MANGO AND MASALA MATTERS:

TASTES FOR AUTHENTICITY AT BUDAPEST'S

RESTAURANTS

By

Aneera Fareed

Submitted to

Central European University

Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts

Supervisors: Daniel Monterescu

Guntra Aistara

Budapest, Hungary

2016

ABSTRACT

This research examines the recent proliferation of South-Asian restaurants in Budapest and engages with the concerns for authenticity that are expressed by people at these social sites of eating. It offers an overview of a local culinary outcome of a cuisine, broadly identified as Indian, by highlighting the social interactions and meanings that underlie its consumption and production. This is achieved through a series of ethnographic observations at twelve different restaurants, and an engagement with the sensory and symbolic tastes- of place, otherness, tradition and a specific cuisine. Thus, the thesis argues that authenticity of food is socially constructed and ascribed through the language of food. Like cultural identity, it is defined in relational terms. By delving into the social relations that specific foods encode, the project explains the reasons for claims of authenticity and demonstrates the inseparability of food from social life.

.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Table of contents

Introduction

"This place smells like India," an eight year old exclaimed her surprise as she pranced through the doors of *Taj Mahal* with her parents. Sitting only a few steps away from the girl, I smiled at the girl's comment and thought about the peculiar aroma that wafted through the air- it was an infusion of burning incense sticks and a distilled smell of a variety of spices. As I made note of this, I listened to the sitar music in the background, and scanned the specific objects around me; the paisley-patterned shelves and frames, the array of Mughal-inspired paintings and the carefully-placed metallic pots and plates on the tables. Were we in India? No, we were at a restaurant in the 6th district of Budapest.

Today, it is not uncommon to find places like *Taj Mahal* in Budapest. In fact, *Delhi Darbar, Maharaja, Himalaya, Mughal Shai* and *Curry House* are just a few of the many South-Asian restaurants that occupy the culinary landscape of Hungary's capital city. Each of these restaurants constitutes an ideal "total social phenomenon" (Sutton and Beriss 2007:3) and offers a unique entry point for examining the inseparability of food from social life. They provide consumption experiences that are as much about identity- of places and people as they are about serving and consuming food. But it is worth asking whether their configuration within the specific socio-spatial context reveals deeper social trends. Thus, as an anthropologist, I became interested in the meanings, interactions and identity related politics underlying these restaurants. My own role as a participant observer offered a gateway into the customer's experience of these restaurants. This approach helped me explain the multitude meanings and expectations that may characterize the act of "eating out" and yet grasp the common features that connected or characterized these sites to varying degrees.

What made each of these restaurants similar and yet different? What was "Indian" about the food that was cooked and prepared in Hungary? What kind of tastes are offered and sought within these restaurant? While these questions remained important throughout my exploration of these

4

restaurants, they were instrumental in shaping and addressing the broader and most important question of my thesis. Why were certain South-Asian restaurants making claims to authenticity in Budapest?

My ethnographic study of the Indian cuisine in Budapest exhibited some contradictions that need to be discussed. The following chapters cite particular cultural references that are appropriated at these restaurants, in order to question the strong onus on authenticity and pride of origin. I intend to show that the constitution of authentic Indian food is not static. It is socially constructed and ascribed through language and staged service of food. The claims to authenticity should be read as power-making tools that appeals to the discernable consumer who is looking for tastes of a specific kind- of place, the exotic other, tradition and a cuisine. While the ethnography is dotted with culinary examples in support of my arguments, the tastes for authenticity are summed up through the particular cases of *Masala* and *Mango Lassi*. This approach allows me to recognize the importance of food in social life; of the sensory and the aesthetic tastes, and of language in cultural commodification.

In the first chapter, I shall offer an outline of the theoretical framework that shaped my research and allowed me to explore a cuisine that is rooted within specific restaurants. I shall offer an overview of the theories, methods and operationalized concepts that influenced my research.

The second chapter illustrates the concept of staging service that allowed me to understand the social process under which authenticity is constructed and ascribed. Authenticity must be explored through the interplay between the social, spatial and edible, and this claim is brought to the forefront through the case of *Masala*.

The third chapter offers a conceptual navigation of a broad cuisine in Budapest, through three collective tastes that may be offered (through production) and sought (through consumption) at these restaurants. As the interaction between the social, semantic and edible is highlighted through

tastes, I argue that language plays an important role in the construction of authenticity in relational terms.

The fourth chapter combines the aforementioned points made about authenticity, language, tastes and staging service to answer my broader question in two ways. First, I center these arguments on a single commodity- *Mango Lassi* to highlight the importance and contradictions that underlie the tastes for authenticity. Secondly, I argue that the claims become important levers of cultural power in light of broader economic and political trends.

1. Setting My Anthropological Table

1.1. Theoretical Perspective

1.1.1. Authenticity

The concept of authenticity encompasses a diverse range of meaning- from genuineness and originality to accuracy and truthfulness (Trilling 1972; Handler 1986; Lindholm 2008). In this section, I outline some of the theories that shaped my understanding of the terms like traditional, real and authentic- concepts which frequently came up at my field site.

The term "authenticity" can be seen as representing the origins of something. In one sense, it may evoke an almost mythically primordial rootedness in place and time (Benjamin 1968). It is seen as opposite to "mechanical reproduction" (1968), when millions of images of an original are circulated, all of which lack the authentic aura of their source. From this point of view, claims to authenticity are imbued with certain expectations- the idea of discovering authenticity in those parts of the world that are still uncontaminated by the "conventions of Western society" (Lindholm 2008), and the idea of finding answers in the past and upholding what is "real" or "traditional" (Handler and Linnekin 1984). These expectations can be seen as inspiring an exoticized version of the authentic which is seen as somewhat antagonistic to the modern- the authenticity of the self (deep within oneself) and the exotic Other (far away). In light of this view, authenticity emerges "from the probing comparison between self and Other, as well as between external and internal states of being" (Bendix 1997:17).

There are problems with this view within the philosophical traditions as considered by Adorno (2003) and others. From an anthropological point of view meanwhile, one can question the romanticized notions regarding tradition. Tradition does not have an objective relation to the past as cross cultural comparisons by Handler and Linnekin (1984) demonstrate. In the search

7

for authenticity people are selective in terms of identifying what should or should not be considered traditional. This is particularly true in case of "nationalist versions" (Handler and Linnekin 1984) of tradition, in which the past is deliberately shaped to create solidarity in the present.

Another paradox of the desire for authenticity in the modern world is picked up by sociologist like Daniel Miller (1995) and Sharon Zukin (2009; 2010): it often encapsulates the desire for something uncontaminated by "modernity", yet it is sought within modernity and through consumerist cultural means. Miller (1995) identifies the modern ideology that promotes the aesthetic ideal through creation. Within such an ideology, "the condition of consumption is always a potential state of rupture" (1995:2) and the sense of consumption as a secondary relationship takes on particular importance. As a result, there is an increasing sense that we have no choice but to attempt to overcome the experience of rupture "using those very same goods and images which create for many the sense of modernity as rupture"(Miller 1995:2). The mere existence of a thing in a particular time and space is not enough to create an aura of authenticity. An authentic object must *seem* irreproducible, original, and sometimes uncorrupted by western capitalism Authenticity thus works in "a paradoxical tandem with the marketplace" (Cobb 2014) as people look for creativity in consumption through the concern for authenticity. Works by Miller (1995) and Cobb (2014) encourage us to see how consumers may also try to recapture the aura of authenticity through consuming goods that are valued precisely because their connection to the world of production is known. In that sense, authenticity is not a survival from some world of peasants and craftsmen, but rather a result of an economy organized around exchange value (Pratt 2007). We tell stories about these goods and the fact that we are buying the labor of others is invisible. Pratt (2007) considers the possibility that the issue of authenticity and consumption may lie at the core of the condition of modernity. His emphasis may resonate with the points made by other urban anthropologists who similarly point out that the quest for authenticity evokes some thematic elements that are found in the aesthetic vocabulary of

8

modernism and popular culture, It often times refers " to the pursuit of identity in 'real' places, 'real' experiences and a 'real' self" (Zukin 2009:545). Such an existential dimension of authenticity can be seen as extremely relevant to the modern culture that is characterized by time of mass-production and mass-distribution. Thus, authenticity, along with its apparent connection with the past, is also associated with uniqueness. It often applies to the artistry of exceptional individuals. This can have various implications, as Adorno's treatise, *The Jargon of Authenticity* (2003) points out; it can easily become a weapon for claiming moral superiority by those who possess or 'see' it and excluding those who cannot or do not. Zukin's contemporary work within modern urban settings exemplifies the ways these claims of moral superiority may be made and may even become "a lever of cultural power for a group to claim space" (2010:246). This insight can be linked to David Harvey's consideration of the way in which monetary value is extracted from authentic objects. For Harvey, "claims to uniqueness and authenticity can best be understood as distinctive and non-replicable cultural claims" (2001: 399).

All these works enabled me to take into account the contradictions and the repercussions that claims to authenticity may have. Through this ethnography, I acknowledge the coexistence of more than one "manifestation of authenticity" (Dimitrios 2013) in any given negotiation of the authentic. While the term authentic may be used loosely and frequently in the every-day context, it is an important social index of deeper trends and cultural issues. This is why it became an important lens for my own research. I use "tastes for authenticity" to illustrate the appetite for specific version of place, time and otherness. The following subsection offers a brief outline of why I theorized and operationalized the concept of taste in my study.

1.1.2. Tastes

Pierre Bourdieu (1984) observed that the rich justified and naturalized their economic advantage over others not only in pecuniary terms, but by being the arbiters of taste. Taste for the authentic is then, a means of strategy and competition in the social world. Minute distinctions of taste

become the basis for social judgement in a system of power relations and as a symbols. For Bourdieu, tastes "are the practical affirmation of an inevitable difference" (1984, p. 56), "a system of classificatory schemes" (p. 174), or "the source of the system of distinctive features which cannot fail to be perceived as a systematic expression of a particular class of conditions of existence" (p. 175). Taste, as Bourdieu (1984) has shown, can be viewed as the product of cultural variables that include class, education, capital (symbolic and economic), and the consequent positions and position-takings that result from these variables within the field of cultural production.

Since Bourdieu (1984) and Goody (1982), various theorists began exploring food as a source and marker of social distinction. While, these conceptions on aesthetic judgement allowed me to understand the way people from certain backgrounds asserted their status at specific restaurants, it was only one aspect of the gustatory taste that characterizes "authentic" food. Bourdieu's work rarely addresses taste as "the faculty of perceiving flavours" (p. 474). After all, in the act of tasting, nature and culture become one. Thus, I had to operationalize taste for authenticity in a way that takes into account the ways that the various "senses" play into the social processes of taste formation, something that was pointed out by Sutton (2010) and Trubek (2008). Taste is the variance between food as a mere form of sustenance and food as a part of sociality, spirituality, aesthetics, and more (Trubek 2008). Allen S. Weiss (1997) enumerates the different uses of "taste" in a variety of contexts:

> "the sense by which we distinguish flavors; the flavors themselves; an appetite for such preferred flavors; the discriminative activity according to which an individual likes or dislikes certain sensations; the sublimation of such value judgments as they pertain to art, and ultimately to all experience; and, by extension and ellipsis, taste implies good taste and style, established by means of an intuitive faculty of judgment" (1997:7).

At a first glance, the multidimensionality of the concept of taste can be seen as further complicating the contradictions underlying authenticity. However, I argue that the two concepts- "tastes" and "authenticity" need to be explored together to understand the provision and consumption of authentic food in a modern setting. Taste has a potential to divide and distinguish. And yet, conceptually, it also unites the countless ways that humans have devised to make food so much more than survival. Sutton (2010) considers the notion of food's sensory qualities as embodied forms of social distinction and calls for an approach in which taste is central to exploring other aspects of culture. Our "multisensory apparatuses" should be tuned to capture what "anthropology has in one way or another always been concerned with: everyday life and the multiple contexts in which the culturally shaped sensory properties and sensory experiences of food are invested with meaning, emotion, memory, and value" (2010:220). Sutton's aforementioned quote summarizes two important theoretical ideas that have shaped my own research. First, the notion of "taste" as being important for exploring other aspects of culture, and secondly, that the discussion of food and the senses is not new to anthropology. In fact, Levi-Strauss (1969) and Mary Douglas (1972) emphasized the importance of the "gustatory code" (1983) for understanding structural opposition in the social system. For Douglas, if food is a code, its pre-coded message lies in social relations (Douglas 1972). Although these classical structuralist works may have their limitations, as they focus too much on abstracting binaries in food and the food "system", my own ethnography in the following pages valorizes some of important themes that were not only raised within these works but also continued to influence later works in anthropology.

Food can illuminate broad societal processes such as political-economic value-creation (Mintz 1985), serve as a cultural marker (Solier 2013) and play an active role in the social construction of memory (Sutton 2004). It can be an important lens for understanding and explaining social differentiation. For example, our everyday choices and manners regarding edible products are important cultural expressions of who we are- an insight that I found crucial in trying to

11

understand the claims and activities of people in my own study. In addition, food serves both to solidify group membership and to set groups apart (Counihan 1999). There are notable works in food anthropology that outline the functions of food in social allocation, in terms of ethnicity (Jamal 1996), nationality (Appadurai 1988; Trubek 2008), class (Bourdieu 1986; Ferguson 1998) gender (Erickson 2004) and individuality (Zukin 1991). Such studies have proved an important arena for debating the relative merits of cultural and historical materialism, on the one hand, and structuralist or symbolic explanations for human behavior on the other. My own ethnography also offers a contextual engagement with their works as I demonstrate the ways in which difference, both symbolic and real, may be expressed through a cuisine and culinary practices in a specific urban setting. Food preferences and distastes are seen to circumscribe the distance between social groups.

1.1.3. Social Criteria and Construction

I wished to deconstruct the authenticity of Indian food in Budapest. On the surface, it seemed like a case of "translocation" (Chiaro 2008:197) of an ethnic cuisine from a source culture (India) to a target culture (Hungary). Consequently, one could argue that the food ceases to be "Indian" and "authentic" as signs, people and goods move from one part of the globe to another. Such a perspective could be bolstered by general observations made by Chiaro (2008) regarding foreign foods; the accommodation of recipes often involves a process of "gross simplification" (2008:197) of elaborate and lengthy culinary procedures. Indian food was after all, "foreign" in Budapest and by extension, could never be original or authentic.

My findings only revealed the limitations of such assumptions regarding the authenticity of "foreign" food and challenged the idea that it ceased to be authentic. But neither did I aim to prove that it is truly genuine, traditional and authentic. As I considered the extent to which the Indian food was assimilated to the local tastes, an ethnographic study of South-Asian Restaurants in Budapest seemed crucial to this investigation. Each restaurant was "a social practice and an

institution" (Sutton and Beriss 2007) where authenticity could be investigated, experienced and questioned. I was able to see the way it was constructed by the "restaurateurs" (Crowther 2013; Ray 2016), who used references to the cuisine of their cultural origin, while simultaneously observe that it was also subjective and dependent upon the experience of the diners. It enabled me to consider that like cultural identity, authenticity is "constructed in relation to others" (Crowther 2013:202). I saw the specific ways in which chefs and owners modified their cultural resources to offer an authentic food experience. The restaurants offered the social context where the authenticity was "staged"- a feature that I abstracted through Goffman's (1973) dramaturgical approach and MacCannell's (1999) work on authentic tourist spaces.

In addition to highlighting the relational claims of authenticity, I shall demonstrate that authenticity of specific food and practices lies within the place of eating- an observation that was also made by Lu and Fine (1995) in the case of ethnic cuisine in America. In the following pages, I shall thus, introduce the actors, props and audience within specific restaurants and thereby elaborate on the importance of "Staging Service" (Erickson 2009:19) in the exchange of the authentic experience. The South Asian Restaurants served as a context where these tastes for authenticity were played out to varying degrees.

In light of these different uses regarding tastes, judging the sensory and social qualities of food became complex for me- both as an eater and an anthropologist of South Asian food. In order to make sense of the claims that I encountered during my research, I relied on contemporary anthropological works to tackle two different aspects of authentication. The first aspect included figuring out the measures that may be used to gauge authentic food, in general. For example, Pratt (2007) identifies two main themes to stand out in this regard: first, there is food specific to a location; second, these food products are the result of 'a craft process' (2007). Meanwhile, Greg de St. Maurice (2014) charts out four measures of authenticity "content, process, origin and historical continuity" that serve as viable starting points to analyze and deconstruct culinary commodities that are often identified as authentic.

13

The second aspect of this project involved an awareness of the case-specific criteria, in other words, the culinary procedures and ingredients of the Indian cuisine itself. For this, I relied upon the compilations of socio-historical accounts of the South-Asian culinary practices by Appadurai (1988), Ray and Srinivas (2012) and Fielding (2014). I also relied upon accounts of South-Asian food encounters by Alford and Duguid. (2005) and Collingham (2006) to familiarize myself regarding certain ingredient and recipes- in addition to the accounts of my respondents. Indian cuisine itself has become an object of study, both in contemporary India and oversees. The literature that deals with its manifestation in North America (Ray 2016), Britain (Fielding 2014) allowed me to engage with specific questions about its manifestation in Budapest.

A juxtaposition of all the works regarding authenticity on one hand, and South-Asian cuisine on the other, allowed me to chart out specific categories of collective tastes that are anticipated and offered at these restaurants. The focus on authenticity and tastes allowed me to present a composite description of "subjective experiences" (Moustakas 1994) of those at various restaurants. Before I engage with my main findings of the research, I would like to offer an account of the specific methods of data collection that I relied upon in order to understand the my specific 'social sites of eating' (Sutton and Beriss 2007).

1.2. Methods

1.2.1. Participant Observation: South-Asian Restaurants

I wished to look at a cuisine that was broadly identified as "Indian" in Budapest. But my sample of restaurants comprised of Pakistani, Indian and Bangladeshi restaurants, located in Hungary. The choice was governed by the idea that the geography of tastes may transcend national boundaries and ethnic zones. The mix of restaurants that I broadly identified as South Asian allowed me to present examples that illustrate how a cuisine, broadly identified as "Indian" in Budapest, transcends national boundaries. Within the present-day political discourse, South-Asia is seen to be comprising of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Maldives

and Sri Lanka. Some scholarly works use the term "Indian Sub-continent" (Alford and Duguid 2005) in order to refer to some of these countries (by excluding Afghanistan and Maldives) and thus account for the common geographical and cultural heritage. Moreover, it allowed me to engage contextually with the ways in which food becomes an important means of place-making (Feld and Basso 1996), and reterritorialization (Gupta and Ferguson 1992). Such issues became important as I tried to unpack the meaningful association of places and peoples, with food.

My research proceeded as I reflected: on the development of ideas; on data; on implications; and of course, on myself. Any qualitative research is a "shared space" (England 1994) that is shaped by the researcher and the participants. I realized that my own South-Asian background had an important role to play. Having native-level proficiency in Urdu, I was able to navigate through menus and able to pick up discursive features about my field site in very little time. Sometimes, I tried to compare things with what it was like back home, in Pakistan or India. Yet at the same time, my limited familiarity of the Hungarian language prevented me from establishing complete rapport with some of the Hungarian staff. In a way, the multicultural blend within these restaurant made the familiar, strange and allowed me to raise questions as an outsider. The very act of dining out "is identity work" (Lu and Fine 1995), and I felt the truth of this statement manifest itself as I constantly shifted between my role as a diner and researcher.

1.2.2.   On-site

My primary findings were gleaned through an observation of the space, personnel and artifacts of a sample of twelve restaurants (see Appendix A for the entire list). My observations were recorded in my field notes that allowed me to track down the ways in which certain people interacted and actively interpreted the codes and symbolic features of the restaurants. Each of these restaurants had its own internal socio-spatial dynamics. But in order to connect these unique and yet similar contexts, I abstracted certain features of these restaurants that were relevant to my research. It was important as a researcher to actively engage with the actors that shaped each "communicative context" (Briggs 1983). Thus, my participant observation was

15

accompanied by a series of semi-structured interviews with the people who characterized the dining experience of these restaurants; owners, chefs, waiters, suppliers and customers.

I did not always introduce myself as a researcher upon entering a restaurant. I would often order, have friendly conversation with the server and then, talk about my study on the South Asian restaurants. This, led to different responses, varying from an interest in my study to suggesting other Indian restaurants in Budapest that I might find useful. Moreover, as a participant at the sites, I ended up sharing my meals and conversations with friends, acquaintances, strangers and sometimes, just myself. This approach helped me explain the multitude meanings and expectations that may characterize the act of "eating out".

I visited each of the restaurants at least once for the sake of representativeness. However, just as any diner may visit certain restaurants more than others, I too became a frequent visitor of two specific restaurants- to eat, converse and know more about the Indian cuisine and the restaurants of Budapest. This allowed me to establish rapport with the staff, observe cooking and eating practices and eventually reflect on, as well as move beyond my findings as a mere diner at all the other restaurants.

1.2.3. Off-site

As part of my preliminary research, I browsed online for all possible South-Asian restaurants in Budapest. I maintained an online database of the names, locations and web-addresses of these restaurants. As a researcher, I did not incorporate the online reviews in the actual data collection of my thesis, but I think that they served an important role in the preparation phase as they shaped my expectations as a diner, guiding me regarding what to expect, how fellow diners judged the places and expressed their dining experiences. I also realized that online searches and reviews increasingly characterize the modern dining experience, and for me, it raised an important question regarding the temporality of eating out; when did my dining experience really begin? Today, we have digitized versions of the menu, location and ambience at the tips of our fingers, without ever stepping in to those restaurants. And yet, these are merely "images"

(Benjamin 1968), removed from real and the sensory experience that characterize a restaurant space itself.

For the sake of my research, I also conducted off-site interviews with a few waiters and customers. This was only when I had been unable to talk to the specific people because of the social-spatial constraints of the dining experience. At other times, however, I talked to my respondents within the restaurants in order to engage in discussions within the social milieu- that was crucial to my research. In addition to this, I gained qualitative information from two grocery shops in the seventh district of Budapest that maintained unique connections with the sample of these restaurants. The approach proved useful for clarifying and investigating certain issues. Overall, through a combination of five off-site and ten on-site interviews, I gained a deeper insight of owner's migrant backgrounds, culinary claims, origin of ingredients and interpersonal relations.

The menus were seen as important resources and artifacts for exploring the tastes, identity construction and "culinary heritage" (Fielding 2014) that are promoted at these restaurants. They allowed me to record the ways in which the "commodification of language and identity" (Heller 2003) - separately and together occurs through food categories. And in order to account for the interplay of language with food at these restaurants, "reading between the lines in menus" (Jurafsky 2014:15) served useful. My findings in the upcoming chapters shall refer to menu descriptions to illustrate how "language of food" (Jurafsky 2014) plays a crucial role in the "translation of culture" (Katan 2004), thereby influencing the specific tastes for authentic food. Restaurants offer a space for observing "people's public eating culture" (Crowther 2013:185) and thus I was free from some of the dilemmas that a researcher may experience from intruding a private or personal space. However, there were private realms within these public spaces where I had to tread carefully. I had to follow the implicit rules of dining when I was present there as a researcher. Thus, the manner and mode of introduction of my research varied at each of these places.

I felt that the case of informed consent was not very straightforward as I tried to observe each of my sample of restaurants in totality. As I wondered and questioned my position in this regard, my anxieties regarding informed consent were curbed in light of the accounts of ethics regarding ethnographies in Hammersely and Atkinson (2007). Various examples from other studies showed that even when working in an overt manner, ethnographers are often unable to tell "*all* the people they are studying *everything* about the research. (2007:210).

I have offered a list of the sample of restaurants in the Appendix A. For the sake of accuracy, the restaurants' actual names have been maintained throughout the ethnography. In places where I feel that a direct reference is problematic, I have relied upon the location or national affiliation of the restaurant as an identifier. Meanwhile, my respondents are identified through their roles at the restaurants, for example *waiter* at *Salaam Bombay* or a *customer* at *Mughal Shahi*. This approach has allowed me to work with reality, while at the same time ensure that each of my respondents maintains a certain degree of anonymity. There is an internal differentiation in terms of location, price-range, services and scale of my restaurants. But my theoretical findings try to work with these differences and connect the discursive practices and claims that characterizes each of these restaurants.

2. Staging Authenticity

2.1. Staging Service

In order to understand the social process under which authenticity is ascribed, it is important to theoretically visit the specific spaces where the claims to authenticity are exchanged. Thus, this section engages with specific socio-spatial features within the restaurants to explain the demand and anxieties regarding authentic foods. I use Goffman's dramaturgical approach (1973) to dissect the restaurant spaces, where elaborate activities that were centered on food- cooking, serving, eating - all become performances at my field sites.

"Would it be possible to see the chef at work in the kitchen?" As I researcher, I had the privilege to ask this question from the kind waitress at *Curry House*. But at the same time, I was also a customer who was part of the audience that did not necessarily have access to the "backstage" of the restaurant. Hence, the question made the waitress uncomfortable and hesitant.

"They are busy inside and I will see if the chef can come over and talk to you" she answered. I did not persist and instead waited for one of the chefs to come to the front-stage where I had already watched the waiters and staff perform their service. The aforementioned instance sheds light on what some ethnographers like Finkelstein (1998) and Heldke (2003) have already observed; a restaurants space has its own internal structure of power- which is not necessarily in accordance with the wider economic and social relations within the society. What occurs outside the restaurant may or may not be played out in the same manner, within the restaurant (Miller 1997). The "providers" (the owner, the chef and the server) carry the balance of power. The consumer, on the other hand must fulfil with the internal etiquettes, both overt and implied, to have a pleasurable dining experience (Finkelsetin 1989). As a researcher and diner, I experienced the truth and caveats of such a perspective.

The kitchen is often the "backstage" in many restaurants (Erickson 2004). In some restaurants, the backstage is more accessible to the customers than others, offering a window for the sensory experience that characterizes the kitchen. For example, *Shalimar's* kitchen was on the ground floor and the door was partially open when I ate out there. I saw and heard the South-Asian chefs address each other in Hindi and saw them pass. Likewise, in *Bangla Bufe*, I saw the way my *chapati* was prepared and I had a much clearer view of chefs bending over simmering pots of curries.

The division between the front-stage and the backstage influences the performance of the actors. This is evident at *Panjab Tandoori Indian Restaurant* where sounds and aroma from the cooking area wafts through the main counter and there is considerable fluidity in the scripted role of the actors. I saw one of the junior cooks go off-stage to talk to customers and casually share a smoke by the entrance. Moreover, the senior chef or owner was more accessible by the audience, compared to many other owners in Budapest. His wife often served and took orders from the customers or the audience. Thus, the spatial features of the stage complemented the scripted roles of the actors, thereby influencing the interactions that took place.

However, within these dynamics, each act at the restaurant may be interpreted differently by the audience- consisting of individuals who are active interpreters of the "play". One of the customers had appreciated *Panjab Tandoori Restaurant* for its accessibility and home-like feel. Meanwhile, another one mentioned how he had been dissatisfied by the service at the restaurant once but could not complain because the server was the owner's wife. Thus, while the "performers" may set the tone of the play, the dining experience should be seen as a careful negotiation between the "actors" and the "audience". Moreover, the layers of scripted roles and the props are crucial to the successful exchange of the Indian food. If Indian food in Budapest is a "negotiated cultural good" (Fielding 2014) then the actors and the stage influences its negotiation.

The menu is an important prop in this regard and the specific "tasty expressions" (Jurafsky 2014) from the menus at various restaurants in the later part of my ethnography shall illustrate this claim.

If one takes the specific example of *Panjab Tandoori Indian Restaurant's* menu, the dishes appealed to the taste of otherness and tradition. It even offered a range of dishes prepared in the *Tandoor clay oven* installed in its kitchen. *Tandoor* is a "dome-shaped clay or brick oven that is heated by the fire at the bottom" (Collingham 2006:235). The case of the *Tandoor* shows the careful coordination between the backstage and front-stage. In the eyes of the audience, it is represented through specific menu codes. Moreover, its humble clay appearance gains an exotic aura in the "backstage". It is off-sight and this allows the audience to appreciate it in its edible and representational form-by chewing on the *naan* that was cooked in an oven from another time and place. Thus, the staged service in a sense, tries to satisfy the discriminatory palate of the "food-tourist" (MacCannell 1999). *Punjab Tandoor Etterem* is not the only restaurant in Budapest that adopts this strategy. *Shalimar Indian Restaurant* brought the first Tandoor to Budapest in 1996. Others like *Tandoori Indiai Etterm, Taj Mahal, Salam Bombay* followed, though not necessarily in the same order.

The specific features of the staged-service in light of the *tandoor* reveal how any quality of a food is socially ascribed by the individuals. Daniel Miller argues that "values and social relations are not prior to the cultural form they take, and therefore not reflected by them, but are created in the act by which cultural forms come into being" (1995). Miller terms this mutual entanglement of things, values, and social relations as "objectification" (1995). Consumption, therefore, is enmeshed with objectification. This finding became more pronounced as I became a part of the audience as a participant observer and asked specific questions about the play.

"It does not matter if the chefs are not from India, as long as they are people from the South-Asian region, I would still consider them to know what authentic Indian food is, you know," a young non-Asian customer told me when I asked her how she felt about the spicy Indian rice that was cooked by a Pakistani chef. She thought Indian food was exotic and that no matter how much she tried cooking Indian meals at home, she said that the result would not be as "authentic" as the

21

food cooked at these restaurants, "Because I am not from that region. The chefs from anywhere in that region [South-Asia] have grown up with that food, I think. So they know their food".

The staged-service convinced the eater that there were some "Indian hands" performing in the "backstage" (Goffman 1973), in other words, the kitchen of the restaurant. In addition to valorizing certain ties and tastes, the claims regarding authenticity frequently characterize the staged service of these restaurants. While this offers insights regarding the way the providers of Indian food valorize their cultural resources, it also offers general insights on the consumption side- social and cultural specificities of the audience at these restaurants, which shall be elaborated below.

The concern for tastes is already a class-based phenomenon as pointed by Bourdieu and the concern for "authentic" is also an anxiety present among the "creative class" or middle class, as identified by Zukin (2010), in her analysis of authentic spaces in modern cities. The class-backgrounds of people eating out at these restaurants is not uniform and this study does not assume that. However, in order to account for the audience as a whole, the complex differentiation of class-based identities were glossed over, based on the common experience that all these diners are offered at these restaurants- each of the diner can be seen as a "food-tourist" (MacCannell 1999), embodying modern and urban values, expressing interest and fascination in an experience that is different from their own. Viewing the connection between staged authenticity and tourism within the restaurant space explained some of the features of these restaurants that were not touched upon by Goffman's performative theory. In addition, the operationalization of the 'food-tourist' as a basis of identification of the stereotypical diner at these restaurants does not aim to exclude the South-Asian customers, who may in fact be familiar to the culture being commodified within these restaurants. Rather, it allows us to consider the possibility when people of the native culture become tourists in their own culture as they become part of the staged authenticity within the restaurant space. Any diner, at the restaurant takes up the "tourist-gaze" (Urry 2002:10), as

they eat out at these places- whether it is due to necessity, pleasure or leisure. The mode of experience of food may vary at the personal level (as shall be elaborated below), but as the diners search for authenticity, they become "tourists" in MacCannell's sense as they engage in the "quest for authenticity" (1999).

Within the broad category of food-tourists at South-Asian restaurants, I came across the casual diner and the serious diner, and I made this distinction based on the level of interest, knowledge and skills expressed in relation to food. This distinction was borrowed from the observation that Solier (2013) made while considering how modes of consumption may be differentiated based on levels of attention and knowledge of the diners. For example, I observed a table of five people at a restaurant- comprising of students from Germany and Hungary, contemplating on what to order. One of them seemed to be guiding the rest, enthusiastically explaining what to order and explaining what *paneer* and *masala* was. "That would be too spicy for you," he pointed out to his friend who had just asked if her choice of meal was fine. Each of his friends interacted with this "serious diner" differently; some exhibited a similar level of interest and knowledge and thus could also qualify as the serious audience, but there were others who just did not seem to care. I had later gone up to the group and interviewed them regarding where they were from. It had turned out that none of them had been to South-Asia in their lives, but had tried out Indian food before.

The staged authenticity, thus emerges from an interplay between the social expectations of Indian food within the audience on the one hand, and the desire to show and express "expert" values and culinary skills of the actors. Viewing the different restaurant spaces as "stages" of performance, in light of the dramaturgical approach helped me highlight this process which offers a viable backdrop for the performances that underscore the discourse on spices at these restaurants- something that shall be elaborated in the upcoming subsection on "Masala".

23

2.2. *Masala*: A Mixture

During my interviews and my observation of the menu codes, I realized the common usage of the term "*Masala*". It is what Appaudrai calls "savory spicing" (1988:21) and according to the staff at *Bombay Curry Bar*, it is what "makes the Indian flavor complex". During the course of my research, I realized the analytical importance of Masala for my thesis.

2.2.1. Ground Ingredients

Masala successfully contextualizes the range of spices in Indian cookery, offering a gateway into the flavor principles of a specific culture. Moreover, it has another important dimension- it implies a certain process that disparate spices may have gone through; it is "ground" and "mixed", as a chef with fifteen years of experience in Indian cookery told me. According to Alford and Duguid (2005), "Masala powders, what the British in India called curry powders, are a blend of whole spices, that have already been dry roasted or toasted and then ground to a powder" (338). Thus, for analytical purposes, the term "Masala" lends itself well to what is happening to spices at these South Asian restaurants.

The *Masala* is an important sensory constituent of food. The variation in *Masala* is often used and explained in terms of the construction of senses of place or place-making projects. "Spices are used all over Asia- but it is the way they are used that makes the difference," one of the Indian restaurateurs told me when I asked him how to differentiate the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi cuisines from each other. Little was said about the importance of the source of spices in my interviews. It did not matter where the spices were grown the origin and authenticity was dependent upon the method that underlies the *Masala.*

For example, the *Garam Masala* in North Indian Recipes is considered to be different from the *Garam Masala* in South Indian recipes. Moreover, the final result may vary in texture and taste depending on whether you have ground your spices separately or have bought a ready-made *Garam*

Masala powder from the stores. Thus, on the surface the meals may constitute a medley of spicy ingredients, this medley has an "order" (Douglas 2008). But this order is constantly renegotiated in light of the actors within these spaces.

"You will get different flavors in your curry depending on which ingredient goes into the pan before," one of the chefs told me as he talked about the instances when he added each spice to the already sauteed onions- achieving results that were very different from when he roasted some spices and added the onions later.

Thus, the way the chefs talked about the interaction of *Masala* with other components of a dish shed light on the unique status of *Masala* within the Indian dishes. It also shows how disparate ingredients can be attributed with a social meaning of significance when have undergone a culinary "process" (Greg de St. Maurice 2014). On the production side, spices are a recognizable stereotyped image that the cooks and owners of the restaurants have taken up in terms of distinguishing Indian food from the local Hungarian food. One of the waiters told me about how many customers feared that the food at an Indian restaurant in Budapest might be "Hungarianized":

"But of course when they go through our menu and try out things, they know that we stick to the original method. And they realize that what we offer is Indian", one of the chefs in the 11th district told me while proudly emphasizing that their dishes were free from paprika and other condiments that were not "traditionally Asian". This view from the actor resonated through the audience when one of the European customers confided in me about the extent to which the Indian food catered to local tastes: "I like my food spicy. But I would not consider the food to be "real Indian food" if they added Paprika to it, you know".

The reference to paprika in my interviews sparked my interest because it was a culinary heritage in the Hungarian national identity; paprika plays an important role in the "Hungarian kitchen, where

25

it is an actual material object that does real-world work in the dishes cooked by Magyars, and in the global marketplace where it is considered an iconic object of the country, what is called 'Hungaricum'" (Metro-land 2013:177). But the examination in the context of the Indian kitchen, the specific Hungarian chili could become a matter "out-of-place" (Douglas 1966:41) at Budapest's restaurants. In the context of *Masala*, paprika must "not be included if a pattern is to be maintained" (Douglas 1966:41). The blends of spices used at these restaurants ensures a boundary-making between what is Hungarian and what is Indian in the context of Budapest. It also highlights an important aspect of the process by which foods become significant carriers of culture; any "national" food, "often depends upon an 'other' against which it is measured" (Metro-Rolan 2013:175). What happens when paprika makes its way in food that is supposed to be Indian? The food is no longer authentic. The recipe is seen as being "Europeanized" and losing its genuineness.

2.2.2. Grounded Relations

A customer may navigate through the menu, looking for the right kind of spice mixture in his or her meal. Upon deciding the right dish (shaped by personal preferences, fellow diners or the servers), the server often times confirms or guides the customer regarding what to expect from the dish. At many restaurants, servers often ask "How hot?" or "How spicy?" in Hindi, English or Hungarian. The responses varied from normal and mild to hot or very spicy. As a diner, I was asked these questions at three different restaurants. One of the waiters in the 7th district told me that at times, when customers wanted something very spicy, they simply said they wanted it "the Indian style". Equating "Indian" with "spicy" was not uncommon across restaurants and diners. In fact, for many diners, the spicier dishes are considered to be more "Indian" and authentic and less "adulterated by local sensitivities" (Cobb 2014).

Thus, the level of spiciness can be used to elevate or lower the symbolic status of a dish at these restaurants. And this symbolic power is "edible" in the sense that the eater may be hailed by fellow

diners for being able to handle the spices. Spice is often perceived as something that makes the food "exciting" and mild dishes are not considered to be authentic.

As the level of spiciness registers the status of a curry as authentic on the front-stage, *Masala* also plays a crucial role, backstage. Here the concern for the "process" that the spices have undergone, comes to the forefront. Using the right *Masala* in the right amount is considered to be important. One of the owners of the restaurant told me about how he had cameras installed in order to ensure that the chefs followed the recipes. "Because, overtime when the chefs consider themselves to have mastered the recipes, they are often tempted to add more than what is required. And I need to make sure that they do not over-do it".

While the level of spiciness often incorporates the palate of the specific customers, it still needs to follow a set pattern that is "institutionalized" at the restaurant level. The proportion, the order and the variety of spices matters at each of these restaurants. Thus, the *Masala* in the dishes was one of the avenues where the chef's "authentic" practices were expressed and gauged. And this authenticity was contingent upon an interplay between the expectations of the eater on the front-stage and the agency of the chef. The chefs that I interacted with had undergone some sort of training either in their home-country or in Budapest, once they had been employed. Moreover, the individual agency of each chef in terms of manipulating the order, variety and proportion of the spices was subjected to the socio-spatial dynamics of each restaurant. This agency required further investigation in light of the specific trainings and histories that each of these chefs embodied- a comparative aspect that I could not engage in. Yet, what I did find out was that through spices, these chefs expressed their historical and cultural ties, expertise and agency.

The culinary "process" that the spices undergo is social. Thus, *Masala* in is one of the indices of authenticity of Indian food and restaurants which may be gauged socially. The content and process of *Masala* shape and complicate the dining expectations of the eater of Indian food, while at the same time play a semiotic role in the kitchen. Having established how interactions between the

performers and the audience influences the process of claim-making and appreciation of food, one can understand how authenticity is staged and constructed in relational terms. This leads us to the second claim of my thesis; authenticity is a quality that is socially ascribed in relation to the specific tastes that the customers are looking for. But what are these tastes? The upcoming section shall chart them out.

3. Tastes for Authenticity

In light of the different uses regarding tastes, judging the sensory and social qualities of food became complex for me- both as an eater and an anthropologist of South Asian Food. Nonetheless, I charted out three broad categories of "collective" tastes that are anticipated and offered at these restaurants. My conceptual delineation highlighted the differentiation and contradictions, characterizing the claims to the "tastes". Thus, the following section recognizes the food's sensory qualities as embodied forms of social distinction and forms the basis of an approach in which taste is used to explore other aspects of a culture.

3.1. Of Place

"At *Curry House*, we serve you genuine Indian food from the true sources". My anthropological appetite arose when I saw those words inscribed on Curry House's colorful and elaborate menu card. I asked the friendly waiter what "genuine Indian food" meant. Unfortunately, he only spoke Hungarian so he called his female colleague- who was fluent in both Hungarian and English. I repeated my question and she responded by telling me how they had a variety of delicious Indian items on the menu. She said out the names of various dishes that sounded familiar to my South-Asian ears- *Chicken Tikka Masala, Biryani, Aloo Gobi, Vegetable Paneer* and *Indian Breads.* As I listened to her, I nodded and finally settled for a *Vegetable Thali* which was a metallic plate (thali) consisting of small portions of different items as described on the menu: *Rice, Papad, Indian bread, Vegetable curry, Potato Curry* and *Lentils.* The restaurant was relatively empty at this hour, so it was a good opportunity to interview the waitress. She was not from South Asia, but she enthusiastically explained that she loved working at an "Indian" restaurant. We talked about the restaurant's story, its customers, food and eventually, the three chefs- one of whom was on a leave.

"So, like you, are the chefs also Hungarian?" I asked, carefully framing my question to get the details. She replied, "No, no. They are all Indian!"

The waitress gave me enough information to digest before I met with one of the chefs who had prepared my Indian meal. But the chef was not Indian; he was from Nepal. As I interviewed him as a researcher-cum-customer, I thought about how his national affiliation added an interesting mix to my version of the restaurant's story; In the 8th district of Budapest, *Curry House* was an eatery that "housed" Hungarian waiters and bartenders, a team of Indian and Nepalese chefs and a Bangladeshi entrepreneur who mostly lived outside of Hungary.

I wondered how this restaurant offered what it claimed to offer- "authentic Indian food". When I expressed this confusion out loud, the Nepalese chef began contemplating over the recipes and ingredients that he engaged with at the restaurant, "Most of the time, we use fresh ingredients- just like in traditional Indian cooking. It is healthy and we have a variety of ways of cooking vegetables, fruits, meat and fish. Everything here has an Indian flavor".

There was a certain degree of ambiguity when it came to talking about the Indian flavor, and when I asked the Nepalese chef to elaborate, he talked about the range of spices used. It reinforced the findings regarding the grounded relations of spices in the earlier chapter and rendered support for Rozin's (1992) observation regarding flavors; flavor principles are the techniques through which a culture combines ingredients for unique tastes. But the aforementioned interaction at *Curry House* also raised other questions about the Indian cuisine in Budapest; it befuddled the zones of food and identity of India and its South Asian counterparts. With regards to the differentiation and complexity underlying the Indian food and identity, Collingham (2006) and Appadurai (1988) point out that the Indian cuisine has various culinary styles and dishes that may not be divided along national boundaries, but rather much "older, regional boundaries" (2006:3). The subsequent examples from Budapest's restaurant illustrate

this and also reveals how national identity is renegotiated with a regional identity in light of production and consumption of specific dishes.

Each of the restaurants has a menu in both, English and Hungarian. Extraordinary attention is paid to the origins of the food. The "linguistic fillers" (Jurafsky 2014) and culinary codes within the menus of the restaurants delineated the many zones of taste of South Asia. The dishes codified culinary differences, not along national boundaries such as India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal, but rather based on regions and non-state lines. For example, at *Tandoori Indiai Etterem*, you can order a *Peshawori Naan*. They do not call it a *Pakistani Naan*, along national lines. According to Passi (2003), regional identity can be considered as "an interpretation of the process through which a region becomes institutionalized, a process consisting of the production of territorial boundaries, symbolism and institutions" (2003:428). This process can be concurrently understood at the South-Asian Restaurants where one can look at the "language of food" (Jurafsky 2014) to understand this. The edible representations of regional identity such as *Bengal Prawn Curry, Kashmiri Chicken Korma* and *Delhi Lamb Masala* are used at these restaurants for the purposes of regional marketing.

These codes also reflect important features of the ideological contexts for their production. For example, considering the political, national tensions between Pakistan and India, the people from these countries shape their environments through categorizations, other than national specificity. I considered this emphasis on regional identity in light of *Punjab*, a region that stretches across Pakistan and India and it is common for people to be identified as *Punjabi*. I would categorize Punjabi as a regional identity because it is imbued with crosscutting ethnic identities, religious identities and national identities. The restaurants in Budapest serve as an important example of this regional identity that has been reified within the "symbolic economy" (Zukin 2010). This can be manifested at the restaurant-level such as *Pandszab Indiai Etterem* in Budapest's 13th district or as a dish of cooked chickpeas cooked in tomato sauce. The specific dish is often described as cooked

in *Punjabi style* or in a *Punjabi curry sauce*. I noticed how it was convenient for the Pakistani restaurants and Indian restaurant to describe it as one of "their" specialties. *Maharaja*, and *Indigo* for example, called it *Punjabi Chole*. The dish could eloquently typify the "true taste of place" of India or Pakistan because in the end it has become part of the Punjab brand. People's appropriation of tastes in this case showed the crucial role that cuisine plays in place-making regarding South Asia in Budapest.

"We were all once part of *Maha Bharat* (Greater India). So we all have many similar and common practices," said the owner of *Bangla Bufe*, who offered dishes that were identified as *Bangladeshi* and *Indian* at the same time. The interview with him also revealed another important insight regarding the balance between homogenizing and differentiation of identification. While a successful collective action requires a distinction between 'us' and the 'other' (Della Porta and Diani, 1999), however, identity movements do not always base their activities on difference as it may be strategically beneficial to stress similarities. Caterers from Bangladesh and Pakistan realize that the locals were unaware of their region or food, and so often present their food as "Indian". They are strategic about highlighting similarities and differences when it comes to food, geography and the question of identity. Identities in this case, were are increasingly coming to be –not deterritorialized, but rather "differently territorialized" (Gupta and Ferguson 1992) in light of food.

3.2. Of Otherness and Tradition

There was a careful placement of the Urdu/Hindi word in the titles of dishes, offered at the restaurants. Some restaurants adopted this approach more frequently than others. So if you are to order "roasted piece of chicken cooked in a rich tomato sauce", you had to discover it under the title of *Murg Makhanwalla (Hindi for chicken with butter)*. It was interesting to note that the same dish had "simpler" titles at other restaurants simply called *Butter Chicken* in English or *Vajas Csirke,* in Hungarian. I noticed the complication of this when I went to *Indigo Restaurant* with a friend from the Balkans who was trying out Indian food for the "third time in his life" and needed my help to in interpreting the confusing menu list. In addition to this, the prevalence of the so-called *Mughlai*

dishes or cuisine serves as a good example of the tastes of tradition and otherness that are sought

and offered at these restaurants. This has important analytical implications because it encompasses

the set of dishes and recipes to the Mughal dynasty before the British occupation. The Mughal

kitchens undoubtedly allowed "a synthesis of the recipes and foods of Northern Hindustan, central

Asia and Persia" (Collingham 2006:24). But its appropriation at Budapest's restaurants lends a

certain degree of cultural power to ingredients and spaces. Specific food codes are used to feed

the conception that what the people were consuming was royal and special.

Food Descriptions	Hindi/ Urdu Keywords
Haleem-e-Khas [1] An authentic dish from the times of Mughal Emperor. Shredded beef cooked whole wheat, gram and a rich variety of lentils and oriental spices. A recipe handed down from farther to son, said to be a favourite dish of Akbar the Great. Egy eredeti étel Mughal császár idejéből: apróra vágott marhahús, bagolyborsó, búzadarabok többféle különleges lencse , rizs és keleti speciális fűszerek. Ez a recept apáról fiúra szállt, még a nagy és erős Mughal Akbar királynak is kedvenc étele volt.	*Khas* means special *Haleem* is a stew
Punjabi Mughlai Chicken/Pándzsáb muglai curry[2] Pieces of roasted boneless chicken (Chicken Malaj Kebab) in a creamy tomato gravy. Sült csirkemellfilé darabok (Csirke maláj kebab) tejszínes, paradicsomos szószban,hagyományos indiai fűszerekkel	*Mughalai* is an adjective used to attribute anything to the Mughal dynasty
Shahi gosht korma[3] Lamb royal style in a mild almond and cashewnut gravy Bárányfilé királyi módra selymes kesudió- és mandulaszószban.	*Shahi* means royal *Gosht* means meat *Korma* is specific gravy

Table 1: Menu Descriptions- A Comparison

An example of three different dishes from three different restaurants serves as a good illustration

of my arguments. There is hidden information that restaurateurs are sneaking into the menu and

Jurafsky's (2014) menu reading approach helped me trace them. Most of these codes are directed

[1] Anon. n.d. "Etlap." *Mughal Shahi Pakisztáni Étterem*. Retrieved March 4, 2016 (http://www.pakistani-etterem.hu/hu-etlap.html#eloetel).

[2] Anon.n.d."Pándzsáb Tandori Indiai Étterem honlapja". *Hupont.hu*. Retrieved March 20, 2016 (http://indiaietterem.hupont.hu/)

[3] Anon. n.d. "Menu." *Shalimar Indian Restaurant Budapest*. Retrieved March 20, 2016 (http://www.shalimar.hu/english.htm).

at the non-native eaters of Indian cuisine. There is a certain level of exotifying or orientalist stance that may charm any food-tourist who wants something different. Thus, reading between the lines of the menu in this research revealed how specific dishes- if not entire restaurants- were catered to the foreign palate. This discourse caters to an imagined audience that may want to experience the pleasures of a fantasized image of India as either nostalgia or as adventurism. Moreover, the linguistic fillers (vague words like rich, tasty) seemed to promise something special; yet in a subjective way. This helped these restaurants to avoid incurring any sort of obligation. Even for the South-Asian customers, these evokes a sense of nostalgia for the pre-colonial times. The "royal" adjectives also justify the higher prices for these dishes. The valorization of recipes and codes that allude to the "*Mughlai cuisine*" allows the providers to position themselves as high-end restaurants. Moreover, the descriptions- in either Hungarian or English play a crucial role in influencing people's perceptions about food. "Once people try our food, they come again," said the Pakistani waiter as he talked about the *Mughlai* dishes.

The descriptions and their exotifying stance also reveal important dimensions about the construction of traditional food- it is not handed down from the past. Rather, it is "symbolically reinvented in an ongoing present" (Handler and Linnekin, 1984). Moreover, the "traditional" dishes which are indicators of cultural differentiation, are "reproduced through the production of commodities for the market" (Dwyer and Crang 2003; 448). *Mughlai* dishes also offer the tastes of "otherness" (Chiaro 2008) that can be seen as crucial to the restaurant experience. "I like the food; but I also like the entire experience here; it is different," explained a Hungarian student at *Tandoori Indiai Etterem*. The South-Asian eating place must thus create the authentic and "suitable atmosphere" and "offer an entire consumption package" (Bell and Valentine 1997:125). The edible and the social tastes of otherness were discussed at other places as well; in light of the discussion of the idiosyncratic posters within *Bollywood Vegi Bar*, the restaurant's owner confessed that

passersby often tried the food and often came again because both, the place and the food were "interesting".

The otherness and tradition, while being aimed at the gustatory foreigner, is fed to the South-Asian diner as well. The South Asian diners see and sense a manifestation of a "reified" (Chiaro 2008) version of a culture which might be their own. In a way, they become tourists within their own culture (Mankekar 2002). While the people from South-Asia may be exposed to a dining experience that appeals to memory and nostalgia at these restaurants- these sensory cues are often times either "too much" or "not enough". This ambivalent attitude was revealed when I talked to the South-Asian customers who had visited my sample of restaurants.

3.3. Of a Cuisine

I came across various owners, chefs and waiters who hailed their restaurants for being able to offer a wide variety of "Indian tastes and options". They catered to vegetarian needs, as well as meat dishes for their customers. Some even had an elaborate drinks menu and bartenders to offer Indian beers and cocktails. But it is important to note that no matter how diverse, a cuisine is, it always requires an inclusion of certain cultural methods and ingredients at the expense of those that are excluded. A cuisine, by essence implies "a rigid set of rules" (Zukin 1991) regarding the constituents, preparation and etiquettes. A cuisine involves the appropriation of the "best elements of local traditions" (Zukin 1991). Budapest's restaurants may have their own mix of these "best" elements and they are influenced by the social actors- both the "performers" (chefs and owners) and the "audience" (customers) of the Indian cuisine. On the one hand, places like *Bollywood Vegi Bar* offer exclusively vegetarian and vegan options, sometimes even tracing their culinary practices to the ancient *Ayurveda* principles (Collingham 2006:8), and on the other hand they capitalize on the "*Mughlai cuisine*" that appeals to the hearty appetites for beef and mutton.

This dynamic is tied to yet another problem of tradition; its selectivity. The Indian cuisine despite its breadth and transregional qualities, is selective in terms of appropriating traditions and food practices that are "Indian". The cuisine that they offer is not representative of the entire set of Indian foodways, practices and culinary principles. For example, the two rice dishes *Khichari* and *Biryani* can be seen as connecting South-Asian households across borders- being cooked and relished for centuries (Collingham 2006). But it is only *Biryani* that wends its way on the menu and the tables of customers at Budapest's restaurants. While, one or two restaurants may be an exception to this dish, it just goes on to show how a cuisine is built on appropriation and subversion of segmented vernacular traditions and it may not be representative of home-cooking. As I asked about the inclusion of *Khichari* in the menu from a South-Asian customer at the restaurant, he responded, "But why would you? It is so bland and is only cooked at homes. It has a few ingredients and it is not even spicy- it is nothing special".

The response illustrated how the subjective taste that were sought in Indian food were a combination of appetites for certain flavors (rejection of blandness), and the aesthetic judgements regarding what out to be represented in Indian cuisine at a restaurant (it had to be special, with many ingredients). His views reflected the representation and the images that are circulated regarding the Indian cuisine as well and this reminded me of what Highmore (2008) highlighted regarding any cuisine; the materiality of culture not only encompasses the anthropological sites and agents (the restaurants, the clientele, the staff) but also the cultural spaces where this actuality reverberates: recipe books, restaurant guides, reviews and television shows. An observation of these cultural spaces was beyond the scope of my research but I relied upon what other scholars have already observed. Certain food categories are evoked or equated more frequently with the term "Indian", such as "spicy" (Fielding 2014) and "curry" (Ray and Srinivas 2014).

When considering the construction of "national" Indian cuisine through cookbooks, Appadurai (1988) noted an "arbitrary hodgepodge of regional recipes" (20). Yet his nuanced analysis identified

two trends within this regionalism; there are processes of ethnic and regional specialization on one hand, and the development of the overarching, cross-cutting national or trans-regional cuisine on the other (Appadurai 1988). For example, the dishes of South-Indian cuisine collapsed "the distinction between *Telugu, Kannada, Malayali*" (Appadurai 1988). Thus, while there may be an emphasis on regional identity in the codes of dishes, these are standardized regional tastes. The collapse of these distinctions can be explored in the case of *Punjabi Chole* as well, a dish at Budpest's restaurants that has been mentioned earlier as well. The marketing of *Punjabi Chole* focuses on a broad, even generic, standard for flavor and purity and links any *Chole* (Chickpea curry)—made anywhere in Budapest to the "Punjabiness" of Punjab. The allure of *Punjabi Chole,* in the tiny metallic pot and by association the region of Punjab, is its mythic appeal and the way in which it was once prepared. They are simply cooked chickpeas sautéed with "flavourful spices" (as many restaurants describe it), already homogenizing the different ways that chickpeas may be cooked in Punjab.

Thus, the specific tastes allow us to understand the configuration of these restaurants in Budapest and offer a backdrop for making sense of the social interactions and symbolic claims at these restaurants that were already described in the earlier chapter and shall be revisited briefly in the upcoming chapter.

4. Authenticity and Food Anthropology

4.1. Lesson *Lassi*

"Our *Mango Lassi* is very famous," the Hungarian waitress at *Shalimar* informed me as I asked her about the most popular item on the menu. I was amused but not surprised. This was the fourth restaurant in the sequence of my ethnographic visits that had asserted the popularity of the specific drink. What was so special about this drink and did tastes or authenticity have anything to do with it? In order to answer this, I decided to deconstruct the drink. Based on my personal encounter with this drink and its documented versions by Jaffrey (2007) and Alford and Duguid (2005), I mapped out the various ingredients and recipes that make up a *Lassi*- "traditional" or otherwise.

Yogurt + Water

Yogurt + Water + Salt/Sugar

Yogurt + Water + Salt/Sugar + Condiment

Yogurt + Water + Salt/Sugar + Condiment+ Fruit

Milk: May or may not be added. Dependent upon the texture and fat content of the yogurt used.

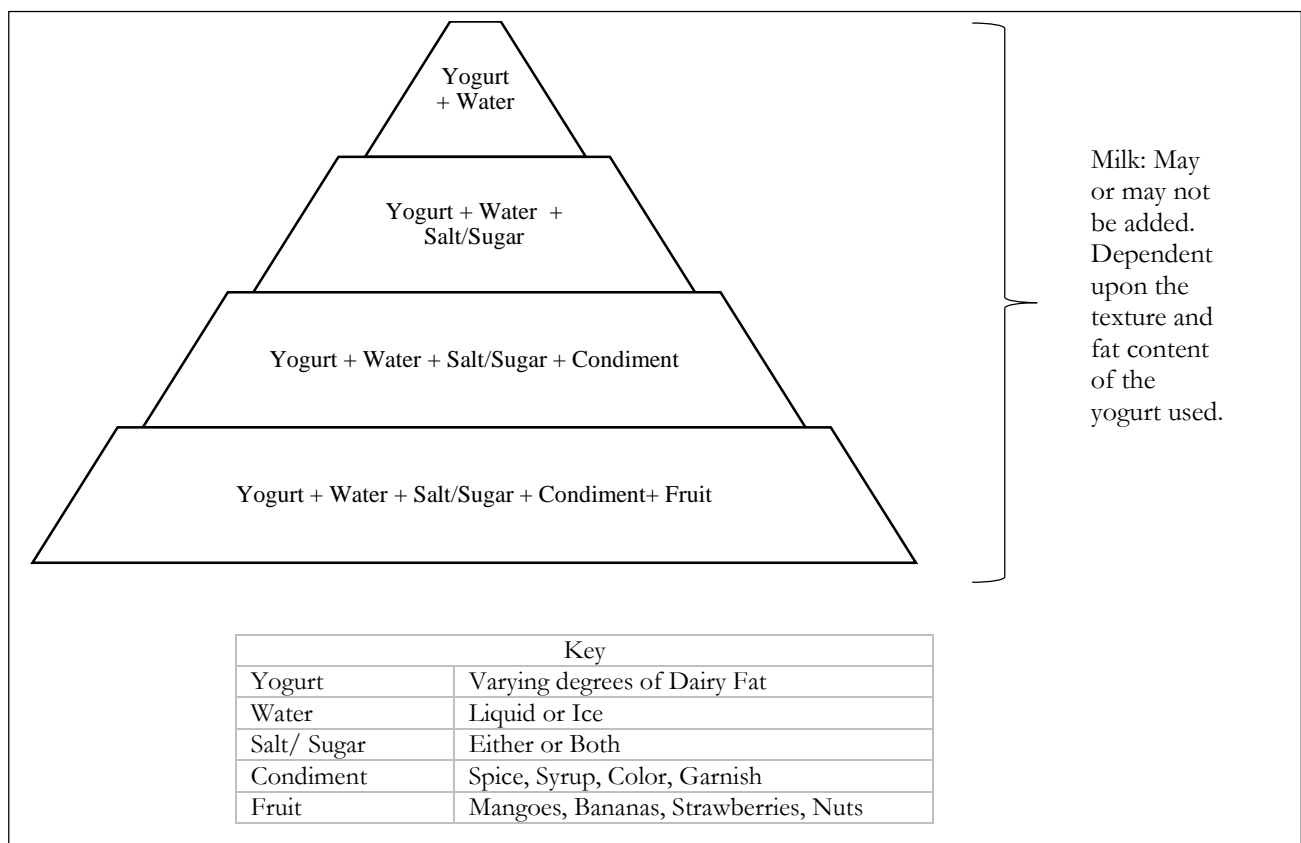| Key	
Yogurt	Varying degrees of Dairy Fat
Water	Liquid or Ice
Salt/ Sugar	Either or Both
Condiment	Spice, Syrup, Color, Garnish
Fruit	Mangoes, Bananas, Strawberries, Nuts

Table 2: Structural Map of *Lassi*[4]

"Lassi is simple, easy and great" (Alford and Duguid 2005:308). But this "simple" drink had a myriad version as Table 2 shows. What is important to note is that no matter what level on the pyramid a drink belongs to, it continues to be a *Lassi* as long as it is a blended mixture of two essential ingredients: yogurt and water. As I began paying attention to the specific constituents of *Mango Lassi* in Budapest, I realized there was no standardized flavor and texture; the relative proportion of the mix of ingredients varied across restaurants.

"We add milk with yogurt; they only add water," the cook in the 7th district told me as he compared his own *Mango Lassi* with a more expensive one found at a restaurant within the same district. His explanation raised more questions for me regarding the quantity and texture of *Mango Lassi* across various restaurants. The chefs also played around with the "other condiments" that were often added with the fruit in the *Lassi*. These varied from cardamom seeds and saffron to fruit-peel garnishes and yellow-food color. Moreover, the price did not have a direct relation to the ingredients added. Thus, it was hard to configure which restaurant's *Mango Lassi* was "proper" or even more popular on a comparative scale. Yet, customers had subjective accounts of the drinks. Some liked it more at *Tandoori Indiai Etterem* while others preferred the one at *Bangla Bufe*. The investigation of the popular type of *Mango Lassi* was beyond the scope of the research. However, the very fact that *Mango Lassi* is recommended and ordered at these restaurants render support for three broad claims that I shall demonstrate below. First, the drink embodies tastes of place, otherness, tradition and cuisine- all of which may be important in gauging and questioning the authenticity by various actors. Secondly, authenticity of the drink is not static, but rather relational;

---

[4] This table selectively maps out the variations in *Lassi* that I have personally encountered. A possible version that has not been accounted for but may exist would exclude "condiment" but combine all the other ingredients available in the bottom-most level of the pyramid.

39

it is also a lever for cultural power among providers. And finally, the drink offers tastes and flavors that are indicative of the importance of broader trends and social processes.

4.1.1. Tastes: Sensory and Symbolic

Lassi is often deemed to have originated in Punjab or Northern India, but is now consumed throughout South Asia. The structural breakdown of the drink allowed me to consider "Mango" and "Lassi" as separate categories, eventually posing Douglas' classical question of "why those particular categories and not others are employed" (1972:62). The appropriation of the term "Lassi" for a yogurt drink shows how language plays a crucial role in maintaining the authenticity of the drink, thereby distinguishing from other yogurt-based drinks such as "Ayran" which is considered to be "Turkish" or "Balkan". The language conveyed the "multiple sensory dimensions" (Sutton 2010:210) of *Mango Lassi*. Mangoes can be considered as the "signifier" (Mendoza 2010) and the "taste of otherness", in "representational form" (Highmore 2008) and "experiential form" (Chiaro 2008). Mango may be considered a staple in many of the tropical and subtropical countries where it's grown. Despite the thriving growth of Mango trees in specific types of climates across the world, mangoes occupy a special place within the South Asian culture. The mango has been known in India since very early times- it is referred to in Sanskrit literature as *Amra* and *Aam* and has been under cultivation by for thousands of years (Budhwar 2003). This fruit occupied an important place in horticulture during the rule of the Mogul emperors in India. The species name of the mango is "*Mangiferi Indica*" (Mukherji, 1972: 260) which literally means an Indian plant bearing mangos. It is a symbol of love in India. Moreover, the paisley pattern, developed in South-Asia, is often cited as being based on the shape of the mango. Mango bark, leaves, skin, flesh, and the pit have been used in folk remedies for centuries (Collingham 2006). Thus, this fruit has been ascribed with certain meaning and symbolic importance in a specific culture. It is interesting to note that it retains some of its semiotic significance when it is translocated to a different cultural context.

"I think anything with mangoes is very exotic," said explained the Hungarian woman at *Indigo Indiai Etterem* who excitedly ordered *Mango Chutney* with her rice dish. Apart from *Mango Lassi* and *Mango Chutney*, many of these restaurants also offer *Mango Kulfi, Mango Achar, Mango Limonade, Mango Szufle, Mango Cocktails* and *Mango Custard.* The configuration of the fruit in the menus reflected the significance of the spectacle of the image in commodities. We consume the food through the food itself, but we consume its meaning through its advertising (Mendoza 2010). Mango serves as the image of "culinary conception of the other" (Appadurai 1988:16). It is important to note that while the menu descriptions assisted in the exotifying stance on the mangoes, these advertisements and linguistic fillers of the Indian fruit did not have the same effects on people who were brought up in South-Asia. Mango was not "exotic" for my Pakistani and Indian interviewees. But this did not stop them from savoring Mango-based items at Budapest's restaurants.

"You know that cheap and sweet mango juices that you have back home? This tastes exactly like that. I am loving this," said a young visitor at a restaurant who had been brought up in Punjab. She enjoyed her glass of *Mango Lassi* at *Tandoori Indiai Etterem* with me and her response bore testament to the power of food to prompt memory, vividly bringing to life another time and place. Thus, by ordering and drinking *Mango Lassi* in Budapest, people from various cultural backgrounds were "consuming geographies" (Bell and Valentine 1997). It is the ideal product for the food-tourist at the restaurants.

While the Mango Lassi allows people to value it for its aesthetic tastes, one must not discount its simple appeal of sweetness. *Mango Lassi* occupies the bottom-most level of the *Lassi* pyramid. It occupies a special place in terms of the sweet taste which has sociological implications if considered in light of sweetness and power by Mintz (1985). The preference for a sweet *Lassi*, instead of a savory one bears testament to the ways in which one "sugar" (Mintz 1985) has transformed our eating habits, and our diet in modern times. Moreover, as one of the waiters recommended *Lassi* as a healthy alternative to soft-drinks, I considered the appeal of yogurt that the drink embodied.

Rule (2015) explores yogurt from every angle, its social origins, variations and popularity through time and space. She points out that this versatile ingredient, found in cuisines across the globe, has recently emerged as a food of nearly unparalleled growth in modern lifestyle. By considering the multitude ways to "make, bake, sip, and chill" (2015) yogurt, Rule identifies the wider meanings and patterns that yogurt embodies- specifically with regards to health and tastes of modern lifestyle. In this sense, I felt that *Mango Lassi* and its popularity should be seen as corresponding to a much wider-yogurt related frenzy that is observed by Rule (2015) in the 21st century. The places where this drink is served should not be seen as being isolated from wider social trends and values. Restaurants are after-all spaces where wider social processes are articulated.

4.1.2. Authenticity: Socially Relevant Criteria

The aforementioned analysis points to the symbolic connections of *Mangoes* and *Lassi* with South-Asia. This may support the assertion that *Mango Lassi* is an authentic Indian drink. However, this link is not as straightforward for many of my respondents. One of the South-Asian grocers in the 7th District, corrected me when I asked him how the restaurants could offer such good *Mango Lassi* in Budapest, "But that is not made from mangoes," he said. And then observing my confused expression added, "That is mango pulp. They won't use real mangoes anywhere for the Lassi". He then added that he shall be importing mangoes from Dubai during the summer season and that I should visit the store during that time. I nodded and followed him through the shelves of his grocery shop as he directed me to the shelf of canned mangoes that were being used at these restaurants. Although there were different sizes and brands of cans, *EastEnd Foods, TRS, Heera* and my eyes fell on *TRS Kesar Mango Cans* that the chefs at *Bangla Bufe* had shown me earlier. I immediately made note of the stated ingredients:

Kesar Mango, Sugar, Water and Citric acid

It was so simple and yet so problematic. It showed how "the mainstream agro-industrial food system" (Pratt 2007) is the outcome of various processes and these features may generate concern

regarding the "content, process, origin" (Brulotte and Di Giovine 2014) of such foods. In this case, for example, innovative technological processes allowed mango to be canned, preserved and circulated, challenging the existence of seasons, moving from distant sites of production to be localized and consumed in other places. The content and process of the mango pulp exemplifies our "lost connections to food" (Baker-Clark 2006:6). The concern for authenticity thus can be seen as an attempt to provide histories of each foodstuff and an attempt to connect the producers with the consumers. But should the "mango pulp" as denigrated by the grocer be considered less authentic than the fresh mango in the *Lassi*? I decided to talk about this with my future interviewees.

"I don't think that matters. The mango- before it was canned- was still grown somewhere in Asia," said a customer from the Balkan region, while trying out *Mango Lassi* for the first time in Budapest, "but of course, I would prefer fresh mangoes anytime". The canned mango pulp is the perfect example of an "exotic" ingredient that circulates in today's world. As one of the key ingredients in *Mango Lassi* it also highlights the paradox of authenticity. It offers "a taste of place" (Trubek 2008) but the circulation of its ingredients and recipes shows how its territoriality is not so straightforward. "Globalization has changed the landscape of food forever" (2008:16). Even in terms of the "traditional" process, *Mango Lassi* is present in many forms at restaurants, takeaways, retail home-cooking products, recipes. There is an inherent tension between preservation and reinvention within whatever is traditional and this is manifested in the struggles surrounding the "proper" *Mango Lassi*. The presence and popularity of the specific drink at Budapest's restaurants alone shows the diversity and variation that may characterize a cultural commodity, as well as the multitude expectations regarding it. The provision and consumption of the "authentic" becomes a basis for social judgement. It reveals the system of power relations that are centered on food. As already mentioned *Mango Lassi* has become a yardstick of comparison for customers and producers alike. For example, one of the chefs in the seventh district described his version as "proper" and

"cheaper" compared to the one offered at a much bigger and older restaurant. Moreover, my anecdotes involving the *Mango Lassi* shows how "there is no whole, authentic, autonomous 'popular culture' which lies outside the field of force of the relations of cultural power and domination" (Hall 1981). Real or authentic – whatever these words are taken to mean – cannot be attributes of a drink and its ingredients alone- but they are necessarily tied to the interaction between social groups that occupy these restaurants.

4.2. Edible, Social and Urban

While the tastes highlight the relational and social aspects of authenticity, this relation must not only be explored in light of the actor-audience interactions, but also in terms of the relational struggles between the actors- such as the owners and the staff of the restaurant. Although this comparative feature has been mentioned earlier, I would like to engage with this aspect more explicitly in light of the broader urban and migrant processes- processes which help explain some of the discursive features of the restaurants and their claims.

The narratives and claims at all South Asian restaurants shows how migrant cooks once abroad, sustain a connection to the town, region, or nation left behind. It is not simply that the migrants are failing to detach themselves from their old worlds. Rather, they are encouraged to spell out these ties under concerns for authenticity of food and expectations. The restaurants are nodes of economic and cultural exchange. From offering *Cobra Indian Beer* with *Rooh Afza* on the menu, to using globalized cultural tropes, such as "Keep Calm Curry On" (communicated through a poster at *Bombay Curry Bar*), these restaurants take commodification of South-Asian food seriously. Even the restaurants that orchestrate the place as inexpensive and spend little investment on the ambience still manage to add some "Indian feel" by playing South-Asian music in backdrop or ethnicized statues and posters. As crucial nodes of commoditizing culture, these restaurants can be seen as contributing to the "opportunity structures" (Sassen 1991) of an increasingly globalized Budapest. The restaurants offered various possibilities for migrants. For example, two different

44

owners told me that they had hired asylum seekers from Pakistan. While the employment conditions and terms of employment are avenues that require further exploration, I discovered some of these restaurants as playing an important role in migrant emplacement within Budapest. One of the chefs at Shalimar Restaurant left his job after a few years and started his own Indian eatery in the 13th district as *Hathi Indiai kifőzde*. Another immigrant, trained at *Bangla Bufe*, started *Begum Al-Modina* in the 7th district. Yet, as more restaurants open up, the restaurateurs have an increasing pressure to succeed and carve out their appeal and niche. And not all restaurants are successful in this regard. *Begum al Modina*, for example, closed down at the end of 2015. These anecdotes regarding the changes within Budapest's culinary landscape point to complex political and economic constraints that these restaurants may be exposed to. At the same time, they illustrate the evolving character if Budapest itself- a city which, in the twenty-first century is increasingly seen as an important center of consumption, as noted in the studies by Smith (1996), Kiss, 2007 and Sýkora (2005) that examine the spatial patterns of post-socialist transformation of Budapest. Some scholars might note this as aiding in significant changes in the "demand side" (Kloosterman and Rath 2003) for "unique" and "authentic" food. Under these conditions, people may deploy multiple frames of action and forms of belonging, relying upon linkages between place, people and cuisines that build into a full-blown conception of a bounded culture (McEwan, Polard and Henry, 2005). The South-Asian restaurants are no exception to this wider trend. My sample of restaurants were identified as playing an important role in the transnational circulation and consumption of food and discourses of South-Asia. In light of this broader context, "the presumed cultural capital of 'authentic' knowledge of a cuisine" (Crowther 2013:197) can play an important role, something that was also explored by Ray (2007) in the context of migrant restaurateurs in America.

A contextual engagement with these restaurants in Budapest, allowed me to be careful about the "ethnic lens" in terms of immigrant owners and culinary entrepreneurs of my study. These

restaurants, while orchestrating difference, uniqueness and otherness, do not necessarily operate under the same conditions that are often faced by many ethnic entrepreneurs in the western contexts where the ethnic entrepreneur is often a "less-credentialed protagonist" (Ray 2016), offering cheap food. The South-Asian restaurants offer a context where the distinction between the "presumed non-ethnic center and its radiating, multiple ethnic others" (Ray 2016 p. 7) was in some ways blurred. I did not classify them as an ethnicity because it has been historically used as a benign term for cultural difference and sometimes implying an unequal relationship. Crowther also cites where examples whereby the "ethnic" is seen as opposite of "mainstream" (189), and this binary could befuddle the place that some of these restaurants occupy, particularly in terms of the range of people that work and interact with each other. They may not necessarily be part of the mainstream culture, but neither are they on the fringe. Thus, the food tourist who visits *Salaam Bombay, Taj Mahal* and *Tandoor Indian Restaurant* may be consuming "foreign-foods" (Chiaro 2008) or even experience "commodification of Othernesss (Ray 2016; hooks 1992), but they are not necessarily exposed to the logic of American practice of "poor, exotic and different" (Ray 2016).

These restaurants, have evolved overtime and have shaped the culinary and social landscape around them as well. The tastes that underlie Indian cuisine are manifested in the spaces of consumption, such as the South Asian Restaurants. But they extend beyond these spaces, into the realm of retail, food shops to market. For example, the two grocery stores in the 7th district, *Kohinoor Bazar* and *Kis Szep India* have their own links with the South Asian Restaurants of Budapest. They are managed by immigrants and non-immigrants, and they cater to these restaurants by offering certain imported items from South Asia. The owner of *Kohinoor Bazar* informed me about the *Halal* meat that he supplied to various restaurants. I also came across customers at these stores who had never been to South-Asia but were looking for specific ingredients and condiments that they had already come across at these restaurants. "I know, I

46

won't make the same *Palak Paneer* that I had at *Salaam Bombay*, but I am still going to give it a try," said one of the customers, doubtfully holding some *paneer* (cottage cheese) in her hand.

The question of why these restaurants were making claims to authenticity primarily allowed me explore the internal features of these restaurants, but simultaneously spelled out the broader social context and conditions in which these social sites of eating were operating.

Conclusion: Food for Thought

In 1994, *Maharaja* opened its doors in the fifth district of Budapest. This small restaurant with six tables was opened up by Mr. Jham who upon his arrival in Budapest had been taken aback by the lack of South-Asian restaurants in Budapest. One of his co-workers commented, "He really was the first man to bring Indian cuisine to Budapest", rendered importance to the man's cultural origins and personal role in bringing a foreign cuisine to Hungary. As he explained the evolution of *Maharaja* in Budapest, he described what it was like back then; the menu at *Maharaja* was described as limited and seasonal- it was difficult to get fresh vegetables all the year round and they had to acquire the right set of ingredients and condiments with great difficulty.

Today, twenty years have passed since *Maharaja* first opened its stage in Budapest. I believe that a lot has changed; in 2016, it is possible to discover more than twenty-five South Asian Restaurants in various districts of Budapest. As more options of Indian cuisine are offered in the city, restaurants find creative ways to compete and appeal to the diners- who are increasingly looking for certain tastes, in light of broader social changes. For the providers of authentic food, authenticity is cultural lever for asserting power in relation to other providers and for justifying their own cultural origins. For the diner, meanwhile, it allows a means to exhibit an understanding of another time and place- an understanding that is exhibited by being there at these restaurants where they practically "taste" otherness, tradition and place. These tastes encompass the sensory experience of eating as well as distinguishing flavors of a specific culture. In one way, the food encodes the social boundaries and distance between the South-Asians and the Hungarians. Yet on the other hand, the act of eating out at the restaurants is a boundary-breaking act.

Thus, my findings are not just about what kind of Indian food is available in Budapest, but rather about highlighting the specific ways in which it is produced, consumed and experienced at these restaurants. My participant observation at restaurants was instrumental in trying to grasp the

malleable concepts of "culinary heritage" and "edible identities" (Brulotte and Di Giovine. 2014), as well as showing how a cuisine is "anchored in these eating sites" (Crowther 2013:160). As various examples showed, Indian food can reaffirm national affiliations and at other times it can challenge them. By exploring the ways in which food "encodes social relations" (Douglas 1972), I came across examples of politics of difference and identity making in micro-level interactions. The national boundaries, as they remain important means of identification for people are actively reinterpreted and orchestrated by individuals in light of food production and consumption. In addition, the interviews, menu codes and spatial dynamics at restaurants, revealed how food is orchestrated as a carrier of culture and tradition, when in fact, tradition itself is invented in the present; it underlies the desire for something outside of what is perceived to be modern, yet it is sought within modernity and through consumerist cultural means.

Tastes of authenticity that are articulated at specific restaurants of Budapest, highlight these contradictions and points to the specific ways in which authenticity is staged and ascribed. Moreover, my theoretical focus of "tastes" at "restaurants" avoids the methodological misconceptions that result from treating production and consumption of food separately. As Bourdieu (1984) and other anthropologists may argue, it is important to recognize the homology between consumption and production. The restaurants thus allowed me to observe this interface-which is crucial to the orchestration of authentic food as well. Thus by delving into the social relations that specific foods encode, the project explains why and how authenticity is constructed, thereby emphasizing the importance of food in analyzing important socio-cultural processes.

Reference List

Adorno, Theodore. 2003. *The Jargon of Authenticity.* Translated by K. Tarnowski and F. Will, Routledge, London.

Alford, Jeffrey and Naomi Duguid. 2005. *Mangoes & Curry Leaves.* New York: Artisans.

Anderson, E. N. 2005. *Everyone Eats: Understanding Food and Culture.* New York: NYU Press.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1988. "How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India." *Comparative Study of Society and History* 3(24).

Baker-Clark, Charles. 2006. *Profiles from the Kitchen: What Great Cooks Have Taught Us about Ourselves and Our Food.* University Press of Kentucky.

Bell, David and Gill Valentine. 1997. *Consuming Geographies: We Are Where We Eat.* Psychology Press.

Bendix, Regina. 1997. *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Benjamin, Walter. 1968. *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections.* Edited by H. Arendt. New York: Schocken Books.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Briggs, Charles. 1983. *Learning how to Ask: A Sociolinguistic Appraisal of the Role of the Interview in Social Science Research.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brulotte, Ronda and Di Giovine, Michael. 2014. *Edible Identities: Food As Cultural Heritage.* Farnham: Ashgate Pub Co.

Chiaro, Delia. 2008. "A Taste of Otherness Eating and Thinking Globally." *European Journal of English Studies* 12(2):195–209.

Cobb, Russell. 2014. *The Paradox of Authenticity in a Globalized World.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Collingham, Lizzie. 2006. *Curry: A Tale of Cooks and Conquerors*. Oxford University Press.

Counihan, Carole and Penny Van Esterik. 1997. *Food and Culture: A Reader*. Psychology Press.

Creswell, John. 2007. *Qualitative Enquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*. 2nd ed.

  California: Sage.

Crowther, Gillian. 2013. *Eating Culture: An Anthropological Guide to Food*. University of Toronto Press,

  Higher Education Division.

David Sutton and David Beriss. 2007. *The Restaurants Book: Ethnographies of Where We Eat*. English edition.

  Oxford; New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

Della Porta, Donatella and Diani, Mario. 1999: *Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Derrida, Jacques and Avital Ronell. 1980. "The Law of Genre." *Critical Inquiry* 7(1):55–81.

Dewey, Susan. 2012. "'Teaching Modern India How to Eat':" Pp. 126–42 in *Curried Cultures*,

  Globalization, Food, and South Asia. University of California Press.

Dimitrios, Theodossopoulos. 2013. "Laying Claim to Authenticity: Five Anthropological Dilemmas".

  Anthropological Quarterly 86(2).

Douglas, Mary. 1966. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. New York:

  Routledge.

Douglas, Mary. 1972. "Deciphering a Meal." *Daedalus* 101(1):61–81.

Douglas, Mary. 2008. *Food in the Social Order*. 1 edition. London: Routledge.

Dwyer, Claire and Phillip Crang. 2002. "Fashioning Ethnicities: The Commercial Spaces of

  Multiculture". *Ethnicities* 2(3), 410–430

England, Kim. 1994. "Getting personal: Reflexivity, Positionality, and Feminist Research". *The

  Professional Geographer* 46(1): 80–89

Erickson, Karla. 2007. "Bodies at Work: Performing Service in American Restaurants." Pp. 17–24 in *The

  Restaurants Book: Ethnographies of Where we Eat*, edited by David Beriss and David Sutton. New

  York: Berg.

Feld, Steven and Basso Keith. 1996. *Senses of Place*. Santa Fe: School of American Research.

Fielding, A. Stephen. 2014. "Currying Flavour: Authenticity, Cultural Capital and the Rise of Indian

    Food in the United Kingdom." in *Genuine Copies: The Paradox of Authenticity in a Globalized World.*

    New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fine, Gary Alan. 1998. *Kitchens: The Culture of Restaurant Work.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Finkelstein, Joanne. 1998. "Dining Out: The Hyperreality of Appetite." in *Eating Culture*, edited by R.

    Scapp and B. Seitz. New York: SUNY Press.

Gabaccia, Donna. 1998. *We Are What we Eat. Ethnic Food and The Making of Americans.* Cambridge:

    Harvard University Press.

Goffman, Erving. 1973. *The Presentation of Self In Everyday Life.* New York: Overlook Press.

Goody, Jack. 1982. *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology.* Cambridge University Press.

Greg de St. Maurice. 2014. "Edible Authenticities: Heirloom Vegetables and Culinary Heritage in Kyoto,

    Japan." in *Edible Identities: Food As Cultural Heritage*, edited by R. Brulotte and M. Di Giovine.

    London: Ashgate Pub Co.

Gupta, Akhil and James Ferguson. 1992. "Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity, and the Politics of

    Difference." *Cultural Anthropology* 7(1):6–23.

Hall, Stuart. 1981. "Notes on Deconstructing 'the Popular'." in *People's History and Socialist Theory*, edited

    by Raphael Samuel. London: Routledge.

Hammersley, Martyn and Paul Atkinson. 2007. "Ethics" pp. 209-229 in *Ethnography: Principles and Practice.*

    London: Routledge.

Handler, Richard and Jocelyn Linnekin. 1984. "Tradition, Genuine or Spurious." *The Journal of American*

    Folklore 97(385):273–90.

Handler, Richard. 1986. "Authenticity." Anthropology Today 2(1):2-4.

Heldke, Lisa. 2003. *Exotic Appetites: Ruminations of a Food Adventurer.* New York: Routledge.

Heller, Monica. 2003. "Globalization, the new economy, and the commodification of language and

    identity". *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7(4): 473–492

Highmore, Ben. 2008. "Alimentary Agents: Food, Cultural Theory and Multiculturalism". *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 29: 381-398.

hooks, bell. 1992. *Black Looks: Race and Representation*. Boston: South End Press, pp. 21–39.

Jamal, Ahmad. 1996. "Acculturation: The Symbolism of Ethnic Eating Among Contemporary British Consumers". *British Food Journal* 98 (10): 12 – 26.

Jurafsky, Daniel. 2014. *The Language of Food: A Linguist Reads the Menu*. W. W. Norton.

Kiss, E. 2007. "The Evolution of Industrial Areas in Budapest after 1989". in *The Post-Socialist City: Urban Form and Space Transformations in Central and Eastern Europe after Socialism*, edited by K. Stanilov. Cinccinnati: Springer.

Kloosterman, Robert, and Jan Rath. 2003. I*mmigrant entrepreneurs: Venturing abroad in the age of globalization*. Oxford: Berg

Katan, David. 2004. *Translating Cultures- An Introduction for Translators, Interpreters and Mediators*. Manchester: St Jerom.

Kellner, Douglas M. 1994. *Baudrillard: A Critical Reader*. Wiley.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude, John Weightman, and Doreen Weightman. 1990. *The Origin of Table Manners: Mythologiques*. University of Chicago Press.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. The Raw and the Cooked. Translated by John and Doreen Weightman. New York: Harper and Row, 1969.

Lu, Shun and Gary Alan Fine. 1995. "The Presentation of Ethnic Authenticity: Chinese Food as a Social Accomplishment." *The Sociological Quarterly* 36(3):535–53.

MacConnell, Dean. 1999. *The Tourist*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Mankekar, Purnima. 2002. "'India Shopping': Indian Grocery Stores and Transnational Configurations of Belonging." *Ethnos* 67(1):75–97.

McEwan, Cheryl, Jane Pollard and Nick Henry. 2005. 'The "global" in the city economy: multicultural economic development in Birmingham'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29(4): 916-933.

Metro-Roland, Michelle Marie. 2013. "Goulash Nationalism: The Culinary Identity of a Nation." *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 8(2-3):172–81.

Mendoza, Daryl. 2010. "Commodity, Sign, and Spectacle: Retracing Baudrillard's Hyperreality". *Kritike* 4 (2): 45-59

Mintz, Sidney W. and Christine M. Du Bois. 2002. "The Anthropology of Food and Eating." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31(1):99–119.

Moustakas, Clark. 1994. *Phenomenological Research Methods*. California: Thousand Oaks, Sage.

Miller, Daniel. 1995. "Introduction: Anthropology, Modernity and Consumption"pp. 1-22 in *Worlds Apart*, edited by Daniel Miller. London: Routledge.

Miller, Daniel. 1997. Capitalism: an Ethnographic Approach. New York: Berg.

Mintz, Sidney. 1985. Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History. New York: Viking.

Mukherjee, S. 1972. "Origin of Mango (Mangifera indica)". *Economic Botany* 26(3): 260-264.

Passi, Anssi. 2003. "Region and place: regional identity in question". *Progress in Human Geography* 27 (4): 475–485.

Pratt, Jeff. 2007. "Food Values: The Local and the Authentic". *Critique of Anthropology* 27(3). 285–300

Ray, Krishnendu and Tulasi Srinivas. 2012. *Curried Cultures: Globalization, Food, and South Asia*. University of California Press.

Ray, Krishnendu. 1998. "Meals, Migration and Modernity: Domestic Cooking and Bengali Indian Ethnicity in the United States". Amerasia 24 (1): 105:27

Ray, Krishnendu. 2016. *The Ethnic Restaurateur*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Ritzer, George. *The McDonaldization of Society*. Newbury Park: Pine Forge Press, 1993.

Rozin, Elisabeth. 1992. *Ethnic Cuisine: How to Create the Authentic Flavors of 30 International Cuisines*. Penguin Books.

Rule, Cheryl Sternman. 2015. *Yogurt Culture: A Global Look at How to Make, Bake, Sip, and Chill the World's Creamiest, Healthiest Food*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

Scapp, Ron and Brian Seitz. 1998. *Eating Culture*. New York: SUNY Press.

Solier, Isabelle de. 2013. *Food and the Self: Consumption, Production and Material Culture*. A&C Black.

Sutton, David. 2001. Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory. Oxford, UK: Berg.

Sutton, David and David Beriss. 2007. The Restaurants Book: Ethnographies of Where We Eat. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

Sutton, David. 2004. "Toward an Ethnography of Restaurants". Food and Foodways 12: 53-61.

Sutton, David. 2010. Food and the Senses. Annual Review of Anthropology 39: 209-223

Sýkora, Luděk. 2005. "Gentrification in post-communist cities", pp. 90-105 in *Gentrification in a Global Context: The New Urban Colonialism*, edited by R., Bridge G. London: Routledge.

Swift, Candice Lowe and Richard R. Wilk. 2015. *Teaching Food and Culture*. Left Coast Press.

Trubek, Amy. 2008. *The Taste of Place*. Berkely: University of California Press.

Urry, John. 2002. *The Tourist Gaze*. SAGE.

Waldinger, Roger and Fitzgerald, David. 2004. "Transnationalism in Question". *American Journal of Sociology* 109:1177-95

Weiss, Allen S. 1997. *Taste Nostalgia*. Lusitania Press.

Wilson, William. 1978. *Folklore and Nationalism in Modern Finland*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Zukin, Sharon. 1993. *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World*. University of California Press.

Zukin, Sharon. Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Zukin, Sharon. 2009. *Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places*. Oxford University Press.

Appendix A

Sample of Restaurants

	Restaurant Name
1	*Bangla Bufe*
2	*Bollywood Vegi Bar*
3	*Bombay Curry Bar*
4	*Curry House*
5	*Tandoori Indiai Etterem*
6	*Indigo Indian Restaurant*
7	*Maharaja Indian Restaurant*
8	*Mughal Shahi Pakisztani Eterrem*
9	*Punjab Tandoori Indian Restaurant*
10	*Shalimar Indiai Etterem*
11	*Salaam Bombay*
12	*Taj Mahal*