htm>, accessed on 20/11/2015).
- 2) The term refers to a broad social group which includes Scheduled Tribes (STs), Scheduled Castes (SCs), and Other Backward Classes (OBCs).
- 3) The author applies the term 'modernisation' as defined by Ansari, that 'Modernization is a process, the social phenomena of becoming modern and rational or the journey from premodern to modern. It means change not only in the external nature of social institutions but also in the internal attitudes and beliefs in correspondence with the external change. Thus, the emotional, intellectual, and spiritual levels of members in the society also change. It is a change in the whole attitude towards life's problems, the society, and the universe' [Ansari 2014: 72].
- 4) The author accepts the following definition of globalisation as suggested by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) in order to understand its implication on food issues. According to the FAO, 'globalization refers to a reduction in barriers to the cross-border movement of goods, services and capital; an increased flow of commodities, technologies, information, financial capital, modes of distribution and marketing; and, to a certain extent, migration of peoples and labour. A common feature of this process of globalization is a convergence, although at differing speeds, of many institutional, legal, economic, social, and cultural practices and processes across different

countries. In terms of food systems, changes are occurring all along the food chain from production and processing to retail and marketing' [FAO 2004: 3].

- 5) In this paper, the author applies the term 'Sanskritisation' to explain the upward mobility of the Backward Classes in the cultural domain of Indian society, though this concept faces many limitations and criticisms. The author has examined other concepts like acculturation, integration (social and cultural), assimilation, and the reference group as substitutes for the term of Sanskritisation, but found that each fell short of being qualified to explain the cultural upward mobility in Gujarat.

'Sanskritisation is the process by which groups from among the lower castes and tribes copy the customs, rituals, beliefs, ideology and lifestyles of the upper castes (the twice-born: Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas) in order to raise their standing in local society' [Srinivas 1972: 6]. Srinivas first called this concept 'Brahmanisation', in a study of the Coorgs of South India, where he noticed the phenomenon that lower castes copied Brahman culture and rituals (M. N. Srinivas, *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*, Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1952). 'Later sociological studies from other parts of India (for example, A. M. Shah and R. G. Shroff, 'The Vahivanca Barots of Gujarat: A Caste of Genealogists and Mythographers,' in M. Singer [ed.] *Traditional India*, Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1959 showed the same phenomenon occurring with regard to the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas) found that varnas other than the Brahmans were also the objects of imitation and as a result started the use of the term Sanskritisation' [Shinoda 2005: 45].

Studies on mobility are closely related to the theory of social stratification, promoted by scholars who see the caste system as a structural rather than a cultural phenomenon. Studies of mobility in the 1950s tended to be limited to rural areas, often to a single village, but in the latter half of the 1960s, caste came to be analysed in terms of urban areas and wider fields of distribution. In the process, differences in mobility between rural and urban areas and limitations to the social stratification theory as applied to rural villages alone came to be recognised.

Problems concerning Srinivas's concept of Sanskritisation had appeared already in the 1960s. Puja Mondal sums up the major criticisms as follows:

- (1) Religion is *sui generis* for Srinivas:
- (2) Hierarchy is supreme:
- (3) Social tensions and contradictions by-passed:
- (4) Sanskritisation may lead to inter-class hostility:
- (5) Sanskritisation is a limited concept:
- (6) It is a process confined [to] little tradition only:
- (7) Sanskritisation sometimes is a protest against the normative structure:



(8) Weakening dominant caste also lowers Sanskritisation:

(9) Power acquisition and political participation are more important than cultural status.

Mondal concludes that the difficulty with the concept is that rural India is changing fast and the concept has not undergone any corresponding change (Puja Mondal, 'Sanskritisation: Characteristics and Criticisms of Sanskritisation', Rural Sociology, URL: <http://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/sociology/rural-sociology/sanskritisation-characteristics-and-criticisms-of-sanskritisation/31939/>, accessed on 10/04/2016).

Taking all these criticisms into consideration, the author still finds the concept of Sanskritisation to be useful for capturing the cultural aspect of upward mobility of the Backward Classes and shares the view of Ansari that 'the process of Sanskritisation is multi-stemmed and serves as a useful general reference to explain the changes in lifestyle and ideologies of people within a society provided that the upward caste mobility resulting from Sanskritisation leads to only positional changes and not structural changes' [Ansari 2014: 74].

- 6) Fast food is defined as 'Easily prepared processed food served in snack bars and restaurants as a quick meal or to be taken away' (Oxford Dictionary). We include various local snacks in this category and deal with snacks and soft drinks as related items of fast food in this paper
- 7) According to the homepage of the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO), 'The NSSO was set up by the Government of India in 1950 to collect socio-economic data employing scientific sampling methods. Nowadays, every round of the NSS includes a consumer expenditure survey (CES), giving rise to an annual series of consumption data. Household consumer expenditure is measured as the expenditure incurred by a household on domestic needs during a specified period, called the reference period'. (URL: <http://mail.mospi.gov.in/index.php/catalog/131>, accessed on 20/10/2015).
- 8) According to the article in the Economic Times, 'Gujaratis living in Africa were first to acquire a taste for cottonseed oil. When they fled Uganda in 1971, they brought back with them a demand for kapasiya oil. In those days, cottonseed and its oil was fed to cattle because it wasn't considered fit for human consumption and Gujaratis continued to favour groundnut oil.... The introduction of BT cotton in 2002 and a six-fold jump in cotton production within a few years boosted supply of oil and gave a further fillip to the market.... Ample availability pulled down prices and ignited demand. Low prices give cottonseed oil a distinct edge over groundnut as well as mustard, soya and sunflower, the other oilseeds grown in India'.

The article quotes Mr Angshu Mallick, Chief Operations Officer at the Ahmedabad-based Adani Wilmar: 'India has always been a market of highly price-sensitive consumers.

Even the difference of a few rupees is enough for people to switch their cooking medium. Other than palmolein, cottonseed oil is the cheapest in India'.

Regarding groundnut oil, the article says, 'While cottonseed oil is rising in supply and acceptability, groundnut oil is facing a crisis. Till a decade ago, a large proportion of groundnut crop in India was crushed for oil. Today, close to 95% of the harvest is eaten as a snack in India and overseas. That leaves mills with barely enough nuts to produce 1.20 lakh tonnes of groundnut oil in a year. The production of cottonseed oil this year is 10 times that'. (Nidhi Nath Srinivas, 'Cottonseed oil rules the kitchens of Gujarat as cheapest cooking oil' Economic Times Bureau Apr 14, 2013, URL: <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/markets/commodities/cottonseed-oil-rules-the-kitchens-of-gujarat-as-cheapest-cooking-oil/articleshow/19534325.cms>, accessed on 08/04/2016).

- 9) According to kiranaman.com, a well-known online shop for foods in India, the prices of edible oil per litre were Rs.137 (groundnut oil, Gulab brand), Rs.75 (cottonseed oil, Gulab brand), Rs.95 (sunflower oil, Fortune brand), Rs.89 (soybean oil, Fortune brand), Rs.104 (saffola, Saffola brand), Rs.78 (vanaspati, Gulab brand), Rs.155 (mustard oil, Fortune brand), Rs.105 (rice bran oil, Fortune brand), and Rs.134 (diabetes care oil, Fortune brand) on 08/04/2016.
- 10) 'Hindutva' is defined as a political movement advocating Hindu nationalism and the establishment of a Hindu state. The term, which was used by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (1883-1966) in 1923, was adopted later by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in 1989 and has been used as the political spearhead to bring the populous backward classes (STs, SCs, and OBCs) among Hindus into the fold.  
Gujarat was well known as the laboratory of Hindutva and the Backward Classes were massively mobilised to the conflict with Muslims and Christians under the banner of Hindutva. According to Radhika Desai, 'Given the historic fragmentation of its upper castes, Gujarat's specificity in providing exceptionally fertile ground for the growth and stabilisation of Hindutva can be attributed to the fast pace of its capitalist development and consequently fast economic advance of its middle castes and their social and political assimilation into the formerly Savarna ruling bloc through Hindutva'. [Desai 2011: 354].
- 11) According to Makrand Mehta, 'The Swaminarayan sect has become powerful today in terms of strength and money having followers of about three million persons in Gujarat, the United States and European countries. The sect, which had 3 lakh followers in 1872, emerged in the early part of the nineteenth century by Sahajanand Swami (1781-1830). He attracted a large number of followers including the Sudras and the members of the Bhiils and the Kolis in Gujarat. In keeping with the organizational tradition of the Hindus, the sect kept the untouchables at arm's length. In this manner, the sect won the sympathy of the high caste Hindus as well as the Sudras' [Mehta 2002: 9-10].

- 12) According to N.R. Sheth, "The term swadhyaya is conventionally used in its literal sense of self-learning. However, in a socio-religious movement known as Swadhyaya it is extended to include self-development and enlightenment. The vision of Swadhyaya emerged in the early 1950s in the mind of Pandurang Shastri Athavale (1920-2003). He set up educational institutions and study centres to promote learning about human dignity, equality, welfare, and development. Notably, in the 1970s, his attention turned [to] the fisherfolk along the coastal areas of Gujarat and Maharashtra. Subsequently, special efforts were launched to induct into some tribal groups, sections of Vaghari and Dalit communities. Thus, Swadhyaya had influenced the lives of people among some disadvantaged sections of society in Gujarat and offer some thoughts on the role of Swadhyaya in social transformation' [Sheth 2002: 38-40, 46].

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