Eat Your Heart Out

Framing Design, Experience, Street Foods, and Globalization

by

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A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved July 2018 by the
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ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

August 2018

ABSTRACT

Eat Your Heart Out is a visually rich qualitative ethnic food research that examines consumption, production, and distribution practices transnationally. Through the example of Mumbai's street foods, the study aims to discover how design participates in fashioning the street food experiences locally and globally.

Food is an important cultural artifact in the world. However, past research in design suggests that the discipline has mainly focused on food as a catalyst for creativity and imagination or as a tool to examine materialistic, economical, sensorial, and emotional connections. Studying the user focused involvement in creation of food artifacts and focusing on cultural, global, and historical aspects of that participation are important to address the gaps in the knowledge required to solve increasingly "wicked problems" (Buchanan, 1992; Rittel, 1971). To achieve this goal, *Eat Your Heart Out* implemented a comparative practice-based study of the Indian street foods in Mumbai and Phoenix to examine consumption, production, and distribution practices at both places. The methodological design was highly multi-disciplinary in nature and included rapid ethnographic assessment, interviews, visual research, and a generative method of co-creation.

The study revealed that street foods as cultural artifacts were deeply rooted in certain traditional values specific to the context, which significantly influenced personal and communal consumption, production, and distribution practices of Indian street foods in Mumbai and Phoenix. The values of standardization, formality, and higher food regulation practices limited the diversity and radically transformed the central values of Mumbai's street foods when the foods re-territorialized in Phoenix. This resulted in lowering the consumption.

Eat Your Heart Out presents cultural and practical insights into the interactions between contexts, artifacts, practices, and participants. *Eat Your Heart Out* recommends new frameworks of correlation for various consumption and production practices and suggests how street food artifacts alter when they move across cultures. Such knowledge can be valuable for similar ethnic food culture studies and the development of innovative research tools incorporating transnational and multidisciplinary methods in the future.

On a broader scope, *Eat Your Heart Out* provides a unique opportunity to study a culture that has not been examined by scholars much in the past. It also focuses on gaining knowledge about ethnic culinary practices of Indian immigrants in the United States and encouraging enhanced cross-cultural acceptance.

For

Nikhil,
Sameehan

You mean the world to me.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It wouldn't have been possible to bring *Eat Your Heart Out* to fruition without the relentless support, encouragement, and patience of those who made my goal achievable. I would like to share my heartfelt thanks and dedicate this work to each one of you:

Eric Margolis - for introducing me to the world of visual research. Thank you for your enthusiastic support and offering me boundless opportunities to learn, grow, and succeed. Thank you for your faith in *Eat Your Heart Out* and sharing my passion for food.

Prasad Boradkar - for believing in my potential. You might not be aware of how much your presence influences my work, uplifts my thinking, and inspires me to delve deep into the research to reach for bigger and better things. Thank you for your endless motivation.

My research participants - this research belongs to you! Your cheerful participation, insightful discussions, and the passion for Indian street food have made me a better researcher and foodie. Special thanks to the Mumbai food vendors and their assistants for giving me undefended access to the food stalls. Thank you for trusting me with your stories. I am awestruck by your simplicity, hard work, and dedication to serve tasty foods. I am in debt to Dr. Mohsina Mukadam for her guidance regarding local library research and historical perspectives on street food evolution in Mumbai. I am deeply grateful to everyone in Mumbai who went out of their way to help me in accessing information at local universities and libraries. Last but not the least, cheers to Manoj Taxiwala for his eagerness

to share his take on day-to-day street food life in Mumbai as we drove around for my research appointments.

Mangala & Ashok Chandavarkar and Sandhya Kanitkar - for helping me to accomplish my fieldwork in Mumbai. Thank you for welcoming me with open arms to stay with you.

Hillary Andrelchik and Chrissy Hobson Foster - for your interest and offering a listening ear. Thank you for all the stimulating discussions, emails, and messages that always assured me that there is a light at the end of the tunnel.

Soumya & Manu Rao - for creating unwinding opportunities. Thank you for your constant support and being my Moscato buddies.

My Parents and Chandel Uncle - for your backing. Thank you for stepping in when I needed help the most.

My Sameehan - for the millions of hugs and kisses and the showering of unconditional love that kept me emotionally grounded throughout the process. I am lucky to have you!

And last but no way least....

Nikhil Jadhav - for making this possible! You managed to take care of every obstacle that dared to derail my journey. Thank you for always being there so that I can dream to reach for the stars!

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

My Story

In her blog on *littleindia.com*, Lavina Melwani (2006) wrote:

> Indian immigrants love Indian food and cling to the food as talisman and mantras, substituting mother and father. How vitalized they feel when they cook *daal chaval* just like mother! They hold that wonderful taste in their mouths, lose their eyes and are transported back home.

She was referring to the over 25 million Indians who have migrated to different parts of the world and how that has led to a new wave of frozen Indian foods in the supermarkets all over the globe. I couldn't agree more with her as I read this sitting in my home in Phoenix, Arizona. In a flash my mind traveled back in time to a Super Bowl party that I attended at my Indian friend's place. I watched with awe when the whole house erupted with joy and everyone screamed as they sensed the first ever Super Bowl victory for the home team! Being a stranger in a strange land, I captured many glimpses of die-hard Indian Super Bowl fans feasting on native street foods: *samosa*, *batata vada*, *panipuri*, *chaat*, *bhel*, and *kandabhaji* (see Appendix F) as they anxiously watched the touchdown.

That experience encouraged me to ask some of my fellow Indian immigrants about their thoughts related to nostalgic tastes, recipes, and past cultural food memories. Many of them shared favorite street food stories and expressed longing for unforgettable times spent with childhood friends eating street foods like *vada pav* that oozed with the hot and tangy flavors of *lasoon* and tamarind *chutneys* or spicy and butter-full *pav bhaji* served with freshly made *pav* (see Appendix F). Some of them talked about the incredible feeling they experienced when they visited favorite food stalls during their latest India trip. In the process I noted that street foods like *vada pav* and *pav bhaji* were served in sit down restaurants in Phoenix and not on the streets like in Mumbai. I realized that these street food stories were only the tip of the iceberg, offering a mere hint of a much more extensive, complex, layered,

and multifaceted experience that connects the past, present, and possibly the future of food culture. This became my Ph.D. research interest.

Eat Your Heart Out, my research, is an exploration of cultural knowledge, culinary tastes, embodied sensory experiences, and adapted skills across time and space. It is a systematic study: a voyage of nostalgic food desires, gastronomic dreams, surrounding behaviors, and collective and individual experiences between my home country and my adopted country. In my global quest of native savors I developed a set of methodological and theoretical tools for design studies of food cultures. The research further intends to identify opportunities at global and local levels to preserve, glorify, adapt, and expand indigenous culinary cultures that may profoundly change or possibly disappear, over time. My recommendations can benefit stakeholders across cultures in designing and developing experiences, services, and products within the context of ethnic street foods. But the larger goal is to build and cultivate theoretical, methodological, and applied procedures through the example of Indian street food culture—first, to add to the critical disciplinary knowledge and, second, to inspire other food studies of a similar nature.

I am uniquely positioned to carry out this study. *Eat Your Heart Out* combines three most important spheres of my life—first is my background as a designer and a researcher. As a designer, I am committed to proposing "new forms of life" (Ingold, 2014) such as new experiences, products, or services through my work and articulating this research in ways designers and design researchers can appreciate. As a researcher, the scholarly writings of Richard Buchanan, Ken Friedman, Bruce Archer, Nigel Cross, and Prasad Boradkar have always inspired me. Their emphases on building integrative and interdisciplinary design thinking and the necessity of developing design science and domain knowledge by widening

the traditional scope of the discipline of design have long shaped my research interests. Thus *Eat Your Heart Out* incorporates epistemological and ethnographic research paradigms.

Second is my focus on Indian street food as a cultural artifact. The traditional, historical fixation on form, aesthetics and craft has unfortunately excluded food from design studies (Friedman, 2002, p. 203). It is only recently that food has started receiving attention as an essential material and design artifact (Fairs, 2014). *Eat Your Heart Out* is my attempt to weave these various interdisciplinary concepts together to push scholarly boundaries by concentrating generally on food and specifically on Indian street foods. Thinking about the intricate questions about the history, evolution, and development of fascinating flavors, the astonishing creativity, and uniqueness of Indian street foods and its possible future course kept me awake at night for many years. This work is a scholarly dream come true for me.

The third refers to the two lands that I have inhabited and traversed in my life as a food enthusiast and Indian immigrant in Phoenix for more than 10 years. Sharing my identity and language with my participants allowed me to acquire greater access, acceptance, and better understanding from those involved. This applied to fieldwork both in Phoenix and Mumbai. But most importantly, it empowered me to passionately pursue the day-to-day lives, experiences, values, memories, desires, and imaginings of my participants, which was monumental in detangling the complexities of this research. As a passionate Indian street food enthusiast who grew up in Western India, I could relate to the zest for the textures, aromas, layering of the flavors, dos and don'ts of the Indian cooking, and the love for Indian street foods that my research participants fervently discussed.

Central Questions

I will now briefly present the central questions of this study. I remember being awestruck when I read a story about an American chef, Yoshi Yamada, selling his distinct

version of *vada pav*—the most famous street food of Mumbai—at Smorg in Brooklyn, New York (Vora, 2011). Yamada became entranced with the indigenous food of *vada pav* when an Indian friend invited him home to try it. He then went to Mumbai on a Fullbright scholarship and learned the authentic process of making *vada pav* from a local street food vendor named Ganesh. Meanwhile, in Mumbai, India, Shrinivas Menon was inspired by the business model of the American fast food giant, McDonald's, he started a successful nationwide *vada pav* chain called Goli Vada Pav in 2004 (Ramakrishnan, 2012). It sells an industrial version of Mumbai's *vadapav* at its 300 franchises in 100 cities across 20 states of India. Thus two events happened in two different countries that were linked by global cross-culinary integration. These stories encouraged me to work on a video documentary project, *Dreams of Vadapav* in which I examined the relationship between immigrant culture and ethnic foods through a case study of *vada pav* (Zunjarwad, 2012). *Dreams of Vadapav* became an important preliminary step, which inspired my Ph.D. research.

What interested me the most, and what this research focuses on, is the migration of native foods with immigrants, and the way the foods end up shaping the experiences at both places—the originating and destination countries. The primary research question for this inquiry started out with the *Dreams of Vadapav* project. That led me to carefully examine the roles authenticity, tradition, and nostalgia have played in shaping the production, distribution, and consumption of Indian street foods. I also became curious about understanding how forces of globalization are transforming societies and cultures. The second research question focused on the role that the practice of design might have played in fashioning the Indian street food experience in the past, and how it might in the future. I approached the research questions as sensitizing concepts based on my experience. The actual questions were changed and redefined as the data were analyzed. In qualitative

research it is important to avoid priori questions, which may be criticized for being "trash cans" that the ethnographer sought to fill with coded data snippets, and did not seek to disconfirm (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Robson, 1993; Tracy, 2013). I was always sensitive to how the data was speaking to me, and the work changed as I became more fully immersed in transcripts, direct interaction with participants, video recording of production and consumption of "Indian street foods."

Mumbai and Phoenix Share Similarities in Terms of Technology Growth and Rise of Indian Food Culture

I examined, compared, and contrasted Indian street food practices in the cities of Mumbai, India, and Phoenix, Arizona; the goal was to understand why and how Indian street foods are incorporated into the lives of people and places. Mumbai is known worldwide for its thriving, vibrant, and cosmopolitan street food culture. It is also one of the first cities in India that embraced globalization. The Industrial Revolution, for instance, stimulated industrial activity during the 18th and early 19th centuries and motivated local and national migration (Achaya, 1994; "Mumbai History," n.d.; Taylor-Sen, 2015). That led to the evolution of a Proletarian-style diet—the diet of factory workers—which later inspired street food culture (Crowther, 2013; Vieira Cardoso, Companion, & Marras, 2014). Therefore, I decided to pursue Mumbai as the "original" place (Crowther 2013; Ray, 2004; Watson, 2006).

Phoenix represents the other part of the story because of its emerging position as one of the top preferences for Indian immigrants to settle. Skop (2012) points out that the Indian American population in Phoenix has increased by more than 2000% since 1990. It jumped from 1200 in 1990 to 26,000 in 2010. Today Phoenix is home to more than 60,000 Indian immigrants and 90 Indian restaurants. Employment and skill-related visas became the

main entry point in the 1990s, and Phoenix started buzzing with Indian immigrants because of its growing chip manufacturing, Information Technology (IT), and Artificial Intelligence (AI) sectors.

Phoenix has also been my home for the past 10 years, but I consider myself an outsider because I am not active in the Indian community in the city. For this study, I remained extra vigilant about my prejudices and tackled the possible stigma of legitimacy through careful use of mixed methods and seeking disconfirming evidence. Similarly, I would point out here that I did not grow up in Mumbai and have never lived there for long. The Indian subcontinent is the cradle of numerous regional food traditions and diverse culinary palettes with intriguing idiosyncrasies. One of such unique example is the city of Mumbai; home of a cosmopolitan and colorful street food culture, which falls at the heart of every day social life. Thus, not having a first hand experience of Mumbai's street food culture, here as well, made me a stranger and an outsider (Geertz, 1983).

What I have attempted here is to present a story of Indian street food that has not received attention as a cultural artifact. Until now, it's been mainly explored from nutrition, hygiene, and hospitality perspectives. Working with the research participants in Phoenix and Mumbai provided me a window into the world of distinctive and vibrant culinary culture. Indigenous cultures and subcultures like Mumbai's street foods have been changing continuously because of the impacts of globalization. For example, Khare (1976) cautioned, "If the orthodox culinary pattern is not studied now, one may lose an opportunity to record a vanishing segment of the culinary culture, and to examine its systematic significance (p. 7)." Through my research, I am not only documenting a distinctive, regional culinary landscape and its possible transformation but also exploring what this means for the future of the ethnic foods in widely expanding global contexts.

Rationale for Research

The past research in the field of design suggests that human experience of ethnic street foods has not been explored much from a socio-cultural perspective. To date there have been two emphases in the study of experiences and food in design; the first has been on materials: economic, sensorial, and emotional pursuits (Du Gay, Hall, Janes, Mackay, & Negus, 1997; International Food Design Society, 2018; Schifferstein & Hekkert, 2008; Wendt, 2015). The second emphasis is on food as a catalyst for creativity and imagination—for example, French chefs like Michel Bras, Marc Veyrat, and Regis Marcon created recipes that highlighted local ecological context and symbolically presented native landscapes (Weiss, 2006) and Ukrainian pastry chef Dinara Kasko's latest culinary architectural masterpiece was called Algorithmic Modeling Cake (Abourezk, 2017). Studying and addressing the effects of complex cultural and global aspects of food experiences in design helps address gaps in the knowledge required to solve increasingly "wicked problems (Buchanan, 1992; Rittel, 1971).

The aim of *Eat Your Heart Out* is to explore the journey of Mumbai's street foods to Phoenix and examine consumption, production, and distribution practices against the context of transnationalism. The research suggests scholarly frameworks and establishes interdisciplinary methodologies and tools for data collection, analysis, and presentation that can be adapted for similar studies. This research also plans to discover applied insights that may assist stakeholders across the communities, businesses, and ethnicities interested in developing rich cross-cultural interactions, experiences, services, and products within the context of Indian street foods.

My research focuses on Indian immigrants from Mumbai in Phoenix and the relationship they share with Mumbai's street foods. The study of immigration and Indian street foods fascinates me; however, the focus on immigrants from other parts of India is

beyond the scope of work right now. The inquiry also doesn't integrate first-generation Indian immigrants, non-Indian immigrants, and Americans whose native language is English at this time.

Dissertation Overview

In the "Introduction" chapter, I share my story and background and explain why I pursued this study. Chapter 1 offers the justification for the research and presents its aim and scope. Chapter 2, "Theoretical Background" examines the literature on studying culinary skills, practices, and adaptations, as well as embedded and cultural knowledge. It points to the significance of senses and memory in cooking and highlights the role nostalgia plays in shaping food cultures in the context of immigration. Further, Chapter 2 describes "The Circuit of Culture" framework (Du Gay et al., 1997), which has laid a theoretical foundation for my study.

Chapter 3, "Food, Culture, & Historical Background," rationalizes the concepts of cultural knowledge and heritage specific to the contexts of Mumbai and Phoenix. This chapter examines the history of the place of origin, Mumbai, and explains how the street food culture emerged, evolved, and where it stands today. Chapter 3 also describes the Phoenix Metropolitan area's socio-cultural background to point out differences between Phoenix and Mumbai's societal structures and how that impacts the street food experience.

Based on Chapter 2 and 3, Chapter 4, "Research Design," develops an appropriate research methodology to examine the street food practices in Mumbai and Phoenix. It describes the research instruments and explains the procedures for data collection and analysis that were implemented in this study.

Chapter 5, "Results," explains the generated findings discovered by applying instruments and procedures described in Chapter 4. It elaborates on how the concepts of

tradition, authenticity, and nostalgia have shaped the consumption, production, and distribution practices in Mumbai and Phoenix. This chapter uses several visuals of everyday street food practices related to food making, serving, and preparing for business to further illuminate the research discoveries.

Finally, Chapter 6, "Discussion & Conclusion," evaluates the results presented in Chapter 5 to suggest insights about the transnational voyage of Mumbai's ethnic street foods to Phoenix. It further proposes new cultural models and adaptation frameworks for the street food artifacts in Mumbai, Phoenix, and beyond. This chapter also describes disciplinary, methodological, applied, and broader impacts of *Eat Your Heart Out*. Lastly, Chapter 6 outlines limitations of the study and future opportunities.

Making *Chakli*

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

> Food is our everyday creative and meaningful engagement with nature through culture; indeed, food becomes cultured nature, an artifact. The designation as "food" underscores the cultural construction of what is deemed edible and places it in the category of an artifact, made by human ingenuity, from a series of ingredients and flavors, crafted and aestheticized into a dish. Humans don't just randomly feed; we select, fashion, concoct, and make an edible assemblage that fits our imagining of food. This is an intimate relationship with an artifact, like no other; food is the only consumed cultural artifact that quite literally becomes us.
>
> –Crowther (2013, p. xviii)

Sutton (2012) argued that ordinary or exceptional food preparation brings skills, the senses, and memory together. Skills refer to the embodied knowledge that exists within a culture, ancestral knowledge, which is passed down through generations within a family as well as the practical adaptation of that information by the creators to their own "rules of thumb" (Ingold, 2000, p. 332). The transmission of skills and practices is called "enculturation," which Sutton (2012, p. 303) described as "guided rediscovery in a sensorily-rich environment."

The senses–memory–skills argument can be best understood from the example of making *chakli* (see Appendix F). When I was visiting my parents back in India a few years ago I remember waking up to a crisp aroma of frying *chaklis* that had filled the whole house. *Chaklis* are one of the most famous festive foods of Maharashtra, the western state of India. Before running to the kitchen, I grabbed my camera with the intent to capture everything happening in the kitchen and blissfully wishing I could seize that hypnotic aroma as well. Sudha and Chhaya, two culinary magicians of our house, were stuffing spiced and softened *bhajani* dough into the *chakli* mold and pressing it onto a large sheet of a paper to create jagged, perforated, round shapes with inimitable patterning. Watching them swiftly slide those shapes into the *kadhai* full of boiling oil, deep-fry them to a perfect golden brown, and

stack up the sizzling hot *chaklis* cautiously in a big pan next to the burner to avoid breaking reminded me of a glass artist's delicate interaction with her molten glass.

Foods as Cultural Artifacts

To me, making *chakli* was as an act of creativity, imagination, and beautification of tastes and the food. What is important here is that making *chakli* was a socially and culturally patterned activity. As Crowther (2013) argued, regardless of whether the dishes are a humble and everyday activity or luxurious and occasional, they will follow the culture's rules.

The makers, Sudha and Chhaya, who grew up in a small town in the state of Maharashtra, couldn't be more "authentic" to make the "traditional" food that they grew up eating. For both of them, preparing *chakli* was a skill that brought together religious practice, the senses, and memory. It was a process that exhibited "embodied apprenticeship" (Crowther, 2013). The process revealed their evaluation of *chakli* against the socially available knowledge of senses for its perfect texture, taste, and color. It also revealed Sudha and Chhaya's adaptability with cooking tools, flavors, ingredients, procedures, and the kitchen environment to suit their convenience and working style. For that matter, unlike my parents' house, they both did not have a large kitchen space at their respective homes, and they made *chaklis* on a small portable single burner propane stove placed on the floor instead of on the kitchen counter. They used different varieties of tools and prepared the spicier type of *chakli*, which their families appreciated.

The relationship between foods and respective culture is unique. However, singular understanding of skills and their adaptations will not be helpful to make the sense of food artifacts and their contribution to shaping related experiences. The process should be understood within the context of the senses because the sensory evaluations offer an ability to judge the success of the dish.

The sensorial dimension of foods plays a critical role in both consumption and production. Sensorial experiences and the associated remembrances are extended social memories that help humans establish meanings as well as judge, and compare present foods with the past (Seremetakis, 1994; Sutton, 2012). Massimo Montanari, a culinary historian, placed taste at the top among all embodied senses. He argued that the sense of taste is both "flavor" and "knowledge" because according to him, the organ of taste is culturally determined. He continued that taste is "collective and eminently communicative" because "it's a cultural experience communicated to us, along with other variables that together define values of society" (2006 p. 62). Crowther (2013) expressed a somewhat different opinion by suggesting that the ability to identify and classify flavors differs from culture to culture, but the senses of taste and smell work together to identify familiar foods.

Memory connects skills to the senses and acquires a significant part in the skill-senses-memory calculation (Sutton, 2001). Learning to cook, as I discussed earlier, is an enculturated experience enacted through watching, participating, remembering, and slowly acquiring the necessary skills to produce food. Memory, especially cultural memory, plays a crucial role in the transmission of cultural knowledge, culinary practices, cooking skills, customs, tastes, and related meaning-making abilities from generation to generation (Dessi, 2008; Holtzman, 2006; Sutton, 2012; Wilson, 2005).

Cultural memory is essential for embodied apprenticeship and it can be collective or individual. The best example of a collective form of cultural memory is Thanksgiving Day celebrations in the United States, which primarily consist of having dinner with family over turkey with stuffing, corn, cranberry sauce, sweet potatoes, and pumpkin pie. The individual memory includes own recollections such as a family specific Thanksgiving traditions and recipes for stuffing or pumpkin pie passed down through generations. Wilson (2005)

suggested that collective memory acts as an envelope for individual memory because each person is born into an existing social and cultural system. The analysis of the interface between collective and individual memories can reveal a more in-depth perspective on the construction of skills and practices. It can decode the ways in which personal goals and values interact with more abstract notions of authenticity, globality, and locality (Sutton, 2012).

When cultural memory and sensorial experiences are positioned between national and transnational contexts, food can be the reason for the rise of the intense and compelling form of memory called nostalgia (Holtzman, 2006; Velicu, 2011). It has been significant for my dissertation research to examine what happens to the skill-senses-memory calculation when nostalgia is involved.

Why am I Focusing on Nostalgia, Authenticity, and Tradition?

There are a couple of reasons why the focus on nostalgia is vital for my study. First is the comparative and transnational nature of the inquiry. Sutton (2012) and Ingold (2000) emphasized that focusing on skills raises questions about memory. They mainly discussed habit memory, which is an embodied form of memory, and the social nature of sensorial memory associated with shared abilities to connect with the senses of taste and smell. Sutton and Ingold didn't exclusively focus on nostalgia and it's relation with the development of the skills in the context of migration. However, for my research, it was significant to include nostalgia along with other forms of memories in examining food related skills and practices.

The second reason I focused on nostalgia was the design discipline's commitment to proposing new forms of life by developing experiences, products, services, and policies. Smith (2000) and Wilson (2005) argued that remembering positive aspects of the past doesn't necessarily mean the desire to return. Instead, it should be seen as a way to express

desires about the present. In other words, nostalgia is about interpreting what was valued and cherished the most in the past, as well as capturing the mood and spirit to create the future. That is why nostalgia is commonly used in the marketing industry to target customers (Wilson, 2005). One of the goals of my study has been to come up with recommendations for stakeholders across cultures to create experiences, services, and products within the context of ethnic street foods. Hence, incorporating nostalgia with other types of memories was essential.

Nostalgia and Food Artifacts

Food-centered nostalgia emphasizes the experience of displacement. Nostalgia can make several different senses emerge (Owen Jones & Long, 2017; Chen, 2010; Riva, Holzman, 2006). Some examples are:

- Sentimentality for a lost past, viewing food as a medium to recollect memories of childhood and family
- Bodily memories of specific flavors, dining contexts, eating, cooking, and serving styles
- Embodied memories of comfort foods, holiday rituals, and family recipes

The sensorial and nostalgic moments related to traditional foods have been extensively portrayed in films. For instance, one of the leading characters, Aditya from the movie Gulabjaam, originally from India but now living in London, is transported to his childhood by the sense of taste the moment he takes a mouthful bite of *gulabjaam*, a squishy golden brown condensed milk ball drenched with sugary syrup (Malgewar, Chordia, & Kundalkar, 2018). The experience launches his journey of searching for a perfect gulabjam recipe that he could learn and prepare.

In a related example, Nadia Seremetakis (1994) discussed how the “presence” and “absence” of "The breast of Aphrodite," the ancient Greek goddess of love, became narrative, and the “missed” taste, touch, aroma, and flavor of the fruit from homeland, Greece, triggered sensuous memories. Seremetakis talked about how memories of tastes and smells of Greek sour grapes and Aphrodite peaches emerged in exile and provided a temporary return to a time back in the homeland when she consumed them regularly. Seremetakis further discussed how the desire and longing for a favorite fruit led her to the pursuit of comparable tastes in the U.S.

Authenticity and Food Artifacts

The sense of loss and feeling of distance connects nostalgia to authenticity. Lindhom (2008, p.1) defined authenticity as "a set of values that include sincere essential, natural, original, and real." Wilson (2005, p. 58) echoed similar thoughts when she described what authenticity shared with the concept of nostalgia. She suggested, "We seek authentic because we want to regain something lost; we wish to make our existence more credible." For diaspora communities, food is an important medium to deal with homesickness and desire for originality (Holzman, 2006). Immigrants try integrating nostalgia and authenticity in food making by generating original tastes, using traditional ingredients, and incorporating home-style cooking procedures and skills. But the question here is how do people face the task of everyday and exotic cooking under the conditions of immigration and adapted cultural contexts and what might this mean for issues of skill, memory, embodied sensory knowledge, and habits?

While discussing diaspora cuisines and customs, Timothy (2016) and Hobsbawm (1983) argued that diaspora cuisines are usually invented traditions and are a result of a reaction to change. The migrant food experience is linked to changing cultures and contexts

generated by a new homeland. That's where migrants encounter new environments, ingredients, and food ways. But at the same time nostalgia and homesickness continue to influence them through certain comforting elements. Thus, regarding nostalgia and authenticity, the question here is how the traditional skills and the food-related practices evolve in the immigrant country? Timothy (2016) reflected on the phenomenon and offered a critical analysis related to the long-term process:

> Over generations, certain foods and rituals become mythologized. Festival foods, for example, become the norm, and past experiences of drudgery and poor nutrition get forgotten. Interactions with other groups lead to further adaptations. Primarily motivated by economic opportunities, some migrants modify their cuisine, changing recipes and experimenting with new ingredients to better suit the tastes of broader communities. The result is that most diaspora cuisines quickly become hybridized, consumed and enjoyed by many who are not part of the diaspora community (p 50).

First, Timothy's analysis suggests the evolution of new traditions or habits within shifting cultural contexts and environment changes. Second, he developed the concept of "staged authenticity". Fruitful examples include Chinese takeout, Italian pizzas and Tex-Mex. Mexican foods sold in Mexican and fast food restaurants in the US illustrate Timothy's concept of "staged authenticity. In the process of marketing themselves as authentic, many Mexican restaurants in the US are in fact promoting "staged" authenticity with highly standardized menus, adapted tastes, and 'Mexican ambiance" like sombreros, weavings and pottery designs. Similarly, Indian restaurants employ motifs including the Taj Mahal, Indian gods and goddesses, and culture-specific paintings promoting themselves as authentic.

In sum, making any food is a multimodal, multi-layered, multi-dimensional, and multi-generational phenomenon. Hence, to explore street food practices, I adopted Sutton's (2012) skill-based approach for my dissertation. The method can also be useful to flesh out the concepts of tradition, authenticity, and nostalgia that are otherwise difficult to

comprehend and operationalize. Since I am discussing these concepts in relation to Phoenix and Mumbai, it is important to understand the concept of transnationalism.

Transnationalism

Transnationalism is defined as, "The process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" (Basch, Schiller, & Blanc, 2008, p. 263). The process emphasizes immigrants developing and maintaining familial, economic, social, and political connections that span across borders. Today, the connections have grown to be intense because of developments in communication technologies and transportation. Hence, the transnational connections have the unprecedented power to influence the home country and the adopted country simultaneously. "Transnationalists" or immigrants bring their culture with them when they immigrate to a new country. Culture is the order of life in which human beings construct meanings through practices of symbolic representation (Appadurai, 1996; Crowther, 2013; Inda & Rosaldo, 2002). Thus, culture goes where the subjects and objects carry it along and is reshaped as it settles in a new context and location, which is called as "reterritorialization" of culture (Inda & Rosaldo, 2002).

The Circuit of Culture Framework

I am embracing the Circuit of Culture framework (see Figure 1) to explore the connections between consumption, production, and distribution practices of street foods at local and transnational levels. Du Gay, Hall, Janes, Mackay, and Negus (1997) proposed the Circuit of Culture framework to make sense of meaning-making practices related to cultural artifacts. The authors argued that the process of linking different cultural elements related to a cultural artifact could reveal "maps of meaning" related to the artifact's culture. They examined the Sony Walkman as an example of a cultural artifact because they argued that it was associated

with certain kinds of people and places, had acquired a unique social profile, and was connected to a different set of practices specific to a culture or a way of life (Du Gay et al., 1997, p. 17).

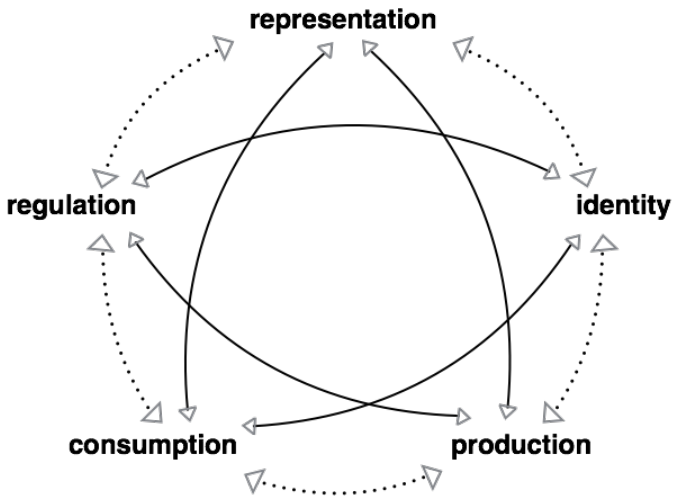

Figure 1. The Circuit of Culture framework from *Doing cultural studies: The Story of the Sony Walkman* (p. 3), by P. Du Gay, S. Hall, L. Janes, H. Mackay, and K. Negus, 1997.

Using the Circuit of Culture Framework to Examine Indian street foods

Similar to the consumption of the Sony Walkman, street foods are a perfect example of an edible culinary artifact that inherits unique cultural heritage of ancestral knowledge, skills, practices, senses, memories, and local food eating and making traditions. It is evident from the first formal definition of "street food" that emerged at the FAO Regional Workshop on Street Foods in Asia, organized in Jakarta, Indonesia, in 1986. It described street foods as "ready-to-eat foods and beverages sold and sometimes prepared in local public places, notably streets" (Cardoso, Companion, & Marras, 2013).

Thus, street foods are locally made, resourced, consumed, and distributed. As Du Gay et al. (1997) argued, just like the Walkman, street foods exist within its meanings of

network rooted in socio-cultural, historical, economic, psychological, culinary, and symbolic contexts.

Conclusion

My intention in this chapter was to provide a theoretical background for my dissertation by discussing essential theories and viewpoints that have guided and shaped the study. First, I adopted skill–senses–memory approach to examine the practice of making Indian street foods. Then I elaborated the importance of employing the notion of nostalgia into the study, because of its focus on futuristic goals. Lastly, I introduced the "The Circuit of Culture" framework (Du Gay et al., 1997). I argued that this framework could be valuable in examining the connections between the processes of, production, distribution, regulation and consumption.

The next chapter, Chapter 3 introduces the historical background and development of Indian street foods in Mumbai and Phoenix. It describes how the street food culture in Mumbai, the place of origin, came into existence and how it acquired its specific socio-cultural characteristics. Chapter 3 also elaborates how the street foods and its culture changed when the foods arrived in Phoenix with the Indian immigrants.


PAV BHAJI
RAJASTHAN
PAV BHAJI
KALAKHATTA
KALA KHATTA
ICE CREAM KULFI FALOODA
PANI PURI
SELF
BHARAT DARBAR
Juhu Chaupaty, Mumbai

CHAPTER 3: FOOD, CULTURE, & HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

> It is probably in tastes in food that one would find the strongest and most indelible mark of infant learning, the lessons which longest withstand the distancing or collapse of the native world and most durably maintain nostalgia for it.
>
> Pierre Bourdieu (1984, p. 79)

It was my first weekend after landing in Mumbai for fieldwork. I was in a process of finding and recruiting street food vendors and decided to go to the Chowpaty at Juhu beach to experience Mumbai's vibrant street foods first hand. It was 17 years ago while visiting my uncle who lived in Mumbai's Andheri West area, when I was there. Then, going to Juhu beach was an important touristy ritual. Now with the researcher's hat on my head and being curious agenda on my mind, I got out of the taxi.

There was still some time for the sun to dip below the horizon. The whole area was jam-packed with families, college students, couples, and hawkers selling everything from toys and clothes to snow cones and tender coconut. With the people chatting, eating together, having fun in the water, and kids running around, the beach was filled with vibrant, colorful, and dynamic energy.

Right along the beach were the street food stalls clustered around a central open courtyard with small alleys connecting the kiosks. Many shops sold every kind of Mumbai street food—*pav bhaji*, *dosa*, *vada pav*, sandwiches, *chaat*, *pani puri*, snow cones, *falooda*, and *kalakhatta* (see Appendix F) to name a few. Customers stood around or sat on a low-level *katta* [a built platform] in front of the stalls to eat the foods.

Soon after the sunset, a soft glowing ambient light appeared on the skyline, and the atmosphere filled with dreamy twilight dusk. The world was not dark yet, and the bright sparkling lights of the stalls and whiffs of freshly made foods rose from the kiosks that were crowded with customers. I spent time observing, absorbing, and interacting with some

vendors. The Juhu beach experience enabled me to recognize *Mumbaikars's* [Mumbai's citizens] die-hard love and appreciation for Mumbai's signature foods and tastes. The experience was valuable in preparing me for the fieldwork that I conducted over the next 20 days.

I would not consider the Juhu Chowpaty experience as a representative example of Mumbai's overall street food culture, but it captured the essence of unique foods and practices. Bruhan Mumbai Corporation (BMC) promotes Juhu Chowpaty as one of the main tourist attractions in the city. I saw manicured orchestration of the stall layouts, design, presentations, and promotion strategies. Many cooks and helpers wore aprons, chef hats, and gloves while cooking, serving, and handling the foods, which projected an image that didn't necessarily speak for the rest of Mumbai's street food culture.

However, what fascinated me the most that day was the vibrant spirit of the food culture itself that has become Mumbaikars' lifeline over the years, as well as the signature foods that have launched a cult of their own. The soul of Mumbai's thriving culture that I experienced at Juhu Chaupaty exists at numerous ever-buzzing food pockets and *khaugallis* [food lanes] all over the city, and they offer uniquely exciting local street food experiences.

Mumbai's street foods and tastes have evolved over the years and are a result of the organic fusion of regional and global culinary traditions. The elaboration spans hundreds of years dating back to ancient times. However, the modern-day events of Portuguese and British colonization, the Industrial Revolution, post-independence, and globalization have uniquely contributed to shaping Mumbai's street food culture.

Historical Background and its Contribution to Constructing Mumbai's Culinary Heritage

Since the earliest days, Mumbai was the most important trading, economic, and commercial center of India. The city's unique position along the western coast made it a critical trading portal on the Arabian Sea's marine and spice trade routes. Vast commercial and trading connections facilitated the cultural exchanges and amalgamation that placed Mumbai on a trajectory of becoming a melting pot of many different culinary traditions.

In addition to trade and commerce, Mumbai went through a series of regime changes over hundreds of years, which further altered the sociocultural contexts multiple times and, thus, encouraged Mumbaikars to be amenable. That laid a foreground for the eventual development of Mumbai's intermingled culinary culture. Mumbai's history can be divided into five periods (Raskino, 2017; "Mumbai History," n.d.).

The Ancient and Early Period until 1320 AD

The early period is commonly known as the Hindu Period and stretches from the earliest known history down to the 13th century. Mumbai was geographically divided into seven lush green islands (see Figure 1). The oldest inhabitants of Mumbai were Kolees, a fishing community who worshipped the goddess Mumba Devi, where the name Mumbai comes from. They embraced Hinduism during the Hindu Priod but continued many of their original rituals and dietary traditions, including consumption of sour or tangy gravy-based fish recipes, fried fish, rice, and rice flour *bhakris* [type of flat bread].

During the ancient to the early period, several Hindu monarchs from the Maurya, Chalukya, Rashtrakuta, Silhara, and Deccan dynasties ruled the seven islands of Mumbai (see Figure 1). The Mauryan emperor Ashoka (304–232 BCE), who was a Buddhist follower, created the largest empire in the world of the time, which included the entire Indian

subcontinent except for the southernmost tip. He built a decades-long, well-organized administration of peace and security. Agriculture, trade, and many other economic activities flourished under his rule. It was under his control that Mumbai became the center of the Hindu and Buddhist cultures.

Achaya (1994) and Tyler Sen (2015) argued that Mauryan kings, including Ashoka and Chandragupta, emulated Persian rulers in a range of areas, including a writing system, art and architecture, and their cuisines. The Mauryan emperors were in close contact with Greeks and Romans and encouraged a range of trading, cultural, and food-related exchanges with Mesopotamian regions. It was the Greek emperor Alexander the Great's Indian subcontinent campaign in 326 CE that introduced rice and sugar to the Mesopotamian world. Both rice and sugar originated in India. The chicken was first domesticated in India, and that reached Greece by the 6th century BCE via the Persian Empire. Wine made from grapes came to Persia from Greece, and from there it went to Afghanistan and then arrived in eastern India. Thus, before the Colombian Exchange, it was Alexander's sojourn that played a significant role in introducing many foods and ingredients to the classical world and vice versa.

The Greek ambassador, Megasthenes (350–290 BCE), who visited India in 4th century BCE, extensively documented his experiences in his work called *Indika* (Tyler Sen, 2015). Megasthenes wrote about India's abundant natural resources and tropical climate, which provided a variety of fruits, vegetables, and commonly consumed grains of barley, wheat, and rice.

The 8th to 6th century BCE period is considered to be one of the most intellectual ferments of the civilized world. Philosophers like Pythagoras, Empedocles, and Heraclitus emerged in Greece; Confucius and Lao Tze arose in China; Zoroaster ascended in Persia;

and Hebrew prophets rose in the land of Israel. Indian society was changing too. Accelerated social change, expansion of trade, and the emergence of major urban centers like Mumbai broke down the ancient tribal culture.

Increasing global and social connections that strengthened over several centuries led a pathway for migration of Zoroastrians from the Persian region commonly known as "Parsis" to the Gujarat and Mumbai regions in the 8th century and onward. The Parsi community has long played a critical role in shaping Mumbai and modern India. Some of the most prominent names are Jamshedji Tata, the pioneer industrialist who founded Tata Group in 1868—India's largest corporation—and Homi Bhabha, the father of India's nuclear program. Zoroastrian migrants from Iran started Mumbai's iconic Irani cafes that sold bun *maska pav*, *kheema pav*, and Irani *chai* and introduced a new era of casual public eating and cafe culture. Khodram Marzeban founded the historic Kayani & Company and started the first Irani cafe in the Marine Lines of South Mumbai in 1904.

Hindu kings strictly followed the Vedic religion and practiced the teachings of Vedas, the most sacred texts for Hindus. The four Vedas—Rigveda, Yajurveda, Samaveda, and Atharvaveda—the ancient Sanskrit scriptures containing collections of hymns, philosophy, and guidance on rituals and ways of life, were memorized and passed down through generations for centuries. They were finally written down in the first millennium CE. One of the examples of the teachings from Rigveda was considering fire to be the purest element and the offering of ghee, a clarified butter made from cow milk, to *Agni*, the God of fire. The Vedic religion planted the seeds of some of the unique features of Indian society—the caste system, the worship of the cow, and the significance of milk and dairy products in Hindu food customs and the rituals to name a few.

Hinduism absorbed the beliefs of Jainism and Buddhism, founded by Vardhaman Mahavira (540–468 BCE) and Siddhartha Gautama (563–483 BCE) respectively. They both preached vegetarianism, but Achaya (1994) argued that, in addition to Jainism and Buddhism influences, the abundance of fruits, vegetables, and dairy products in India encouraged and facilitated a vegetarian diet. The states of Gujarat and Maharashtra are the fertile regions where a wide variety of fruits and vegetables grow. These are also the states that are homes to the highest number of Jains in India (Achaya, 1994). Buddhism originated in India, but it has almost disappeared from its land of origin. According to a 2001 census report, there are 8 million Buddhists in India; the majority of them are Dalits, the members of the lowest class of the Indian caste system, who converted to Buddhism in the 1950s to escape racial discrimination (Achaya, 1994). However, to date, vegetarianism has a convincing influence on Hindu culinary practices in Gujarat and Maharashtra.

The Vedic religion and the Vedas, especially Atharvaveda, encouraged food consumption based on Ayurveda—a practice of regulating diet rather than managing with medicines. For instance, the most commonly used food flavorings in ancient times were mustard seeds, turmeric, black and long pepper, bitter orange, and sesame seeds. Sections of Atharvaveda mention the use of black pepper as a cure for infections caused by wounds. Sesame seeds were suggested to normalize and balance *Pitta*, acidic tendencies of the body. Hence, sesame seeds were boiled with grains and milk to make porridge, cooked with vegetables, or roasted and crushed to make crispy bread. Seeds were also crushed in an animal-powered device to produce oil. To date, sesame seeds and sesame oil remain common dietary ingredients in India. Turmeric and mustard seeds are the central ingredients of *tadka*, an essential flavoring used in most of the foods, including the Mumbai street foods of *kandabhaji*, *vada pav*, *chutnies*, and sandwich stuffings to name a few. Thus, the ancient

Hindu scriptures strictly advised *hitkarak* [for benefit] food consumption. Though people do not follow a strict *hitkarak* approach anymore, many Vedic culinary traditions are a part of everyday cooking practices in India and Mumbai.

The Hindu period ended in 1320 AD, but it helped define and establish a well-founded socio-cultural contextual backdrop. By the time the Hindu era collapsed, the people of Mumbai were well versed with the notion of cosmopolitanism.

The Muslim Period from 1320 to 1534

The Muslim Sultan of Gujarat, Mubarak Shah, and after his death his governors, ruled Mumbai from 1320 to 1534 AD. Mubarak Shah was the monarch of the Sayyid dynasty, which ruled Delhi Sultanate. They claimed to be the descendants of the Prophet Mohammed.

The oldest Muslim communities in Mumbai include the Ismail Khojas, who came predominantly from the Gujarat and Kutch regions but were originally from Persia; the Konkani Muslims, who were Sunni Muslims but formerly the Arab traders who came to the western seaside region during Medieval era (5th to 15th century) migrated to Mumbai from the western coastal areas; and the Dawoodi Bohras, Shia Muslims who were converted Hindus and arrived from regions of Gujarat. It was during the Muslim period when the majority of Muslims migrated to Mumbai, which played a pivotal role in establishing Islam in Mumbai and Southeast Asia. Their migration to Mumbai helped absorption of certain culinary practices including use of dates and seasoning with saffron, as well as specific food grilling, and marinating techniques into the mainstream food culture.

Today, the majority of the Muslim population of Mumbai resides in Nagpada, Mahim, Warli, and South Mumbai, which includes the Crawford Market, Zaveri Bazar,

Masjid Bandar, Bhendi Bazar, Chor Bazar, and Agripada areas (see Figure 1). The Mohammad Ali Road area in South Mumbai is considered to be the most famous non-vegetarian food destination of Mumbai and is well known for a variety Mughlai and Tandoori dishes.

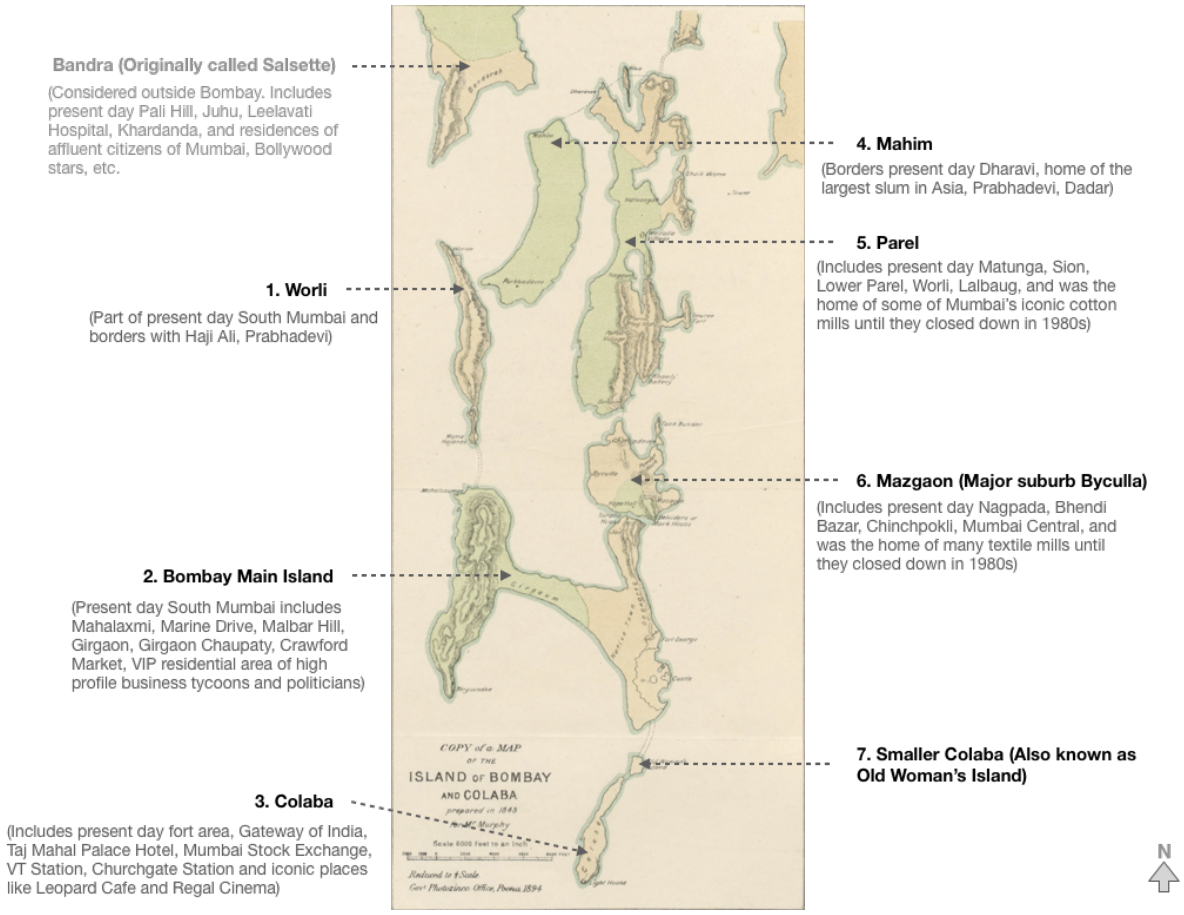

Figure 2. Seven Islands of Mumbai: Map from 18th Century (*Google.com*)

The Portuguese period from 1534 to 1665

The Portuguese first came to Calicut in South India in 1498 and soon established colonies in Calicut, Cochin, and Goa. Mahim (see Figure 2) was the first Mumbai Island where the Portuguese established a settlement. They acquired all seven islands by 1534. The Portuguese mainly focused on spreading the Catholic religion in the region, built churches around the city, and converted a sizeable Hindu population to Christianity. The first Catholic

churches emerged in the Salesette area (present-day Bandra). Even today, Bandra remains the home of the largest Catholic population in Mumbai.

Portuguese rulers did not focus on building Mumbai, and their contribution to the city was mainly limited to spreading religion. However, one of the most important culinary gifts that they gave to Mumbai was *pav*. The Portuguese didn't have access to yeast, so they used toddy, an alcoholic drink, to ferment the dough to make *pav*, which first emerged in Goa and soon made its way to Mumbai. To date, there are many Catholic bakeries, including the iconic eateries of A1 Bakery and J. Hearsch & Co. in the Bandra West area that sell varieties of *pav* and baked delicacies. By the time the British arrived in Mumbai, *pav* was an infamous side dish. It became a humble food of cotton mill workers in the 18th century.

The Portuguese colonists also brought the potato plant to India. Today potato is the primary ingredient in most of the Mumbai street foods. It's cheap, plentiful, effortlessly accessible, and is an easy source of energy and carbohydrates. India's government established The Central Potato Research Institute (CPRI) after India's Independence in 1947 and promoted the use of potato to resolve famine, food scarcity, and low nutrition challenges. The efforts have contributed to making potato a prominent component of Indian cooking and Mumbai's street foods.

The British India Period from 1665 to 1947

Historians consider Sir Gerald Augier, who arrived in Mumbai in 1672, to be a founding father of Mumbai. He famously declared Mumbai to be "the city which by God's assistance is intended to be built" (Raskino, 2017, loc 358 of 1245). Mumbai was important for the East India Company for portal connections, trading, commerce, politics, and governance reasons. Augier understood that well and expanded the city by building Courts of Justice under British Law; a printing press; forts in Sion, Mahim, and Colaba; and mint for

gold and silver coins for local transactions. Under his rule, Mumbai's population grew six times to reach 60,000 (Raskino, 2017, loc 374 of 1245).

Mumbai was changing drastically. The Industrial Revolution formally began when William Hornby, the governor of Mumbai, initiated several civil engineering projects, including building roads and bridges to merge the seven islands in 1845 and establishing the first railway connection between Mumbai and Thane ("Mumbai History," n.d). The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the founding of the Bombay Port Trust in 1873 transformed Mumbai's connections with the rest of the world and made Mumbai one of the most prominent cities and portals of India.

The Industrial Revolution led to a large regional migration with people coming to Mumbai from southern, western, and northern states and cities of India. Mumbai became a prominent land of opportunities. Public eating existed in India since Vedic times, and Vedic scholar Chanakya's Arthashastra (written in 300 BCE) makes several references to public eating culture. But the Industrial Revolution marked new beginnings of public and street food eating cultures in Mumbai.

Some of the best examples of public eating during the mid-18th century were *khanavals* [eating houses] that served home-cooked meals to the industrial workers who migrated to Mumbai and lived in shared tenements separated from families with no access to the kitchens. The earliest example of a *khanaval* can be traced back to the 1830s (Conlon, 1995). European style hotels and restaurants emerged in the late 18th century in Mumbai. By the 1900s, Mumbai established itself as an industrial and cosmopolitan city with growing businesses, factories, and cotton mills that fueled the city's economy and provided employment to a steadily increasing migrant population.

The rise of industrial activity led to the emergence of a proletarian-style diet—a diet of factory workers that later inspired Mumbai's street food culture (Crowther, 2013; Vieira Cardoso, Companion, & Marras, 2014). Mumbai's *vada pav* that emerged in 1928 was the best example of a labor-focused diet. It was heavy on starch and a good source of quick energy; it was filling, affordable, and convenient to eat. Mama Kane was the first restaurateur in Mumbai who sold the original *vada pav* at his Dadar West food joint, one of the oldest Maharashtrian food joints in the city (Sankari, 2016). The modern version of *vada pav* as a street food was born in 1966 when a street vendor named Ashok Vaidya started selling it at Dadar Railway station.

Thus, the British Raj and Mumbai's industrialization helped facilitate Mumbai's street food culture. Mumbai's culinary landscape started growing more and more diverse with migrants bringing a variety of regional foods and tastes to Mumbai. After independence, the street food culture expanded. *Chaat* and *pani puri* items that came to Mumbai with migrants from the northern and eastern Indian states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and West Bengal became ubiquitous.

Post-Independence Era

India gained independence in 1947, and Mumbai became India's economic capital. In the 1950s, there were around 130 cotton and textile mills in Girgaon within a stretch of 600 acres starting from Byculla to Dadar and from Mahalaxmi to Elphinstone Road (see Figure 1). The most commonly consumed street foods at the carts and stalls in that area were *vada pav*, *maska pav*, *misal pav*, *kandabhaji*, *bhaji pav*, and cutting *chai* that incorporated the proletarian style of diet with *pav* as a significant ingredient. *Pav bhaji* emerged in 1966 in the Taddeo area near Crawford Market. A Muslim vendor named Sardar first discovered the recipe and sold it from his cart to factory workers. *Pani puri*, one of Mumbai's most famous

street foods, first emerged in the Magadha region of Eastern India (present-day South Bihar) in ancient times, and from there it traveled to neighboring states (Batra, 2016). It arrived in Mumbai with migrants from that region of India.

The British brought sliced bread to India, but it was mainly consumed by upper classes and sold at food stalls and sit-down cafes in higher-income localities of South Mumbai and Bandra. But things changed when Bombay sandwiches became popular in the 1970s and '80s. The main reason behind the evolution of Mumbai's famous sandwiches was the rise of the White Revolution, an effort initiated by a Parsi visionary and businessman, Dr. Verghese Kurien, also known as "Father of White Revolution" after India's independence. He played a central role in developing India's largest agricultural development program. By the end of the 1970s, Amul butter and processed cheese were immensely popular, and that drove the sandwich insurgency in Mumbai.

By the 1970s, the street food stalls were everywhere in Mumbai, and the culture had reached beyond the working-class community. People consumed street foods for necessity and pleasure. Easy access to the stalls around public places, schools, colleges, and office areas as well as Mumbai being an excellent walkable urban city boosted street food consumption. It marked a new transition from *hitkarak* [for benefit] to *sukhkarak* [for pleasure] food consumption.

Post 1980 Era

The Great Bombay Textile Strike happened in 1982, which abruptly ended Mumbai's longstanding mill culture and pushed more than 250,000 workers into unemployment and poverty. Many of the workers and their families turned to the street food business for survival, which vastly increased the number of food stalls per capita and further heightened an already

thriving street food culture. Business competition became fierce, and the vendors used the innovation of foods and tastes as one of the winning strategies to outlast.

One of the most important things that happened in the background was the liberalization of India's economy and trade culture. In 1991, changed economic policies expanded the role of private and foreign investment, which opened India to the global economy. Mumbai's socio-cultural context started evolving faster, and it brought a wave of culinary globalization of new foods, tastes, ingredients, and exposure to Mumbai's street food culture. The first McDonald's opened in Mumbai in 1996 in Bandra. By 2000, KFC, Pizza Hut, and Dominos had established themselves in Indian markets. Migration to the United States and other countries around the world increased, and more and more Indians started traveling around the world for work and pleasure. Such changes brought a higher awareness of hygiene, cleanliness, and desires for global tastes, and street food vendors slowly began incorporating those values into their business practices.

Today, India is one of the fastest growing economies in the world. In 2014, India was the largest source of new immigrants to the United States and the second most significant source of total immigrants in the world (Chakravorty, Kapur, & Singh, 2017, loc 68 of 8771). Such intensified global intermingling has uniquely affected Mumbai's street food culture. Mumbai's street food stalls sell a variety of international foods, including pizzas, pastas, burgers, and Indo-Chinese foods. But all dishes are presented with Mumbai's signature tastes, which makes the Mumbai street foods and the culture unique.

Development of Mumbai's Signature Tastes

Mumbai has a highly diverse street food culture, but there is one significant commonality—incorporation of spicy, tangy, sweet, sour, and hot flavors into the foods. Vir Sanghvi (2004), a well-known food critic and journalist, argued that the credit for Mumbai street food's tangy and sweet tastes goes to Gujarati housewives. He suggested that Gujaratis

recognized the potential for complex flavors in simple North Indian *chaat* and *pani puri* items. They transformed the *chaat* and *pani puri* entirely by adding traditional Gujarati textures and tastes and, thus, making them distinct from North India—their place of origin. The additions were soon absorbed into other food items, such as sandwiches, which vendors served with tangy and sweet *chutneys*.

The Gujarati influence on Mumbai is long-standing and can be traced back to ancient times. Until May 1, 1960, Gujarat and Maharashtra were parts of a single state. The Mahagujarat movement that started in 1956 demanded a separate state for Gujarati-speaking people, and the state of Gujarat came into existence in 1960. Traditional Gujarati foods integrate a subtle combination of spicy and mild flavors. Almost every Gujarati food preparation has sweet and sour tastes with *jaggery* [an unrefined form of Indian sweetener made from sugarcane] as one of the essential ingredients.

Indian foods are traditionally hot and spicy. The extensive use of a variety of spices used in flavoring and making the foods goes back to Vedic times and the Indus Valley civilization. Thus, the merger of hot and spicy traditional flavors with Gujarati sweet, sour, and tangy flavors produced Mumbai's signature tastes and metaphorically, represents the cosmopolitan nature of Mumbai itself.

Phoenix and Indian Immigrant Population

Phoenix is the fifth largest American city, and unlike Mumbai, it's not a walkable city, which goes against the essence of any street food culture. A 2016 study from George Washington University's Center for Real Estate and Urban Analysis (CREUA) found Phoenix to be among the least walkable cities in the nation. Phoenix ranked 29th among the 30 biggest metro areas ("Phoenix found to be among least-walkable cities, but it is improving," 2017). Hence, street food culture in Phoenix is nonexistent.

At present, there are around 95 South Asian restaurants in the Phoenix metropolitan area that sell Indian foods, including street foods. Most of the restaurants are owned and run by North Indian and South Indian immigrants, and they serve a variety of main course and street food items in a sit-down setting. This form of serving is drastically different from the ways people experience street foods in Mumbai.

Phoenix's Indian population is quite small compared to the traditional immigrant destinations of New York and Los Angeles. However, Indian immigration to Phoenix substantially grew after the liberalization of India's economy in 1991.The majority of immigrants were members of "The IT Generation" and had specialized skills in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, & Mathematics) fields (Chakravorty, Kapur, & Singh, 2017). The Phoenix metropolitan area is home to several Fortune 500 companies, including Intel Corp., US Airways, Boeing Co., Honeywell, American Express, and Wells Fargo to name a few from the past 25 years. Phoenix is also the home of Arizona State University, one of the major educational institutes in the US with a high number of Indian students admitted to various programs.

There are many Indian community organizations in Phoenix, including the India Association, Indian Students Association at ASU, Bengali Cultural Association, Phoenix Metro Maharashtra Mandal, Gujarati Cultural Association, and Kannada Association, that bring the Indian community together. They organize cultural events and celebrate India's regional and national festivals with fellow members (AZIndia.com) over traditional foods catered from Indian restaurants.

Thus, unlike Mumbai, the Indian community's Phoenix heritage can be traced back only a handful of decades. But the Indian community has figured out ways to create a life away from home. They have found ways to make cultural and contextual differences work.

Many Indian immigrants visit India during vacations to spend time with friends, family, and to briefly enjoy the local culture that they left behind. Thus, though the cities of Mumbai and Phoenix are globes apart, they share a mutual backdrop of migration, which makes them perfect contenders for comparative research.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN

Asking Questions and Structuring the Approach

Chapter five presents my main research question and the sub-questions. The chapter examines research approaches implemented in relevant studies and discusses the literature I relied on in developing methods and instruments.

Research Questions

The main research question is: What roles have authenticity, tradition, and nostalgia played in shaping the production, consumption, and distribution of Indian street foods over the years? As forces of globalization transform societies and cultures all over the world, how will the practice of design participate in fashioning the Indian street food experience in the future?

There are three sub questions:

1. How can the notions of nostalgia, tradition, and authenticity be used to make sense of social and cultural practices that shape Indian street food experiences?
2. Do the processes of consumption, production, distribution, and regulation contribute to the shaping of street food experiences locally and globally? If yes, how?
3. What may be the future of Indian street foods in Mumbai and Phoenix?

To explore above research questions, the study was divided into two parts. The first part focused on fieldwork in Phoenix, and the second part was fieldwork in Mumbai. The following sections describe relevant literature on research methodologies to justify the research design, the selection of methods, and the development of the instruments.

Selection of Methods

Ethnography. While discussing food studies, Crowther (2013) pointed out that the locality, the original place where food evolved, is consumed, and where meaning and values

were first assigned to the food, serves as one end in multi-cited food ethnographies. The other end is usually the place of migration where food is "re-territorialized," adapted, and recreated by the immigrants. Tsuda, Tapias, and Escandell (2014), as well suggested that multi-cited fieldwork could be highly beneficial for ethnographic studies that examine transnational networks.

In my research, Mumbai serves as the original place and is the first end. Phoenix is the adapted place and is the other end. The multi-cited ethnography approach can help reveal how the lives of the Indian immigrants in Phoenix and people in Mumbai are linked through Indian street food and its contextual culture.

Visual research. Sutton (2012) discussed skill-based ethnography and food research. Though his fieldwork examples, he emphasized how the use of video could be exceedingly valuable in examining the cooking practices that were embedded in particular contexts and sensorial knowledge. Such an approach can decode the complex processes by which the foods are produced and reproduced. Hence, it is the best suited for my research.

Visual research comes with its set of strengths and weaknesses. The greatest strength of photographs and videos is that they elicit information that an observer may and can miss during fieldwork. Videos are instrumental in revealing microscopic information because of their ability to rewind and fast forward multiple times while analyzing the data (Grady, 2008; Hockings, 2003; Margolis & Pauwels, 2011). The second advantage is that visual information can be analyzed through qualitative approaches of coding (Ball & Smith, 1992; Knoblauch, Baer, Laurier, Petschke, & Schnettler, 2008), interpretive techniques like interaction analysis (Jordan & Henderson, 1995), quantitative methods like content analysis (Margolis & Zunjarwad, 2017; Roy, 2011), cluster analysis (Schreck, Bernard, Landesberger, & Kolhammer, 2009), or mixed methods approaches.

The third advantage of visual research is the ability to reveal inexplicit and nonverbal expressions and communications. Visual researchers, such as Ray McDermott and Sarah Pink have long advocated that the analysis of all the human senses should be included in the research process. McDermott and Raley (2011) studied four and five-year-old Spanish-speaking kindergartners to explore the success of standardized assessments of children's reading abilities in American schools by assessing how the teachers and the students perceived it on the ground. They watched for a range of body and facial expressions, movements, and interactions happening at individual and collective levels. In one instance, a student picked up a list of the names of all the students from the English group lying on the table and announced, "I can read it!" Her teacher replied with a question, "Do you wanna read it?" The student took three minutes to read all the names on the list, and the teacher applauded, praised her, and said, "Yeah! Very good Alexis!" The authors observed through visual documentation that the reality was different because many times, the student could not decode the names and pronounced variations of the actual names. The teacher and the other students helped her through the process, and still the teacher praised her for reading. When the teacher was not around, the student flaunted her reading skills by refusing to acknowledge friends' and teachers' help, though that was not the reality. By closely analyzing body movements, interactions, and expressions McDermott and Raley (2011) pointed at the issues of ingenuity in schools and shared perspectives to argue the ever-emerging reality of how policies get enacted on the ground.

The two of the biggest weaknesses of visual research are the enormous magnitude of data collected as videos and images, and analysis of the visual data in a vacuum. Visual information can present only part of the story and should be accompanied with other

methods and types of data to make sense of the complete picture (Collier & Collier, 1986; Margolis & Pauwell, 2011).

Visual research of stills and videos is essential for my research as a contextual approach because it can significantly help make sense of expressions related to sensorial memories and feelings of nostalgia. The techniques of visual investigation are also effective when it comes to participatory and generative research approaches.

Generative research. Generative research falls at the heart of the design discipline (Hannington, 2003; Kumar, 2013). Sanders and Stappers (2012) discussed the effectiveness of generative methods as a part of participatory research in design. They emphasized its high value in reaching participants' tacit knowledge—thoughts that are known but cannot be verbally expressed—and latent knowledge—ideas that have not been experienced yet but the exploration can lead to creating future opportunities (pp. 52–53). The main idea here is to facilitate expressions of casual and difficult-to-reach experiences, views, and feelings through collaboration and creativity. For instance, The Institute Without Boundaries (IWB) at the School of Design at George Brown College in Toronto conducted a project with the Municipality of Lata in Chile to explore possibilities for redesigning the city after recent natural disasters. The research was done in collaboration with the design students from School of Industrial Design at Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada, and DuocUC in Concepcion, Chile. Before the weeklong research sessions with the participants, students spent time as a group working to establish meaningful ways to communicate and guide the participants through the research process. They created Lata-specific generative toolkits for thirteen-year-old student participants from schools in Lata that consisted of word-sets, pictures, stickers, and stationary materials.

At the time of the sessions, "What do you like about Lata?" was explored as the main research question, and the children created collages to map their ideas, many of which highlighted stories of the recent severe earthquake and included words related to family, parks, beaches, food, and more. After the "making" activities, participants shared the stories behind their collages and maps. The last step was the group interviews, which led to a deeper discussion about the participatory work and the future re-design possibilities for the city of Lata. Researchers closely paid attention to body language, facial expressions, and vocal tone while seeking to understand children's stories and the interview question answers (Sanders and Stappers, 2012).

Generative techniques usually result in the creation of an artifact that revolves around the topics, like recalling memories, expressing feelings, connecting dots, and imagining the future to name a few. The toolkits act as a vehicle to help generate such complex information used through artifacts and the associated stories and, hence, should be developed and designed carefully, insisted Sanders and Stappers (2012). They suggested incorporating the aspects of dimensionality—2D and 3D materials; content—cognitive and functional, as well as emotional and expressive; and lastly the concept of time, which can reveal how a single event or events unfolded. Some of the examples of the toolkits are: emotional toolkits that can include photos, images, and words for eliciting memories; storyline toolkits that are designed to optimize the expression of a story; or cognitive toolkits that are designed to help understand the connections between the points.

The data collected through say-do-make techniques, associated interviews, discussion sessions, and focus groups can be analyzed using qualitative methods of coding. Quantitative tools like multi-dimensional scaling can be used to identify relationships between items used

to create the artifacts (Sanders & Stappers, 2012). Mixed methods of content analysis looking for clusters, patterns, and themes are also useful.

While discussing the possible limitations of the generative research approach, Hannington (2007) cautioned that the rigor involved in analyzing creative information should not be compromised in any case. These techniques are time-consuming and demand extensive work from conception through analysis. Another challenge is to avoid potential bias involved in the pre-selection of the toolkit materials. Consistency in the procedure of conducting multiple sessions needs to be observed and demands refining of the toolkits, methods, and the processes through several pilot and practice sessions.

Selection of Methods

I used an approach of the questions-methods table to explore possible choices of methods to address my research questions. The idea is to list research questions and explore possible data collection and analysis tools that are best suited to address those research questions.

Sampling Strategy

Thirteen Indian immigrants from Phoenix participated in phase one of the fieldwork (see Appendix B). All of them lived in Mumbai as children and adolescents and migrated to the United States in their early or late 20s for work, higher education, or because of marriage. Out of 13, six participants—three women and three men—were living in Phoenix for more than eight years at the time of their participation. Some of them had lived in the US for almost 20 years . The remaining seven participants—four women and three men, all in their early to mid-20s—migrated to Phoenix for higher education and had lived in the US for less than two years at the time of their participation. To get additional rounded perspective, I also interviewed a former restaurant owner, an Indian immigrant himself who started an

Indian street food restaurant in Phoenix, to gain knowledge about Indian street foods, food production, regulation, and related practices in Phoenix.

Table 1

Questions-Methods Table

Question: What roles have tradition, authenticity, and nostalgia played in shaping the production, consumption, and distribution of Indian street foods over the years? And as forces of globalization transform societies and cultures all over the world, how will the practice of design participate in fashioning the Indian street food experience now and in the future?				
	Sub-questions	Data collection tools	Data analysis tools	Possible findings
1.	How can the notions of nostalgia, tradition, and authenticity be used to make sense of social and cultural practices that shape Indian street food experiences?	Interviews, generative research, participatory research, visual research	Coding for textual and video data, content analysis, multi-dimensional scaling for pattern visualization	Insights into meaning and decision-making practices associated with Indian street foods; acquiring knowledge about values, assumptions, and associated cultural beliefs
2.	Do the processes of consumption, production, distribution, and regulation contribute to the shaping of street food experiences locally and globally? If yes, how?	Participant observation, ethnography, visual research, interviews	Coding for textual and video data	Insights into behaviors, practices, interaction, and socio-cultural contexts
3.	What may be the future of Indian street foods in Mumbai and Phoenix?	Interviews	Coding	Sensing the possibilities of sociocultural and economic growth for Indian street foods in Mumbai and Phoenix

I approached all participants through personal and professional connections and recruited using a combination of purposeful and snowball sampling. It was a two-step process. Once identified, I contacted participants over the phone to explain the research project and the process. After they expressed interest, I emailed them a brief questionnaire (see Appendix A) to confirm their background, including questions about the name of the Mumbai suburb where they grew up, the reason and year of migration, the number of years

spent in the US and Phoenix, and more. I maintained the diversity of sampling by choosing some participants who had been living in Phoenix for starting from a few days and some who had settled there for 15–20 years. I also made sure to recruit participants from different suburbs in Mumbai to broaden the knowledge of experiences.

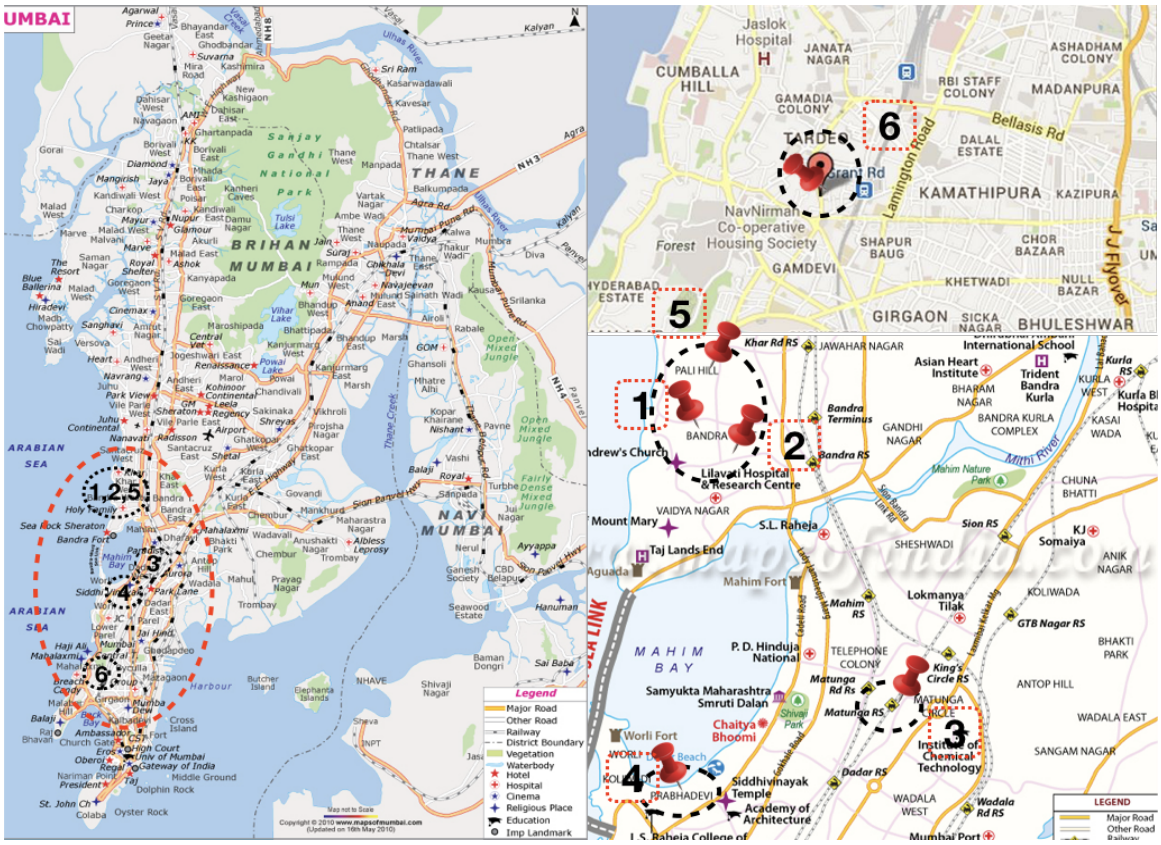

Figure 3. Locations of six participant vendors (from *Googlemaps.com*)

For phase two, I contacted local street food vendors in Mumbai through two gatekeeper families with whom I stayed during my Mumbai fieldwork and knew through friends and family. To diversify sampling, I purposefully chose six vendors based on:

- Location: Vendors from different suburbs in Mumbai (see Figure 3)

The ascending number order explains the sequence of fieldwork with "1" being the first vendor and "6" being the last vendor taking part in my 25 days of fieldwork in Mumbai. My first host family lived in the western Mumbai area where vendors 1, 2, and 5 (see Figure 3)

were located. The second host family lived in the central Mumbai area, which was also the location of vendors 3 and 4. The number 6 vendor was near the south Mumbai area and was famous for *pav bhaji*. Hence, I approached him on my own. Each of the vendors above was into street food business for more than 12 years. More detailed information about the vendors in Appendix B.

- Type of food: The selection criteria included the type of street food sold by the vendors. Detailed information about different street foods mentioned here and in this dissertation is included in Appendix F.

Figure 4. Foods sold by vendor participants (Images by researcher)

Description of Methods and Instruments

Following I describe my research instruments.

Method One: Co-Creation

Phase one included the generative research method of co-creation and group interviews. 13 Indian immigrants participated in groups of 3 or 4, and were part of group interviews. One-hour long group interviews were conducted immediately after the co-creation sessions. Altogether, each session of co-creation and interviews was around 4 to 4.5 hours long.

Getting ready. The purpose of the sessions was mainly to trigger memories related to street food experiences in Mumbai and Phoenix. Hence, the toolkit included numerous photos of street foods sold in Mumbai and Phoenix, as well as contextual images like public transportation options of local trains, city buses, and auto-rickshaws in Mumbai since they are a lifeline of everyday life in the city. This emotional toolkit also included a variety of stickers like emoticons, picture icons, and images of activities related to street food consumption, production, regulation, and hygiene. The literature review and my past interactions related to Indian street foods guided the process of building these toolkits. I downloaded all images from Google.com and purchased stickers and icons from Amazon.com. I created three identical emotional toolkit sets and laminated all images for multiple uses. Each of these sets also included stationery items such as sizeable blank sheets of paper, markers, pens, tape, and Post-it notes of different colors (see Figure 5).

Set up. I hosted all four group sessions at my home. There were two purposes behind this. First was the convenience of setting up cameras and audio recorders the way I wanted, and second was to offer a homely environment to the participants for improved comfort and the facilitation of richer conversations.

All the participants traveled to my place on their own except the last group of three female students and a young housewife who had recently arrived in Phoenix. I picked them up before the session and dropped them off after we finished.

Before starting the session, I gave the participants a few minutes to settle, introduce themselves, and get comfortable with each other. I served Indian street foods like *samosas* and *vadas* as vehicles to trigger food-related memories and initiate correlated conversations.

Figure 5. Elements of emotional toolkits provided to the participants

All the participants traveled to my place on their own except the last group of three female students and a young housewife who had recently arrived in Phoenix. I picked them up before the session and dropped them off after we finished.

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Implementation. The generative research method of co-creation involved making collages, journey maps, and explaining the stories behind them. Each participant received the following set of printed instructions (see Figure 6) before starting the session. I verbally repeated, elaborated on those instructions, and addressed participants' concerns and questions.

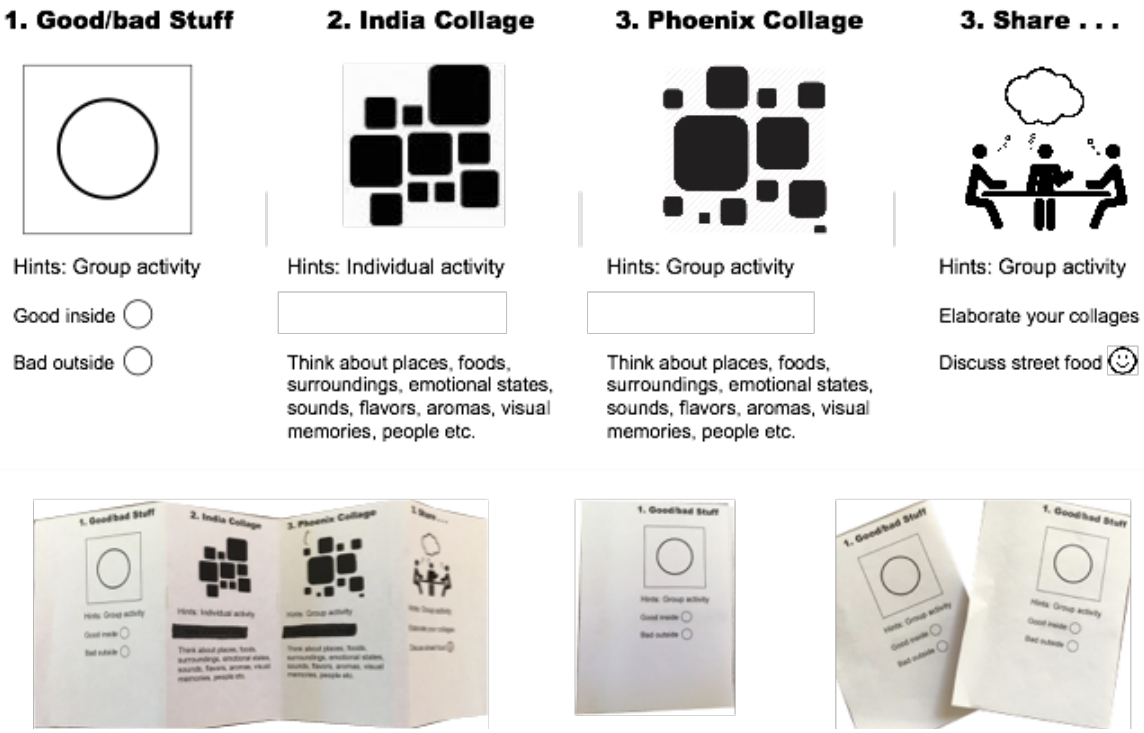

Figure 6. A printed set of instructions that I shared with participants

Good/bad collage. The first step was a group activity to create a good/bad collage focusing on participants' past street food experiences from when they lived in Mumbai. They received a large blank sheet of a paper with only a big blank circle printed on it. Participants used Post-it notes to write their points and placed good experiences inside and bad experiences outside the circle (see Figure *7*).

India collage. The second step was an India collage, and it was an individual activity. My literature research revealed vastness of street food experiences in Mumbai. Hence, to know about broad range of street food experiences in Mumbai, I decided India collages to be an individual activity. Each participant was asked to remember one experience and create a journey map to visually explain how that experience emerged, progressed, and ended. The expectation from them was to think about every detail including the environment,

interaction, aromas, tastes, the process of ordering, and serving the food. They could use all elements of the emotional toolkits here to express the whole story visually (see Figure 8).

Figure 7. Group 2 participants working on Good/Bad collage

Figure 8. Group 4 participants working on the India Collage

Phoenix collage. The third step was a Phoenix Collage, and it was a group activity (see Figure 9). My literature and contextual research discovered a much smaller scale of Indian street food culture in Phoenix compared to Mumbai. Hence I decided to pursue it as a group activity. Participants created a collage of their typical Indian street food experiences from Phoenix—how and why they decide to go to eat Indian street foods, how they travel to the restaurants, the company included, the food they order, and anything else about those experiences. Here, they used articles from the emotional toolkit such as images of the Indian street foods sold in Phoenix, stickers, stationery items, and Post-it notes.

Figure 9. Group 3 participants working on Phoenix collage

Method Two: Group Interviews

The semi-structured group interview questionnaire (see Appendix C) explored past street food experiences from Mumbai, how that changed when participants shifted to Phoenix, what happened in their recent India trip when they had street foods, and how they would compare that experience in Mumbai with Phoenix. Participants also answered

questions about their ideal street food experiences in Mumbai and Phoenix and shared their viewpoints about how the street food culture could evolve in both places in future.

Method Three: Rapid Ethnographic Assessment

In phase two, a rapid ethnographic assessment included 25 days of ethnographic fieldwork in Mumbai. I spent around 10–15 hours each at the stalls of vendor 1, 2, and 3 (refer to Figure 4) and 4 to 6 hours each for the stalls of vendor 4, 5, and 6 (see Figure 4). As a part of participant observation at these stalls, I observed food making, distribution, management, and a variety of interactions that happened at the stalls. I interviewed the vendors and conducted brief on-site interviews with their customers. To gain multiple viewpoints, I visited Azad Hawker's Union office that represented street vendors, including food vendors in Mumbai, and was affiliated with the National Association of Street Vendors of India (NASVI). I interviewed their general secretary and a few food vendors to understand their perspectives on running a street food business, food production, hygiene management, regulation, and related challenges. I also talked to Dr. Mohasina Mukadam, a food historian from Ramnarayan Ruiya College in Matunga East, Mumbai, to discuss the historical evolution of street foods in Mumbai. She suggested a few resources to gather contextual information specific to Mumbai's food history. Visits to Mumbai's Regional Census Office of Maharashtra, the International Institute for Population Sciences, and The Asiatic Society of Mumbai's library were beneficial in gathering appropriate information about research in the area of population studies and historical literature related to Mumbai.

Visual Research for *Eat Your Heart Out*

All co-creation sessions, interviews, and ethnographic fieldwork in Mumbai was video and audio documented. The total fieldwork produced more than 70 hours of video data and hundreds of still images. The toolkit for visual research (see Figure 10) included

GoPro, DSLR, and cell phone cameras; audio recorders; back-up drives; batteries; and a variety of camera stands. The GoPro camera captured top-down angles, and I implemented the technique of continuous monitoring to collect unobstructed data related to body movements in space, nonverbal interactions, and physical actions. This was especially significant in Mumbai because many things were happening simultaneously at and around the stalls, and the GoPro worked as a third eye that efficiently documented valuable data points. I used the DSLR and cell phone cameras to collect still images, record interviews, and for all other visual documentation activities. The ability to gather visual data from different vantage points diversified data capturing and strengthened the quality of information.

Managing the equipment and the data was initially an uphill battle. To avoid any data-loss disasters, I stored multiple copies of all my data and carried back-up batteries to overcome the limitation of limited electricity access at the roadside food stalls.

Figure 10. My visual data collection toolkit

Data Documentation

I mainly relied on field notes for textual data. I documented observations during the fieldwork and analytical reflections through field notes after finishing the work for that day.

Data Analysis

All video, images, textual, and audio data were analyzed using the technique of descriptive coding and MAXQDA software. All interviews were transcribed as texts, and use of MAXQDA offered the convenient possibility to code images and GoPro videos directly. Each document, image, and video went through at least two cycles of coding. The first two or three transcriptions consumed four to five cycles of coding because of the process of finalizing the codes.

After coding, the next step was to write analytical memos, which happened as I progressed through the coding of the data simultaneously. These analytical memos acted as a crucial connection between data and theory.

Testing the Tools

Given the technological complexity, testing was crucial. Before starting my fieldwork, I conducted a five-day long participant observational study at a local Indian restaurant in Phoenix and tested the visual data collection toolkit and approaches. That experience significantly helped in understanding the nuts and bolts of the multitasking necessary for documenting field notes and managing equipment while conducting participant observation fieldwork.

The first co-creation session as a pilot helped to fine-tune interview questionnaires, probing techniques, and skills for conducting and managing group activity. Similarly, early fieldwork sessions in Mumbai facilitated an improved understanding of specific onsite challenges and knowledge of developing successful strategies to address them.

Consents

The overall structures, details, and consent forms were approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) to ensure that subjects were treated ethically and their rights were adequately protected.

One of the difficulties with the vendors in Mumbai was their inability to read and write English. I verbally translated the consent form for the participants and shared a printed version with them well in advance to provide enough time to reflect and decide. In both phases of fieldwork, all participants received suitable monetary compensation as an appreciation for their participation, time, and interest.

Conclusion

This chapter first discussed the literature related to relevant methodologies that can be adopted to address the research questions of *Eat Your Heart Out*. Next, it explained my research design, the process of choosing methods, and the development of the instruments. I presented the ways I executed my research and implemented the methods and the instruments to collect the data. The next chapter, Chapter 6, is a Results chapter. It will present the data analysis and findings.


GO PROMOTION
EWER HEIGHTS

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS

> What we call culture takes its place where tradition and innovation intersect. Tradition is made up of knowledge, techniques, values, which were handed down to us. Innovation exists in so much as this knowledge, these techniques; these values modify the place of man in the environmental context, rendering him able to experience a new reality. *A very successful innovation*: that we could define tradition. Culture is the interface between these two perspectives.
>
> Montanari (2006, p. 7)

Tradition

My research suggested that in the case of Mumbai's street food traditions many changes happened over the years, and it appears to be a continual process. Mumbai, as a melting pot of many food cultures, has uniquely absorbed regional and global culinary influences, and I observed, as a result, the city has established a web of its very own street food palates and values.

When participants migrated to Phoenix from Mumbai, cultural contexts changed, but the quest for familiar tastes began leading to the innovation of new traditions. In the following I will discuss the results of my exploration in Mumbai and Phoenix and share how traditions shaped consumption, production, and distribution of Indian street foods over the years.

Shaping Consumption, Production, and Distribution in Mumbai

I spent two weeks in India, as I noted in the methods section. My research findings revealed profound characteristics of Mumbai's street food culture that I interpreted as "embodied values. This section explains how those principles influenced consumption, production, and distribution practices.

Shaping consumption. "Shaping consumption" is about the consumers' side of a story.

Convenience. In her India collage, Ramani, an ASU student, who had been living in Phoenix for a couple of years at the time of her participation, shared a story of a day full of delicious foods that she enjoyed with her closest college friends back in Mumbai. They didn't bring lunch boxes one day and decided to spend the day eating favorite foods at food stalls starting with a hearty breakfast. Her college was in Vile Parle West in Mumbai next to Mithibai College. The whole street across from Mithibai and the surrounding lanes had a variety of food stalls. Ramani shared:

> Nobody got tiffin, and everyone was hungry. We have these two or three breaks during the day. And our college starts like 8 o'clock...8:30. And that particular day we had to be at college until 6 p.m. because we had a workshop or something. So we went downstairs and we...like...it is near Mithibai itself. It's like two minutes walk. So...a...there is this one place called Anand *vada pav*, and it's pretty famous just for *vada pav*. We, as is, like generally that time the cost of the *vada pav* may be five rupees or so but this guy sold it for 10 rupees. It was huge like a burger size thing, and it used to fill your stomach in one go [talking excitedly with wide eyes]. And it is very tasty, and it had a good balance of chilies and potatoes and other like garlic and stuff. And *pav* was roasted in a pool of butter! [Laughs]. But when you eat it...kind of adds more to the taste, so we had *vada pav* accompanied with chai. So later and then we kind of...we were like ok this is not that filling because we wanted to have a heavy breakfast. So we decided...there is one rickshaw *wala* uncle. We used to call him Anna. He was a South Indian guy, and every morning from maybe 9 o'clock till 11, he used to park his rickshaw right near Cooper hospital. That was like bang opposite to our college. So while coming back, we went to his rickshaw, and he used to give this a *meduvada* and *idli* in a pool of green chutney.
>
> So after that...we realized that the break was almost over, and we rushed back. Then at lunchtime we decided again to go downstairs in that same *galli* [lane] itself. So we decided to have grilled cheese sandwich and pizza, and there is one famous Ferrero Rocher milk shake that is really amazing! *Matlab itna sab khaneke baad* Ferrero Rocher *to chahiye* [after eating so much you have to have Ferrero Rocher]. Everything was buttery...full of butter on that street. But it was worth it!

The above example demonstrated how the custom of street food culture is deeply ingrained in proximity and easy access. The informal setting of the stalls encouraged and fashioned the practice of consumption because participants could quickly grab a bite of a favorite food without spending much time. My research suggests that easy walking access,

availability of an abundant number of stalls, and a variety of food options within reach uniquely shaped the consumption practices for the participants starting from childhood.

The social nature of street food consumption. Spending time with friends and family while feasting on favorite street foods was a tradition in Mumbai. Participants expressed that through collages and discussions. In my participant research, they used stickers to highlight the actions of bonding, dining, playing, joking, sitting, saying hello/good bye, and sharing a high five with friends the most (see Figure 11). All the experiences that participants chose to recreate were with friends and family. During my ethnographic research in Mumbai, I observed that that many of the customers who visited the stalls had company.

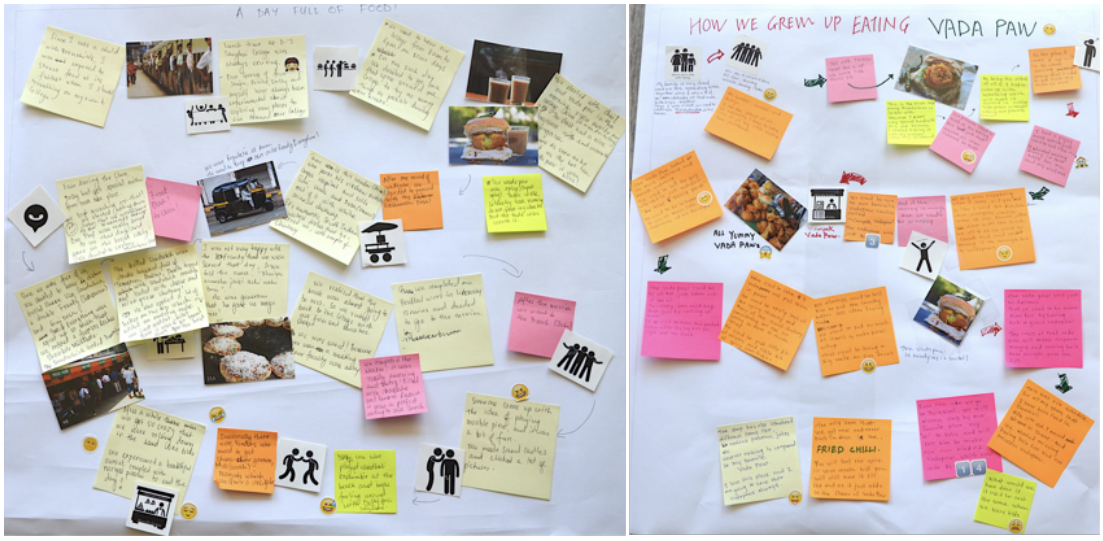

Figure 11. Couple of examples of India collages by the participants

Vikita who moved to Phoenix four years ago, as well as Ramani and Sampada, explained that eating street foods energized and strengthened the street food culture in Mumbai. While echoing a similar thought, Shalaka recollected: "It's not just the taste of *chaat*, but it's an unforgettable combination of the flavorful foods and heartfelt laughter that I shared with childhood friends over the favorite foods."

Mumbai's signature tastes. One of the significant values that define Mumbai's culinary culture is the intense love for spicy, tangy, sweet, hot, and zesty tastes. I observed that in Mumbai, street foods were full of layers of flavors, unique combinations of textures, and were typically loaded with a variety of *chutneys* and sauces.

Sampada talked about her past experience at Chaatwich, a sandwich place near her office in New Bombay, which was her all-time favorite stall. She had ordered a *paneer*-corn sandwich, and when it arrived, she was delighted to taste the delicious filling of diced veggies, corn, and mayo layered between the triangular bread slices with perfect, brown, toasted lines and covered with fresh green *chutney*. In a similar example, Vikita discussed the layering of flavors in her favorite food *kheecha papad*—crispy and slowly roasted to extract the best flavor, then layered with a variety of vegetables like tomatoes and cucumbers, and finally topped with mouth-watering sweet, tangy, and spicy *chutneys*.

When I talked to my Mumbai vendor participant—Ashok's— customers, many of them talked about being fans of his *chutneys* the most (see Figure 12).

Figure 12. Variety of chutneys served with at *vada pav* Ashok's stall

Freshly made foods. One of the traditions in Mumbai is to eat at open roadside stall where steamy hot food comes to the plate right from *kadhai* [round deep cooking pot traditionally used for deep frying]. While discussing her appreciation for freshness, Vikita talked about her die-hard love for crispy *kachoris* stuffed with spiced *mung* lentil filling at

Kharakua in Zaveri Bazar in Mumbai, which according to her hit the highest mark of deliciousness. She shared:

> They are like these small small *kachoris* [showing with hand] filled with *moong daal* [mung beans] filling really spicy. If you can't handle spice you shouldn't like...try it [talking in excited voice]...And they give it with *imli* [tamarind] and the green chutneys. And if you are taking it home, you can add *dahi* [yogurt] to it. Like it really increases the flavor...really cools down the spiciness of the *kachori*. *Par agar* [but if] you have a lot of time and you know you should...really try to have it fresh because 3 or 4 o'clock *ke aaspaas* [around that time] they make it fresh. *Aapke samne se vo ghee me se nikalta hai* [he will fry *kachoris* in ghee right in front of you], and he will pack it... fresh puri! [Nodding]. By the time you go home it will still be fresh.

When I talked to Savita's customers, one of my vendor participants, they pointed out that Savita served freshly made, steamy hot *puri bhaji* and that was the main reason why they purchased her food.

Innovative twists. Participants also talked about Mumbai vendors' innovative twists to traditional foods and enthusiasm for experimentation.

Figure 13. 1) *Vada pav* 2) *Chura pav*

Ashok, one of my Mumbai vendor participants, sold *chura pav* that had fried gram flour *chura* instead of *vada* sandwiched in a fresh *pav* (see Figure 13). Many of his customers told me that he was the only vendor in Mumbai who sold unique food like *chura pav*. Aditya, a second-year student at ASU, who had recently visited Mumbai at the time of his

participation shared a story of having pizza *dosa*–a traditional *dosa* topped with pizza sauce, veggies, tangy sauces, cheese, and served with coconut *chutney*.

Affordability. Street foods are traditionally inexpensive options in Mumbai, and people from lower to upper economic classes enjoy them for pleasure, convenience, and affordability. While discussing Mumbai street food "not being heavy on pocket," Vikita shared, "Even if someone is working in corporate culture and fetching a good salary in Mumbai, it can be expensive to go to posh sit-down places to eat foods frequently." She added reflectively, "For first few days may be fine, but the person will have to turn to street foods to 'balance wallet' because they are a lot more affordable." Many other participants echoed similar thoughts of being used to spending small amounts on street foods with satisfying portion sizes.

Consistency. I observed that reliability and consistency were the most critical traits of Mumbai's street food culture. Deepali shared an interesting story of her visit to Mumbai three years ago. She went on to have *bhaji pav* at her favorite food stall near her house in Shivaji Nagar and delightfully shared that there was no change in taste. Jayanti spoke about her experience in her India collage of visiting Bhola's sandwich cart during her recent visit to Mumbai and having her favorite toast sandwich. She happily said that the sandwich tasted exactly the same as it used to 15 years ago. Many of the customers that I talked to at my participant vendors' stalls in Mumbai echoed similar thoughts.

Shaping production. "Shaping production" discusses vendors' part of the process. Mumbai's food production practices were rooted in informality, and customers valued the casual arrangements.

Adapting recipes. *Pav bhaji*, *vada pav*, and *khekda bhaji* are the signature foods that originated in Mumbai. I observed some Mumbai vendors liked to add personal twists to their

recipes, sometimes offering traditional foods in different flavors or with unique ingredients to make the foods crunchier or tastier. This helped them to establish a personal name and stand out in fierce competition. But the modifications always remained within the constraints of Mumbai's overall street food preferences—incorporation of spicy, tangy, sweet, hot, and zesty tastes.

Figure 14. Variety of *vada pavs* sold at Gayatri stall, Vile Parle, Mumbai

Vendors adapted family recipes to suit the changed or updated setups, technology, and business practices. Ansari, sustained his father's business and the *pav bhaji* recipe that his father, Mr. Sardar, discovered in 1965. Mr. Sardar was the first vendor in Mumbai to make and sell *pav bhaji*, which he created as a filling option for mill workers in those days. He expanded the business by moving it from a cheap shack to a spacious sit-down restaurant in 1978. They had eight cooks working for them for more than 10 years who Mr. Sardar and Ansari trained.

To enhance the taste and richness of the food, Ansari started using Amul butter to cook *bhaji* and roast *pav* instead of Dalda vegetable oil. Ansari shared that he used 23 different types of exotic spices in his *pav bhaji*. The *pav bhaji* was slow-cooked to extract the best flavor of each ingredient and served fresh with a cook making multiple batches throughout the day (see Figure 5). He asserted that using a coal-burning stove, which existed

since Mr. Sardar's time enhanced the character of the food and proudly shared that he never added food color to his *pav bhaji*, like many other food vendors in Mumbai.

Ansari maintained the essence of his food over the years by sticking to characteristic features of Sardar *pav bhaji*. It looked like he had invested a lot of money in building the restaurant, but he insisted that the new place was just a modern version of what his father initiated many years ago.

Adjusting recipes to suit the immediate customer base was a common practice amongst vendors. Devi's New Pankaj stall was in the Matunga area, which had a high population of the Jain community. Jains are strictly vegetarian and do not eat vegetables that grow underground—for instance potato, radish, turnip, mushrooms, fresh ginger, turmeric, onions, garlic, cauliflower, or cabbage. The central doctrine of Jainism preaches that all nature is *alive*. But over the years few religious practices have sustained, and not eating onions and garlic is one of them. So Devi served Jain green *chutney* without onions or garlic, which her customers deeply appreciated.

The latest widely expanding approach in Mumbai is adapting recipes to incorporate global ingredients and foods. Indian Chinese food stalls are famous in Mumbai, and the vendors create Indian versions of *hakka* noodles and fried rice loaded with *chezwan*, *chili* sauces, and *chutneys*. Hybrid foods like Chinese *samosa*, Chinese *pav bhaji*, Chinese *dosa*, and Chinese sandwiches are common in Mumbai. In the Taddev area near Sardar *pav bhaji*, there was a vendor who sold several kinds of pastas on the street with "Mumbai twists."

My participants talked about the emerging possibilities of Mexican foods enveloped in Mumbai's trademark tastes in the near future. They continued that there would be a significant rise in street food entrepreneurship with innovative experimentations happening

everywhere, but they didn't forget to add that Mumbai's signature palates would always remain at the core.

Figure 15. Step-by-step captures of Ansari's cook making *pav bhaji:* 1) Roasting chopped onions, garlic, ginger; 2) Adding chopped tomato; 3) Adding boiled green peas; 4) Adding mashed potatoes; 5) Adding signature spices; 6) Mixing and cooking; 7) Adding chopped coriander; 8) Adding more spices and green chili paste; 9) Mashing and cooking; 10) More mashing; 11) *Pav bhaji* is ready to serve; and 12) Fresh *pav* roasted in pool of Amul butter.

In-person and informal communication. I observed that the informal settings of Mumbai's food stalls encouraged vendor participants to develop cordial relationships with their customers. They knew many of their customers and offered loyalty perks of extra butter, cheese, *puris*, or chutneys.

All customers received after-snack treats at Raju, Devi, and Birju's stalls that sold sandwiches and *chaat* items. Raju and Birju would give a *masala puri*—a flat *puri* sprinkled with small mashed potato chunks, *sev*, and zesty *chaat* spice—after the customers finished foods. I observed that this was a common practice in Mumbai at all sandwich and *chaat* stalls and participants loved it. Vikita excitingly shared that "incentives are more fun." While talking about Bhola's sandwich stall, Jayanti shared that the vendor offered them complimentary cucumber slices sprinkled with *chaat* masala as they waited for the food. The informal settings greatly helped in providing personalized service and developing long-term relationships with the customers.

I observed that customers requesting personalized changes in the food were very common, and vendors respected that. It mainly happened for sandwiches and *chaat* items. Savita's food items and Ansari's *pav bhaji* were pre-made and, hence, couldn't be changed much. But at the rest of the stalls, customers placed the order with requests for customized changes like adding or not adding *chutneys*, onions, veggies, or other ingredients in *chaat* items, sandwiches, *vada pav*, and *chura pav*.

The third informal communication tactic that participant vendors implemented in Mumbai was displaying food making at open stalls. Through such actions, they tried to convey a message about proper hygiene and cleanliness of the food. Vendors' communication about making and serving food fresh mattered the most to the customers. But I observed some challenges. Indian food preparation is traditionally performed using

bare hands. But serving can be done wearing gloves, and I didn't see any of my vendor participants using gloves while handling the foods. Lack of personal hygiene and poor hand-washing routines was common, and I observed that vendors and helpers used the same cloths to clean surfaces and wipe hands.

Shaping Distribution. Distribution practices formed a backbone of Mumbai's street food business and were greatly shaped by network of cultural values.

Network of suppliers. In Mumbai, the relationships between the vendors and the distributors dated back to past generations and were like established traditions that vendors rarely changed. The suppliers and distributers delivered everything from scrap newspapers to all kinds of grocery items to the stall on a daily basis.

Ashok spoke about purchasing *pav* from Neelam bakery since he started his business. They made special *pavs* for Ashok that were bigger and fluffier and used *pav* baking trays provided by Ashok. A Neelam bakery representative delivered freshly baked *pav* to his stall several times a day. Devi talked about calling her grocery supplier if the butter ran out or the bakery guy if she needed bread, and they would deliver the material at her stall within next 15 minutes.

Figure 16. 1) Fresh *pav* 2) Neelam bakery staff member delivering *pav ladis* on his bike

Everyday routines. Vendors had a perfect idea of how much food they needed to prepare each day and how much raw material they required for that. Savita, Raju, and Ashok talked about religious fasts when they made a smaller amount of food compared to other days. Savita talked about using 80 pounds of potatoes and 15 liters of refined oil each day.

In Mumbai, the typical day would start with cutting, chopping, vegetables, cleaning the stall, and getting foods ready for later adaptations. Vendors did not have refrigerators to store vast quantities of the foods, so the emphasis was on preparing calculated amounts that would last for the day.

Figure 17. Collage of the images of preparing foods and getting ready for business

Pre-business opening routines in Mumbai also included placing the foods and the tools conveniently to work efficiently with accelerated speed during hasty business hours.

The stalls would get overly crowded, and the vendors and their helpers worked at lightening speed. The coordination, understanding of responsibilities, and quickly filling in for others if required kept the pace fast. Year after year, vendors followed the same procedures and organization. For example, at Ashok's *vada pav* stall the variety of *chutneys*, *pav*, *vadas*, and *chura* were arranged based on the sequence in which they were added to the *vada pav* or *chura pav*.

Packing and selling foods. I observed that most of the Mumbai vendors wrapped foods in newspapers and magazine sheets. The distributors supplied the papers. Savita shared that her customers donated old newspapers, which she used to pack the food.

Branding and use of media. This is a new area that is fast expanding when it comes to street foods in Mumbai. I observed that Devi's New Pankaj and Ansari's Sardar used to-go boxes and containers branded with the names and information about their stalls (see Figure 8). At Sardar, all waiters, cooks, and helpers wore shirts branded with the restaurants' name. Food delivery apps Shreeji, Swiggy, Zomato, UberEATS, and many others are growing fast in Mumbai.

Growing awareness for hygiene. Mumbai's Azad Hawker Union's secretary informed me that Indian government is taking a lot of effort to promote street food culture and entrepreneurship. The government acknowledges that most of the vendors come from lower economic strata, have limited education, and don't have much knowledge about hygiene and cleanliness related practices. In the past five years, the government has started organizing a national street food festival in collaboration with NASVI each year in December at Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium in New Delhi. Vendor representatives from all over India take part in the celebration, and the health department in collaboration with NASVI conducts hygiene workshops with the vendors to teach maintenance of personal and food

hygiene. However, the scope is insufficient and demands extensive efforts, but things are moving in a forward direction and laying the foundation for new practices.

Thus, cultural values of convenience, collectiveness, affordability, consistency, informality, freshly made foods wrapped in Mumbai's signature tastes, etc. defined Mumbai's street food culture and related practices. Mumbai's street food culture encouraged diversity and uniqueness.

Shaping Consumption, Production, and Distribution in Phoenix

As I described in Chapter 4, the methods of co-creation, interviews, and my discussions with restaurant owners contributed to the understanding of practices in Phoenix.

Shaping consumption. Things were hugely different in Phoenix. Indian street food in Phoenix was "without streets" and sold at sit-down Indian restaurants and tiny cafes inside Indian grocery stores.

Formal and individualistic dining. My participants, Sampada and Nilam, both second-year master's students at ASU and had moved to Phoenix for higher education, argued: "It's a posh and super-managed food, which doesn't feel like street food at all." Accessibility to the restaurants mostly by personal or rented cars raised further difficulties. While working at the Phoenix collage, Shalaka, Jayanti, and Deepali, who lived in Phoenix for more than a decade, sarcastically joked about adding transportation stickers. Deepali mockingly stated, "We can add any car sticker—Mercedes, BMW, Audi, any car," and they all wholeheartedly laughed at the ironic situation of going to eat street foods in a car, which never happened in Mumbai.

In Mumbai, visiting a food stall was typically an everyday custom, but in Phoenix, participants explained that going to an Indian restaurant to eat street foods involved many

hassles, beginning with planning and gathering friends. Such things significantly lowered the desire to visit restaurants to eat street foods.

Globalized tastes. Street foods sold at Indian restaurants did not offer the signature tastes of Mumbai. Participants raised concerns that Phoenix restaurants had tastes that "belong to Phoenix." They suggested that toned-down palates, spice levels, an imbalance of flavors, and too much emphasis on sweet and tangy flavors took away the real excitement. Shalaka, Sampada, Jayanti, and most of the other participants spoke about eating *dahi batata*, *sev puri*, and *vada pav* at Pastries N Chaat and Little India in Phoenix, but for them, it was like eating two different versions of the same foods.

Twisted flavors. Participants talked about regional influences from different subcultures in India. Sid stressed that the *samosa* that he had in Phoenix was North Indian style. Sampada shared an example of discovering coconut in a pastry she had at Pastries N Chaat and suggested that Phoenix has a South Indian influence on tastes and variety of foods because of a larger South Indian immigrant population.

I observed that it was disappointing for the participants to eat *vada pav* at Pastries N Chaat or Little India in Phoenix and discover that it was not at all what they were used to having back in Mumbai. It resulted in diverting to the foods they never typically had in Mumbai. Sampada talked about never eating *samosa chaat* and *choole bhature* in Mumbai because they are consumed more in northern parts of India. The most favored foods in Mumbai were *vada pav*, *pav bhaji*, *pani puri*, *sev puri*, *bhel*, hot *chai*, *sandwiches*, *dosa*, *faloodas*, and *kulfi*. Participants talked about consuming *chhole bhature*, *dahi batata sev puri*, *samosa*, *samosa chaat*, and Indian style *pastries* in Phoenix; thus, they moved to new traditions and practices.

Freshly made foods. I didn't observe innovative versions of traditional foods at Indian restaurants in Phoenix. Moreover, in Phoenix, the food was prepared in the kitchens

behind walls and closed doors. Some of my participants questioned the freshness of the foods served in Indian restaurants. Street foods being cooked in closed kitchens and served in sit-down settings radically changed the conventional structure and meaning for the participants.

Expensive costs and smaller portion sizes. All participants expressed displeasure with expensive street food costs in Phoenix. While talking about her experience of having *chaat* at Little India, Ramani spoke in a dissatisfied tone that she didn't like it at all especially given the money she spent for the food. Aditya pointed out that the street food sold in Phoenix is more expensive than what he was used to paying back in Mumbai. Sid shared a similar concern and added that unaffordability reduced the frequency of his visits to Indian restaurants to once a month.

Jayanti told about an experience of going to Woodlands to eat *dosa* when her parents visited Phoenix a few years ago. She criticized the compromised quality of the food; it was overly spicy, had no salt, and the *dosa* was uncooked. Looking at the cost and the quality of the food, her mom responded in a frustrated tone, "Why to come here? We are better off by making this food at home." Snehal echoed similar thoughts and disappointedly declared, "I am never enthusiastic when we go to the Indian restaurants in Phoenix. I know we are going to stuff ourselves, pay more than the food deserves, and then it's not a good experience for me."

Lack of consistency. Preserving steadiness appeared to be a challenge in Phoenix. The main reason was limited availability of the chefs and the cooks, and hence they were in high demand. Participants shared hating ambiguity while visiting Indian restaurants in Phoenix because they didn't know what to expect. Snehal presented an example of the restaurant named Khana Khazana that sold ethnic foods from the northwestern state of

Rajasthan, including some street foods from Mumbai. He loved going there when it first opened, but the quality went down in a short span of a couple of months. That restaurant is no longer in business. Woodlands and Little India restaurants in Phoenix had better consistency regarding foods because their owners were the chefs.

The traditional values of street foods being convenient, tasty, affordable, freshly made, and enjoyed with friends and family while standing at a favorite roadside stall all changed when participants arrived in Phoenix. In the quest for similar experiences and tastes, they created new traditions of catering street foods for parties and enjoying with friends, making them at home, or turning away from Indian street foods for American fast foods. It explains how the traditions evolved when the contexts changed.

Shaping production. Production practices mirrored the consumption behaviors.

Lack of diversity. The approach was more standardized in Phoenix and the restaurant owners followed a typical American sit-down culture and adopted food making to suit that context. When I asked Anita of Little India in Phoenix about her *vada pav* recipe, she shared that when she started the restaurant in 2007, she didn't have *vada pav* on the menu. She immigrated to the US in the early 1970s and never had *vada pav* back in India because she grew up in the northwest state of Rajasthan. On her clients' demands, she gathered recipes from friends and customers and created her version of *vada pav* for Indian and Anglo-Indian patrons. Thus, Anita adapted and developed the *vada pav* that was very different from Mumbai and it was designed for Indian and non-Indian customers.

Mahesh, who started Pastries N Chaat echoed similar thoughts of reaching beyond the Indian community and creating versions of Indian street foods that were low on spice and aroma because he insisted that Anglo-Indian customers didn't appreciate strong smells.

While discussing the future of Indian street foods, Mahesh insisted that there would be more places like Pastries N Chaat in the near future because the interest in Indian street foods is growing among the customers beyond the Indian community. I observed in Phoenix that the restaurant owners overlooked that the Indian community was unhappy.

Formal interactions. In Phoenix, I observed that the connectivity between the restaurateurs and the customers was missing. The sit-down setting that inclined toward formality didn't help either. There were no free or after-food treats, which participants didn't appreciate. Personalization of the foods didn't happen at Phoenix restaurants. However, there was some basic level of cordiality between the restaurant owners and the customers at the places like Woodlands and Little India where the owners were the main cooks or were in the restaurants most of the times.

Shaping Distribution. Similar to Mumbai, network of suppliers existed in Phoenix. However, unlike Mumbai, Phoenix restaurant owners had a set system in place to guide them through the process of starting a running a restaurant. Mahesh talked about a set system of experts starting with a real estate agent to the specialists at the City Planning Commission and Health and Environment agency in Phoenix who guided him through every step from the inception of the idea to the opening of his restaurant. This kind of professional system was not in place in Mumbai, and the process there was a lot more organic and intuitive. Mahesh added that, similar to India, Phoenix restaurants and grocery stores work with retail suppliers for food purchasing. He added that most of the Indian places in Phoenix purchase Indian sweets from US-based Indian retailers in New Jersey and California.

Phoenix restaurant owners too followed a routine when it came to making foods every day. However, having cold storages, refrigerators, and different electronic tools made

the process more convenient and faster. Unlike India, it was a standardized requirement for the restaurants to have certain cooking equipment, appliances, and kitchen tools.

Other standardized approach was to have strong presence on Internet and media. Phoenix restaurants had a widely used Internet and delivery apps just like many other fast food chains and restaurants in Phoenix.

Reflection on Tradition

My research suggested that consumers adopted new traditions, but they searched for familiar palates and practices as well as relied on past memories while embracing novel changes. Mumbai vendors experimented with a variety of flavors, ingredients, textures, and processes, but they performed within the boundaries of original cultural expectations and social norms—successfully incorporating the desire for spicy, tangy, sweet, hot, and zesty tastes. Phoenix restaurants adapted the Indian recipes and food preparations to fit the standardized American dining culture. The restaurant owners and the cooks in Phoenix altered the Mumbai street foods further than the participants could be comfortable with, and that led to a lowering of the interest. In the process, new practices of catering street foods and making street foods at home emerged.

While describing the ultimate street food experience, my participants shared that it would be about a perfect combination of tastes, convenience, affordability, and service from India and hygiene-related practices from Phoenix. Participants acknowledged that the tastes and quality of Indian street foods in Phoenix would improve if there were a higher Indian population.

I observed that establishing and re-establishing tradition was just one part of the story. The search for authentic tastes, flavors, and nostalgic encounters triggered by

modalities of time and place were the other two pieces that contributed to the fashioning of the street food experience. Next, I will discuss authenticity and street foods.

Authenticity

My research revealed that expressions related to authenticity were most prominent when participants spoke about the feeling of loss. The term was most commonly discussed to recollect, "How it was in Mumbai." The making, serving, and experience of the street foods in Mumbai were the gold standards of authenticity for the participants.

I realized that the concept of place and time were particularly noteworthy. Participants referred to the food they had at their favorite food stalls back in Mumbai as authentic while discussing the Indian street foods in Phoenix. The authenticity of the taste appeared to be relative to the customers' past experiences from specific period and place.

Following, I will discuss the prominent markers of authenticity that emerged through my analysis and how they influenced street food consumption, production, and distribution.

Shaping Consumption, Production, and Distribution in Mumbai

Shaping consumption. Participants were conscious about who made their foods, how the foods were served, and the authenticity of the ingredients. They considered pure ingredients as authentic.

Who made the food? I observed participants, and the customers appreciated and acknowledged the cosmopolitan food culture in Mumbai. But they valued regional culinary influences as well. They preferred eating *dosa*, *medu vada*, and *idli* at South Indian vendors' stalls and *chaat* items at the vendors from Northern parts of India, especially from the states of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.

Ramani talked about a South Indian *idli wala* who used to come on a bicycle with freshly made *idlis* and *vadas* to her community early in the morning (see Figure 18). She

recollected that he sold fresh, homemade, authentic food, and they waited for him to arrive. *Idli*, *vada*, *dosa*, *uttappa* are the most famous native foods of the southern states of India. Ramani spoke about another example of purchasing homemade and "authentic" *dhokla* from Gujarati female vendors while traveling on the local train. *Dhokla* originated in the western state of Gujarat and is made with fermented batter of rice and split chickpeas.

Figure 18. Mumbai's South Indian *idli walas* (*Google.com*) selling South Indian foods.

Thus, I observed that the participants approached specific food items that had strong associations with regional cultures differently. They paid attention to the inherent food preparation processes and practices, which according to them made the food "authentic." I realized that they did not raise similar authenticity questions for *vada pav* or *pav bhaji*. Ashok and Ansari had helpers who were originally from the northern states of India and had shifted to Mumbai to work. My observation was that *vada pav* and *pav bhaji* originated in Mumbai and had multicultural roots, which was not the case for *chaat* or South Indian foods. Hence, participants paid attention to the "who made the food?" aspect while consuming only certain foods that they could trace back to its originating sub-culture.

What are the ingredients? Participants appreciated "pure" ingredients in the foods and didn't mind spending extra money for it. They associated "pure" with authentic and genuine.

Nilam shared her childhood memory of going to Dadar in Central Mumbai for shopping with her family on laid-back summer evenings. They used to visit Piyush in Dadar to enjoy a variety of *lassis* and *faloodas* to get much-needed relief from Mumbai's hot and humid summers. Nilam insisted that Piyush always used pure, full-fat milk in their *lassis*, and hence, they were delicious and dense. She added that the *lassis* were expensive compared to other stalls around, but her family didn't mind spending more for quality.

Vikita talked about a vendor in Kharakua, Zaveri Bazar who used "pure" ghee to fry *kachoris*, and Ramani shared a story of visiting a milkshake guy who used to add "real" Ferrero Rocher chocolates in his famous chocolate milkshake. I observed that participants viewed "pure" as exotic and didn't mind spending extra money to indulge in the experience once in a while.

How was the food served? "How was the food served?" was about authentic serving. Shalaka shared a story in her India collage about her first experience of eating *pani puri* when she was a young girl. She remembered standing around a vendor with other customers in a circle holding small stainless steel plates. The vendor served one *puri* at a time, and Shalaka elaborated how he would poke the side of a *puri* with his finger, fill it with hot *ragda*, and dip it in a large terracotta pot filled with delicious tamarind water infused with spicy, tangy, and sweet flavors. He had wrapped the jar with a wet rug cloth to keep the water chilled. She remembered being impatient while waiting for the vendor to serve the next *puri* and added that she would never forget the flavorsome mixing of hot and cold ingredients, which to date made her nostalgic for the taste.

While talking about an authentic serving of *pani puri*, Snehal shared an experience from Mumbai when in the late '90s he visited a sit-down restaurant, which was a rare thing for him to do because he always liked to have food at the street food stalls. He had *pani puri*, and he hated to see six *puris* served in a plate with a small bowl of spicy water. He added that it was the last time that he ever had *pani puri* at a restaurant.

Figure 19. Step-by-step process of serving *pani puri* at Raju's stall: 1) poking the *puri*, 2) adding *ragda*, 3) *puri* filled with *ragda*, 4) dipping the *puri* in a pot of chilled, spicy *pani* (water), 5) placing the *puri* on customer's plate, and 5) eating the whole *puri* in one go.

Thus, the participants' actions revealed that when it came to foods, they associated the values of purity, originality, and exclusivity with authenticity. They considered foods like

pani puri could be enjoyed only if it was served in an "authentic" way. It is now essential to gain knowledge about the counterpart of consumption, the shaping of production and how the notion of authenticity contributed to that.

Shaping production. I realized that the vendor participants paid close attention to maintaining authentic preparation of the foods and the overall feel of the business. It helped them to stand out in the business, and they knew that customers appreciated it.

Authentic preparation of the foods. My vendor participant Raju's father came to Mumbai in the 1950s from the northern state of Uttar Pradesh and established a *chaat* business in a tiny 10'x10' shop located at the highly populated Bandra market area in western Mumbai. He used to make and supply *chaat* ingredients of *sev*, *puri*, and *papdi* to a well-connected network of *chaat* vendors around the area at wholesale rates. Raju—along with his brother—discontinued the supply trade after his father's death and started the retail business by opening a *chaat* joint 15 years ago. He developed the recipes of *chutneys*, *ragda patties*, and *chaat* on his own but continued his father's original practice of making *sev*, an authentic formula from Uttar Pradesh that his father adapted to suit the local tastes and practicality of implementation in a small space.

He was keen to implement his family's authentic method using his father's tools but adopted a couple of practices of his own to ease the process. He started using a gas burner instead of a kerosene gas jet to eliminate the problem of *sev* catching the smell of kerosene during the preparation process. Raju also started using cold water instead of hot water to mix the gram flour batter for convenience.

Significance of using "pure" ingredients. Mumbai vendors understood very well that the customers appreciated the use of "pure" ingredients, considered them "authentic," and didn't mind loosening their wallets for originality and quality. So the vendors spent

money on unadulterated and quality ingredients. Interestingly, The term "pure" was discussed the most regarding milk products, such as butter, cheese, ghee, and refined oil, which were typically the most expensive ingredients that vendors purchased. Ashok and Devi talked about buying pricey brands of cheese and refined oil to offer the best quality to their customers.

Figure 20. Step-by-step process of making *sev*: 1) stuffing sticky and soft gram flour batter into the cast iron mold with fine perforations at the bottom, 2) frying *sev* in boiling oil in a cast iron *kadhai*, 3) pushing the mold handle down while rotating it in a clockwise direction to push the batter out through the perforations, 4) using a large, pierced, shallow spatula to fry the *sev* and get rid of excess oil, and 5) placing perfectly deep-fried, crunchy, golden *sev* in a cast iron *kadhai* next to the burner to cool before storing.

Thus, Mumbai vendors practiced authenticity by offering regional tastes and recipes, which they marginally changed for the sake of convenience or to suit the adapted

environments. Distribution highlighted challenges when it came to the authentic circulation of the street foods in Mumbai.

Figure 21. 1) Devi used Gowardhan cheese and suggested that as one of the reasons for higher costs of her sandwiches. 2) Ashok used a costlier type of refined oil compared to other *vada pav* vendors and compromised on profit margins to offer the best quality.

Shaping Distribution. Authentic distribution is about legitimate street food business practices. There is a huge problem of lack of authorization in Mumbai. Bruhan Mumbai Corporation (BMC) stopped approving legal licenses to the street food vendors after 1964, which has led to the rise of illegal street food distribution. There is also the constant resistance from restaurant lobby representatives and members who claim that street vendors steal their business. Various local vendor unions and associations, including NASVI and Azad Street Hawker's Union, are fighting back.

Thus, a variety of positive and negative challenges have uniquely shaped the authentic street food distribution practices in Mumbai over the years. On the negative side, the distribution practices have led to under-the-table activities and exploitation of the vendors by various stakeholders. And as a positive change, they have created a breeding ground for diverse, innovative foods and exceptional local tastes because of a "survival of the fittest" attitude fostered by the vendors.

Shaping Consumption, Production, and Distribution in Phoenix

Shaping consumption. Phoenix participants paid attention to regional and global contexts when it came to authenticity and that uniquely shaped consumption, production, and distribution practices.

Who made the food? The approach to authenticity grew complicated in Phoenix because participants paid attention to regional and global contexts. Regional was about culinary influences from India's subcultures, and global was about Mexican or Mediterranean cooks preparing Indian street foods.

Snehal said that he hated going to the restaurants where North Indian chefs made south Indian foods like *dosa*, the staple food of the southern part of India. Pointing to a common problem at the Indian restaurants in Phoenix, Shalaka, Jayanti, and Deepali shared that many times they saw Mexican cooks making Indian street foods. To which Jayanti sarcastically commented, "It's like taking an Indian chef with no cultural experience of Mexican street foods to Mexico to make the foods there!" They all voiced the downfall of the tastes by raising a concern that no matter how well the Mexican cook was trained to make a perfect *chaat*, he would never know how it tasted unless he visited Mumbai to experience local food culture.

Participants' quest for authentic foods made by original culture bearers initiated two new traditions in Phoenix. First was catering the street foods and lunch or dinner items from women who ran home-based catering businesses in Phoenix. Shalaka, Deepali, and Jayanti talked about ordering *samosas* and *khasta kachoris* from Punjabi women and purchasing *dhokla*, *khandvi*, *jalebi*, and *fafda* from Gujarati caterers.

The second tradition that Deepali talked about was hosting street food potluck parties at home once every six months. She spoke about the party: "All of us eat street foods

for starters, main course, and desserts." They had a diverse group of friends from Mumbai, other parts of Maharashtra, and southern India. The friends from Mumbai would try to recreate the tastes they enjoyed back in Mumbai through the foods of *pani puri*, *pav bhaji*, *vada pav*, *dabeli*, *chaat* and so on, and South Indian friends would make *idlis*, *vadas*, and *appams*.

I observed that participants were creating different traditions by shifting to new tastes and foods, but the "who made the foods?" factor underscored their decisions. Similar to emphasizing the legitimacy of certain foods, participants highly valued authentic serving, especially for *pani puri* and *bhel*.

How the food was served? Aditya talked about a similar recent experience of eating *pani puri* at a restaurant in Phoenix. He said that it triggered a memory of his regular *pani puri* vendor back in Mumbai. The visual of him and his friends standing around the vendor holding small stainless steel plates while the vendor dipped small puffed *puri* filled with spicy white peas with bare hands into cold, peppery, tangy *pani puri* water stored in a big, round, stainless steel pot flashed in front of his eyes.

Shalaka, Deepali, and Jayanti talked about *bhel* served in Indian restaurants in Phoenix. They stressed that the most authentic way to eat *bhel* was with a hard *puri* by using the *puri*, an edible spoon. It revealed that participants greatly valued the authentic styles of serving for certain foods.

What are the ingredients? Phoenix participants expressed an intense feeling of authenticity while talking about Mumbai's famous *pav*. They missed it badly and hated eating *vada pav* and *pav bhaji* without "authentic" *pav*, which they missed dearly in Phoenix. Deepali spoke about Mumbai's typical crunchy, fresh, and hot red *lasoon chutney* that vendors served with *vada pav*.

Shaping Production. Phoenix participants highlighted "staged" authenticity mainly for marketing purposes and attract the Anglo–American customers.

Food preparation. Many of the Phoenix-based Indian restaurateurs were first generation restaurant owners who hired cooks. Some of them developed the recipes by learning from various resources that included books, customers, friends, family, media, and the regional culinary knowledge that they inherited as being part of a subculture. But they didn't emphasize creating Mumbai's signature tastes. The cooks and the owners also didn't highlight regional culture as much as it significantly happened in Mumbai. I observed that the Phoenix restaurant owners included some regional aspects but stressed presenting them in a more standardized or global appeal.

Shaping Distribution. The food distribution practices in Phoenix are modified to fit within the boundaries of standardized regulations. Mahesh wanted to bring authentic flavor to Pastries N Chaat by setting up a *pani puri* counter and serving *pani puri* the way it's served at road-style stalls in Mumbai. But he faced logistical and regulatory challenges and couldn't implement the idea. He added that unlike Mumbai, there were strict regulations regarding the arrangement of the kitchen, refrigerators, fryers, and cooking ranges and for serving the food, which limited creativity and authentic practices.

Thus authenticity was mainly about how participants perceived certain practices. What they considered authentic was related to the inherited culinary knowledge about foods, ingredients, and also the original place, Mumbai where they grew up. Hence Mumbai was original and authentic!

Nostalgia

> If you are lucky enough to live in Paris as a young man, then wherever you go for the rest of your life, it stays with you, for Paris is a moveable feast.
>
> –Ernest Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast*, 1964

When I talked to my participants, I realized Mumbai was always a part of them, no matter where they lived. For them, the foods, the vendors, the tastes, the aromas, and the experience together interweaved a piece of laced art with a perfect equipoise—loosen a thread and nothing will be immaculate anymore. Similar to authenticity, the manifestation of nostalgia was particularly significant in Phoenix participants. Customers in Mumbai experienced nostalgia for favorite foods and vendors when they moved to a different suburb of the city. But being part of a dominant culture, the Mumbai customers didn't experience the feeling of loss as intensely as the co-creation participants in Phoenix did. The co-creation participants communicated the sense of longing for favorite tastes, foods, and experiences through verbal and nonverbal expressions and actions. My research suggested that the participants' yearning for desired foods uniquely shaped their material and virtual street food consumption practices.

Shaping Consumption, Production, and Distribution in Phoenix

Shaping consumption. Memories played a significant role in consumption. For instance, all co-creation participants overpoweringly suggested that it was "torturous" to let their minds linger on recollections of their favorite foods. I could sense the impact first hand because many of the participants expressed a desire to prepare street foods at home or make a visit to an Indian restaurant after finishing up their research sessions.

Sensorial memories. Co-creation participants discussed food memories related to the intense desire for tastes more than other sensorial experiences. I observed that when participants spoke about a variety of food experiences for the good/bad collage they had more to say about tastes and flavors than aromas or food presentation. But when the participants had the opportunity to discuss a single experience in depth for the India collage, they added details about the aromas and food presentation. The sensorial experience of

smell was also prominent when participants talked about waiting for the food or as an immediate reaction when the food order arrived.

My research revealed that since participants liked street foods in Mumbai more than those sold at Phoenix restaurants, they were more observant and responsive to the aromas, flavors, and sounds related to Mumbai street foods. They exhibited significantly higher interest in remembering, discussing, and indulging in talks about tastes, aromas, flavors, fragrances, visual appearances, and sounds related to the street foods in Mumbai.

Role of the media. Vikita spoke about one of her latest experiences of intensely missing her favorite *genie dosa*. She was feeling overly nostalgic and spent hours watching videos of *jini dosa* on YouTube. She shared that she ended up going to Little India with her husband that evening "just to calm her taste buds down." Little India neither sold *jini dosa* nor offered the tastes that Vikita loved back in Mumbai, but as Vikita said, it temporarily tamed her food desires.

It was a typical experience shared by many participants that they accessed Google and YouTube for the recipes and videos to make favorite Mumbai street foods at home. Sid shared the story of his first experience of making *dosa* from scratch by referring to an online recipe and feeling accomplished for his achievement after successfully making it at his Phoenix apartment.

Monsoon and special occasion memories. One aspect that emerged from my research was about participants feeling nostalgic for Mumbai's hot and spicy street foods of *kandabhaji*, *vada pav*, and cutting *chai* during Monsoons. It was a complex yet exciting feeling and an example of how participants experienced deep psychological and emotional connection with Mumbai though they lived in Phoenix.

Aditya and Sid spoke about making *kandabhaji* with their roommates in Phoenix on a rainy day. Mumbai experiences heavy Monsoons in June and July when it's peak summertime in Phoenix. But participants talked about feeling nostalgic for Mumbai's monsoon foods in those two to three months at the slightest trace of cloudy weather in Phoenix.

Special occasions, such as festivals, birthdays, and family events, triggered street food memories. Participants remembered celebrating with friends and family over favorite foods at preferred stalls. Sandesh talked about having *jalebi* every year on August 15th, the Independence Day of India. Ramani and Vikita discussed feeling nostalgic for favorite foods on festivals and visiting Little India to buy sweets.

To ensure access to the critical ingredients like *kadipatta* [curry leaves], they planted the shrub in their backyard because it was not always available in Indian grocery stores. Curry leaves are a common ingredient used in *tadka* for coconut *chutney*, *vada*, and many other Maharashtrian foods.

Nostalgia, I observed, was a remarkable experience and expression in participants' lives that led to the development of new practices. Mumbai customers visited favorite stalls in Mumbai often when they desired favorite foods. They typically did not make street foods at home. On the other hand, Phoenix participants didn't have that explicit option, and when they were nostalgic for certain foods, they made them at home.

Shaping production. There were day and night differences in the ways the Mumbai vendors and the restaurateurs in Phoenix approached nostalgia. Mumbai participant vendors didn't appear to pay particular attention to the concept of nostalgia. They worked within cultural and contextual boundaries and followed the dominant practices of food preparation, serving, and selling. But the restaurateurs in Phoenix viewed nostalgia as a strategic tactic and consciously incorporated specific traditional practices to promote their businesses.

Mahesh shared an example of serving steamy hot cutting chai in a *kulhad* (small terracotta cups) to bring nostalgic flavor and offer a piece of cultural experience from India to his customers. But he stopped the practice because the customers started breaking and stealing the cups, which added extra expense to his already tight budget.

I observed that the Phoenix restaurant owners carefully orchestrated online and social media presence. Mahesh, for example, advertised special treats of *kandabhaji*, *samosas*, *vada pav*, and ginger *chai* on the Pastries N Chaat Facebook page the day it drizzled or got cloudy during the rainy season. The Phoenix restaurant and grocery store owners tried to tickle customers' nostalgic desires by running advertisements about foods at dollar theaters in the valley that showed Hindi and regional language movies from India.

Playing Hindi Bollywood music at the restaurants and decorating the dining spaces with Indian artifacts were the most common practices to emphasize the sense of belonging. I observed that some restaurants in Phoenix advertised selling "Bombay *chaat*" and "Mumbai's famous *vada pav*" on their menu. Thus, nostalgia uniquely shaped production practices in Phoenix, and the restaurant owners used the expression for their advantage to stand out in competition.

Shaping distribution. Phoenix restaurant owners poured significant efforts into finding and purchasing traditional ingredients from suppliers and community members. Mahesh shared a story of approaching a Filipino bakery in the valley with a recipe of Mumbai's famous *pav* when he started Pastries N Chaat. For a few initial months, he purchased *pav* from that bakery and then shifted to making his own to save money.

How Participants Expressed Nostalgia

Co-creation participants displayed a variety of expressions while remembering and discussing food memories. The most common expressions were closed eyes and nodding

heads, sighing, smiling, disappointed tones, and vivid descriptions of foods and preparation processes accompanied with smiles and hand movements. The analysis of background discussions and expressions revealed a complex intertwining of individual and collective participation in street food consumption practices.

I observed a typical step-by-step pattern of food memory-related exchanges during co-creation sessions. The first step was any one participant mentioning the name of a Mumbai stall or the food in an excited voice while working on collages. The next step would be the collective responses of astonishment or admiration for that food or stall. Other participants rarely contradicted or reacted negatively. The positive reaction would encourage the first person to share details and stories of tastes, flavors, stall, vendor, or food making processes. For example, while talking about *samosas* and his favorite vendor near his home in Mumbai, Sid shared a story of his father getting *samosas* for Sunday morning breakfast—a family ritual. Vikita was discussing her favorite *jini dosa* when she added information about the vendor holding a record of making 15 *dosas* in a minute. I observed that while sharing stories, participants used a series of expressions that included yearning, nodding, romanticizing, hand movements, and sometimes a dash of a loss on the face. The emotional reactions would lead to the fourth step of group mates jumping into the conversation to add their stories of favorite foods and vendors and, thus, developing a chain of reminiscences.

The above step-by-step pattern points to the highly interactive and social nature of street food consumption. It discloses that remembering favorite food stories was a multi-dimensional and sensorial experience that involved verbal and non-verbal communications. Nostalgic expressions revealed how participants separated collective and individual partaking. At individual levels, participants discussed personal memories related to the street foods; such as Shalaka's parents not allowing her to eat street foods when she was

young or Sandesh's mother encouraging him and his sister to snack on street foods because she preferred cooking only for lunch and dinner. Jayanti could never have snow cones because of her singing background. But these individual food experiences were wrapped within larger collective memories of tastes, foods, friendships, and love for Mumbai's unique food culture. That is what mainly shaped consumption, production, and distribution practices.

Reflecting on Tradition, Authenticity, and Nostalgia

My research revealed that the street food culture was deeply rooted in the locality. The values of convenience, affordability, accessibility, consistency, exploration, personalized interactions, and exclusive food making and distribution practices strongly represented Mumbai's street food culture. The collective practices encased the individual values of the vendors like inherited recipes, use of certain cooking tools, implementation of family-specific business practices, and regional cultural background; thus adding diversity and distinctiveness to the mix. Mumbaikars' and Mumbai vendors' response to the global tastes and the foods was vibrant because they welcomed global foods wrapped in Mumbai's signature tastes. The layered effect of conscious, embodied, shared, singular, and cosmopolitan attitudes uniquely fashioned street food consumption, production, and distribution practices. Phoenix represented the other end and adapting ethnic street foods to fit within the standardized American culture phenomenally transformed what the culture signified back home in Mumbai.


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CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

> ...Chromium-plated double exhaust pipes and high exuberant mudguards all helped to give the bikes an exaggerated look of fierce power. It was also common practice to remove the baffles from the silencer box on the exhaust, in order to allow the straight-through thumping of the exhaust gases from the cylinder to carry their explosion directly into the atmosphere. The effect could be startling. The breathy, loud, slightly irregular bang and splutter brought the hardness and power of the metal piston exploding down the metal cylinder, abruptly and inevitably reversing up again, right out into the stir air. The minutely engineered turn of the crankshaft brought a power and impersonal ferocity right out into the vulnerable zone of human sensibilities.
>
> An alleyway led up the side of the church to the coffee bar of the club. Members often parked their bikes along this narrow passageway, and stood by them talking, starting, and reviving their bikes, discussing technical matters or indeed any matters at all. The noise was often overwhelming: the loud thumping of the motor-bike engines seemed to promise sudden movement and action, but none came. Strangers and neophytes could be unnerved by the continually imagined necessity to take evasive action against some fantasy explosion of movement and aggression.
>
> The ensemble of bike, noise, rider, clothes *on the move* gave a formidable expression of identity to the culture and powerfully developed many of its central values.
>
> Willis (2014, p. xi)

Paul Willis, a British social scientist known for his work in cultural studies, examined two of the most important youth cultures of the 1960s—the motorbike boys and the hippies. Wills wrote passionate ethnographic accounts of the inner meanings, styles, and inherent values of those cultures to discuss what made them who they were. Similar to Willis, Charles Leinbach (2002), a design researcher, presented his experiences of spending months with an "RV tribe"—recreational vehicle enthusiasts with a purpose of understanding beliefs and behaviors of the group to redesign recreational vehicles for a major manufacturer. Both authors undoubtedly focused on grasping and making deep sense of the central values, expressions, and the web of meanings that defined the respective cultures. My research shares the same rational space and purpose of making sense of ethnic street food culture and the core values that define it—locally and globally.

Transnationalism and Ethnic Street Foods

Food is rooted in the locality. Ray (2004) argued that food locates us, and it is particularly compelling as a place-making practice. Mumbai, as a dominant culture established the original meanings and central values of the street food culture. Phoenix was the adopted home for *Mumbaikar* migrants, where the street foods were re-territorialized within the local culture.

Figure 22 juxtaposes how the founding values of street food culture and the experience transformed when Mumbai's street foods arrived in Phoenix. Mumbai's signature spicy, tangy, sweet, sour, and hot palates and the central values of convenience, affordability, consistency, creativity, informality, and cordiality diminished when the street foods settled in Phoenix. Local cultural influences, standardized tastes, and efforts to reach beyond the Indian community, as well as a polished, exotic, and formal treatment of the street foods, distorted the associated meanings. Participants perceived experiences in the two cities to be distinct and couldn't fathom the thought of sitting in a restaurant to eat street foods, which they grew up enjoying at the roadside stalls in Mumbai. The shift in approach drove the interest down.

My research revealed that Mumbai's street foods had a distinctive identity, which was unique to its local context. Unlike many Indian recipes of curries and rice, for example, that could be reproduced in Phoenix restaurants, Mumbai's street foods without the archetypical characteristics lost their appeal. Mumbai's street foods were tightly embedded within a close nit web of values and inherent meanings that emerged, evolved, and fitted locally. When the foods were re-territorialized in Phoenix, the Mumbai migrants couldn't embrace them. Nostalgia played a unique role in that process.

Figure 22. Comparing Mumbai and Phoenix cultural and culinary landscapes

Cultural Models for Street Foods in Mumbai and Phoenix

Nostalgia connected the experiences in Mumbai and Phoenix. Similar to Mumbai, the network of American values of standardization, regulation, formality, and individuality laid the basis for Mumbai street foods to settle and grow in Phoenix.

The result was the emergence of a wholly new and different ethnic food culture, tastes, and the practices that were specific to Phoenix (see Figure 23). Mumbai, as a primary source, was a story of a distinct street food experience rooted in unique consumption, distribution, and production practices. It represented diversity and creativity but not much of regularity when it came to the governance, hygiene, and sanitation practices. In Mumbai, vendors had complete freedom to design food stalls, innovate food preparation and serving options, and had a lot more control over how they wanted to run their businesses. Phoenix, on the other end, had a more significant presence of production practices administrated by strict regulation policies, which lowered creativity and that impacted consumption. Some examples of stringent policies were rigid standardization of design and arrangement of the kitchen, and strict sanitation procedures related to food preparation and serving by Phoenix's Department of Public Health. Such practices limited diversity and creativity. It also pushed the restaurant owners to pay the highest attention to managing and maintaining required hygiene and cleanliness standards, which limited efforts invested in the creation of tastes and foods.

However, Mumbai remained an essential source of inspiration for Indian street food practices in Phoenix. The only backward correlation between Phoenix and Mumbai was enhanced expectation for hygiene. When immigrant participants visited Mumbai, they desired higher standards of cleanliness and sanitation. The expectation of cleanness was stronger in older participants who had lived in Phoenix for 10 years or more.

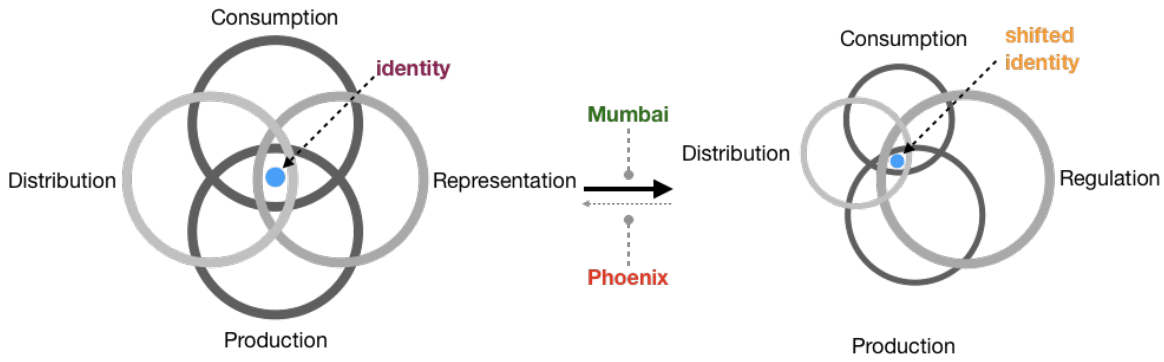

Figure 23. Cultural models for Mumbai street foods in Mumbai and Phoenix

Unlike the Circuit of Culture framework (Du Gay et al., 1997), the elements of consumption, production, distribution, and representation couldn't be separated to be distinct. The cultural model for Mumbai showcased a balance and harmony through an intricate co-relation between the various practices. All parts together played a crucial role in producing a vibrant image of uniqueness. In Phoenix's cultural model, however, the balance was off-center, and production was more about regulation than distribution and consumption.

Adaptation Framework for Street Food Artifacts

My study revealed that preparing street foods was a layered process where multiple elements partook and the interaction was organic. The process existed in Mumbai and Phoenix, but there were differences.

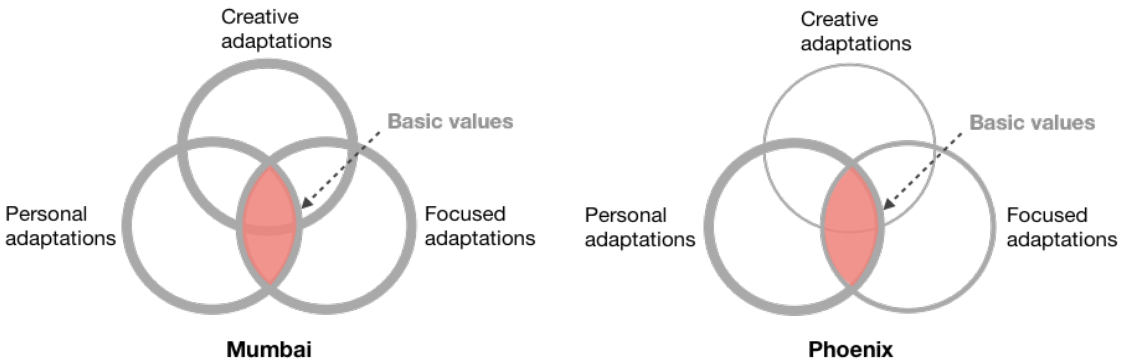

Figure 24. Adaptation Frameworks for Mumbai and Phoenix

Basic values. Mumbai's historical heritage, cultural fabric, social environment, and local culinary structures contributed to the constructing of embodied knowledge. It was the first layer of the values of informality, collective participation, personalization, convenience, affordability, consistency, cordiality, etc. They also included Mumbai's signature tastes as well as the trademark business practices of offering free perks and showing off the foods being freshly made. Mumbai vendors followed the cultural boundaries without swaying far.

Similarly in Phoenix, the central values of regulation, standardization, and globalization drove the adaptation process.

Focused adaptations. Mumbai vendors invested time and effort into tailoring their food and business practices to their customers' desires. For example, Devi sold Jain chutney, and Raju served the spicier foods appreciated by his Muslim customers. Street foods sold in Mumbai's lower-middle and middle-class areas were cheaper than the foods sold at the stalls in the high-end areas of Bandra, South Mumbai, and the Mithibai college section in Vile Parle. The vendors in higher-economy areas of Mumbai experimented with expensive and global ingredients like pasta, passion fruit juices, Ferrero Rocher chocolate milkshakes, and avocado sandwiches. The exclusive ingredients and foods had a higher presence in affluent areas of the city. In Phoenix, the focused adaptations stage about modifying and toning the foods down to suit a global audience (see Figure 24).

Personal adaptations. The personal adjustments highlighted the process of acquiring or implementing skills, using tools and technology, and adjusting family or regional dishes to fit within Mumbai's or Phoenix's culture norms. For instance, in Mumbai, Raju talked about the way he made the *pani* [spiced water] for *pani puri*. He added many different spices, which he described made the *pani* "heavy" and "made the customers full." Thus, when *pani puri* settled in Mumbai, it acquired the qualities and flavors that locals appreciated

the most, and vendors like Raju modified the dish to suit the local tastes. Customers, on the other hand, considered Mumbai's *pani puri* to be authentic because that was the only taste they knew and relished. In Phoenix, restaurant owners and the cooks adjusted the cooking habits to follow the strict regulation practices. They also adapted recipes based on accessibility to certain ingredients.

Creative adaptations. Creativity accentuated innovativeness and vendors' interests in mixing and matching the tastes, textures, flavors, and experimenting with global foods. Mumbai vendors used the approach as a strategy to survive cutthroat competition. The street food sellers sold pasta and pizzas wrapped in Mumbai's signature tastes. In the past decade, innovations are on the rise because of Mumbai's continuously growing global contact. The younger participants talked about food innovations more than the older contributors because the newer migrants experienced Mumbai's changing vibrant food culture first hand before coming to Phoenix.

The creative adaptations were low in Phoenix. I observed that the emphasis was more on creative visual presentations of the foods than the tastes.

All three adaptations influenced the core values, as well which I see was a pathway for emergence of new traditions. Some of the examples of new practices in Mumbai are rising media presence, expanding branding efforts by the vendors, and increasing awareness for hygiene. The Phoenix examples were catering the street foods or making the foods at home.

How the Notion of Authenticity Influenced Practices

I observed that authenticity took various forms (see Figure 25). The first was "fixed authenticity" which was about certain inherent values that remained consistent despite transnational movement. For instance, valuing "authentic" or "pure" ingredients and eating

or catering regional foods from the cultural "owners" happened in Mumbai and Phoenix. Mumbai vendors utilized "fixed authenticity" to sell foods for higher prices and the customers didn't mind spending more money for "authentic" foods.

The second was "relative authenticity," which was about relating authenticity to a favorite food stall or place from Mumbai where participants often had street foods. Hence that place from Mumbai was a gold standard of authenticity, and Phoenix experiences were continually evaluated against it.

The third was "blanket authenticity," means every food and experience from the place of origin was viewed as authentic. For example, serving of *pani puri*. Phoenix vendors incorporated "blanket authenticity" as a marketing strategy. For instance, some restaurants sold Mumbai's *pav bhaji*, South India's *dosa*, and Punjabi (a Northern state in India) curries to Indian and non–Indian customers.

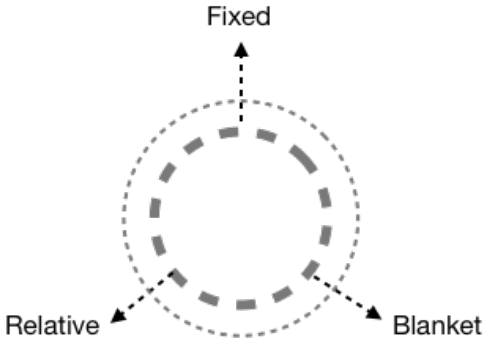

Figure 24. Authenticity Influencing Food Practices

I observed that all three forms of authenticity were connected with each other and acted in a layered process with "fixed" authenticity placed at the deepest cultural level.

The Field of Design and the Study of Street Food Culture

My study implemented a practice-based research approach for a food artifact of ethnic street foods. It emphasized the significance of focusing on cultural networks of an artifact to make sense of associated meanings and practices in global context. As I discussed

in my Introduction, many scholars have highlighted the need for focusing on complex global and cultural facets in design and *Eat Your Heart Out* attempted to address that gap (Boradkar, 2011; Buchanan, 1992; Du Gay et al., 1997; Rittel, 1971).

In the process, this inquiry presented detailed knowledge about design and development of multi-disciplinary research tools and methodologies. It discussed a step-by-step approach to operationalize complex notions of nostalgia, authenticity, and tradition through the practice of design and research. The goal was to connect unexplored dots in research practice and suggest novel methodologies. My study proposed ways to connect rapid ethnographic approaches, visual analysis, and traditional qualitative methods of interviews through multi-cited fieldwork to examine street food artifacts. Thus, it endeavored to add to the current knowledge of design research.

Eat Your Heart Out has recommended new frameworks of correlation of various consumption and production practices. Through the frameworks and insights, it suggested how the street food artifacts alter when they move across cultures. Such knowledge can be valuable for similar food studies and development of innovative work related to research approaches and methodological tools in the future.

Methodological Insights

The triangulation of the methods of co-creation, interviews, and ethnographic research worked well for *Eat Your Heart Out*. Street food experience in Mumbai has a profoundly shared and social nature; hence, conducting co-creation and interview sessions in groups was useful.

The implementation process of co-creation method suggested that being creative was a challenge for some of my participants who were trained as engineers. Hence, after the first session, I had to strategize instructions and clues to stimulate imagination and creativity.

Food is a sensorial experience both when it's experienced and expressed. Hence, incorporating video data collection and analysis to trace meanings behind the animated actions and reactions was necessary for my research. Visual research and participatory sessions of co-creation were useful in operationalizing the concepts of memory and nostalgia. However, the interview and co-creation sessions went longer than I had anticipated because participants enjoyed talking about Mumbai's street foods and had a lot to share.

The Mumbai ethnography was an enriching experience and helped me to make insightful connections. However, I experienced difficulties in recruiting vendor participants. One of the most significant challenges of my research was the generation of the enormous amount of data. I collected more than 70 hours of video data and hundreds of still images. I invested a tremendous amount of time and effort in analyzing every piece of my data.

Applied Insights

My research identified the gaps in business and consumption practices in Mumbai and Phoenix. The Mumbai experience revealed a need to incorporate enhanced hygiene and sanitization practices without compromising on the distinct and ingrained cultural values. The research uncovered complex bureaucratic hurdles in Mumbai, including the issues of licensing, corruption, and unfairness toward the vendors. However, despite challenges, the future of street food culture in Mumbai seemed to be bright and evolving.

Phoenix, on the other hand, revealed that Indian street foods deflect too far from original tastes, which results in customers rejecting the foods. The differences of having street foods in sit-down settings or the lack of a public street food culture might never be bridged in Phoenix. However, specific strategies like offering complimentary treats, tailored

foods, in-person communication, higher reliability, and consistency may help to raise the Indian customers' interest.

Limitations of the Study

My research examined the concepts of consumption, production, representation, regulation, nostalgia, tradition, authenticity, and identity concerning Indian street foods in Mumbai and Phoenix. Each of these terms is a heavyweight concept and can be the sole topic of a Ph.D. dissertation. However, the aim here was to articulate and make sense of how the various processes interact and work with each other in regard to a cultural food artifact.

For being a qualitative study with a limited number of participants, the findings of my research cannot be generalized. However, *Eat Your Heart Out* focuses on presenting an in-depth comparative account of a phenomenon where ethnic street foods emerge, sustain, and evolve at an original place and migrate to a different culture with immigrants. Therefore, the findings and insights presented in my study can be valuable for understanding foods, place-making practices, and migrant flows.

Broader Impacts

This study pushes for an enhanced and broader understanding of the street food practices in Mumbai. *Eat Your Heart Out* has presented an overview of how Mumbai's food culture works on the daily basis and why it has acquired such an extraordinary place in Mumbaikars' lives. There has not been much scholarly focus on Mumbai's street foods and everyday life in the past. My research tries to fill that gap.

With its transnational focus, this research has revealed what an ethnic immigrant community goes through when its members migrate. The study has highlighted how and why the immigrants shift to adopting new traditions and practices. *Eat Your Heart Out*

examines the Indian immigrant community, which has not been studied much in the past. Thus, my research can be valuable in gaining knowledge about ethnic culinary practices of Indian immigrants and encouraging enhanced cross-cultural accepting.

Future Work

Soon, I would like to use my research insights to design and test street food related product opportunities in Mumbai and Phoenix. Some examples can be developing new business opportunities for Indian restaurants in Phoenix or service design options to enhance hygiene and sanitation practices in Mumbai.

I am interested in further evolving and applying the skill-based ethnographic research approaches to study many kinds of cuisines and relevant contexts. Such knowledge can be valuable for both cultural understanding and product development purposes. I am also looking forward to developing my research methods and tools further to examine other artifacts.

Publishing and projecting my work through a variety of mediums is also a priority in the near future. The focus will be to encourage rigorous and strategic inquiry in design and motivate other designers and design researchers to adopt critical culture-focused research approaches.

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APENDIX A

SCREENING SURVEY FOR CO-CREATION PARTICIPANTS

Preferred pseudonym for research:

1. **Your Personal information**

Date of Birth:

Gender (Male/Female/Other):

Married/unmarried:

Food habit (Vegetarian/non-vegetarian/ Veg & non-veg/ Vegan):

Mother tongue:

Home city: Name of the suburb:

No. of years lived in Mumbai, India:

Home city in Phoenix SMSA:

No. of years lived in Phoenix SMSA:

2. **Information about your immigration status**

Year of migration to the U.S.A.:

Current visa status (F1/Green card/U.S. Citizen):
*Other (*Please specify*)*:

3. **Information about your stay in the United States**

Reason to immigrate to the United States: (Higher education/ Job opportunity/ Business opportunity/ Family situation):

First city of arrival in the United States:

No. of years lived in the United States:

4. **Your formal education**

Highest degree acquired by you in India (please underline the relevant degree):

Less than High School/ High School/ B.A./ B.S./ B.Com./ B.E./ M.E./ M.S./ M.A./ M.B.B.S./ M.D./ M.Phil./ Ph.D.:
*Other (*Please specify*)*:

(If applied) Any additional education acquired in the U.S.A.:

5. Current occupation and earnings

What is your current occupation?:

Name of the company you work for?:

Give an approximate estimate of the combined annual earning of your household for last year (Please underline the relevant option. If you are a student, please write about your individual earning):

Less than $25,000

$25,000 - $60,000

$60,000 - $100,000

$100,000 - $150,000

$150,000 - $250,000

More than $250,000

Thank you

APPENDIX B

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Co-creation Participants: No. 13

M/F	Group No.	First name	Age (yrs)	Education level	No. of years lived in Phoenix	No. of years lived in Mumbai	Reason to immigrate /migrate	Name of the Mumbai suburb where subject lived
M	G 1	Snehal	45 yrs	Ph.D.	19	23	Higher education	Dadar
M	G 1	Shekhar	50 yrs	Masters	20	25	Job	Ghatkoper
M	G 1	Satish	43 yrs	Masters	20	24	Job	Dahisar
F	G 2	Shalaka	50 yrs	Graduate	12	35	Husband's job	Mulund
F	G 2	Jayanti	34 yrs	Graduate	10	24	Husband's job	Vile Parle
F	G 2	Deepali	47 yrs	Graduate	23	24	Husband's job	Dadar
M	G 3	Sid	26 yrs	Masters	4	22	Higher education	Western Mumbai
M	G 3	Aditya	25 yrs	Masters	3	22	Higher education	Thane
M	G 3	Sandesh	24 yrs	Masters	2	22	Higher education	Dahisar
F	G 4	Ramani	26 yrs	Masters	4	22	Higher education	Goregaon
F	G 4	Vikita	32 yrs	Graduate	4	28	Husband's job	Andheri West
F	G 4	Nilam	27 yrs	Masters	3	24	Higher education	Dombivali and Thane
F	G 4	Sampada	27 yrs	Masters	3	24	Higher education	New Bombay (Navi Mumbai)

Ethnography participants: Street vendors (No. 6)

M/F	First name	Type of food sold	No. of years in business	Who started the business?	Mumbai suburb location
F	Savita	*Puri bhaji*, *upma*, *sheera*, *pohe*, Chinese *samosa*	14	First owner	Bandra West
F	Devi	Sandwiches	15	First owner	Mulund
M	Raju	*Chaat* items, *pani puri*, *ragada* patties, *bhel*	13	First owner (Modified father's business)	Bandra Market
M	Ashok	*Vada pav*	39	First owner	Prabhadevi
M	Sarju	*Bhel*, *sev batata puri*	50	Started by father	Pali Hill,Bandra
M	Ansari	*Pav bhaji*, betel leaves, fresh juices and milk shakes	52	Started by father	Taddev

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

Interview guide for method of co-creation

1) Please explain how was your experience of creating "Good and bad" collage? How did you decide which are good experiences and which are the bad experiences? What was the group process of clustering the experiences?
2) Please explain your second collage about "Mumbai experience."
3) How did you choose the experience to create the collage? Why did you choose that particular experience?
4) Please elaborate placements of various pictures, images of body positions, and emotional expressions in the first collage about "Mumbai experience." Why is it the way it is? What led you to place them the way you have done it right now? Did you think of alternative placements? Why and which ones?
5) Please explain your third collage about "Phoenix experience."
6) Please elaborate placements of various pictures, images of body positions, and emotional expressions in the second collage about "Phoenix experience." Why is it the way it is? What led you to place them the way you have done it right now? Did you think of alternative placements? Why and which ones?
7) How did you reach the decisions of placement of objects in third collage as a team?
8) Did you face any challenges while initiating and implementing the process of creating collages? What kind of challenges?
9) What kind of challenges did you experience in coordinating your thoughts with your group mates? How did you overcome those challenges?
10) Which street food experiences did you revisit individually and as a team? Were there any common and individual trigger points? Which ones?
11) How were you attracted to street foods?
12) According to you, what are the common street food experiences that most *Mumbaikars* live through in day-today life?
13) Can each of you please elaborate your prominent past street food experiences from Mumbai?
14) Do you have any unique street food memories? Which ones?
15) How frequently did you consume street foods when you lived in India? How? Where? When? Any particular occasions? With whom?
16) Do you experience any trigger points that remind you the experiences that you had with street foods back in India? Will you elaborate more about trigger points and the experiences they remind?
17) Can you share your experiences related to the (Indian) street foods when you first arrived in the U.S.?
18) Do you have any unique Indian street food memories from those initial times in the U.S.? Which ones?
19) How frequently do you consume street foods now? Where? When?
20) How would you compare your current street food consumption experiences with those in the past when you lived in Mumbai? Have they changed? How? Why?
21) How would you compare the street foods that are served in the restaurants in Phoenix vs. those you consumed back in Mumbai when lived there or consume when you visit India?
22) Do you miss any particular things related to street foods? Which ones? Why?
23) Are there any particular times when you miss them the most?
24) Do you try to bridge the gap? How? Why do you think it is important?

25) Did you consume any street foods during your recent visit to India? Which ones? Where? When? With whom? How many times? Do you have any stories or memories to share about those experiences?
26) Please elaborate the experience in detail. What did you eat? Who made it? How was the food served? Any comments about serving style or serving wares? Were you seated or ate while standing up? Was it a sit-down place or a roadside food stall? Did you go alone or you had a company? Did you share the food? How? Why?
27) How did you decide what to eat? Why you chose that particular food place?
28) Can you elaborate the environment, context, and the surroundings? How was your interaction with the vendor? How did you order the food? Who served the food?
29) How was the menu displayed? Were there any printed menu cards, or chalkboards, graffiti boards elaborating the menu? Please share as many details as possible.
30) How was the overall experience? How would you compare it to the times when you consumed street foods while living in Mumbai?
31) How would you compare it to your latest street food consumption experience in Phoenix?
32) Being an Indian immigrant in the United States, is it important for you to consume Indian street food? Why do you think it is important?
33) For you, what are the different ways of consuming Indian street food in Phoenix?
34) Do you feel anything different or special when you visit Indian restaurants in the valley? What do you find different or special? Why do you feel so?
35) Do you feel anything different or special when you make Indian street foods at home? What do you find different or special? Why do you feel so?
36) You came up with collages as a team today. Do you think the process helped you identify some common as well as unique experiences related to the street foods? How?
37) According to you what would be the perfect street food experience?
38) What do you see in the future? Do you think you can play any role as an Indian immigrant in shaping future of Indian street foods in the United States? How and why?
39) What do you think about future of Indian street foods in Mumbai and India? Do you see any changes happening? What kind of changes?
40) Would you like to add any comments, suggestions, thoughts etc.?

APPENDIX D

ETHNOGRAPHY INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

Interview guide for food stall vendors in Mumbai

General (Ice-breaker)
Can you define what is a street food for you?
What is your educational background?
Can you please explain a typical day at your food stall (or restaurant)? How do you start a day, how it progresses, and how it ends?
When are you the busiest during the day? Why at that time?
Did you start the food stall or your parents, friends, or any other family member passed it down to you?

Asking about nostalgia and past business practices.....

1. Which year did you start the food stall? Why?
2. (If not started by the vendor) Was this a family business? How many generations of your family have been involved in this business? Is there any particular reason that your family started this business?
3. (If the food stall started by the vendor) When did you get the vendor's license? Do you remember the process?
4. (If started by a family member from previous generation) Do you know who got the vendor's license to start the food stall? Do you know the process?
5. How small or big was the food stall when it first opened?
6. Did you hire anyone to work with you?
7. Which was the first location? Why? Is it still the same or has it changed? Why?
8. Would you please like to share stories, memories from the time when food stall first opened?
9. Do you have any photographs, pictures, newspaper cuttings or any other pictorial, textual, published or unpublished information about the food stall? (If yes) Will you please share and elaborate each of those pictures? Any special memories?
10. How was the initial response from the people and the customers when food stall first opened?
11. What kind of customers did you have?
12. Do you have any special past memories about specific persons, customers, occasions, or anything else related to your food stall?
13. Approximately, how many customers did you serve each day?
14. Will you elaborate how the menu was confirmed when the food stall first opened?
15. Where did you buy the vegetables, bread, spices, ingredients, etc.? How was the process of purchasing? Did you buy it on a daily basis or a weekly basis? How did you transport the groceries? How much did you spend on that every week? Can you please elaborate?
16. Did it change over the years? Did you always buy groceries from the same place? Has anything changed about that place (market?)?
17. How much was your approximate weekly earning and expense? How much was the profit?
18. Who made the food items? Where? How?
19. (If vendor is the cook) Where did you learn to make street food? Why?
20. (If vendor is not the cook) Why was that person given the responsibility of cooking? Did you distribute the responsibilities? Why?

21. Did you follow particular cooking styles and recipes? Which recipes? Why? How? Where did you get the recipes?
22. Did you create any of your own recipes? Which ones? How? Why?
23. Did you change any of the recipes that were not yours? Why?
24. Did you discover any new food items, combinations, or creations that are still part of your menu?
25. How was the preparation process in the past? Did you make everything here at the stall or you made part of it at home too? Can you please explain?
26. How did you store the food? At the end of the day what did you do with the left over food?
27. Which food items did you sold the most? Why do you think your customers liked them the most?
28. What kind of cooking wares did you use?
29. At the end of the day, did you store any food items to use them the next day?
30. How was the food served? Did you follow particular presentation styles? Did you use specific types of spoons, plates, glasses, etc.? Has it changed over the years? How? Why?
31. Did you use plastic plates and cutlery or stainless steel ones? How did you wash them?
32. What did you do with the food trash and garbage in the past?
33. How did people order the food? Did you have the menu displayed anywhere? Where? How was it? Do you have any pictures to share?
34. Where did the customers sit/stand to eat the food when you first opened the stall? Do you have any pictures of it?
35. How was the interaction with the customers? Do you have any specific memories?
36. Did you have any loyal customers then? Any special memories?
37. Do you think things changed over the period of time? How? Why?

Asking about current business practices....

1. What is your current involvement in running the food stall?
2. Approximately how many customers do you serve everyday?
3. What is your approximate weekly income? How much do you spend on expenses every week? What are the common expenses?
4. How many people have you hired to work at your food stall? What do they do?
5. Is this the same location where you (or the one who passed the business down to you) started the food stall?
6. How do you think it has changed in terms of looks, appearance etc.?
7. Has it changed in terms of any business practices? How? Why?
8. Do you still hold the same vendor's license that you first had or you had to change it? How was that process?
9. Do you have to go through any informed or surprise inspections? (If yes) How often do they happen? Who conducts them? What is the process? What happens after that?
10. Have you attended any workshops or training events by NASVI (National Association of Street Vendors of India) or any other public, private, or non-profit organizations related to selling Indian street foods, managing cleanliness etc.? (If yes) Can you please elaborate the nature of it? What do you think about that experience?
11. So has your business changed over the period of time in terms of hygiene practices? How? Can you please share an example? (If yes) Why do you think it changed?
12. What all do you sell at your food stall?

13. Has your menu changed over the period of time? (If yes)How? Why? (If not) Why not?
14. Which are the best selling food items? Why do you think your customers like them the most? Have these been always the most favorite food items?

15. How would you compare your food with other food vendors in the area?
16. Have you changed or modified any of your recipes? What changes have you made? Why?
17. How did your customers respond to the changes? What do they think about them now?
18. Who prepares the food now? Any changes in terms of preparations, recipes, or cooking practices?
19. What kind of cookwares and cooking tools do you use?
38. Where do you buy the vegetables, bread, spices, ingredients, etc.? How is the process of purchasing? Which items do you buy on daily basis and which items you don't buy on everyday basis?
39. Who does the grocery?
20. What do you do with the left over food at the end of the day?
21. Do you need to store the food during the day? How do you do it? Where do you keep it?
22. Have you ever adapted anyone else's preparation style, cooking style, or recipes etc.?
23. Mumbai is a melting pot of variety of foods from all over India. Have you used/adapted any of those cooking styles, recipes, or ingredients from other cultures in India? In what sense? Why? Can you please share an example?
24. Similar to the Indian foods, there is an increasing presence of international fast food joints. Have you adapted any of the non-Indian cooking styles, foods, or ingredients? (If yes) Why? (If no) Why not? Can you please share an example?
25. How do you serve the food? Do you use paper products, plastic products, or stainless steel products? (If plastic or stainless steel) How do you wash/clean them?
26. How do you manage the food trash and garbage on daily basis?
27. Where do you get the water for cooking, cleaning, and drinking?
28. Did you ever make any changes in the food that you served based on alterations happening around - for example; customers interested in particular types of foods, or because of the competition from international, national, and local food chains? (If yes) Why do you think you decided to change things? (If no) Why do you think you didn't change things?
29. Do your customers give you feedbacks? How?
30. Have you made any alterations in your business practice because of the changes happening around?
31. Do you see any changes over the period of time in terms of the customers? What do you think had changed when it comes to the customers? Why do you think so?
32. Do you have any online presence? For example; are you on Zomato.com?

Asking about authenticity...

1. Do you think you serve an authentic street food? Why do you think so?
2. Can you please list 10 markers of authentic street food?
3. How will you explain the relationship between street foods and a *Mumbaikar*?
4. How will you explain your relationship with the food you serve at your food stall? What do you think when you are making it?
5. Will you call your street food as a traditional street food or non-traditional street food? (If yes or no) Why?

6. Can you please list 10 markers of traditional street food?
7. Do you think your customers come to you because you sell authentic and traditional street food? Why do you think so? Can you please explain?
8. Do you think people start missing the food if they do not visit your food stall for a while? (If yes) Why do you think that happens?
9. Have you ever had conversations with your customers about how much they missed your food? Will you please like to share any stories, memories etc.?

Asking about the future...

1) What do you think about the future? Do you have any plans? What are your dreams, goals, and ambitions?
2) Are you planning to pass on the business to the next generation in your family? (If yes) Is it important to you? Why?
3) Do you think anything can change in relation to the menu, recipes, and preparations if younger generation takes over the business? Why?
4) Do you think anything can change in relation to business practices or the way the business is run right now if younger generation takes over the business? Why?
5) What do you think about the future of Indian street foods in Mumbai?
6) Would you like to add anything?

APPENDIX E

CONSENT FORMS

Consent form for Method of Co-creation

Dear respondent,

My name is Renu Zunjarwad. I am a Ph.D. student at Herberger Institute for Design and the Arts, Arizona State University, United States. The purpose of this form is to provide you with all the relevant information so you can decide if you will give consent to participate in this research. Participants must be 18 or older.

This research is a part of my work toward interdisciplinary Ph.D. in Design. Most of what I want to know revolves around following questions: What roles have tradition, authenticity, and nostalgia played in shaping the production, consumption, and distribution of Indian street foods? Has design practice participated in fashioning Indian street food experiences locally and globally? How? How people consume these experiences and what are the signifiers? How have Indian street foods been brought to the US, have they changed in transition?

I am inviting your participation, which will involve the creation of two collages as a part of a three-member group activity followed by a group interview. You will receive prior guidelines and materials to create collages. Participation is expected to take no more than three to four hours, and your partaking is voluntary. Video recordings and photos of each session will be kept for data analysis purposes. These data will be stored indefinitely on a private and secure online database. It will be accessible only to the researcher directly involved with this study. Videos, photos, collected data, and results of the study and the collages produced by the participants will be parts of my Ph.D. dissertation and may be used in presentations or publications, but your name and identity will be confidential. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty.

I assure you that your privacy and confidentiality will be respected in the course of my work. However due to the nature of focus groups, I cannot promise complete confidentiality. If you have any questions concerning the research study or your participation, please email to Renu.Zunjarwad@asu.edu.

Sincerely,

Renu Zunjarwad
Renu.Zunjarwad@asu.edu

Eric Margolis, Ph.D.
Eric.Margolis@asu.edu

By signing below, you are giving consent to participate in above study.

Participant signature	Printed Name	Date

Consent Form for Participant Observation and vendor Interview

Dear respondent,

My name is Renu Zunjarwad. I am a Ph.D. student at Herberger Institute for Design and the Arts, Arizona State University, United States. The purpose of this form is to provide you with all the relevant information so you can decide if you will give consent to participate in this research. Participants must be 18 or older.

This research is a part of my work toward interdisciplinary Ph.D. in Design. Most of what I want to know revolves around following questions: What roles have tradition, authenticity, and nostalgia played in shaping the production, consumption, and distribution of Indian street foods? Has design practice participated in fashioning Indian street food experiences locally and globally? How? How people consume these experiences and what are the signifiers? How have Indian street foods been brought to the US, have they changed in transition?

I am inviting your participation, which will involve a face-to-face interview and one to two days of participation observation at your facility. It will involve recording activities at and around your stall, preparation of the food, and interactions. Your partaking is voluntary. Video recordings, still images, audios, and notes of the activity will be kept for data analysis purposes. These data will be stored indefinitely on a private and secure online database. It will be accessible only to the researcher directly involved with this study. Videos, photos, collected data, and the results of the study will be part of my Ph.D. dissertation and may be used in presentations or publications, but your name and identity will be confidential. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty.

I assure you that your privacy and confidentiality will be respected in the course of my work. If you have any questions concerning the research study or your participation, please email to Renu.Zunjarwad@asu.edu.

Sincerely,

Renu Zunjarwad
Renu.Zunjarwad@asu.edu

Eric Margolis, Ph.D.
Eric.Margolis@asu.edu

By signing below, you are giving consent to participate in above study.

Participant signature	Printed Name	Date

APPENDIX F

GLOSSARY OF FOODS

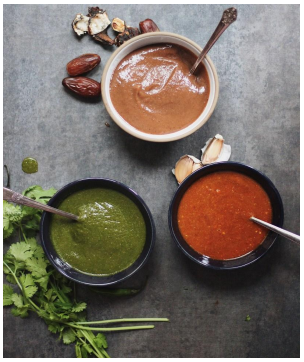
(Note: All images downloaded from *Google.com*)

Baraf ka gola (snow cones):
Crushed ice flavored with exotic *sarbets* [Indian version of juice] of vibrant colors. It's sold in a variety of forms including the one called *malai gola*, which has a spoonful of fresh cream, milkmaid custard, and dry fruits. *Barf ka gola* has been luring people of Mumbai since long before big ice cream brands entered Mumbai and India.

Bun *maska pav*:
One of the iconic foods served at Mumbai's cafes. It's made of a fresh *pav* bun sliced and spread with a thick layer of *maska*, a combination of white butter and fresh cream. Bun *maska pav* is always served with steamy hot *chai*.

Chaat:
Originated in northern states of India, but Mumbai *chaat* has created its niche. It's full of textures and variety of tastes. There are numerous versions of *chaat* sold in Mumbai like *papdi chaat*, *aaloo* [potato] chaat, and fruit *chaat* to name a few.

Chhole bhature:
Originated in northern states of India, *chhole* [garbanzo beans curry] and bhture [deep fried and puffed all–purpose tortillas] are more commonly consumed in northern states of India as street food than in Mumbai.



Chutney:
Chutneys are Indian sauces made up of vegetables, fruits, and many different kinds of spices. They are typically thicker in consistency and have spicy, tangy, sweet, sour, and hot flavors. *Chutneys* are a must for Mumbai's street foods, and vendors serve numerous varieties of *chutneys*, including tamarind, garlic, tomato, coconut, and green chili to name a few. Traditional and creative versions of South Indian street foods in Mumbai are commonly served with coconut *chutney*. *Chaat* items typically have tamarind and green chutneys. But there are no rules, and its all about the creative and innovative exploration of tastes.

Dabili:
Originated in Kachh region of Gujarat. A sweet and spicy boiled potato stuffing with peanuts, pomegranate, and variety of spices, sandwiched in a bun and sprinkled with sweet and sour tamarind *chutney* and crispy, deep-fried, gram flour noodles called *sev*.

Dahi batata sev puri:
Mumbai vendors serve variations of DBSP. The tricky part is to get a perfect combination of textures and sweet and sour tastes. Typically, consists of small crispy, puffed *puris* stuffed with chopped onions, cooked garbanzo beans and sprinkled with chilled *dahi* [yogurt], *sev*, spices, chopped green chilies, and sweet and tangy *chutneys*.

Dosa:
One can find numerous variations of *dosa* from *pav bhaji dosa*, cheese *dosa*, pizza *dosa*, gene *dosa* to Chinese *dosa* on Mumbai streets. Originally a staple South Indian food made with fermented batter of rice and white lentils and served with coconut *chutney* and *sambar*—a spicy watery lentil curry. But Mumbai vendors serve sweet and tangy *chutneys* with *dosa*.

Dhokla:
It's a traditional Gujarati food made with fermented batter of *besan* [gram flour] and rice. Topped with *tadka* of mustard seeds, curry leaves, cumin seeds, asafetida, sesame seeds, and green chilies. Sprinkled with freshly grated coconut.

Fafda:
Traditional Gujarati food, usually consumed with *chutneys* and *jalebis*. *Fafda* strips are made by rolling gram flour dough and are later deep-fried. The gram flour dough is spiced with carom seeds, cumin, turmeric, and asafetida,

Frankie:
Numerous varieties of veg and non-veg *frankies* are sold on Mumbai streets. The idea is to roll any stuffing in all-purpose or wheat flour *roti*. Few examples of stuffing are spicy *paneer*, Chinese noodles, chicken tikka, and vegetable cheese to name a few.

Falooda:
It's a very famous local dessert of Mumbai. Vendors serve variations but traditionally it is made by mixing rose syrup with vermicelli, *sabza* seeds [seeds of sweet basil plant], tapioca pearls, and pieces of gelatin mixed with milk or ice cream. Badshah in Crowford Market of South Mumbai is one of the most famous *falooda* joints.

Idli:
Staple South Indian food of steamed round pieces made up of the fermented mixture of rice and white lentils. It's served with coconut *chutney* and *sambar*. Mumbai's South Indian *idliwalas* are famous. They make idlis early in the morning at home and sell them on bicycles, through auto rickshaws, and carry *idlis* and *chutney* in big stainless steel containers.

Gulabjam:
A traditional Indian dessert famous all over India. These are spongy soft *khoya* [thick condensed milk] balls deep fried and dipped in sugar syrup, which is flavored with cardamom powder and scented rose syrup.

Jalebi:
Jalebi is originally from North India and is more famous as a festive food in Northern states of Uttar Pradesh and New Delhi. It's made up of fermented mixture of all-purpose flour and gram flour, deep fried as round cakes, and then soaked in sugar syrup.

Kababs:
Mumbai is famous for a variety of kabobs and chicken, pork, beef, goat curry recipes. The array of kabobs is served with fresh *chutney*, rice, *naans*, or in different kinds of wraps, including *rumali roti*, wheat *roti*, and garlic *naan* to name a few. One of the famous versions is *kati* roll, kobabs grilled veggies, and mint *chutney* rolled in *naan* wrap.

Kandabhaji:
A supremely crispy version of *kanda bhaji*, called *khekda bhaji* originated in Mumbai. *Kanda bhaji* are made with *kanda* [onion] slices dipped in a gram flour batter of a thick consistency and later deep-fried. They are consumed with chutneys and hot chai. It's one of the most favorite monsoon foods of Mumbai.

Kalakhatta:
Mumbai's famous summer cooler. Its made by sifting a coarse paste of *jamuns* [Indian blackberry] through a sieve and then adding lemon juice, sugar, and black salt. *Kalakhatta* is consumed as a *sarbet* or snow cone.

Kulfi:
It's one of the most famous local options in Mumbai to satisfy a sweet tooth. Vendors sell a variety of flavors like pistachio, rose, mango, litchi, vanilla, and *malai* [cream] to name a few. *Kulfi* is made up of milk, milk powder, cream, sugar, and essences.

Medu vada:
It is a South Indian staple food. Its made with fermented white lentil batter donuts that are deep-fried. *Medu vada* is served with tomato or coconut *chutney* and *sambar*.

Misal pav:
A popular dish from Maharashtra. It consists of a spicy curry of sprouted moth beans mixed with *farsan*, *sev*, *chivda*, or *gadhya*. *Misal pav* is served with fresh *pav*. The dish is considered to be a unique combination of spicy taste and variety of textures.

Pani Puri:
Mumbai's most famous street food. It was invented in northern states of India, and the version sold in Mumbai is very different from the original taste. For example, in Calcutta, the *puris* are larger, and the water is sour with no trace of sweetness. In Mumbai, *pani puri* has a combination of sweet and sour tastes, and its served with cooked chickpeas.

Pav bhaji:
Mumbai's very own street food that originated locally. It consists of *bhaji* made with a variety of vegetables and spices. The dish is served with fresh *pav* and *bhaji* sprinkled with chopped cilantro, onions, and the spoonful of Amul butter.

Kandapohe:
A typical Maharashtrian breakfast item. It has rice flakes cooked with vegetables, green chilies, and peanuts over a *tadka* of mustard seeds, asafetida, turmeric powder, and curry leaves. Sprinkled with chopped cilantro and freshly grated coconut when served.

Kheema pav:
One of the most famous street foods in Mumbai. It has thick gravy based spicy mutton or beef *kheema* stuffed in a fresh *pav*. The gravy has the base of onions, tomato, garlic, ginger, and a blend of a variety of traditional spices.

Puri bhaji:
A commonly consumed breakfast, lunch, or dinner item and different regional versions are served all over India. Typically consists of a deep-fried, whole-wheat flour puffed *puri* and *bhaji*, a boiled potato mixture of vegetables, and spices.

Ragda patties:
Originated in morthern states of India. The Mumbai version consists of a unique combination of tastes and textures. It has potato patties served with *ragda*—hot chickpea curry. And finally sprinkled with chopped onions, cilantro, tamarind and green *chutneys*, and *sev*. *Samosa ragda* has samosa instead of potato patties.

Samosa:
One of the most commonly known Indian snacks worldwide. Traders from Central Asia first introduced it to Indians in the 13th or 14th century. Typically *samosa* has a shell made up of all-purpose flour, which is stuffed with the spicy mixture of boiled, mashed potatoes, green peas, onions, green chilies ,and *garam masala*. Commonly consumed as it is or with *pav*.

Uttappa:
Thicker, denser, and smaller version of South Indian *dosa*. *Uttappa* has chopped tomatoes, onions, green chilies, bell peppers, ginger, and cilantro added to it at the time of cooking. Typically served with South Indian style tomato and coconut *chutneys* and *sambar*. A variety of versions including cheese *uttappa*, *pav bhaji uttappa*, Chinese *uttappa* are sold on Mumbai's streets.

Upma:
Originated in South India. However, it's Maharashtra's typical breakfast food. *Upma* is made with semolina; vegetables like onions, tomatoes, ginger, green chilies, curry leaves; and is flavored with mustard seeds, cumin, and asafetida.

Vada pav:
One of the most famous Mumbai street foods and is consumed with hot *chai*. It originated in Mumbai. *Vada* has a round, spiced boiled potato ball, dipped in gram flour mixture and is deep-fried. Later the *vada* is stuffed inside fresh *pav* like a sandwich and served with a variety of *chutneys* and deep-fried green chilies.