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From Morsel to Mouthful: Theorizing the Tiffin box as Means of Communication and Construction of Subjectivity in *Stanley ka Dabba* and *The Lunchbox*

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Abstract:

Recent scholarship in Food Studies has accorded multiple significations to food, making it a veritable carrier of cultural and ethnic identity as well as gender and political activism. Food is a potent mode of communication and emotive content. Whether presented on a plate or packed in the tiffin box, food graduates as a powerful signifier of transubstantiated feelings. The analysis of two Indian food films – *The Lunchbox* and *Stanley Ka Dabba*- re-create the magic of the tiffin-box and the miracles of the *dabba* in being able to cause a change in the environment through a re-modification of subjectivity and consciousness.

Keywords: Food, tiffin, communication, ethnicity, subjectivity, consciousness.

The curious little tiffin box has always had a twinkling effect amidst the drudgery of routine activity and daily work. From toddlers, trying to peep inside the half-closed tiffin boxes in the very first period of their school by delicately lifting their lids with their little fingers to those teenagers, waiting eagerly for the bell to strike at the recess hour when they can share their tiffin, the cult of the tiffin has always lifted the spirit of the scolded mischief-making backbencher or an average Indian worker struggling to meet targets. Recent scholarship on food studies has made it possible to theorize the concept of tiffin; in the light of such theories this paper attempts to interpret the various tropes implicated in the tiffin-box that has been fictionalized in two film-narratives of 2011 and 2013 – *Stanley Ka Dabba* and *The Lunchbox*.

Tiffin in India has been an eighteenth-century outgrowth of colonial administration that resulted from the necessity to adapt to a work culture demanding a revision of the rituals and patterns of eating in the tropical climate. In the languid and humidity of hot days, lunch mutated into its slighter and lighter avatar in the form of the tiffin to acclimatize to the changing work conditions under the *sahib* regime. And very soon tiffin came to symbolize those transcendental aspects of food that liberate it from the corners of the kitchen and the precincts of the dinner table to the portable, viable outside world, emancipate it from the time-taking etiquette oriented eating habits to the snappier, frugal consumption patterns, and free from the nuances of the plate to the smart, quick bites from the packed.

The historical evolution of Mumbai from Bombay bears witness to the successive changes that the modern metropolis must have undergone since it was first presented by the Portuguese to Charles II as a dowry for his marriage to Catherine of Braganza in 1661, subsequently to be leased by the Crown to the English East India Company for ten gold sovereigns. It was not until the late eighteenth-century that the city that had been changing hands

gradually emerged as the second most important city of the colonial Empire and India's leading trading port for exporting raw cotton. By 1861, Bombay had become a stable industrial centre of the British textile industry and experienced monumental economic growth with significant opportunities for investment and employment. No doubt, Bombay testifies the existence of a migrant workforce travelling from rural areas for work every day and its demographic profile further confirms the reason behind its multi-ethnicity.

The word 'tiffin' philologically originates from the slang words "tiff" to mean a small portion of diluted liquor and hence "tiffing" that is sipping this liquor and gradually "a spot of tiffin" soon became a peg on which almost any culinary indulgence between breakfast and dinner could be hung." (Caldicott and Caldicott) The word 'tiffin' also means the lunchbox that stores the home-made food that is carried either by the person concerned or delivered by agents like the *dabbawallas* of Nutan Mumbai Tiffin Box Suppliers Charity Trust (NMTBSCT) to the person for whom it is meant. Traditionally, such lunchboxes are usually circular to form a tiered cylinder with three or four stainless steel compartments, sealed with a tight-fitting lid and firmly side-clipped to avoid spillages, with a handle on top for carrying. The separate compartments serve the purpose of a *thali* (a compartmentalized plate) that accommodates a whole meal course.

The Lunchbox as a food film exploits the dynamics of the tiffin delivery system in Mumbai and how one misplaced lunchbox revolutionizes the lives of its three main characters. The inaugural frames of *The Lunchbox*, document those little *dabbas* (tiffin boxes) navigating through the busy streets of Mumbai. These *dabbas* can be construed as active narrative devices or the several polyphonic voices born out of an urban cultural mesh and still made distinct in the metropolitan chaos: "The dabba can also be seen as "the god of small things", an expression of a world of tiny things, ordinary things, daily events that seem unimportant but in fact overflow with meaning, apparently embracing a large symbolic heritage." (Roncaglia 120)

The opening scenes in *The Lunchbox* make evident that the tiffin delivery system, institutionalized in Mumbai's food history, runs in the veins of Mumbai, providing a source of continuous nourishment, and ascertainable only if one can interpret the professionalism and personal rapport of the *dabbawalla* (carrier/deliverer of tiffin boxes) with the customer. History testifies the extent to which the customers have reliability in the *dabbawallas* so much so that they authorize them to deliver their personal effects in this privileged eating system. Recognized as socially indispensable, egalitarian and requiring adeptness in the act of balancing the tiffin boxes while ferrying food at high speed to meet punctuality and on all kinds of transport, the tiffin delivery network rests not only on a complex logistic system but also by a special moral code endorsed by the Varkari Sampradaya sect – an offspring of the Bhakti movement and unique cultural philosophy that is also food-centric. This enterprise also seeks to exploit the cultural fabric and social configurations of Mumbai's multi-ethnicity.

The three main characters of *The Lunchbox* represent three different cultures / communities of Mumbai and the lunchbox acts as the catalyst of all the cross-cultural encounters occurring in the narrative between Ila who is a Hindu housewife, Saajan Fernandes, a Christian serviceman, and Shaikh, a Muslim. Bombay's demographic profile confirms its openness to migrants from different contexts, faiths, languages and ethnicity, thus creating a cultural collage in the urban landscape. Next to Hindu majority, Muslims constitute the second largest population in Mumbai. The Parsees and the Christians constituting the "middleman minorities"¹ and positioned as intermediary within the social structure in the wake of diasporic dispersions, act as

bridge between the different strata of static hegemonic structures – the dominant and the subjugated. Often disintegrated from the main social structure, and conditioned as socially and symbolically vulnerable, they act as social buffers between the ruling and subordinate class. At the same time, the ethno-religious and linguistic-cultural self-referencing of these middleman minorities are reinforced by their precariousness that allow these groups to prefer self-employment or work related to finance or business and to insulate their community with an internal solidarity and cohesion through endogamic marriages, and colony formations. In *The Lunchbox*, Saajan Fernandes is a Christian widower who has been working as an Insurance claims clerk for the last thirty-five years at the same office and interestingly, Ila and Shaikh are like two coordinates intersecting at Saajan.

The cultural mosaic of Mumbai has also increased its linguistic complexity and led to the formation of a *lingua franca* commonly known as Bumbaiye Hindi – a Bollywood influence. Bollywood films are released in Hindustani – a pluricentric language hybridizing Hindi and Urdu dialects - to cater cross-culturally. Besides employing food, *The Lunchbox*, situates Bollywood cinema like *Saajan* as a referential point to establish cohesion between its principal characters – Saajan and Ila.

Food, as Roland Barthes writes, is “a system of communication, a body of images, a protocol of usages, situations, and behavior”. (Barthes 29) Communicating through food ensures group affiliation and disassociation, as food is “a product and mirror of the organization of society...., a prism that absorbs and reflects a host of cultural phenomena” (Counihan 6) and has the symbolic function as a mode of communication by which one creates, manages and shares meanings with others.

Commenting on Hindu gastro-politics, Arjun Appadurai relates to all the “social transactions around food,” (Appadurai 507) making it a semiotic instrument of homogenizing as well as heterogenizing groups of people with respect to gender and hierarchic distinctions. Food in *The Lunchbox* also operates as a creator of spaces in shaping individual identity as well as charting cultural territories through taste:

The sphere of taste [...] is stratified. The first level is located towards the periphery of our mental life, where we find the various qualities of taste, which may be associated to a feeling of pleasure or unhappiness. At a second level, which is much deeper and cannot be assimilated to the sphere of simple sensorial qualities, we will find our personality and the unique, specific value it glimpses in the life around it. (Minkowski 184-5)

The *dabbawalas* constitute an expression of the Mumbai food system of distribution - a sustainable way of feeding the city - and promise hygiene without cross-caste contamination risks by bringing home-cooked food to the doorstep or rather the work-desk. *The Lunchbox*, however, challenges this one of the basic principles that runs the tiffin delivery enterprise in Mumbai. Food taboos, as Mary Douglas suggests, are anthropological concerns not so much with the social prohibitions they entail but with the notion of pollution that purports to be instrumental as well as expressive.² Food taboos enforce cultural differences and reinforce inter-group boundaries by instilling the concepts of purity and impurity within a systemic framework where such ideas take the shape of codified norms of social behavior and social identity to prevent contamination:

Therefore, the symbolic boundaries enforced by food rules do not simply instrumentally distinguish what is edible from what is not, but they also expressively depict a whole hierarchy of social relations, marking out the range of structured kinship bonds, separating ethnic groups and highlighting religious affiliations. The resulting mix of cuisines and ingredients thus maps out a complex “food system” of different eating patterns that mirrors a composite community’s daily reproduction of its own social order.

Within the context of this food system’s deeper, expressive symbolism, the Mumbai *dabbawalas*’ food delivery organization can be viewed as a vehicle of purity. (Roncaglia 80)

The Lunchbox however, represents the complex conflicts of globalization processes and its several contestations as food infiltrates into the materiality of the body to propel dichotomies and polarities that instill primal fears new/different foods are introduced into our bodies. As food becomes an indicator for cultural maneuverings, the film’s principal character Saajan becomes the breeding ground for cultural diversity and forging a new identity. The food cooked by Ila, meant for her husband and unknowingly consumed by Saajan Fernandes exposes his social body to contamination. Yet this unwarranted consumption becomes for him an object of desire and willful submission and he indulges in a deliberate subversion of the *dabbawala*-order by making his choice for the wrong lunchbox and his rejection of the restaurant food.

Claude Levi Strauss elucidates how food becomes a cultural signifier and cooking, a metaphor of cultural development in the act of mediation between the raw, the cooked and the rotten.³ In the context of Mumbai, “As agents of cultural “elaboration”, enabling customers both to preserve culinary traditions and to facilitate their transformation, the *dabbawalas* [by delivering the cooked] inhabit the highly charged space between the culinary triangle polarities of the “raw” [customers] and the “rotten” [the city of Mumbai].” (Roncaglia 82)

Home “cooked” food redeems Saajan from his loneliness that is his “rotten” state and yet the food that spiritually rescues him from gloominess is not from *his* home. The mnemonic dimensions of food make its spatial attributes obvious but this encourages recreation of familiar spaces and entire homelands through sensory and emotional factors of food: “We tend to forget things when we have no one to tell them to.” (*The Lunchbox*) Food becomes the signifier of family as long as it communicates to him all the care and concern that he once enjoyed when his wife was alive: “Food, flavours and the mechanism of Proustian involuntary memory succeed in recreating India’s magic taste and a sense of closeness and belonging.” (Rogobete 38) The view from his window at a neighbouring family, enjoying dinner together, reminds him of the absence of his wife and the haphazardness of life around. The ritual of sit-down dining becomes the framework for social intercourse; families “fight and express their love through food” that is potential “gift, threat, recompense, barter, seduction, solidarity, suffocation, treat, health or control.” (Eagleton 204) At the same time it is the permeability of taste that makes food a valid conveyor of acculturation that modifies Saajan’s food profile and transforms his character from passive aloofness to emotional responsiveness. Taste, a marker of ethnocentrism and result of changing historical processes, not only belongs to stimulated sensorial impulses but also to the order of signification manipulated by the way we interpret and shape our world.

Food is subject to regional varieties that besides suggesting ethnic delimitations, create sensual spaces governed by flavours and fragrances of particular dishes and tastes from different territories. The conjured concoctions and combinations of spices and vegetables engender vast spaces of emotional contours. Ila's cooking, expresses her subjectivity, her spontaneous emotional state, her candid confessions, her frank admissions about her failure in marriage, with her husband gradually drifting apart, further accentuated by the bland food in the wrong lunchbox from the restaurant, reaching him and mistaken by him as food from home. The kitchen corner where Ila is seen spending most of her time, becomes her territory from where she is able to provide sustenance and nurturance as well as conjure to communicate her innermost drives. She even resorts to culinary violence when instead of complimenting Ila's food that he consumed by mistake, Saajan complains of her food being salty. She even sends empty lunchbox as a message of nothingness and futility of endless waiting when Saajan doesn't keep his appointment of meeting at the café. The lunchbox serves as the exit point from the domesticity that confines Ila; she not only gains access to the outside world via the lunchbox but even actually thinks of stepping out and settling in a happier country like Bhutan.

The invisible voice of the Deshpande "aunty" represents the community of women where Ila ascribes to a membership as she partakes in the recipes dictated to her from time to time. The voice descends from a floor above like *deus ex machina* to troubleshoot her personal crises by suggesting new recipes that more or less function like home-remedies. Interestingly, the "aunty" is never made visible before the audience or share a screen space; but her voice commands a significant portion of the narrative. The smell perceived by the "aunty" determines whether Ila's cooking is on the right track or not; Ila is encouraged by her "aunty" to alter some ingredients in her dishes to achieve miraculous effects in her marriage. This kind of recipe discourse is crucial in the course of the action. Recipes are often orally handed down across generations and this oral tradition has socio-linguistic implications; it binds women in a shared community constructed by them because preparing food is often a premise to interaction, a vehicle of communication and a source of associations and symbolic structures. Ila has even preserved her grandmother's recipe book and leafs through its pages to prepare a dish with aubergines for Saajan.

Because "smell can be spatially ordered and place-related" (Rodaway 78), this kind of olfactory geography of sensual spaces as mapped in *The Lunchbox*, can affiliate an individual to his/her environment:

Olfactory geographies are not merely "smell maps" or even "smellscapes," but complex emotional encounters with discrete olfactory events, odours passing from time as well as space. Immediate olfactory encounters are perhaps quite a discontinuous geography, but the rich evocations of remembered smellscapes suggest that underlying this is a more continuous and synthetic olfactory geography. (Rodaway 78)

It is the aroma of the contents inside the lunchbox that enables Saajan to get rid of the *unhomely* food he had been consuming so long, since his wife's death. The first day when he is introduced to the misplaced lunchbox creates a craving in him so much that he eagerly waits for the lunchbox to arrive every day, is unsettled on its delayed delivery, gets desperate to childishly inhale the smell of the food inside and sometimes even has his lunch before time.

In *The Lunchbox*, food not only functions as a social marker capable to establish, maintain and retain social relations as well as define group or individual identity but also as a sign of heterogeneity when it emphasizes rank or social segmentation. Saajan's initial encounters with the tiffin-food filled with reluctance gradually transforms into a possessiveness and addiction to such an extent that in his lunch-time he prefers sitting single at his canteen table, carving out his own territory where no outsider is permitted, and his own personal corner for reading Ila's chits and ruminating his answers over them. Shaikh, who with his previous work experience at Saudi Arabia, is put as an apprentice to Saajan, initially faces repeated disapproval and condescension; he has to evolve from the state of consuming a daily dose of a couple "raw" bananas /apples to sharing a portion of home "cooked" food in his journey of winning Saajan's mind with his nagging stubbornness. For Shaikh, cooking is impersonal and technical. His time-management in chopping vegetables in the local train on return journey and the preciseness in recollecting the recipe of certain Mughlai dishes like *pasande* place him diametrically opposite to Ila for whom cooking is an experimental and emotional exercise. Saajan in his intentional submission to a different kind of taste attempts a hybridity that accommodates both Hindu and Muslim culinary ethnicity and amalgamates complex intra-psychic processes and social interaction. Ethnicity is "a category of ascription whose continuity rests on the perpetuation of boundaries and the codification constantly renewed of cultural differences between neighbouring groups." (Bonte and Izard 322) However, very soon, the concept of ethnicity was realized as an ideological instrument or a weapon to configure the power struggles between the groups. Hybridity, as opposed to ethnicity, allows an alteration of social reality by relaxing the constrictions of cultural rigidity and causing social divisions unresponsive. In this context, Bhabha's concept of mimicry as *a sign of a double articulation*⁴ - a sporadic, eccentric strategy of authority associated to the play between difference and desire - is applicable to the understanding of culinary appropriation and transformation. Just the colonizer mimics in his desire to understand and subjugate the Other, the native can mimic the colonizer's discourse to apposite the *vocabularies of power* as a weapon of passive resistance. The dinner that Saajan enjoys at Shaikh's house creates an *ambivalence of mimicry*⁵ since, according to Bhabha, eating and sharing somebody else's food does not imply consuming the Other but sometimes providing a deliberate access by permitting oneself to be subsumed by Otherness.

The Lunchbox beautifully interprets food delivered by *dabbawalas* as a "gift" that is able to integrate "the economic dimension of barter with a complex phenomenology of a symbolic, religious, aesthetic, affective and legal order." (Roncaglia 147) The principle of gift holds true in case of the lunchbox that arrives at Saajan's desk everyday and leaves a disturbing effect, when it doesn't. The surprise element, often attached to gifting is another principle that is applicable here. The lunchbox every day creates a suspense and thrill and impatience in Saajan. He feels restless to open the box, cannot concentrate. And the lunchbox has its own language- the culinary and the written- the letters are gustatory and meaningful. The act of sharing this gift with Shaikh, draws its inspiration from the ancient scripture of classical Indian law – Code of Manu – and also in the thirteenth book of Mahabharata:

The thing that is given produces its rewards in this life and in the next. Here in this life, it automatically engenders for the giver the same thing as itself: it is not lost, it reproduces itself; in the next life, one finds the same thing, only it has increased. Food given is the food that in this world will return to the giver; it is food, the same food that he will find in the other world. And it is still food, the

same food that he will find in the series of his reincarnations [...]. It is in the nature of food to be shared out. Not to share it with other is 'to kill its essence,' it is to destroy it both for oneself and for others. (Mauss 72-73)

Sharing food as a sign of commensality and conviviality is one of the themes of the other Indian food film under discussion - *Stanley Ka Dabba* – that transports us to the world of school children in Mumbai and the spectacles of the recess period where the tiffin boxes opened and shared beautifully express the joys and pathos of their lives, the little worries and the big anxieties of innocent existence and also the unhappy compromises or the heavy negotiations that are sometimes made over it. Stanley, the little hero of the film, is a fourth grader, reading in Holy Family School in Mumbai. The first scene shows him coming to school with bruises but on being enquired about them, he culls out absurd, humourous stories. Children are active social agents and participate in formation of their own subjectivities or co-construction of their own lives - a process that is often undermined or underestimated. Stanley is able to come to terms with his life only through such politics of agency through his *dabba*.

The tiffinbox in *Stanley Ka Dabba* also designates itself as a trope for lost family and makes its presence felt more through its absence. The *dabba* that Stanley never brings to school attracts curiosity among the audience and wrath of the Hindi teacher Mr. Verma at school. The polarization between children who bring tiffin to school and the child who doesn't, gets accentuated here as the tiffin gradually becomes the emblematic marker of family and happy parenting. The question why Stanley is unable to bring his tiffin is gradually revealed near the end of the film and confirms that signification. Stanley is orphaned and is forced into arduous physical work by his uncle at his restaurant. Hence *Stanley Ka Dabba* that posits victimhood in child labour as a tool to depoliticize trauma, comprehends redressal in more substantive terms and "Within this politics of victimhood, children have always functioned as a central object of compassion, both in the aftermath of traumatic events ... and in non-traumatic everyday accounts of violence in the lives of child labourers, street children and child soldiers." (Balagopalan 8) Stanley becomes a "spectralized object" (Balagopalan 9) of humanitarian concern in the broader domain of human rights. In global discourses on victimhood, vocalising human rights is an anti-political stance of morality focusing on pain and suffering rather on a political perception of comprehensive justice. This voice is personified and personalized in the English Teacher Ms. Rosy who appreciates his creativity, wit and humour.

Stanley, however, belongs to an uncounted work force of children, to that certain percentage where many children work without wages or alongside their family members. This under-reported group of children work force include hawkers, newspaper vendors, rag-pickers, shoeshine boys and helpers at construction sites or those who are employed as domestic servants, or as waiters serving in restaurants, tea stalls or wayside shops.

Laying its claims to globality, the Right to Education Act (2009) making elementary education free and compulsory, was passed in India with the purpose of recalibrating the lives of poor or deprived children. However, post-liberalisation India has still to an extent, failed to meet the target and persists in counting the world's highest number of working children despite the six-decade old constitution mandate to make elementary education compulsory, due to mixed factors that include cost of schooling, intricate admission procedures and the need to supplement family incomes through labour-intensive means of earning. Hence, children's lives are highly

contested and stalled with new assertions of marginalization pertaining to class, culture and gender.

Formal schooling efforts have augmented their reformatory projects of educating children by reifying the distinction between ‘mental’ and ‘manual’ labour. Within such binaries, ‘mental’ work becomes an ideal form of escape and emancipation from ‘manual’ work and schooling becomes an ideological apparatus to ensure this. Hence, children engaged in manual labour are irrevocably exploited that can be redeemed only through formal schooling. However, in reality and practice, the school system has failed to recognize the child as competent agents because of adult/child binaries that create ageism to override children’s perception by privileging adult’s meanings over them. Mayall has stressed that “children’s lives are lived through childhoods constructed for them by adults’ understanding of childhood and what children are and should be.” (1) Mr. Verma, the Hindi teacher represents the harsh adult world that seek to deliberately erase, negate and silence their voice “either because they are held incompetent in making judgments or because they are thought of as unreliable witness about their own lives.” (Qvortrup 2) Contrary to this exclusionary view, there exists a countermovement that seeks acknowledgement of the legitimacy and value of children’s participation in decision-making process. But it is undeniable that such notions of agency are contested since “children make their own meanings, but not under conditions of their own choosing.” (MacNaughton 47) As MacNaughton identifies, a child works under four “conditions of power” – power of pre-existing cultural imagery and cultural meanings, social expectations, hegemonic positions and power of the marketplace. Stanley starts bringing tiffin more under the pressure of such “conditions of power”; he expects his culinary bribes to satisfy him and even out the tension of disagreement.

Gluttony as personified in Mr. Verma symbolizes the corruptive and capitalist forces that seek to crush or abolish the rights of the proletariat. The grotesque and monstrous gesture of eating or rather robbing from others’ tiffin, the gargantuan act of gorging or devouring food manifest a symbolic class struggle that marginalize the weak. The unsurpassable rage and vindictiveness that he projects when he is denied his unrightful right over the tiffin boxes after he finds out that his share of food has been passed on to Stanley forces Stanley to deprive himself of tiffin and concoct stories of his imaginary meal made by his fictitious mother. His friends find out the truth soon as they discover him loitering, empty stomach during the tiffin period and decide to share their *dabbas* with him anyhow. Mr. Verma tracks their group on the school terrace and when he realizes that Stanley is still the partaker of his meal, he threatens Stanley to either bring his own tiffin or stop coming to school. Stanley chooses to remain absent and within a short span, his absence is felt and the actual reason disclosed. Ms. Rosy confronts Mr. Verma and makes him ashamed for what he has done. Meanwhile, Stanley arrives to school and decides to make a parley with him. Food is compensation, food is consolation. It is at this point that the *dabba* makes its benign appearance for the first time; the sudden availability of the contents of the tiffin box is however questionable, but nevertheless the *dabba* upsets the conscience of Mr. Verma who quits.

Marking as a departure from the overestimated role of adults in child socialization Alison James and Alan Prout have constructed “a new paradigm of childhood sociology ... to focus on children’s own conceptual architecture, drawing on Philippe Aries to frame childhood as socially constructed, historically contingent and therefore multiple.” (Balagopalan 12) The discourse of multiple childhoods makes it possible to interpret Stanley’s experience as variegated and that

which embeds agency in a more active role of negotiation and capacity to cause change in the surrounding environment. Stanley is subject to multiple childhoods – the one that he deserves and the other that is depriving. He lives in two contrary states – the one family-less and famishing, the other fulfilling. The few hours at school relieves him from the micro-aggression and violence at the restaurant with his only solace being Akram, the restaurant cook, who packs the leftovers as his next day's tiffin.

The Lunchbox and *Stanley Ka Dabba* masterfully explore both the material and symbolic representations of food and eating to demonstrate its instrumental role in constructing meaning and altering the intricate nature of social relations in a communicative process within culturally defined systems of thought. Food, as enclosed in the tiffin boxes gradually peel away its material significance to reveal its symbolic embodiment of power to express food's changing symbolism within the network of social change. The tiffin-boxes in the discussed films are emanations of culinary performance in communication and such occurrences of kitchen insurrections in cinematic utterances on cooking and eating invite us to participate in an optical experience while engaging ourselves in a mental phenomenon.

End Notes:

¹ For further elucidation on this concept, see Bonanich 583-94 and Zenner 413-25.

² See Douglas.

³ Levi-Strauss refers to the culinary triangle with three apexes – the Raw, the Cooked and the Rotten; for more details see Levi-Strauss.

⁴ See Barthes.

⁵ For strong points on the observation, see Barthes.

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