

Food and consumption patterns of selected communities in South Africa and Cameroon

Sheila Ngoh Manka



Orcid.org/0000-0002-5007-9816

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Promoter: Professor M.S. Mapadimeng

Co-promoter: Dr. R.M. Mokgadi

Student number: 23821639

DECLARATION

I, Manka Sheila Ngoh, declare that the thesis entitled *Food consumption patterns of selected communities in South Africa and Cameroon*, hereby submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Sociology, has not been submitted previously by me for a degree at this or any other university. I declare that this is my original work in design and execution and that all materials and information contained herein have been duly acknowledged.

Sheila Ngoh Manka

Date

DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to my loving mother, Mama Neh Rachel Ngoh, whose dream has always been to see me reach the peak of academia. I also dedicate this study to members of my family, Professor Paul Nepapleh Nkamta, my husband, and my three sons, Nkamta Edilson Kyron Nkamta, Brian Azinwi Nkamta and Lewin Akerenwi Achu Nkamta.

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ABSTRACT

In the past, African countries consumed indigenous food, void of chemicals and grown naturally. These foods strengthened the body and made the individual strong and healthy. In recent times, however, there has been a global nutritional transition, shifting into the consumption of processed, fast and packaged foods that are not entirely healthy, thus resulting in life style non-communicable diseases such as obesity, diabetes, cancer and high blood pressure. The aim of this study is to examine the causes and effects of the shift in food consumption patterns in two African countries, South Africa and Cameroon. The study used a qualitative research approach with in-depth interviews to collect data. Thirty participants per community were sampled, classified into different age groups, educational levels and gender. This was done in order to understand the shift in consumption patterns in the past and those evident in contemporary society as well as the effects of such transitioning. The study develops recommendations primed at reducing the shift in food consumption patterns as the study clearly confirmed that shifts in patterns are attributable to modernisation, globalisation, lifestyle changes, availability and accessibility of varieties of foods with diverse effects, including diseases such as cancer, diabetes, high blood pressure, heartburn, ulcers, obesity and other health diseases. Ultimately, the study recommends that African countries should return to the consumption of indigenous foods and eat less processed and genetically modified crops.

Key words: consumption patterns, diseases, globalisation, indigenous food, lifestyle changes, modernisation

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIDS: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

ANC: African National Congress

CDPM: Cameroon People's Democratic Movement

CNU: Cameroon National Union

DOH: Department of Health

FAO: Food and Agriculture Organisation

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

GMOs: Genetically Modified Organisms

HIV: Human Immune Virus

HSFSA: Heart and Stroke Foundation South Africa

IHSO: Interprofessional Health Student Organisation

NCDs: Non-Communicable Diseases

NKFSA: National Kidney Foundation of South Africa

PAC: Pan Africanist Congress

PBC: Perceived Behavioural Control

SA: South Africa

SANNC: South Africa Native National Congress

TPB: Theory of Planned Behaviour Behaviour

TPBM: Theory of Planned Behaviour Model

TV: Television

UK: United Kingdom

USA: United States of America

WHO: World Health Organisation

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This study examines the shift in food consumption patterns in Cameroon and South Africa, principally because food plays an important role in the lives of every human being. What people choose to eat is influenced by physiological, psychological, cultural and emotional needs.

In the past, food consumption was understood in several ways. Veblen (1934:61), Adorno and Horkheimer (1973:14), and Benjamin (1973:8) posit that consumption is central to the maintenance of status and class positions, a mechanism for fantasy and day-dreaming related to the rise of city cultures or a modern form of justification for economic exploitation through production. Ewn (1988:16), Featherstone (1991:4) and Lury (1996:11) also observe that attention has been focused on the role of consumption in the formation and maintenance of identities as part of the development of cultural styles.

Consumption is viewed, however, as a complex field, covering a multitude of activities, a range of goods and services, many of which are provided in non-modified forms. According to Campbell (1995:6), consumption involves not just the purchasing and using of goods and services but also the selection, maintenance, possible repair and ultimately, disposal thereof. Consumption studies scholars have increasingly paid attention to a number of processes, including, for example, the selection of goods is sometimes subconscious and based on various social norms, cultural leanings, emotional factors, prejudice, facets of identity and tastes.

An analysis of the history of consumption can no longer be encapsulated in the question of 'who buys what' but 'who obtains what services (or goods) under what conditions; are

services delivered and what are their uses? (Ward, 1997:19). Sociology of food consumption is one of the most enlightening critical studies. The preparation and consumption of food is intricately connected to many other central processes of social life. According to Goodman and DeFeet (1991:27), the food system comprises an enormous industry with an estimated 2.8 million people in food production, distribution and catering industries in the United Kingdom in 1987. Food also has significant implications for means of cultural expression and is often used as a general template for contemporary culture. Furst (1998: 92) describes ways in which food generates and reinforces gender divisions in the household, how food preferences are generation-related, from the symbolic and ritual significance to the preparation of traditional meals and how different cultures preserve a sense of identity through their food practices.

Warde (1997:20) and Mckie & Wood (1992:13) argue that the domestic routine of cooked breakfast and lunch are on the decline, while domestic kitchens display a variety of equipment. The market has expanded for the commercial delivery of meals and snacks from fast-food restaurants in public houses in the form of take-away food, complete, pre-prepared, chilled or frozen packages that can also be purchased from shops and re-heated at home. These are some of the influences of globalisation on consumption of food in traditional societies.

Gerbens-Leenes *et al.* (2010) affirm that globally, a nutrition transition is taking place with people shifting towards more affluent food consumption patterns. There has also been a shift from the nutritional energy in carbohydrates to fats and animal foods. Changes in economic circumstances influence a modification in food consumption patterns. Lang (2002) states that the globalisation of nutrition includes an adjustment from local markets towards global trade in commodities and processes and, as such, people and ideas spread all over the world and thus, a change in food consumption patterns becomes discernible.

Fogel and Helmchen (2002) concur with Lang that in the eighteenth century, there was a transition in nutrition which accompanied economic development and led to a shift in food consumption patterns in Europe and the United States of America. Fogel *and Helmchen*. (2002) define food consumption patterns as the intake of specific food items and their combination in dishes and meals. These patterns present differences that are caused, mainly, by the availability and accessibility of commodities. Gerbens-Leenes and Nonhebel (2002) state that the repeated arrangements of consumption, characterised by types and

quantities of food items and their combination in dishes and meals, constitute food consumption patterns.

There is a shift in food trends and consumption patterns as traditional diet is abandoned in favour of a more western diet typified by processed and convenience food. Indigenous traditional diet has always been associated with low prevalence of degenerative diseases whereas modern western diet is associated with increased prevalence.

According to Trichopoulou *et al.* (2007) and Mat (2010), indigenous traditional food is any food that is commonly consumed and associated with specific celebrations and whose preparation protocols are passed on from one generation to another. It is also prepared and seasoned in specific ways according to the gastronomic heritage. Additionally, Cayot (2007) posits that traditional foods are unique in their recipe; ingredients and mode of preparation defined to a particular group of people for a very long time. In Cameroon, as in South Africa, indigenous traditional foods are associated with different functions, ceremonies and ethnic groups in the country.

Raschke *et al.* (2007) argue that indigenous traditional foods have unquestionable health benefits attached to them. It has been proved that majority of indigenous traditional foods are nutritious and comprise various nutritious ingredients mostly used in their preparation. Though traditional food has a high nutritional value, the consumption of traditional food is on the decline. Milner (2002) states that the consumption of traditional food is on a decrease, resulting in the disappearance of such foods within communities at an alarming rate. Raschke *et al.* (2007) posit that the rationale for the low consumption patterns of traditional food is due to the influx of foreign goods and the establishment of fast food restaurants attributed to westernisation. Redmond and Griffitt (2007) and Eng *et al.* (2003) concur with Redmond and Griffith and maintain consumers' perceptions, which are determined by their attitude and knowledge, also influence the low consumption patterns of traditional food.

Solomon (2006), Ruel *et al.* (1999) and Sinha (1995) attribute the decline in consumption of indigenous traditional foods to factors such as gender, environment, age, women's work and processed food consumption and economic situations. For Peter and Olsan (2008), changes in food consumption are due to the fact that consumers' attitude to food choices are flexible, a characteristic of human beings. As a result, there is a continuous change in ideas, perceptions and activities of consumers. According to Laryea *et al.* (2016), other factors such as convenience, economic status and the perceived unsafety of traditional foods also

account for the low consumption patterns of traditional foods. Traditional foods have protein and sugar but a low intake of unrefined carbohydrates and fibre (Bradshaw *et al.*, 2011:4). This plainly suggests that there has been a low intake of healthy foods in fruits and vegetables in the current arrangements.

In 2013, the South African National Health and Nutrition Examination survey found that 40% of women in South Africa were obese, and also that 25% of women and 19.6% men were overweight (South African National Health and Nutritional Examination survey, 2013). According to the Heart and Stroke Foundation Report (2017), 6.3 million people in South Africa have high blood pressure. The organisation estimates about 130 heart attacks and 240 cases of stroke occur daily in South Africa. The National Kidney Foundation maintains that 60% of kidney failures in South Africa are because of high blood pressure and 20 to 25% due to type 2 diabetes (Drawz & Rahman, 2015).

South Africans currently experience a high rate of non-communicable diseases such as diabetes, high blood pressure, obesity, asthma, cancer and mental illnesses. Unhealthy diet triggers these diseases, especially in combination to the low rate of consumption of fruits and vegetables. There is, therefore, a need to study food consumption patterns in South Africa in order to provide and promote healthy eating patterns to fight against non-communicable diseases. As stated above, the main cause of these diseases is the consumption of Western processed foods, which are high in fat, salt, and unhealthy for the human body compared to indigenous African foods, which are natural, unprocessed and healthy for the human body.

As with South Africa, Kengne *et al.* (2007) observed a similar trend in Cameroon where consumption patterns are increasingly changing, leading to the incidence of nutrition-related conditions such as obesity, diabetes and cardio-vascular diseases. Moreover, the National Institute of Statistics of Cameroon (2003) found high prevalence of infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria, micronutrients and malnutrition deficiency in Cameroon, all of which have increased the rate of mortality in the country.

1.2 BRIEF HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

The Republic of South Africa lies at the Southern tip of Africa. It is one of the most diverse and enchanting countries in the world, sharing boundaries to the South West with Namibia, Botswana in the North East, Zimbabwe in the North and Mozambique in the East. It also

encompasses the independent mountain kingdoms of Lesotho and Swaziland (see Figure 1.1 for the map of the Republic of South Africa). South Africa has 11 official languages that enjoy equitable status with a population of over 58.78 million inhabitants (Statistics South Africa 2019).

According to Tim (2013:11), in 1652, Europeans accidentally landed at the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa. The Dutch immediately established a base where ships travelling to the Far East were refilled with fresh supplies. Later in 1658, the Dutch brought slaves to South Africa. In 1688, the Dutch Colony expanded and, slowly, the native people were driven from their land, and in 1713, natives died from a small pox epidemic. In 1795, the British overran South Africa but handed it back in 1803 to the Dutch, reclaiming it again in 1806. The Boers (Dutch settlers) were not happy with British rule. In 1838, the Boers later landed on two republics away from the British (the Orange Free State and Transvaal). In the 1850s, the British recognised these two Dutch republics. Finally, in October 1899, war broke out between the Boers and the British. The Boers emerged victorious from the war but later in 1900, the British brought in more troops and defeated the Boers.

In 1902, the Boers finally surrendered. The British gained total control of the territory. In 1910, South Africa crafted a constitution and renamed the annexed and conquered space the Union of South Africa. In 1913 and 1936, black Africans were prevented from owning land and not allowed to vote. In 1912, the South African Native National Congress (later the ANC) was founded to fight for the rights of black South Africans and to fight against the apartheid system. In 1948, the National party came to power in South Africa. The party introduced the policy of apartheid, whereby whites and blacks were largely segregated. However, in 1955, blacks, whites, coloured and Indians formed the Congress Alliance. In 1958, the Pan Africanist Congress was formed (PAC). In 1960, both the ANC and PAC decided to demonstrate against the pass laws. After the demonstrations, the government banned the ANC and PAC. In 1963, Nelson Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment.

In 1978, P.W. Botha became Prime Minister and was determined to continue with apartheid but in 1989, he was forced out of office and replaced by Frederik Willem de Klerk. de Klerk pledged to put an end to apartheid and released Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners as well as unbanned political organisations. The first democratic elections were held in April 1994 and in May 1994, Nelson Mandela was elected president of the first Democratic Republic of South Africa. This background history is crucial as it reflects on the

broader context in which foods, their consumption patterns and changes thereof, can be understood in South Africa.



Figure 1.1: Map of the Republic of South Africa, showing geographical location and borders

Source: <http://www.infoplease.com/atlas/country/southafrica.html> (Accessed 12 June 2016).

1.3 BRIEF HISTORY OF CAMEROON

Cameroon is found in Central Africa and is located north of the Gulf of Guinea (Atlantic Ocean). The country is bordered to the west by Nigeria, to the south by Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon and Equatorial Guinea, to the east by the Central African Republic and to the north by Lake Chad (see Figure 1.2 below). The official languages spoken in Cameroon are French and English. The country is commonly referred to as “Africa in miniature” due to its geographical and cultural diversity.

The name Cameroon is derived from a Portuguese word, Cameroes, meaning shrimps. This was as a result of a Portuguese sailor, Ferdinando Poo, who arrived at the Wouri river in Douala in 1472 and discovered so many shrimps in the river that he decided to call it Rio

dos Cameroes, meaning the river of shrimps in Portuguese. This is the origin of the word from which the territory derived its name. The name of the country is spelt differently: the Spanish spells it 'Cameroes', German, 'Kamerun', English 'Cameroon' and French 'Cameroun.'

The Germans colonised the territory in 1884, but after the First World War, Cameroon was mandated by the then League of Nations (today the United Nations) to the French and British Governments. The French took the greater sector, which was formally known as East Cameroon, while the British took responsibility over the former West Cameroon, known then as 'Cameroon under British administration.'

On 1st January 1960, the French sector became independent under its new name, Republic of Cameroon. Following the agitation for independence by the Southern Cameroons, the name was changed to West Cameroon. A plebiscite was held in that sector of Cameroon on 11 February 1961, under the supervision of the United Nations. The result of the plebiscite was overwhelming for reunification (233, 571 against 97,741) and gave Southern Cameroon automatic independence and reunification, which was achieved on 1st October 1961. After the reunification of both sectors, the Federal Republic of Cameroon was born. After a referendum held on 20th May 1972, and by presidential decree in 1984, the country became the United Republic of Cameroon (see Figure 1.2 below for the map of the Republic of Cameroon).

According to Ngole (1996:10), Ahmadou Ahidjo of the Cameroon National Union (CNU) became the first president and ruled until 1982, when he resigned and handed power to Paul Biya, who was then Prime minister and his chosen successor. When Paul Biya took over power in 1984, he renamed the CNU as the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CDPM) or *Rassemblement Démocratique du Peuple Camerounaise* (RDPC), its French abbreviation.

From the background history of both countries, it is clear that both were colonised by different colonial masters. The background history of both countries is important as it allows for a better understanding of the diverse types of foods in both countries. It also allows for a better understanding of how the influence of colonial masters affected



Figure 1.2: Map of the Republic of Cameroon

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Atlas_of_Cameroon (Accessed date 21 September 2019)

different food choices and its impact on the consumption patterns of indigenous foods. The colonial masters (Britain and France) influenced Cameroon cuisine.

The importance of the maps is to provide the reader with a vivid description of the geographical location of the two countries in which the study was conducted.

1.4 STAPLE FOODS IN SOUTH AFRICA

According to Nel and Steyn (2002:4), maize is the most commonly eaten food in South Africa. It was brought to Africa during the colonial era. According to Larry (2000), the origin of corn can be traced back to the Americas. It was first cultivated somewhere in Mexico more than 7 000 years ago and later spread to North and South America. The first corn was developed from wild grasses and crossed high-yielding plants to make hybrids. Corn was used to make many other types of food such as the tamales and hominy by the Native Americans. Corn is today the most widely grown crop in the western hemisphere and is a

staple diet in the USA and Latin America. It is consumed by 78% of the population in South Africa with an average of 848g/person/day. According to the South Africa Demographic and Health Survey, the most commonly consumed foods in South Africa are maize meal porridge, brown bread, full cream fresh milk, white sugar and tea.

1.4.1 Distinction between wedding and funeral foods in South Africa

In South Africa, traditionally, the most common foods prepared during funerals are pap (a starchy-food from maize), cooked meat (beef and poultry), and vegetables (especially cabbage). Black tea is served without milk. Food prepared during funerals is usually not very attractive, often reflecting the sombre mood of the occasion. *Samp*, which is a combination of maize (not refined) and beans, is also prepared and consumed during funerals.

In contrast, food for weddings is brightly colourful, attractive, comprising main courses, salads and desserts. This is consistent with the celebratory mood of the wedding occasion. Meat served is prepared in various forms, including cooked, fried and grilled. *Samp* is not consumed commonly during weddings. Sweets, ice cream and cakes are more common at weddings. The food choices present in an event match that particular social event. Thus, the type of food prepared and served varies with the mood, with funerals considered as grieving occasions while weddings are celebratory events.

1.5 STAPLE FOODS IN CAMEROON

It is difficult to specify the staple foods of the people of Cameroon, simply because of the range and diversity from region to region. Generally, Cameroonian diet is characterised by plain starchy foods consumed with spicy and very hot sauces. Some of the common dishes are fried and roasted fish, and curry meat on skewers peppery soup.

Some of the staple foods eaten in the Northern part of Cameroon are corn, millet and peanuts. In the Southern part of the country, people consume more of root vegetables such as yams, cassava, as well as plantains. In the North and Southern regions, starchy foods are cooked then pounded with a pestle until they form a sticky mass called *fufu*. Fufu is formed into balls and dipped into tasty sauces on the table. Most of the time, the ingredients are made of cassava leaves, okra and tomatoes.

The reason why Cameroon has the most varied cuisine in Africa is its location on the crossroads between the north, west, and centre of the continent. Moreover, the influences of French foods add to the diversity of the dishes. The main source of protein in Cameroon society is fish. Meat is costly and used on special occasions only. The most consumed food in the southern region of Cameroon is *ndole*, made from boiled shredded bitter leaf (a type of green leafy vegetable) with peanuts and melon seeds. It is seasoned with spices and hot vegetable oil and can be cooked with fish or meat. *Bobolo*, made from fermented cassava shaped as a leaf, is also a common food consumed in the south and central regions of the country.

1.5.1 Distinction between foods prepared at funerals and weddings in Cameroon

During funerals in Cameroon, different dishes are consumed such as *achu* with yellow or black soup, boiled corn and groundnuts, *corn fufu* and vegetable known as fufu corn and njama njama, 'corn chaff' (a combination of corn and beans) and a local drink, raffia wine, as well as carbonated drinks.

During weddings, the dishes also vary. The different types of foods prepared are *fufu and eru*, *jellof* rice, roasted and fried chicken, roasted and fried fish, rice and beef stew, snacks, *ndole* and yams, roasted fish and fried plantains, cakes, sweets, red wine, beer and carbonated drinks. Thus, different social events are accompanied by different food choices, just as in South Africa.

1.6 PATTERNS OF FOOD CONSUMPTION PRE-COLONISATION AMONG THE BAROLONG BOO RATSHIDI CLAN AND MANKON ETHNIC GROUP

Schapera (1953:23) indicates that the main crops cultivated within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi ethnic group (Barolong Boo Ratshidi is an ethnic group found in Mahikeng North West Province) are sorghum, vulgare, maize, millet, sweet cane, earthnuts, beans and cucurbits. This ethnic group is located in Montshioa Stadt village on the Southwestern side of Mafikeng town and the Western side of Barolong traditional council offices. Schapera

maintains that during the pre-colonial period, the staple foods consumed within the Barolong clan were “kaffir”-corn porridge, and milk from domestic animals. These animals were hardly slaughtered, as they constituted the property of wealthy owners. When slaughtered, it was only during ceremonial occasions. Meat obtained through hunting was the common dish. Not all homes could consume meat as it was regarded as a luxury. Some exotic foods and vegetables (such as watermelons, green herbs, beans and groundnuts) were also grown and consumed in season. Schapera further states that during colonisation, the “kaffir” corn was converted into a mild and much relished beer, mostly consumed during the festive season. However, many Christian churches forbade their members from consuming this brew. European liquor such as brandy was distributed and became somewhat famous in the early days of contact. Later, *kgadi*, a fermented honey beer often blended with syrup, became quite widespread.

According to Che (2011:26), the staple foods consumed by the people of Mankon (Mankon is an ethnic group in Bamenda town, North West Region of Cameroon) were maize, groundnuts, yams, beans, local carrot, cassava, sweet potatoes, ‘egusi’ and vegetables. This ethnic group is located at the heart of Bamenda City Council, Mezam Division. Meat was obtained from the forest through hunting of animals such as the deer, antelope, monkey, fox and cane rats. Fish was also consumed, obtained by women from the Mezam River confluence.

1.7 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Namrata (2014:254) posits that in most modern societies, globalisation has been a great threat to the existence of local national languages, cultural practices, and ways of dressing, among others. This is due to the voluntary and non-voluntary assimilation of modern ways of life. This, in effect, interferes with traditional practices, leading to abandonment of some cultural practices.

Most indigenous communities have been dramatically affected by westernisation as part of the globalisation phenomenon in terms of the clothes they wear and the language they speak; lifestyles have changed, including the consumption patterns of indigenous foods as values and meanings are no longer ascribed to indigenous foods as was the case in the past. As a result, indigenous lifestyles are gradually disappearing under the siege of modernity. Frison (2007), posited that developing countries have a tendency to marginalise

traditional foods and diets. This stigmatisation has led to a decline in the consumption of indigenous foods. South Africa and Cameroon are currently experiencing a high rate of non-communicable diseases such as diabetes, high blood pressure, obesity and cancer. These diseases are attributed to unhealthy diets under the influences of globalisation which has seen growth in fast foods outlets and the resultant consumption of foods that are of poor quality. The study, therefore, focuses on two indigenous communities: Barolong Boo Ratshidi in South Africa and the Mankon community in Cameroon where food consumption patterns have changed. The values and meanings attached to the consumption of indigenous foods, causes and effects of the shift, as well as strategies to address the impact of the change in food choices in these communities are examined and discussed.

1.8 AIM OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study is to examine food consumption patterns during pre- and post-colonial periods in South Africa and Cameroon, the shift and reasons for the shift in the patterns, and the effects thereof within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community and Mankon community in South Africa and Cameroon respectively.

1.8.1 Objectives of the study

The objectives of the study were designed to:

- Examine the meanings attached to the consumption of food among members of the Barolong Boo Ratshidi clan and Mankon ethnic group in South Africa and Cameroon;
- Identify the staple foods of both Barolong Boo Ratshidi clan in South Africa and the Mankon ethnic group in Cameroon; and
- Examine shifts and their causal factors in food consumption patterns in both the Barolong Boo Ratshidi and Mankon communities?

1.9 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main research questions asked in this study were as follows:

- What are the meanings attached to food consumption in both Barolong Boo Ratshidi and Mankon communities in South Africa and Cameroon?

- What are the staple foods within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi and Mankon ethnic groups and
- What are the shifts, if any, in food consumption patterns in both the Barolong Boo Ratshidi and Mankon communities? What are the causes of such shift and their effects?

1.10 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

The study focuses on the importance of preserving African culture within communities. It provides different strategies on how to sustain and preserve local cuisine and traditions. The study could influence future strategies and policies meant to promote healthy eating habits and consumption of indigenous food. This study strives to provide new insights into the socio-cultural values of food in the two selected communities. By so doing, findings emanating from this study contribute to the knowledge archive on the development, production, distribution and consumption of food items and their peculiarities in the communities resident in the two countries under review.

The study examines and evaluates the effects of globalisation on the consumption of indigenous foods to verify the negative or positive effects. It explains and discusses the reasons for the shift in consumption patterns of indigenous foods and the effects on communities.

1.11 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study operationalises sociological theories to provide an informed understanding of the phenomenon under discussion. Specific focus is on the following theories: sociological theory on food choice and sociological theories explaining the meaning of food. These theories are discussed in detail in subsequent chapters.

1.12 PRELIMINARY LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review in every research puts the research project into context by showing how it fits into a particular field. It also determines the worthiness of the topic and offers insights into ways in which the researcher defines the scope of inquiry. Creswell (2009:250)

provides the importance of reviewing other studies. He maintains that a literature review shares the results of other studies that are closely related to the current one. It also relates the study to larger, ongoing dialogues in the literature, filling in gaps and extending prior studies. Literature review also “provides a framework for establishing the importance of the study as a benchmark for comparing the results with other findings” (Creswell, 2009:250).

The literature review in this study focuses on theories related to primary and secondary sources pertinent in understanding the food consumption patterns both in South Africa and Cameroon, the reasons for the shift in consumption patterns and the effects on the community. The literature ascertains that South Africans and Cameroonians have both shifted in their food consumption patterns. The following themes are discussed in the literature review chapter: factors that influence change in food consumption patterns; food and status; food and culture, food and globalisation; food and ethnicity; food and gender; food consumption patterns in both Cameroon and South Africa; and food as a symbol. These are discussed in detail in Chapter Three on literature review.

1.13 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This enquiry used a literature review, a theoretical framework, an empirical investigation following a qualitative approach supported by a minor component of quantitative research approach to address the closed-ended items of the interview guide.

Rebeck *et al.* (2001:3) define research methodology as “a set of procedures that can be followed for achieving an objective.” The objective is to observe and explore food consumption patterns in a bid to clarify possible causes and effects. Using a qualitative approach to inquiry, the researcher examined the sociology of food consumption in Cameroon and South Africa. Mafikeng and Mankon constitute the research sites of this study, while the Barolong Boo Ratshidi clan in South Africa and the Mankon ethnic group in Cameroon constitute the selected populations for the study. The rationale for choosing the Barolong Boo Ratshidi ethnic group in South Africa was because of the size of its population. It is one of the biggest clans in Mafikeng that falls within the broader Batswana ethnic community in South Africa. It has a population of 172 456 (one hundred and seventy-two thousand four hundred and fifty-six) inhabitants (Statistics South Africa, 2011).

A qualitative research approach was adopted since the research sought to examine the patterns of food consumption and reasons for the shift in the consumption patterns of

indigenous foods. The procedure involved collecting information qualitatively among members of the Barolong clan and Mankon ethnic group in South Africa and Cameroon respectively. A non-probability sampling technique was used for the study with a stratified purposeful sampling used to select participants. Patton (2001:105) defines stratified purposeful sampling as 'samples within samples.' The sample size for the study was 53 participants (25 from Cameroon, Mankon community and 28 from South Africa, Barolong Boo Ratshidi, Montshioa Village). An interview guide was used to achieve what Holstein and Gubrium (2003) describe as getting access to people's ideas, thoughts and memories in their own words. A semi-structured, open-ended face-to-face interview guide was used to collect data from participants in both communities. A tape recorder was used to record the interviews, which were later transcribed. Prior to the interviews, an interview protocol was designed to assist the researcher in conducting the interview.

1.14 DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study is limited to the Barolong Boo Ratshidi clan and the Mankon ethnic group in South Africa and Cameroon, and therefore care was taken to avoid over generalisation of findings. However, Barolong Boo Ratshidi is part of the broader Batswana ethnic group. Thus, food consumption patterns within this community might necessarily reflect the consumption patterns of other Batswana ethnic groups.

1.14.1 Limitations and justification of the study

The researcher travelled extensively in order to collect data and this had huge financial implications. Financial constraints delayed the completion of the study. However, in order to overcome this limitation, the researcher requested and obtained financial assistance from the North-West University bursary fund.

Another constraint was the scarcity of information-rich participants during data collection that delayed the completion of the study. To overcome this limitation, the email addresses and phone numbers of interviewees were requested and used to follow-up on interviews.

The first process of analysing data was through reading responses of participants to the interview questions. This gave the researcher a general sense of information and reflection on the overall meaning of the data. The researcher read the interview questions to find out

what answers participants submitted, writing notes on margins and recording the general patterns emerging from the data. After reading through the responses, the data was coded according to identified themes. Themes that relate to each were grouped and arranged according to major topics. A detailed description of each case and setting was analysed for evidence, conclusion and evolution of the case.

1.15 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

Indigenous people refer to cultural group in a particular ecological area that developed a successful subsistence base from the natural resources available.

Consumption patterns refers to particular eating habits and their change.

Indigenous food refers to any food obtained from the natural environment and has been included in the cultural food patterns of a group of indigenous food. It is also passed on from one generation to another and is prepared in a specific manner.

Food consumption patterns refer to the intake of specific food items and their combinations in dishes and meals.

Food consumption refers to substances that are taken in, to produce energy, stimulate growth and maintain life.

Western convenient food refers to foods that include pizzas, salty snacks, sweets, packaged or frozen food, take aways and out of home food consumption.

GMO refers to Genetically Modified Organisms.

Globalisation refers to the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life, from cultural to criminal, the financial to spiritual'.

1.16 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The study is divided into chapters as a conventional practice with thesis writing. Chapter One focuses on the background and introduction, statement of the problem, research questions, aim and objectives of the study, significance of the study, research methodology, delimitation of the study and limitations of the study. Chapter Two focuses on the theoretical

framework that informed the study, Chapter Three focuses on the literature review, while Chapter Four focuses on research methodology adopted. Chapter Five is the presentation of findings, while Chapter six focus on the analysis of the data. The final Chapter Seven provides the conclusion, recommendations of the study, and areas for further research.

1.17 SUMMARY

This chapter discussed and amplified in a summarised form, the statement of the problem, aim, objectives, research questions, rationale for the study, theoretical framework, literature review, research methodology, delimitation and structure of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Any research study, and especially sociological and social scientific study, is never complete without a theoretical framework. The purpose of a theoretical framework is to lay the foundation of the study for an informed understanding of issues raised in the study. Sociological theories discussed below do not only assist with providing insights on the existing theoretical views on the subject under examination, but also provide analytical framework for later analysis of the data collected and the findings derivative from this study. While there are numerous theories of relevance to the study of food and consumption patterns and indeed social behaviour, only three highly relevant theories have been chosen for the current study as they help in responding to the key questions of the study and addressing its key objectives. These are the sociological theories of the meaning of food, the food choice theory and the values theory on food choice.

2.2 SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF FOOD AND ITS CONSUMPTION

2.2.1 The Meaning of Food

Perhaps the best theory that explains the meaning of food is structuralism as articulated by Douglas (1984) according to whom food could be treated as a code. The coded message, most of the time, is about social events, identity and social relations that speak to exclusion, inclusion, boundaries and transactions across boundaries. Particular types of food carry a particular message which often represents particular social events. Douglas focuses on the

conceptualisation of particular meals, the preparation process and finally, the consumption of the food. The repetition of similar ingredients and the structured serving and positioning of both food and people enable the expression and experiencing of community membership within specified social relationships. Douglas argues that the social analysis of food behaviour must be a 'bottom-up' rather than a 'top-down' practice. With the 'bottom-up' approach, the analysis of food should begin with the conceptualisation stage on how food is prepared, the ingredients used and how the food is socially packaged, structured and presented, and finally how it is consumed.

Similar to Douglas, Barthes (1979) introduced another aspect to the meaning of food by arguing that the position within structuralism comes from the assertion that an item of food constitutes an item of information. He argues that many food choices have cultural connotations and symbolism to those who consume them. This implies that a particular food carries information that it transmits in order to represent a particular event. Most of the time, a particular food has cultural significance, especially to those who come from the same cultural background. However, not all varieties of foodstuffs are necessarily significant at a collective social level. There are others which are only significant at a personal level. He also argues that not all foods have significance to those who consume them. Most indigenous foods, however, do have cultural meanings attached to them. This theory addresses one of the objectives of the study, which is to understand the cultural meanings of food and consumption patterns thereof.

2.2.2 Sociological Theory on Food Choice

Kjaernes and Holm (2007) argue that in the area of food and practices, attention is directed at menu planning, food preparation and good conduct in different social contexts. Warde (1997:191) points out that the increasing selection of goods on offer in supermarkets reflects a substitution between modes of provisioning from home to the market. Lien (1997) concurs with Warde by maintaining that increasing varieties may be responsible for changes in food production and consumption patterns.

Zukin and Maguire (2004) state that a change in food consumption patterns is socially constructed through industry-fostered changes in cultural modes and strategic planning and marketing. Jansen (1984) identifies three modes of relation between production and

consumption. The first is the assumption within neoclassical economies of the sovereign consumer, the second is the critique from political economy and the third is the critical theory of dominance on the sphere of production or reproduction. The third mode provides a balance between production and consumption, which explains that the state has to create this balance between production while protecting the consumer. In addition, Warde in his book entitled *Consumption, food and taste* suggests four theses for the changes in food consumption patterns. Firstly, he states that people have, unlike in the past, more freedom to choose the food they consume, but are not sure of what to eat. Changes in technology mean that people are no longer restricted to the seasons and harvests, which affect different types of food production and their availability. There are varieties of foods to choose from and improvements in technology, all of which have contributed to the change in food consumption patterns.

The second thesis is the influence of the mass-producing society. Mass production has moulded and shaped food habits. Large corporations influence taste and have great control over food choices. Individual markets tend to dominate particular industrial markets, for example, big brands such as McDonald's and Coca-Cola target customers en masse. McDonaldisation, referring to McDonald's food as accessed and made available through its network of food outlets, explains mass production and supply where customers experience same look, same service, same products and same taste. This leads to the development of cultural similarities in terms of taste.

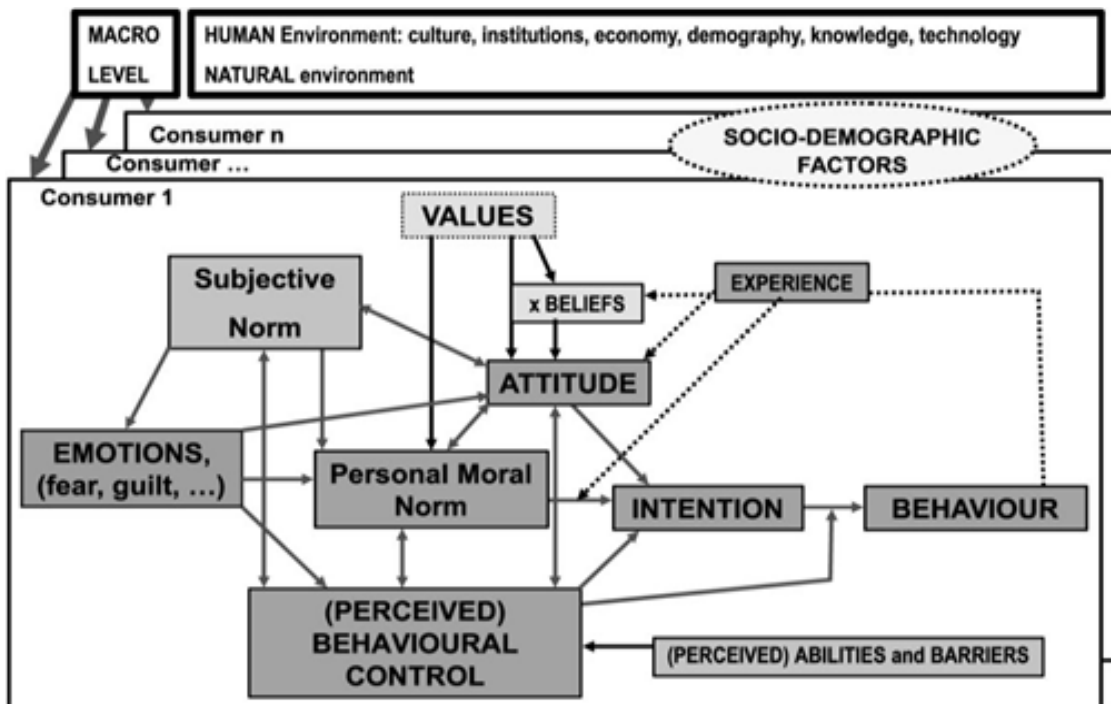
The third thesis, and closely connected to the above, is the post-fordist view on consumption. All commodities are consumer-oriented. If the consumer's expenditure increases, it means that the goods supplied should be of high quality. The profit that a company generates is bound to increase when they produce just the right product for their target population. As long as there is a suitable product for consumers, there is bound to be more purchase of the product, thus leading to more income. Companies provide products to accommodate different cultures with distinct tastes. Customers are interested in buying food that serves their interests and their local traditions. Businesses increase their profits by producing just the right product for consumers.

Finally, Ward argues that a change in food consumption patterns is driven by class differences. Warde uses Bourdieu's (1984) concept of stratification to explain this shift. Stratification expresses distinction and has a social meaning. Food consumption has

created a significant distinction between classes. In comparing the eating habits of manual workers and white-collar workers, Bourdieu observed that white-collar workers gave much attention to the maintenance of their bodies and slimness while manual workers did not care much about how big their waistline was growing. Beardsworth (1997: 119) supports this view by maintaining that eating out is an expression of individuality, choice, and that people select restaurants that cater for class and status, which customers value and desire. These four reasons are justifications for a change in food choices or habits. This theory is relevant in explaining the reasons for a change in food choices and consumption habits. It addresses the third research objective of the study.

2.2.3 Values Theory and Food Choice

Rokeach (1973) and Schwartz (1992) applied the value theory for a better understanding of the consumption of organic food. Schwartz (1992) defines value as “a desirable trans-situational goal varying in importance, which serves as a guiding principle in life.” Schwartz (1992) maintains the theory is often used to study the link between values and consumer behaviour. Krystallise *et al.* (2008) argue that values are understood as stable constructs serving as predictors of behaviour over extended periods. Gutman (1982) and Costa *et al.* (2004) outline techniques to link the choice of certain products that are the means, with product attributes and values (ends). De Boer *et al.* (2006) argue that the indirect impact of values may operate through specific combinations of involvement attitudes. This is relevant to food choices where strong habits and preferences may create favoured combinations of use situations, meals, products and ingredients. The theory is closely linked to the adapted Theory of Planned Behaviour model (TPB model as represented in Figure 2.1 below), which explains the role of values, beliefs, personal norms, emotions, experiences in food choices and food habits. This theory addresses both the first and the last objectives of the study.



Source: Adapted TPB-model based on the literature related to organic food consumption

Figure 2.1

Figure: 2.1 Values theory

Source: Ajzen (1991:179)

2.2.4 Summary

Theories are formulated to explain, predict and understand social phenomena such as the one under investigation in this study. In this chapter sociological theories were discussed in a summarised form to help in understanding food meaning, choices, and consumption habits and patterns. The structuralist perspective argues that food can be seen as a coded message which carries messages and information to its consumption. Changes in industries such as changes in technology and the resultant increase in food varieties, the influence of social class identity and status, and social values, beliefs, social norms; are some of the factors contributing to the change in food consumption patterns. This is discussed further in the analysis chapter. The next chapter presents literature of relevance to the question investigated in this study.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 INTRODUCTION

While Chapter two presented the theoretical framework underpinning this study, the present chapter focuses on the relevant literature so as to familiarise oneself with what has been researched and established previously by other scholars. Evidently, there is literature available on the sociology of food consumption throughout the world, but very little is available on Africa. Hence the present study seeks to contribute to this dearth of research in Africa. The chapter's approach to literature review begins with the review of literature on definition of food and global trends in food consumption patterns and their changes. This is done thematically by examining subthemes such as factors that influence changes in consumption patterns, the importance and/or meanings attached to food, the relationship between food and social status, and food and ethnicity. This is then followed by a brief review of literature on food and consumption patterns in both South Africa and Cameroon and a concluding summary.

3.2 DEFINITIONS OF FOOD

Barthes (1979:166-173) defines food as not only a collection of products which can be used for nutritional studies, but as a system of communication, a body of images, a protocol of usages and behaviours. Food extends far beyond nutrients, calories and minerals. People use food to 'speak' with one another, establish rules of behaviour (protocols) and to affirm in as much as negotiate one's identity. Barthes describes food from the sociological perspective, discussing the importance of food in relation to the individual and the society.

Dorland (2003) defines food as ‘anything which when taken into the body, serves to nourish or build up the tissues or supply body heat.’ Bender (2006) states that foods are substances taken in by the mouth, which maintain life and growth, supply energy to the body, build and repair tissues. Brian and Allan (1995:2-3) define food as any substance absorbed by the body, and produces energy and promotes the growth and repair of tissues to regulate these processes. As evident here, these various definitions of food entail several perspectives such as sociology, science, health and nutritional domains as they define food in terms of both its social and physical significances.

3.3 FOOD CONSUMPTION PATTERNS: GLOBAL TRENDS

Non-communicable diseases (NCD) are a threat and a burden to most countries in the world. A multi sector approach is needed to fight non-communicable diseases. There has been a global dietary change that has included shifts in the structure of the diet towards higher energy diet with an increase in the intake of fats from animal sources. Drewnowski (1997) states that there is a reduction in the intake of carbohydrates dietary fibre, and reduced fruit and vegetable intake. Ferro (1996) adds that dietary changes are compounded by lifestyle changes that reflect reduced physical activity at work and during leisure time. Dietary changes also come because of a rise in levels of income, prices, individual preferences, and beliefs, cultural traditions, geographical, environmental, social and economic factors, which all interact in a complex manner to shape dietary consumption patterns. In addition, Bruinsma (2003) posits that globally, there has been a significant structural change and shift in diet away from staples such as roots and tubers towards more animal products and vegetable oils.

The Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO, 2003), Grigg (1995) and Popkin (2002) affirm that worldwide, there is a nutrition transition taking place where people are constantly shifting and moving towards more affluent food consumption patterns. Lang (2002) maintains globalisation of nutrition includes a shift from local markets towards global trade in commodities and processes and, as such, people and ideas spread over the world thus changes in food consumption patterns. A change in food consumption patterns, as postulated by Grigg (1995) and Popkin (2006), is also attributed to globalisation which has resulted in the movement of not only goods but also foods all over the world.

Fogel and Helmchen (2002) add that apart from globalisation, which has led to a change in food consumption patterns, other factors also contribute to this shift. Food consumption patterns can be defined as the intake of specific food items and their combination in dishes and meals. Such patterns present differences, which are mainly due to the availability and accessibility of commodities. Maddison (2003) posits that the nutrition as practice and pattern began in developed countries 300 years ago. Europe has shown a continuous economic growth in the last Millennium (between 1700 and 2000). For example, the per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in France increased from 900 to 21 000, Italy, Greece, Spain and Portugal showed a three-to-four-fold increase of per capita GDP. These periods were accompanied by great changes in food consumption patterns (Jobse-van Putten, 1995; FAO, 2010; Fogel and Helmchen, 2002). The authors also state that in the Western world, technological developments in agriculture, together with transportation and food conservation which began at the end of the 19th century, stimulated the expansion of the food industry and food preparation, causing a shift from households in industry thereby leading to nutrition transition. Gerbens-Leenes and Nonhebel (2002) state that the “repeated arrangements of consumption, characterised by types and quantities of food items and their combination in dishes and meals, are termed food consumption patterns.”

FAO (2010), Voedingscentrum (1998) and Whitney and Rolfes (1999) maintain there are four dominant components in food as follows: water, carbohydrates, fats and proteins while Penning de Vries *et al.* (1995) argue that there are four categories of food: Starchy staples (comprising of food types that mainly provide carbohydrates with few proteins); Protein rich crops that provide proteins as well as carbohydrates; Oil crops which provide plant-based fats for the production of oil and carbohydrates, proteins for feed; and animal food that provides high quality proteins and fats (Whitney and Rolfes, 1999).

Consumption changes can lead to a shift in the macronutrient composition of food consumption patterns, including a need for different commodities. Macronutrients such as fats, carbohydrates and proteins are essential to the human body as they provide energy needed for the functioning of the body. These macronutrients' composition in different foods also lead to differences in food consumption patterns. Camire (2001:190) posits that nutritional factors are responsible for a change in food consumption patterns in the USA. The reasons for the change in food habits are related to the increased awareness that diet can be linked to some leading causes of death such as heart diseases, cancer, diabetes as

well as other health conditions such as osteoporosis, diverticulosis and obesity (Onyenekwe et al., 1995:125 and the US Department of Agriculture and Health, 2005). The shifts are not only in developed countries as developing countries have also experienced this shift in nutritional patterns. Globalisation is also one of the main reasons for this nutritional shift. Frison et al. (2004) attributes shifts in nutritional patterns to women and their changing roles, arguing that the absence of women (working away from homes) has influenced the consumption of convenience food thus replacing traditional or indigenous food. They argue that the changing roles in today's world have seen women preferring less time-consuming, semi-processed food than traditional food that requires longer cooking times. This has resulted in the marginalisation of traditional foods that require longer processing times (Frison et al. 2004).

Indigenous food has been associated with low incidence of chronic degenerative diseases. A dietary assessment obtained from studies conducted between 1975 and 1996 verifies that indigenous food is based mainly on harvested products from the fields and collected from wild bushes. Indigenous food has cultural significance and promotes healthy eating habits. Though other factors significantly contribute to a shift in nutrition (globally) to convenient forms of food, the nature of indigenous food has itself contributed to its abandonment as noted by Frison et al. (2004). This is because it is tedious and time-consuming compared to fast and convenient food, which is easier to prepare.

3.4 FACTORS INFLUENCING CHANGE IN FOOD CONSUMPTION PATTERNS

Amongst the factors influencing change in food consumption patterns are consumers' preference of higher quality goods and of more convenient types of foods; diversification of the menu; and an increase in health consciousness (Tokoyama, 1993). As one study conducted in Japan confirmed, "food consumption in Japan has gone through tremendous changes, both in quantitative and qualitative terms, since the end of the Second World War" (Tokoyama, 1993: 82). For several years following the War, the level of food consumption was only enough to satisfy minimal nutritive requirements. During the period of rapid economic growth in the 1960s and 1970s, however, remarkable shifts from starch to protein foods took place due to the rise in per capita income. Among protein foods, fish meats were

replaced with animal meats, dairy products and eggs. These changes are usually referred to as the westernisation of food consumption patterns (Tokoyama, 1993).

There was a shift in the 1960s and 1970s in the consumption patterns in Japan towards food of higher unit prices within the same item. An example is the shift from low quality and low-price rice distribution by the government food agency to high quality and high price foods distributed by commercial traders. To add more, a shift in convenient types of food is induced by the rise in opportunity cost of home-cooking labour (Tokoyama, 1993). People prefer to consume food which will take less time to prepare. Fish and vegetables, which are normally boiled, have been replaced with *sashimi* and salad vegetables. Furthermore, the substitution of household cooking by commercial cooking and a rise in income levels are also factors that have contributed towards a shift in consumption patterns. A rise in income enables one to purchase high quality goods, which one needs or simply desires. Thus, the main shift is due to the rise in per capita income and westernisation influences. In support of Tokoyama in Japan, Goyan (2008: 20) maintains that convenience is also a major concern, contributing to an individual's food choices, especially by those in urban areas. For example, in societies where people often work far from home, lunch is taken with fellow employees who could prefer a fast meal convenient to them. Convenience increases the number of take-out foods and meals purchased at restaurants. Take-out foods do not only mean the purchase of food from restaurants and fast-food franchises, but also includes ready-made hot or cold dishes from supermarkets and warehouse stores. Also included in take-outs are prepared ingredients ready for assembled dishes such as lasagna, chicken, casserole, which all allow the preparation of a meal to take place smoothly without cleaning or shopping. The view about the trend towards preference for convenient foods is affirmed in the South African cases by Rouquest et al. (2014).

In Cameroon, Dapi brings out the difference in food consumption patterns in rural and urban areas. Due to the busy schedule and the nature of jobs in urban areas, inhabitants in such areas do not have the time to prepare home cooked meals unlike those in rural settings. This is due to globalisation which has led to a decrease in home cooked meals which are healthier compared to convenient types of food. Mennell et al. (1992) state that patterns of food consumption vary with key variables such as social class, age and gender. Maff (2001). Gregory et al. (1990) argue that those with higher income levels consume a variety of foodstuff, which are in accordance with nutritionally approved customs of the day than with

low-income status. This is in line with Jenkins (1991) who maintains that income has a great role to play in food choices, an indication why higher income earners are able to purchase healthy and nutritional food because they have the means to afford. Consumption of fruits has been recommended for the maintenance of good health. However, this is evident in only among high-income earners, while food with higher amounts of animal fat is more likely to be recorded among lower socio-economic groups.

Diversification also plays a role in changes in food consumption patterns. The need for diversification in the meals people consume leads to a change in consumption patterns. This occurs with a rise in income levels, change in the relative price of food, consumers' preferences, in new products and the entry of new products into the market as well as other changes on the supply side. These are divided into three categories as follows: first, a shift from large consumption of few items to small quantity consumption of many items or foods; second, the entry of new types of foods. The fact that food industries offer a variety of foods through the production of new products also provides consumers with diversity in their food choices. A third category is product determination. Most choices of food consumed are determined by their health benefits. Consumers would want to know what nutrients they will obtain by consuming a particular food and would want to understand the nutritional value of a particular food before its consumption. Diseases such as obesity, bulimia nervosa and eating disorders have been linked to the consumption of food. Once one has become health conscious, there is bound to be a change towards the consumption of very nutritive food. It is very true that there are many factors which influence a change in consumption patterns, but the most important is the economic status of the individual. This is because most of the time, high quality foods are expensive, and thus without the income, it is difficult to purchase the food one desires.

Food labels also influence people's food choices (Badham, 2004:17; Silayoi and Speece, 2004: 619; Dimara and Skuras, 2005: 92). Food labels affect the choices consumers make towards the purchase of a particular product. Jooste (2002:7) posits that nowadays, consumers are very much interested in the labels of packaged food products before making informed choices. Furthermore, this has been a concern in the past years because of the increase in food product information. Such changes have been compelled by technological advances such as genetically modified foods which people often find difficult to assess (Silayoi and Speece, 2004:607; Teisi *et al.*, 2008:447). Moreover, some consumers are

concerned about their health situations and food safety, their families as well as the impact on the environment (De Magistris and Gracia, 2008:942). As a result, these food products influence decision-making where consumers use these food labels to evaluate and intentionally select products which meet certain criteria (Schiffman and Kanuk, 2010:110). However, in as much as food labels influence consumers on a particular food choice, sometimes the labels might be misleading. A label might state the content of the food product to be beef, for example, while in fact, the content of the product is chicken. Furthermore, not only could the information be misleading, but the expiry dates of the products could also be very deceptive as asserted by Megan (2016). Megan blames this on food companies.

When consumers make their food choices, they do not consume the product based on sensory characteristics such as taste and smell (Kole *et al.*, 2009:187) but rather on cues such as information on labels, especially if they are purchasing the product for the very first time (Peters-Texeira and Badrie, 2005:511). This is an indication that a product is consumed based on the information provided about a product. Contrary to Kole who states that taste and smell do not influence food choices, Amy (2008:1) affirms that sensory criteria such as looks, smell, taste and even sounds do have influence on choice. Sight is also important in food choices as the eyes receive the first impression of foods. This might be the shapes, colours, consistency, serving size and the presence of any outward defects. The colour palette of foods on a plate also influences or detracts from their appeal. Odour is also another factor which influences a change in food consumption patterns.

Often, when people evaluate food items for quality and desirability, the odour of the food is also taken into consideration. Taste also has an influence in food choices. Drewnowski (1997) states that taste buds are located primarily on the tongue, but are also found on the mouth palates and in the pharynx. Taste buds are not found on the flat, central surface of the tongue, but rather on the tongue's underside, sides and tip. The sense of touch, whether it operates inside the mouth or through the fingers, conveys to us a food texture, which can be due to astringency, consistency and temperature. Amy (2008:5) posits that sound associated with food can help determine the quality of food, which will in turn influence the consumption of a particular food in time. For example, tapping a melon will determine if it is ripe or not. If ripe, the sound produced will be sizzling, crunching, popping, swirling, squeaking and dripping (exploring these sounds most of the time are affected by water content and the characteristics determine the freshness of the food). Kole and Amy share

different views regarding food labels and sensory characteristics as factors influencing food consumption. While Kole states that sensory characteristics do not influence one's food choices but food label on the products, Army maintains sensory characteristics influence food choices; not only taste and smell but the odour and sound also influence food choices.

Shanthini (2016) postulates that the presentation of food also affects the choice of consumption and its pattern. She argues that food in a bowl is more presentable, tasteful, healthier and nutritional than food presented on a plate. Food bowls also contribute in the consumption of healthy food because it is easier and quick to put a dish together. The healthy toppings and combinations are endless. In addition, she defines the particular bowl for the presentation of a particular food, and maintains that not any bowl should be used in the presentation of the food but the type of bowl the food is presented in also matters. For example, yoghurt was sampled from a heavy bowl and rated as being 13% more intense, 25% more expensive than the same yoghurt served in a light bowl. The importance of serving food in a bowl is that everything tastes better and it enhances flavour, perception and increases feelings of satiety. It is important to note that the sensory characteristics, sound, presentation of food, especially in a bowl, has a role to play in food choices.

Food consumption patterns are also conditioned by social, cultural and economic factors rather than individual preferences. Jenkins (1991:72) maintains food choices are greatly influenced by economic status. The choice of food consumed is based on the amount of wealth one has. The poor tend to pay more on food. This is due to the amount of product they can afford to buy. It is expensive to purchase small sales as opposed to bulk sales. Most often, poor people are aware of healthy food, which is good for them but cannot afford to buy. Thus, financial constraints play a big role in food consumption patterns. If one does not have the income to buy the type of food one desires, then one is bound to consume what one can purchase with the income one has. Tokoyama (1993) and Jenkins (1991) state that income level is the main factor which influences food choices and consumption patterns.

This point is reiterated by Harriet and Olivier (1996:6) according to whom education and media also exert influence on food choices. Irala-Esteve *et al.* (2000), Roux *et al.* (2000) and Trichopoulou *et al.* (2002) examined food consumption patterns from the point of view of education. They argue that research has proved that people with high income and education levels are identified with a very low consumption intake of fats, foods with high fibre content and vegetables. This is because they have the means and are very

knowledgeable of the nutritional value of food. On the other hand, low-income earners and people with low levels of education are associated with high energy intake. This could be attributed to a challenge in terms of purchasing good nutritional food because of their income levels. Moorman and Matulich (1993), Divine and Lepisto (2005) and Chrysochou *et al.* (2010) concur with the fact that education plays a role in food consumption patterns and that a good level of education stimulates information acquisition behaviours, involvement with healthy foods and the preference for natural and light foods, which will later go to encourage health-oriented behaviours.

Closey linked to the issue of income levels is that of status and prestige. Particular foods are ascribed high status and confer this status on the eater. Other types of food are regarded as high status because of the class of people who normally consume them. Twigg (1983) states that in the Western world, animal products and high fatty foods such as creamy cheese and rich desserts are considered high-status food. The next category of food is vegetables, which is regarded as an adjunct to the main meal. Most often, these high-status foods are consumed during holidays, special events or other celebrations. In addition, these high-status foods are scarce, expensive, difficult and time-consuming to prepare (Fieldhouse, 1995).

Furthermore, Mfarnon (2014) maintains that in Tudor England in the sixteenth century, everything from the number of dishes served to the ways in which food was shared was dictated by status. The person's social status determined the kind of food consumed. For example, labourers would not afford more than pottage. Labourers could eat as much as their budget could allow while the rich ate the same pottage and instead of a cabbage soup, took barley or oats, accompanied by a sniff of bacon or sometimes, almonds ginger and saffron as well as wine. The social status speaks to a person's financial status (the ability to afford). Food choices made by the rich are different compared to choices made by the poor. The greatest difference is in their income levels. The fact that a person is of a particular social status and wants to maintain that status in society explains why a person consumes products that cannot normally be consumed by all in the society. Food and status go together with income level. This is in accordance with Tokoyama (1993) and Jenkins (1991) as discussed above. These authors maintain that income level influences food choices and a change in food consumption patterns. For instance, champagne and caviar imply wealth,

mesquite-grilled foods and goat cheese suggest upward mobility while beans or potatoes are traditionally associated with the poor.

Eating with someone signifies social equality with the person. Not every scenario of sharing a meal with someone implies social equality; in some cases it demonstrates inequality. In order to show their social status in society, men may eat separately from women and children or servants may eat in the kitchen away from employers. In India, the social castes did not traditionally dine together nor were people of higher castes permitted to eat food prepared by someone of a lower caste. Class segregation also took place in USA restaurants that excluded blacks before the Civil Rights Legislation of the 1960s. In addition, not only in the USA were there class segregations in restaurants but also in South Africa during apartheid, where blacks were excluded from entering certain restaurants and prevented from consuming particular foods in such restaurants (considered as high-status places reserved for the white). Thus, whites, considered high status in society, could not dine and consume the same type of food as blacks, considered of lower class in the society.

Blaxter (1990) and Barker *et al.* (1988) in Finland, Prattalla and Helminen (1990) in Switzerland, Gex-Fabry *et al.* (1988) in France, Grignon and Grignon (1981) and Fiddes (2004) in the Netherlands maintain that middle classes are more likely to be vegetarians. Calnan and Cant (1990) reports that working class households in Britain consume a high percentage of tinned and frozen food than fresh vegetables. They also consume white bread, white flour, full fat milk and more sugar compared to people in the middle class.

According to Bourdieu (1984), food is a means of expressing 'distinction', that is, 'distinction' in terms of social class. All the different classes consume different food items. Bennion (1990) posits that certain foods are regarded as food that bequeath status and class. For example, beef steak in the US is high status food, while polished rice has a higher status over brown rice in some countries. In the southern parts of the United States, particular food types eaten by blacks (collards, turnip, greens and fat pork), were not consumed by whites. Webb (1995:33) affirms this observation that particular food types are regarded as high-status food. Expensive and exotic foods demonstrate one's wealth, status and class. When an expensive meal is served, it demonstrates esteem for guests. A person's social status defines a person's personality in society. What a person eats and the place for such consumption brings out specific social status and class in society. Sometimes, an unusual food could express a person's individuality. For example, when an important guest visits a

household, the food choices differ from the daily routines consumed in the household. The food choices actually bespeak the personality, the social status and class of the visitor in that particular household.

Casini (2013) identifies five different types of consumption patterns as follows: traditional consumers; convenience food consumers; red meat consumers; out-of-home consumers; and healthy consumers. Traditional consumers are attributed with a balanced diet. Mostly families exhibit this pattern of food consumption consumers with children. In this category, fruits and vegetables are mostly consumed with a decrease in the consumption of red meat. Convenience food consumers are characterised with higher spending outside of the home compared to the traditional group. Majority of convenience food consumers are couples without children and with middle high income and educational levels. Red meat consumers are mostly low income earners with low educational levels. Out-of-home consumers are characterised with the habit of consuming food in restaurants, bars and cafeterias. Unmarried people and couples without children are associated with this consumption habit. They are high-income earners and have middle or high level of education. Healthier consumers are those with high consumption patterns of fruits and vegetables, bread and grains. There is also a fair consumption level of fish and low consumption of meat, oils, fats, alcoholic beverages and sweets. Consumers in this category are mostly couples with children and unmarried people, mainly women. Mancino *et al.* (2004), in support of Casini (2013), moot that with the presence of children in every family structure, there is bound to be a greater consumption of fruits and vegetables as well as healthier diets. This is because the choices of food to be consumed are determined by the parents and whatever choices are made later have an influence on the children's future. Thus, the presence of children in the family leads to the consumption of healthy foods.

Magadze (2017) maintains that several other factors such as availability of money, habit, financial capacity and religious beliefs have influence on what people eat and how they prepare food, their consumption practices on the preferred food. Furthermore, Murrcott (1998:175) argues that food consumption patterns are determined by the difference in age groups. Normally, the elderly tend to prefer to stick with traditional food as opposed to modern processed fast food while young people prefer the latter. The elderly also hold a negative perception on fast food and ready meals as they believe it is unhealthy as opposed to home-cooked food. Pagliarini, Gabbiadri and Ratti (2005) argue that as people grow

older, they tend to make choices based on their health. Mckie *et al.* (2000) state that older people perceive food as being proper when it consists of fresh natural ingredients while convenience food is seen as junk food. Older people usually maintain their old childhood habits regarding food and dishes (Falk *et al.*, 1996; Quandt *et al.*, 1997) and traditional methods of preparation. Rothenberg *et al.* (1994), Mckie (1999), Walker and Beauchene (1991) and Falk *et al.* (1996) state that health nutrition is linked to weight maintenance and eating to avoid major illnesses. It is obvious that age has a great role in choices of food.

Casini *et al.* (2013:706), in support of Murrcott (1998), confirm that the youth are associated with having little time allocated for the preparation of food. They prefer food cooked out of home; an indication of the high rate of food consumption opportunities in restaurants, cafeterias and bars. Literature on the middle-aged and elderly affirms that healthwise, the elderly tend to be more health conscious than the youth. Olsen (2003) and Verbeke (2005) argue that the middle-aged and the elderly are more health conscious and are at greater risk of falling sick than young people are. The difference in age is another contributing factor to food choices. The choices of food consumed by the elderly and the youth differ because of differences in age. The youth are more exposed to technological advancement and globalisation than the elderly in a world where everything is processed by the machine in little or no time, not excluding the preparation of food. The technological era is another contributing factor to the differences in choices and food consumption patterns in respect to the different age groups.

Rodmell (1986:73) identifies the environment as another factor that influences food choices. He maintains the environment in which one grows up shapes consumption patterns. Families have a direct effect on food consumption patterns. Housewives do not have a direct control on what they will prepare. Housewives will always prepare what is appreciated by the husband. As a child in the family, one does not really have a say in the food choice. As a result, the choice of food in the family is determined by the breadwinner. Thus, food choices are determined by the different environments in which one grew up. Amy (2008:9), posits that geography, climate and one's place of birth influence the foods an individual will be exposed to, and which later shape the food habits adopted in life. Geography and climate also determine food choices and a change in food consumption patterns. Normally, people will consume food grown closer to where they live and very rarely presented with the

possibility of eating those of a more exotic nature. Specific food types are served on specific occasions and assigning symbolic meanings.

The nature of indigenous foods also influences a shift in food consumption patterns. This is because indigenous food processing techniques are tedious and time-consuming. Moreover, traditional meals require lengthy preparation and cooking periods. Frison *et al.* (2004) state that women also have contributed in a shift in the consumption of indigenous food, replacing it with food that is more convenient. This is because women work long distances away from home, and due to their changing roles, women, today, will prefer less time-consuming semi-processed foods, which require less cooking times, thus leading to the disappearance of indigenous foods which require more time for preparation and tedious cooking (Frison *et al.* 2004).

Biloukha and Utermohlen (2000) argue that gender influences food consumption patterns. Females have been associated with eating sweets and chocolates more than males. Women also love consuming fruits, vegetables more than men whereas men prefer the taste of fatty processed meats, whole milk, lard, pasta and cold drinks. Women, on the other hand, regard whole milk, fatty processed meat, starches and cold drinks as less healthy. Men perceive green vegetables, salads, apples, juices and cottage cheese as less healthy than women. Evidence suggests that women consume more fruits and vegetables, fish and chicken than men do. Meanwhile, men consume more meat, potatoes, bread and alcohol than women. This could be explained by the fact that women have been entrusted with the responsibility of taking care of the family. In addition, women tend to focus on their health and appearance (Bech-Larsen and Grunert, 2003; Verbeke, 2005; Gracia and Grade, 2010).

3.5 IMPORTANCE OF FOOD

Food expresses love, demonstrates power and equally expresses rebellion. Lena (2008) posits that food is important to every human existence and social life as it is a necessity of life. Food fulfils different functions, ranging from serving as a symbol of family unity through the sharing of a meal (see Asp, 1999), to providing hospitality when there is a visitor in the house. Food is also used as a gift to show appreciation and love and plays a big role during social events. Food can also be used as a reward or punishment and a political tool for protest. An example of food as a political tool is when people go on hunger strike during a political protest. Food can be used as a subject of creative expression by chefs and

advertisers to influence food choices. Webb (1995: 33) elaborates on how food can be used as punishment. Offering food can be a sign of disapproval or punishment. For example, when a child does something wrong, the parents might decide to punish the child by not giving them food.

Even though food is considered important to humans in society, it can also be problematic. Food is responsible for diseases such as obesity, bulimia nervosa and diet-related cardiovascular diseases. It serves as an agent for the dispersal of many diseases. As a result, food safety is important. Food is also important in reducing stress levels (not any food but nutritious food and balanced diets). It is a fact that someone who eats a healthy and balanced diet, is likely to be less stressed than someone who consumes poor diet. Though nutritional food reduces stress levels, different types of food (tea, coffee, cocoa, energy drinks, sugar and butter) can aggravate stress levels. It is highly recommended to stick to nutritious food and balanced diets in order to avoid suffering from food-related diseases. Both Lena (2008) and ASP (1999) state the importance of food to the individual and the society. The excessive consumption of food might lead to some possible food-related diseases. In as much as one needs food for survival, all should be aware of the diseases food can cause to human health.

Through meals, family ties are consolidated. Some family sociologists perceive family dinner as an important family ritual (Bossard, 1948; Bossare and Boil, 1950). Popenon (1993) and Coontz (1992) affirm that at some stage, there could be no family meals due to an increase in individualism abetted by technology, which encourages solitary eating. Lupton (1996) suggests that one reason for the loss of family meals is the unpleasant memories that adults received during their childhood. In addition, the ubiquity of electronic devices and television during family meals has seriously dented this social fabric. Kaufmann (2010) posits that in Europe, family meals are a defence against the pressure of life on the family. Furthermore, family meals are not only valued by women but by children and men too (Kaufmann, 2010). While McIntosh *et al.* (2009) describe family meals as important, even when the atmosphere seems to be tense and unpleasant, others view the disappearance of family meals as a breakdown of the family (Kaufmann, 2010). Smith (1889:247) moots that those who eat and drink together, symbolise a bond of friendship and mutual obligation between the two and a mutual obligation. Van Gennep (1960:29), in support of Robertson, maintains the act of eating together signifies physical union, and the exchange of food confirms the bond. A

change in food consumption patterns also comes because of a change in lifestyles and time constraints.

3.6 FOOD AND CULTURE

Cultural factors play an important role in influencing food consumption patterns. Differences in consumption are influenced by beliefs, taboos, cultural prescriptions and proscriptions in different geographical areas and in different societies. There are several health implications and how people define healthy choices among different cultures. Many people have their own traditional ways of choosing and preparing food. Germov (1999: 150) states that Chinese traditional food is divided into 'yang' (hot) and 'yin' (cold). People eat 'yang' food when the body is in a 'yin' condition and vice-versa. Culture, at times, also dictates food choices on what one should consume and what one should not. Imagine that the totem in one's culture is a cow, and then it would prohibit the consumption of beef meat. Tylor (1971) defines culture as a complex whole consisting of knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, laws, customs, and any other abilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. Levi-Strauss (1963) describes food as a cultural system. An individual's taste is culturally shaped and socially controlled. Food can be treated as analogous to language as it expresses the ways in which meanings can be grasped in the understanding of symbol and metaphor. Barthes (1975:5) concurs with Levi-Strauss by providing a linguistic analogy in the understanding of food, searching for a code or a grammar. Barthes considers food as a need and as a sign. The need encompasses substances, techniques of preparation and, as soon as this happens, there is communication through food. He further argues that where there is a meaning, there must be a system. Amy (2008:10) believes culture does not only influence food choices but also influences an individual's manner on how food should be consumed and the behaviour surrounding such consumption. According to some cultures in India, only the right hand is used for eating and the manipulation of utensils while the left hand is reserved for rest room duties. In China, it is impolite not to provide guests with bountiful meal. Large amounts of food courses are served when guests are present.

According to Goyan (2008:6) what somebody eats defines who that person is, culturally. Amy (2008:8) maintains culture affects an individual's choice of food and influences a change in food consumption patterns. Culture influences food habits as it dictates what has

to be consumed and what is not supposed to be consumed. Sometimes, food relished in one part of the world might be spurned in another part of the world.

Kaufman-kurzrock (1989) and Airhihenbuwa (1995) posit that food, on its own, symbolises culture and the act of eating is symbolic as it is used as a means of communication to perpetuate and develop knowledge beliefs, feelings, and practices towards life. An understanding of cultural influences on eating patterns, which is very necessary for the health educator who wants to provide realistic educational interventions designed to modify dietary practices. Certain foods, which demonstrate affiliation with a culture, are usually introduced during childhood and associated with good memories. These particular foods are held dearly to an individual even though other foods may have been adopted due to changes in residence, religious membership, health status or daily personal preferences. Food that demonstrates affiliation with a culture may be consumed during ethnic holidays, and during special social events such as birthdays, weddings or even in times of stress. These foods are called comfort foods because they satisfy the basic psychological needs for food familiarity. In the United States, comfort foods for women are snacks such as potato chips, ice cream, chocolate and cookies while men prefer foods served by their mothers such as soup, pizza, pasta, steak and mashed potatoes. Others also consume particular foods in order to associate themselves with a particular group of people. The issue of class and status is now evident. Particular foods are not the only way to symbolise cultural identity; 'etiquette' is another expression of group membership.

Raviolis served with roast turkey suggests an Italian-American family celebrating thanksgiving and not a Mexican-American family, who would be more likely to dine on tamales and turkey. Eating is a daily reaffirmation of one's cultural identity. Furthermore, different geographical aspects contribute and influence one's food habits. Parrot *et al.* (2002) and Kearney (2010) state that in Southern European countries, for example, greater attention for traditional cuisine is demonstrated than in Northern countries, while on the other hand, the diet in urban areas differs from that in rural settings in terms of its high contents of fats and oils, animal protein from meat and dairy foods and lower contents in fibres, vitamins and minerals. This is true in Cameroon as stated by Tambi (1999) where food consumption patterns differ with reference to location.

In Australia, grubs are a good source of protein and are cherished among the Aborigines. For example, the consumption of dog meat is considered a delicacy in some Asian countries. *Escargots* (snails) are a favourite in France. Sashimi (raw fish) is a Japanese cuisine that has fairly been accepted in the United States. Locusts, which is another source of protein, are also regarded as a delicacy in the Middle East.

In the United States, different manners are expected to be observed when having lunch with a business partner, in an expensive restaurant, drinking tea, eating in the school cafeteria, drinking with friends at a bar or when on a date. Different manners are expected to be observed during such outings. Discomfort might arise if a person is unfamiliar with the rules; if a person breaks the rules, they may be ostracised. In Africa, particular foods signify one's cultural identity or ethnic group. Povey *et al.* (2001) maintains that in African societies, norms and values influence the decision on the consumption of a vegetarian diet. Verpanken *et al.* (2002) posit that the activation of specific values changes attitudes and behaviour. Eagly and Chaiken (1995) argue that attitude is a psychological tendency expressed by assessing a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour. Eagly *et al.* (1995) and Verplanken *et al.* (2002) state that values and beliefs are building blocks of attitudes. Values have an impact on attitudes, which in turn, influence people's behaviour. Values are seen as generally stable constructs that cannot be easily changed no matter the amount of effort invested. Food does not have a cultural meaning but certain ritual events.

Douglas and Isherwood (1979) state that food consumption is often associated with a particular ritual event. They define ritual as a type of expressive, symbolic activity constructed of multiple behaviours that occur in a fixed, episodic sequence and that tend to be repeated over time (Rook, 1985:252). Ritual behaviour is seen as a social symbolic language that may take the shape of products accompanying in a ritual setting. Rituals, most of the time, describe the consumption of the 'right' goods at ceremonies, occasions and people think together about the past and present as well as relate an individual to the larger culture. Some examples of ritual food consumption are the celebrations of traditional holidays whereby particular food items are strongly associated with them, just as Halloween is associated with candy and turkey, symbolising thanksgiving. Wellendorf and Arnould (1991) affirm that there are deep symbolic meanings behind food items, including ritual occasions. For example, *Jello* symbolises tradition and a family bond, molded whole, root vegetables send a message about the common agrarian roots of America, and the extensive

use of butter than margarine conveys a message about the triumph of nature over commerce. In every ritual consumption behaviour, there is the sharing of food. Food represents a symbolic way of sharing group identity and bonding (Belk, 1988). In the ritual act, food and consumption are not only found in holiday celebrations but also on occasions such as tea and coffee breaks, dinner parties, business lunch and even courtship rituals. Traditionally, men use chocolate when involved in a romantic relationship. This is because sweets and chocolates have been associated for a long time with romance, women, indulgence and luxury. The question is what food types are associated with particular rituals in Africa? The researcher intends to answer this question in the study. The study also seeks to understand the meaning behind the consumption of different indigenous foods among Barolong Boo Ratshidi clan and the Mankon ethnic groups.

3.7 FOOD AND GLOBALISATION

Globalisation has an effect on consumption patterns in all societies since not only people who move across the world as part of globalisation trends but also food does (Miller, 1997 and Long, 1996). The world is moving towards sameness and increasingly, consumers in almost every corner of the globe are about to eat similar if not the same foods. Ger and Belk (1999) provide a differentiation of the meanings attributed to food in home and host countries by immigrants. For example, Coca-Cola is a symbol of long-time tradition in the USA, while in less affluent countries, it is a sign of high status and modernity. Due to the meanings attached to foreign food items in the less affluent world, some consumers are even reported to be willing to cut down on the consumption of local foods for the sake of getting the widely advertised new and modern candy. Trade-offs, viewed by some researchers as the negative effects of globalisation of consumer culture, is an example of trading nutritional properties for the symbolic value, which has gained a strong preference.

Ger and Belk (1999) explain the process of symbol transformation as the configuration of meanings by consumers and the reconstruction of such reconfigured meanings into the context of one's own culture. Due to such transformations, global culture becomes a jointly shaped culture. This is because even though foreign producers, who bring new products into the market, do not only bring it into the country, it is also the role of active consumers in shaping the images of such goods. This global culture is viewed by consumers as marked by colonisation (incorporating old and well-known products made at home with those made

in other countries). Local consumers give these foreign products new names in order to fit into the local communities. Global homogenisation is based on the availability of the same foods in different countries, including the less affluent. Even though there will be a physical presence of identical foods, it will not imply an identical image of foods shared by global consumers who are against the idea of homogenisation. For example, some McDonald's food stores in parts of India do not serve beef burgers but vegetarian food. Food, together with other cultural categories such as clothing, fashion, music and entertainment, aesthetic as well as experience, have become the instrument of homogenisation still used to create heterogeneity. Fourie and Steyn (1995) state that a shift to western-style consumption patterns has led to an increase in the prevalence of chronic diseases. A change in diet and physical activity has led to an increase in obesity in developing countries (Popkin, 2009). Moreover, more than 1 billion adults are overweight, of which 300 million are obese (IHSO, 2004). Movements of people from their homelands have little opportunity to maintain and preserve traditional knowledge of available resources and technologies for processing and using food. As a result, they will quickly adapt to new food patterns and not transfer traditional food knowledge from generation to generation. An effect of the loss of indigenous food will translate into a decrease in cultural activities, especially in terms of food, a decrease in dietary diversity, especially in rural areas and poor economic circumstances and a decrease in cultural moral. A loss of traditional food has also led to health-related diseases such as diabetes and cardiovascular diseases.

3.8 FOOD AND ETHNICITY

According to Kniazeva (2003), food values and habits are viewed as cultural expressions that are very important by which most people establish, maintain and reinforce their national ethnic and individual identities. Mexican immigrants in the United States have been able to express their culture through maintaining and preserving their original food consumption patterns, though slowly adapting to the consumer environment in the host country. While Mexican immigrants in the United States have been exposed to so many other food choices, and have continued to eat their traditional Mexican food, shop daily or at least more frequently than American shoppers do, they also prefer fresh produce and freshly cut meat to package and frozen foods. Common products such as corn, beans, chilies, melons and Gameza cookies have left immigrants with 'a taste of home' and serve to reaffirm ties of

their culture and origin. While freshly cut meat and fresh products are associated with the home culture, frozen, packaged and prepared foods signify US culture. A study carried out by Oswald (1999) investigated the meanings attributed to certain food items by Haitian immigrants and verified that goat meat and corn meal are symbols of ethnicity and connectedness between the past and the present.

Oswald uses two metaphors in defining the role of food in a social setting and as a personal identity formation. He maintains that food can act as a vehicle as it assists families in adapting to new cultures while honouring the traditions of home and the idiosyncrasies of individual members (Oswald, 1999:309). Oswald (1999) also describes food as a two-way mirror as it has the ability to both reflect and internalise symbols of consumer culture, giving new meanings to the old slogan “you are what you eat.” Food is, therefore, used not only to mirror one’s identity but also to construct and deconstruct one’s self. Food has an indispensable role to play in the society as it becomes a non-verbal code of communication. Food is used to negotiate relations between home and host cultures and to identify one’s social and personal identity. Thus, Mexicans in the USA stick to their fresh products and fresh cut meat giving them stability, both as a tangible and intangible sign of unbroken ties between the past, present, home and foreign.

3.9 FOOD AND GENDER

Chapman (1990) brings in the aspect of gender as a factor that influences food choices and consumption patterns. In fishing villages, Chapman argues, there is a marked differentiation between the food consumed by men and women. For example, pork pate, sausage, fat, and white bread are considered characteristics of masculinity, while most women consume cakes made of white flour and butter. Men consume great amounts of red wine, which is taken as their daily beverage. Men view wine to be good for the blood, strong and red as masculine blood should be. This is contrary to milk, which is white and feeble and regarded to be a woman’s drink and bad for an adult masculine’s digestion and health. Fiddes (2004) states that meat avoidance generally is reported to be more common nowadays among women than with men in Britain. This is very true in the North West Region of Cameroon where the gizzard of a chicken is not supposed to be eaten by a woman culturally, only men are supposed to eat the gizzard of chicken once slaughtered. The gizzard of a chicken is only supposed to be eaten by a male (father) and in his absence it should be consumed by

the elderly male children. Failure to obey supposedly leads to severe stomach ache that can only be treated by the head of the family. This view is supported by Kittler *et al* (2016) who maintains that in some cultures women are prohibited from consuming certain foods and are expected to serve largest portions and best pieces of food to men. Frust (1988) concurs with Chapman by stating that food generates and reinforces gender divisions in households. Gender plays a big role in determining what food choice one is to make. Douglas explains why some humans refer to certain foods as “bizarre taboos” (Douglas, 2002: xi). For example, a camel, a hare, and rock badger, are considered unclean (Douglas, 2002:51). Anderson *et al.* (2003) examined the role of women in food consumption patterns within family structures.

3.10 FOOD AS A SYMBOL

Goyan *et al.* (2008:5) state that humans use food symbolically due to their relationships and association. Levi (1959: 206) defines a symbol as “a general term for all instances where experience is mediated rather than direct, where an object, action, word, picture or complex behaviour is understood to mean not only itself but also some other ideas or feelings”. Bread is a good example (used by humans symbolically). Bread is considered by Christians as the “stuff of life” because when one breaks bread with friends, it symbolises the body of Christ in the Christian sacrament of communion. In many cultures, bread is shared during wedding ceremonies or left for the soul of the dead. In England, midwives will place a loaf at the foot of the mother’s bed symbolising that the woman and her baby are being protected and evil spirits cannot harm them (Goyan *et al*, 2008). Sailors will regularly buy a bun to sea as it is believed that this will prevent possible shipwreck (Goyan *et al*, 2008).

Mauss (1872-1950), referring to food as having a symbolic meaning, cites the essence of gifts among ethnic groups in North West America and British Columbia. He states that in North West America, it is an obligation for an ethnic group to invite clansmen to eat whenever a seal has been killed. This symbolises the fact that every member of the village needs to be invited to eat when a bigger source of food is available such as the killing of a whale (Mauss, 2011:11). Particular food types have different symbolic meanings attached to them, be it religious, social, cultural or economic. In her book entitled *Purity and danger*, Mauss explains why some human beings regard the consumption of particular foods as “bizarre taboos” (Douglas, 2002:51). She elaborates further by stating that these taboos are not to

be understood symbolically, but rather, ethically and as a disciplinary rule (Douglas, 2002:55). Food taboos are a ritualistic behaviour to keep people in their roles in society and instil the essence of respect for elders (Douglas, 2002:81). For example, war dancers infuse a sentiment of fear. Food taboos also express holiness and the oneness with God. Every encounter with the animal kingdom and every meal as a sign inspires oneness, purity and completeness of God (Douglas, 2002:71).

Levi-Strauss (1963) states that all human events are highly symbolic. Focusing on searching the meanings of food based on the analysis of stories referred to as 'myths', Levi-Strauss argues that social groups prescribe roles and their accompanying symbols. He identifies symbolic distinctions made among specific types of food, their methods of preparation and the ideas they represent. Symbolic framing of food is classified under three levels. Symbols of food are attached to particular foods such as the manufacturing and methods of preparation and eating patterns of consumers. The first level of food symbolism happens when certain foods are strongly associated with well-articulated and collectively shared meanings and images. Levi (1981) maintains that a hamburger is symbolically a teenager's food, while fondue is a fun meal (Heisley and Levy, 1999).

Sometimes, the symbolic meaning of food changes when consumed beyond its home culture. Coca-Cola is a good example when consumed in less affluent countries or even within the same culture but in different contexts. With the case of coffee, different meanings are derived when drinking from a mug or from a tiny coffee cup. The symbolic meaning of food at the second level is when attention is directed towards ways of manufacturing food. Not all food items but the technological properties are at the centre of meaning formation. Manufactured foods are seen as symbolic to the signs of industrialisation, modernisation and progress, while natural foods symbolise a return to nature, a retreat from over-refinement and non-authenticity (Levy, 1981). At the same time, some processed foods may have very negative associations (plastic food) or be a positive sign of emancipation from chores, freedom and efficiency (Ger *et al.* 2000).

Packaged food symbolises package products, which is an indication of modernity and cosmopolitanism (Reilly and Wallendorf, 1987) but also represents avoided products (Englis and Solomon, 1997) which also demonstrates that meanings are not inherent to goods but are context-dependent. The third level identified is that food symbols are linked together with food properties, eating patterns and food values. It is the most comprehensive level of

symbolising and incorporates multiple functions of food. Levy (1981) postulates that food consumption at home carries a symbolic meaning of family unity and conventionality meanwhile, the consumption of food out of the home, symbolises festivity and separation. This level of food provides the symbols of self-indulgence, femininity and taking control and categories of food, in consumer terminology into “rushed and not rushed” (Heisley and Levy, 1991).

It allows the exploration of how consumers meet the complex demands of the contemporary world and fit into it by negotiating their identities. It is a process which embraces food as one of the most expressive and pervasive tools. There is a gap in the authors’ review on food and symbolic meanings, as they fail to look at the traditional symbolic meaning of food in relation to different ethnic groups and cultures.

Symbolic meanings are defined as social signals that are collectively shared and negotiated. Levy (1959) affirms that symbolic aspects of consumption practices describe the phenomenon of consumers placing a high value on personal and social meanings embedded in goods and services in addition to their functions. Levy (1959) also states that many people buy things not only for what they can do but also for what they mean. He postulates that consumers are no longer interested in bread as the stuff of life because a person might be on a diet and is not eating bread. The author maintains all commercial products carry symbolic messages that consumers easily read and translate into meanings for themselves. These meanings add to the whole of the product used by consumers to distinguish themselves from other people and deserve to be studied and understood. Different products carry different meanings to different individuals.

Sociologists such as Barthes (1997) affirm that the act of food consumption fulfils both material and symbolic needs, while Anthropologists such as Douglas and Isherwood (1979) perceive food consumption as an act of essential sense making. Rook (1985) urges researchers to “forget that commodities are good for eating, clothing, and shelter but treat them as non-verbal medium for the human creative faculty”. Bourdieu (1984) argues for the class-oriented nature of symbols. He sees it as a struggle over being in which the dominated classes intervene to appropriate the distinctive properties. The nature of symbol causes a particular burden for the lower classes because as one moves from the working class to the petite bourgeoisies, the middle classes are committed to food and symbolism.

McCracken (1988) states that “goods are both the creations and creators of the culturally constituted world”. It is assumed that the trajectory of movement in the part of “world-goods” is not a one-way street. The author explains that every member of a culture tries constantly to engage in the construction of the world through creating material goods that are “an opportunity to make culture material”. The meanings of goods could be traced back to the consumers, making the proposed framework of meaning transfer evolve as a two-way movement. Oswald (1999:310) analyses the theoretical framework proposed by McCracken. He posits that McCracken avoids questions of culturally fragmented ethnic self and that Levy’s structural approach only emphasises the rational and consistent consciousness. Firat and Venkatesh (1995) also maintain Levy does not question how the meanings were generated and incorporated into consumer thinking. McCracken furthers the debate by investigating the process by which meanings transfer takes place within a society.

3.11 FOOD CONSUMPTION PATTERNS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Food consumption patterns in South Africa have changed dramatically over the past years and will continue to do so in the coming years. This is in accordance with Bruinsma (2003), who maintains there has been a shift in nutrition globally. Research has proved that a shift in food consumption patterns in South Africa has been towards a more western-orientated diet, which has serious health effects such as an increase in the rate of non-communicable diseases. Food consumption is influenced by availability, accessibility and choice. Since 1994, political and social changes in South Africa have influenced the food consumption patterns. Temple *et al.* (2011) posit that a healthier diet is very costly; and therefore unaffordable for most South Africans. According to the National Food and Consumption Survey conducted in South Africa in 1999, staple foods in children aged between 1 and 9 years were found to be maize, sugar, tea, whole milk and brown bread. Steyn *et al.* (2001) maintain South Africans primarily consume maize, wheat, vegetables, potatoes and sugar tea, bread (brown and white), non-dairy creamer, margarine, chicken meat, full cream milk and green leaves. In 2009, a cross-sectional food recall survey revealed that the most commonly consumed foods for South African children aged 16 and above were cereals/roots, meat/fish, dairy and vegetables, eggs, legumes and vitamin A-rich fruits and vegetables were the least consumed.

Bourne *et al.* (2002) note that in the past 50 years, the fat intake of urban black individuals has increased from 16.4% to 26.2% of total energy, while carbohydrate intake has decreased from 69.3% to 61.7% of total energy. Steyn *et al.* (2003) posit that sugar intake stood at 5.9% in rural areas and 12.3% in urban areas for adolescents and adults (aged 10 years and above). It was also found that salt intake of South Africans is high (8.1g/day), which is almost double the World Health Organisation's (WHO) of 4-6g/day. This view was supported by Symington (2016) maintaining that South Africa has an increasing urban population through which traditional diets are slowly being replaced by western diets which is characterised by decrease in fibre and increases in fat and added sugars. In addition, Bertram *et al.* (2012) also state that South Africans have shifted their consumption on eating out. Shisana *et al.* (2013) study found that almost half (48%) of South Africans have eaten out before while 28.3% of South Africans eat out daily.

Roughest *et al.* (2014:12) state that South Africans are consuming more fats and oil. This can be attributed to a decrease in the consumption of animal fat. In terms of packaged foods and beverages, there has been a great shift (50%) to soft drinks, sauces dressings, condiments, sweets and savoury snacks. The main reason for the consumption of packaged food is for convenience and indulgence.

Thus, South Africans prefer more sugar-sweetened beverages, increased proportions of processed and packaged foods, including edible vegetable oils, increased intake of foods from animal origins, added caloric sweeteners and a decrease in vegetable consumption. According to Shisanan *et al.* (2013), Bourne *et al.* (2002) and Viljoen *et al.* (2005), the effects of this shift in food consumption patterns has led to an increase in obesity and non-communicable diseases. Temple *et al.* (2009) state that the challenge is that a healthy diet is largely unaffordable for most South Africans. Thus affordability, economic status and income levels have influence on food choices. The Department of Health (DoH) in South Africa has striven to improve on the health status of the public by targeting the food and beverage industry. As a result, regulations have been made in relation to the composition of food as well as the demands of consumers for healthier and affordable products. This would need the application of science and technology developments by the South African food and beverage industries.

3.12 FOOD CONSUMPTION PATTERNS IN CAMEROON

Dapi *et al.* (2005) state that the main factors influencing nutritional habits in Cameroon range from climatic zones, urbanisation, nutritional knowledge, household income, gender, age group and health. Chauliac *et al.* (1998) posit that the rapid change in nutritional habits in Cameroon is linked to urbanisation and changes in lifestyles. In Cameroon, especially in urban areas, the eating of junk food is very high (such as doughnuts, fried groundnuts and sweet beverages). Outdoor eating in urban areas is now common compared to rural areas.

Sobngwi *et al.* (2002), Dapi *et al.* (2005), Sharma *et al.* (1996) and Mennen *et al.* (2002) state that the consumption of tuber fibre, fat and alcohol is high in rural areas compared to urban areas, with a high consumption pattern of cereals. On the other hand, Tambi *et al.* (1999) affirm that in urban areas, there is a high consumption of protein from animals as opposed to rural areas. Dury *et al.* (2002), Drewnowski and Specter (2004) posit that in Cameroon, household income also influences consumption patterns. For example, maize, cassava and rice are lower cost options for low-income earners. While Tambi *et al.* (1999) argue that meat, fish and dairy products are associated with high-income households and the consumption of vegetables is rather associated with poor households. Sharma *et al.* (1996) affirm that the nutritional knowledge of Cameroonians is parlous and has influenced change in food consumption patterns. Dapi *et al.* (2007) state that inhabitants in urban areas have a better knowledge on nutrition compared to those in rural areas. Casini (2013) argues that educational level and affordability influence consumption patterns.

3.13 SUMMARY

This chapter presented the literature review on various aspects of food consumption and its patterns. Food consumption patterns in Cameroon and South Africa were discussed and reasons for shifts in consumption patterns explained. Factors such as technological advancements, socio-cultural, economic, psychological, sociological, ethnicity, class status, gender and globalisation were identified as some of the main factors influencing the change in global dietary patterns. There is global shift in dietary trends and Africa is no exception.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the research design and methodology used in conducting the study. It also presents the philosophical paradigms/worldviews to research, ethnographic research design, the research methodology, sampling methods and procedures, strategies used to collect data, data analysis, and trustworthiness of data and its applicability to qualitative research as well as issues of validity, reliability, triangulation and ethical considerations.

4.2 BRIEF HISTORY OF THE MANKON COMMUNITY

Nde (2007:1) states that the Mankon community is one of the kingdoms that make up Bamenda town. Bamenda is the capital city of the North West Region of Cameroon. Mankon is located at the heart of Bamenda City Council, Mezam Division, and North West Province. It shares boundaries to the East with the kingdom of Mendakwe, to the North with Bafut, the West with Meta and Bali and to the South with Mbatu and Nsongwa Fondoms. Mankon has a surface area of about 315 square kilometres with a population of about 180 000 inhabitants. The Mezam River is the main physical feature of the Mankon community.

Ndenge maintains linguistic and cultural evidence demonstrates that the Mankon people originated from the semi-Bantu race of the Tikari group, which is believed to have come from Tikari as a result of pressures from stronger ethnic group men from the North between 14th and 15th centuries under the leadership of Fon Ndemagha I and a group of some other successors. Oral tradition postulates that the Mankon people settled around a fertile spot towards the North-eastern part of the Mbam Plain in the North East of Fouban around

Tikar, where they had enough food for themselves. Pressures from the Fulbe indigenes of Tibati forced the Mankon people out from the fertile Mbam Plain led by Fon Ndemagha I. The movement was in waves. Mankon formed the largest single wave of the migration.

The word Mankon comes from two words, 'ma', which stands for mother and 'nkon', wave. Thus, the name Mankon means 'mother wave' because they travelled in big and large waves. The Mankon people took off from the Mbam plain, and travelled west ward towards Wimbun area led by Fon King Ndemagha II (1310-1340). Fon Tsemangha I led the Mankon people through this migration though he was advanced in age. He was a warrior and a skilful administrator. They met more resistance from the Fulbe group, turned southwards and reached Bamunkumbit in Ndop led by Fon Munwi Tungoru (1340-1370) and Fon Ndemagha III (1370-1400). They continued their wandering through the Bamileke regions of Bawaju and Dschang from about AD 1400-1500 led by Takomatsi I 1400-1430. Ndemagha III (1430-1470) and Takomatsi II (1470-1500).

The Mankon people continued moving and arrived at Bangwa in Fontem subdivision where they travelled to the forest region of Nkarikon in Widikum area. Their stay in Widikum was short because of the high prevalence of mosquitoes, tsetse flies and the unfriendly nature of the Widikum people. The Mankon people, once more, under the leadership of Fon Tsemangha I, made the people move to Alanki, which was known as a country of water. It was a very fertile area that was rich in wildlife.

In their search for a more suitable environment, the search continued under the leadership of Fon Angwafo I as they migrated to Mfumndju. From Mfumndju, Fon Fomukong moved the Mankon people from Mfumndju to Fozan, which means open plain. The land was good as it was fairly level and fertile land teeming with animals that could be hunted for food, natural defences at the River Mezam in the South and in the West, a marshy stretch of land in the East and the Mili stream in the North. The People of Mankon have lived in Fozan for about three hundred years and six Fons have been buried there namely; Ndemagha VIII, Ndefru II, Anwafo I, Fomukong, Angwafo II and Ndefru III respectively.

A Fon (King) heads the indigenous government of Mankon. The political system is hereditary and patrilineal. Mankon community is a centralised state. The Fon has an assistant who is called the 'Kwifo'; his main role is to check on the Fon's powers. Cameroon was colonised by the Germans in 1884. Before colonisation, the people were ruled and protected by their own traditional rulers. This was in exchange of their support and loyalty from their subjects.

The Fons became agents of the German colonial administration. In 1916, when Cameroon was handed over to the British and the French, the traditional rulers were still integrated and one of the auxiliaries of the respective colonial administration. Fon Ndefru III of Mankon was one of such indigenous rulers whose rule started during the British rule in 1959. He was succeeded by his son, Solomon Anye Ndefru as Fon Angwafo III, and is still the King to date. In 1925, Prince Solomon Anye Ndefru was born in Mankon. The prince was enthroned as the Fon of Mankon in 1959, which was the eve of Cameroon's independence. He later became known as Fon Angwafo III of Mankon. He is one of the first western-educated traditional rulers in the history of the Mankon chiefdom.

4.3 BRIEF HISTORY OF THE BAROLONG BOO RATSHIDI ETHNIC GROUP

According to Ramoroka, (2003), Barolong Boo Ratshidi is located in the Eastern part of the Molopo state land. The ethnic group is found in the dry parts, with an annual rainfall of 545 mm in the central and all over. The Barolong, under the leadership of regent Nthuwa, acting on behalf of Ratlou, moved North West in the middle of the 18th Century. Seleke succeeded as regent to Tsebetwane in the Molopo region. They later moved to Dithakong-Tsa on the Lotlhakane stream. This led the four Rolong sections having well defined areas. The Boo-Seleka and Boo-Rapulana came to Lotlhakane in search of fresh pastures while the people of Tshidi went to Mafikeng. When Ralou's son died, he left a widow and a dispute arose as to who would inherit this widow. It later led to a civil war and became the pretext for the secession of the four Rolong sections. Tshidi became the first king of the Barong Boo Ratshidi. Tshidi had many sons. They died as they fought the wars and were succeeded by others.

After the death of king Tshidi, Montshioa succeeded him. Montshioa was born in 1814, and raised by Tawana, his elder brother Tau and brought up by Makgetla who was his paternal uncle. As a result, the name Montshioa means "one who has been taken out." The Boers settled in the neighbourhood of the Barolong but were dissatisfied. However, they decided to return to the Molopo region where the Boora Tshidi settled at Dithakong about 1847. King Matlaba of Barolong Boo Rapulana came back from the Transvaal. He wanted to settle in Matlaba, but Montshiwa prevented him and this led to the Tshidi-Rapulana war. Reverend Hansen wrote every action describing the war. In 1880, the Anglo-Boer war broke out

because Montshioa was pro-British. He asked his neighbouring villages to protect him against the Boers and asked the neighbouring groups to protect him against the Boers. In 1882, Montshioa's town, Sehuba, was occupied.

4.3.1 Description of the study area/ Montshioa Village

Barolong Boo Ratshidi is found in Mahikeng, North West Province, South Africa. The Barolong Boo Ratshidi, who first settled in the area in the early nineteenth century, gave the name Mahikeng. The Barolong spelling of Mafikeng with an 'H' was later changed to an 'F' in order to compel a more standard spelling. The town later became known as Mafikeng, which means 'place of rocks'. Lefika means rock and 'Mafika' refers to the plural. The '-eng' at the end of Mafikeng denotes 'place of.'

The research was carried out in Montshioa Stadt Village, which is on the South Western side of Mafikeng Town and the Western side of Barolong Traditional Council offices. The Village is bounded by the river on the eastern side and the village settlement on the western side, the northern and southern by Mafikeng Local Municipality.

4.3.2 Description of the study area/ Mankon ethnic group

Mankon ethnic group is found at the heart of Bamenda city council, Mezam Division in the North West province of Cameroon. It shares boundaries with other neighbouring ethnic groups such as Mendakwe to the East, Bafut to the North, Meta and Bali to the West and Mbatu and Nsongwa ethnic groups to the South. The main activity practice by the indigenates of the area is agriculture. Mankon ethnic group in Cameroon has a large population size of about 180 000 inhabitants. It is the economic hub of the region and the commercial capital of the Northwest Province.

4.4 PHILOSOPHICAL WORLD VIEWS / PARADIGMS TO RESEARCH

Creswell (2014:6) defines worldview as a general philosophical orientation about the world and the nature of research, which the researcher brings to the study. A research worldview is a tool used by researcher to identify contextual factors and then link them with the process (Corbin and Strauss, 2008:89). It is very important for every researcher to identify what

philosophical worldviews and assumptions they bring to the study. Creswell and Clark (2011: 40) argue that the importance of a philosophical worldview in research is to “provide a general philosophical orientation to research”.

There are several philosophical worldviews to research. These are positivism, constructivism, transformative, and pragmatism worldviews. For the purpose of this study, I used the constructivist worldview. The constructivist worldview believes that individuals develop subjective meanings towards certain objects or things (Creswell, 2014: 8). Constructivist worldview thus relies on information derived from participants in the form of their opinions. The constructivist’ worldview wa-s selected for this study as it was considered appropriate for the study and enabled the researcher to understand participants’ subjective meanings behind their food choices and consumption patterns. Through this worldview, the researcher sought to make sense of the meanings of others with regard to the world. It was considered appropriate for the study as participants were allowed to give their views with regard to their food choices, indigenous foods and consumption patterns within their communities.

4.5 RESEARCH DESIGN

Creswell (2009:233) states that research designs are “plans and procedures for research that span the decisions from the broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection and analysis”. A research design is actually the plan and the structure of a research. The whole programme of a research, beginning from the purpose to the execution, constitutes a research design (Gary, 2013:133). Martin *et al.* (2009:34) maintain that the importance of a research design is to serve as a bridge between the research questions and the execution of the research findings. The purpose of a research design is to maximise valid answers to a research question.

Gary (2013:33) posits that there are several research designs such as action research, case study, comparative, ethnography, evaluation, experiment, longitudinal, cross-sectional studies and survey research designs. The author maintains ethnography is the study of human beings and their culture. For the purpose of this study, ethnographic research design, and in particular, focus and critical ethnography was selected for this study as discussed in detail below.

4.5.1 Defining ethnography

Ethnography is a qualitative research design and its focus is on exploring cultural phenomena. Creswell (2014:15) maintains it is a research design whose origin comes from anthropology and sociology. In an ethnographic study, the researcher's aim is to study the shared patterns of behaviour, the language and actions of specific cultural groups in a natural setting. Ethnography is the study of people in naturally occurring settings or 'fields' by methods of data collection which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not, also in the activities in order to collect data in a systematic manner without meaning imposed (Brewer, 2000:6). David and Sutton (2004:147) maintain the data collection methods in an ethnographic study may involve interviews and the use of documented sources. An ethnographic study provides strategies for obtaining data that will enable the researcher to describe cultural norms, perspectives, characteristics, behaviour and patterns (Gary, 2013:156). Richard and Morse (2013:56) maintain traditional ethnographic research explores different phenomena within cultural contexts from the views of members of a cultural group involved. In addition, several strategies are employed for data collection that enable the researcher to describe cultural norms, perspectives, characteristics, behaviour and patterns. An ethnographic research design was considered appropriate for this study as it sought to understand the meaning of the behaviour of participants in relation to their food consumption patterns in Barolong Boo Ratshidi and Mankon ethnic groups in South Africa and Cameroon respectively.

4.5.2 Critical ethnography

Richard and Morse (2013:59) postulate that there are different types of ethnographic studies: focus ethnography, auto ethnography, critical ethnography, participatory action research ethnography, action research ethnography, and visual ethnography. For the purpose of this study, focus and critical ethnography were considered appropriate. Richard and Morse (2013:59) maintain that in a focus ethnography the study is done within a subcultural group completely different from that of the researcher. In a focus ethnographic study, participants may not know one another but the researcher is interested in their common behaviours and experiences resulting from their shared features. Focus ethnography was chosen for this study because it focuses on two subcultural groups

(Barolong Boo Ratshidi and Mankon) and the researcher sought to understand the behaviours and experiences of participants in relation to their food consumption patterns. Richard and Morse (2013:60) maintain critical ethnography can be seen as a broader 'critical theory', which challenges established social values and power relations. Carspecken (1996:3) states that critical ethnography assumes that the researcher cannot be value-free and should direct efforts towards a positive change. Critical ethnography was considered relevant for this study as the researcher sought a positive change in food consumption patterns i.e a change in food consumption patterns from western-style diets to the consumption of indigenous foods (which are natural or organic and healthy for the human body). Thus, the researcher employed an ethnographic research design in the study, with particular focus on critical ethnography.

4.6 RESEACH METHODOLOGY

Rebeck *et al.* (2001:3) define research methodology as "a set of procedures that can be followed for achieving an objective." The objective in this sense is that of exploring, observing phenomenon and getting to the root of possible causes and effects. Research methodology is concerned with understanding what a researcher seeks to know about social reality, the interpretation given to phenomenon, as well as the essential apparatus put in place for designing appropriate research methods comprising techniques employed in getting to the issues to be investigated within research. My aim in this study is to understand food consumption patterns among the Makon and Barolong people in Cameroon and South Africa respectively, from the point of view of participants. By so doing, the first step was to identify a cultural-sharing group and study how they develop their shared patterns of behaviour over time.

Blaikie (2010:204) states that research methodology has two broad parts: quantitative and qualitative research methods. A quantitative research approach is described as the collection of numerical data, exhibiting a view of the relationship between theory and research and a predilection of the natural science (Bryman, 2012:38). Qualitative research locates an observer in the world. It is made up of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world and turn it into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations and

69 recording to the self (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005:5). Qualitative researchers seek to understand things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of meanings people bring to them.

4.6.1 Qualitative research

Creswell (2007:37) explains the process involved in a qualitative research method, maintaining that qualitative research begins with assumptions, worldview, the possible use of a theoretical lens and the study of research problems inquiring into the meanings individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. To study this problem, qualitative researchers use an emerging qualitative approach to inquiry, the collection of data in a natural setting sensitive to the people and places under study and data analysis that is inductive and establishes patterns and themes. The researcher's final report represents the views of the participants, the flexibility of the researcher, and the complex description and interpretation of the problem, which calls for action. Hancock and Ockleford (2007:4) consider qualitative research as seeking explanations for existing phenomena. It attempts to deepen our understanding of how things came to be the way they are in our social world and why they act the way, they do. This definition views the qualitative approach to research as an understanding of the social world, why humans behave and act in the ways they do. The importance of a qualitative research approach is to understand details about phenomena such as feelings, thought processes, meanings, and emotions that are difficult to extract or learn (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

The research approach chosen for this study is purely qualitative in nature. The qualitative approach has enabled an understanding of factors influencing food choices, a change in food consumption patterns and the effects on individuals and the community within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi clan in South Africa and Mankon ethnic group in Cameroon. Thus, the researcher sought to understand the opinions and views of participants, ideas, choices, emotions, perceptions regarding the issue under investigation. This was best achieved with words than with numbers. The qualitative research approach also enabled the researcher to gain a full understanding of participants' opinions to their food choices, consumption patterns, the rationale for the change in consumption patterns and the effects on the individual and the community. The qualitative research elucidates the situation, uncovers

practices, develops cultural awareness and sensitivity with regard to food choices in Barolong Boo Ratshidi in South Africa and Cameroon.

According to Creswell (2007:102), a qualitative research method is “a means for exploring and understanding the meanings individuals or groups ascribe to a human problem.” Using a qualitative research approach enabled the researcher to have in-depth understanding of the sociology of food consumption in Cameroon and South Africa. Polkinghorne (2005) posits that qualitative research is exploratory and seeks to explain “how” and why a particular social phenomenon, operates as it does in a particular context. It helps to understand the social world in which we live and why things are the way they are. The qualitative research method chosen for this study will assist the researcher in understanding the meanings attached to the specific foods in both the Mankon and the Barolong Boo Ratshidi communities. It will enhance an understanding of the food choices and consumption patterns and the underlying reasons for these.

4.7 GAINING ACCESS TO THE RESEARCH SITES

Creswell (2007: 123) maintains that gaining access to research sites entails several steps. Consistent with this assertion, gaining access for this study entailed first obtaining permission from the University's Research Ethics Committee which reviewed the research proposal to assess implications for impact on, and especially potentially harmful effect, on research participants. The permission was then granted to conduct the study following due diligence process through ethical clearance.

Further to this internal university process, access to the field and research site was secured following identification of the population to sample. The letter obtained from the University's Research Ethics Committee was presented to the kings or traditional leaderships of both the Barolong Boo Ratshidi and Mankon communities requesting permission to conduct the study. The letter also explained the aims and the nature of the study. The kings/traditional leaderships were requested to identify specific individuals of different age sets that could be relevant to the study's aims. A brief outline on how access was obtained is given below.

4.7.1 Gaining access into the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community

On 16th October 2016, the researcher, along with the help of one of the research assistants who is fluent in Setswana language, approached the Tribal Administrative Office of the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community. A letter requesting permission to conduct the study and an ethical clearance from the University were presented to the Secretary of the office. An appointment was made and we were asked to return on 20th October 2016 for feedback. On 20th October, the researcher met with the traditional leadership, where a detailed explanation was given on the purpose of the research. The traditional leadership welcomed the idea stating that no one had been there before to carry out a study on food. They further requested that they would like to have a final copy of the document. The traditional leadership then stated that they would assist the researcher by providing relevant participants in the community for the study. Once the names and addresses were obtained from the Royal House, the researcher used them to gain access to participants in the community.

4.7.2 Gaining access into the Mankon community

On 10 February 2017, the researcher approached the King's (Royal) palace in the Mankon community. The researcher was directed to the Receptionist. An ethical clearance letter and a letter requesting permission into the community were given to the Receptionist detailing the purpose of the research in the community. The researcher then returned on 16th February 2017, to get the responses from the Receptionist. The approval letter was then issued (see Appendix 3) granting access to the community. The King's closest person called the Nchinda gave the researcher a list of possible and relevant participants for the study. From the list, the researcher gained access to the community and participants.

4.8 THE ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER

Bryman (2013: 399) postulates that the role of a researcher in a qualitative study is to view events and the social world through the eyes of the people they study. Qualitative researchers collect data through examining documents, observing behaviour or interviewing

participants (Creswell, 2009:46). This insights on the role of researcher guided the approach and conduct during the study.

4.8.1 CHOICE OF THE RESEARCH SITES

This study focuses on food and consumption patterns in selected communities of South Africa and Cameroon. South Africa and Cameroon were chosen because of their multicultural nature. Cameroon has about 247 ethnic groups with two official languages (French and English) while South Africa has multiple ethnic groups with eleven official languages. Mafikeng in South Africa and Bamenda in Cameroon constitute the research sites of this study, while the Barolong Boo Ratshidi and the Mankon ethnic group constitute the populations from which samples were drawn for the study. The rationale for choosing Barolong Boo Ratshidi ethnic group was because of its population size. It is one of the biggest ethnic clans in Mafikeng, with a population of 172 456 (one hundred and seventy-two thousand four hundred and fifty-six) inhabitants (Statistics South Africa, 2011). Similarly, the Mankon ethnic group in Cameroon has a large population size of about 180 000 inhabitants. Mankon is the economic hub of the region in the North West and Mafikeng is the commercial capital of the North West Province.

4.9 SAMPLING OF PARTICIPANTS

David and Sutton (2011:226) define a sample as a representation of a group in a population, which is very large, as it decides who will participate in the research project. In addition, they state that sampling techniques are classified into two types: probability and non-probability sampling techniques. Probability sampling technique focuses on each case in the population having an equal chance of being selected while non-probability samples are used in situations where it is difficult to identify all potential cases in the population.

For the purpose of this study, a non-probability technique was used. Creswell (2007:125) maintains that in a purposeful sampling strategy, the inquirer selects individuals and sites for study because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study. The researcher purposefully sampled participants who could provide information and understanding to the research question. The researcher

used purposeful sampling technique in this study. Participants were selected only from the Barolong Boo Ratshidi clan in South Africa and the Mankon ethnic group in Cameroon.

A total of 53 participants were sampled for the study (28 from Barolong Boo Ratshidi and 25 from Mankon). The sampled participants were further classified into three different age groups as follows: the youth (between 20 and 35), those aged between 36 and 50, and those aged between 51 and above. The researcher also used this technique because it provided adequate information generated from the different age groups and subsequently used to explain the phenomenon under investigation. The different age groups provided their views on the consumption patterns and the reason for such shift as well as the effects on the community.

Participants comprised of members of the Barolong Boo Ratshidi and the Mankon groups. Participants were selected for investigating factors affecting their food choices, changes in food consumptions and the effects on consumers and the community. Participants were selected irrespective of their demographic characteristics such as level of education, income levels but solely on the fact that they were members of the Barolong Boo Ratshidi and Mankon community groups. Participants were also selected based on their willingness to provide information and to shed more light on the issue under investigation. Participants were further selected bearing in mind that they could provide reasons for their food choices, a change in their food consumption patterns and the impact on the society as a whole.

4.10 DEVELOPMENT OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

An interview guide for the study was designed and developed by the researcher based on the aim and objectives of the study, problem statement and research questions. The interview guide was divided into the following sections: Section A, comprised closed-ended items and focused on demographic characteristics, participants' sex, age group, level of education, marital status, number of dependents and level of income. Section B consisted of open-ended questions where participants were requested to provide their views regarding the meaning attached to food. Section C focused on the production, preparation and consumption of staple foods, while Section D focused on the reasons for a shift in consumption patterns in both communities (see Appendices 1 and 2). The interview questions were designed and developed in English and translated into Setswana with the

help of First Language Setswana speaking researcher. The English version was used in Cameroon while the Setswana version was used in South Africa.

4.10.1 Pre-testing of the face-to-face interviews

Blaikie (2003:216) holds that “items are pre-tested on a diverse sample to establish the degree to which responses to each item are consistent with the total score based on them.” This was done through piloting. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with two (2) members of the Mankon and two (2) Barolong Boo Ratshidi communities. The pre-testing with the four participants assisted in the determination of the duration of the interviews, the response and levels. Participants were requested to give their comments and feedback regarding the interview questions. This further helped in refining the interview guides.

4.11 DATA COLLECTION

Creswell (2007:118) states that data collection is a series of interrelated activities with the primary aim at gathering appropriate information to help answer questions under investigation. Qualitative researchers engage in a series of activities in the process of data collection. The author further outlines the activities involved in the process of data collection as follows: location of the site; access and rapport; purposeful sampling; and forms of data collection. Creswell (2007:129) posits that there are different forms of data that can be broken down into four basic types of information. Observation, which ranges from non-participant to participant, interviews ranging from closed-ended to open-ended, documents, which are private to public and lastly, audio visual materials, which include materials such as photographs, compact disks and videotapes. In an ethnographic study, usually, data collection is done through observations, interviews, documents and artefacts. Observations and interviews appear to be the most popular forms. In qualitative research, extensive collection of data is typically done through multiple sources of information.

Data for this study was collected through semi-structured face-to-face in-depth interviews and secondary sources using documented texts. Creswell (2013:173) argues that an interview “is a dialogue that is conducted one way, provides information to the researcher, based on the researcher’s agenda, leads to the researcher’s interpretations, and contains ‘counter control’ elements by the interviewer who withholds information.” A qualitative

interview “occurs when researchers ask one or more interviewees general open-ended questions and record their answers” (Creswell, 2005:214). Gary (2013:194), in support of Creswell, argues that an interview is a discussion with someone in which you try to get information from them. The information, which the participants provide, might be either facts or opinions or attitudes or any combination of all three. The author further explains that there are three basic types of interviews as follows: structured; unstructured; and semi structure.

Secondary data for the study was obtained from the literature such as journal articles, books, internet sources and websites. Data collectors, who were Setswana language speakers, were trained by the researcher to assist with data collection among the Barolong Boo Ratshidi in Montshioa village. This was done because the researcher neither speaks nor understands Setswana. Interviews were conducted in the local language of participants as and when necessary. The criterion used in selecting the data collectors were based on their knowledge in research. No data collectors were used in Cameroon as the researcher is the Cameroonian and did data collection herself.

An interview guide was also be used to achieve what Holstein and Gubrium (2003) describe as getting access to people’s ideas, thoughts and memories in their own words. Semi-structured open-ended face-to-face interview guide questions were used to collect data from participants. A tape recorder was used to record the interviews, which were later transcribed. Prior to the interviews, an interview protocol was designed to assist the researcher in conducting the interview. According to Creswell (2009: 230), an interview protocol is a form used by a qualitative researcher for recording and writing down information obtained during an interview. The interview protocol is necessary during an interview to write responses to the interviewee’s comments considering that the researcher cannot retain all the information in her head.

A total of 53 face-to-face interviews were conducted among the Barolong Boo Ratshidi and Mankon people. Twenty-eight (28) participants were interviewed in the Barolong clan in South Africa while twenty-five (25) participants were interviewed in the Mankon ethnic group in Cameroon. The time used for the interviews ranged from forty-five (45) to ninety (90) minutes according to the different age groups. The interviews with the elderly lasted about ninety (90) minutes while the interviews with the middle-aged lasted about sixty (60) minutes while it took about forty-five (45) minutes to conduct interviews with the youth. The difference in the period was because of the amount of information each participant in the group had to

provide. Interviewees were given the opportunity to freely express their views with regard to the topic under discussion.

The researcher made use of semi-structured face to face interviews in the data collection process. The researcher had interview sessions with the participants and asked follow up questions to elicit further explanations and clarity. The researcher made appointments with the interviewees for particular dates and times. Interview sessions were held at a venue convenient to the interviewees (preferably at their homes). Interviewees were given an opportunity to decide on the day and time most suited and convenient for the interviews. The researcher made use of an interview chat on the day, time, place and duration of each interview session.

4.12 DATA ANALYSIS

Mouton (2001: 108) states that data analysis is a process of “breaking up” the data into manageable themes and patterns when fieldwork has been completed. Creswell (2007:148) concurs with Mouton and affirms that data analysis in qualitative research consists of preparing and organising the data reducing it into themes through a process of coding and finally representing the data into figures or a discussion. Since this is a qualitative study, data collected through interviews was analysed through a detailed description of the case and its context.

The analysis of data and presentation of findings were done in accordance with the different sections and themes informed by the responses of participants such as demographic characteristics, meanings attached to indigenous food, preparation and consumption of staple foods and the shift in consumption patterns and its effects.

Similarly, Creswell (2007:150) proposes the data analysis spiral whose first stage entails organising the data into file folders, index cards or computer files. These files are later converted into texts, units such as words, sentences, or an entire story. The researcher then describes, classifies and interprets the data developing and describing themes. Creswell (2007:154) argues that in the process of interpretation of data, the researcher steps back and forms larger meanings of what is going on in the situation or sites. The final stage of the spiral is the presentation of data in either text, tabular or figure form.

In analysing the data for the current study, the first step was to read the open-ended items of the interview transcripts and the notes on the protocol form. This was done to give the researcher a general sense of the information and to reflect on the overall meaning of the data. During the process, the researcher found out the thoughts of participants, and wrote down notes on the margins. After reading through the open-ended questions, the data was coded into identifiable themes starting from the most frequent themes to the least. Themes were grouped into the corresponding objectives of the study, transcribed and reported narratively. Themes were divided into groups that related to each other and arranged according to major and significant topics. The results were interpreted and analysed using the information from the literature review and theoretical framework. Identified themes and the information presented was arranged in figures for discussion.

4.13 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Terre Blanche *et al.* (2007:76) state that qualitative interviews should be done with the informed consent, explicit confidentiality agreements and the use of rigorous analytical processes to ensure that valid and supportable conclusions are drawn. Creswell (2007:414) concurs with Terre Blanche and maintains that in every qualitative study, the researcher faces many ethical issues which emerge during data collection, analysis and the dissemination phases of qualitative reports. Creswell maintains the researcher conveys to the participants in the study, explains the purpose of the study and does not engage in any deceit about the nature of the study. Punch (2005:276) contributes to the discussion and elaborates on the importance of ethical issues in every qualitative research study. Ethical issues are vital because in qualitative studies, information is obtained from people about people. It also deals with sensitive, intimate and innermost matters in people's lives and the ethical issues that inevitably accompany the collection of such information. Richard and Morse (2013:261) affirm that qualitative studies bring in special issues pertaining to the participant's consent and maintenance of participant anonymity. Researchers are required to obtain permission from their employers or institutions. Students might obtain permission from their university. Terre Blanche *et al.* (2007:67) posit that there are four wide philosophical principles that are applied in various ways to determine whether a research study was ethical. This approach is known as principlism. These four approaches are autonomy and respect for the dignity of persons, non-maleficence, beneficence and justice.

4.13.1 Autonomy and respect of persons

This principle states that there should be a voluntary informed consent by all research participants. It addresses issues of individuals and institutional confidentiality. The protection of the community's identity should also be respected in particular circumstances. Non-maleficence: Researchers are supposed to ensure that no harm befalls research participants (directly or indirectly). Research should be out to avoid and minimise harms and wrongs. Beneficence: Here, the researcher is advised in this philosophical principle, to try to maximise the benefits that she affords to participants in the research study. The benefits of every research should be direct access to health facilities, better skills and better knowledge of the topic in question. Justice: The principle requires researchers to treat research participants with fairness and equity during all stages of research. Justice can be applied in research during the fair selection of participants. Justice also requires that the researcher has some responsibility to provide care and support to participants who may be hurt by the study. Terre Blanche focuses on the philosophical principles of ethical issues while Richard and Morse (2013: 262) base their argument on components of ethical issues as follows: anonymity; permission; participant assent; and consent.

4.13.2 Anonymity

During an interview, the researcher must state the mode of recording and the planned use of tape recorders. A researcher should ensure anonymity by making sure that participants' names and places are not disclosed. No participant's identity should be violated indirectly through the linking of his or her demographic characteristics such as age, sex, marital status and occupation. The researcher ensured anonymity during the collection of data by not requesting for participants' names.

4.13.3 Permission

A researcher cannot undertake a project without first obtaining permission and having the research proposal reviewed by university committees, agencies and communities involved. First, permission needs to be obtained from the student's university, which is primarily responsible for the student's actions (please refer to Ethical Clearance Certificate as

Appendix 4). Secondly, permission should be obtained from the area/site where the research will be conducted. This permission can be obtained from the top administrative level. Finally, the last approval is obtained from the actual research setting such as the unit or place where the actual research will be conducted. In the case of this study, permission was obtained from the Royal House (please see Appendix 3).

4.13.4 Participant's assent and consent

Covert research is conducted without the knowledge of the participant. The Ethics Review Committee rarely approves this. Richard and Morse (2013) outline the following as rights of participants: the rights to be fully informed about the purpose of the study; the involvement and time required for participation, the right to confidentiality and anonymity. Research participants also have the right to ask any question of the investigation, the right to refuse to participate without any negative ramifications, the right to refuse to answer any question and the right to withdraw from the study at any time. Participants also have the right to know what information is required from them during the research process. Participants are entitled to have access to the information and what will the information be used for.

Gass (2010:16) states that in an educational setting, a researcher needs to obtain permission from the Faculty Higher Degrees or Ethics Committee before conducting any research. Permission to conduct this study was obtained from the Faculty's Research Ethics Committee. The letter was presented to the heads of the Barolong Boo Ratshidi and Mankon respectively. This permission was to inform participants of the purpose of the study and guarantee confidentiality and compliance with research ethics. Furthermore, Creswell (2007:123) states that in every research endeavour, participants must be informed and should know the risks of participating in a study. Since this study is qualitative and focuses on the food consumption patterns and the reason for the shift in the Mankon ethnic group in Cameroon and the Barolong Boo Ratshidi ethnic group in South Africa. The study deals with human participants, their feelings and values therefore informed consent principle was used. In order to ensure anonymity in research, participants were not in any way requested to disclose their identities. In the case of semi-structured face-to-face interviews, interviewees created their own codes (pseudo codes) that were then used by the researcher during the analysis. As a result, the study ensured anonymity.

4.14 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY OF THE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Creswell (2007:208) considers validity as an attempt to assess “accuracy” of findings, as best described by the researcher and participants. Accuracy in qualitative research is manifested through extensive time spent in the field and the closeness of the researcher to the participants. Gass (2010:12) defines validity as the ‘correctness and appropriateness that a researcher makes of their study. Angen (2000:387) concurs with Gass and considers validation to be “a judgment of the trustworthiness of a piece of research.” The importance of validity in research is to demonstrate what actually exists by using a valid instrument to measure what it is supposed to measure. For the purpose of this study, validity was in the following ways: careful selection of participants to participate in the study, appropriate sampling procedures and methodology, piloting the instruments and checking the interview guide to ensure it addressed and covered all areas of the study.

4.14.1 Reliability

Drost (2011) defines reliability as the extent to which measurements are repeatable. It happens when different people perform the measurement on different occasions, under different situations with alternative instruments which measures the same thing. It focuses on the ability of the researcher to produce consistently the same results over repeated testing periods. It requires the researcher to obtain the same or comparable methods on the same participants. The researcher also needs to develop a consistent habit in scoring results and issues in relation to participants and testing if procedures reduce measurement error. The researcher ensured reliability by making sure that the interview questions were clear and free from ambiguities. The researcher ensured that the contact details of participants were clear for verification. Finally, the researcher ensured that the sample of the study was clear and perfectly mastered by the researcher.

4.14.2 Trustworthiness of data

Lincoln and Guba (1985:290) affirms the importance of trustworthiness in a qualitative study assures that the findings from the study are “worth paying attention to.” Rolfe (2006:305) contributes to this point by stating that a study can only be trustworthy if and only if the

reader of the research report judges it trustworthy. It is important to examine the trustworthiness of any research study to evaluate its worth. It is also used in judging the quality of qualitative research. Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose four criteria in the evaluation of trustworthiness of data in qualitative research. These criteria includes credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability.

4.14.3 Credibility

Credibility, as a criterion used in evaluating trustworthiness of a data, refers to the confidence which can be placed in the truth of the research findings (Holloway and Wheeler, 2002; Macnee and McCabe, 2008). It also represents information obtained from participants' original data and its correct interpretation of the participants' opinions (Greeneheim and Lundman, 2004; Lincoln and Guba, 1985). To address credibility in the study, the researcher used qualitative techniques in data collection. Documents were reviewed to understand food consumption patterns in the Barolong Boo Ratshidi and Mankon ethnic groups in South Africa and Cameroon. –Semi-structured face-to-face interviews were conducted with participants as a source of data collection for the study. Data obtained provided an understanding of food consumption patterns in both ethnic groups as well as the reasons for the change and effects on the individual and the community. Recommendations were developed from the findings gleaned in the field.

4.14.4 Transferability

This refers to the extent to which the results of qualitative research can be transferred to the other respondents. It is interpretive and the equivalence of generalisability in quantitative research (Bitsch, 2005; Tobin and Begley, 2004).

4.14.5 Dependability

Bitsch (2005: 86) maintains dependability refers to “the stability of findings over time. Dependability involves participants evaluating the findings and the interpretation and recommendations of the study to ensure that they are all supported by the data received

from informants of the study. In the current study, dependability was achieved through the research method used in conducting the study. A detailed description of the planning and the actual execution at each level of the research process was provided.

4.14.6 Confirmability

Tobin and Begley (2004: 392) posit that confirmability is “concerned with establishing that the data collected and interpretations of the findings are not figments of the inquirer’s imagination, but are clearly derived from the data.” Lincoln and Guba (1985:196) affirm that confirmability refers to the degree to which the results of an inquiry are confirmed or corroborated by other researchers (Baxter and Eyles, 1997).

In this study, confirmability was obtained by keeping the raw data collected from participants very safe (field notes and documents). The interview guide used in collecting data is included in the appendix section of the study as reference for consultation by readers and future researchers. Recordings are kept for at least one year to ensure trustworthiness of the data.

4.15 TRIANGULATION OF DATA

Triangulation also ensures trustworthiness of data. Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2007:239) affirm that triangulation “involves the use of multiple and different methods, investigators, sources and theories to obtain corroborating evidence.” Triangulation assists the researcher in reducing bias and to cross-examine the integrity of participants’ responses. Data for the study was collected through a semi-structured interview, making use of open-ended questions and a minor section of close-ended questions on the demographic characteristics of participants.

4.16 PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

The findings of the study are presented in Chapter five in accordance with the themes identified during the coding process. The presentation highlights the themes identified in words and sentences and supported where necessary, with verbatim quotations. The close-ended questions on the demographic characteristics of participants are presented in figures and bar charts.

4.17 SUMMARY

This chapter outlined the research design and methodology used in conducting this study and the research paradigms. The chapter also presented and explained the rationale for choosing a qualitative approach, including the relevant tools used for data collection. The sampling procedures, data analysis and ethical issues were also discussed in this chapter. The next chapter presents major findings emanating from the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the findings of the study and these are presented in two sections: the demographic characteristics of participants are presented in figures, supported by charts while the responses to the closed-ended questions are presented in the second section of this chapter. The main aim of the study was to examine food consumption patterns in South Africa and Cameroon. The rationale for the demographic characteristics is to provide important information about participants in the study. Moreover, the review of literature established that there is a correlation between food consumption patterns and demographic characteristics. The researcher then sought to examine whether or not the literature corroborates with the data obtained from the field by analysing the demographic characteristics of participants in the study.

5.2 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The information below shows the demographic characteristics of participants interviewed within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community. The demographic characteristics show the age, sex, age group, level of education, marital status, number of dependants and level of income.

5.2.1 Distribution of participants in the Barolong Boo Ratshidi clan in South Africa according to Sex

Figure 5.1 shows the distribution of participants within the Barolong boo Ratshidi community in South Africa according to sex. An equal number of participants took part in the study with fifty percent (50%) being males (14) and another fifty percent (50%) being females (14).

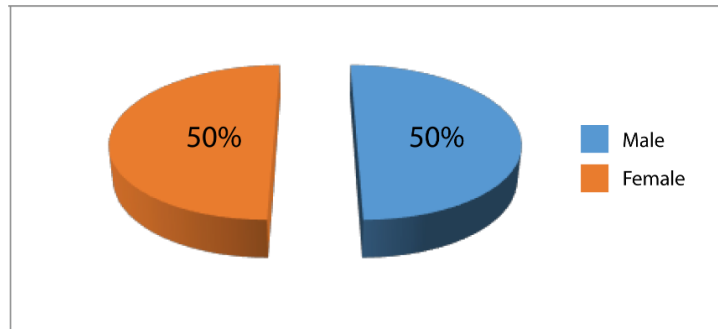


Figure 5.1: Distribution of participants in South Africa according to sex

5.2.2 Male participants in South Africa

The figure below presents a further breakdown of male participants by different age groups in the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community. Thirty-six percent (36%) of the participants were elderly (51 years and above), and another thirty-six percent (36%) were middle-aged (36 - 50) with the 29% being young (20 - 35) males.

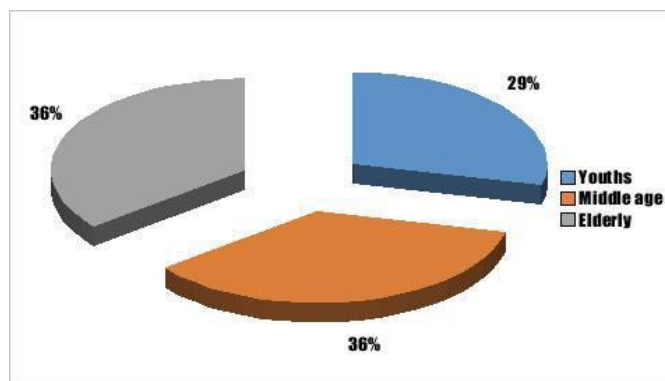


Figure 5.2: Male participants in South Africa

5.2.3 Female participants in South Africa

The figure that follows shows the different age groups of female participants in the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community. A similar breakdown occurs as with males with thirty -six percent

(36%) being the elderly age group (51 and above) and thirty-six percent (36%) being middle-aged (36 - 50) and twenty-nine percent (29%) being young females (20 -35).

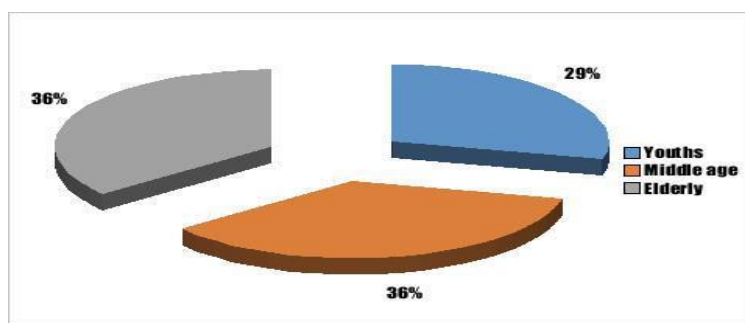


Figure 5.3: Female participants in South Africa

5.2.4 Level of education of participants within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community

This piechart below shows the level of education of participants within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community. Thirty-nine percent (39%) of participants had attended school up to grade 9 and below, thirty-six percent (36%) had a National Senior Certificate, eighteen percent (18%) had a diploma / certificate while seven percent (7%) had a Bachelor's degree.

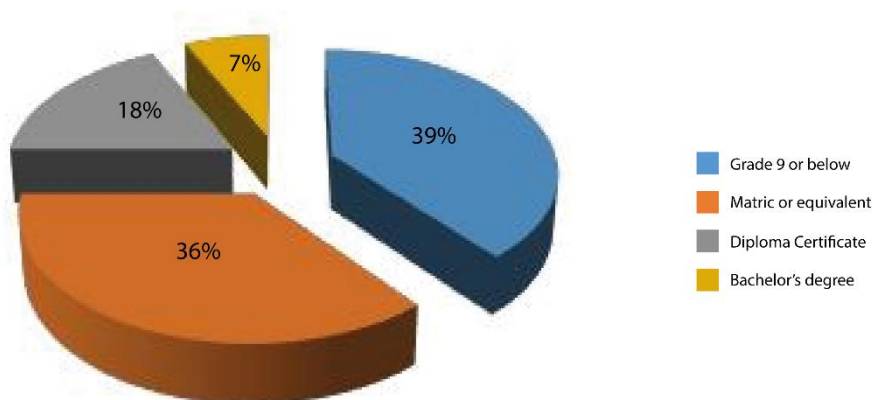


Figure 5.4: Educational level of participants within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community

5.2.5 Distribution of participants in South Africa according to marital status

The following figure shows the marital status of participants within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community who took part in the study: forty-six percent (46%) of participants were single, forty-three percent (43%) are married while eleven (11%) were either widows or widowers.

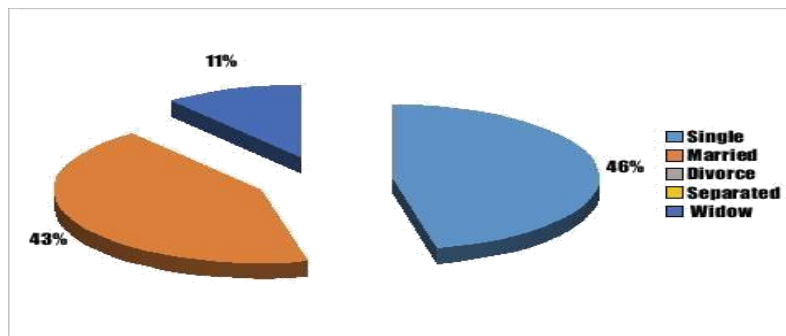


Figure 5.5: Distribution of participants in South Africa according to marital status

5.2.6 Distribution of participants in South Africa according to number of dependents

Figure 5.7: shows the number of dependents in the households of participants interviewed within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi Community. The figure shows that forty-four percent (44%) of participants had 5 or more dependants, twenty-eight (28%) had between 3 and 4 dependants, sixteen percent (16%) had between 1 and 2 dependants while twelve percent (12%) of participants did not have dependants.

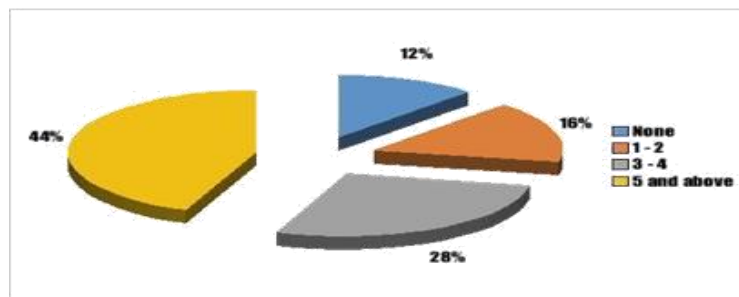


Figure 5.6: Distribution of participants in South Africa according to number of dependents

5.2.7 Distribution of participants in South Africa according to level of income per month

Figure 5.8 shows the different income levels of participants who took part in this study within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community. Majority thirty-two percent (32%) of participants had no source of income, eleven percent (11%) of participants had less than R1 000, twenty-five percent (25%) had a monthly income of R1 000-R2 000, seven (7%) of participants had R3 000 to R8000, fourteen percent (14%) had R5 000 to R6 000 and four percent (4%) had R10000 and above.

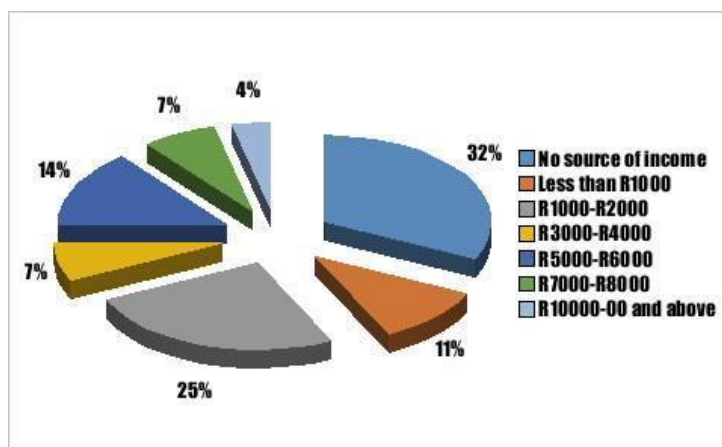


Figure 5.7: Distribution of participants in South Africa according to level of income per month.

5.3 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE MANKON ETHNIC GROUP IN CAMEROON

The information below shows the demographic information of participants interviewed within the Mankon community. The demographic characteristics are presented according to age distribution, male participants, female participants, age group of participants, level of education of participants, marital status of participants, number of dependants and level of income of participants.

5.3.1 Distribution of participants in Cameroon according to sex

Figure 5.9 shows the distribution of participants within the Mankon Community according to sex. The figure shows that majority fifty-six percent (56%) of participants were male while forty-four (44%) were female.

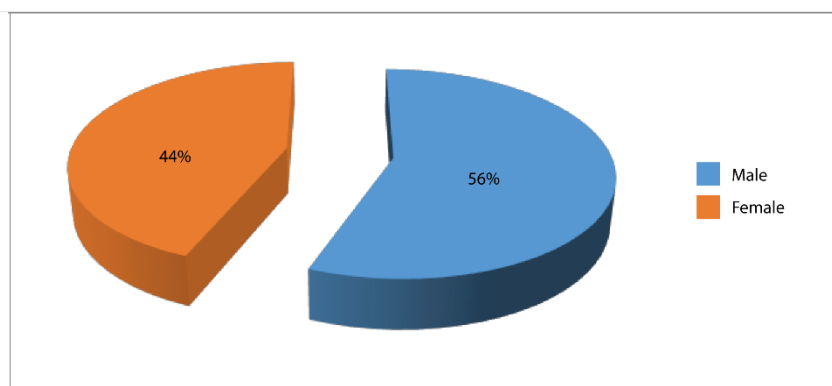


Figure: 5.8: Distribution of participants in Cameroon according to sex

5.3.2 Male participants in Cameroon

Figure 5.11 shows further breakdown of male participants into different age groups within the Mankon community, Cameroon. Thirty-six percent (36%) of the males were the elderly (51 and above) and the middle-aged (36-50) while twenty-nine (29%) were the youth (20-35) respectively.

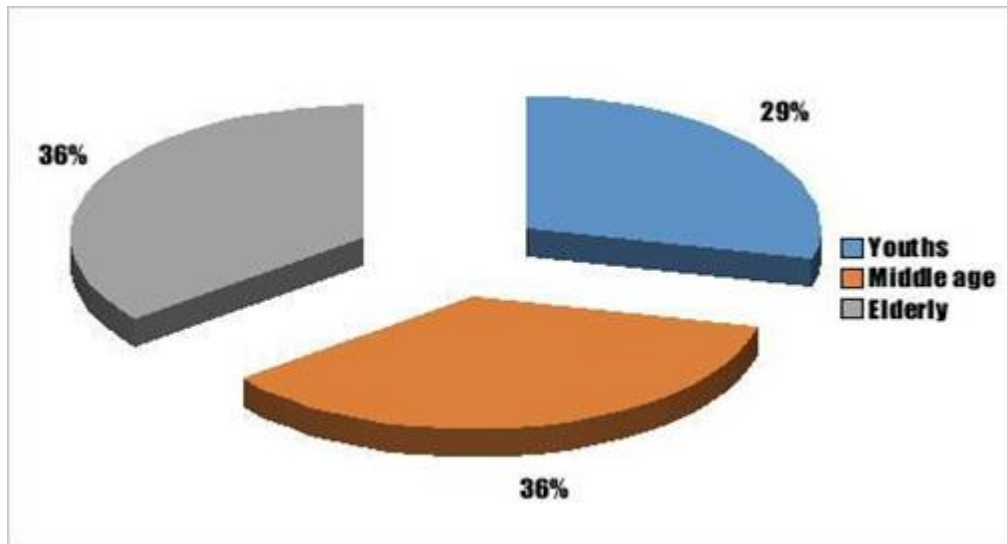


Figure 5.9: Male participants in Cameroon

5.3.3 Female participants in Cameroon

Figure 5.11 shows the different age groups of female participants within the Mankon community, Cameroon. Forty-five percent (45%) of the females were elderly (51 and above) while twenty-seven percent (27%) of the middle-aged (36-50) and twenty-seven percent (27%) the youth (20-35) respectively.

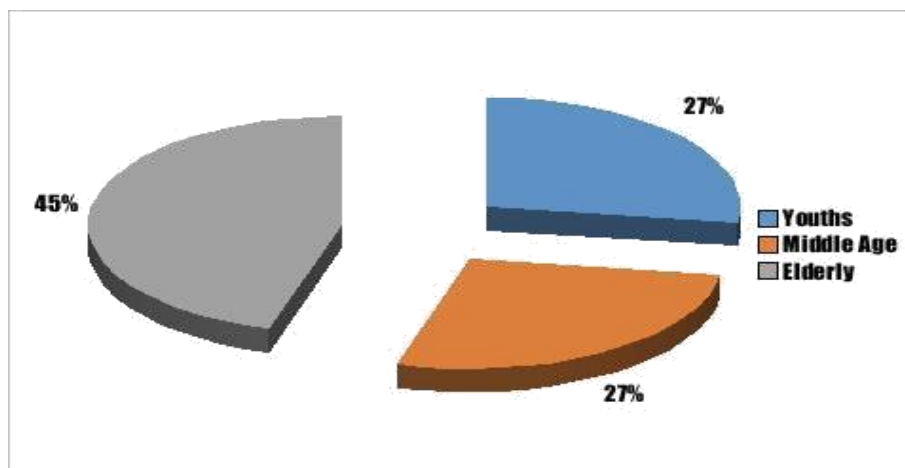


Figure 5.10: Female participants in Cameroon

5.3.4 Distribution of participants in Cameroon according to level of education

Figure 5.13 shows the level of education of participants from the Mankon community. The figure shows that sixty-percent (60%) of participants had obtained a General Certificate of Education (Ordinary Level certificate), sixteen percent (16%) had a diploma certificate, twelve percent (12%) had a GCE Advanced Level certificate, eight percent (8%) of participants had no formal education while four percent (4%) had a degree.

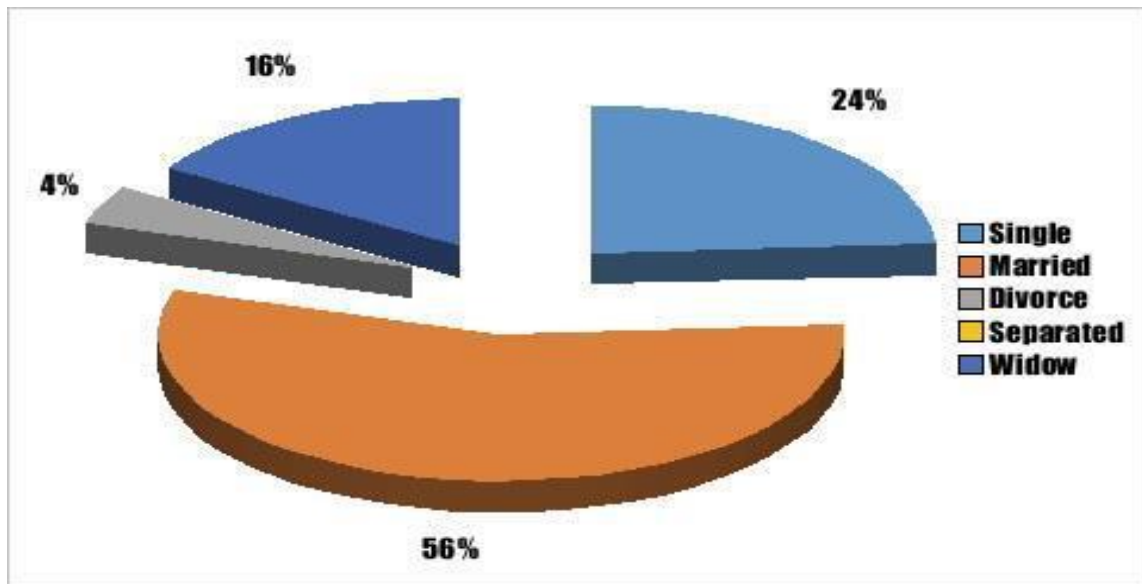


Figure 5.11: Distribution of participants in Cameroon according to level of education

5.3.5 Distribution of participants in Cameroon according to marital status

Figure 5.14 shows that the marital status of participants from the Mankon Community. The figure shows that fifty-six percent (56%) of participants interviewed were married, twenty-four percent (24%) were single, sixteen percent (16%) were either widows or widowers while four percent (4%) of participants were divorced.

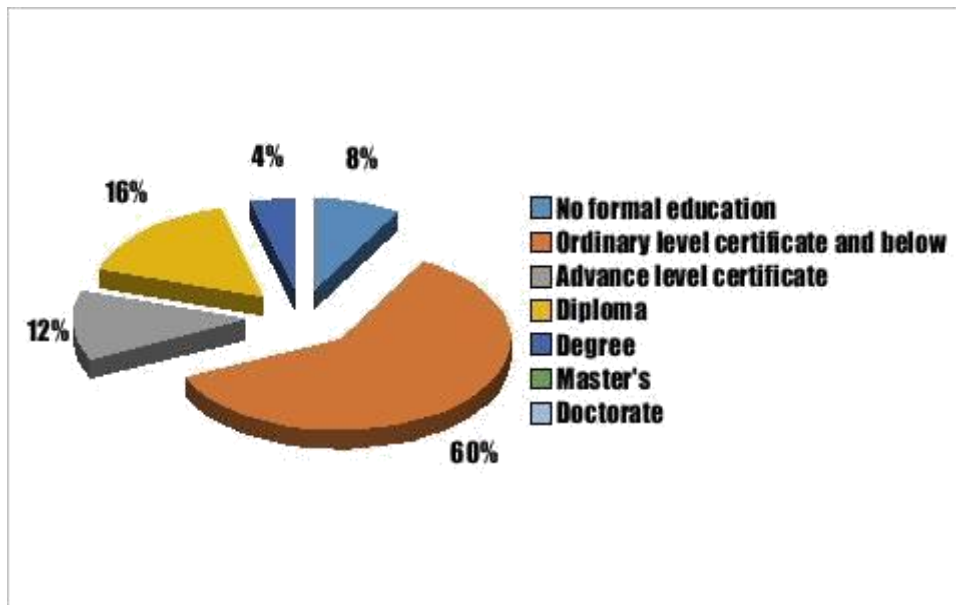


Figure 5.12: Distribution of participants in Cameroon according to marital status

5.3.6 Distribution of participants in Cameroon according to number of dependents

Figure 5.15 shows the number of dependents in the households of participants interviewed within the Mankon Community. The figure shows that forty-four percent (44%) of participants had 5 or more dependants, twenty-eight percent (28%) had between 3 and 4 dependants, sixteen percent (16%) had between 1 and 2 dependants while twelve percent (12%) of participants did not have dependants.

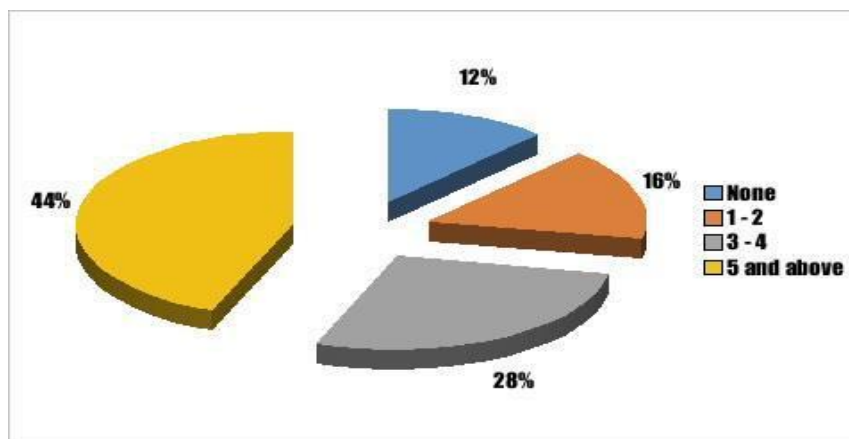


Figure 5.13: Distribution of participants in Cameroon according to number of dependents

5.3.7 Distribution of participants in Cameroon according to monthly income

Figure 5.16 shows the different income levels of participants within the Mankon Community. Sixteen percent (16%) of participants had no source of income, forty-four percent (44%) of participants had FCFA 10000 to 50000, sixteen percent (16%) of participants had FCFA 51000 to 100000, while twenty percent (20%) had FCFA 110000 to 200000 and four percent (4%) of participants had FCFA 210000 and above.

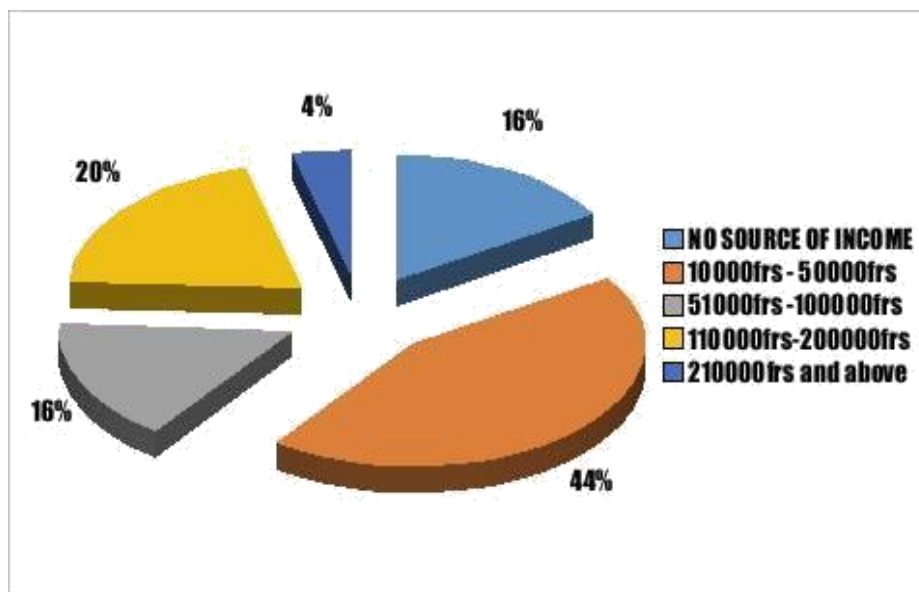


Figure 5.14: Distribution of participants in Cameroon according to monthly income.

5.4 INDIGENOUS AND STAPLE FOODS IN THE BAROLONG BOO RATSHIDI COMMUNITY

The researcher sought to find out the common indigenous foods within the Barolong Boo Rashidi Community. Participants listed the following as the most commonly consumed foods: lekatane, moshutlhwane (mixed beans with mabele i.e. sorghum), nyola (a mixture of corn and beans), tshotlo (chopped red meat), bojalwa jwa Setswana (traditional African beer), stampa (broken white corn/samp), morogo wa theepe (a type of wild indigenous vegetable herb), mogodu (tripe); dinawa (beans), motogo (soft porridge made out of mabele), kabu (whole grains of maize not broken), ditlhakwana (cow heels), 'motlope' (Setswana traditional coffee), diretlo (chopped), ting (sour porridge made of mabele/sorghum and/or maize meal), dikgobe (cooked brown beans), mogoga (name given to funeral food), madila (sour milk), bogobe (hard porridge made from mabele or maize meal), kgojakgojwa, serobe (ground meat), ngati (fatty parts of a of a cow), selalo (meat eaten by women),

diphele (kidneys only eaten by grown up men), telele (oxtail), tlhogo (heads of cattle like sheep, goats, only eaten by the uncles), makatane (pumpkin-like), and lengangale.

5.4.1 Staple foods in the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community

The researcher was also interested in the staple foods within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi Community. According to participants interviewed, their staple foods are beans, spinach, potatoes, carrots, pap, and chicken. They also mentioned vegetables such as fresh tomatoes, onions, beetroots, samp, mealie maize, rice; cabbage, beef, green pepper, butternuts, dumpling, macaroni bread; soft porridge made of maize meal (motogo). Other varieties from contemporary times included cereals such as oats, cornflakes, wheat bits, pumpkins, salads (green, potatoes, beetroots and motogo), eggs, tin fish, onions, milk, spaghetti, and assorted soft drinks. The following snippets are some of the responses from participants.

An unemployed male youth participant who is unmarried and without children and has attained a diploma, responded as follows:

We eat pap, meat, (beef or chicken) rice, fish (tin), eggs, bread, milk, onions, and potatoes. We eat these foods daily. The vegetables, which we eat, are beetroot and tomatoes.

Similarly, a female youth participant with the same characteristics but employed, said:

I eat pap, meat, cabbage, spinach, cereals, bread, mabele, mealie meal, tea or coffee, spaghetti, beetroot, rice. I also eat potatoes with meat and veggies, onions and tomatoes every day. We eat chicken because it is cheap. The indigenous foods are not my staples I only eat them once in a while.

A middle-aged female participant with Grade nine schooling educational level, unmarried and unemployed mentioned the following as staple foods she eats:

Mabele, rice, spaghetti, macaroni, cabbage, potatoes, spinach, carrots, tinned fish and chicken obtained from the shops are our staples.

Another middle-aged male participant with matric level education, also unmarried and without children but employed responded thus:

The staple foods would be bread, rice, maize meal, chicken, soft porridge with milk and sometimes oats as food breakfast and lunch. There can also be vegetables such as spinach, tomatoes and onions.

An elderly female participant with Grade nine educational level, married with children and employed, said:

The staple foods are pap, samp, rice, meat, cabbage, spinach, carrots, pumpkin, beetroot, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, green pepper, milk.

Similarly, an elderly male participant with Matric educational level and widowed with children and employed, responded thus:

The staples are: chicken, beans, meat, samp potatoes, spinach, cabbage, onions, cereals, carrots, sour porridge.

The participants of all varied groups age, sex some with and others without children, and with varied educational levels and income levels, identified similar food items as their staples. Thus, the demographic characteristics or profile seems not to have any significant influence on their food choices.

5.5 FOOD AND ITS MEANINGS IN THE BAROLONG BOO RATSHIDI COMMUNITY, SOUTH AFRICA

5.5.1 Funeral foods: Mogoga - symbol of pain and grief

During funerals in the Barolong boo Ratshidi community, 'mogoga' is prepared for mourners and well-wishers. Mogoga consists of samp, mabele/sorghum and tshotlo. Meat is served at funerals since there can be no funeral without meat. *Tshotlo* is soft meat that has all bones extracted prior to preparation. These dishes are prepared during funerals and are not salted nor spiced or fried in oil. Such tasteless and less attractive meals symbolise the sombreness of mourning and grief. One of the male youth participants with matric educational level and married but without children and unemployed gave the following response when asked about food usually cooked for funerals:

Our parents tell us that foods such as stampa, mabele and tshotlo are usually cooked for funerals.

A female youth participant with Bachelor's degree, unemployed and unmarried but has two children responded thus:

Funeral foods are setampa, tshotlo, mabele. There is no meaning attached to it. It is called mogoga.

Another female youth participant with matric educational level, unmarried and without children and unemployed gave a similar response:

Tshotlo, samp, mabele are eaten during funerals and there is no meaning attached to its consumption.

A middle-aged female participant with Grade ten educational level, unemployed and unmarried but with four children responded thus:

We cook mogoga (stampa, mabele and tshotlo) during funerals. When you see the mogoga, you know it is a funeral. These foods were not fried, with no spices and we called it mogoga'. These are foods used only during funerals and signifying mourning. These days, things have changed dramatically. During funerals, you will see different foods like salads, beetroots, potatoes, chicken, rice and other foods.

An elderly female participant with Grade nine education, married and has five children and is employed responded as follows:

Traditionally, we eat tshotlo, with samp and mabele. The presence and consumption of mogoga signifies mourning, grief, pain, and is linked to a funeral. The elderly and men from the chief's place eat 'leshuhu', which is bones with meat. Those who have money now add salad to the men.

A similar response was given by an elderly male participant with matric educational level, married and has four children and employed:

Yes, we have funeral foods called mogoga, which is made up of tshotlo, mabele and stampa. These foods have meaning when eaten. It is food not salted to reflect the meaning, which is that of mourning and pain. The presence of this food signifies mourning.

From the responses cited above, it is clear that the consumption of certain foods is attached to a particular event that has a specific meaning. However, the youths are not as knowledgeable about the underlying meaning of such foods while the middle-aged and the elderly know the meaning and reasons for such foods at funerals.

During funerals, the traditional leader or king (Kgosi in Setswana language) is given a special food known as '*leshuhu*' (big bones) to acknowledge his authority. This is therefore food that signifies respect and honour. The food is usually served in a big bowl. It is served in this manner in order to reduce any chances of harming or poisoning Kgosi through the food. '*Leshudu*' is given to the Kgosi and he has the right to share with his herdmen or council members. Meanwhile, all at the funeral eat the '*Mogoga*.' In addition, during funerals, there is no sugary, tasteful and very brightly coloured nor sweetened food such as desserts. The '*mogoga*' is an indigenous food that conveys a cultural identity of the Barolong ethnic group. Figure 5.17 below is a picture of '*mogoga*' (*tshotlo*, *mabele*, and *stampa*) consumed during funerals signifying grief and pain in the Barolong boo Ratshidi community.



Figure 5.17: *Tshotlo*: Meaty dish served during a funeral

This picture of *tshotlo* (one of the foods present during a funeral) in the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community is made from pounded and stripped meat without bones served with pap and stampa.



Figure 5.18: Stampa with beans eaten during funerals

As stated earlier, *stampa* as depicted in Figure 5.18, is part of ‘mogoga’ (funeral food) prepared with beans or without.



Figure 5.19: Stampa without beans consumed during funerals

The figure above shows stampa without beans eaten with tshotlo during funerals in the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community. Sorghum or mabele pap is also an indigenous food within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community that falls in the ‘mogoga’ group (eaten with tshotlo) as indicated in figure 5.20 below.



Figure 5.20: Hard mabele eaten with tshotlo at a funeral

5.5.2 Traditional wedding foods and beverages

Setswana Traditional Beer (‘Bojalwa jwa Setswana’)

Within the Barolong community, traditional beer carries a lot of meaning, especially during traditional events. The traditional beer is brewed from mabele (see Figures 5.21 and 5.22 for pictures of the traditional brew or *Bojalwa wa Setswana*). It is prepared by grinding mabele, pouring some warm water into the ground mabele and allowing it to ferment over a

week. After one week, the fermented mabele is boiled and allowed to cool for a day. The brew is then strained and poured into containers ready for consumption. It is very healthy because it is made by mixing mabele and water only, no alcohol or acid is added during its preparation. '*Bojalwa wa Setswana*' is usually served during traditional weddings. It is significant during traditional weddings because it carries symbolic meaning of blessings of the marriage by the ancestors and the elders members of the family. Before the traditional beer is served to the bride and the groom, a small hole is dug in the ground and some of the traditional beer poured into the hole and covered with sand. In so doing, it is believed that the ancestors have been given their own share and it is only after this ritual that the traditional beer is shared to the members of the public attending the wedding. This signifies blessings for the couple throughout their marriage life. *Bojalwa jwa Setswana* is used during the celebration of a traditional marriage.



Figure 5.21: Setswana traditional beer: Bojalwa jwa Setswana



Figure 5.22: Setswana traditional beer: Bojalwa jwa Setswana

The consumption of the traditional beer shows respect and portends a blessing during the marriage as mentioned by one of the participants:

The presence of 'Bojalwa jwa Setswana' signifies blessing as the ancestors recognise the marriage. This is so because before the traditional beer is consumed, the ground is dug up and some of the beer is poured into the hole and closed with sand. In that way, it is believed that they have given to the ancestors. It is very essential to perform that ritual so that your plans can move smoothly. It signifies the ancestors welcoming the couple and it is a blessing from both families.

The responses of the following participants attest the importance of the traditional beer (Bojalwa jwa Setswana). However, the youth are not sure of the meaning linked to the presence of the traditional beer in a wedding. This is evident in the views cited below.

A female youth participant with Grade nine education, married and unemployed said:

The traditional beer is present only during the celebration of a traditional marriage and not during a funeral. I don't know why so.

An elderly female participant with Grade eleven educational level, married with two children but unemployed said:

In the Barolong Boo Ratshidi ethnic group, the traditional beer called Bojalwa jwa Setswana is used during the celebration of a traditional marriage. The presence of Bojalwa jwa Setswana 'in the celebration of a traditional marriage signifies blessing of the marriage by the ancestors.

Another elderly male participant with Grade nine education, married with four children and employed said:

The traditional beer Bojalwa jwa Setswana is always present during the celebration of a traditional wedding. There is really no celebration of a traditional wedding without the presence of the traditional beer as it signifies blessing of the marriage.

A middle-aged female participant with Grade nine educational level, married with three children and also employed also said:

The importance of the presence of the Bojalwa jwa Setswana during the celebration of a traditional wedding symbolises respect and blessing of the couple by the families and the ancestors.

The views expressed by the participants confirm that the traditional beer served during the celebration of a traditional wedding symbolises blessings of the event. It is however

important to state that the youths are not very conversant with the meaning attached to the consumption of particular African indigenous foods in the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community.

Traditional weddings within Barolong Boo Ratshidi: Enhancing the fertility of couples

Participants indicated that during the celebration of a traditional wedding in the Barolong Ratshidi community. Foods present during a funeral ceremony is the same food, which is present during a wedding celebration. During traditional weddings (when the lobola is paid), the head of the cow is eaten only by married people and given only to the uncles of either the bride or the groom. Unmarried men are not allowed to eat the head and if they do eat the head during such events, it becomes a curse to the newly-weds. Foods prepared during the celebration of a traditional wedding are tshotlo, mabele and stampa. It is usually colorful, bright, and very tasteful. The appearance of the foods symbolizes joy and happiness. Specific parts of the foods carry meaning when consumed. When a sheep is slaughtered during the celebration of a traditional wedding, the waist and rear parts of the sheep are eaten by the couple as a symbol of unity and togetherness.

An elderly male participant with matric educational level, a widower with five children and employed stated:

During traditional weddings, the bums and the waist of the sheep are eaten only by the couple. The consumption of the waist by the couple carries a meaning of togetherness.

A middle-aged female participant with matric educational level, unmarried and without children also unemployed posits:

Foods prepared during funerals are the same with foods prepared during weddings. The difference is at the level of the presentation and appearance of the foods. The wedding foods are often prepared with so much spice which makes it colorful, tasteful, and bright. Unlike that of the funeral which is prepared only with water and salt. The appearance and presentation of the food is less attractive, tasteless and not colour.

Another middle-aged male participant with a bachelor's degree, unmarried but with two children and employed declared:

During wedding celebrations, you will have the same meals like in the funerals but they carry different meanings attached to it. The appearance of the food during traditional weddings will be colourful, bright, and tasteful symbolising joy

and happiness. While the presentation of the funeral foods is dull, colourless and tasteless symbolizing grieve and pain.

This middle-aged female participant with a grade nine educational level, unmarried with four children and unemployed emphasised that:

When a cow is slaughtered during the celebration of a traditional wedding. The head of any animal slaughtered is given to the uncles of the bride and the groom.

From the response of this elderly female participant with a grade seven educational level, unmarried with five children and employed responded thus:

During traditional weddings, food is cooked and classify. For example, foods for the in laws is dish out in special bowls and given to them as a sign of respect.

From the above excerpts, the funeral foods are same as the weddings. The only difference is with the presentation and the appearance of the foods. The presentation of the funeral food symbolises pain and grieve as it is colourless and and not attractive, while the presentation and appearance of the wedding foods symbolises joy and happiness since it is bright, colourful and tasteful. Also, specific parts of the wedding foods carry meaning to its consumption. The voices of the youths are silent as majority of the responses are from the middle-aged and elderly participants.

5.5.3 Food for fertility

Participants from the Barolong Boo Ratashidi community indicated that they are certain foods which when consume enhances fertility. For example, during the celebration of a traditional wedding, the couple mainly consume the lower part of the cow called 'mokoto' just below the kidney. It is symbolic and of significance as it will enhance fertility in the couple.

As postulated by one of the elderly female participants with a grade eleven educational level, married with two children and unemployed maintained:

There is a part of the sheep which is reserved for the couple and is called 'Mokoto' just below the kidney. It is usually consumed by the couple as it is belief that it will enhance their child bearing chances.

Thus, the consumption of certain foods is very symbolic and of significance in the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community.

5.5.4 Gender and food in the Barolong Boo Rasthidi

In the Barolong clan, not everybody consumes all parts of an animal. There are particular parts of the sheep, goat, cow that are assigned to different sexes and with respect to their different age groups. The 'motobiso', which is made up of the chest, leg and the intestines of a cow, is only for men, while the 'ngati', which is made up of the heart and the ribs, are eaten by the elderly women. The drumsticks, of a chicken, for example, are reserved for the men because they are harder and have more meat while the women are expected to consume the wings. The tongue of a cow is also given to elderly women as they use it for ululating. Evidence can be seen in the following excerpts:

As stipulated by an elderly female participant with a grade nine educational level, married with four children and employed pointed out:

In the Barolong culture, women eat the wings of a chicken while the men consume the drumstick because it is believed that it is strong and has more meat. Elderly women were usually given the tongue of a cow to consume as it will assist them in ululating.

In addition, a female youth participant with matric educational level, unmarried and without children and employed indicated:

What I know is that during traditional weddings, the head of the cow is never eaten by any female but only eaten by the uncles of the bride and the groom.

In the words of a middle-aged female participant with a matric educational level, unmarried, without children and unemployed posits:

Motobiso are different parts of the cow such as the chest, leg, and intestines which is eaten by men only. The elderly women eat the heart and some pieces from the ribs called 'ngati' because it is tender.

An elderly male participant with matric educational level, married with four children and employed emphasized that:

In the past, the kidneys and hearts of any animal were not supposed to be eaten by youths both girls and boys. It was only to be eaten by grown-ups. They believe was that it will make them become sexually active. However, nowadays, the youths can buy kidney pies and consume.

To add more, a middle-aged male participant who has attained a diploma, married with three children and employed said:

Kidneys of animals were eaten by the elderly only. Youths were not allowed to eat kidneys as it was belief that it would destroy their very own kidneys.

Furthermore, this female youth participant with a grade nine educational level, unmarried with four children and employed said that:

Eggs and kidneys were forbidden to be eaten by youths both girls and boys. The belief was that it would make them sexually active.

From the responses above there is evidence that there is a relationship between food and gender in the Barolon Boo Ratshidi community. The consumption of certain foods is associated with one's gender. There are certain foods, which must be consumed only by the female sex, and other foods by the male sex. Youths both girls and boys were exempted from the consumption of kidneys, heart and eggs, as it was belief that they will become sexually active. The responses were obtained from all different age groups.

5.6 CHANGES IN FOOD CONSUMPTION PATTERNS AMONG BAROLONG BOO RATSHIDI

5.6.1 Actual changes in foods consumption patterns among Barolong Boo Ratshidi.

Participants identified several changes, which has taken place in the food consumption trends in the contemporary society as follows: more modern and processed food is being consumed than was the case in the past where more locally grown and organic foods were consumed. More of the genetically modified food is consumed. The food consumed presently is very spicy compared to the food consumed in the past that had very little or no spice. In the past, food was cooked with salt only. The presentation of food today is colorful, accompanied by different salads and spices. Previously, the presentation of food was not as colorful. The duration of cooking food in the past was longer than the duration today. This is because they are all processed food and it takes a shorter time to get ready than indigenous food. The amount of indigenous food consumed nowadays has declined compared to the amount of indigenous African food consumed in the past.

Another change is that nowadays, every food is obtained from the market and very little is grown. The reasons vary from lack of land and water, people becoming lazy to not wanting

to grow their own food. People are now highly dependent on food markets, which also influences their food choices whereas in the past, food choices were influenced by the locally grown produce. Food consumption patterns have changed in that many people have shifted to the consumption of take-away and fast foods. This is because of the changes in the lifestyles because they are very busy at work, and no longer have time to prepare home food since indigenous food is time-consuming and is hard to prepare. There has been a decline in the consumption of home-cooked meals and more consumption of the fast foods and take away foods as indicated by some participants:

In the words of this female youth participant with a matric educational level, unmarried and with two children and employed pointed-out:

Changes in food consumption patterns have occurred due to new ways of acquiring food such as take-away foods. People have become lazy to cook, since they are usually busy at work. Quick fast food obtain from the shops are eaten more than the indigenous foods.

In addition, another female youth participant with a bachelor's degree, unmarried with two children expresses her personal opinion in the following words:

Yes, the patterns of food consumption have change. In the past, more of the indigenous food was consume and today less of it is consume and more of the modern foods are consumed.

Inferring from this male youth participant with a matric educational level, unmarried, without children and unemployed said:

Yes, they have changed in that we no longer grow our indigenous food. We have shifted to the consumption of more of the modern foods.

One of the middle-aged male participants who has attained a diploma, married with four children and employed stated:

Yes, things have changed, in the past, most of everything eaten was locally produced and today most of everything we consume is from the shops. Our food choices are determined by the market. The food consumption patterns have changed. Previously, we would eat two times a day as indigenous foods were heavy and could last one for a whole day but with modern foods of today, they do not sustain us for a long time and because of that, you have to eat repeatedly. When you stay at home without going out, it is even possible for you to eat more than five times a day.

Furthermore, a middle-aged male participant with the same characteristics like above but unmarried responded thus:

There is a change in the food consumption patterns. In the past we ate more of the organic food and today we eat more of the genetically modified and processed foods like rice, spaghetti, process package, take aways and fast foods. There is a shift a shift from the consumption of the indigenous to the modern foods.

This middle-aged female participant with a grade eleven educational level, married with two children and unemployed indicated:

The taste of specific foods has changed and do no longer taste as good as it was in the past. For example, chicken which is genetically grown today no longer tastes good compared to the chicken which was naturally grown in the past. The taste of food today is not as delicious like before. An example is the chicken we eat today; it is not very tasteful like the chicken we used to eat. In the past, the chicken we ate was rare and naturally grown but today, we buy chicken from the shops that have been in the freezer for long and genetically modified. They do not really taste good as naturally grown chicken.

An elderly male participant with a matric educational level, married with four children and employed had this to say:

Yes, there are changes as the new is gradually replacing the old. The modern foods are replacing the indigenous. As there is an influence from the corporation of the western. Our indigenous food is processed package, given a different name, and labelled a western product. For example, the milk was usually fermented naturally but today, with modernisation, fermentation is done with yeast and some vinegar and is given a new name 'Inkomasi' (fermented or sour milk).

As postulated by this elderly female participant with a grade nine educational level, married with three children and employed responded thus:

My food consumption patterns have change, what I used to eat in the past I no longer eat them today. Moreover, the taste of some foods have change. The foods we eat today are not as tasteful like before.

Referring from the above responses, it is evident that there have been some changes in the food habits. The main change seems to be the change from the consumption of the indigenous to the modern foods. A change in the taste of foods consumed. Changes to the

consumption of more processed and fast foods and the genetically modified organisms. Every age group with diverse demographic characteristics explained the change, which has taken place in the food consumption habits.

5.6.2 Preparation of staple foods within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community

The second research question asked in the study was: “How are staple foods prepared and consumed within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi and Mankon ethnic groups respectively?” Participants responded to the question by outlining procedures and methods involved in the preparation of some of the staple foods. Not all of the preparation methods are outlined in the discussion. However, the most common methods are discussed.

Pap, gravy, rice, *stampa*, red meat, chicken, cabbage, mabele, potatoes, chicken were indicated as the staple foods within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community. Participants described the processes/stages involved in the preparation of pap thus:

One of the responses of a female youth participant with a matric educational level, unmarried, without children and unemployed affirmed as follows:

To prepare pap, start by pouring water into a pot and place it on the fire. Once the water starts boiling, pour the maize flour into the water. Then stir and wait for few minutes. Later, check if the mixture is ok or if you will still need to add more flour. Then, stir again and leave it to cook for about 15 minutes. Stir again and leave it to cook for about 5 minutes. Take the pot out from the fire and serve hot.

As postulated by one of the middle-aged male participants with a matric educational level, unmarried with two children and employed maintains:

I prepare pap like this very simple. I first boil water in a kettle, pour in the pot. Then, I mix my maize flour in a bowl with cold water and pour in the pot with water. I later stir to make sure that the mixture is smooth. I close the pot and leave it to cook for some minutes. I stir again; check the mixture so that it should not be very soft or hard. Stir again and leave it to cook for some minutes. Take it out from the fire and serve hot.

An elderly male participant with a matric educational level, a widower with five children and employed declared:

To prepare pap, pour hot water in the pot and add some pinch of salt in it. The importance of the salt is to give the pap some taste. Later, pour the maize flour into the pot, stir still when the mixture is not soft or hard. Then leave it to cook for some minutes, after which you take out from the fire and it is ready to be consumed.

Participant also indicated that pap could be eaten with gravy, *braai* meat and provided the following steps on how to prepare gravy:

From the response of a middle-aged female participant with a matric educational level, married with two children but unemployed responded:

Begin by chopping onions and tomatoes. Heat the cooking oil on the fire. Once hot, pour in the chopped onions and stir with a pinch of salt. When the onions become brownish in colour, add the chopped fresh tomatoes and leave it to cook for some time and later add a little bit of water and stir. Leave it to cook again for about two minutes and take out from the fire.

An elderly male participant with a matric educational level, a widower with five children and employed declared:

This is how I cook my gravy. I begin by chopping my fresh tomatoes, green and sometimes, red pepper. In my pot of hot oil, I pour the chopped onions, and the green pepper and stir. Later, pour in the fresh tomatoes into the oil and stir well. Mix a soup of your choice in water and pour in the pot with some beef cubes. Leave the pot on the fire for about three minutes. Take the pot out from the fire and it is ready for consumption.

Some participants maintained that pap could also be consumed with gravy and even milk as captured in the excerpts below. In addition, another female youth participant with a bachelor's degree, unmarried with two children and unemployed expresses her personal opinion in the following words:

Eating pap with milk is simple. Buy the fresh milk from the shops. Pour the fresh milk into the cook pap and stir. Then it is ready for consumption.

Inferring from this male youth participant who has attained a diploma, unmarried without children but employed affirms:

I do eat pap with sour milk. Sour milk is fresh milk from the cow. I leave it to ferment for about two to five days. When the milk is fermented, you will notice that there has been a separation from the water and the cream on top and pour into your bowl of pap. Stir and consume. This is how I consume pap and sour milk.

When a cow or pig is slaughtered, the intestines are immediately prepared and consumed. The meat is then cut into smaller braai pieces. The following participants outlined the various methods on how to *braai* meat.

From the response of an elderly female participant with a grade eleven educational level, married with two children and unemployed said:

In the past, braai was done by preparing the fire, by then, there were no braai stands. The three-leg fire was made to braai the meat. Only salt was used to sprinkle on the meat for the braai. Place the meat on the fire and keep changing the sides to prevent the meat from burning. After about 15 minutes, the meat looks tender and brown. Take it out from the fire as it is ready for consumption.

In addition, this elderly male participant with a grade nine educational level, married with three children and employed responded thus:

The way meat was braai in the past, is different from the way meat is braai today. Firstly, today, there are braai stands, which people use to braai meat. There are also several spices which are used to braai meat. When I want to braai meat, I begin by setting up the braai stand. I use local charcoal to set up the fire, marinate the meat with different braai spices. I place the meat on the fire and check every now and again to prevent it from burning. After about 10 minutes, the meat is ready to be eaten.

Responses from the participants verified that there have been changes in the food preparation methods. As stated by a middle-aged female participant with a grade nine educational level, married with three children and employed stated:

There are changes with the preparation of food, before the three-legged pots were used with fire outside, today gas, stoves, electric cooker and braai stands are used to prepare food. Also, food cooked in the past was mainly boiled but today a lot of fries is done in oil which is not very healthy.

This is patently clear in the response submitted by an elderly male participant who has attained a diploma, unmarried with two children and employed responded thus:

The methods of preparing food has changed today as a lot of spices is put in food which gives us health problems.

A female youth participant with a matric educational level, unmarried without children and unemployed concurred with the previous participant by reiterating that:

Yes, there has been a change in the food preparation methods. In the past, food was cook only with salt and water. The stock of the meat was used as oil". However, today's food is cooked with a lot of oil, spices and salt.

One of the participants explained how potatoes soup can be prepared to be eaten with pap.

This middle-aged female participant with a grade eleven educational level, married with two children and unemployed indicated:

Peel and wash the potatoes. Pour the potatoes into a pot with some water. Once the potatoes are tender, add some soup, beef cubes and ingredients into the pot. Stir and leave the ingredients to cook for some minutes. Make sure that the texture is watery to enable the spread of it on the pap. Take the pot out from the fire and it can be served hot to be eaten with pap in the absence of meat or chicken.

Another participant commented by saying that potatoes is not the only food which can be prepared in a form of a soup served with pap. Cabbage can also be prepared in the form of soup and served with pap. The participant outlined the stages involved in the preparation of cabbage as follows:

In the view of this middle-aged participant with a grade nine educational level, married, with four children and unemployed stipulated thus:

Chop and wash the cabbage, carrots and potatoes if available. If not, chop only the cabbage, wash and place into a pot. In the case where you decide to include carrots and potatoes, add everything in the pot. Pour some water and a pinch of salt. Let the cabbage cook until when the water is dry. Add some fish or cooking oil, with some beef cubes, ingredients and let it boil for about 5 minutes. After which is ready and can be consumed with pap.

Furthermore, participants from the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community indicated that mabele (sorghum porridge) was also one of the staple foods within the community. Mabele is made

from wheat. Wheat is harvested, dried, grind and stored in bags for usage. Participants described several methods on how it is prepared as follows:

An elderly male participant with a matric educational level, married with four children and employed averred thus:

Start by pouring water into a pot and wait for it to boil. Pour the mabele flour into the pot and stir. Keep it to cook for a while and later stir again. Make sure it does not get too hard. Add some water into the pot if the mixture is hard and stir to smoothen the paste. Cover the pot for about 5 minutes. After which the mabele porridge is ready to be eaten.

From the response of an elderly female participant with a grade eleven educational status, married with a child and unemployed posits the process as follows:

I prepare mabele soft porridge by first cooking the mabele. Once ready, pour some fresh milk and sugar. I enjoy the mabele porridge with sugar.

Participants from the Barolong boo Ratshidi community indicated various methods on how mabele can be consume. It could be consumed as a soft porridge described above. When prepared hard, it can be eaten with spinach, chicken, meat, cabbage, just like maize mealie (pap). Participants provided the following steps on how the hard mabele can be prepared to be eaten with either spinach, cabbage or beef stew

From the perspective of this single middle-aged female participant with a grade ten level of education, married with three children and unemployed pointed-out:

Pour the mabele flour into boiling water, stir and leave it to cook for about 15 minutes. It is basically the same method which you will use to prepare soft porridge mabele. The difference comes in at the level of instead making the mixture soft, make it hard. Be careful not to add so much water, which will make the mixture soft. Make sure the mixture is hard and leave it to cook for some minutes. Take out the pot from the fire and your mabele is ready to be eaten.

Rice was mentioned by the participants as one of the staple foods within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community, whose relish is gravy (sauce consisting of tomatoes, onions and soup). Participants' maintained rice is their staple food because it is very easy, quick and fast to prepare. Many in the community enjoy it though it is a western and not an indigenous food. Participant indicated as follows:

In the view of this female youth participant with a grade nine level of education, married with three children and employed maintained:

To cook rice is very easy. Place a pot on the fire with some water. Leave it to boil and later, wash the rice and put on the fire with some pinch of salt. Make sure the water is above the rice level. Check every 5 minutes on how soft or tender the rice is and take out the pot from the fire once the rice is soft and the water in the pot is dry. Serve the meal while hot.

One of the female youth participant with a matric educational level, unmarried without children and unemployed maintained as follows:

There are several methods of preparing rice. What I do is to get the water boiled, then I pour the unwashed rice in the pot of boiled water, leave it to cook for about 7 to 10 minutes. Take out the pot from the fire, wash the rice with some cold water and return on the fire with a pinch of salt and some little water. Leave the water to dry and taste the rice if it is tender, then take out from the fire and the rice is ready to be served.

It is worthy to note that participants indicated that in the past there was no rice. It only was made available during the colonial period. They maintained there were several types of rice, which required different methods of preparation. The two methods discussed above were the most common methods described by many on the preparation of rice. Rice can also be consumed with gravy, chicken or meat prepared in different forms either grilled, roasted or fried. Participants described the preparation of braai chicken as follows:

In the words of this middle-aged male participant who has obtained a diploma, unmarried and without children and employed stated:

Spice the chicken and place in the oven or on the braai stand. There are people who will prefer to boil the chicken first before spicing to braai. Keep turning the sides of the chicken to avoid it from burning. Once the colour of the chicken changes to brown, take out from the fire and it is ready for consumption.

Another elderly male participant with a matric educational level, married with four children and employed attested:

Chicken can also be fried in oil. Firstly, boil the chicken with some pinch of salt and beef cubes. When ready, spice the chicken with some spices, place the pot of oil on the fire. When the oil is hot, put a few pieces of the chicken into the oil and fry until the colour of the chicken turns brown/golden.

Within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community, there are basically two ways of preparing chicken (to braai or fry). The most common practice is to braai the chicken. The methods chosen for the preparation of chicken depends on the Individual's preference and taste.

Finally, the last dish which was identified to be a staple food within the community was stampa. There are two types of stampa as follows: one prepared with corn or mealie only; and the other which is made of corn and beans. Participants described several methods of preparing stampa. Stampa can be eaten with gravy, meat, *tshotlo* or beef stew as indicated by some participants.

In the view of this middle-aged participant with a grade nine educational level, married with four children and unemployed said:

Preparing stampa is very easy. Place the corn on the fire with some water in the pot. Leave it to cook for about one hour. When tender, wash the corn and add a pinch of salt to give it some taste. Take out the pot from the fire and it is ready for be eaten.

Due to the changes in the methods of food preparation, others prefer to prepare stampa with beans as indicated below.

Referring to an elderly female participant with a grade seven educational level, a widow with five children and employed postulated:

Start by washing the corn and beans. Together, put in the pot on the fire with some water and a pinch of salt added. Leave it to boil for about 30 to 45 minutes. Take it out from the fire and it is ready to be eaten.

The response of an elderly female participant with a grade nine educational level. Unmarried with four children and employed declared:

Put both corn and beans in the pot and leave it to boil for some time. When it is almost tender, add some beef cubes, salt and margarine. Stir and make sure it tastes alright. Leave it to boil for some minutes and later serve.

The findings from the responses reveals diversify views on the methods of food preparation. There is evidence of changes in the food preparation methods from the past to the present. The responses also indicate that the elderly and the middle-aged participants are conversant, practices the old methods of food preparation while the youth age group are not conversant, and practices the modern methods of food preparation.

5.6.3 Reasons for the changes in food consumption patterns within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi ethnic group

Changes in food consumption patterns are due to globalisation and modernisation. Even with technological advancements such as the media, social networks such as Facebook and twitter, many people tend to assimilate western culture and lifestyles in all spheres, including food that has led to the change in food consumption patterns. Furthermore, there is a general societal perception that modern food tastes better and is more delicious than indigenous food as people use spices in the preparation of modern food, unlike indigenous food.

Western influence through modern industrial food chain may also be one of the causes of the change in food consumption patterns. Western commercial influences usually govern the norms of what food can be ingested and which cannot. The West and its products are so dominant in sub-Saharan Africa that people have little control over its dominance in the food industry. Westernisation is changing lifestyles, and tends to change food consumption patterns. In contemporary society, many people no longer have time as they are too busy with their careers, material interests or status in society. There is no time for food preparation, as everything is available in shops at relatively affordable prices.

The ideas above are represented in the following excerpts below:

The view of this middle-aged male participant who has obtained a diploma, married with three children and employed indicated:

Western influence is the main cause of the change in food consumption. The west is just too powerful and influential on the Africa continent in all areas, including the food industry.

As postulated by one of the middle-aged participants with matric educational level, unmarried with two children and employed maintains:

Modernisation and globalisation is the reason for the change. Everything is modernised. People are no longer interested in farming. There is no time for ploughing as everything comes from the shops. Modernisation is changing our lifestyle.

From the response of this middle-aged female participant with a matric educational level, married with two children and unemployed responded:

Not sure, the reason for the change could be as a result of technological developments and changes in lifestyle patterns has led to the change in our food consumption habits.

A male youth participant with a matric educational level, unmarried without children and unemployed responded thus:

To me, I think the main reason is as a result of the scarcity of the indigenous foods and the availability of the modern foods. The indigenous foods are not readily accessible like the modern foods.

Another response from a male youth participant who has obtained a diploma, unmarried without children and unemployed said:

Technology is the biggest factor responsible for the change as we focus more on it and we cannot grow our own crops. Lifestyle changes too because of modernization. Everyone is working as they struggle to make a living and family time, unity, is compromised.

In the view of this female youth participant with a grade nine level of education, married with three children and employed stated:

One of the reason for the change in food choices is the influence by modern food changes, which has different flavors and taste.

As indicated by this female youth with a degree, unmarried with a child and unemployed declared:

The reason for the change in food consumption is because, the indigenous food takes too long to be cooked compare to the modern food which takes a shorter duration. The preparation of indigenous foods is time-consuming. Imagine, if I had to cook 'kabu' (whole maize), that means it must be boiling from 6:00am in the morning to enable me consume it in the afternoon around 14:00pm. This forces many people to turn to the modern foods because of the busy schedule, there is no time to use preparing these home foods. We prefer to purchase the fast processed foods, which is easy and quick to access, and consume. It has reduced the rate at which people now cook food in their homes during weekdays.

An elderly male participant with a matric educational level, widower with five children and employed posits:

The change in food choices is due to the availability and accessibility of different food varieties. In the quest for a taste of the varieties of food leads to changes in food consumption patterns.

In the words of an elderly female participant with a grade seven educational level, widow of five children and employed postulated:

The change in food habits have occurred due to the introduction of the modern foods in the market. There is really no farming. The modern foods have taken over the indigenous foods.

Social changes and the legacy of apartheid

The issue of land within the community is common as many people in South Africa are landless. They thus, no longer have land and even the sites, and the areas where they live in are very small to grow crops. As a result, little farming is practiced. People rely mainly on the buying of modern forms of packaged food. Hence, the change in the food consumption patterns of many African people in modern South Africa as captured in the excerpt below.

An elderly male participant with a matric educational level, married with four children and employed maintained:

We do not have land to plough. They have taken away our resources and want us to rely on them. This has led us to be solely dependent on them. Lack of water is another problem in the community. The reason for the change is that we have shifted so much to the Western culture. Lack of land. No availability of land to plant and rear cows. There is also the issue of drought in the community.

An elderly female participant with a grade nine educational level, married with a child and employed said:

The reason for the change in food consumption is that people no longer plough. This is due to land scarcity. People no longer have space even the sites they reside in are very small for growing crops. Hence, they indulged in the buying of readily made food.

The responses of the participants indicate that modernisation, globalisation, and technology are the main causes responsible for the change in food consumption patterns. Lack of land is another factor. The legacy of apartheid has led to the absence of land in the community leaving the community members with no land to plough. Moreover, the scarcity of indigenous food is due to the scarcity of land. In addition, the preparation on indigenous food takes longer time compare to the modern foods. These are some of the reasons advance for the changes of the food choices in the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community.

5.6.4 Preference of either indigenous or modern food in the Barolong Boo ratshidi community.

Participants were requested to indicate, their preference of either indigenous or modern foods. Participants indicated that indigenous food is healthier compared to the modern foods. The modern food is highly processed, it is usually not fresh enough and may cause health related diseases. Below are excerpts from participants in Barolong Boo Ratshidi community.

The response of a female youth participant with a grade nine educational level, unmarried with two children and employed responded thus:

I prefer both indigenous and modern foods because in a way they supplement for each other. If you do not have one, the other can readily replace it. But indigenous food still come out strong because they do not cause diseases like high blood and diabetes.

Another middle-aged female participant with a matric educational level, unmarried with two children and employed maintains that:

I prefer both indigenous and modern foods. Modern foods are accessible and available. The indigenous foods are scarce and not readily available.

In addition, another, middle-aged male participant with a matric educational level unmarried with two children and employed maintained:

I prefer both because they all taste good.

A male youth participant who has attained a diploma, unmarried with two children and employed pointed-out:

I will prefer indigenous foods because; they are not genetically modified like the modern foods. They are organically grown. Indigenous foods are healthy compare to the modern foods.

As postulated by a middle-aged female participant with a grade eleven educational level, married with four children and employed affirmed:

I prefer indigenous food because it gives us nutrients and assist the metabolic system to function well at all times and is very healthy. I prefer the modern foods because it is easy to cook them and it does not take long like the indigenous foods.

In the words of a middle-aged, male participant who has attained a diploma, married with four children and employed declared:

I prefer indigenous foods because it is very healthy. It improves our immune system. It is also very organic.

As expressed by an elderly female participant with a grade nine schooling educational level, married with five children and employed averred thus:

I prefer indigenous foods because they are nutritious and healthy; I prefer indigenous food because they are always fresh; I prefer indigenous foods but since we are faced with the problem of rainfall, it is difficult to find indigenous food and because of that, I have to consume modern food.

Inferences from an elderly female participant with the same characteristics but with a grade seven educational level declared:

I prefer indigenous food because they are nutritious and healthy. Indigenous foods are naturally grown and void of chemicals. They also serve as medicines to our bodies. I really enjoy eaten the indigenous foods more than the modern ones.

An elucidation from one of the elderly male participants with a matric level of education, married with three children and employed responded thus:

I prefer the indigenous foods because I grew up eaten it. The consumption of indigenous food is part of our culture and gives us a cultural identity. It is healthy and safe to eat the indigenous than the modern foods.

The inferences from the participants's responses are clear. Their views portray diversified preferences. The elderly indicated that they prefer consuming the indigenous food. In the youth age group, some prefer the consumption of both indigenous and modern foods. With regard to the middle-aged, majority prefer the consumption of indigenous food and a few the consumption of both indigenous and modern.

Participants also indicated that they prefer indigenous food because it tastes better than modernday and western food. Furthermore, indigenous food is more organic than western food. Some youths and middle-aged participants preferred both because they complement each other. If you do not have one of them, it can be replaced by the other, which is available. Some participants preferred modern food over indigenous food because it is readily

accessible, whereas indigenous food is scarce. Indigenous foods serve as medicine, as some of them are good for the human body. It is also worth mentioning that indigenous food is preferred because it makes the human body stronger and healthier. Indigenous foods are not full of fats, sugars, oils and do not cause health-related diseases, unlike modern food which is made up of GMOs (genetically modified organisms) and causes health-related diseases. Modern day food was preferred over indigenous foods by some participants because it is easy to prepare and does not take long on the fire like other indigenous foods. However, indigenous food is said to taste better than modern food. For example, modern chicken, which is grown in a week or two, and sold in shops and fastfood restaurants, does not taste as naturally grown chicken in communities. People also resort to modern food because they are used to it, and they consume it on a regular basis.

However, those who maintain indigenous food is scarce, say so because many people no longer grow crops in their backyards. They no longer do this because of drought and lack of rain, thus making the practice of agriculture difficult.

5.7 EFFECTS OF CHANGE IN FOOD CONSUMPTION PATTERNS IN BAROLONG BOO RATSHIDI COMMUNITY

Within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi Community, participants stated health effects as one of the main impacts of the shift in consumption patterns. Generally, it weakens the body's immune system to fight against illnesses as stated by one of the participants.

An elderly male participant with a matric educational level, married with three children and employed responded thus:

In modern societies, people no longer live for long as was the case in the past. The life expectancy of 'we' Africans has shifted from 100 to 50 years. Those who manage to reach about 70 years, are not physically strong as a 70-year-old man in the past, as they have grown physically weak. It is as a result of the change in the food consumption patterns from what was normally consumed in the past to what is being consumed today.

A middle-aged female participant with a grade nine schooling educational level married with three children and employed stated that she developed ulcers and hypertension due to the consumption of modern foods such as fresh tomatoes, cane fish and tomatoes sauces as captured in the excerpts below:

It has affected me personally in that the doctor has requested that I stop eating tin fish and tomatoes sauces as it is the cause of the gastric ulcers which I have developed.

Another middle-aged male participant with the same characteristics as above but who has attained a diploma indicated that he developed stroke and heartburn, through the consumption of acidic drinks and particular types of modern food. His perspective is captured in the following verbatim submission:

Yes, it has affected me as an individual health wise. I developed stroke, heartburn through the consumption of freezer drinks, spices and from eating other canned foods. I developed these diseases through the consumption of the modern foods. These diseases were never there before they brought all these poisonous stuff to Africa.

Barolong Boo Ratshidi community is affected by the change in food consumption patterns in that the consumption of some African indigenous foods is gradually being displaced by modern day and/or Western foods. Alongside with this gradual disappearance of indigenous foods is the fading away of some of the cultural practices and values. For example, some of the cultural food taboos like the youth not being allowed to eat kidneys are no longer observed and respected. The main reason is that the kidneys are sold in shops and the youth can easily buy them and consume. The consumption and method of preparation of indigenous food is being modified and the meaning of some of the indigenous food is also fading away. This modification in the preparation of the indigenous food comes as a result of the availability and accessibility of some modern foods which get mixed up with the consumption of indigenous food.

Participants also noted that there has been an economic impact in the shift in consumption patterns, and especially an increase in expenditure. This is because most community members no longer plough and keep backyard gardens as was the case in the past. Previously, the food consumed was from the fields or farms and gardens as captured by in the following excerpts:

Inferring from this middle-aged male participant with a matric level of education, unmarried with a child and employed said:

The shift in food habits has led to an increase in expenditure. Since it is costly to keep on purchasing modern foods all the time unlike before where we will eat the

products grown from our fields or gardens. We no longer grow crops behind our yards since they are small and there is no space for farming. Also, there are others who have become very lazy and will not want to plough but to only purchase from the shops. Eh...most of everything that we ate in the past was locally produced. Most, if not, everything came from the fields. Now, everything we eat comes from somewhere into the community. People are no longer interested in farming. Everything now is just buying, buying and buying.

Financially, the amount spent on food was very little because very little food was bought from the shops. Nowadays, food consumed is purchased from the shops. Very little or no individual or communal gardening is taking place anymore as indicated below.

A male youth participant with a matric educational level, unmarried without children and unemployed mentioned:

Many people are not practicing farming behind their yards. Others have become lazy while others have no space. Also, changes in lifestyle are another factor. The youth and the middle-aged go out to hustle for jobs and have no time to keep gardens again as was the case in the past. As a result, the alternative way of consuming food is to buy food from the shops, fast food outlets and processed foods.

Since majority of the food is obtained from shops, there has been an increase in the expenditure of food because people depend on shops for food. Today's communities depend on modern food which warrants them to buy from the shops all the time. A change in food consumption patterns has led to an increase in the number of times food is eaten or consumed per day. Due to the availability, varieties, and accessibility of these modern day foods, the number of times food is consumed per day has increased from three to about five times. Another general effect is that the youth in the community have become obese and very lazy. The youth today have grown obese and look older than their ages. After school or during holidays, they sit home all day and watch movies. They prefer and rely on the consumption of processed and fast foods than to prepare and consume indigenous food. This makes them obese and look really older than their real ages.

As captured by this elderly female participant with a grade eleven educational level, married with a child and employed averred:

Yes, the shift in food patterns has led to health-related diseases. The youth have now become very obese through the consumption of the modern foods especially

the fast foods. Our youth have become lazy and obese. They don't like to farm, they stay home all-day watching movies and eaten fast foods. These foods make them to become lazy and to grow obese.

One elderly male participant with a matric educational level, married with four children and employed records that the Barolongs are no longer proud of the consumption of their indigenous food. As stated below:

A youth will not consume 'motogo' (indigenous soft porridge) for breakfast or better still, to take to school. He or she will worry about what people will think and say about him. The youth in particular no longer want to be associated with the consumption of indigenous food. When you are seen eating indigenous food, especially in public, you are seen as not being modern or civilized.

Furthermore, the consumption of the modern food is perceived to be fancy, modern and civilised. Cultural practices, values and beliefs are fading away since the incorporation of western values and cultures, in food regimes in particular as indicated in the excerpt below.

One elderly male participant with the same characteristics as above but with three children postulates:

The effects of the shift in food consumption is not only on health. It has affected our cultural identity. We are no longer proud of our cultural practices and even with the consumption of our indigenous food. One will not want to consume 'mogodu' for example for breakfast because he or she will worry about what people will say. Our cultural practices are fading away. Our mindsets have changed whereby people are ashamed and will not want to consume their indigenous food for breakfast again like was the case in the past.

Though majority of participants stated the effects of the shift in food habits to be negative, some, however, stated that they had not experienced any effect of the change in food habits. This is evidence in the responses obtained from participants as indicated below.

As stipulated by this female youth participant with a bachelor's degree, unmarried and without children and unemployed said:

The change in food consumption habits has not affected me personally, but I hear that it weakens the body immune system to fight against diseases and causes health-related diseases. There are many illnesses that I know which are caused by processed foods, for example, chicken which is grown in two days and pastry

milk when consumed, leads to health complications. However, as an individual, I have not noticed any effect so far.

In the words of this elderly male participant with a grade nine schooling educational level, married with three children and employed stated:

I have not really noticed any effect so far. The general effect I hear is that we have diseases, which have come to us because of the shift in food consumption habits. There were times when we thought that sugar diabetes, obesity and hypertension were diseases associated to the Whiteman. However, honestly, these illnesses are related to the consumption of foods. Generally, the effect is that it leads to health-related diseases.

A male youth with a matric educational level, unmarried and without children and unemployed pointed out:

Personally, the shift has not affected me. However, generally, it leads to health-related diseases that is why many are sick of high blood pressure, diabetes and so many other diseases, all associated to what they eat.

Majority of the participants indicated that the effect of the changes in food consumption pattern has been mainly health related. While some participants maintain that it has also led to the eradication of some of some cultural practices. Few stated that they really have not felt any effect in connection with dietary changes. However, the middle-aged and the elderly seem to have indicated several health diseases contracted due of the change in our food habits. Meanwhile, the youths have experienced very little or no effect of the change in food choices

5.8 STRATEGIES TO AVOID AND REDUCE THE SHIFT IN CONSUMPTION PATTERNS IN THE BAROLONG BOO RATSHIDI COMMUNITY

Participants were requested to suggest strategies to reduce or avoid the shift in consumption patterns. Some of the suggestions are indicated below.

Participants indicated that the best way to reduce or avoid the change in food habits is by going back to the consumption of indigenous food. Everyone should begin ploughing and having backyard gardens in order to make indigenous food available and accessible. In addition, there is a need for the youth to be taught the importance of consuming organic

indigenous food, as well as cultural values and practices and how to prepare some of the indigenous foods. Furthermore, elders should continue to

emphasise the importance of consuming indigenous food. The first thing to do is for people to own land so that they can begin growing organic indigenous food. Home-cooked meals should be encouraged and the consumption of take-away and processed food be minimized as indicated by one of the participants.

In the words of this middle-aged male participant with a grade nine schooling educational level, married with two children and employed postulates:

There is something which can be done to reduce this shift in consumption patterns. We should stop relying on the purchase and consumption of fast and processed foods. Let us instead focus on cooking home meals, stop buying takeaways and start farming. People should be given land.

Another participant suggested that, the consumption and farming of vegetables and fruits in people's backyards should be encouraged by the Department of Health as captured in the words of one of the participants.

From the perspective of a female youth with a matric educational level, unmarried without children and unemployed said:

The Department of Health should educate and encourage people on the importance of growing vegetables and fruits in their back yards. Every household should own a small garden at the back of their yards to prevent the situation constant dependency on the shops. This is because we buy everything, including drinkable water. Well, I believe that having a garden is something that people do not really consider.

Considering the historical background of South Africa, the issue of land is still problematic in "post-apartheid" South Africa. Thus, some participants maintained an equal redistribution of land could motivate and encourage the farming of indigenous crops since the scarcity of indigenous foods is as a result of people not owning land to farm as indicated by participants.

In the words of a male youth participant with same characteristics as above reiterated:

Firstly, land should be made available and accessible to everyone. If it is made available, then people will begin farming more of indigenous foods again. We do not grow food because the yards here are too small and there is no space for farming.

Though most participants suggested different ways of reducing the shift in food habits, some believe that a reduction in the change in food consumption patterns will be challenging because of the rapid technological advancements. They argued that it is hard to go back to indigenous foods. It is time-consuming to prepare indigenous food and therefore the change in lifestyles inhibits this course of action. Only government or economic policy would assist in creating conditions for the development of various possibilities for indigenous food supply chains. Some participants stated that there is nothing that can be done to reduce the shift in consumption patterns because life and the society are in transition too and most people are lured by western modernity as captured in the following excerpts:

According to this middle-aged female participant with a grade eleven educational level, married with two children and unemployed stated:

I am not sure there is anything we can do to avoid this shift in consumption patterns. This is because we are moving ahead to catch up with the rapid technological developments around us. Our mindsets have been shifted to western culture. We are heavily influenced by the west in all aspects of life even in the type of food we now eat. We want to be seen consuming more of western food than our local foods, which indicates how modern we have become.

Another participant stated that because many people are already addicted to modern food, not much can be changed. In as much as we cannot be resistant to change, there should be some balance between the consumption of indigenous and modern food as indicated the following excerpt:

A middle-aged male participant with a bachelor's degree, unmarried but with two children and employed responded thus:

Food should be appropriately combined or people should be educated on how to have mixed and balanced diet with all the nutrients needed so as to live a healthy lifestyle.

As one of the elderly male participants with a matric educational level, married with five children and employed pointed-out:

... an equilibrium / a balance should be taken into consideration. Modern foods should not be consumed in excess. There should be an equal balance of the consumption of modern and indigenous foods.

Furthermore, an elderly male participant with a grade nine schooling educational level, a widower with four children and employed indicated:

We should not be resistant to change but there should be a balance of our food choices and not a total dominance by one over the other.

The views expressed above are those of the participants on strategies to avoid or reduce a shift in consumption patterns. Participants from all age groups (youth, middle-aged and the elderly, with no monthly income and with the same educational level) maintained that land should first be given to the community members. They should be educated on the importance of ploughing and consuming indigenous food. While the middle and the elderly participants with same monthly income and with children stated that, there should be a balance in the consumption of the modern and indigenous foods.

5.9 INDIGENOUS AND STAPLE FOODS IN THE MANKON COMMUNITY

One of the questions the researcher sought to understand was to identify the indigenous and staple foods within the Mankon community. Among the Mankon community of Cameroon, the most common indigenous foods were the following: achu with yellow or black soup (ambarga); 'akaka madus' (a mixture of fried groundnut/peanut and corn); 'Akwa' (pounded macabo cocoyams or cassava) with soup (okra, egusi soup or vegetable soup); boiled cassava and vegetables; Cassava koki (just like koki beans); cassava grind with some salt and palm oil added and tied in plantain leaves; fufu corn and vegetables; 'Nkon' (small cocoyams porridge with some cocoyam leaves); yams (different varieties such as hairy, yellow and sweet)

eaten with vegetables, soup or plain without any relish; roasted plantain and fried groundnuts eaten without any relish; corn chaff without beans (corn porridge); yellow yam roasted and eaten plain (without any relish) accompanied by a cup of raffia wine (traditionally brewed drink); 'Nzea Anery' (garden eggs soup) eaten with either plantains, cocoyams, cassava or yams; 'adong' (just like sweet potatoes, boiled and eaten with vegetables or soup); boiled plantain eaten with vegetables or soup (egusi, bitter leaf soup etc); porridge plantain with a lot of palm oil and cow meat; cooked egusi (prepared and wrapped in small bundles and dried called 'nuttie' used as Maggi or beef cubes in the past); and porridge cocoyams with palm oil and vegetables.

Participants within the Mankon community indicated that they obtained their proteins from the following sources: bush fowls (quails); bush meat such as antelopes and 'fubile' (fish caught from the sea). Traditional rice, is normally obtained from corn and broken into small pieces and eaten with egusi. Cocoyam mixed with cowpeas is pounded and eaten by the locals within the community; Ndong ni bong = sweet potatoes; traditional beer = raffia wine; 'zu ni leng' = hairy, boiled plantain and ambarga (cocoyam leaves) with a lot of palm oil; boiled corn and groundnut; roasted plantain mixed with palm oil and salt; porridge cassava with palm oil; sweet potatoes called 'mafen' with palm oil; pumpkin leaves cooked and eaten with yams or plantain; 'Amba kaka' (fufu corn mixed with pounded vegetables and palm oil); Koki corn or Koki beans from fresh corn peeled from the stem and blended, later mixed with oil and wrapped in small sizes in plantain leaves. One of the participants maintained as follows:

It is only those in cosmopolitan areas where people tend to consume more of modern foods. Some of us in rural areas still hold on to our indigenous foods. The modern food is present but it is not overriding the traditional foods. The traditional food still has its place in the society though the modern food is readily available. Take for instance, since morning, what food have we consumed in the house, other than the indigenous food

5.9.1 Staple foods in the Mankon community

One of the questions strove to identify the staple foods within the Mankon Community, Cameroon. According to participants, some of the staple foods in the community include: spaghetti; bread; milk; porridge cocoyam; fufu-corn and vegetable/okoro; fresh tomatoes; rice; pepper soup; potatoes; carrots; green beans; water-fufu and eru; egusi soup; chicken; cow meat; achu; ovaltine; maggi (beef cubes); crayfish; yams; cooking oil/groundnut oil; green pepper; curry powder; corn chaff with beans; Garri; salads; (green, potatoes); eggs; sardine fish; packaged (canned) foods; sugar; fresh fish; corn beef; macaroni; soft drinks/cold drinks of all sorts; green spices; tea (Tole/Ndu), tomato paste; puff-puff; canned/tin foods; pounded cocoyam called 'akwa' with okra or bitter leaf soup; porridge plantain; boiled plantain with soup; carrots; and rice. Similarly, within the Mankon community of Cameroon, the following were indicated by participants as their staple foods: Cocoyam, bread, spaghetti, fufu-corn and vegetable/okoro, water fufu and eru/ soup, chicken (locally grown), Ovaltine, green spices, porridge plantain and boiled plantain. Participants indicated

that the staple foods within the community are a blend of both indigenous and modern foodstuffs.

Participants further confirmed that there is actually a balance or a blend in the consumption of indigenous and modern foods as captured in the following excerpts:

An elderly male participant who obtained a diploma, married with eight children and employed emphasised:

Staple foods consumed today are rice, garri, achu with yellow soup, cornchaff spaghetti. Bread can be consumed for those who can afford to buy it. We consume a lot of vegetables because we grow them and also crops like beans, corn and groundnuts.

In the words of this elderly male participant with a class seven educational level, married with four children and employed declared:

Our staple foods in the community are cocoyams and beans, cocoyams and njama njama, porridge plantain, rice and stew, fufu corn and njama njama, garri and eru, achu with yellow or black soup, and carrots, tea, bread, Ovaltine, milk.

Another male youth participant with no formal education, unmarried without children and employed postulated as follows:

The staple foods are “rice, fufu and vegetable, plantain and beans, garri and okoro, spaghetti, achu and yellow soup, fresh tomatoes, cow meat, cocoyams.

As responded by this middle-aged male participant with a class seven educational level, married with four children and employed averred:

My staple foods are: rice, waterfufu and eru, garri and okoro, spaghetti, achu, cornchaff and carrots, achu and yellow soup, bread, milk, fish (dry and fish).

Inferring from this middle-aged female participant with a class seven educational level, married with five children and unemployed posits:

Achu and yellow or black soup, fufu-corn and vegetable or okoro, rice, bread, milk, cornchaff, and carrots, plantain, fish (dry and fresh), cow meat, these are some of the staples in our community.

From the responses of the participants, it is evident that all three age groups (youths, middle-aged and the elderly, though with different monthly incomes, and all married with children except the male youth participant) concur through their responses that the staple foods in the community is a blend of both the indigenous and the modern foods.

5.10 FOOD AND ITS MEANING IN THE MANKON COMMUNITY

5.10.1 Funeral foods: Mixed boiled corn and peanuts/groundnuts: symbol of pain and grief

The data revealed that boiled corn with peelings and boiled peanuts/groundnuts with peelings is an indigenous food of the Mankon people. Boiled corn and groundnuts/peanuts mixed symbolises pain, grieving and mourning in the Mankon Community. It conveys grief and mourning that characterises funerals. It is unusual to attend a funeral celebration in the Mankon community and not find boiled corn and groundnuts served to mourners and well-wishers. Once present at a function, it tells one that the event is a funeral and sends a message of pain, grief and mourning.



Figure 5.23: Mixed boiled corn and peanuts/groundnuts: Symbol of pain and grief

Figure 5.23 shows mixed boil corn and groundnut, an indigenous food in the Mankon community. It is shared during funerals and carries a message of pain and sorrow. It is the first meal eaten at a funeral and it is also considered a snack in the Mankon community. Majority of participants acknowledged that boiled corn and groundnuts is served during funerals and is an indication of pain, grieving and mourning as captured in the responses below:

One of the responses of an elderly male with a first school leaving education, divorcee with three children and employed said:

During funerals, dry corn and dry groundnut are boiled and cooked together. It is always present and symbolises mourning, grief and pain. This serves as snacks

during funerals. Why should we go for tasteful and luxurious food when we are mourning.

A middle-aged male participant with a first school leaving education, married with four children and employed posits:

It is rare to attend a funeral and not find boiled corn and groundnuts. You cannot go to a funeral and not find boil corn and groundnut. It symbolises mourning.

The excerpts above show that participants from Mankon all attest to the fact that boiled corn and groundnut is food that is commonplace at funerals and carries a meaning of pain and mourning. This meal is only consumed in households where there are funerals, and at the graveyards when the graves are dug. If an individual takes this meal home, it means that they are inviting the spirit of death into their homes as captured in the excerpt below by one of the participants.

In the voice of this elderly female participant with no formal education, widow with a child and employed averred:

Boiled corn and groundnuts is found only in funerals. You cannot cook it in your house. It was believed that if you cook it in your house, you were inviting the spirit of death to your house. You will not find a funeral without boiled corn and groundnuts. Boiled corn and groundnuts is always present during funerals and it was used as an appetizer to spice up the food.

It is consumed on traditional plantain leaves and everyone at the funeral is expected to consume it. It is also a snack at funerals within the community. People also have to consume this snack first at the funeral before they can consume other meals.

From the response of this middle-aged female participant with an ordinary level of education, married with four children and employed recorded:

The presence of boiled corn and groundnut at a funeral is tradition and culture. It also signifies mourning and grieving. It is not common to see people prepare and eat it in their respective homes.

A male youth participant with a from two level of educational level, unmarried and without children and employed said:

Corn and groundnut is a funeral food. I do not know the meaning attached to its consumption. It is found only in funerals.

As captured by this male youth participant with a first school leaving education, unmarried with two children and unemployed pointed out:

Boiled corn and groundnut is often present at funerals. I am not sure if there is any meaning attached to its consumption. It has no meaning attached to it. It is just a tradition.

The responses of the participants revealed that (all age groups the elderly, middle and youth though they differ with number of children, monthly incomes and marital status) understood that corn and groundnut are funeral foods symbolizing the pain and grief of survivors in the Mankon community.

***Ngonedic*, staple food for funerals: Ancestors, human and spatial separation, funeral completion and celebrating the life of the deceased in the Mankon community**

“*Ngonedic*” is one of the indigenous foods in the Mankon community. It is present only during funerals. ‘*Ngonedic*’ is porridge plantain, palm oil and meat. It is served on leaves so that some palm oil may drop on the floor, which is believed to be some form of sharing with the ancestors. The significance of serving the food and eating it on leaves is to show mourning and grieving. It is also called ‘food for all’, ‘chop for outside’ or ‘chop for sangabing.’ It is usually served outside of the house and not inside. It is normally served and eaten outside for every visitor, sympathiser, well-wishers who came to console with the bereaved family to eat something before leaving the funeral. This was food to be eaten by all whether one knew the deceased family or not. During the consumption of this meal, men and women do not eat together for traditional and cultural reasons as some of the men are titleholders. It is understood as disrespectful for women to share the same platform as men of title.

As stated by this elderly female participant with a first school leaving education, married with five children and employed:

If a woman passes beside a male titleholder and she happens to be on her menstrual period, it is believed that the woman might bleed for a longer period than expected. Thus, in order to avoid such complications, which might arise if both sexes have to sit together, it is better to separate them.

Participants indicated that *Ngonedic* is another funeral food, which carries meaning during funerals within the Mankon community as captured in the excerpts below:

From the response of an elderly male participant with a first school leaving education, married with five children and employed averred thus:

We have the outside porridge plantain, which is served on leaves. It is called 'chop for outside or chop for Sangabing. This food is prepared outside and consumed outside (out of the house). If all other varieties of food are present without 'Ngonedic', then it means that food is not available. The food is only consumed after the burial and symbolises that the funeral is over.

A middle -aged male participant with a first school leaving education, married with three children and employed declared:

We have the first food, which is served immediately after the burial is over. It is called Ngonedic. The meal is usually served separate from the plantain. The food is brought and serve outside as tradition. In the words of this middle-aged female participant (first school leaving education, married with four children and employed)

Porridge plantain for a funeral is called Ngonedic, meaning that it was food kept to be eaten by all. It was food kept to serve sympathisers and was only to be eaten outside.

Inferring from the responses of the participants, all concurred that 'ngonedic' is one of the funeral foods in the Mankon community. The elderly respondents attached the sombre meanings to its consumption. However, the youth age group nothing to say on this particular food.

The consumption of this meal during a funeral signifies that the burial of the deceased is over. It also symbolises the celebration of the life of the deceased. The event cannot be perceived as a funeral if there is no *ngonedic*, just as it will not be a funeral without boiled corn and groundnut. If one leaves a funeral without consuming *ngonedic*, as the general disregard is that one never attended the ritual. The food alone carries a message of mourning and immediately relates to the social event.

5.10.2 Traditional wedding foods and beverages

Red cola nuts and raffia wine: Representation of conversations, hospitality, peace and unity in marriage.

Another indigenous meal which carries meaning in the Mankon community is red cola nuts and raffia wine (traditional beer) also known as 'white mimbo.' Red cola nuts are usually present at social and cultural gatherings and symbolise hospitality and peace. Cola nuts are symbolic as they are used to initiate a conversation. There is a saying that "He that brings cola nuts, brings peace." Also, cola nuts symbolise some consensus between people. Cola nuts are usually consumed alongside with traditional beer. The sharing and eating of cola nuts by both families is a sign of an agreement and an indication that they ratify the union as captured in the excerpt below.

As explained by an elderly male participant who has attained a diploma, widower with eight children and employed said:

Cola nuts and raffia wine are used to begin a conversation. When you meet somebody, you say we have cola nuts here and he takes a chair, sits down, and starts a conversation. The consumption of raffia wine is also known to be good for the eyes.

The presence of cola nuts during a traditional marriage is indispensable and the importance cannot be over emphasised. Red cola nuts are a symbol of peace during the celebration of a traditional marriage within the Mankon community as indicated by one of the participants.



Figure 5.24; Red cola nuts: A symbol of peace and hospitality

As submitted by an elderly male participant with a first school leaving education, married with four children and employed maintained:

Traditional red cola nuts are usually present in most social and cultural events within the Mankon Community and symbolise peace, and hospitality in the Mankon community. He that brings cola nuts brings peace and the presence of cola nuts during a traditional marriage symbolises peace.

The traditional beer (known as raffia wine) is present at social and cultural gatherings in the Mankon community. The raffia wine is tapped from the raffia tree and represents the culture of the Mankon people. This potent drink is usually consumed on or before meals. It is symbolic during traditional marriages and used in handing over the woman to the man as a sign of unity between the two families. It is also used by the bride to indicate her future husband as she is required to drink the beer and give the rest to her husband during the traditional wedding as indicated below.

An elderly male participant with an ordinary educational level, married with five children and employed indicated:

Raffia wine is used by the girl / bride to identify her husband in the crowd.

As posited by this middle-aged male participant with a first school leaving education, married with four children pointed-out:

Raffia wine is very important in every traditional marriage as it is used to hand the bribe over to the groom's family and to indicate that the bride has officially been given out for marriage.



Figure 5.25: Raffia wine (traditional beer) in a traditional cup: used to hand the bribe over to the groom

In addition, to the above view, an elderly female participant with no formal education, married with three children and employed said:

Raffia wine has always been there in social and cultural events. Raffia wine is used to entertain guest because we had no beer at that time. People should not come and go without drinking anything. Cola nuts was also spilt and shared to everybody as a sign of entertainment. Raffia wine is used for entertainment.

It is common to find the traditional drink at cultural and social events. Its presence during marriage symbolises consensus between both parties. It was served in traditional cups in the past as seen above, nowadays, it can be drank from glasses as shown in the Figure below.



Figure 5.26: Raffia wine (traditional beer) in a modern cup or glass

From the above responses, it is evident that the middle and elderly age groups (with same marital status, but differ in the monthly incomes, number of children, and level of education) concurred on the symbolic importance of cola nuts and raffia wine during social and cultural events. However, the youth age group had nothing to say on this, seeing the whole ritual as just a simple occasion with no symbolic meaning.

‘Acape mengue’: Symbol of joy and maternal kinship

During traditional marriages in the Mankon community, a particular food is prepared by the groom’s family and given to the aunties of the bride. This food is called ‘*acape mengue*’ (boiled plantain cooked separately and the relish prepared with cocoyam leaves accompanied with a lot of palm oil and big pieces of meat). Ambarga is chopped cocoyam leaves but with its current scarcity, some people substitute it with chopped bitter leaf cooked with a lot of oil. This is a special indigenous food for traditional marriages in the Mankon community. The palm oil in the food is so much that it is later drained or filtered and used to cook again in the household for almost a week. Palm oil symbolises joy and happiness, everyone should eat and be merry because of the occasion in the family. It is part of the culture and tradition of the people. The bride price cannot be paid without ‘*acape mengue*’. This traditional dish brings the paternal and maternal aunts together and the food is brought and shared to all to signal that their daughter is getting married. ‘Acape mengue’ is given to the bride’s aunts while the uncles are given money and whisky. It is symbolic in that it serves

as the very first sign and exposes the groom's intention of marriage to the bride's family as captured in the excerpt below:

As explained by an elderly female participant with no formal education, married with five children and employed posits:

A special indigenous dish is prepared by the groom's family and taken to the bride's family. The food is prepared with a lot of palm oil and red meat with long plantains uncut. It is symbolic as it is the first sign expressing the groom's intention of marriage to the bride's family

In addition to the above opinion, an elderly female participant who has obtained a diploma, married with five children and employed states.

For marriages in the Mankon community, cocoyam leaves were chopped either they could add some bitter leaf and cook it with a lot of oil. They called it 'acape mengue'. This was specifically for marriage. The plantain is cook whole with a lot of the 'ambarga and a lot of palm oil. The plantain was boiled to be eaten with 'ambarga'. This was specifically for marriage.

Participants continue to express their views on the importance and consumption of 'Acape mengue' in the excerpts below:

A middle-aged male participant with a class five educational level, married with five children and employed said:

Acape mengue' is eaten during the celebration of a traditional wedding. Plantain is boiled separately and the 'ambarga' the soup is cook separately with a lot of meat. Its presence symbolises joy and happiness

Another participant postulated that the preparation method of ambarga has changed. In the past, cocoyam leaves were used to prepare 'ambarga' but today bitter leaf is used to prepare the relish.

As attested in this except by an elderly female with no formal education, married with five children and employed:

In the past, cocoyam leaves were used to cook the relish. However, it has been modified today as many now used bitter leaf in cooking the relish because sometimes is difficult to have the cocoyam leaves." The boiled plantain and the vegetable soup is tradition. It is an indigenous food used during traditional weddings in our community

Referring from the above responses, 'acape mengue' is food present during the celebration of a traditional wedding maintained by the elderly and middle-aged groups with same marital status, same number of children but differ in their educational levels). It is therefore evident that the consumption of particular foods carries specific meanings in the Mankon community.

5.10.3 Foods for social and cultural events.

***Achu* with yellow or black soup**

Achu with yellow or black soup is one of the main indigenous foods of the Mankon people. *Achu* consists of pounded Ibo cocoyams with yellow soup (palm oil, limestone, meat, cow skin and some spices) or black soup (dry or fresh cocoyam leaves grind, some spices, crayfish, smoked fish and meat). It is highly valued by members of the community and carries some cultural meaning and significance. It is always present at all cultural and social events in the Mankon community. Participants from Mankon indicated that *achu* with either yellow or black soup is the main cultural indigenous food of the Mankon people as echoed in the following excerpts:

A female youth participant with an ordinary educational level, unmarried with two children and employed declared:

Achu with either yellow or black soup is our main indigenous food in the Mankon community and it always has its place in every cultural or social event.

In the voice of this male youth participant with a bachelor degree, married with three children and employed maintained:

Achu can be eaten either with black or yellow soup and it gives a cultural identity to the Mankon people. It is the main traditional dish of the people and is found in most social and cultural events.

In the same line of response, another elderly male participant with a first school leaving education, married with five children and employed said:

The presence of *Achu* signifies the tradition of the Mankon people in any social or cultural gathering. They usually say the mother's food is the best for the baby thus, whatever food a person eats during an event within the Mankon community, can never be significant as the consumption of *Achu*.

As maintained by this elderly female participant with same characteristics as above indicated:

The 'achu" dish whether with yellow or black soup is our traditional dish and it symbolises our culture. That is why is always present in all our social and cultural events.

From the responses of the participants, there is confirmation that all three age groups (youth, middle and elderly with different sex, marital status, educational level, number of children and marital status) attested to the fact that 'achu' is a traditional dish of the Mankon people and gives them a cultural identity.

Furthermore, Achu with yellow or black soup ascribes a cultural identity to the Mankon community. The meal conveys the cultural identity of the Mankon community and its presence at an event symbolises the tradition of the Mankon people. Achu is considered dignifying and the consumption of Achu with yellow or black soup distinguishes between real indigents of the Mankon community and strangers. The Figure below shows Achu in its prepared form.



Figure 5.27: Achu with yellow or black soup consumed on leaves (in the past)

Achu and yellow soup is the main indigenous food in the Mankon community. It gives a cultural identity to the Mankon ethnic group. In the past, it was consumed on leaves as seen in the Figure above. Nowadays, there have been some modifications and the meal is served on a plate.



Figure 5.28: Achu with yellow or black soup consume on a plate (in the modern society)

Egusi pudding (as a symbol of honour and dignity)

Most communities usually attach meaning to particular food items, especially to mark particular social occasions. The findings obtained in this study demonstrated that

‘egusi pudding’ is one of the indigenous foods of the Mankon community. Egusi are seeds obtained from pumpkin; they are dried and later peeled. Small white seeds are obtained when peeled. These seeds are later ground and prepared as ‘egusi pudding’ or ‘egusi soup’. When the egusi is prepared, it is called egusi pudding. The egusi pudding is served with Calabar yam, boiled plantains, bobolo or miyondo (made out of cassava), boiled ripe plantains and even with cassava or cocoyam. It carries a meaning on its own and symbolises respect and honour. When served, it marks dignity and is referred to as ‘dignity food’ by inhabitants of Mankon. Once presented to someone, it conveys a message: honour and respect to the individual or to the group of people. It is often presented to people who are regarded as very important or the elderly as a sign of respect and honour. It is seldom prepared in households.

In the words of this middle-aged male participant with an advance educational level, unmarried without children and employed affirmed:

Egusi pudding is food which carries meaning of respect and honour. It is usually given to the elderly and not the youths.

An elderly male participant with an advance level, married with five children and employed said:

Egusi pudding is also cooked and given to the girl’s family as a sign of respect by the in-laws to the bride’s family.

In line with this elderly female participant with an advance level education, married with three children and employed posits:

When a person is given egusi pudding it sends a message of respect and honour. This is because is not usually prepare on ordinary days and consumed by all. It is often given to the elderly and consumed by them.

The middle-aged and elderly participants (with same educational level, but differ in their monthly income, number of children and marital status) attested that the indigenous food egusi pudding conveys honour and respect in its consumption.

It is only prepared when there is an important event or function such as Easter Sundays, Christmas, weddings or New Year's Day. Sometimes, it might also be prepared when there is an important visitor. Egusi pudding is mostly consumed in

small portions. When served, it is given to adults to share to the youth or the younger ones. It cannot be consumed on a daily basis. The figure below shows egusi in its uncooked and prepared forms (egusi pudding).



Figure 5.29: Egusi in its uncooked and prepared forms (Egusi pudding)

Welcoming newborn babies in the household (born house or birth ceremonies)

The Mankon people have a customary event called 'born house' (meaning welcoming of a newborn baby into the family). During the 'born house', the members prepare an indigenous roast plantain mashed in palm oil with a pinch of salt mixed together. Palm oil in the Mankon

tradition is very symbolic as palm, in general, is a tree of peace and providence, everything in life is linked to the palm tree. This explains why in every cultural event, food is usually prepared with palm oil. This is shared with all who attended the 'born house'. The meal signifies a newborn baby's house and one should eat the meal as a sign of welcoming the baby as indicated in the excerpts below.

As captured by this elderly male participant with a first school leaving education, divorce with four children and employed stated:

Roast plantain mashed with some palm oil and a pinch of salt is one of the foods, which is significant during born houses. Roasted plantain with oil while adding a pinch of salt. Simple like that, it is very nice.

In addition, an elderly female participant with no formal level of education, widow with two children and employed declared:

During the celebration of the birth of a newborn baby, plantain is usually roasted and pounded while adding some salt and palm oil. It is eaten by the guest. It is symbolic as it carries a message of joy and happiness and the event to it is the celebration of a newborn baby in the household.

Furthermore, another middle-aged male participant with a class five educational level married with five children and employed indicated:

During the celebration ceremony of the birth of a newborn baby, a special meal is prepared which is pounded roast plantain with some pinch of salt and palm oil. Everyone given the food as a sign that they have been to the house of a newborn baby, which symbolises joy and happiness.

In line with the above responses, this elderly female participant who has a diploma, widow with five children and employed declared:

We also have the roasted plantain with palm oil and salt. It is always present during the celebration ceremony of the birth of a newborn baby in the house. This food speaks for itself symbolising the presence of a newborn baby in the house. It carries a message of joy.

Inferring from the above citations, it is evident that roasted plantain with palm oil and salt symbolises the birth of a newborn baby in the household. This was attested by the middle and elderly age groups who all differ in their sex, educational level, marital status, number

of children and monthly income) excluding the youth age group. Probably, the youth are clueless because they are not very conversant with their traditional practices and culture.

5.10.4 Food and gender: Taboos, respect and appropriateness of foods consumed in the Mankon community

In the Mankon community, women are not allowed to eat the gizzards, livers and heart of a chicken as they are given to the males and elderly as a sign of respect. Men are advised not to consume sweet potatoes as it reduces their sexual drive. The reason why men eat the heart and gizzards of chicken is partly due to culture and tradition and because they are considered more superior to women, but more importantly, as a sign of respect and honour to the men and the elderly. In the past, in the Mankon community, children were not allowed to eat eggs. It was believed that if they ate eggs, they would become thieves in future. Participants indicated several reasons why women were forbidden from consuming these different parts of the chicken as captured in the excerpts below:

As expressed by this participant elderly male, with an ordinary educational level married with five children and employed indicated:

In the Mankon culture women are not allowed to eat the liver and gizzard of a chicken. It must be given to an elderly male sex.

In support of the above view, a middle-aged male participant with no formal education, married with four children and employed declared:

The gizzard should be given only to the elderly male in the house. Women were not supposed to eat the gizzard.

From the response of this male youth with a bachelor's degree, married with three children and employed pointed out:

The only thing I remember is that the gizzard of a chicken is not supposed to be eaten by women. It is only supposed to be eaten by the elderly male as a sign of respect. A male youth can eat it if given to by an elderly male.

In the words of this female youth participant with a first school leaving education, married with two children and employed stated:

Women and girls are not allowed to eat the gizzard of a chicken. It is eaten and given to the men only as a sign of respect.

From the response of an elderly female participant who has attained a diploma, widow with five children and employed postulated:

The gizzard of a fowl in the Mankon community means a lot to the people. The gizzards are given to the eldest member of the family, preferably a male. It is the culture and tradition of the people. If chicken is slaughtered at home and the gizzards are not given to the elderly in the household, he will not consume the chicken and such action will be considered disrespectful.

Inferring from the response of a middle-aged male participant with a first school leaving education, married with four children and employed maintained:

There are certain parts of a chicken, which a woman is not supposed to eat like the liver and gizzard of a chicken. Those are parts, which women are to give to the men as a sign of respect and honour.

In addition, this middle-aged participant with a first school leaving education, married with four children and employed indicated:

When we grew up our fathers would also say sweet potatoes were not supposed to be eaten by men. The reason was that it will prevent erection of their manhood during sex. While women were not allowed to eat the liver and gizzard of a chicken. It was to be given to the male sex as sign of respect.

Participants explained the rationale for this restriction thus:

A response from an elderly male participant who has a diploma, married with eight children and employed posits:

It is because of greed on the men's part, and majority of the elderly do not have teeth and thus, are given these soft parts for easy chewing and consumption as a sign of respect and honour; gizzards are also given to older males in the house.

From the responses obtained above, all three age groups (the youth, middle and elderly with differences in sex, educational level, marital status, number of children, monthly income), in the Mankon community it is a taboo for a woman to eat the gizzard and liver of a chicken while the men were restricted from consuming sweet potatoes. There is therefore concrete evidence of the links between type of food and gender identities.

5.11 CHANGES IN FOOD CONSUMPTION PATTERNS IN THE MANKON COMMUNITY

5.11.1 Actual changes in food consumption patterns in the Mankon community

Participants were requested to state the changes that have taken place in food consumption habits. Participants advanced the following changes as characterising dietary trends. They indicated that the methods of food preparation from the past and today have greatly changed as indicated by the following excerpts:

From the response of a male youth participant with an ordinary educational level, unmarried without children and employed responded thus:

There has been a change in the food consumption habits as a lot of spices and cooking oil is used in cooking. This is not very healthy and was not the case in the past. There are changes in the food preparation methods.

As indicated by this female youth participant with an ordinary educational, unmarried with two children and employed pointed-out

Yes, the food consumption patterns have change as we now have and consume modern foods, which was not very common in the past. Our food is also very spicy with modern spices, which we used to improve on the taste and appearance of the food.

In the words of this middle-aged male participant with no formal education, married with three children and employed said:

There have been changes in the methods of food preparation. In the past, food was prepared with very little spices, it was mostly with salt, 'nuttie' (beef cubes) and crayfish. However, today's food is prepared with so many other foreign spices, which are packaged and sold to us. We consume them not knowing the effect it has in our system.

Another participant stated that food today no longer tastes the same as in the past. Today's food is genetically modified, which does not make it very tasteful like organic and naturally grown crops. Organic food tastes better than inorganic food as maintained by this participant:

As explained by an elderly female participant with no formal education, married with three children and employed postulated:

Most of the vegetables now are grown with a lot of artificial fertilizer, which is not healthy and good for the human system. Fertilizer is used in planting all of our crops. We advise farmers to use local manure on their crops than using the fertilizer. This is because the fertilized crops/ foods are tasteless, they are not as tasteful as the naturally grown crops. Farmers should make use of organic manure such as animal carcass than artificial fertilizer.

Another change in food patterns, as indicated by one of the participants is that in today's society, more spices are used in the preparation of food than was done in the past. Previously, food was prepared without spices and there were no beef cubes. They used 'nuttie' (dry egusi) and this was very tasteful in food. Only salt and 'nuttie' were used to prepare food. Today, there are many spices that people use to prepare food without really understanding the health effect on the human body.

Previously, food could be prepared without red meat but today's food commonly includes red meat. This is so despite the fact that over consumption of red meat is unhealthy and is responsible for health diseases. The method of food preparation has also changed, whereby in the past, food was prepared only with palm oil (a local cooking oil) and not refined processed cooking oil or groundnut oil commonly used today. In contemporary societies, there is greater availability and accessibility of different varieties of food than was the case in the past attributed to processing technologies and globalisation. In the past, food varieties were not as many as we find around today. Additionally, food was fully cooked but today, this is no longer the case because the nutrients in the food has to be preserved as indicated by a middle-aged male participant with an advanced educational level, unmarried without children and employed who said:

Food was prepared with our local-produced oil known as 'palm oil' but today, a lot of cooking is done with refined oil known as 'groundnut oil/cooking oil. Previously, we had very little variety of food with so much quality but today, we have many food varieties with less quality.

In addition, an elderly male participant with a first school leaving education, married with five children and employed posits:

Food crops are not harvested on time, it is harvested earlier when is not yet ready. For example, the crops are harvested before time. For cassava to be ready for

harvest it requires two years but farmers harvest the crop after a year. Food was prepared using ground fire but today, many used gas for the preparation of food.

Food consumed during the past was not balanced and consisted of starch and carbohydrates without protein, vegetables and fruits as indicated by this elderly female participant who has a diploma, married with five children and employed stated:

Yes, there is a change in the food habits. Today, we have modified our method of preparation. Before, food consumed was not balanced. We ate without vegetables and fruits. However, today, the food eaten is balanced as we consume vegetables and fruits. Starchy foods were mostly consumed in the past. We did not have so many varieties like we have today. For example, you will find out that in a function, there will be four different types of rice and salads all made in different ways. In the olden days, we will usually consume food once a day, which was often poorly prepared with no vegetables and sources of protein, you had to eat that in the morning and in the evening with a little piece of brunt yam.

The diet consumed now is more balanced with some starch, protein, vegetables and fruits. In addition, in modern society we consume canned and baked foods, which was not the case in the past. This was recorded in the voice of this female middle-aged female participant with an advance educational level, married with four children and employed is captured in the following words:

The food habits have changed compared to the past, the methods of preparation have changed as we can now bake and fry foods, which was not the case in the past.

More importantly, there is also a change in eating habits. In the past, food left overnight was normally consumed in the mornings at breakfast as stated by one of the participants:

Our normal eating habit in the morning was the overnight food or freshly cooked foods and not bread and tea we have for breakfast today in modern society. We had no fried eggs, potatoes for breakfast. Overnight food was eaten for breakfast.

In addition, an elderly female participant with a first school leaving education, married with five children and employed pointed thus:

Breakfast in contemporary society consists of modern food such as tea, bread, margarine and sugar. In the past, it was left over food from the previous day, which was consumed as breakfast in the morning, and such food was usually well cooked. Previously, food consumed could be eaten over a duration of three to

four days, but in contemporary society, food is cooked on a daily basis due to the varieties and availability of foods. Furthermore, processed foods decay faster than organic food. In the past, there was only one main meal in the day, at most, two times, which of course was very rare. In modern society, the main food can be consumed three times a day with small courses in-between meals.

Participants also indicated that in the past, they ate healthy foods that was natural and the beverage was the local traditional beer.

In the words of a middle-aged male participant with a first school leaving education, married with four children and employed stated:

Yes, it has change because before, we used to consume natural foods without chemicals and fertilizers but today all of what we eat is full of chemicals. In the past, there was alcohol but not in the different varieties, we have today. What was consume was locally made indigenous beer called 'Raffia wine'. However, with modernity and 'progress' of contemporary society more of the modern beer is consume.

5.11.2 Preparation of staple foods in the Mankon community.

The second research question asked in the study was: "How are staple foods prepared and consumed within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi clan and Mankon ethnic group respectively?" Participants responded to the question by outlining procedures and methods involved in the preparation of some of the staple foods. Not all of the preparation methods are outlined in the discussion but the most common staple foods are discussed.

With regard to the Mankon community, several foods were identified as staples within the community such as cocoyams, achu, fufu-corn and jama-jama, boiled plantain and vegetables, cornchaff, okoro, bread, rice, spaghetti and porridge plantain. Participants indicated that cocoyam could be prepared in several ways and many dishes obtained from its preparation. Achu is a meal from cocoyams, which is pounded cocoyam and eaten with yellow soup.

Participants outlined the new and old methods of preparing 'achu' as follows:

An elderly male participant with a first school leaving education, divorce with four children and employed provided the old method of preparing 'achu' as follows:

In the olden days, achu was prepared by washing the raw cocoyams, put it in a pot with water and boil for about an hour. When tender take it out and peeled while hot and in a mortar pound till it becomes a thick smooth paste. Now this was wrapped as a thick smooth paste and preserved in plantain leaves, which will be ready to consume.

In addition, a male youth participant with a form two educational level, unmarried without children and employed identifies the new method of preparing 'achu' below:

Begin by washing and peeling the cocoyams, place on the fire with some water. When tender, pick from the pot and pound in the mortar, in the absence of a mortar, a grinding machine could be used to grind the cocoyams into a thick smooth paste. Once, this is done, the 'achu' is ready to be eaten.

The preparation of the yellow soup as indicated by the participants is very easy and can be prepare in the following old and new methods listed below:

An elderly male participant who has a diploma, widower with five children and employed outlined the old method of preparing the yellow soup to be eaten with 'achu'.

Commence by washing the cow skin (canda) and bush meat. Boil the red meat for some time with a pinch of salt and beef cubes to give it some taste. When the meat is almost ready add the cow skin in to the pot and leave it to boil for about five minutes. Then prepare the achu spices, burn some of the spices on the fire and grind on the local grinding stone. Pour the limestone in the water and allow it to dissolve. Warm the palm oil and place at the side. Begin by pouring the water from the limestone into the pot of the palm oil, stir very well. Then later add the spices ground earlier into the pot. Add some salt and margarine for a taste. Finally, pour your canda (cow skin) and the bush meat into the palm oil pot. Stir until it is well mixed. The yellow soup is ready. Serve with achu.

As indicated by a middle-aged male participant with a class five educational level, married with five children and employed outlines the new stages involved in the preparation of yellow soup are as follows:

It is very easy to prepare yellow soup today, as the preparation method has been made easy with the use of modernisation. You do not need to grind the spices again for the yellow soup on the stone. It has been dried and ground already and is sold in the markets. Just wash your cow skin and red meat and boil in the pot

with some pinch of salt and beef cubes. Warm the palm oil and soak in water. Start by pouring the water from the limestone in the pot of palm oil. Stir very well. Add the ground spices already obtained from the shops, stir again, add some beef cubes for a taste. For a proper mixture, it could be prepared in a blender. Pour the red meat and canda into the pot. The yellow soup is then ready for consumption.

Thus, the preparation methods of achu, which is one of the staples in the Mankon community, have undergone some modification compared to what was practised in the olden days.

Another staple food identified by participants in the Mankon community was boiled cocoyams or fufu corn eaten with any vegetable, for example, jama jama, green or bitterleaf. Cocoyams can be boiled and eaten with vegetables. Participants outlined the old and new methods involved in the food preparation process of cocoyam as follows:

An elderly male participant with an advanced educational level, married with five children and employed outlines the old process of preparing cocoyams:

The old method of preparing cocoyams to eat it with vegetable was to wash the cocoyam with the peelings, pour some water into the pot. Leave it to cook for about 20 to 30minutes. Take out the pot from the fire, drain the water and place the pot back on the fire for the water to dry off. Dish out the cocoyam, take out the peelings and serve with any vegetable.

In the words, of a male youth participant with a first school leaving education, unmarried with a child and unemployed outline the new method of preparing cocoyams as indicated:

“Peel the cocoyam, wash it and pour some water into the pot. Add some pinch of salt into the pot when the water starts boiling. Leave it to cook for about 20 to 30minutes. Take out the pot from the fire, drain the water and place the pot back on the fire for the water to dry off. Dish out the cocoyam and serve with any vegetable.

Participants outlined the process involved in the preparation of fufu corn as follows: Another elderly female participant with a first school leaving education, a widow with four children and employed maintained as follows:

An outline of an old method of the preparation of fufu-corn. Yes, in the past, we had no machines, the maize/corn was ground using stones. Later, sieve and the powder use as the flour for fufu-corn. In the past, things were done manually

without the use of machines but in today's society, with modernisation, machines are now being used to do the work. First, in a large pot, pour in some quantity of water and leave it to boil. Then use the corn flour powder mix in a small dish with cold water. Add the corn flour to the boiling water and stir. Cover and cook for 10 minutes, stirring from time to time to prevent the corn flour from sticking to the pot. Pour another quantity of the corn flour into the pot with a pestle stir for 20 minutes, then cover and cook for 20-30 minutes. Remove the pot from the fire. Using a wooden spoon, remove a spoonful of the corn flour and wrap it in banana leaves.

A middle-aged female participant with an advance level education, married with four children and employed outlined the modern methods of preparing fufu-corn below:

Begin by placing a large pot of water on the fire. Allow the water to boil. Mix some of the corn flour in a small bowl with cold water and then pour on to the boiling pot. Let it boiled for about 15 minutes. Then add some dry corn flour into the pot with some water. Let it boil again for another 15 minutes. Keep stirring to ensure it is does not burn. When happy with the paste you want either soft or hard, take off the fire and wrap them in small white plastics ready for consumption.

Another interesting dish within the Mankon community was corn chaff. Corn chaff is a mixture of either fresh corn and beans or dried corn and beans. The following

participants outlined the process both old and new involved in the preparation of corn chaff:

From the perspective of an elderly female participant with no formal education, widow with a child and employed indicated the old stages involved in the preparation of corn chaff as follows:

In the past, corn chaff was prepared only with corn, salt and 'nuttie' (beef cubes). You start by grinding the corn / maize on the stone and later blow out to separate the corn from the peelings. Then, wash the corn and place in a pot full of water. When cook until tender, wash and place back on the fire. Then, add some salt, beef cubes with palm oil and allow to boil for few minutes after which you may dish out your corn chaff and it is ready for consumption.

Another middle-aged male participant with a first school leaving education, married with three children and employed described the new method of preparing corn chaff as follows:

Corn chaff can be prepared in several ways. One is to begin by boiling the whole corn with limestone or 'akanwa' so that it can easily get the corn/maize soft. Once

ready, wash very hard so that the peelings of the corn are out. Then boil the beans for about 2 hours. Others do boil corn and beans in the same pot while others separate them whichever method you chose is good. However, if you were to use this method to prepare corn chaff, then, it will be vital to boil the corn and beans in separate pots in order to wash them easily. Once ready, wash and mix the corn and beans. Pour the corn and beans in a pot. Later, add palm oil, spices and keep boiling for about 30 minutes. Then, dish and serve the corn chaff hot.

In addition, a female youth participant with an ordinary educational level, unmarried with two children and employed explains the new methods of preparing corn chaff below:

How I prepare my corn chaff is very easy. I buy my corn from the market already peeled. I boil the corn separately and the beans as well. When both are ready, I wash and pour in a clean container. Then, I start chopping my tomatoes and onions together with some red meat. Place the pot on the fire; pour some groundnut or cooking oil into the pot. When hot, I pour the chopped tomatoes, onions and red meat in the oil. Later, I pour the mixed corn and beans, stir gently, and add some spices, beef cubes and salt. Leave it to boil for about 15 to 20 minutes. After which the dish is ready to be served and consumed.

Plantain, in general, whether boiled or porridge, was mentioned by participants as one of the staple foods within the Mankon community. Participants stated that plantain could be boiled and eaten with some vegetable or sauce, plantain could be roasted and eaten with some salt and palm oil or plantain could be porridge and eaten. There are several ways of consuming plantain, which in turn, requires several methods in preparation for consumption.

Participants from the Mankon community outlined the process involved in the preparation of porridge plantain as follows:

From the response of an elderly female participant with an advance educational level, married with five children and employed outlines the old methods of preparing ordinary porridge plantain (not for any specific event) as follows:

I peel the plantain, chop and place on the fire with some water. When boiled, I add some dry fish/meat, spices, palm oil, vegetables, and leave to cook for about 45 minutes, then serve hot and enjoy. That is how porridge plantain is prepared.

In the words of this middle-aged female participant with same characteristics as above maintains that there are changes in the preparation methods of preparing porridge plantain

and outlines the new method of preparing porridge plantain for ordinary consumption as follows:

Chop the plantain and put it in the pot with some water. Then chop or blend your fresh tomatoes and onions with some dry fish or meat and pour into the pot. Later, add your spices and palm oil into the pot and let it cook for about 20 minutes. Then, add your washed vegetables into the pot. Add some salt, and beef cubes to give it some taste. Taste to be sure everything is ok. Allow the pot to boil again for about 3 to 5 minutes. Bring down the pot and it is ready to be consumed.

In summary, Achu with yellow soup, corn chaff, fufu-corn and vegetables, plantain whether porridge or boiled with vegetable are staple foods within the Mankon community. Several methods and processes have been outlined on its preparation methods. This section thus answers the second research question with regard to understanding the preparation of staple foods within the Mankon community.

Rice was mentioned by the participants of the Mankon community as one of the staple foods the community, whose relish is tomatoes sauce (sauce consisting of tomatoes, onions and spices). Participants maintained that rice is their staple food because it is very easy, fast and less time consuming to prepare. Availability and accessibility are reasons for its consumption. From the reasons, participants indicated that there has rather been a blend in the food consumption patterns and not a total shift. The excerpts of the participants are outlined below:

As captured by an elderly female participant with a first school leaving education, married with five children and unemployed presents the old method of preparing rice as follows:

In the olden days, we did not even have rice, we would use maize and break it into very tiny pieces and that is what we called rice. The modern rice was only lately introduced to us. The broken maize called rice was cook in this manner, begin by washing the rice with some water and a pinch of salt place the pot on the fire and allow it to cook. Once tender, allow the water inside to get dry. Later, take the pot off the fire and serve the rice while hot.

In the view of a female youth participant with an ordinary educational level, unmarried with two children and employed explains the new method of preparing rice as follows:

Cooking rice is very easy. Place a pot on the fire with some water. Leave it to boil. Later wash the rice and put on the fire with some pinch of salt. Make sure the water is above the rice level. Check every 5 minutes on how tender the rice

is and take off the pot from the fire once the rice is soft and the water in the pot steamed off. Serve the meal while hot.

The relish that often-accompanied rice was the sauce obtained from boiling the meat (bush meat) or dry fish in the past, while in contemporary society, fresh tomatoes, red meat and tin tomatoes are used as a relish for rice.

In the words of an elderly female participant with an advance educational level, married with five children and employed outlines the old methods of preparing the relish for rice as follows:

In the past, the relish for rice was the sauce obtained after boiling the bush meat or fish. Sauce that contains a little pinch of salt and beef cubes only will be sprinkle on the rice. To get the sauce, begin by washing the meat place on the fire with some water, salt and beef cubes. Allow the meat to cook still tender, take out from the fire and is ready for consumption. The methods of preparation in the past made use of little or no spices and it was easy unlike today, which is very complex and complicated.

A middle-aged male participant with a first school leaving education, married with three children and employed postulated the new methods of preparing the relish of rice (tomatoes sauce or stew) as follows:

Begin by blending or chopping the tomatoes, chopped the onions, and green pepper. Place the pot on the fire with some oil. Later pour the blend tomatoes or chopped tomatoes into the pot of oil with a pinch of salt. Stir until the tomatoes gets dry. Add some spices, a small quantity of water, salt and beef cubes. Leave it to boil again for about 10 minutes. Stir and take out of the fire. Your stew is ready to be serve and eaten with rice.

Participants in the Mankon community provided steps on the preparation methods of their staple foods. One of the changes identified by the participants was the preparation of staple foods in the community. Majority of the participants who outlined the old methods of food preparation were the elderly while the middle-aged and the youth age groups outlined the new methods of food preparation.

5.11.3 Reasons for the blend in food choices in the Mankon community.

Participants indicated that the quest to have a taste of modern food led to the blend in their food consumption patterns. Modernisation and globalization are two reasons for the blend in consumption patterns. The introduction of fertilizers and chemicals, as manures, to the soil during ploughing has led to the change in the composition of crops. The crops are no longer natural and organic, and are full of chemicals that are harmful to the human body. Another reason for the blend in food consumption patterns is the availability of fast-food restaurants, change in lifestyles and education on food and balanced diets. Improved agricultural techniques, a change in the method of food preparation as a result of modernisation or modern exposure was mentioned by participants in the following excerpts:

A perspective from a male youth participant with a form two educational level, unmarried with two children and employed explained:

The reason for the change is modernization and globalisation. I am happy with the modernisation but not happy with the negative effects the consumption of the modern food has on us.

Another male youth participant with no formal level of education, married with two children and employed responded thus:

Modernisation in the society has influenced a blend in our food habits. The way things were done in the past has changed. If you give a child food today without red meat, he or she will not eat the food because they grew up eating meat. We grew up not seeing meat, we saw and ate it only on special events.

An increase in population and the evolution of the society were mentioned as factors at play. Since society is evolving, change is inevitable. Since indigenous foods have become scarce, largely due to the usage of fertilizers, which is gradually destroying the soil, thus making it lose its fertility, people have to look for alternatives. Thus, the blend in consumption patterns.

From the response of a middle-aged male participant with a first school leaving education, married with three children and employed said:

Well, I think the reason for the blend in food consumption patterns is population growth. The population is fast growing. Thus, more food needs to be made available to cater for the growing population.

In addition, another middle-aged participant with an advance level education, unmarried without a child and employed posits:

The cause of the blend in food consumption patterns is as a result of evolution. The society is evolving, so change is bound to occur due to technological developments and modernization.

Furthermore, a response from a middle-aged male participant with a class five educational level, married with five children and employed postulated:

Indigenous food has become scarce. This is because of the fertilizer, which is added to the soil to enrich its quality. It destroys the soil instead. Making the soil not fertile as a result, people are forced to turn to other alternatives.

A change in the lifestyles of inhabitants cannot be underestimated stated by the participants. Many people have recently become very busy and there is no time allocated for the preparation of food, they then resort to the consumption of modern food. It is fast, accessible, available through fast food restaurants, packaged semi - cooked foods, processed foods of all types which is easy to cook and less time-consuming. The preparation of indigenous food is time-consuming; thus, people have decided to blend their food consumption habits with modern food, which is less time - consuming and easy to prepare. This is evident in the extract below:

A male elderly participant who has a diploma, widower with nine children and employed indicated:

Lifestyle changes has led to a blend in the food consumption patterns. Our society has been structure in such a way that many people are always running chasing after this or that. Others might have the food but no time to prepare or they will consume the modern foods, which is less time consuming to prepare.

Anxiety for change has led to a change in food choice indicated by participants. As human beings, we long for change; people are always anxious for change. As a result, people want a blend in their food consumption patterns to have a taste and to blend the consumption of indigenous and modern foods. Modern food and fast foods (processed) all come about because of modernisation. Thus, as human beings, they long for change, people are eager for change, the availability of these modern foods prompts people to taste, and experience new modern food types because they are used to consuming indigenous food. Thus, the desire for a change and a taste of modern food has led to the blend in food consumption patterns in the Mankon community as captured in the excerpt below.

From the response of an elderly male participant who has a diploma, married with eight children and employed said:

The anxiety for change is the cause of this blend in the food consumption patterns. These are human beings and will always long for change. There is a belief that the modern foods are nutritional. That is the propaganda which the West puts forward that their modern foods is nutritional than our indigenous foods. The demand for change has led to a blend in the consumption of both the indigenous and the modern foods.

Availability of different food types

Participants also indicated that an increase in the varieties of food is another reason for a blend in food consumption patterns. In contemporary society, there is a great increase in food varieties and because of this increase, many people have shifted to a blend in their food consumption patterns in order to have a taste of other varieties of food which have emerged in the market place.

Inferring from this female youth participant with an ordinary educational level, unmarried with two children and employed declared:

I am sure the reason for the blend in food choices is the availability of food varieties in the market, which is available and accessible. Before, we did not have many food varieties. For example, you will notice that in functions today. There are several varieties of foods.

Furthermore, the change in consumption of modern food is attributed to the fancy appearance of this variety that sends a message of modernity and civilisation in the society. Thus, the consumption of modern food is testimony of the fact that one is civilised or modern while the consumption of indigenous food is an indication that one is not yet developed, civilised or modern, thus a blend in consumption patterns between indigenous and modern food as captured in the excerpt below:

In the words of a middle-aged female participant with a first school leaving education, married with five children and unemployed declared:

The consumption of modern foods is seen to be fancy and of high superiority. Not knowing that we are actually killing ourselves with many fries. In today's society, when you do the fries, it is seen to be modern and civilised. However, the fries are not healthy. The yoh!! yoh!! Yoh!! (the sound when you fry fresh tomatoes

and onions in oil). The fries are killing us. In the past, we did not have the fries but we boiled our food, which was healthier than the frying we are doing today; which is not healthy and is seen as being modern.

An increase in the awareness on the importance of consuming a balanced diet has also led to the blend in consumption patterns. Some indigenous foods are not nutritionally balanced; others comprise starch, vegetables or protein only. However, through education, there has been a growing need to consume a balanced diet, which is the case with some modern foods that tend to be based on the principle of balanced diets. Thus, the blend in the consumption of modern and indigenous food is in order to have a balanced diet, has also led to the consumption of modern food.

As indicated by an elderly female participant with a first school leaving education, married with five children and employed stated:

Education has led to a blend in the food consumption habits. Before, the indigenous foods consumed was not balance. In the past, we ate food without vegetables and fruits. Today are foods being very balance with the presence of fruits and vegetables. Thus a blend in our food choices to obtain a balance diet.

Education has also had an influence on the change in food consumption patterns. Learning centers that specialise in cookery and home economics are today common and available and many fast food restaurants that serve varieties of food have had an impact on consumption patterns.

A response from an elderly female participant who has a diploma, a widow with five children and employed responded thus:

People are now educated due to modernization, education and globalization. In the past, parents were not aware of the nutritional value of foods such as vitamins, proteins, carbohydrates, fats and oils. They ate out of necessity without paying much attention to the nutritive value of food. Due to education, many people are aware of a balanced diet and what it consists of; people also know the nutritional value of food and try to consume food for its nutritional content and not only because they need to eat food if they are hungry.

The responses of the participants on the reasons for the blend in food choices is quite diversify. Firstly, the demographic characteristics of the participants concerning the different age groups are all different. From the responses, it is clear that the youth age group perceives the cause of the blend in food habits to be modernization while the middle-aged

groups view the blend in food consumption to be a result of evolution of the society and the perception surrounding modern foods. The elderly hold the view that education and lifestyle changes have caused the blend in the food consumption patterns.

5.11.4 Preference of either indigenous or modern food in the Mankon community

Participants were requested to indicate their preference of either indigenous or modern foods. They maintain they preferred indigenous food because it is natural and healthy. However, they consume modern foods because their grandmothers who used to prepare these indigenous foods are no longer alive and the young women nowadays cannot prepare these indigenous foods. Participants also prefer indigenous foods because they grew up eating it and some grow indigenous foodstuff, which is organic.

Indigenous food contains all the nutrients that the body needs for growth and strength compared to modern and processed foods. Some participants revealed they prefer both because modern processed food cannot be taken in great quantities as it will lead to health-related diseases such as heart burns, cancer, diabetes and obesity, unlike indigenous food which can be consumed in great quantities because it is natural and healthy, and does not lead to health complications or diseases. Indigenous food contains less spice compared to modern food that is processed and contains a lot of ingredients and spices (which has health effects on humans such as heartburns). Indigenous food is grown naturally without chemicals and fertilizers. Modern foods are made from hormones and develop faster. Modern food speeds up physical growth and leads to obesity as people grow old before their normal time. Indigenous food also tastes better compared to modern food. Consumption of indigenous and modern food leads to a balanced diet. Furthermore, some participants indicated that they preferred indigenous food because it is always fresh and very nutritious (it is tasteful and is a source of energy). Indigenous food is grown naturally without chemicals and fertilizers and combats diseases and illnesses, while the consumption of modern foods is more likely to lead to illnesses such as diabetes, high blood pressure and problems with one's teeth. Participants maintained that sometimes, indigenous food is poorly prepared without spices and other ingredients, however, its quality could be improved by making it more nutritious. The opinions of the participants are expressed in the following excerpts:

As indicated by this male youth participant with a form two educational level, unmarried, without children and employed affirms:

I prefer the indigenous food because the modern food comes with health related diseases. It later affects our hormones and causes us to grow obese and look older than our age.

Another male youth participant with no formal education, unmarried without children and employed said:

I prefer consuming indigenous food because is naturally grown without any use of artificial fertilizer.

A contrary view to the opinions outline above by these two participants who maintained the following submissions:

I will prefer the consumption of modern foods because it is easily accessible and available.

In the words of a middle-aged female participant who has a diploma, married with five children and unemployed stated:

I prefer the consumption of indigenous food because is natural. It will not cause any diseases. I live on them, if not you will not have seen me here today strong enough. I can stay for a month without eating rice. I will eat roasted plantain/cocoyam for long with vegetable.

Another middle-aged female participant with a first school leaving education, married with five children and employed responded thus:

I prefer to consume the indigenous foods because it makes me strong and keeps me healthy.

Another middle-aged male participant with the same characteristics as above declared:

I prefer to consume the indigenous food because I grew up eaten it more so because it is naturally grown and does not lead to health related diseases.

From the response of this middle-aged male participant with an advance level education, unmarried without children and employed said:

I prefer consuming indigenous foods because it contains all the nutrients my body needs for its proper functioning compare to the modern foods.

An elderly female participant with no formal education, widow with a child and employed stated:

Yes, I prefer to consume the indigenous food because, I grew up eaten it and is healthy for my body. It does not cause me diseases.

As explained by an elderly male participant who has a diploma, married with eight children and employed expressed his view:

I will prefer indigenous food because it is fresh and very nutritious. These modern foods are not usually fresh and easily losses its nutrients.

Male elderly participant with a first school leaving education, married with five children and employed posits:

I prefer to eat both indigenous and modern foods. This is because one can be used to complement the other. Sometimes the indigenous food is poorly prepared. Modern food is used to complement the indigenous food so that there is a balance diet at the end.

The views expressed above are those of participants who differ in sex, educational level, marital status, number of children, monthly income indicated their preference of either the consumption of indigenous or modern foods. It is clear that from the youth age group some (two) prefer the consumption of the modern food while majority (six) prefer the consumption of indigenous food. From the responses of the middle-aged, all of the participants stated their preference to indigenous foods. Meanwhile from the responses of the elderly some (one or two) prefer the consumption of both modern and indigenous food and the rest (about eight) prefer the consumption of indigenous food.

5.12 EFFECTS OF CHANGE IN FOOD CONSUMPTION PATTERNS IN THE MANKON COMMUNITY

The last research question of the study was to find out the effects of the change in food consumption habits in the Mankon community. Participants indicated several effects of the blend in food consumption patterns. One of the effects is health related on the individual and the effect on the community. While a minority of the participants maintained that they had experience no effect from the consumption of the modern foods. Lastly, another minority group stated that the blend in the food consumption patterns in the Mankon community is view as a good thing. The views and opinions of the participants are expressed in the following excerpts:

Participants indicated that the consumption of modern food has seriously weakened their immune system and they are now very prone to illnesses compared to the past as indicated by this participant:

As captured by an elderly male participant with a first school leaving education, divorce with four children and employed postulated:

Yes, since I began consuming the modern foods, it has led to health related diseases. Our immune system has become weak and we are highly prone to illnesses now than ever before. We no longer look physically strong. The blend in the food consumption patterns has weaken my immune system as a result of the choices of foods I eat.

One of the middle-aged female participants stated that whenever she consumes fresh vegetables, which she buys from the local shops or open market, she gets stomach discomforts. This, she attributed to the use of artificial fertilizer, which is added to the soil to boost its quality or quantity. These chemicals tend to affect the crop and later has a negative health effect on the human body when consumed. In support of this view, another participant revealed that the change in food consumption pattern has led to some health conditions such as the development of gastric ulcers and high blood pressure.

From the response of this middle-aged female participant with no formal education, married with three children and employed indicated:

Personally, the blend in food consumption choices has affected me in that; I have developed gastric, and high blood pressure as a result of my food choices.

As postulated by this middle-aged male participant with a first school leaving education, married with three children and employed affirmed:

Yes, it has affected me in that when I buy the vegetables from the market and consume them, I develop a running stomach. It means that the chemicals added to the soil affect the crops and when consumed, you hear ru....ru.....ru.....running stomach. You should know that the vegetable was grown with the help of modern fertilizers.

Moreover, a blend in food consumption patterns have led to the consumption of sugary products. This was non-existent in the olden days. Many today have turned to soft drinks and other sugary products than pure water. The consumption of these sweet products have led to health effects such as diabetes and teeth problems. One elderly male participant

indicated that he had health problems such as gout due to the consumption of too much red meat as captured in the excerpts below.

An elderly male participant who has a diploma, widower with five children and employed pointed out:

The numerous diseases we are experiencing nowadays are largely due to our changes in diets. They say I am suffering now because I had consumed a lot of protein, which is red meat to be specific. I have now developed gout. I had never heard of these names. The effect is that we have more sick people in the community, which later will affect the economy of the country.

In the words of a male youth participant with a form two educational level, unmarried with two children and employed maintained:

Yes, the consumption of some of these modern foods like the sugary products for example has led to illnesses. I have already developed teeth problems because I eat a lot of sugary stuff.

As captured by an elderly female participant with no formal education, widow with four children and employed affirmed:

Yes it has affected me personally in that, I have developed gastric and hypertension as a result of the consumption of these modern foods.

A reduction of life expectancy within the community was also attributed to the change in food consumption pattern as indicated by participants. In the past, our grandparents could live up to about 100 years and the main secret was the food choices they made and the things they ate. However, nowadays, there is a drop in the life expectancy. Today, many are found dying even before the age of 50, which is attributed to their food choices and the things they consume, thus leading to health conditions and a drop in life expectancy as captured in the following excerpts:

Our life expectancy is now short. Our grannies used to live for about 80 to 100 years. Now, we only live for about 50 to 60 years. In addition, we get obese from the food we eat, which is not very healthy our grandmothers and grandfathers lived for long without dying but when I look at the society today, I see that we no longer live for long as our grandparents lived. The food consumed has led to a reduction in our life span.

However, some minority participants indicated that the blend in the consumption of food choices have had no effect on them as individuals but generally, the effect is health related. The except of the participants:

From the response of this male youth participant with a first school leaving education, married with two children and employed responded thus:

As an individual, I have not noticed anything. The blend in food choices has no effect on me.

Another middle-aged participant with the same characteristics as above declared:

It has not affected me personally, because I mostly live on indigenous food. When I buy tea, I drink it only once or twice a month. My children are the ones who enjoy eaten the modern foods. Generally, the consumption of modern foods has led to health-related disease.

In addition, this male youth participant with a bachelor's degree, married with three children and employed said:

The blend in food consumption patterns has not affected me personally, but generally, modern foods are very unhealthy which leads to health-related diseases such as diabetes, hypertension and obesity.

However, though majority of the participants view the blend in food consumption patterns to be negative. Some participants view the blend in food choices from a positive perspective.

As indicated by an elderly female participant who has a diploma, married with five children and employed stated:

The blend in food choices has not affected me because I am very conscious of what I eat. It is good because it has help us to begin eating a balance diet. In the past, we ate so much starch with very little vegetable and fruits. Nevertheless, with the blend in food choices, we are now trying to eat a balance meal as we incorporate some of the modern foods in the preparation of our foods. This is important as it boost the quality of the food and provide us with all the nutrients the body needs for its functioning.

In line with the above response, this elderly male participant who has a diploma, married with eight children and employed said:

To me, I think the effect is a progressive one rather than a drastic one because the blend in food choices has assisted us in consuming a balance meal. The two go together. As life continues to exist changes must take place and could be good or bad.

From the observation, the responses of the participants are contradictory. Majority of the responses from all age groups differ in (educational level, marital status, number of children and monthly income) concurred that the blend in food consumption patterns has led to negative effects on the individual and the community enlarge. While some participants (few) (with same educational level, marital status, but differ in income level and number of children) noted no effect in the blend in food choices either on the individual or at the community level. Finally, the last category of participants (with same educational and monthly income but differ in the number of children and marital status), noted the blend in food choices from a positive angle as they maintain that it has led to the consumption of a balance meal in the community.

5.13 STRATEGIES TO REDUCE AND AVOID THE SHIFT IN FOOD CONSUMPTION PATTERNS IN THE MANKON COMMUNITY

In the Mankon community, participants were requested to suggest strategies to reduce a blend in food consumption patterns. Their suggestions were grouped into three categories: strategies to be implemented by the individual, strategies to be implemented at the level of the government and finally a small set of participants who posited that there is really nothing which can be done to reduce or avoid the blend in food consumption trends. Some of the responses of the participants were to avoid the current blend in food consumption patterns that communities should go back to the cultivation of crops using natural manure and the consumption of naturally grown foods. In addition, people should be educated on their food choices. This is evident in the following excerpts:

The following excerpts from participants indicates the individual's responsibility to avoid or reduce a blend in consumption habits. As postulated by the following participants:

In the words of this middle-aged female participant with a first school leaving education, married with five children and employed averred thus:

The government should not be the one to regulate food consumption patterns but the individual should take the responsibility. In as much as modern food can be

consumed, the individual again has the autonomy to select which of the modern foods to consume and which not to consume. The individual should be able to control his or her eating habits and make good food choices. Individuals have the potential and ability to avoid or reduce a blend in consumption patterns. Individuals should also be responsible and disciplined when making food choices and eating habits. Food patterns can only be changed at the individual level and at homes. Individuals should control their intake of modern food in their homes and also change their personal life styles.

In the same line, another male youth participant with a form two educational level, unmarried with two children and employed responded thus:

I will advise everyone to consume the indigenous foods. It will help because the indigenous foods are medicinal and very good for the body. The individual as a person should be able to make the right food choices. Many people run away from the consumption of indigenous food because it is time consuming. Take for example, preparing 'achu and yellow soup'. However, these foods are very healthy and should be consumed more.

To add more, an elderly female participant who has a diploma, widow with five children and employed declared:

We should select from the modern foods what suits us at every stage of our life and consume. We can and should not consume every modern food. When people are young and energetic they can eat all what they want but at my age now, I have to be very careful on what I eat. This selection can only be done by us.

Furthermore, one elderly female participant with no formal education, married with three children and employed said:

The solution should be at the individual level and not the community level. As an individual I have decided to begin eating only the ugly foods and you will find out that you will grow healthier and stronger.

The views expressed above are of the opinion that the individual is responsible for making healthy food choices. The views below share the view that the government will have to put in intervention strategies in order to avoid or reduce the blend in food consumption patterns. As indicated by the following participants:

A response from one of the middle-aged male participants with a first school leaving education, married with four children and employed posits:

If the government can educate or support farmers by providing them with local manure, it will be great and will lead to the availability of more natural food crops. Also, if the government can ban the importation of fertilizers and encourage the usage of local manure because when we see, we must use it but if we do not see, we will not be able to use it.

As submitted by a middle-aged male participant with a first school leaving education, married with four children and employed posits:

The government should adopt a policy of regulating the importation of artificial manure and encourage the utilization of local manure to boost the quality of the soil through the carcass of animals. This will push farmers to make use of local manure. In so doing, the quality of food produced will be natural and the quantity will be bound to increase. Many people will thus, be forced to consume indigenous food since modern food is not available and accessible.

Inferring from this middle-aged female participant with an advance level education, married with four children and employed reiterated:

It is important that the government sensitises the public on the modern food types which are detrimental to human health. Moreover, the community should be encouraged to produce and consume their own local products. For example, many people now consume bread and tea for breakfast. They buy and consume modern tea, which consists of ovaltine, sugar and milk. Cameroon still has its own local tea (Ndu and Tole) which can be encouraged for breakfast. The government should encourage farmers to grow food with natural manure. This will improve the health condition of its citizens. Africa has a choice to produce more of its indigenous food crops in order to promote its consumption.

Though majority of the participants were of the opinion that the blend in food consumption patterns should be reduced or avoided, some participants maintained there is little that can be done at this stage to reduce the blend in consumption patterns as indicated by the responses of the participants thus:

From the response of this elderly female participant with a first school leaving education, married with five children and employed states:

There is nothing we can do to reduce or avoid the blend because modern food has come to create a balance in food intake and nutrients. In Cameroon, the food consumption patterns have not really been changed or shifted, however,

indigenous foods have only been modified or have been improved upon by making use of the modern foods. Reasons why... why I say, we have a blend in our food choices of both the indigenous and the modern.

Along this trajectory an elderly male participant with an ordinary educational level, married with five children and employed responded thus:

As the population grows in African countries, more food is needed to meet up the growing population. It seems impossible to reduce this massive shift in food regimes, but there has to be a start in this uphill battle against western dominance in our food cultures as captured in the comment of one of the participants. This is despite the fact that very little can be done due to the fact that without modern food, modern society will not be able to meet up with the demands of its growing population.

Inferring from these responses, it is clear that participants from all three age groups (youth, middle and elderly) expressed divergent opinions on strategies to avoid or reduce the blend in food consumption patterns. Majority of the participants (who all differ in the characteristics of age, sex, and marital status, level of education, income level, and number of children) maintain that it is the individual's responsibility to make healthy food choices. While the middle-aged participants with same level of education, marital status, same number of children, but differ in their monthly income) stipulates that government intervention is very important to maintain a blend in the food consumption patterns. Meanwhile, on the other hand, the elderly group indicated that, it is impossible and too late to avoid the blend in food consumption patterns. The society is evolving and thus change is inevitable.

5.14 SUMMARY

This chapter has presented-the findings obtained from participants within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi in South Africa and Mankon communities in Cameroon. The data was presented into two sections. The first section focused on the demographic characteristics of participants in both communities. The second section focused on themes such as indigenous and staple foods, food and its meaning, gender and food, reasons for the presence of either indigenous or modern foods, reasons for changes in food consumption patterns. Further, it examined changes in food consumption patterns and the strategies that could be used to reduce the shifts and therefore help preserve indigenous foods. Rich information emerged from participants with regard to the meaning of food in relation to

specific social or cultural events. These are unpacked, analysed and discussed further in the next chapter.

The findings established some similarities and differences in both communities. Firstly, in the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community the staple food is more modern than their indigenous foods. In the Mankon community, the staple food is a blend of both the modern and the indigenous foods. The main cause in the shift in food choices in South Africa and the blend in food consumption patterns in Cameroon is because of globalisation. Food is important in both communities in that it is not only used for consumption but also carries important socio-cultural meanings. The main effect identified by the participants in the shift and blend in the food consumption pattern is health related. However, participants from both communities suggested strategies to reduce the shift in food consumption patterns in the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community and the blend in food consumption patterns in the Mankon community. In the Barolong Community, there has been a total shift to the modern foods while in the Mankon community there has been a blend in the food consumption patterns of the modern and indigenous foods.

CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

6.1 INTRODUCTION.

This chapter focuses on the analysis of the findings presented in the previous chapter. The analysis in this chapter is informed by the theoretical frameworks and literature review done in earlier chapters. There is therefore a need to examine whether or not the current body of knowledge within the literature corroborates or contrasts with the data obtained from the field. This chapter also examines whether or not the main aim of the study was achieved (i.e., to examine food consumption patterns in South Africa and Cameroon). The reasons are discussed for the shift in consumption patterns as well as the effects of such shift among the Barolong Boo Ratshidi clan and Mankon ethnic group in South Africa and Cameroon. It is imperative to begin with the demographic characteristics of participants (such as sex, age group, level of education, marital status and income level) as such analysis offers a preview of the structural characteristics of participants in the study area.

6.2 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS

6.2.1 Age of participants

From the excerpts derived from the research participants, age does not seem to have influence on the blend in food consumption choices (see section 5.11.4). This is evident from participants as they disclosed their preference of either indigenous or modern foods. Within the Mankon Community, twenty-five persons were interviewed, six youth, nine middle-aged and ten elderly. Out of the six youth interviewed, only one female youth

indicated that she preferred modern foods while the other five (with same marital status, and number of children, but different educational status and income levels) expressed preference for indigenous foods. All participants in the middle-aged group expressed preference for indigenous foods. Of the ten elderly participants, eight declared their preference for indigenous foods. The remaining two (with the same educational level) indicated their ambivalence in preference for both indigenous and modern foods. This sharply contrasts the findings of Falk *et al.* (1996) and Quandt *et al.* (1997)'s observations that only the elderly always maintain their childhood habits of consuming indigenous food prepared traditionally. Surprisingly, from the findings, it was clear that not all the elderly expressed preference for indigenous foods as two stated their ambivalent preference for both indigenous and modern foods as they are of the view that they complement each other. Casini *et al.* (2013) argue that the youth have been associated with allocating very little time in the preparation of food since they live in a technological era where they use machines do most things including the preparation of food. Hence their preference for modern fast foods. Among the youth interviewed, majority (five) stated that they prefer the consumption of indigenous food to modern food. The main reason advanced was that it is healthy and organically grown. Thus, despite the technological waves, the youth still prefer indigenous food to modern. It is important to note that though a significant majority stated their preference for indigenous food over modern, they maintain indigenous food is unavailable due to the soil that has been destroyed through the application of artificial fertiliser on the soil during farming. The yields are not very rich, leading to scarcity of indigenous food. It is only because of such scarcity that they turn to modern food. In addition, modern food is sometimes, used to supplement the nutritional value of their food. However, it was clear that preferences of food remains strongly indigenous in the Mankon community.

With regard to the responses of participants on their preference of either indigenous or modern foods in the Barolong boo Ratshidi community (see section 5.6.4), twenty-eight persons were interviewed (nine youth, ten middle-aged and nine elderly). The responses of participants were quite diverse. However, the elderly (all nine) (with same marital status but difference in income, educational level, number of children) expressed preference for indigenous foods. This is in line with Falk *et al.* (1996) and Quandt *et al.* (1997) who found that the elderly generally stick to the consumption of indigenous foods. Among the nine youth, majority (four, with diverse demographic features such as age, sex, marital status, income and educational level) preferred the consumption of indigenous food. Three (with

similar characteristics such as age, marital status, number of children, monthly income but different in the educational level) preferred the consumption of both indigenous and modern foods while two (with same educational level, marital status, number of children, monthly income) preferred the consumption of modern food only. This is in disagreement with Casini *et al.*'s (2013) view that the youth are generally associated with allocating very little time to the preparation of food since they live in a technological and 'gig' economy where machines do everything, including the preparation and consumption of modern foods. This is so as indigenous foods require time to prepare before consumption. On the contrary, majority of young people in this study stated their preference for indigenous foods over modern. Of the ten middle-aged individuals, eight preferred the consumption of indigenous foods while two (diverse as well) preferred the consumption of modern foods and only one preferred the consumption of both modern and indigenous foods. It is worthy to note that majority of participants in the different age groups preferred indigenous food to modern food in the consumption habits.

Findings from the field in both communities suggest that all age groups preferred the consumption of indigenous food to modern foods. However, participants (minority) from the different age groups preferred the consumption of modern foods or both. Participants stated that they consume modern food because of its higher availability and accessibility. Participants from both communities maintained there are times when indigenous food is scarce. In the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community, indigenous food is scarce because the local population is not involved in farming due to inadequate access to land and water. Even though there is so much available land in Mafikeng, participants sampled in the study have limited access to the land due to historical reasons of dispossession, thus discouraging agricultural practices. In the Mankon Community, participants indicated they sometimes face scarcity of indigenous foods because of modern fertilisers which destroyed the soil quality. Thus, when farming is practised the yields are low to meet the demand of the population. Thus, they turn to the consumption of modern foods. However, their preference of food remains indigenous. The middle-aged and the elderly had a lot to contribute to the study as they compared the patterns of food consumption in the past and the present. The youth had very little to contribute since they were not conversant with the food patterns of the past and their underlying meanings. In both communities, the researcher observed that the youth struggled to articulate the meanings ascribed to food consumption.

6.2.2 Level of education

From the responses obtained from the field, participants with some standard level of education tried to consume a balanced meal and make healthy food choices compared to those with a low level of education within the community. Two participants (see section 5.12) (same age, marital status, educational level, but difference in income level, sex and number of children) shared a contrary opinion to the majority. With regard to their educational level, holders of a diploma certificate preferred to consume a balanced meal compared to those with a low educational background, who just eat for the sake of eating. They maintained that the blend in food choices is a positive aspect because it assists them to consume a balance diet. In the past, indigenous food was poorly prepared and it was not balanced as mostly starchy foods were consumed without a sufficient portion of vegetables. Modern combination in food has come to create a balance in the meals. Therefore, because of their educational level, they seek a balance in their meals. They do not only try to eat only healthy food but balanced meals. Hence, their educational levels do exert an influence on their food habits. This confirms what Chrysochou *et al.* (2010), submit in affirming that education plays a role in food consumption patterns. Higher levels of education stimulate information and acquisition, leading to the purchase and consumption of healthy foods. Gaining access to information and being aware and knowledgeable about healthy eating has an influence on one's food choices. It emerges that persons with low educational backgrounds tend to be consumers of unhealthy food. This is so because, firstly, they are not aware and knowledgeable of healthy foods and, therefore do not purchase or consume healthy foods. Thus, the educational level of a person can influence food choices.

6.2.3 Monthly income

The income level (means of affordability) is very crucial as it influences the food choices and consumption of healthy foods. Having an idea of the participants' income level assisted in understanding the rationale for their food choices and for the shift in food consumption patterns (See section 5.4.1). The results indicated that 43% of participants within the Barolong boo Ratshidi community had a monthly income ranging from R1000 to R4000, a modest 32% did not have any monthly income, a few had a monthly income of R5000 to R10000 and above (see section 5.4.1). Within the Mankon community, the majority of

participants (see section 5.9.1) (60%) had a monthly income of FCFA10000 to FCFA100000, a total 24% had a monthly income of FCFA110000 and above, 16% of participants did not have any monthly income (see section 5.9.1). This suggests that the majority of people living in rural areas are unemployed and have very little or no source of income compared to those living in urban areas that is a determining factor in their food choices. Many participants from the Barolong boo Ratshidi community stated that they were unemployed. The little monthly source of income received was from the paltry social grants. The elderly maintained their monthly income was from their old-age pension grants. Some participants indicated they received neither the social grant stipends nor pension and only relied on other members of their family for assistance. This is not peculiar in the South African context as the same experience was evident in Cameroon. The majority of participants within the Mankon ethnic group were not employed and the elderly depended on their pension for their monthly stipends, while others struggled to make a living through agriculture and produce sold from the farms. This also indicates that within the Mankon ethnic group, agriculture is for subsistence (and commercial purposes) while within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi ethnic group, little if any agriculture is practised. The views presented by participants contradict Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory, which emphasises that economic status and means of affordability are the main factors responsible for a change in food choices and a change in food consumption trends. It is also contrary to Jenkins' (1991) observation that food choices are influenced by one's economic status. This contradicts the findings from the field as participants indicated that they have very little or no source of income. Therefore, their food choices are solely dependent on what is available and accessible. This confirms Rodmell's (1986:73) view that the environment influences a person's food choices. He maintains that the environment in which one grows up shapes their dietary trends.

6.3 STAPLE FOODS WITHIN THE BAROLONG BOO RATSHIDI AND MANKON ETHNIC GROUP

One of the objectives of this study was to identify staple foods within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community (South Africa) and the Mankon ethnic group (Cameroon). In Barolong Boo Ratashidi, all participants identified similar food items as their staples in the community (as cited in section 5.4.1). Participants concurred on the following food items as their staples:

carrots, maize, onions, fresh tomatoes, *stampa*, rice, cabbage, beef, chicken, milk, tea, green pepper, butternuts, *dumpling*, Macaroni, bread, soft porridge, cereals, pumpkins, salad, spaghetti, pap and beans. This is consistent with the observation by Steyn *et al.* (2003) that the staple and most consumed foods by South Africa's adult population are maize, sugar, tea, bread (brown and white), non-dairy creamers, chicken, meat, full cream milk and green leaves. It is worth noting that the staple foods mentioned by Steyn *et al.*, including what the participants confirmed in the study, are modern. According to Steyn *et al.*, there is no mention of indigenous organic foods as staple foods. However, in the list of food items mentioned by participants who took part in this study, *mabele* and *stampa* are some of the indigenous foods, though they seem to be in the minority. For example, chicken bought from shops is modern and inorganic since it is not naturally bred. The other types of foods are clearly modern foods considering their production processes and methods of preparation.

Thus, a shift in food consumption patterns in South Africa has been towards a more western-oriented diet. According to participants, there is very little or no consumption of indigenous foods in their respective communities. The findings further established that most indigenous foods are often consumed during special events and functions within the community. Fourie and Steyn (1995) state that a shift to western-style consumption patterns has led to an increase in the prevalence of chronic diseases. A change in diet and decline in physical activity has led to an increase in obesity in developing countries (Popkin, 2009). The literature also shows that western diets are the main cause of health-related diseases such as obesity, diabetes, cancer and hypertension in the society.

Furthermore, the staple foods indicated by participants confirm the assertion that there is a nutritional shift within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi Community. Schapera (1953:23) suggests the following as staples consumed during the pre-colonial period among the Barolong Boo Ratshidi clan: millet; sweet cane; earthnuts; cucurbits; groundnuts; melon and green herbs. These foods are no longer considered staples among the Barolong Boo Ratshidi ethnic group post-colonialism.

Similarly, within the Mankon community of Cameroon, participants listed the staple food items in their community (see section 5.9.1 for evidence). Some of the staple foods are common to both communities and are not influenced by one's demographic characteristics. Participants listed the following as their staple foods: cocoyam, bread, spaghetti, fufu-corn

and okoro, achu and yellow soup, rice and stew, water fufu and eru, chicken (locally grown), ovaltine, cornchaft, green spices, porridge plantain and boiled plantain. Participants indicated that the staple foods within the community were a blend of both indigenous African and modern foodstuffs.

Inferring from the responses obtained from participants, there is a mixture of both the Western and indigenous African foods giving some balance in food consumption patterns within the Mankon community. Some of the staple foods consumed within the community are also indigenous foods of the Mankon people. This is contrary to what was established among the Barolong Boo Ratshidi in South Africa where staple foods within the community were western compared to indigenous African foods. The responses from participants are consonant with the findings of Che (2011) who found that cassava, groundnuts, yams, beans, local carrots, egusi, sweet potatoes and vegetables were the staple foods of the Mankon people during the pre-colonial era.

According to Chauliau *et al.* (1998), the consumption of junk foods such as doughnuts, fried groundnuts and sweet beverages is very common in urban areas compared to rural areas. The findings of this study concur with those of Chauliau *et al.* 1998) who found that the shift in the consumption patterns show that junk food is very common in urban areas. This study corroborates the above assertion as the Mankon community is a rural one residing in the North West Province of Cameroon where there is little or no much shift but a blend in food consumption patterns.

The study also found that the staple foods of the Mankon people are more indigenous foods with some modern varieties added to provide the nutritional balance required. Therefore, within the Mankon community, there has been a minor shift in foodconsumption patterns as there is still a strong adherence to indigenous food with some modification in the preparation and consumption methods of indigenous foods.

6.4 FOOD AND ITS MEANINGS WITHIN THE BAROLONG BOO RATSHIDI COMMUNITY AND MANKON COMMUNITIES

Food is not only a collection of products that can be used for nutritional studies, but is considered as a system of communication, a constellation of images and a protocol of usages and behaviours. Food can be used to disseminate intricate messages to one another. Food is a powerful assemblage as it speaks in relation to particular social events.

Particular foods carry messages of happiness or sadness in relation to a particular social or cultural event or even carries a message of its own. This is because the theories mention that food carries meaning and information in relation to particular events but fail to state the exact meaning and types of food, which carries meaning in relation to particular events. Of the twenty-five participants in the Mankon community, Cameroon, all middle-aged and elderly participants, with diverse characteristics such as income level, marital status, number of children and educational level, gave similar responses to food and its meanings in relation to specific events. However, the youth had little to say in this regard (evidence in section 5.10.1). The views expressed by the middle-aged and the elderly are in line with the structuralist theory. Douglas and Barthes (1979) define food in terms of the importance to both the individual and the society. Wellendorf Arnould (1991) concur with Douglas and Barthes that there are deep symbolic meanings behind the consumption of food items, including ritual occasions.

The findings also revealed that types of foods used during the celebration of traditional marriages within the Mankon community include achu with yellow or black soup, boiled plantain and vegetables (*ambaraga*) with a lot of palm oil known as '*acape mengue*', red cola nuts and traditional beer (raffia wine). One of the main food items which carries a lot meaning and significance during a traditional wedding within the Mankon community is '*acape megun*' (boiled plantain, cooked separately and the relish prepared with cocoyam leaves accompanied with a lot of palm oil and big pieces of cow or goat meat) (see 5.10.2). This is a special indigenous meal for traditional marriages within the Mankon community usually prepared by the groom's family and taken to the bride's aunts. It is symbolic in that it serves as the very first sign in the groom's intention of marriage to the bride's family. Similarly, in the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community, the findings established that during the celebration of a traditional wedding, foods that are cooked and dished carry meanings of joy and happiness. Moreover, specific parts of the animal slaughtered carry symbolic meaning (see sections 5.5.2 and 5.5.3). For example, during a traditional marriage celebration in the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community, the waist and rear parts of the sheep are eaten by the couple as a symbol of unity and their coming together as one. In addition, the lower part of the cow, just below the kidney, is called *Mokoto*. Only the couple entering marriage consume this part of the cow as it is considered symbolic in enhancing the fertility among couples.

Another very important indigenous food item- cola nuts and traditional beer (known as raffia wine) is prepared during the celebration of a traditional wedding within the Mankon community. The traditional beer (raffia wine) is symbolic during the celebration of a traditional wedding as it is used by the bride to disclose and introduce her groom in the crowd (see section 5.10.2). The cola nuts during a traditional wedding is indispensable and the importance cannot be over emphasised. Red cola nuts are used as a symbol of peace during the celebration of a traditional wedding within the Mankon community. Raffia wine and red cola nuts are symbolic in every traditional wedding within the Mankon community as clarified by the participants, including *acape mengue* and porridge plantain, which are all indigenous foods with a lot of meaning, especially during the celebration of a traditional wedding. Though participants attached different meanings and significance of cola nuts and traditional beer within the Mankon community, cola nuts and traditional beer convey the meaning of the new covenant and hospitality during the celebration of a traditional wedding. This is in conformity to the views of Lena (2008) who argues that food fulfils several functions ranging from a symbol of family unity through the sharing of meals to providing hospitality in the house when there is a visitor. Marion and Bennion (1990) in support states that food can be used for security purposes and for hospitality. Cola nuts, as stated by one of the male elderly participants, is used to initiate a conversation. This is in line with Webb (1995:33) who maintains that food can be used to initiate and maintain personal and business relationships.

With regard to the different indigenous foods used during the celebration of a traditional wedding within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community, the foods present carry meanings within the community. Moreover, different parts of animals, such as cows and goats, slaughtered during the celebration of a traditional marriage, carry significant meaning. The foods present during the celebration of a traditional wedding within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community are *stampa*; *tshotlo*; *mabele*; and traditional beer (*bojalwa jwa Setswana*).

Participants also indicated that food consumption patterns have changed. In the past, during the celebration of a traditional wedding only the dishes mentioned above were present but with the shift in consumption patterns, many other foods have been included and made more colourful such as beef stew, dumpling, different kinds of salads, rice, chicken, assorted soft

drinks and alcohol. At times, the traditional beer is not present or if present, it is not consumed by the guests.

Not only traditional wedding food carries meaning within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community. Traditional beer, also referred to as *bojalwa jwa Setswana*, is full of meaning when consumed during a traditional marriage (see 5.5.2). The traditional beer is made from fermented *mabele*. *Bojalwa jwa Setswana* is usually present during traditional weddings and not funerals. It is symbolic during traditional weddings because it signifies the blessing of the marriage by the ancestors and family members. It is also used during cultural rituals such as *Badimo* in venerating their ancestors and gods. The traditional beer (though given different names within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi and the Mankon communities), is significant and very meaningful during the celebration of a traditional wedding within these communities.

It is important to highlight the differences and similarities between food and its meaning during special events within the Mankon and Barolong Boo Ratshidi communities. Within the Mankon community, particular foods carry meaning during the celebration of a traditional marriage. Similarly, in the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community, foods present during the celebration of a traditional wedding carries meaning and particular parts of animals slaughtered are significant during consumption. It was revealed that in both communities, there are specific foods that are prepared and consumed during weddings and yet others carry meanings of sadness and grief at funerals. These findings clearly point to similarities but there are differences in the kind of foods consumed.

The findings from both communities all attest to the fact that there is a shift in the different types of foods present during the traditional wedding compared to the past. Participants from the Mankon community maintained that in the past, the main foods present during the celebration of a traditional wedding were: *achu* and yellow or black soup, *acape mengue*, porridge plantain, cola nuts and traditional beer. However, nowadays, during the celebration of a traditional marriage, there is the incorporation of different modern foods such as *jellof rice*, rice and stew, fufu and eru, fufu corn and *njama njama*, beans and plantain, *achu* and alcohol instead of traditional beer. Participants from the Barolong boo Ratshidi community echoed similar sentiments maintaining that in the past, during the celebration of a traditional wedding, the main foods present were *stampa*, *mabele*, *tshotlo* and traditional beer. However, nowadays, during the celebration of traditional marriages, the foods present are

salads, dumplings, chicken, rice and vegetables, among others. The majority of participants from both communities suggested that modernisation has led to the eradication of some cultural practices. This is an indication that modernisation has an adverse effect on cultural practices.

According to the structuralist theory of Douglas (1984), food can be treated as a coded message. Particular foods speak and send out messages on their own. Particular foods also carry messages in relation to particular social events. This assertion is confirmed by participants in Mankon community who maintained that specific foods such as porridge plantain, acape mengue, red cola nuts and traditional beer carry messages linked to a certain social event (which is the celebration of traditional marriage within the Mankon community). Within the Barolong community, participants concurred with those in Mankon community that the consumption of certain parts of the cow slaughtered during the celebration of a traditional wedding carry meaning with respect to that particular event. The consumption of the waist of a sheep during a traditional wedding is an indication of the unity and togetherness between the couple. Barthes (1979) concurs that food constitutes an item of information and carries cultural connotations and symbols to those who consume it. Making inferences from the findings, the presence of cola nuts and traditional beer in both communities symbolise peace, blessings and concord between both families during the celebration of a marriage. The presence of traditional beer and cola nuts gives a cultural connotation and meaning to members present as maintained by Barthes.

According to Barthes (1975), food is both a need and a sign. Participants from Mankon concur with Barthes by maintaining *egusi pudding*, which is an indigenous food from the Mankon community that carries meaning on its own (see section 5.10.3). The dish is not associated with any particular cultural or social event. However, it can be present at any cultural or social event. *Egusi pudding*, on its own, symbolises honour and respect. In support of Barthes, *egusi pudding* carries a need and a sign. Through the presence of a dish, communication takes place seamlessly. The presence of the dish signifies honour and respect to whoever is receiving and consuming the food. Thus, if one is served *egusi pudding*, which is often presented to elders, it sends a message of honour and respect to that individual. The elderly can later share and give to the youth if they desire to do so.

In summary, the responses from participants in both Barolong Boo Ratshidi and Mankon communities are in line with the assertion by Amy (2008) that food demonstrates affiliation with a culture and is consumed during social events and even in times of stress. These are called comfort foods because they satisfy basic psychological needs. Participants also concurred with Kniazeva (2003) that food values are cultural expressions through which people establish, maintain and reinforce national ethnic and individual identities. In connecting the responses of participants and the literature review, food on its own bestows a cultural identity of who people are, and their background. Achu is the main indigenous food of the Mankon people that gives them a cultural identity.

Food can also represent cultural identity (see 5.10.3). It was confirmed that achu with yellow or black soup carries meaning, information and cultural identity of the Mankon people. Particular indigenous foods, which carry meaning and information in relation to particular events within the Mankon and Barolong Boo Ratshidi communities have been identified and discussed in this study. The meaning of food in relation to particular events have been provided, thus answering one of the objectives of this study. The findings amplify those particular indigenous foods have particular meanings in relation to specific social and cultural events in Mankon, Cameroon as well as Barolong Boo Ratshidi, South Africa. The literature review and theories confirm that food could be treated as a coded message and carries information but it fails to bring out the messages and information which food carries.

A further finding about meaning carried by food was with respect to grief and mourning periods. As Puoane *et al.* (2006:91) rightly observe, particular foods are associated with ceremonies such as initiations and funerals. The findings demonstrate that with regard to funerals in both communities of South Africa and Cameroon, particular types of foods are prepared. In Mankon community, participants reported three main indigenous foods commonly prepared. The first type is boiled corn and groundnuts mixed together. The majority of participants stated that boiled corn and groundnuts is usually present during funerals and is an indication of pain, grieving and mourning (evidence is provided in section 5.10.1). Participants concur with Barthes and Douglas that food carries a message and information.

Participants from Barolong Boo Ratshidi community shared similar views with those in Mankon by stating that *mogoga*, which consists of *samp*, *mabele* and *tshotlo*, are the main dishes prepared during funerals (see section 5.5.1). Participants also indicated that in the

past, there was no difference between the foods present during the celebration of a traditional wedding and those used during a funeral. However, these foods could be distinguished either as foods for a celebration of a traditional marriage or a funeral through their preparation processes and appearance. Food prepared for the funeral was without salt, less colourful and attractive and without traditional beer. Guests are required to drink water and juice after eating. On the contrary, food prepared for the celebration of a traditional marriage was the same but the appearance was different (colourful, attractive and tasteful symbolising a joyful event while funeral food symbolised the grief of the event). However, with the evolution of society, consumption and functional properties have changed a lot. During funerals, depending on one's social status, different types of food are served with water and juice.

Mogoga was the food present and prepared during funerals in the past. However, majority of participants indicated that this practice and cultural tradition has changed. There is a shift in the consumption patterns compared to what used to obtain in the past. Participants also indicated that with modernisation, the practice has changed as many modern foods such as rice, salads, pap, and beef stew and desserts (with so many colours) are now prepared during funerals. The cultural practice of having *Mogoga* (like in the past during funerals) is no longer strictly adhered to as it has been compromised by the modern foods available. The continued presence of *Mogoga*, however, sends a message about the nature of the event.

Ngonedic is a funeral food in the Mankon community just like *mogoga* is in the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community. *Ngonedic* is prepared during funerals within the Mankon community. It consists of long plantains (which have not been chopped) cooked with a lot of palm oil and meat (see section 5.11.2). It is consumed during funerals usually on warm plantain leaves (outside and not inside the house). It is also called '*Chop for Sangabing*' and served when the funeral is over. When consumed in a particular household, it symbolises that burial has just taken place in that household. It is rare to see a funeral and burial without *Ngonedic*. It is public food, which is made available for all to consume after a funeral, celebrating the life of the deceased.

It is important to point out that in both communities, participants indicated changes in the food choices during traditional marriages from the past to the contemporary society. The same situation was also highlighted with the food choices present during funerals.

Modernisation is one of the factors that has influenced this change echoed by participants (see section 5.6.1) in Barolong Boo Ratshidi and section 5.11.1 in Cameroon. Modernisation, globalisation and western influences are major causes to the change of cultural practices in traditional societies. This is in accordance with Miller (1997) and Long, (1996), who argue that globalisation influences the dietary trends in both less affluent and more affluent countries. It is not the people alone who move with the times; food as well undergoes a transformation due to the influences of modernity, choice and habit.

Unlike in South Africa where traditional beer is not allowed during funerals, within the Mankon community this is allowed during funerals. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the beer carries any meaning. In the past, it was only the traditional beer, but nowadays, there is an assortment of brands of alcohol during funerals, intimating a change in the food and beverage consumption trends.

Besides weddings and funerals, specific foods were confirmed as associated with other occasions such as the welcoming of a newborn baby into the family (see section 5.10.3). Within the Mankon community, such food is roast plantain marshed in palm oil with a pinch of salt mixed together. The social event (which is linked and related to the consumption of this meal) is known in the Mankon community as '*born house*' or a naming ceremony. The presence and consumption of this meal sends a message of the presence of a newborn baby in the family. Research participants concurred with Mauss (2011) that particular food types have different symbolic meanings attached to them, be it social, cultural or religious. Mashed roast plantain mixed with a pinch of salt and palm oil is an indication that there is a newborn baby in the family. It is desirable that all visitors consume this meal in welcoming the baby into the family.

6.4.1 Food and gender

Findings from the field revealed a relationship between food and gender. Within both communities of Barolong Boo Ratshidi, South Africa and Mankon, Cameroon, participants indicated that particular foods are not to be consumed by particular sexes. For example, the findings in Mankon revealed that the gizzard, liver, and the heart of a chicken are consumed only by the male sex (see section 5.10.4). The responses of participants from all age groups, though different in terms of their demographic characteristics, confirm that in the Mankon

community, there is a restriction in the consumption of certain foods due to gender. The reason is ascribed to culture and tradition. Traditionally, the male sex is superior to the female. Thus specific parts can only be consumed by the male sex to signify the honour and respect ascribed to males in this tradition. One of the participants however differed from this perception and submitted that the practice restricting the consumption of the gizzard to the male sex only is greed on the part of men. This is because, men feel superior to women and thus determine what should be eaten by them and what should not be eaten by the female sex. However, the men are not allowed to eat sweet potatoes as it is believed that would lower their sexual desire. Apart from these foods, both women and men in the community are allowed to consume all else. In a similar vein, participants from the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community indicated a relationship between gender and food. Participants stated that there are particular foods, which are not supposed to be consumed by the male sex as well as there are certain foods which are not supposed to be consumed by the female sex (see 5.5.4). Responses of participants from all age groups, though different in terms of their demographic characteristics, averred that within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community, not all consume every food variety available. For example, certain parts of the sheep, cow, and goat are not consumed by the female sex. An example is the chicken drumstick, which is not supposed to be consumed by the female sex. The explicit reason is that the drumstick of a chicken is hard and fleshy. If analysed properly, the drumstick, which is apportioned to the male sex, is done as a sign of respect and honour. This is similar situation in the Mankon community whereby the female sex is not allowed to eat certain parts of the chicken such as the gizzard to convey honour and respect. In the Barolong community the female sex especially the elderly women are the only ones allowed to consume the tongue and the wings of the chicken. It is believed that elderly women within the community are given the tongue of the cow to assist them in ululating (singing praises). The responses from both communities are similar as the male sex is perceived superior sex over the female sex. Therefore, the male sex gets privileges, confirming and validating the superiority of the man in traditional African societies. However, unlike in the case where the youth were clueless on food consumption and its meaning, with regard to food and sex, the youth are knowledgeable on what they can eat within their communities.

Participants also indicated that in the past, girls were not allowed to eat eggs. Several reasons were advanced on the prohibition to consume eggs within the Barolong community in the past. One is that the consumption of eggs by females would precipitate their maturity,

thus becoming prematurely sexually active. Another participant maintained there was food discrimination regarding sex in the past. However, the practice in the current society has changed as many people no longer adhere to food and sex discrimination since these food types are available in shops. In a similar vein, participants from the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community shared the same views as those from Mankon with regard to food and gender regarding the non-consumption of eggs by children. In the Mankon community, in the past, children were not allowed to eat eggs as it was believed that they would become thieves. It was a myth but it was used to prevent children from consuming eggs in both communities. Thus, in both communities, in the past, tradition forbade children from consuming eggs though it is a source of protein. The views of participants concur with the findings of Chapman (1990), who found that there is a marked difference between food consumed by men and women in fishing villages. Foods such as pork, pate, sausage and fat are associated with masculinity and as such, are often consumed by men while women consume cakes, butter and milk that are seen as feminine. Participants from both communities confirmed the findings of Chapman that certain foods are not to be consumed by the masculine or feminine sex. This was ratified by evidence in the Mankon and Barolong Boo Ratshidi communities. In conclusion, there is a relationship between food and gender. The consumption of certain food types is influenced certainly by one's sex.

It is, therefore, evident that within African societies, and specifically in Cameroon and South Africa, food is associated with meanings related to particular events. Furthermore, there are certain food types which do not only carry meaning in relation to particular events but also carry cultural significance within the particular community. Unlike the consumption of modern western food, which carries no meaning, most African indigenous foods carry a meaning depending on the event when they are consumed.

6.5 SHIFT IN FOOD CONSUMPTION PATTERNS IN THE BAROLONG BOO RATSHIDI AND THE MANKON

This study also sought to find out from the participants if there is a shift in consumption patterns in the Mankon in Cameroon and the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community in South Africa, and the reasons for such shifts.

It can be deduced from the positions affirmed by participants (see section 5.6.1) in the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community that there has been a shift in food habits from the

consumption of indigenous Africa foods to the consumption of western. The findings concur with those of the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO, 2003, Grigg, 1995 and Popkin, 2002) which maintains that there is a global nutritional transition as people move towards affluent food consumption habits. Contrary to the shift in food habits as confirmed within the Barolong boo Ratshidi community in South Africa, inferences from participants within the Mankon community in Cameroon (see section 5.11.1) suggest a blend in their food consumption habits. Participants stated that in the past, food was prepared without spices and with no beef cubes. In place of beef cubes was salt and 'nuttie' (fermented dry egusi). Palm oil was used in the preparation of food. The above positions by these participants is evidence that there has been a blend of modern and indigenous methods in the preparation of foods.

Another change in food consumption patterns identified by members of the Mankon community is the number of times food consumed per day has increased compared to the number of times food was consumed in the past. Participants reiterated that in the past, there used to be only one main meal consumed per day, at most two, which was very rare. However, in contemporary society, it is possible for the main meal to be consumed thrice a day with small courses in between because there are many food varieties. In addition, in the past, food cooked could be consumed over three days; in today's society, food is cooked on a daily basis and consumed. This is because in the past, food was mainly organic and could be kept longer without getting rotten while today it is mainly processed and has short life lifespan unless refrigerated.

Furthermore, participants from the Mankon community mentioned that in the past, the local indigenous beer (raffia wine) was often consumed on a daily basis and during every event. However, in contemporary society, there is a blend with the modern alcohol, which is always complemented with indigenous beer. This blend is not only with food but also with beverages. There is a blend not only in indigenous and modern food but also in the modern and indigenous beverages.

Participants from the Barolong boo Ratshidi community concurred with those from the Mankon community in maintaining that the shift is not only in food consumption patterns but in the consumption of the local beer which they perceive as natural and healthy. The consumption of modern beer and a variety of soft drinks is not healthy and leads to health-related diseases. The different varieties of alcohol and soft drinks came through because of

globalisation and modernisation. In conclusion, findings from both communities attest to the fact that a shift has not only taken place in food consumption patterns but also in beverages.

In addition, participants from the Mankon community noted another change in the food preparation habits as many people prefer to fry rather than boil food. A change in food preparation patterns is largely due the many varieties of food found on the market. The first change is in the preparation method of indigenous foods that has improved through use of modern ingredients (see section 5.11.2). For example, foods that were consumed on leaves and eaten by hand have undergone a slight change and consumers now use forks, knives and spoons. Oil is used to prepare food today (groundnut or cooking oil) and involves frying tomatoes and onions in oil, frying fish or chicken which was not the case in the past (see section 5.11.2). Furthermore, the different methods of food preparation have led to an increase in the varieties like rice could be prepared using different methods and called different names or salads prepared using different methods and ingredients and attached different names. Participants from the Barolong boo Ratshidi in South Africa shared similar sentiments with those from the Mankon community regarding the increase in food varieties and a change in preparation methods (see section 5.6.2). They affirmed that the preparation methods of some of their indigenous foods have been modified. For instance, the fermentation of sorghum, which usually took about five days, has now been reduced to a mere two days by adding some western ingredients to speed up the fermentation process.

In addition, there has been a drastic change in food consumption patterns from pre-colonial to post-colonial periods. The question to ask is how good or bad is this change in food habits? What are the advantages and disadvantages of this change and which weighs more than the other? More importantly, there is a need to find out the cause to this change in food trends. The findings from both communities revealed changes in food consumption patterns, whether major or minor, the fact remains that there have been changes from pre- to post-colonial periods in the two communities. The study ascertained that the change has many negative effects, especially with regard to human health. This has affected some of the African cultural practices and the fading of African local cuisine. On the positive scale, change is inevitable and is bound to occur considering that society is not static and evolves each passing day.

Taking the discussion further, another change immanent from the responses of participants from the Barolong boo Ratshidi community in South Africa was the shift to the consumption

of take ways and fast foods. Participants attributed this to life style changes as many people no longer have time to prepare home-cooked meals. Preparation of indigenous food is also time-consuming. These factors have led to a decline in the consumption of home-cooked meals and an increase in the consumption of take ways and fast foods within the Barolong boo Ratshidi community. This finding is consistent with the view by Ward (1997) that the routine of cooked breakfast and lunch has declined as more of fast foods, processed and take aways foods take the lead. This is evident within the Barolong boo Ratshidi community where the majority of people prefer fast foods, packaged, frozen foods, and readily prepared meals and take-away foods. Contrary to the Mankon community, readily prepared meals, take aways, frozen and package foods are not readily available. The reason could be that Cameroon is not as developed as South Africa. In the Mankon community still maintains the preparation of home cooked meal.

The majority of participants within the Barolong boo Ratshidi community depend on the shops for food rather than on subsistence farming (see section 5.6.3). People no longer plough and this influences their food choices changing their food consumption patterns. One of the reasons for the high dependency on the shops and market is the difficulty to access land to plough. Some participants mentioned the scarcity of land within the community, which impedes farming. This is traceable back to the period of apartheid in South Africa whereby blacks were deprived of their land.

It is crucial to understand the factors in order to provide relevant recommendations in addressing the situation. As one of the items on the interview guide, participants were asked to state the cause of the change in food habits. Participants from the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community maintained the change was because of globalisation, modernisation, and a mixture of cultures through technological advancement and the use of media tools such as Facebook, twitter and the television. Many people are exposed to and have assimilated western culture in all spheres, including their food consumption habits, which has led to changes in patterns globally and particularly within the Barolong boo Ratshidi community (evidence in 5.6.3).

Participants advanced several reasons to the causes of the change in food consumption choices in the community. Out of the ten youth intervieweed, three (with same marital states but differ in age, sex, income level, educational status and number of children) emphasised that the cause in dietary trends is changes in lifestyles. The other three participants (with

same income level but differ in educational level, sex, age, educational level, marital status and number of children) indicated the cause to be as a result of modernisation. The remaining two participants with diverse demographic features indicated that the change was because sometimes, indigenous food is scarce. This was compounded by the reality that preparation of indigenous food is time-consuming. The responses from participants within Barolong Boo Ratshidi and the Mankon communities affirmed that a number of factors ranging from changes in lifestyle, modernisation, globalisation, and technological advancement hastened lifestyle changes. Findings from the field confirmed that globalisation and modernisation are the causes of the shift in food consumption trends and this ratifies the globalistaion theory which posits that the world has become one big global village where everything is interconnected. Scholars, however, have expressed several positions on the effects (positive and negative) of globalisation on developing countries. One of the negative effects, as maintained by Namrata (2014), is that globalisation threatens national lauguages, cultural practices, ways of dressing and has even affected food habits. Participants confirmed this version as they indicated that globalisation and modernisation constitute reasons for a change in food choices. The influx of a variety of foods, the perception that modern foods taste better than indigenous foods, and the consumption of modern food are perceived as civilised and modern. All these have resulted in the shift in dietary patterns. The views advanced by participants from the field indicate that lifestyle is responsible for the changes in food consumption trends. These findings are in line with Chauliau *et al.* (1998) who found that changes in lifestyles affcted food habits. The responses of participants are also in accordance with the findings of Lang (2002), Grigg (1995) and Popkin (2006) who found that globalisation has not only led to the movement of goods around the world but also the movement of foods, leading to a change in food consumption patterns. The findings from the field verify the results of Drewnowsk and Darmon (2005) that technological transformation is a cause to changes in food consumption patterns. Bennion (1990) adds that the use of media such as television sets, radios and magazines have contributed to changes in food consumption patterns. The responses from participants all confirm the change in directionof a change in food consumption patterns within both communities. The fact remains that western culture, which has been assimilated, has dramatically changed lifestyles in all spheres, even food consumption patterns. These factors (modernisation, globalisation, technology and changes in lifestyle) are related in that

globalisation brings in modernisation and changes in technology which ushers in a change in lifestyle.

There have been changes in lifestyles, particularly in the way things were done in the past and today. For example, in the past, many were involved in agricultural practices and the specific methods of food preparation. This argument concurs with Chauliau *et al.* (1998) who posits that changes in lifestyle in Cameroon are associated with changes in food consumption patterns. Dapi *et al* (2007) agrees and maintains the busy schedules of people have all led to changes in food consumption trends.

In the past, the place of a woman was in the kitchen, responsible for the preparation of food. In today's modern society, everyone goes out to fend for himself or herself. Both men and women are now connected to the work environment and this has invariably led to novelty in lifestyle. Due to the changing roles of women, they prefer the preparation of semi-processed foods (Frison *et al.*, 2004). Semi processed foods are easy and less time-consuming to prepare compared to indigenous food. This leads to a decline in the consumption of home-cooked meals. This is due to the changing role of women from being responsible for the provision of food for the household to partly being the breadwinner of the family. This argument concurs with Chauliau *et al.* (1998) who found that changes in lifestyles alter ways of handling and consuming food, with obvious preferences for that which is readily available and accessible. The restaurants, fast foods outlets, take aways, frozen and packaged foods, and ready-made hot dishes are catalysts for the shift in food consumption patterns.

They resort to the consumption of convenience food, which is readily available and accessible, thus leading to a change in food consumption patterns. The presence of convenience food is the cause of the change in food consumption patterns in South Africa (Rouquest *et al.*, 2014). The impact of globalisation is not only in the economic sector but cuts across all other spheres, bringing in modernisation and technological advancement and later leading to changes in lifestyles. Technological changes in the agricultural sector with modern equipment and the use of chemicals/fertilizers on the crops, which alternates/distorts the whole process, thereby distorting the lifecycle of the crops and the consumption of the crops, are no longer going to be seasonal. However, participants from the Mankon community stated that the use of chemicals/ fertilizers in the planting of their crops have registered serious health effects when consumed and led to health-related diseases. The use of these artificial and processed fertilizers on the soil does not only have

health effects but also the taste and the quality of the food produced has been jeopardised. The taste of the crops, grown with the use of fertilizers, is not the same as that of crops grown naturally. Crops that are cultivated naturally, taste better than those cultivated with the aid of artificial chemicals or fertilizers.

Some participants shared the same sentiment that modernisation has led to a change in food consumption patterns and consider this change to be good as it meets the demand of the growing population.

Another very significant cause of the change in food habits as indicated by the participants from the Barolong boo Ratshidi community was the increase in food varieties in the shops and markets. Participants maintained the cause of the change

in food patterns was due to of the increase in food varieties and a quest to taste new foods in shops and markets. Participants from both communities noted that the increase in food variety was the cause in the change in food consumption patterns. This is in accord with Ward (1997) and Lien (1997) who found that food varieties are the cause of changes in food habits. The quest for the taste of other foods and the need for the diversification of meals have contributed to the shift in food patterns. Companies tend to produce food varieties in order to meet up with the needs of consumers. These varieties actually create space for diversification in the meals consumed.

Participants from the Mankon community shared a slightly different view to those advanced within the Barolong boo Ratshidi. Within the Mankon community, twenty-five participants were interviewed (see section 5.11.3). Six were youth, nine middle-aged and ten elderly. Out of the six youth, majority (four) (from same age group and sex, but different educational level, marital status, number of children), indicated the reason for the blend in food consumption patterns to be as a result of modernistaion. Two of the youth (from same sex but differ in income level, marital status, level of education and number of children) affirmed the change to be due to the increase of food varieties in the market. The last youth adadvanced education as the cause of the change in food choices. From the middle-aged group, nine persons participated in the study. Majority (five, from same age group, level of education, marital status but differ in the number of children, income level, and sex) declared modernisation, globalisation and technology as the reasons for the blend in food choices. The remaining four, with diverse demographic features, advanced several reasons such as scarcity of indigenous foods, evolution of the society and increase in population as the

reasons to the change in food consumption patterns. Out of the ten elderly interviewed, majority said modernisation was the main cause of the blend in dietary patterns. Meanwhile, the rest five with diverse demographic characteristics identified several causes such as the growing population, availability and accessibility of food, life style changes and scarcity of indigenous foods. Though participants in Mankon did not mention the long hours required for the preparation of indigenous foods. They however mentioned the increase in population as one of the causes to the change in food consumption patterns. Increase in population is responsible for the blend in food consumption patterns within the Mankon community (see section 5.11.3). In the case where there is a growing population and there is food scarcity, there is bound to be a shift in consumption patterns to meet the need of the growing population.

Redmond and Griff (2007) maintain that consumers' perception about a certain food can influence one's food choice and a change in food patterns, thus accounting for a decrease in the consumption of indigenous foods. This view is in line with those of participants from the Mankon community who maintained the change in food consumption patterns was due to the perception that modern food taste better and healthier compared to the African indigenous food. The perception held about modern food is a cause for the shift in food consumption patterns (evidence in 5.11.3).

Modern food is considered new, as a result, everyone wants to grab a taste of it. The opinion presented by the participants corresponds to the product characteristic theory affirming that the characteristics, which make up food is responsible for a change in dietary patterns. This theory shares a different view to the Maslow hierarchy of needs theory, which focuses on the means of affordability as the cause to the change in food patterns. Findings from the field validate the product characteristic theory affirming that the ingredients of the food consumed offer desired utility. Participants postulated that the desire to taste new foods is the reason for the change in food habits. The assertions of participants are in agreement with the product characteristic theory that the characteristics of the food and the taste is a factor responsible for a change in food patterns. Satisfaction is derived from the consumption of food, which is obtained from the ingredients, which make up the food. Furthermore, there is a perception that everything from the West is good and civilised. This actually forces the change in food patterns as many abandon indigenous food for modern

food. Some participants recorded that the consumption of modern food is to maintain a certain social status in the society.

This is because those who consume indigenous foods are considered to belong to the low social class in the society while those who consume high status food, are associated to a high social class and status in society. People will thus change their consumption patterns in order to be associated with a particular social class and social status in society. The views presented by participants are in agreement with the ideas of Levy (1981) who found that modern or manufactured foods symbolises industrialisation and modernisation. People want to be regarded highly within a particular status in society, thus forcing them to consume modern foods as indicators of their sophistication.

Participants within the Barolong boo Ratshidi community shared similar views to those of the Mankon community. Participants within Barolong boo Ratshidi concurred with the views of participants in the Mankon community in stating that the perception of modern food contributes to the shift in food consumption patterns.

The consumption of modern food has to do with the status in society. Delisle (1990) argues that in Kenya indigenous foods is consumed mostly within low-income households. It confirms the assertion that the consumption of modern food is fancy and civilised, meant solely for high-income earners who can afford the means to purchase. Bourdieu states that the consumption of modern food is associated with class distinctions and social status in society. Particular food types are considered high status food while others are low status. Thus, the consumption of certain foods displays a person's social status in the society. The views expressed by participants concur with Delisle (1990) and Bourdieu on food and status and validate the planned behaviour and value theory.

The planned behaviour and value theory argues that the behaviour and intention expressed in consuming a particular food is influenced by the value of the food. Rokeach (1973) and Schwartz (1992) applied the value theory for a better understanding of the consumption of food. Findings from the field concurred with the planned behaviour and values theory emphasizing that people portray a certain behaviour and interest in the consumption of food based on the value of that food. Participants indicated that the shift in food consumption habits emanates from the availability of modern foods, which is held in high esteem and its consumption identified with a particular social status in the society. As such, people will exhibit a particular behaviour towards these foods because of their status. The consumption

of these high-status foods defines one's social class in the society. Therefore, the behaviour or intention to consume a particular food ascribes value to the food.

Consumption patterns are associated with class distinctions in the society. Thus, perception many hold regarding modern food is a factor responsible for the shift in consumption patterns. Indigenous foods are nutritious and comprise good nutritious ingredients required for its preparation (Raschke *et al.*, 2007). The consumption of indigenous food symbolises the return to nature and gives one an identity.

Furthermore, the findings from the participants within the Mankon community revealed education as a cause of a blend in food consumption habits in Cameroon. Some participants indicated that through education (see section 5.11.3), they are aware of the nutritional value of food and how it is important to have a balanced diet. The awareness on healthy eating and the importance of consuming a healthy and balanced diet has caused a blend in the food consumption patterns. Responses from participants show that education is a factor, which has contributed to a change in food patterns. Participants maintained in schools, food courses are actually taught to students. Such courses enhance the food knowledge of learners which later pushes them to seek the consumption of a balanced and healthy meal. Evidence of this assertion is found in the ideas of Harriet and Olivier (1996:6) who found that through education programmes in boarding schools, nutritional education programmes, mission schools, and public health programmes have led to changes in food consumption patterns. These channels of disseminating information on the awareness of healthy eating and a balanced diet have led to a change in consumption patterns. These positions are in accordance with the arguments of participants that education is a powerful tool and cause towards the change in consumption patterns. It is only through education and awareness campaigns that many can be educated on the need for a balanced diet and the importance of healthy eating habits. This position conforms to the views of Casini (2013) that education is a cause for the change in food patterns.

The positions advanced by participants are in disconformity with the ideas of Sharma *et al.* (1996) and Dapi *et al.* (2007) who found that there is a gap in the nutritional knowledge of Cameroonians and the nutritional level of those residing in rural areas is lower compared to those residing in urban areas. This study was conducted within the rural areas in Mankon and the findings revealed that through education, there has been awareness on the nutritional values of food, thus leading to a blend in food consumption patterns. The findings

of the study are contrary to those of Sharma *et al.* (1996) and Dapi *et al.* (2007) as it revealed that great improvement has been made in creating awareness on the nutritional values of food within the Mankon community. This has influenced a change in their food consumption patterns, thus justifying the slight change in food habits within the community.

Casini (2013) outlines five different types of consumers among are healthy consumers as follows: high-income earners with a high educational level. Their level of education actually influences their food choices and patterns as they consume a lot of fruits and vegetables; low consumption of meat, fats and oil. This view is in conformity with the perspectives of participants on the ground that education has created their awareness on the nutritional value of food, which has in turn influenced the blend in their food consumption patterns. Divine and Lepisto (2005), and Chrysochou *et al.* (2010) concur with the above view by maintaining that a person's educational level influences his/her food choices and, subsequently, a change in food consumption patterns. Education has a role to play in the change in food choices and patterns and actually influences a change in food consumption habits to a balanced diet and healthy eating. This explains why two participants from the Mankon community with same educational levels (diploma certificates) view the change in food consumption patterns from a positive perspective as they believe that it will enhance the consumption of a healthy and balance diet.

Participants in Mankon indicated the evolution of the society as a cause to the change in food consumption patterns (evidence in section 5.11.3). Participants from the Mankon community indicated that the evolution of the society and an increase in population growth are factors responsible for the blend in food consumption patterns. They argued that the society is not static but dynamic and since it is dynamic, there are bound to be changes in the society in all spheres and consumption patterns, without exception. Things cannot be done and run in the 21st Century in the same way they were done and run in the 16th Century. Therefore, the evolution of the society comes with changes and has affected consumption patterns, leading to changes in food habits. Society is not static but dynamic, thus there are bound to be changes that actually affect the change in food consumption patterns.

Participants affirmed that the change in food habits comes as a result of the evolution of society (evidence in section 5.11.3). The evolution of society comes through modernisation, globalisation and technological advancement thereby, causing change in the society, which affects every sphere of the human life. As a result, there is bound to be changes in food

patterns as well. Since the society is in constant evolution, change is inevitable. Change in the society cannot be avoided and is another cause for the change in food patterns. It is true to say change is inevitable but when it comes with negative effects, then measures should be put in place to remedy the situation.

To sum up, causes of changes in food consumption patterns in the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community and the Mankon community ranges from perception about modern foods, the duration of the preparation of indigenous foods, modernisation, technological advancement, globalisation and changes in lifestyles, increase in food varieties, education, evolution of the society and an increase in the population. Participants attributed changes to the following factors: perception about modern foods; technology; modernisation; globalisation; changes in lifestyle; food varieties; and the scarcity of indigenous foods. However, the difference was that within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community, the long duration needed for the preparation of indigenous food was mentioned as a cause to the change in food consumption patterns while within the Mankon community, education, evolution and the increase in size of the population were responsible for the modification in food consumption patterns. Though, there are similarities and differences with regard to the causes of the shift in consumption patterns in both communities, it is important to note that the main causes of the shift in food patterns, as revealed in both communities, are modernisation, globalisation, technological change /advancement and changes in lifestyles. Lifestyle changes comes in to suit the incoming modernisation and globalisation processes taking place all over the world. This section has successfully answered the last objective of the study, which was to understand some of the reasons responsible for the shift in consumption patterns.

6.6 EFFECTS OF THE SHIFT IN CONSUMPTION PATTERNS IN THE BAROLONG BOO RATSHIDI AND MANKON COMMUNITIES

The effects of the shift in consumption patterns has led to an increase in the spread of non-communicable diseases (Shisana *et al.*, 2013 and bourne *et al.*, 2002 and Vijoen *et al.*, 2005). Though participants from the Mankon community indicated that there is a blend, majority of the Mankon community highlighted health related diseases acquired through this blend in the foods while stating that ill health comes from modern food. The findings from the field revealed health effects as the main effect to changes in food consumption patterns.

In the Mankon community, participants revealed several effects of the blend in the food consumption patterns but stated health effects as the main concern.

From the six youth interviewed (see section 5.12) four (with diverse demographic characteristics such as age, sex, educational level, marital status, and income level) maintained that the blend in food consumption patterns has not affected them as individuals. However, generally, the consumption of modern processed foods leads to health-related diseases such as ulcers, diabetes and hypertension. Meanwhile, among the middle-aged group, of the nine participants interviewed, six with diverse demographics, declared that personally, they have not been affected by the blend in food consumption patterns but they know that the consumption of modern processed foods has negative health effects. Three (from same sex, age but differ in income level, marital status, number of children and educational level) of the participants from the middle-aged group indicated that they had personally been affected. Among the elderly, out of the ten participants who took part in the study, three, with all diverse demographics, stipulated that the blend in food choices has had no effect on them. The other seven averred that the blend in food choices has had negative health consequences on them and the community as it has led to illnesses. The positions presented by the participants are in line with the views expressed by Onyenekwe *et al.* (1995) and the US Department of Agriculture and Health (2005), attesting to the fact that changes in food habits can lead to death or cause diseases such as heart attacks, cancer, diabetes and other health conditions such as osteoporosis, diverticulosis and obesity. The views of the participants concur with the observations of Kegne *et al.* (2005), who maintain that the continuous change of nutritional patterns in Cameroon has led to health-related conditions such as obesity, diabetes and cardiovascular diseases. However, participants indicated another effect on the community to be a reduction in the life expectancy rate of people due to the diseases (see section 5.12).

The findings from the field and literature suggest that the effects of the changes in food patterns are negative and associated with health-related diseases. The main reason why modern food is the cause of health-related diseases is that foods are not organic, but genetically modified and processed, refined, frozen and packaged. Such foods are not very healthy for the human body. Thus, health-related illnesses stand out to be the main effect of the change/shift in consumption patterns in these communities and to the society as a whole.

Among the participants in the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community (see section 5.7), twenty-eight persons were interviewed, eight youth, ten middle-age and ten old participants. Six of the youth indicated a personal effect in the shift in food consumption patterns while the rest stated that they have had no effect in food choices. Among the middle-aged (diverse demographics) group, ten participants were interviewed, seven indicated the shift in consumption trends has affected them negatively health-wise, while the remaining three indicated no effect on them. From the responses of the elderly group, ten were interviewed, eight (diverse demographics) of the ten confirmed that the consumption of modern food has had negative health effects on them while the other three attested that eating modern food has no personal effect on them. However, generally, it leads to health-related diseases.

The responses on the effects of the shift in food habits were diverse. Some of the effects involved the dissolution of African cultural practices. Many young people today are not conversant with how indigenous foods were prepared and consumed, specifically because of the overwhelming availability of processed foods assimilated into everyday life. This confirms why the youth in both communities could not clearly articulate the meaning attached to the consumption of certain foods in the community. There is, therefore, a need to revitalise the African cuisine through the preparation and promotion of the consumption of indigenous foods. The views discussed portray a negative effect on dietary patterns. In as much as the dominant opinions exhibit the shift in consumption patterns, some participants (about three or four from both case studies) considered the shift to be positive at the levels of the community and the society. Some participants from the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community argue that the change in food consumption patterns is a positive thing because the accessibility and availability of the modern food has led to an increase in a variety of foods for consumption. Meanwhile, in the Mankon community, three participants indicated that the shift is positive in the sense that in the past, meals were poorly prepared and unbalanced with respect to fruits and vegetables. However, with the shift in consumption trends, through education, a balanced diet has improved the health of the community. Furthermore, the different methods of food preparation have led to an increase in different types of food, for example, a simple food like rice can be prepared using different methods and called different names or salads prepared using different methods and ingredients and attached different names. While the majority perceive the blend in food habits to be negative and leading to health-related illnesses, some participants noted no effect in the blend of food. One of the effects as indicated by a few about three of these participants is the loss of

cultural legacy and an increase in expenditure in the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community. These participants contributed to the discussion by stating the effect of the shift in food consumption patterns from an economic point of view. It increases the cost of living of some households since money is needed to purchase some of these modern foods. It would be cost-effective to rely on indigenous foods obtained from subsistence farming, this was so in the past within African communities. However, in modern societies, especially in the case of the Barolong Boo Ratshidi, where farming is no longer practised, many are forced to purchase everything from the shops thereby, increasing their expenditure, considering the fact that many have little or no source of income. A majority of the participants indicated that their sources of income was from the government's social grants or from their pensions.

Majority of the effects presented by the participants concurs with the views from the literature affirming that the global effects of the shift in consumption patterns are negative and associated with health-related illnesses. Some participants perceive the shift to be positive reasons being it has led to an increase in the quantity of food to take care of the growing population. Furthermore, an increase in food varieties has enabled them consume a balance diet in the Mankon community. Though, few participants mention the change in dietary patterns to be positive, it is evident that the consumption of modern foods such as modified inorganic foods, processed foods, packaged frozen and take aways are all not very healthy for the human body and are responsible for the increase in non-communicable diseases within communities and the society enlarge.

6.7 PREPARATION OF STAPLE FOODS WITHIN THE MANKON AND BAROLONG BOO RATSHIDI COMMUNITIES

The second research question asked in the study was: "How are the staple foods prepared and consumed within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi clan and Mankon ethnic group respectively?" Participants responded to the question by outlining procedures and methods involved in the preparation of some of the staple foods. Not all of the preparation methods are outlined in the discussion below. However, the most common and staple ones are discussed below.

With regard to the Mankon community, several foods were identified such as cocoyams, achu, fufu-corn and jama-jama, boiled plantain and vegetable, okoro, bread, rice, and porridge plantain. Participants indicated that cocoyams could be prepared using different

methods and many dishes obtained from cocoyams (see section 5.11.2). Achu is a meal from cocoyams, which is pounded cocoyams, and is usually eaten with yellow soup. Cocoyams can be boiled and eaten with vegetables. Chagomaka *et al.* (2014) outlines the steps and methods involved in the preparation of 'achu' and yellow soup as follows: "Wash and boil cocoyams with the skin for 2 to 3 hours. When cooked, peel and pound cocoyams with the pestle while the pot is still on the fire. Have a small dish of water near the pot so that when you are pounding, you can dip the pestle into the water to prevent the cocoyams from sticking" (Chagomake *et al.*, 2014). They further outline the process and procedure involved in the preparation of yellow soup as follows:

Wash meat or fish and cut into pieces. Place into a pot with some water, season with salt and boiled until cooked. Wash and grind yellow soup spices. When the meat is ready, put another pot on the fire and pour palm oil. Heat for about three minutes and remove from the fire. Completely dilute limestone solution bit by bit into the oil until you get a yellow colour. Pour the meat and fish from the other pot into the yellow mixture. Stir well and add the yellow soup spices, season to taste and serve with achu.

Participants concurred with the methods described by Chagomaka *et al.* (2014) by maintaining that in the past, achu was tied and preserved in plantain leaves. Cow skin (canda) is burnt, washed and cooked to accompany the yellow soup. Thus, this was the old method of preparing achu and yellow soup within the Mankon community (see section 5.11.2). The modern method of preparing achu is grinding it in a machine, preparing it with some banana added to make it harder and it is eaten on a plate, which was not the case some years back.

Another staple food identified by participants within the Mankon community was boiled cocoyams or fufucorn eaten with any vegetable, for example, jama jama, green, bitterleaf and onkongobong. Chagomaka *et al.* (2014) described the stages involved in the preparation of fufu corn as follows:

In a large pot, pour in some quantity of water and leave it to boil. Sieve 1 kg of corn flour, then wash it in a small dish with cold water. Add the corn flour to the boiling water and stir. Cover and cook for 10 minutes, stirring from time to time to prevent the corn flour from sticking to the pot. Pound the corn flour with a pestle for 20 minutes, then cover and cook for 20-30 minutes. Remove the pot from the

fire. Using a wooden spoon, remove spoonfuls of the corn flour and wrap it in banana leaves or plastic wraps.

Participants concurred with the view of Chagomaka *et al* (2014) on the method involved in the preparation of fufu corn.

Furthermore, another interesting dish, identified by participants within the Mankon community as their staple food, was cornchaff. Cornchaff is a mixture of either fresh corn and beans or dried corn and beans. The methods of preparing cornchaff as presented by participants are similar, though not exactly the same. The second method of preparation stated by the participants (see 5.11.2) is in line with Precious (2016) on how to prepare cornchaff as follows:

Boil whole corn with 'akanwa' of limestone until the skin gets soft. Allow to cool completely or rinse immediately with cold water. Peel by rubbing with your palms then pour in a huge quantity of water so the skin can float. Use a colander to drain the floating skin, then return to the pot, and boil to perfection. Later, boil your beans until soft and mix. Pour in the pot and place on the fire with some water. Later, pour in your spices, salt, beef cubes, palm oil for about 20 minutes. Place the pot down and it is ready for consumption.

The responses from participants revealed there are several methods involved in the preparation of cornchaff. In addition, there has been a modification in the preparation method of this dish from the indigenous method of food preparation to the modern method of food preparation. One of the participant has described how cornchaff was prepared in the past without beans, tomatoes, onions and cooking oil. This is the indigenous method of preparing the dish. The findings revealed that changes have indeed taken place in the preparation of different types of food within the Mankon community, thus leading to a balance in the consumption of indigenous and modern foods. It is important to note that staple foods are often obtained from the farms. They are obtained intermittently from the markets since members within the Mankon community are still involved in agricultural practices for subsistence purposes. Most of the time, items obtained from the markets are ingredients and oil needed for the preparation of the food.

Finally, plantain in general, whether boiled or porridge, was identified by participants as one of the staple foods in the Mankon community. Participants stated that plantain could be boiled and eaten with some vegetables or sauce or plantain could be prepared as porridge.

There are several ways of consuming plantain, which in turn, requires several methods of preparation. However, there are slight differences in the preparation methods, participants described the preparation of porridge plantain but did not mention the use of tomatoes and onions while some participants indicated fresh tomatoes and onions are used in the preparation of porridge plantain.

With time, the preparation methods of foods undergoes modifications and changes. In the past, plantain was boiled and eaten with plum but today, plantain is boiled and eaten with vegetables, which makes a meal balanced. Participants within the Mankon community indicated that porridge plantain has a social and cultural meaning while others maintained the method used in the preparation of porridge plantain to be consumed during social and cultural events would differ from the porridge plantain, prepared for ordinary consumption.

The above response concurs with Okolle's (2009:3) preparation method of porridge plantain for ordinary consumption as follows:

Remove the peelings from the plantain, leave unchopped and then put into a pot with water, add some salt, hot pepper, vegetable (bitterleaf) maggi, dry fish/meat, garlic, onion, njansa and palm oil. Leave the entire mixture to boil for about 35 to 40 minutes, then dish and serve.

This is the indigenous process of preparing porridge plantain.

With regard to the methods of preparation indicated above, there is much similarity. However, Okolle (2009) does not mention the use of palm oil and the fact that the vegetable should not be chopped. However, the author maintains the plantain must be whole and not chopped. There are several methods and processes involved in the preparation of plantain. The event for which the porridge plantain is prepared will determine the method to use for its preparation.

Achu with yellow soup, cornchaff, fufu-corn and the relish are the main staple foods within the Mankon community. The methods of preparation of these staple foods attest that there is a blend of indigenous and modern foods. Modern food is incorporated in the preparation method of indigenous food to improve the quality of the indigenous foods. Therefore, there is a fair balance in the consumption of indigenous and modern foods within the Mankon community. It is crucial to note that responses were obtained from all age groups (the youth, middle-aged and the elderly) with diverse demographic characteristics. However, the youth

provided the modern methods of food preparation while the elderly and the middle-aged provided the indigenous method of food preparation. This is in conformity to the response from one of the male youth participants affirming that the youth are not very conversant with the indigenous methods of food preparation. It again explains why the youth expressed little or no information on the meaning attached to the consumption of food.

Several methods and processes have been discussed with regard to the preparation method of these staple foods. This section thus, answers the second research question of understanding the preparation methods of staple foods. Not only the consumption patterns have changed because of modernisation but the preparation methods of foods have also changed from pre-colonial to post-colonial periods. The food preparation method in the olden days was more indigenous while the modified method is the modern way of preparing food in the contemporary society.

The next section focuses on the preparation methods of some of the staple foods within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community (see section 5.6.2). Pap, gravy, rice, stampa, red meat, chicken, cabbage, mabele, potatoes, salads, tea, bread with chicken were mentioned as the staple foods within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community. Participants described the processes and preparation methods on how to prepare pap. However, there are differences in the three methods of preparing pap. The first participant did not make use of a kettle when boiling the water, the second participant used a kettle and mixed the maize first in cold water before pouring into the pot while the third participant used salt which the first participant did not mention in the preparation of pap.

Responses obtained from participants were contrary to those of Mtongana (2016) who described the preparation of pap as follows:

In a pan, boil 3 cups of water. Add a cup of maize meal and cover, reduce the heat to medium low and leave the pap for about 8 to 10 minutes. Later, remove the lid, then stir vigorously for one minute to incorporate any remaining maize meal into the water. Continuously mash the pap against the side of the pan for approximately 2 minutes to get rid of any lumps. Slowly add more maize meal, stir vigorously and mash again. Reduce the heat to the lowest setting, replace the lid and let the pap steam for 10 to 15 minutes. Later, remove the lid and stir. If the pap is a bit dry, add a little more water and stir again. Add 1 to 2 teaspoons of butter and stir.

The above methods of preparing pap is an indication that there has not only been a change in food consumption patterns but there has also been a change in food preparation methods. The methods of preparing pap, as presented above, differ with what was postulated by participants but what is amazing is the fact that the end product looks the same. The evolution of society, together with modernisation, has led to changes in food preparation methods. Some participants indicated that prepare pap and add salt or butter into the pot to give it a better taste. The researcher realised that not only the food habits have changed over the years, but the food preparation methods as well have changed from pre-colonial to post-colonial periods within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi ethnic community in South Africa.

It is important to note that in the past, maize meal was processed manually without any machines. The maize was harvested, crushed, dried, grind and later stored in bags for future preparation. However, things have changed today as the maize meal is processed and the final product sold in shops in a powder form. Thus, due to the high technological advancement and the use of machines there is also a change in the way some of the food products are processed for consumption. However, with regard to the Mankon community, Cameroon, the practice is different. The processing of many food products are still done manually. For example, maize meal is done manually as consumers are expected to take out the corn from the stem, dry the corn, peel it and finally grind the corn/maize to have a smooth maize flour. Within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community, the maize flour is obtained from the shops, which is already processed and packaged for usage. In conclusion, many of the foods consumed within the Mankon community are processed manually while within the Barolong boo Ratshidi community, majority of foods consumed are processed.

With regard to the preparation of gravy, there is clear evidence that it is something which has emerged recently and which actually testifies to the change in food preparation methods from the pre- to post-colonial eras. As indicated, in the past, there was nothing as gravy and soups. Water used in cooking the meat was usually used to eat the pap and rice. However, with globalisation, modernisation and the influence of westernisation, the availability and accessibility of different foods and ingredients have led to a change in the preparation methods of some foods. Today, there are several methods involved in the preparation of gravy as stated by participants (evidence 5.6.2). Some prefer to include onions, green papper and fresh tomatoes while others will want to add green, yellow and red papper into the gravy in order to have a better taste. Different methods and ingredients can be used in

the preparation of gravy. However, what is more important is to ensure that whatever ingredients are added, do not have any negative effect on one's health. In conclusion, globalisation and modernisation have not only led to a shift in food consumption patterns but ushered changes in food preparation methods as well.

Some participants indicated that pap could also be consumed with gravy and even with fresh milk (see section 5.6.2). Perhaps, one might wonder or question the difference between the sour and fresh milk. The difference is in the taste. The consumption of either the sour or the fresh milk all depends on the individual's preference. In addition, participants from the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community indicated that the consumption of meat is like a culture within their community. There is no way food can be served without a piece of meat in the plate. Meat is mostly consumed in the form of braai (to roast meat over the coals) to be eaten with pap. It is one of the common and staple foods within the community. In the past, almost every household had a kraal with so many cattle. A cow or pig was slaughtered and the intestines immediately prepared and consumed. The meat was then cut into smaller pieces and shared in the household.

There is evidence to the fact that there has been changes in the methods to braai meat. In the past, the braai was done with groundfire and with the three leg stones unlike today, where many people make use of braai stands. The spice used for the braai was only salt but today, many other spices are used to marinate the meat. Globalisation, modernisation and technological advancement are some of the factors that have contributed to the changes in food preparation methods.

The consumption of meat is a common culture among members of the Barolong boo Ratshidi community. Participants notified the researcher that there were still very few households who struggle to access beef in these households, with very low sources of income, potato soup and cabbage soup were prepared as a relish with pap.

The feedback obtained from participants revealed that pap is the main starchy staple food followed by rice within the Barolong boo Ratashidi community. Pap and rice, which are the staple and main sources of starch in the meals can be consumed with other relishes such as gravy, fresh milk, braai meat, soup potatoes or cabbage (depending on the means of that particular household). Furthermore, participants from the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community mentioned mabele (sorghum porridge) as one of the staple foods within the community. Mabele meal is made from sorghum. Sorghum is harvested, dried, grind and stored in bags

for usage. The positions advanced by participants on the method of preparing mabele differs a little with the method outlined by Claasen (2017) describes the preparation of mabele soft porridge (sorghum beer) as follows:

Pour some water into the pot. Later, add some salt, stir sorghum meal into boiling water, and cook for about one hour while stirring rapidly, after which the porridge is ready to be served.

In the past, mabele porridge was eaten without sugar and milk but with time, there has been gradual changes as many get to consume mabele with fresh milk and some sugar while others prepare mabele and add some salt. Others prepare mabele soft porridge with no salt. Several methods have been described on how to prepare mabele soft porridge. The preparation methods of foods have gradually changed over the years, including food consumption patterns. Some participants maintained that change in preparation methods of food is done in order to give the food a better taste and a better appearance. However, there is a need to understand if these changes in because of the availability of a variety of foods, the environment, and the quest for change due to modernisation. The findings revealed that the availability of many of these spices, modern foods and ingredients are a cause to many health-related diseases as many tend to consume them a lot or in much quantity. There is, therefore, a need to regulate or control the consumption of modern foods since it poses a threat to the society.

Few participants argued that the availability of modern food has changed the methods of food preparation as well as a change in the food consumption patterns and should be maintained and encouraged by all. This school of thought maintains the availability and accessibility of modern foods has actually led to the consumption of a balanced and healthy diet and has gone a long way to improving the taste and appearance of food. Participants also indicated that that society is not static but dynamic. Everyone is prone to change and change is inevitable. Thus, measures should be implemented on regulating the purchase and consumption of some of these modern foods. Change should be positive rather than jeopardising the health situation of members within the society. However, this study revealed that modern foods have done no good than leading to the spread of health-related diseases among members within communities of Barolong Boo Ratshidi and Mankon respectively.

6.8 SUMMARY

This chapter analysed the data obtained from the two study areas of Barolong Boo Ratshidi in South Africa and the Mankon community in Cameroon. The analysis of primary data was backed by the findings from the field and available literature. This was followed by similar presentations and analysis from the Mankon community. The objectives of the study and research questions were answered in this section, which were designed to understand the meanings behind the consumption of indigenous foods, the staples foods in both communities and the shift and effects in the change of food habits within both communities. The findings also revealed that the consumption of certain indigenous foods in Africa, be it Southern, West or Central Africa, carries meaning with regard to particular social or cultural events. There has been a shift in food consumption habits within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community in South Africa from the consumption of indigenous foods to the consumption of more modern and western-oriented style of diet. Within the Mankon community there has been a blend in food consumption patterns as there is a fair balance in the consumption of both indigenous and modern, western foods. It was found, without any further in-depth investigation since this is not the key focus of this present study, that the consumption of modern foods has led to non-communicable diseases in both communities. The next chapter presents a synthesis of the findings, conclusions, recommendations and identifies areas for further research.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study was to examine food consumption patterns and how they have changed in both South Africa and Cameroon. The thrust was also to investigate the reasons for the shift in consumption patterns and the effects of the shift among the Barolong Boo Ratshidi and Mankon ethnic groups in South Africa and Cameroon. The investigation enabled the researcher to generate recommendations on how to deal with factors and effects associated with the change in food consumption patterns.

This chapter presents a synthesis of the findings of the study, recommendations for policy and decision-makers in Cameroon and South Africa in terms of regulating the accessibility and availability of modern foods, and encouraging the consumption of indigenous foods over modern possibilities. This section also acknowledges the limitations of this study, highlights areas for future research as well as providing significant conclusions.

7.2 OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

The study focused on factors responsible for changes in food consumption patterns within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi clan and Mankon ethnic group in South Africa and Cameroon and their effects. The findings established that in South Africa, there has been a major shift from the consumption of indigenous foods to modern western foods. In Cameroon, on the other hand, there has been a minor shift as there is a fair balance in the consumption of both indigenous and modern foods.

The researcher was motivated to undertake this study because of the current prevalence and high rate of lifestyle illnesses around the world, which are often associated with food consumption habits. As stated by Kengne *et al.* (2007), in Cameroon, there has been outbreak perceptible rise in health-related diseases such as obesity, diabetes and cardiovascular diseases. Similar patterns have been established in South Africa where the National Health and Nutritional Examination Survey of 2013 confirmed that South Africans have witnessed a high rate of non-communicable diseases such as diabetes, high blood pressure, obesity and asthma due to unhealthy modern diet. I sought to understand the changes in food consumption patterns in order to understand if these diseases could be attributed to current consumption patterns evident in contemporary society. Furthermore, having lived in both Cameroon and South Africa, I was animated to carry out the study in Africa across these two countries and establish the variations as well as the similarities.

The following factors were causes of changes in food consumption patterns in both Cameroon and South Africa: globalisation, modernisation, accessibility and availability of many food varieties, and the quest for change. This change in food consumption habits could be significant contributors to lifestyle illnesses. While in Cameroon there has been a minor shift in food consumption patterns as there is a fair balance in the consumption of indigenous and modern foods, there is need to make recommendations on what could be done to address some of the factors are responsible for the change in food consumption patterns. This could significantly reduce the rate of lifestyle illnesses. In addition, there is a dire need to formulate policies that regulate the availability and accessibility of indigenous food.

Inhabitants of Mankon strive for a balance in the consumption of indigenous food and modern foods, compared to the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community where there is a preponderance of the consumption of western food over indigenous varieties. The most plausible reason is that the levels of development and exposure in these two communities differ. South Africa is more developed in terms of technology and urbanisation than Cameroon. The availability of fast food outlets, restaurants, packaged and frozen foods is not as common in Cameroon as it is in South Africa. The contexts of the two countries explains the reason for this difference in food consumption patterns. The findings also confirmed a high consumption of genetically modified crops within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi and Mankon communities. In the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community, there is a high

consumption of modern foods through the intake of highly processed, frozen, packaged, fast foods and take aways, which are high in fats, oil and sugar and genetically modified. Similarly, participants from the Mankon community opted for the use of modern chemical fertilizers during farming and this significantly alters the nutrient content of the crops produced.

Participants indicated that farmers used organic compounds such as the carcasses of animals and humus rather than chemical fertilisers. This turn to modern chemical fertilizers on contemporary farms certainly affects the quality of the crops, thus increasing the consumption of inorganic foods and leading to food-related diseases. The findings further verified that the consumption of genetically modified crops is not very healthy as they lead to health-related diseases such as stomach discomfort and other illnesses. Hence, the consumption of inorganic foods is common in both communities, though the sources of the inorganic foods are not necessarily the same. The consumption of inorganic foods causes many health problems. The government should promote the consumption and cultivation of organic crops in order to reduce lifestyle diseases for a healthy community.

The majority of indigenous foods consumed carry significantly loaded meanings in relation to specific social and cultural events. In the Mankon community, foods are not only consumed for the sake of consumption but there is a meaning attached to it. For example, in the Mankon community, Achu and yellow soup symbolises the Mankon ethnic group, gives the Mankon people a cultural identity, and egusi pudding symbolises honour and respect. The presence of boiled corn and groundnut symbolises a funeral, while the presence of porridge plantain sends a message of the birth of a new baby within the household. Within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community, the presence of 'Mogoga' (mabele, samp and tshotlo) with some water or juice symbolises grief. The consumption of the hindquarters of a sheep during the celebration of a traditional marriage symbolises the married couple's unity and togetherness. The presence of traditional beer during cultural celebrations is seen as a means of communication with the gods and ancestors. During the celebration of a traditional wedding, the presence and consumption of traditional beer signifies blessing of the marriage. Unlike most modern foods, which have no meaning attached to them, in African traditional societies, the presence and consumption of specific indigenous foods relays specific messages to members of the same cultural group. This therefore supports the functionalist theories which contend that food is viewed as a medium

of establishing identities such as achu and yellow soup which gives the Mankon ethnic group a cultural identity.

It was also found that there are several factors responsible for the shift in food consumption patterns. These factors are increase and availability in food varieties, the quest for the taste of modern foods, the perception that modern food is more nutritional and symbolises modernity, changes in lifestyles in modern societies, modernisation and technological advancement, increase in population, evolution of the society and time taken to prepare indigenous food. These factors, as indicated by participants, have compelled the shift and consumption patterns. These are factors that can neither be controlled nor regulated. Factors such as the evolution of the society and the increase in population cannot be controlled or eradicated. However, consumers should be informed of the effects of consuming modern food. They should be advised on how to make the right food choices in order to consume healthy and balanced diets that maintain health.

Furthermore, the findings exposed that the shift in consumption patterns has led to an increase in lifestyle illnesses such as gout, heartburn, ulcers, strokes, cardiovascular diseases, diabetes, obesity, gastric complications and hypertension. Participants further indicated that in the past there was a long life expectancy in the society because of little if any consumption of modern cuisine. People could live beyond 90 years due to indigenous and organic food consumption patterns. However, with today's consumption of modern foods, there has been a dramatic surge in the illnesses, leading to a decrease in life expectancy. There are dire consequences associated on communities with the shift in consumption patterns. Measures should thus be instituted to regulate the shift in consumption patterns, as it would help to reduce the negative effects.

Within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community, the findings confirmed that there has been a reduction in the consumption of indigenous foods, which are naturally healthy and organic. There has been a consequent increase in the consumption of Western modern foods, which are inorganic, processed and unhealthy. Strategies and policies should therefore be formulated to promote the cultivation and consumption of indigenous foods in order to maintain a healthy culture and the local cuisine of ethnic groups while also improving life expectancy.

The findings further ascertained a modification in the preparation of food in both communities. As society evolves, it is characterised by a new dynamic that scorns static modalities, leading to a constant modification in the preparation methods of foods. In the past, food was often prepared without the use of spices and ingredients.

In addition, in the past, there was just the singular meal a day but today, many more meals or snacks are taken in the course of the day. To avoid health complications, perhaps, the old methods of food preparation should be maintained. Though they remain time consuming to prepare, such meals are very healthy.

Sociological theorists such as Douglas (1984), of the structuralist tradition, argue that food can be treated as a coded message. They further argue that certain foods are symbolic and carry meanings during their consumption, and are often related to particular special events. The functionalist perspective complements the structuralist view in that food is viewed as a medium of establishing identities. These theoretical perspectives however fail to elaborate and provide the messages and information embedded in food served during particular social or cultural events. This study corroborates these theories through explaining and presenting the meaning, information which food carries in African societies.

In African societies, food is not just consumed for the sake of it but used as a form of expression and communication that is symbolic and gives a cultural identification to a particular group of people. For example, certain indigenous foods carry messages of love, honour, respect, unity, togetherness, joy, sadness or grief and the social events for which these foods are established include funerals, the celebration of a traditional wedding, a cultural event and the birth of a newborn baby. This study contributed to the epistemic archive by providing the meanings behind the consumption of different indigenous foods for or during a diversity of social events.

The theory on sociological practice posits that the act of food consumption is a routinised set of practices. This study elaborated further on how food and the act of eating are a set of practices. There is a routine practice embedded in the process of food preparation and consumption. There is a particular way in which African indigenous food is prepared and consumed, thus giving the food its meaning. For example, the preparation of achu in the Mankon community follows routine practices where achu is eaten by hand, bringing out the meaning of achu during cultural events in the Mankon ethnic group. Due to globalisation,

there have been changes in the methods of food preparation. The culinary development of varieties of foods and spices influenced the change.

Meanwhile, the product characteristics theory emphasises that a change in food trends is a result of the ingredients which constitute the food. This theory shares a different view from Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory, which focuses on the means of affordability based on economic status as a factor influencing the change in food choices. The product characteristics theory posits that utility derived from the consumption of food is the main factor influencing a change in food consumption patterns and food choices. Participants ratified the product characteristic theory that utility is derived from the consumption of a particular foods. Satisfaction is derived from the ingredients and characteristics constituting the food. Participants maintained the taste of the food is one of the reasons for the change in food consumption patterns. Taste is derived from the ingredients which constitute the food and that is the utility derived. Thus, findings from the field clarified that the utility derived from the food is the reason for a change in the food choices or food habits. Satisfaction is obtained from the ingredients through the consumption of a particular food.

Finally, the last theory employed in this study was the planned behaviour and values theory. It maintains that the behaviour exhibited towards the consumption of a particular food is influenced by the value of the food. Rokeach (1973) and Schwartz (1992) applied the value theory for a better understanding of the consumption of food patterns. Values act as a predictor of behaviour over a period. Findings from the study concurred with the planned behaviour and values theory that people exhibit a particular behaviour with regard to certain food. Ward (1997) uses Bourdieu to elaborate on the value of food. Certain foods are regarded as of high value and categorises one social status in the society. Participants affirmed that consumers ascribe a significantly high value to modern food that is quite commonly associated with one's social status. Thus, people exhibit a certain consumption of these high status and value food because it demonstrates their social status in society.

7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendations suggested in this study are derived from the findings obtained from the field. These are presented under two sections: recommendations to the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community, South Africa, and those for the Mankon, Cameroon. Based on the findings, the following recommendations are proposed.

The findings from the Mankon community indicate that modern fertilizers are used to improve on the quality of the soil. Participants indicated that the chemical-based fertilizer compromises the quality of the crop produced and when consumed, leads to health-related diseases. Consequently, it is recommended that farmers be encouraged to go back to traditional ways of farming. Farmers are encouraged to make use of organic manure to improve the quality of the soil since these organic fertilizers do not have an adverse effect on the crop grown and when consumed by consumers. If possible, the government should ban the importation and application of chemical-based fertilizers and support farmers to use organic manure that is readily available locally.

The findings also established that there has been a major shift in food consumption patterns within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community in South Africa. The shift is from the consumption of indigenous to modern foods. In contrast, within the Mankon Community there has been a minor and negligible shift. The government of Cameroon regulates the importation of processed food items into the country, which explains the minor shift in consumption patterns within the Mankon community in Cameroon. Based on these findings, it is suggested that the Government of South Africa regulates the importation of modern foods into the country to regulate accessibility and consumption of western foods within communities. This regulation could be in the form of adopting and implementing stricter policies on the importation of food items into the country. The unavailability and accessibility of these modern foods could compel consumers to rely on indigenous foods, which are certainly more organic, nutritious and accessible. Such a measure could lead to a minor shift in food consumption patterns or even a blend in the consumption patterns between modern and indigenous foods such that patterns are not skewed to western-oriented diets leading to health-related diseases.

The findings verified that within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community, South Africa, there is a high rate of consumption of highly processed foods, fast foods, frozen and package foods. This is evident with the current outbreak of a food disease (listeriosis), which occurred between 2017 and 2018 in South Africa. Listeriosis is a severe food-borne disease, and when it broke out in 2017-2018 claimed many lives. The disease was transmitted from the consumption of processed meat products. Based on the findings, consumers should get involved in agricultural practices for the production and consumption of healthier organic foods.

One of the reasons mentioned for the shift in food consumption patterns was the scarcity of indigenous foods, linked to the unavailability of land. Participants stated that there was scarcity of indigenous foods and since they did not have land to plough their own crops, the non-availability of indigenous foods led to the shift in food consumption habits to western diets since these were readily available and accessible. The issue of land within the community dates as far back as the period of colonial control and apartheid, where land was appropriated from the blacks and given to the whites. The legacy of apartheid still lives to this day. This explains why the unavailability of land within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community, which is actually a challenge, hinders them from practising agricultural enterprise within the community. Thus, it is recommended that the South African government should develop measures to resolve the issue of land. The Government has to engage in the return of the land back to black South Africans through the policy of expropriation of land without compensation. However, the implementation of this policy is slow and encumbered by white monopoly capital. The Government should fast track this process and ensure that land is returned to the black communities. Once this is done, the land issue would be resolved and people begin ploughing again, which could boost the cultivation and consumption of indigenous foods while reducing the purchase and consumption of modern foods, thus reducing the rate in the shift in consumption patterns and its dire effects.

The findings revealed that in the ultimate analysis, the individual has the final decision on food choice and consumption. The government can institute measures on how to promote healthy eating habits and reduce the shift in consumption patterns. However, it is the responsibility of individual members in the society to adhere to these measures by making the right food choices. Thus, it is recommended that every individual member of the society should invest in the responsibility of living a healthy lifestyle. Moreover, individuals are urged to consume and purchase less of processed foods due to their adverse health effects and rather consume indigenous organic foods which are healthier.

The findings within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community confirmed a drop in the preparation of home-cooked meals and indigenous organic foods due to changes in lifestyles. Even amongst women whose role in the past was to maintain the household, there have been great changes with the same women now in positions in offices, the corporate world and income earners to take care of their households. There are also changes in

lifestyles where in contemporary society, both parents leave the house in the morning for work and only return at the end of the day. Consequently, it is recommended that campaigns, workshops and educational programmes be organised to create awareness on the importance of preparing home cooked meals and consuming healthy food. When food is prepared at home, some of the ingredients such as salt, sugar, oil, fats, could be regulated at an individual level. The consumption of a balanced diet could be complemented with vegetables and fruits. Family cohesion grows deeper as all take part in the preparation of meals and its consumption. On the other hand, with the consumption of fast foods and take aways, the intake of these ingredients cannot be controlled and the consumption of healthy diets cannot be guaranteed. The effect on the family is that it creates disunity among members. The government could promote awareness through the media, campaigns, conferences and workshops on the importance of consuming home-cooked meals than take aways, which are not very healthy.

It was established that there is a major shift in food consumption patterns to western diets within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community. A major shift in food consumption patterns means a decline in the consumption of indigenous organic foods. Indigenous organic foods are very rich and healthy. Frison *et al.* (2004) affirm the importance of consuming indigenous food as having a low chronic degenerative illness. There is thus, a need to maintain African cultural practices as well as preserve and promote local cuisine. People's national identity is defined through their culture and heritage. Eradication of cultural practices implies a loss of Identity. Cultural practices keep the integrity of people and creates a connection between people, which is too valuable to overlook. The fast rate of changes in food consumption patterns will subsequently lead to the total loss of the local cuisine. Indigenous organic foods are not only healthy and nutritional but are also culturally symbolic. The consumption of indigenous food is associated with one's cultural identity. Loss of indigenous food consumption and the associated rites simultaneously implies a certain decrease in cultural identity, especially in terms of food, a decrease in dietary diversity, especially in rural areas and poor economic circumstances.

It is, therefore, necessary to maintain and preserve the local cuisine. If the preparation and consumption methods of these indigenous foods are not preserved and maintained, they could disappear. There is also a need to parade the rich, diverse and delicious local cuisine to the world. The preservation and consumption of indigenous foods should not only be done

on special days such as Heritage and Africa days but should be reinstated as daily practice. Competitive youth programmes on the preparation and consumption of the indigenous foods, television programmes on the preparation of some of these indigenous foods, and government policies adopted and implemented towards the maintenance and preservation of the local cuisine are all strategies that could be implemented to promote and preserve the local cuisine and Africa's heritage. If these strategies are implemented, they might assist in the preservation of the cultural practices as well as preserve the consumption of indigenous foods, leading to healthy eating habits.

7.4 PROSPECTS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study focused on changes in food consumption habits in South Africa and Cameroon. The study examined the causes, effects and changes in food consumption patterns from pre-colonial to post-colonial periods in selected communities. During the course of the study, the researcher identified the following areas for future research:

- There is little information on the nutritional composition of indigenous foods and not enough research on indigenous foods, its nutritional composition and importance. Researchers could conduct further study on the nutritional composition and the importance of consuming indigenous food in the two African countries investigated here. Such information could influence the cultivation and consumption of indigenous foods.
- The current study used a qualitative research approach to investigate food consumption patterns of selected communities in South Africa and Cameroon. A similar study could be conducted with a quantitative approach to complement the results obtained from this study. The sample used in the study was not a representative of the South African and Mankon populations. It is, therefore, crucial for a quantitative study with a larger representative sample to be undertaken where the findings could be generalised to the South African and Cameroon population.
- In addition, research could be conducted on spices used for the preparation of indigenous foods to scientifically evaluate them for possible pharmacological activity, adding to the scientific contribution of novel pharmaceuticals.

- Extensive research has been conducted on food consumption patterns in the North. However, this area is yet to be robustly explored in the African continent. Researchers and academics should carry out research in this area by examining changes in food consumption of traditional societies over time. In this light, a comparative study could be carried out on food consumption patterns across the world.
- In the course of the study, the researcher struggled to locate related literature on the meanings attached to the consumption of food in relation to particular cultural or social events. The availability of this archive could add significantly to understanding the African heritage and preserve cultural practices. It could also promote and preserve the rich African cuisine.
- The study was conducted in the NWP of South Africa and Cameroon (the Barolong Boo Ratshidi clan and the Mankon ethnic group). These groups are not representative of the entire populations of both countries. Thus, a similar study could be conducted in other areas considering that there are other ethnic groups with different cultural practices and beliefs as well as different types of indigenous foods and consumption patterns.
- It is recommended that future studies should broaden the samples into a quantitative survey. This would enable more representative data on a larger segment of the South African and Cameroonian food consumption patterns. The study, perhaps, could adopt the initial findings obtained in this study as a starting point for the conceptualisation and identification of relevant constructs.

7.5 CONCLUSION

It is important to note that the consumption of modern processed foods at the expense of indigenous organic foods could have devastating health effects. There is a need for the consumption of indigenous foods and very little integration of modern foods in our eating habits. Health-related illnesses are not the only negative effects of the shift in food consumption patterns but the preservation of the Africa heritage and cultural practices is

threatened. Research has shown indigenous foods to be healthy and organic, justifying the need for the promotion and consumption of indigenous foods.

Africa has a rich and diverse local cuisine of very nutritious and healthy indigenous foods. There is a need to preserve and display this rich African heritage to the global community and thus by so doing tapping into the opportunities presented by globalization and diversity, thus giving African nations a unique competitive edge.

In South Africa, specifically within the Barolong Boo Ratshidi community, there is a major shift in food consumption patterns from indigenous western-oriented diets, which are highly processed and refined. However, in Cameroon, a minor shift has taken place in food consumption trends as there is a fair balance in the consumption of both indigenous and modern foods. South Africa should emulate Cameroon by striving for a balance in the consumption of indigenous and modern foods.

Factors such as increase in population, evolution of the society are inevitable and cannot be controlled while others like changes in lifestyle, perception towards modern foods can be regulated. It is evident that the society is dynamic and not static. However, in as much as change is unavoidable and the evolution of the society cannot be controlled, the integration of modern processed foods into food consumption patterns should be done judiciously without its dominance over indigenous traditional cuisine and identity matrices.

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LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE QUESTIONS – Mankon participants

Dear participant

This research forms part of a doctoral thesis entitled “Food and consumption patterns of selected communities in South Africa and Cameroon: A sociological study.” The study seeks to examine the food consumption patterns in selected communities in South Africa and Cameroon and the reasons for a shift in their consumption patterns. Your response will contribute towards the need to maintain and preserve local cuisine and promote healthy eating habits and the consumption of indigenous food. You are requested to respond to this interview guide questions as honestly and openly as possible. The information provided will be anonymous, so please feel free to say exactly what you think. Your answers are not ‘right’ or ‘wrong’. Accepting to provide answers to these questions is voluntary and the information obtained shall be kept confidential and used solely for the purpose of this study.

Thank you for participating in the study.

SECTION A

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

1. Gender (Please place an (x) where applicable)
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
2. Age group (please place an (x) where applicable)
 - a. 20-25
 - b. 26-30
 - c. 31-35
 - d. 36-40
 - e. 41-45

f. 46-50

g. 51-55

h. 55 and above

3. Educational level (please place and (x) where applicable)

a. G.C.E ordinary
level/ Grade 9
or below or
equivalent

b. G.C.E Advanced
level/ Matric or
equivalent

c. Diploma/certificate

d. Bachelor's degree
or equivalent

e. Master's degree
or equivalent

f. Doctorate or
equivalent

4. Marital status (Please place an (x) where

applicable) a. Single

b. Married

c. Divorce

d. Separated

e. Widow

5. How many children do you have? (Please place an (x) where applicable)

- a. None
- b. 1-2
- c. 3-4
- d. 5 and above

6. What is the range of your salary? in Rands/francs

SECTION B: MEANING ATTACHED TO INDIGENOUS FOOD

7. Please list the different types of indigenous food(s) in your

community?.....

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8. Do you still eat any of these foods?

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9. Do some of these indigenous foods have any cultural or social meaning attached to it? If yes, please explain

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SECTION C: PRODUCTION, PREPARATION AND CONSUMPTION OF STAPLE FOODS

10 .What are the staple foods available in your community?

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11. Where do you obtain them (the staple foods) from and how?

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12. Are they indigenous or not? Please explain.

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13. Do you prefer indigenous or modern food? Please explain.

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14. Do you grow food in the community? If yes, please state what kind?

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15. How does this affect your food choice?

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16. How are the staple foods prepared in your community?

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SECTION D: SHIFT IN CONSUMPTION PATTERNS

17. What were the different types of food you used to eat in the past?

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18. Have the patterns of food consumption changed in any way? (from the past to the present food consumption patterns?) If yes, state how they have changed. If no, state what it was like in the past.

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19. If the food consumption patterns have changed in the community over the years, what are some of the reasons for the change in food choices?

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20. What are some of the indigenous foods that have been abandoned for western diets?

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21. How has the shift in the consumption of food affected you as an individual?

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22. Is the shift in food consumption patterns a bad or good thing? If yes, please state why, and if no, please indicate why?

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23. What do you think could be done to avoid/reduce the shift in consumption patterns?

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24. What more would you like to say?

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THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!

APPENDIX 2: KAEDI YA DIPOTSOTHERISANO – Participants within Barolong Boo Ratshidi

Motsayakarolo yo o tlotlegang

Patlisiso e ke karolo ya kakanyetsotheo ya bongaka ka setlhogo se “Dijo le mekgwa ya tiriso ya merafe e e tlhophilweng mo Aforikaborwa le Khameruni: thuto ya tsa loago” Thuto e e batla go tlatlhoba mekgwa ya tiriso ya dijo mo merafeng e e tlhophilweng mo Aforikaborwa le Khameruni le mabaka a a tlhodileng phetogo mo mekgweng ya bona ya tiriso. Tsibogo ya gago e tlaa thusa thata go abelana go ya ka tlhokego ya tlhokomelo le polokesego ya mokgwa wa go apaya mo tikologong e e rileng le gape go godisa ditlwaelo tsa go ja le tiriso e itekanetseng ya dijo tsa setso. O kopiwa ka boikokobetso le ka tokologo go araba dipotso tsa kaedi e ya dipotsotherisano. Tshedimosetso e e tlaa neelwang ga e ne e tlhagisiwa gope, ka jalo lokologa o bue se se mo mafatlheng a gago. Dikarabo tsa gago di ka siama kgotsa tsa se siame. Kamogelo ya tlhagiso ya dikarabo tsa gago ke ka boithaopo mme tshedimosetso e e amogetsweng ke sephiri gape e tlaa dirisetswa fela mo maikaelelong a thuto e.

Ke lebogela botsayakarolo jwa gago mo thutong e.

KAROLO YA A

DIPHAROLOGANTSHO KA TSHEDIMOSETSO YA BATHO BA LEFELO LE LE RILENG

1. Bong (Ka kopo tsenya (x) fa go tlhokega)
 - a. Mme
 - b. Rre
2. Mophato/Dingwaga (Ka kopo tsenya (x) fa go tlhokega)
 - a. 20-25
 - i. b. 26-30
 - j. c. 31-35

k. d. 36-

40 e. 41-45

f. 46-50

g. 51-55

h. 55 go feta

3. Kgato ya thuto (Ka kopo tsenya (x) fa go tlhokega)

g. Kgato ya
tlwaelo ya G.
C.E/ Mophato
wa 9 kgotsa
tekano

h. Kgato ya pele
ya
G.C.E/Materiki
kgotsa tekano

C Dipoloma/setifikeiti

d. Gerata ya BA

kgotsa tekano

e. Gerata
ya Masetase
kgotsa tekano

f. Bongaka
kgotsa tekano

4. Kemo ya Nyalo (Ka kopo tsenya (x) fa go tlhokega)

a. Go sa nyalwa

- b. Nyetswe
- c. Tlhalo
- d. Kgaogano
- e. Moswelwa

5. O na le bana ba le kae? (Ka kopo tsenya (x) fa go tlhokega)

- a. Ope
- b. 1-2
- i. 3-4
- j. 5 go feta

6. Tlhatlhamano ya mogolo wa gago e ntse jang? Ka diranta/ diforankese

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KGAOLO YA B: BOKAO JWA KAMANO YA DIJO TSA SETSO

7. Ka kopo neela lenaane la se/dijo tse difarologaneng tsa setso mo mofareng wa gaeno.

8. A lo sa ntse le ja dingwe tsa dijo tse?

9. A dingwe tsa dijo tse tsa setso di na le kamano le bokao mo go tsa setso le loago? Fa go le jalo t le jalo t le jalo t le jalo t thalosa.

KGAOLO YA C: TLHAGISO, PAAKANYO LE TIRISO YA DIJOKGOLO

10. Ke dijokgolo dife tseo di fitlhelwang mo morafe wa lona?

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11. Le di fitlhela kae(dijo tsa ka metlha) go tswa go le go na jang?

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12. A ke tsa setso kgotsa nnyaya? Ka kopo tlhalosa.

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13. A o rata dijo tsa setso kgotsa tsa sešweng? Ka kopo tlhalosa.

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14. A lo jwala dijo mo morafeng? Fa o dumela, ka kopo bolela gore
ke tsa mofuta ofe?

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15. Se se ama jang tlhopho ya dijo tsa gago?

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KGAOLO YA D: PHETOGO MO MEKGWENG YA TIRISO

16. Ke mefuta efe e e farologaneng ya dijo tse le neng le dija mo malobeng?

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17. A mekgwa ya tiriso ya dijo e fetogile ka tsela nngwe? (go tswa mo nakong e e fetileng le ya jaanong) Fa o dumela, bolela gore di fetogile jang. Fa o sa dumele bolela gore di ne di ntse jang mo malobeng.

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18. Fa e le gore mekgwa ya tiriso ya dijo e fetogile mo morafe go tswa mo dingwageng tse di fetileng, ke mabaka afe ao a tlhodileng phetogo mo ditlhophong tsona?

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19. Ke dijo dife tsa setso tseo di tlogetsweng ka ntlha ya lenaaneo la dijo tsa bophirima?

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20. Phetogo e ya tiriso ya dijo e go amile jang ka nosi?

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21. A phetogo ya mekgwa ya tiriso ya dijo ke selo se se maswe kgotsa se se siameng? Fa o dumela, ka kopo tthalosa mme fa o ganela, ka kopo bontsha ka go tthalosa.

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22. O nagana go ka dirwa eng go tla/go fokotsa phetogo mo mekgweng ya tiriso?

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23. Ke eng gape se o ka se buang?

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KE LEBOGELA MATSAPA A G

APPENDIX 3: Permission letter to conduct study in Mankon, Cameroon



ACKNOWLEDGEMENT LETTER

I hereby acknowledge that Manka Sheila Ngoh, Doctorate candidate of the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences in the Department of Sociology in the North West University (Makifeng Campus) Republic of South Africa has successfully undergone her Data Collection on Food Consumption Patterns in Mankon Fandom/Community, Boumba II Sub-division - North West Region of Cameroon.

Kind regards

Secretary General



Angu George Eho
SECRETARY GENERAL
MANKON TRADITIONAL COUNCIL

Our Bankers : Ntamheng Credit Union, Account No: 293.

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NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
YUNIBESITHI YA BOKONE-BOPHIRIMA
NOORDWES-UNIVERSITEIT

Private Bag X6001, Potchefstroom,
South Africa, 2520

Tel: (018) 299-4900

Faks: (018) 299-4910

Web: <http://www.nwu.ac.za>

Institutional Research Ethics Regulatory Committee

Tel: +27 18 299 4849

Email: Ethics@nwu.ac.za

ETHICS APPROVAL CERTIFICATE OF PROJECT

Based on approval by the Human Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSREC) at the meeting held on 31/08/2016, the North-West University Institutional Research Ethics Regulatory Committee (NWU-IRERC) hereby approves your project as indicated below. This implies that the NWU-IRERC grants its permission that, provided the special conditions specified below are met and pending any other authorisation that may be necessary, the project may be initiated, using the ethics number below.

Project title: Food and consumption patterns of selected communities in South Africa and Cameroon: A sociological study.	
Project Leader/Supervisor:	Prof S Mapadimeng & Prof P Mokhehlane
Student:	SN Manka
Ethics number:	N W U - 0 0 4 3 5 - 1 6 - A 9
(Status: S = Submission, R = Re-Submission, P = Provisional Authorisation, A = Authorisation)	
Application Type: Doctoral application	
Commencement date: 2016-08-23	Expiry date: 2019-08-23
Risk:	N/A

Special conditions of the approval (if applicable):

- Translation of the Informed consent document to the languages applicable to the study participants should be submitted to the HRREC (if applicable).
- Any research at governmental or private institutions, permission must still be obtained from relevant authorities and provided to the HRREC. Ethics approval is required BEFORE approval can be obtained from these authorities.

General conditions:

While this ethics approval is subject to all declarations, undertakings and agreements incorporated and signed in the application form, please note the following:

- The project leader (principle investigator) must report in the prescribed format to the NWU-IRERC via HRREC:
 - annually (or as otherwise requested) on the progress of the project, and upon completion of the project
 - without any delay in case of any adverse event (or any matter that interrupts sound ethical principles) during the course of the project.
- Annually a number of projects may be randomly selected for an external audit.
- The approval applies strictly to the protocol as stipulated in the application form. Would any changes to the protocol be deemed necessary during the course of the project, the project leader must apply for approval of these changes at the HRREC. Would there be deviation from the project protocol without the necessary approval of such changes, the ethics approval is immediately and automatically forfeited.
- The date of approval indicates the first date that the project may be started. Would the project have to continue after the expiry date, a new application must be made to the NWU-IRERC via HRREC and new approval received before or on the expiry date.
- In the interest of responsibility the NWU-IRERC and HRREC retains the right to:
 - request access to any information or data at any time during the course or after completion of the project;
 - to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modification or monitor the conduct of your research or the informed consent process.
 - withdraw or postpone approval if:
 - any unethical principles or practices of the project are revealed or suspected,
 - it becomes apparent that any relevant information was withheld from the HRREC or that information has been false or misrepresented,
 - the required annual report and reporting of adverse events was not done timely and accurately,
 - new institutional rules, national legislation or international conventions deem it necessary.
- HRREC can be contacted for further information via Estle.Emtch@nwu.ac.za or 018 280 2873.

The IRERC would like to remain at your service as scientist and researcher, and wishes you well with your project. Please do not hesitate to contact the IRERC or HRREC for any further enquiries or requests for assistance.

Yours sincerely

Prof LA Du Plessis
Date: 2016.10.13
10:33:24 +02'00'

Prof Linda du Plessis
Chair NWU Institutional Research Ethics Regulatory Committee (IRERC)

APPENDIX 5: Certificate of language editing



Office: 0183892451

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

Cell: 0729116600

Date: 2nd June, 2020

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

CERTIFICATE OF EDITING

I, **Muchativugwa Liberty Hove**, confirm and certify that I have read and edited the entire thesis, **FOOD AND CONSUMPTION PATTERNS OF SELECTED COMMUNITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA AND CAMEROON: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY**, by **Manka Sheila Ngoh**, Student Number: 2382163, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5007-9816>, submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN SOCIAL SCIENCES (SOCIOLOGY)** at the **NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY, MC**.

MANKA SHEILA NGOH was supervised by **Professor Mokong Simon Mapadimeng** and co-supervised by **Dr.**

Ramosotho Mokgadi.

I hold a PhD in English Language and Literature in English and am qualified to edit such a thesis for cohesion and coherence. The views expressed herein, however, remain those of the researcher/s.

Yours sincerely

Professor M.L.Hove (PhD, MA, PGDE, PGCE, BA Honours – English)

