

# Food Preparation and Women Identity: An Ethnographic Study of the Muslim Women in Kerala

Noushida PP

**Abstract:** *Preparation of food and related activities are always related to women across the globe irrespective of caste, class, religion, and region. This paper is based on an ethnographic study of four districts of the Malabar region of Kerala - Malappuram, Kozhikode, Kannur, and Kasaragod - and used participant observation and semi-structured interviews to achieve the objectives of the study. In general, the Kerala development model showcases solid social indicators compared to the rest of the country. Despite all these achievements in different development indicators, women's employment rate is significantly less in the state and thus placed at as low as 27th position among the states in India. Hence, there is a considerable gap between women's educated and skilled employment rates. This paper discusses the influential literature and narration of respondents from the ethnographic field on the gendering of food preparation by looking at the participation in both public and private spheres. And various perspectives of food preparation and the transition of women's identity among the highly literate, patriarchal Muslim communities in Kerala. Further, this paper also tries to understand how a new identity like "entrepreneurs identity" helps upgrade the women's status in a mediated patriarchal society.*

**Keywords:** Food Preparation, identity, gendered division of labor, and entrepreneur identity

## 1. Introduction

Studies in sociology, history and anthropology have claimed that food preparation and serving are always the duty and responsibility of women, not just in India, across the globe. According to Indian Time Use Survey, the average Indian woman spends 19.5 percent of the time every day in unpaid work, including housework, cooking and caregiving, compared to just 2.5 percent of time spent by men. What worries more is that the women did not get enough recognition and income. Contrary to this, men are doing the same job as professionals, such as chefs in the hotels and restaurants and are highly paying and getting higher recognition than what women do at home. This difference is not just specific to India, as the American Time Use Survey also found that women spend over five hours per week preparing food, whereas men spend only about two hours per week in cooking. Thus it can be seen as a universal process where the role of women in making food for remaining family members is seen more as duty than her kindness. About the women in maintaining a sense of shared tradition through food practices, Josephine et al. (2014) argue about the Gullah community and the role of women in satisfying the deities and maintaining their tradition by preparing food and sharing food. Thus true womanhood can be achieved through food preparation by sexualizing cooking.

Further, they went on to say that women manipulate time contrast to accommodate the daily demands of their food practices (John, Josephine, 2014). Besides, the cult of womanhood is that "women are carving out space for creative expression within the pages of cookery text (Neuhaus, 1999). Often, unconditional normalized expectations from women and powerful discursive affirmations of normalized social norms are rooted in the patriarchal system.

Being the state with better economic stability and higher literacy rate (of both men and women), Kerala, is well known for higher women education level, health care,

maternity, life expectancy rate, mortality rate, and a very positive sex ratio with 1084 females to 1000 males, the highest in India and well over the national figure of 0.940 females to 1000 males. Despite performing well on almost all indicators, the position of employment rate among the women in Kerala stands at the twenty-fifth position in India. Undoubtedly, there is a huge gap in employment rates of educated and skilled women. The state is yet to improve its performance to transform its achievements concerning two essential indicators, increased participation of women in economic sector (labor market) and at higher levels of governance structure in politics. According to various National Sample Survey Office reports, labor force participation of males and females in Kerala shows the widening gender gap as the male labor force participation was 58.3, whereas that of the females stood at 25.8 only in 2011-12. Still, there was a massive drop out of females from employment in Kerala owing to various reasons.

This study focuses mainly on the substantial gendered division noticed at home and professional kitchens in the case of Muslim women of Malabar, which includes the six districts on the northern side of the modern state of Kerala. There is a 'cultural family devotion scheme' or widespread cultural belief that women are primarily responsible for and committed to family matters and cooking. These cultural beliefs collaborated with the historical definition of feeding the family as work, which further emphasized women's need to cook more often at home (Mary Blair, 2003).

### **Gender Division and Food Preparations**

Women provide the family with nourishments by putting warm meals on the table. Another domain group argues that it is a woman's 'biological role' to nurture their family through cooking (Rosalie Platzer, 2011). Although, the men are doing the same Cooking as a profession with higher income and reputation. When women become the head of chefs in restaurants and prove that they can handle and manage cooking as a profession, there is apparent patriarchal domination in the financial and managing sections. Men are thus controlling female professionals since they are

Volume 11 Issue 6, June 2022

[www.ijsr.net](http://www.ijsr.net)

Licensed Under Creative Commons Attribution CC BY

incapable of managing everything. Hence, "culturally generated" ideas about gendered roles, including "traditional patriarchal and cultural attitudes," work to limit the way we view what a woman should be doing and what she is capable of, thereby limiting her and inhibiting possibilities. That lack of female representation in the highest levels of the "public sphere" have primarily to do with the different ways men and women are "gendered," as well as "myths" and "stereotypes," that are perpetuated by our society (Linda Sue Reynolds, 2008). These cultural and traditional patriarchal systems labeling as not having enough capacity to cook professionally. Even though women's achievements in education, health and demographic transitions celebrating the developmental achievement of the state are somewhat deceptive and strategically mask the fault lines that separate dominant women (in terms of caste, class, religion) from those excluded. According to Sharmila, women are trapped in the structural grammar of gender and domesticity (Sharmila, 2009). Patriarchal values and economic dependences have an undeniable connection to the subordination of women. Even women are trying to escape from these socially and culturally normalized norms, holding them inside the kitchen by obtaining higher educational qualifications. In short, the developmental discourse of the Kerala model has not been successful in the gender relations in the professionalism and domesticity within the structure of patriarchal Kerala.

This paper is divided into two sections: the first section explains the conceptual framework and methodology, whereas the second section presents a sociological understanding of the gendered division of the same job in different spaces through lived experiences of homemakers and women entrepreneurs and the challenges they are facing in the Malabar region, with an emphasis on the districts of Malappuram, Kozhikode and Kannur.

## 2. Conceptual Framework

While several studies address the importance of food in everyday life from nutritional, anthropological, historical, sociological, economic, and even philosophical standpoints, few researchers address food and food preparation from a specifically feminist vantage point (Masha Sukovic, 2011). There are many sets of writing on the relationship between women and food preparation. One set of writers sees food preparations as a source of women's empowerment. A prominent feminist perceptive says that food preparations or Cooking may have provided a vehicle for women's creative expression (Avankian and Heber, 2005). On the other hand, food can serve as a channel of power, talents, and creativity (Counihan, 1995, 2005). The second set of scholars claims that women have responsibilities to protect and maintain the family. The notion of gender and family are often constructed through food preparation and food-related practices (Williams 1985; Counihan and Van Estenik 1997; Counihan and Kaplan 1998; Anderson 2005).

Moreover, cooking for women is like constructing her place within the family as one who provides for the needs of others (Devault, 1991). Another set of scholars argues that women preserve their culture and traditions through food preparation by normalized and concretized social norms of

the society. Most the society prescribes "room of one's own" they do have "a kitchen" in which they often make their food and inscribe their life through seasoning of it, through the sharing of their recipes, and through the time spent in their women's kitchen (Abarca, 2001). The last set of scholars believes that women create a community identity through food preparations. Sharing food with others and creating community is another essential aspect of food preparation (Counihan, 1998). The recent studies on women and food demonstrate that studying the relationship between how women reproduce, resist, and rebel against gender constructions is practiced and contested in various sites and illuminate the contexts (Barbara, 2006).

The previous studies mention a positive relationship between food preparation and women. Women's identity is thus always stuck in a room of their own called the kitchen. Women are still the primary actors in the home food arena, confirming female gender identity. Femininity seems to be so profoundly involved in cooking and giving food that women may hesitate to give up this aspect of their identity (Mehus & Borchgrevink, 1894). Indeed, this kind of traditionally and culturally allocated role indicates the expression of Female Subjugations in a patriarchal society. Interestingly, Furst (1997) claims that the cooking and kitchen work contribute to the reproduction of patriarchy.

Although it can create several hardships for the women, it has several advantages as well; for instance, earning money their own, being independent, managing employees, status, popularity, and improving their talent from new opportunities. According to the 2011 Census, the population of the Kerala State was 3.34 crore, of which the respective count of the male and female population is 1.60 Crores and 1.74 crores. Women's population constituted 52.02 percent of the total population in the state and outnumbered the male population by 13 lakhs. According to Gender Statistics 2017-2018, the total population of Kerala, during 2011-12 about 57 percent men were economically active or part of the labor forces whereas the percent of economically active women population was only 25 percent. Furthermore, around 75 percent of the women population believes economically inactive. The latest NSSO data for 2011-12 indicates that the overall employment in Kerala is 6.7, with a wide gender gap of 14.1 percent of women and 2.9 for men. Most of the previous studies highlighted the different aspects of a gap of employment rate, structure of employment, discrimination in the wages in general and Muslim women in Kerala. This paper examines the reconstruction of Muslim women's identity both who take Cooking as a profession and domestic. It helps to reconstruct identity through cooking from patriarchal, cultural, and traditionally bounded societies.

Women who come out from traditional and culturally bounded societies face new vulnerabilities due to the stigma and myths towards them—like exclusion, underrating of their talents, gendered – division of job opportunities, and family misbalancing. The cultural understanding of women and food, combined with an inhospitable workplace structure to women and employees with family responsibilities, presents significant obstacles to women chefs (Stacy 2014). There is a cultural "family devotion

scheme" or a widespread Cultural belief that women's primary commitments should be home and family. These expectations do not apply to men; instead, men expect female partners to complete this work. These cultural beliefs, combined with the historical definition of feeding the family as women's work, contribute to the continued tendency for women to cook more in the home (Mary Blair, 2003).

The researchers (Blair Loy and Sewell) used "the Cultural facet of structure ."It refers to how cultural frameworks are creating preparations of food and learning of food preparation. These stigmas are the primary mechanism for allocating the boundaries of normative gendered behavior and socializing gendered subjects (Blair, 2001). These functions lead to subjugation and subordination of women. Women who do cooking as a profession have a hand of Male domination in helping, financial dealings, and even in the managing level. Is it real empowerment of women? Nevertheless, an invisible hand of patriarchy still exists through the supporting hand of males, so women get a safe feeling in the public sphere. In this paper, the researcher uses interviews with homemakers who run restaurants and online homemakers to understand their experiences.

### 3. Methodology

This study depends upon both primary and secondary resources to accomplish study objectives. However, it mainly focuses on the sociological analysis of gendered identity through food preparation in everyday life among women. For the primary data, a set of seventy-five Telephonic interviews of homemakers, restaurant owners, and online homemakers from the Malabar region of Kerala, mainly from three districts Kannur, Kozhikode, and Malappuram. The sample consists of upper-class, middle-class, and lower-class Muslim women aged between twenty-five to seventy years. The study used the snowball method to identify online homemakers and restaurant owners. The interview had conducted in the local language (Malayalam) then, it was then translated to English for analysis.

The interviews technic is Telephonic and Sapp chat for respondents' convenience and flexibility. The interviews are a semi-structured guide for getting proper answers for the interviewee's questions, especially how they feel the normalized cultural norms as a barrier to their development of carrier and making of identity by achieved manner than ascribed one.

### 4. Findings and Discussions

The women live in the home to build an "ideal family" by eulogizing her cleanliness, the food she cooks, and sense of responsibility, reinforcing the kitchen as a woman's universe. In earlier times, women learned cooking through motherliness or mothers and grandmothers. Women kept recipes mainly through conversations with family members, neighbors, and friends from generation to generation.

Since the 1980s, many changes have happened in Kerala society, For instance, the invention and development of Television, the gulf boom, expansion of printing media,

increased importance of education, globalization, and liberalization. The first Malabar Muslim cookbook is Umi Abdullah, entitled "Malabar Muslim Cookery," published in 1981 and mother of Malabar Cuisine. Later, she wrote many books related to food preparation, Muslim culinary notes, and other cuisines. She shared that: the cookbook was essentially using newly wedded girls and transnational migration of women. These people are starting to depend on the Cookbooks of regional recipes, regional magazines like *Vanitha*, and *Keraliya Suguna Bodhini*. Since the 2000s, the television cookery program started like *Magic Oven by Adv. Laxmi Nair*, *Sequel to Sthree*, *Nalla Ruchi*, *Thani Nadan*, and *Simply Nadan*. Women from an economically privileged families organize these programs.

After the 90s, the growth and expansion of Information-communication technology helped people stay connected across large physical and geographical distances. So, migrated people depend on the telephone to collect the traditional recipes from mother, wife, and sister. When people live in the distance, people feel homesick of mother's food or home food and try to recreate dishes in the host nation. Then, with the invention of social media, unemployed women are initiated to YouTube channels on cookery shows. It helps to reach each local recipe into the entire world. The journey of changes of the medium of transmitting food preparation over a while due to the invention of technology, urbanization, globalization, and development of Information, communication, and Technology (ICT), and computer-mediated communication (CMC) helps women to be independent. The kitchen is Malayali Muslim women (Shaji, Jacob, 2021). However, women are facing tremendous challenges.

Umi Abdullah (author, food entrepreneur) is recollecting her past days with new initiatives of food, She married at fourteen years old and did not know about Cooking. We lived in a joint family and learned everything from *elemma* (Aunt) by observation and conversation. Then, we shifted to madras (Chennai) as part of the husband's job and slowly felt loneliness. I got interested in cooking and baking. After a year, has husband compelled to write a cookbook. He said to prepare parts like the name of dishes, measurement of ingredients, and the preparation would take care of the rest of the part. For the writing of the cookbook, and approached *umumma* (grandmother); she was a good resource of food, particularly Malabar food. She gives recipes and many older women in our family.

There is an invisible hand of 'mediated patriarchy'; they cannot do all activities apart from Cooking and domestic. There is a constraining of "self-identity of women," spreading through the social institutional and traditional, cultural generated myths. They are not capable of managing workers, decision-making, and interacting with different realms of the public sphere. One of the respondents said, "I Am a YouTuber, uploading both cookery video and other socially relevant content as well. have multiple graduations. I do not have my husband's full consent to go outside for work. He allows doing whatever from inside the home after taking care of family and kids. Although I am happy now, I have earned money and satisfied personal needs". Even though women are highly educated and

talented, they are restricted to specific bounded spaces, socially, culturally, and institutionally constructed. The structuration approach, Social institution maintaining through daily activities Cooking, cleaning, protecting family, even while those activities generate and reproduce structural properties of the social system. Institutions simultaneously shape and shape the individual agency (Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1979). Although, slow achievement of women empowerment. Is it real empowerment for a woman?

Another respondent (Zainab, Owner of Zain's Hotel Calicut, and Kerala) shared:

I have been running a hotel last thirteen years and the support of my life partner Noor Muhammad. I have been used to cooking and observing Cooking from childhood onwards. Now, the daughter will take care of others due to age-related difficulties. Husband is ex-migrant, he could not have time to spend with us and so started a hotel which is serving particularly Mappila food. All credit goes to family and partner; he believed in my cooking abilities. At marriage, he wanted to know whether I knew how to cook for the smooth running of the family.

Another responded (ShabnaHasker) shared:

She is a successful YouTuber and post graduated. Uploading both cookery shows and daily routine activities. have been started YouTube channel due to the husband's completion. Even though I heard many harmful and embarrassing comments from society, someone called *Bhandari* (a Malayalam word representing cook). When a woman comes on a public platform, particularly with Cooking, society seems we are physically incapable of preparing food for public function and not good mother and wife. When it comes to men, turns are considered "great chefs" and professionals.

The responses described above shed light on; women are enjoying personal development and glorifying male domination both consciously and unconsciously. Society has "sex-based discrimination" due to prejudices and gender stereotypes despite overwhelming evidence that these stereotypes are socially constructed. Women are considered incapable of entering the public sphere, need protection, are subservient, less important than men, and denied opportunities. Another respondent, named Manna, also highlighted sex/gender-based discrimination:

we are equally (M-Tech) qualified; settled in Bangalore. He is working in an American company. Nevertheless, he cannot go to work due to wanting to take care of kids, family, and Cooking. Although, I started small catering services. However, I desire to open a cafeteria, but that is not easy to manage.

Most of the respondents shared a similar view; they have an educational qualification (everybody minimum higher school qualification) extra-curriculum talents. However, socio-cultural and patriarchal systems made a conscious and unconscious barrier and glorified male consent even though

women are coming public sphere by breaking traditional beliefs.

Most of the women are accepting inequality constructed by the patriarchal system. There is a tendency like "seeking outside help" for relieving mental construction obstacles through social-cultural facets. One of the respondents shared a memory: her mother's advice at marriage. It would be best if you were expected to show respect to her husband, acquiesce to his wishes and seek his permission to engage in activities that may be outside of the norm". A normalized social norm governs the gendered stratification followed by women. Even though the respondent gives positive aspects of engagement in the public sphere from the patriarchal system, the researcher wishes to argue how socio-cultural and traditional facets are barriers to opportunities for women entrepreneurs. Gender segregation in elementary schools is a significant component of childhood socialization (Barrie Thome 1989). They are critically engaging with socio-cultural- traditional facets in the growth of women participation from private to public. Although increases in women's participation and involvement in the public sphere, they tend to seek the help of males for managing financial and other taught activities.

#### **Food Entrepreneurs and construction of Women identities**

This section examines the positive construction of a new identity by traditional gendered division of labor of food preparation and transition from homemakers to entrepreneurs. There are many advantages like status, prestige, economic benefits, and improvement of talents, self-satisfaction, and increasing self-esteem. Since the 2000s, the invention of social media has impacted women who come from the middle and lower class. Women who start hotel and food-related entrepreneurs come from upper-middle-class and family financial support. There are two groups of women. One is women who start enterprises with family support, and the other starts a business with their effort. Both of them have a different identities.

Numerous research on women entrepreneurs has focused on identity (Bruni et al., 2004; Lewis, 2013; Orser et al., 2011; Patterson et al., 2012). Through enterprise, women are enacting *self-identity*, *role-identity*, and *social identity*. Social identity 'this is who I am' impacts their enterprise through decisions and subsequent behaviors (Alsos, Clausen, Hyth&Solvoll, 2016; Fauchart& Gruber, 2011; Sieger, Gruber, Fauchart&Zellweger, 2016 ). Similarly, different founder role identities 'this is what I do' have been shown to impact behavior (Cardon, Wincent, Singh &Drnovsek, 2009; Dobrev& Barnet, 2005; Lewis, Ho, Harris & Morrison, 2016, et al.). Individual engagement in entrepreneurial activity is driven by the perception of their entrepreneurial identities as a combination of their social and role identities (i.e., this is who I am, and this is what I do (Owalla, 2017). One of the respondents (Shabna) shared:

I am YouTuber; earlier days went through many issues like lack of confidence, unnecessary fear, family responsibility, and cyberbullying. I feel proud because people know through my own

identity as a YouTube and get identity through what I know and do from home.

Parallel views are shared by most of the respondents regarding the positive aspects of running the enterprises. They enjoy achieved self-identity, role identity, and social identity. Simultaneously, getting higher recognition and reputation from the public gives higher self-confidence to do better. One of my respondents, Shirin Mustafa, shared:

My culinary skills were enough to overcome her all problems, the authentic taste of dishes has won millions of hearts down years. I have been happy when people tell us they find the food healthy and the place hygienic. I also got many opportunities to participate outside and inside India as a food festival.

Another respondent (Umi Abdullah) said:

She is a prominent writer of the Muslim Community of Malabar Like *Epic Cookbook*, *RuchiyeumVibhavangal*, *VividhaenamPuttukal*, and *Malabar Vegetable dishes*) many five-star hotels are invited as food consultants across the world. The skills I got from my kitchen gave me much happiness. Through these cookbooks, Abdullah's wife and daughter Muhammad has an identity "author" part.

The *entrepreneurial identity* made self-confidence, less stage fear, and participation in the public sphere (Donnellon, Ollila & Middleton, 2014). Participation in the public sphere or entrepreneurs programs gets a space to influence and motivate other women. "Being an influencer or motivator" is an outstanding achievement in life. One of the respondents (shabnaHasker) shared that"

I wrote a book entitled *JanaPriyaRuchikal* (popular Tastes) 2019 published by DC Books. That gives a golden opportunity to participate Dubai expo in 2019. That makes proud of the entire family. Besides, women massage me 'your books helped during the beginning cooking stage.' Most of them are considered as a sister/mothers in their minds. That is more accurate recognition than anything (she started crying when she ended those words)

For instance, women committed to various roles like You Tuber, teacher, entrepreneur, which is considered a salient identity. Nevertheless, a housewife's mother's role is more central to their self-identity. However, Stryker and Serpe (1994) also argue that salience and centrality may operate when actors become aware of the salience of given identities. For instance, to recognize salience identity rather than centrality through developing their self-identity (salient/ central identity) and social identity.

I started receiving pre-orders for small functions (maximum one hundred people). Only when children started going to school. Although, from childhood interested in Cooking and other activities in the kitchen. So I begin minimal

activities, and now it is becoming a big enterprise that gives satisfaction.

Even though they face numerous problems like conflicts, roles, status, and social problems, there is self-satisfaction with a new identity. Out of the 75 respondents I interviewed, 57 are shared; they are proud because of economic independence, popularity, status, and relaxation from along ness. Once initiated to earn something, others give respect, which is not getting earlier. People who kidded in the initial period of the enterprise are starting to say some positive comments now. Initially, felt depressed once I saw negative comments about myself, then realized that there was no pain, no gain. Now, we have mental courage and an idea about dealing with that.

Muslim women find themselves hardship from religious propagators too. They advocate restricting women's mobility, showing their body parts to other people are *haram* (prohibited with punishment). It is part of a patriarchal notion than the principle of Islam. One of the prominent religious propagators named SafwaanSaqafi (a pseudonym used) 'Now can see some of our sisters in YouTube, making home tour, the day my life, cookery show, and food exhibition. They are doing an un-Islamic thing and showing their beauty of another man, which is not allowed in Islam. This is mainly due to lack of masculinity for our brothers'. Thirty-six Respondents shared the same concerns: "we belong to the Muslim community, and Islam gives freedom to women.

The geographical, cultural, and traditional norms still make constraints for women. Here visible "Symbolic Violence" by *Bourdieu* defines the state as that institution that successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical and symbolic violence over a definite territory and the totality of the corresponding population. Social institutions like religion, the structure of the family, and the traditional system make geographical boundaries for women to get legitimate power of them. Forty-seven respondents from seventy-five total respondents shared a common notion. During the initial period of enterprises, people shared questions like, is it right for you a Muslim woman? They are trying to convince us to step back from our initiatives". When the internet and social media got popularized, opened avenue opened for women. We are home chefs, bloggers, food writers, and You Tuber with extraordinary skills. Even though women are still at home in a "constructed space" and maintain central identity, this spatial segregation reduces women's access to socially valued knowledge. Sixty-five respondents share: that most kitchens have been constructed in a remote house area. There is no direct access to another part of the home.

Nevertheless, they do feel spatially segregated due to the patriarchal system. This spatial arrangement is called a "masculine and feminine dominated area," but other resources are equally distributed based on need. However, still, there is a visible hand of patriarchal- cultural-traditional spatial segregations still existing?

A closer look at narratives helps unfold a nuanced picture of Muslim women entrepreneurs' experience: especially

women working to handle salience identity to central identity in the different spaces. As Mary Blair (2003) stated, the cultural *family devotion Scheme* has constructed a tendency towards women being caretakers of the family. Women are coming to the public sphere. Masculine domination is getting upsetting through an outbreak of traditional division of labor and an instrument for subordinate women in culturally and socially constructed spaces. As Muslim women, their voices do not draw attention, rather than suppressing the Cultural facet of structure. Even though Muslim women are trying to break these traditional cultural structures, patriarchal structures, and Cooking or culinary skills achieved through the gendered socialization process, stigma, prejudice, and traditional division of labor.

## 5. Conclusion

Food preparation has both negative and positive impacts on constructing a new identity. Avakian and Heber (2005) describe "food as a constant and necessary presence in human life and investigates the complexity of women's intersecting social identities." Even though it has many positive aspects, some respondents reject food preparation and activities that help oppress their identities and barriers to constructing identity. Through normalized norms, which are concretizing in mind, they do not expect their salient identity and concern about their central identity. Once women appear in the public sphere, it helps change the normalized norms already constructed by culture norms, culture, values.

Food preparation and related activities are considered "prison" than art and a vehicle for creativity. By food preparation, men and social institutions control women, confining to his expectations (Avakian, 2001), and getting anticipatory gendered socialization and traditional expectations through Cooking. In conclusion, food preparation allows women to express their talents and creativity. There is religious monitoring, affirmations, the hierarchy of mediated patriarchal system towards Muslim women.

## References

- [1] Alsos, G. A., Clausen, T. H., Hytti, U., & Solvoll, S. (2016). Entrepreneurs' social identity and the preference of causal and effectual behaviors in start-up processes. *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development*, 28(3-4), 234-258.
- [2] Avakian, Arlene Voski (2005). "Shish Kebab Armenians: Food and the Construction and Maintenance of Ethnic and Gender Identities among Armenian Feminist" in *From Betty Crocket to Feminist Food Studies: Critical Perceptives on Women and Food*. Edited by Arelene Voski Avakian and Barabra Haber. Pp.257-280. boston: University of Massachusetts Press.
- [3] B. Haber. *Femisnist Food studies: Brief History* (2006). *Scholarworks. Umass. Edu*.
- [4] Bourdieu, Pierre. (1971). "The Berber House." Chap. 18 in *Rules and Meanings: The Anthropology of Everyday Knowledge*, edited by Mary Douglas. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin.
- [5] Bruni, A., Gherardi, S., & Poggio, B. (2004). Doing gender, doing entrepreneurship: An ethnographic account of intertwined practices. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 11(4), 406-429
- [6] Cardon, M. S., Wincent, J., Singh, J., & Drnovsek, M. (2009). The nature and experience of entrepreneurial passion. *The Academy of Management Review*, 34(3), 511-532. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27760017>
- [7] Charlotte Druckman. (2010) "Why Are There No Great Women Chefs?" *Gastronomica* 10, no. 1: 24. 29 Druckman, 26. 30
- [8] Collier, J.F. and S.J. Yanagisako, eds. (1987). *Gender and Kinship: Essays toward a Unified Analysis*. Stanford: *Stanford University Press*.
- [9] Counihan, M. Carole (2014). Female identity, Food and Power in contemporary Florence. *The George Washington University Institution for Ethnographic Research*
- [10] Duflo, E (2012). Women Empowerment and Economic Development, *Journal of Economic Literature*, Vol.50, no.4, pp.1051-1079
- [11] Deborah A. Harris and Patti Guiffre" (2016)/The Price You Pay": How Female Professional Chefs Negotiate Work and Family" *Springer*. pages 27-52.
- [12] 'Ebadi, Shirin - Helen Thomas Interview' by Amitabh Pal. Retrieved September 1 2004, from <https://progressive.org/magazine/helen-thomas-interview/>
- [13] Fauchart, E., & Gruber, M. (2011). Darwinians, communitarians, and missionaries: The role of founder identity in entrepreneurship. *Academy of Management Journal*, 54(5), 935-957. doi:10.5465/amj.2009.0211
- [14] Furst, E.L (1997). Cooking and Femininity. *Women's Studies International Forum*.
- [15] Giddens, Anthony. (1979). *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure, and Contradiction in Social Analysis*. Berkeley: *University of California Press*.
- [16] Jacob Shaji. *Adukkalayude Abrajeevithamgal*. Retrieved January 30, 2021, from <http://www.chandraksharonline.in/2021/01/forex-rate-1-usd-76.html?m=1>
- [17] Kabeer, N (2005). Gender equality and women's empowerment: A Critical analysis of the third millennium development goal1. *Gender and Development*, Vol.13, no.1, pp.13-24, Available from: Taylor and Francis online (30 March, 2017).
- [18] Lewis, K. V. (2016). Identity capital: An exploration in the context of youth social entrepreneurship. *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development*, 28(3-4), 191-205. doi:10.1080/08985626.2016.1155741
- [19] Lewis, K. V., Ho, M., Harris, C., & Morrison, R. (2016). Becoming an entrepreneur: Opportunities and identity transitions. *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*, 8(2), 98-116. doi:10.1108/IJGE-02-2015-0006,
- [20] Lewis, P. (2013). The search for an authentic entrepreneurial identity: Difference and professionalism among women business owners. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 20(3), 252-266. doi:10.1111/j.1468-0432.2011.00568.
- [21] Linda Sue Reynolds, (2008). "The Evolution of the American Woman Chef: An Eco feminist Approach to

- Gender, Food, and Power” MA thesis, *Union Institute & University*, 125. 32 Reynolds, 125. 33.
- [22] Loy, Mary Blair (2003). *Competing Devotions: Career and Family among Women Executives*. *Harvard University Press*.
- [23] Melhuus, Marit, & Tordis, Borchgrevink. (1984). "Husarbeid: tidsbindingavkvinner" (Housework: Taking up women's time). In Ingrid Rudie (Ed.), *Myk start -- hard landing (Easy take-off-hard landing)*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget. Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. (1962).
- [24] Moore, Henrietta. (1988). *Feminism and Anthropology*. *Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press*.
- [25] Owella, Beldina (2017). *Women's Entrepreneurial Identities: A Typology Based on Insights from Entrepreneurship Programs in Two Different Contexts*. *Stockholm School of Economy*.
- [26] Pettersson, K. (2012). Support for women's entrepreneurship: A nordic spectrum. *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*, 4(1), 4-19. doi:10.1108/17566261211202954.
- [27] SuKovic, Masha and Sharkely (2011). *Seasoning for Soul: Empowerment through Food Preparation among Mexican in the Texas Colonias*. *Routledge Taylor and Francis Group*.
- [28] Stacy J. Willaims (2014). *Gender in Home Kitchens and Restaurants*. *Every Sociology*. *W.W.Norton a Company*.
- [29] Spain, Dophine (2014). Gendered Space and Women status. *Sociological theory and American Sociological Society*, vol.11, no 2, pp.137-151.
- [30] Stryker, S., & Burke, P. J. (2000). The past, present, and future of an identity theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 63(4, *Special Millenium Issue on the State of Sociological Social Psychology*), 284-297.
- [31] Sieger, P., Gruber, M., Fauchart, E., & Zellweger, T. (2016). Measuring the social identity of entrepreneurs: Scale development and international validation. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 31(5), 542-572.
- [32] Sharmila, Sreekumar (2019). *Scripting Lives: Narratives of 'Dominant women 'in Kerala*. New Delhi. *Orient Black swan*.