



รายงานวิจัยฉบับสมบูรณ์

โครงการ ความเชื่อมั่นบ้าน แบบแผนการบริโภคอาหารและสุขภาพพม่า ใน
บริบทการพัฒนาเศรษฐกิจและความทันสมัย

โดย ผู้ช่วยศาสตราจารย์ ดร.เทพินทร์ พัทธานุกรักษ์

กรกฎาคม 2557

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คณะผู้วิจัย

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มหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม่

ชุดโครงการ Becoming Modernity: Myanmar Health and Traditional Culture in
The Context of State-driven Economy

สนับสนุนโดยสำนักงานกองทุนสนับสนุนการวิจัย (สกว.)

(ความเห็นในรายงานนี้เป็นของผู้วิจัย สกว. ไม่จำเป็นต้องเห็นด้วยเสมอไป)

Executive Summary

This study examines the impact of modernization on food consumption patterns in Myanmar, and in particular, to what extent urbanization and industrial development are impacting upon food sources and people's food consumption habits.

The research for this study was conducted in Mandalay, the second biggest city in Myanmar, where significant socio-economic changes have occurred since British colonial times. Mandalay has long been famous as both a cultural and economic centre due to its history and geographical location. The Burmese military government has promoted industrial development in Mandalay since the 1990s, and this development has accelerated since the new, democratic government took office in 2011. The market-oriented policies introduced, as well as the government's support of foreign investment, have in recent years led to a rapid expansion of investment in modern, service-oriented industries in Mandalay.

The research for this study was conducted between January 2014 and July 2015. Based on a qualitative study, 36 people living in Oh Bo Shwe Jin Quarter in Mandalay were interviewed in their homes. This quarter is located in a semi-urban area, a five to ten minute drive from the centre of Mandalay. The total population of this quarter is 5,851, covering 1,057 households. This quarter was once a rice growing community, but now very few households grow this crop.

The interviews covered people of various ages, educational backgrounds and economic statuses. The interviewees were asked questions about their current food buying, preparation, cooking and consumption habits, and how these compare to those of the past. Older people were also asked about the socio-cultural, environmental and economic conditions that existed in the past. In addition to holding interviews, I observed local food shops and restaurants, and also the local tea shops, plus interviewed their owners when possible. The tea and food shops vary in terms of their locations, sizes and the types of food they provide. I also observed the local markets, which people rely on for their fresh food and cooking ingredient purchases. Furthermore, in order to examine the changes that have taken place in terms of agricultural production, broiler chicken farms and fruit orchards were observed, with the owners and workers at these operations interviewed if they gave consent. In addition, I interviewed the township officer and the divisional livestock officer.

Liberalization, industrialization and the types of food sold at the local markets

Modern agricultural development in Myanmar has been promoted since colonial times, and has accelerated since Myanmar introduced market-oriented policies during and since the military government period. Myanmar's recent economic policies have led to an increase in local and foreign investment, and this has encouraged trade and service related businesses to expand in the country. The number of people moving into cities, for work and study, has also accelerated. In 1980, the proportion of people living in urban areas was 24%, and this had increased to 24.6% by 1990 and then to 27.2% and 33.2% by 2000 and 2012 respectively. Industrial development, and also the expansion of service sector investment has

led to more rural dwellers moving into the city in search of higher incomes and a better lifestyle. However, the expansion of urban areas, alongside the increased number of hotels and service-related firms, has led to a reduction in the amount of agricultural land available in rural areas. This reduction in agricultural land has had a negative impact on food availability and people's ability to access food. Food security is closely related to poverty. In Myanmar, people spend 70% of their incomes on food (Haggblade: 2013: 41, Swe Mon Aung and Sukanya Sirikeratikul: 2013: 5), and food prices have increased year-on-year over recent times. By 2008, the price of chicken was ten times higher than it had been in the year 2000. The loss of land upon which rice was once grown for the family, together with the increase in food prices, has affected people's ability to access food, plus has changed their food consumption patterns.

Liberalization and foreign investment in modern agricultural production has changed the types of food produced, how they are produced, and the way in which the foods produced are distributed domestically and internationally. This is illustrated in the case of mango and water melon production, for which Chinese companies have rented agricultural land to mass produce mangoes and water melons, prioritizing their export to China. Nearly half (45%) of mango farms in Myanmar are owned by larger farmers, and half of the mangoes produced in Myanmar are grown for export. The number of mangoes exported from Myanmar to China was 16.7 million metric tons in 2007/2008, and this had increased to 39.9 million metric tons by 2011/2012. Similarly, Chinese companies have co-invested in the production of water melons, with the majority melons produced being exported to China. This Chinese co-investment in mango and water melon production has changed the production and distribution processes used. These Chinese companies have rented agricultural land and allowed the landowners to work on their own land, plus have introduced modern production technology and provide seeds, chemicals and fertilizers for use during the growing process. The majority of the produce, but only that which meets the appropriate quality standard, is transported to China, mostly through the Muse Border Zone. Those products which do not meet the set quality standards are sold on the domestic market. Local people who were once only the owners of their land have instead become the owners and workers, but they receive only low rents and wages. Their ways of making a living have also changed, as has their food sovereignty position, as they can no longer make use of their own land. The mass production of mangoes and water melons for export has impacted upon the types and quality of fruit available on the domestic market, and also the prices of such fruit.

While Chinese mango and water melon cultivation highlights the exploitation of Burmese land and labour for foreign export purposes, foreign investment in livestock breeding illustrates well how the local domestic broiler market is dominated by foreign companies. CP Myanmar Livestock Co. Ltd (CPML) from Thailand has had a hatchery and broiler business in Myanmar for the last ten years, and currently has around 50% of the domestic market. The chicken farm owners have to buy both the chickens and chicken food from CPML; however, after feeding the chickens for 45 days, the farm owners can choose whether they want to sell the fully grown chickens on the local market or sell them to CPML.

The price of fully grown chickens raised at the CPML hatchery is low, and these chickens are bigger than those raised at local hatcheries and free range chickens. At the same time, CPML has started selling cooked, fried and grilled chicken products, as well as chicken sausage, at their small food booths dotted around Mandalay, including in department stores. One of my informants mentioned that most of the chicken farm owners have changed the focus of their chicken farms, from the production of eggs to broilers, because the broilers take less time to grow before revenue is generated. CPML has; therefore, not only affected the way broilers are produced, but has also introduced industrial fish rearing operations which can be located underneath the chicken rearing factories.

Urbanization, a loss of agricultural land, changing work patterns and local food sources

While co-investment from foreign companies has changed the food types bought and consumed on the domestic market, the loss of agricultural land due to the expansion of Mandalay city has reduced the number of local food sources. The rate of urban population growth in Myanmar increased from 25% per annum in 1990 to 28% in 2010 and 33.2% in 2012, with the rural population decreasing at a rate of 68% in 2010 and 66% in 2013. The increased density of Mandalay's urban area has resulted in the relocation of government buildings to peri-urban areas which were once rural areas. In the study quarter, four government buildings have moved into the community in recent years, and these have had a significant impact people's way of life and their work patterns. The four government buildings which relocated to the study area were the Institute of Traditional Medicine in 1976, Mandalay Prison in 1990, the Mandalay Technological University in 1991, and the University of Traditional Medicine in 2003. These government institutes not only moved their office buildings but also their staff accommodation, and as a result, a large amount of land was needed, most of which was drawn from agricultural land plots.

Data from my interviews revealed that due to the relocation of these government departments, livestock rearing and rice growing activities had to be stopped. At the same time, new people moved in and the study quarter became more crowded. The loss of rice fields and the reduced amount of space available around people's homes limited household food sources, as rice cultivation, vegetable growing and chicken rearing could not be carried out in people's back yards. As a result, some people sold their land to the newcomers and resettled on the outskirts of Mandalay. The study quarter, which had been a rice farming community, became instead a workers' community. Those who had some savings opened small businesses such as silver and gold shops, those making iron brick and stone carriers (for the local construction sites), dress making concerns, soybean/tofu making businesses, grocery stores and tea shops. As a result, people began to depend on fresh vegetables and meat sold at the local market for their household food. At the same time, the changes in work patterns meant people had to buy rice for household consumption for the first time, as they could not grow their own. This has since had an effect on the way the households take their breakfasts. My informants told me that they now eat breakfast at the local tea shops, as they are affordable, and this also suits their new lifestyles and work patterns. However, these changes

in work and lifestyle patterns have also had an effect on people's food sovereignty in the study area.

Space and hybridity of food sold at the tea shops

Tea shops represent a "space" which helps illustrate how modernization has effected food serving and food consumption habits in the study area, due to urban lifestyles and changing work patterns. Moreover, the new social interactions and social networks created by the tea shop reflect an urban sense of community in which, theoretically, people have become more individualistic. Furthermore, the variety of foods and snacks provided in the tea shops illustrate the influence of Indian and Chinese food and snacks on Myanmar cuisine.

In the past, drinking plain Chinese tea was common in Myanmar, but later the drinking of tea with milk and sugar was introduced by British and Indian soldiers during colonial times. Since then, tea shops have become ubiquitous in both cities and rural villages throughout Myanmar. Most tea shops are situated near retail markets and along key trade routes, in locations where tradesmen and workers can stop for food and to take a break.

In the early days of the Burmese tea shop, most of the owners were Indian, though some were Chinese, whereas only a few were Burmese. This ownership pattern influenced the kinds of food and snack provided at the tea shops, with Indian food items as chapatees and rotee, and also streamed snacks and *ei ja kee* (Chinese style fried dough snack) being common, plus cakes and biscuits made by local Burmese people. Nowadays, many of the tea shops are managed and owned by Burmese people, with snacks such as *pau-ci jo* (fried dough with chopped coconut and sugar) reflecting the Burmanization of the Chinese snacks. Moreover, many types of ethnic food, such as Shan and Kachin food, are served alongside Burmese food in some tea shops. Since 2011, and the opening of Myanmar to tourism and foreign investment, a much greater variety of foods and snacks have been provided at tea shops, such as *crepe*, a Thai style snack.

Urbanization and changing work patterns, as well as the loss of agricultural land, has forced rural people to move into the city, and the tea shops provide them with, not only food, but also a socio-economic space. Some use tea shops as a place to meet clients and negotiate business deals, whereas others meet their guests or relatives at tea shops. Some Burmese people have started small tea shops from their savings or using the money generated by selling their land.

Modernization and tourism have influenced the ongoing development of the tea shop in Myanmar, and especially the food served, utensils used and management structures. Many types of local and foreign food and snack are now provided in tea shops. The key differences to be found between tea shops in the cities and those in rural areas are the number and variety of food and snacks provided, the plates and cups used to serve the food and drink, and also the opening hours. Tea shops in the city provide a greater variety of food and snacks, and these are served using white ceramic plates and cups. Some of the urban tea shops open 24 hours a day. Tea shops in the rural areas and villages; meanwhile, generally serve a small

number of fried snacks and very little food, and these are displayed on plastic plates set on the tables, with only tea served in small, white ceramic tea cups. These rural tea shops open very early in the morning and normally close early in the afternoon. The food and snacks only tend to be provided in the morning, with clients only served biscuits in the afternoon.

Women are rarely seen in tea shops in Myanmar. Mi Mi Khaing (1984: 21) says the reason for this is due to Burmese women's family responsibilities, as normally women are obligated to prepare and cook food for the whole family. As a result, they have to go to the market in the early morning every day to buy fresh meat and vegetables, and so tea shops are not compatible with Burmese women's lifestyles and obligations. Women's social space tends to be in other, more public areas which suit their everyday routines. For example, small food or noodle stalls located in the city markets, where women buy food for the family dinner, are popular meeting places, while in the rural villages, women tend to buy tea from the village tea shops and drink it with friends under the shade of a tree, or while sat at a local noodle stall.

Modernization and food consumption

Rice is the staple food for people in Myanmar. All 36 informants I spoke to have rice for their lunch and dinner, with most saying they have a light meal for breakfast. The women and children normally eat Mohinga (Burmese noodle soup) at roadside stalls, while the men eat tea with a few snacks at tea shops. After buying fresh meat and vegetables from the early morning market, the women are responsible for cooking the family meals, with the resulting food divided into two; one half for lunch and the other for dinner. Children take their meals to school for lunch if they cannot get home during their lunch hour. For those families in which both the men and women work outside the home they take lunch boxes with them or return home for lunch if they can.

Modernization has affected the cooking utensils used and kinds of meat and fresh vegetables eaten by people in the study area, as well as the main cooking ingredients provided at the local markets. Modern cooking utensils such as electric rice cookers, and electric pans and kettles are now used due to the installation of an electricity supply in the area. With the loss of agricultural land, people now have to buy rice and fresh vegetables from the markets, as well as chicken, other meat and fish. However, food prices have increased since Myanmar introduced market-oriented policies, and these policies have left farmers out of work, with no savings and no land available for growing rice.

For those informants of a higher economic status, food is cooked in the kitchen, which is normally located in the ground floor of the house or in a separate but attached building. Those families of a lower economic status said they use a small wood fuelled stove placed in the corner of the house. For those whose houses have only one room, this same type of stove is placed outside the house. All the informants use a wood fuelled stove, but only the higher economic status informants also have an electric stove. No modern cooking utensils are used in the lower economic status households, and no stoves fuelled by gas are used in any of the study households.

Women, whether they are the mother or an older daughter or daughter-in-law, are the main cooks, having learned to cook from their mothers or mothers-in-law. Cooked meals in the lower economic status families are simpler affairs than those in the higher status households, who normally cook three dishes for each meal: a curry, vegetables and a soup. In the lower economic status households; meanwhile, only two dishes are served; a curry and soup. As the prices of eggs and fish are the lowest among the food products sold, so the lower economic status families eat these items quite often, while the higher status households eat more chicken and pork. Furthermore, modern cooking ingredients such as Ajinomoto, Knorr – a new seasoning powder and fish sauce/paste made in Thailand can be found in the higher economic status households, while the lower economic status households use ingredients made in Myanmar.

There are no dinner tables in any of the study households. For the higher economic status families, food is displayed on low, round wooden tables set twelve inches off the floor, or is placed on a table in the kitchen, where family members eat it together. Normally, rice is placed on an aluminum plate, while curries and other dishes are placed into ceramic bowls, together with small aluminum spoons. The ceramic plates are used only if the families have visitors over for dinner. In these extended families, many generations live together, so normally the elders have their meals first, followed by the younger members and finally the children. However, with the change in work patterns in recent times, some family members, and especially the men, have started to work outside the home, so the women and children eat first and keep some food aside for the husband. In the lower economic status households which have no kitchen, members place their rice and curry on to an aluminum plate or into a small bowl and eat around the house, or more commonly outside the home. All the informants, of whatever status, said they eat food with their hands, and only use cutlery when eating out.

In this study I have identified the effects of modernization on food consumption patterns, and in particular the types of food and cooking ingredients used, as well as the utensils used. Modernization, based on the capitalist mode of development, has impacted on food sources, the types and quality of food available at the local markets in Myanmar, as well as on food prices. Tourism has also led to a greater range of food types and restaurants being available in Mandalay. However, these modern food shops and restaurants are mainly serve tourists and businessmen, as the prices tend to be very high, meaning most Myanmar people cannot afford them. The markets now stock more imported cooking utensils and ingredients, and the range of ready-prepared food available in the food sections at supermarket has increased significantly in recent years. These ready-made meals and ingredients, such as curry pastes, reveal how people's lifestyles have changed as a result of urbanization. Now, time is very limited for many people, so convenience is a crucial factor in their food consumption habits. However, though the variety of imported foods provided in the markets has increased, only those of a higher economic status can afford them. In this study, I have shown that among the poorer households, eating out is very rare, except at breakfast, when

visiting a tea shop is quite common. As a result, most family meals are cooked at home, in a way that suits the relevant households' economic means.

Summary/Recommendations

1. Foreign foods, snacks and cooking ingredients have flooded into Myanmar in recent years, and concerns around the quality and safety of these imported foods are growing. Most of the imported snacks and cooking ingredients sold in the rural areas are cheap, and some of them are a health hazard. The Myanmar Consumer Protection Organization is working actively on this issue, disseminating information on the danger of such foods. However, due to the high levels of poverty in the country, the low prices of these snacks make them attractive to many people. As a result, such food items will continue to be imported, with their consumption likely to spread throughout Myanmar.

2. Among the imported foods, Thai goods, food items and seasonings are perceived as being of a higher quality than those imported from other countries. As a result, to preserve a good image, the quality of the goods exported to Myanmar should be of concern to Thailand, to preserve its image. As the majority of Myanmar people are still poor economically, maintaining the price of goods at a reasonable level should be taken into account by the governments involved, as well as their quality.

3. The consumption of food outside the home has increased in recent years alongside urbanization, and in this study I have found that most people in the urban and peri-urban areas eat their breakfast at tea shops or food stalls. The number of people such as students and office workers moving into Mandalay from rural areas and renting accommodation in the city is likely to increase markedly in the near future, due to the expansion of tourism and service related industries in Mandalay. This development will benefit the food and catering sector, but will also make it more difficult to control and monitor the quality and price of food provided in the area.

4. I have also highlighted in this study the effect of urban expansion and changes in the agriculture industry on household food source in the study area. In the context of Myanmar's government encouraging foreign investment in agro-industry and other industrial sectors, the resulting reduction in household land and loss of food sources is likely to continue at an increasing rate, as more and more rural dwellers move into the city. An urban planning review should therefore be carried out in order to prepare for the complex set of issues and problems likely to arise due to this mobility. Moreover, a review should be carried out of the planning needed in rural communities, as these areas are being negatively affected by increasing rates of urbanization.

5. As found in this study, family eat together mostly at dinner, but this is also likely to change as more Myanmar families open small businesses at home, as this will mean family members have to take it in turns to eat in order to maintain their businesses and production capacities. The impact of this reduction in the time spent eating together as a family needs to be assessed; especially as this is likely to happen among the middle come and poor families.

With internet accessibility increasing, and with modern goods and media increasingly available, families might need to create new ways of strengthening their relationships, but using these same modern goods and technologies could also create new social problems.

บทสรุปผู้บริหาร

การบริโภคอาหารมิได้เป็นผลมาจากระสนิยมหรือความชอบส่วนบุคคลจากการเลือกบริโภคอาหารชนิดใด เมื่อใดและจะบริโภคอย่างไร เป็นผลมาจากวัฒนธรรม นอกจากนั้นสภาพสังคมสิ่งแวดล้อมทางกายภาพ การเศรษฐกิจระหว่างประเทศและโลกาภิวัตน์ส่งผลต่อแหล่งและประเภทอาหารที่มีอยู่ในสังคม วัตถุดิบ การปรุงอาหาร รวมทั้งแบบแผนการบริโภคอาหาร

ความทันสมัยและการเปลี่ยนแปลงทางสังคมเศรษฐกิจในเมียนมาร์ส่งผลต่อแบบแผนการบริโภคอาหารของชาวพม่าอย่างไร งานศึกษานี้แสดงผลของการพัฒนาเกษตรอุตสาหกรรมและการขยายตัวของความเป็นเมืองที่ส่งผลต่อแหล่ง/ประเภทอาหาร คุณภาพของวัตถุดิบและการเปลี่ยนแปลงพฤติกรรมบริโภคอาหารของชาวพม่า นอกจากนั้นยังนำเสนอความสำคัญของพื้นที่การบริโภคอาหารที่มีใช้เป็นเพียงพื้นที่เพื่อการตอบสนองทางกายภาพ หากยังเป็นพื้นที่ทางเศรษฐกิจและพื้นที่ที่สะท้อนการผสมผสานทางวัฒนธรรมและประวัติศาสตร์การดำรงอยู่ของสังคมพม่า

การศึกษานี้เก็บข้อมูลที่เมืองมัณฑะเลย์ ซึ่งเป็นเมืองใหญ่อันดับสองของประเทศเมียนมาร์และเป็นสถานที่ที่มีนัยยะสำคัญของการเปลี่ยนแปลงทางสังคมและเศรษฐกิจซึ่งเกิดขึ้นตั้งแต่ครั้งตกเป็นอาณานิคมของอังกฤษ มัณฑะเลย์มีชื่อเสียงมายาวนานทั้งในด้านวัฒนธรรมและการเป็นศูนย์กลางทางเศรษฐกิจอันเนื่องมาจากประวัติศาสตร์และภูมิประเทศของเมือง รัฐบาลทหารพม่าได้ส่งเสริมการพัฒนาอุตสาหกรรมที่เมืองนี้ตั้งแต่ปี ค.ศ.1990 และการพัฒนานี้ดำเนินไปอย่างรวดเร็วเมื่อการปกครองแบบประชาธิปไตยเกิดขึ้นอย่างเป็นทางการในปี ค.ศ.2011 เศรษฐกิจเน้นการค้าเสรีและนโยบายส่งเสริมการลงทุนจากต่างชาติส่งผลต่อการพัฒนาเมือง ความทันสมัยและการขยายตัวของอุตสาหกรรมภาคบริการในเมืองมัณฑะเลย์

การวิจัยนี้เป็นการวิจัยเชิงคุณภาพดำเนินโครงการระหว่างเดือนมกราคม 2556 – กรกฎาคม 2557 โดยเลือกศึกษาในหมู่บ้านโอบซึ่งเป็นหมู่บ้านที่มีประวัติความเป็นมาอย่างยาวนานและได้รับผลกระทบจากการขยายตัวของเมืองมัณฑะเลย์ ปัจจุบันหมู่บ้านโอบจัดเป็นหมู่บ้านในเขตเมืองตามการจัดระเบียบเขตเมืองของเมียนมาร์และตั้งอยู่ไม่ไกลจากตัวเมืองมากนัก โดยใช้เวลาในการเดินทางโดยรถยนต์จากศูนย์กลางเมืองมัณฑะเลย์ประมาณ 5 – 10 นาที หมู่บ้านโอบเป็นหมู่บ้านขนาดกลาง โดยมีจำนวนครัวเรือนทั้งสิ้น 1,057 ครัวเรือนและมีจำนวนประชากร 5,851 คน ในอดีตผู้คนในหมู่บ้านนี้ประกอบอาชีพเกษตรกรรม ส่วนใหญ่มีอาชีพทำนา และปลูกพืชผลการเกษตรระยะสั้น เช่น พืชตระกูลถั่ว มะเขือเทศในช่วงว่างเว้นจากฤดูเก็บเกี่ยวข้าว ในปัจจุบันผู้คนส่วนใหญ่ในหมู่บ้านประกอบอาชีพรับจ้างในเมือง มีจำนวนครัวเรือนเพียง 4 ครัวเรือนที่ยังคงประกอบอาชีพทำนา และพื้นที่ทำนาของครัวเรือนทั้งหมดที่ทำอยู่ในปัจจุบันอยู่นอกเขตพื้นที่หมู่บ้าน

การศึกษานี้เก็บข้อมูลโดยการสัมภาษณ์ชาวพม่าที่อาศัยอยู่ในหมู่บ้านโอโบที่มีอายุ ระดับการศึกษา สถานภาพทางเศรษฐกิจแตกต่างกัน รวมทั้งมีการกระจายเชิงพื้นที่ของบ้านพักให้ครอบคลุมทั่วในเขตพื้นที่หมู่บ้าน จำนวนชาวพม่าที่ทำการสัมภาษณ์รวมทั้งสิ้น 36 คน โดยทำการสัมภาษณ์การเลือกซื้อ การเตรียม การปรุง และพฤติกรรมการบริโภคอาหารในปัจจุบันและการเปลี่ยนแปลงในแต่ละประเด็นดังกล่าวข้างต้นรวมทั้งความคิดเห็นต่อการเปลี่ยนแปลงทางสังคมเศรษฐกิจที่เกิดขึ้นในเขตเมืองมัณฑะเลย์ กลุ่มตัวอย่างที่เป็นผู้สูงอายุ (อายุ 60 ปีขึ้นไป) จะทำการสัมภาษณ์ข้อมูลเกี่ยวกับสภาพสังคม สิ่งแวดล้อม เศรษฐกิจ แบบแผนการดำเนินชีวิตและการบริโภคอาหารในช่วงวัยเด็กและวัยรุ่น นอกจากนี้การสัมภาษณ์ชาวพม่าในหมู่บ้านโอโบ งานวิจัยยังทำการสัมภาษณ์ผู้ประกอบการร้านค้า ร้านอาหารขายอาหารท้องถิ่นและสังเกตการณ์ตลาดท้องถิ่นที่ชาวพม่าจับจ่ายซื้อหาอาหารและเครื่องปรุงรสในการประกอบอาหารรวมทั้งสัมภาษณ์ผู้ประกอบการและแรงงานในฟาร์มเลี้ยงไก่เนื้อและสวนผลไม้ บุคลากรภาครัฐคือ เจ้าหน้าที่เขตและปศุสัตว์อีกด้วย เพื่อให้ได้ข้อมูลการพัฒนาเกษตรอุตสาหกรรมและการเปลี่ยนแปลงกระบวนการผลิต แหล่งและประเภทอาหาร

การเปิดเสรีทางการค้า การกลายเป็นอุตสาหกรรม และประเภทอาหารที่ขายในตลาดท้องถิ่น

การพัฒนาการเกษตรสมัยใหม่ในประเทศเมียนมาร์ได้รับการส่งเสริมมาตั้งแต่ยุคอาณานิคม และทวีความรวดเร็วขึ้นเมื่อมีนโยบายที่เน้นการตลาดในยุครัฐบาลทหาร ปัจจุบันเมียนมาร์มีนโยบายส่งเสริมการลงทุนจากต่างชาติไปสู่การกระตุ้นการขยายตัวทางการค้าและธุรกิจบริการในประเทศมากขึ้น ประชากรอพยพเข้าสู่เมืองเพื่อการศึกษาและทำงานมีอัตราเพิ่มขึ้นอย่างต่อเนื่อง เห็นได้จากในปี ค.ศ.1980 สัดส่วนประชากรที่อาศัยในเมืองเป็น 24 เปอร์เซ็นต์ของจำนวนประชากรทั้งหมด และได้เพิ่มขึ้นเป็น 24.6 เปอร์เซ็นต์ ในปี ค.ศ.1990 และเพิ่มเป็น 27.2 และ 32.2 เปอร์เซ็นต์ ในปี ค.ศ. 2000 และ 2012 ตามลำดับ การพัฒนาอุตสาหกรรมและการขยายตัวของการลงทุนภาคบริการนำไปสู่การย้ายถิ่นเข้าเมืองของประชากรในชนบทเพื่อแสวงหารายได้ที่สูงขึ้นและมีวิถีชีวิตที่ดีขึ้น อย่างไรก็ตามการขยายตัวของเมืองพร้อมๆ กับการเพิ่มขึ้นของจำนวนโรงแรมและภาคบริการที่เกี่ยวข้อง ส่งผลให้เกิดการลดลงของพื้นที่เพาะปลูกอาหาร แหล่งอาหาร การเข้าถึงอาหาร ราคาอาหารและแบบแผนการบริโภคอาหารของชาวพม่า งานศึกษาพบว่าชาวพม่ามีค่าใช้จ่ายในด้านอาหารคิดเป็น 70 เปอร์เซ็นต์ของรายได้ทั้งหมด (Haggblade: 2013: 41, Shwe Mon Aung and Sukanya Sirikeratikul: 2013: 5) และราคาอาหารก็เพิ่มขึ้นในทุกๆ ปี เช่น ในปี ค.ศ.2008 ราคาเนื้อไก่เพิ่มขึ้นถึง 10 เท่าเมื่อเทียบกับปี ค.ศ.2000

การเปิดเสรีทางการค้าและการลงทุนของต่างชาติในภาคการผลิตทางการเกษตรได้เปลี่ยนแปลงประเภทของอาหารที่ผลิตและการจำหน่ายอาหารทั้งในระดับประเทศและระหว่างประเทศ

เห็นได้จากการส่งเสริมการปลูกมะม่วงและแตงโม โดยนักลงทุนจากประเทศจีน ทำให้การผลิตเปลี่ยนรูปแบบการผลิตขนาดใหญ่ ใช้สารเคมีและปุ๋ยเคมีในกระบวนการผลิต พื้นที่เพาะปลูกซึ่งเดิมเป็นของครอบครัวได้เปลี่ยนเป็นพื้นที่เช่าและครอบครัวได้กลายเป็นแรงงานในพื้นที่ของตนเอง การปลูกมะม่วงและแตงโมเดิมที่ส่งขายในตลาดท้องถิ่นหรือระดับประเทศได้กลายเป็นการเพาะปลูกเพื่อการส่งออก ข้อมูลจากการสัมภาษณ์เจ้าหน้าที่เขตอย่างไม่เป็นทางการพบว่าสวนมะม่วงราว 45 เฮกตาร์ของเมืองมณฑลยี่ได้กลายเป็นพื้นที่เช่าโดยผู้ประกอบการจีน และผลผลิตมะม่วงจำนวนครึ่งหนึ่งถูกส่งเป็นสินค้าส่งออก ดังในปี ค.ศ.2007/2008 ผลผลิตมะม่วงจำนวน 16.7 ล้านตันถูกส่งออกจากเมียนมาร์ไปยังประเทศจีน และเพิ่มขึ้นเป็น 39.9 ล้านตันในปี ค.ศ. 2011/2012 ในทำนองเดียวกันบริษัทและผู้ประกอบการจากประเทศจีนได้ร่วมทุนในการเพาะปลูกแตงโมในพื้นที่ทางใต้ของมณฑลยี่และผลผลิตส่วนใหญ่ถูกส่งออกไปยังประเทศจีนเช่นกัน สิ่งที่สำคัญคือผลผลิตมะม่วงและแตงโมที่ได้มาตรฐานทั้งหมดจะส่งเป็นสินค้าส่งออกจีนผ่านทางด่านชายแดนเมือง Muse ส่วนผลผลิตที่ไม่ได้มาตรฐานจะนำออกวางจำหน่ายในตลาดภายในประเทศ การขยายการลงทุนในการผลิตอาหารดังกล่าวส่งผลไม่เฉพาะต่อการเปลี่ยนแปลงวิถีชีวิตของชาวพม่าที่เป็นเจ้าของที่ดินแต่ยังส่งผลต่อสิทธิและอธิปไตยด้านอาหารรวมทั้ง คุณภาพและราคาของผลผลิตที่จำหน่ายในตลาดท้องถิ่นด้วย

ขณะที่การขยายการลงทุนของจีนในการเพาะปลูกมะม่วงและแตงโมแสดงถึงการเปลี่ยนแปลงในพื้นที่การเพาะปลูก แบบแผนการจ้างแรงงานเพื่อเป้าหมายการส่งออก การลงทุนจากต่างชาติในบางลักษณะได้ทำให้เกิดการเปลี่ยนแปลงในผลิตภัณฑ์อาหารในตลาดท้องถิ่นและส่งผลกระทบต่อบริโภคของชาวพม่า ดังเช่นการลงทุนของบริษัท CP Myanmar Livestock Co. Ltd (CPML) จากประเทศไทย ซึ่งได้เริ่มดำเนินธุรกิจไก่เนื้อและก่อตั้งโรงฟักลูกไก่ในประเทศเมียนมาร์เมื่อประมาณสิบปีที่ผ่านมา ปัจจุบัน CPML ได้ครอบครองตลาดไก่เนื้อของประเทศเมียนมาร์ราว 50 เฮกตาร์ ผู้ประกอบการฟาร์มไก่เนื้อต้องซื้อทั้งลูกไก่และอาหารไก่จาก CPML และหลังจากเลี้ยงไปได้ 45 วัน ผู้ประกอบการสามารถขายไก่เหล่านั้นทั้งหมดให้กับ CPML หรือขายเองในตลาดท้องถิ่น ไก่ที่ผลิตจาก CPML จะมีขนาดใหญ่กว่าไก่พื้นเมืองเดิมที่เลี้ยงปล่อยตามธรรมชาติ แต่ไก่ CPML มีราคาจำหน่ายในท้องตลาดต่ำกว่า ซึ่งส่งผลให้ชาวพม่าหันมาบริโภคไก่เนื้อของ CPML มากขึ้น นอกจากอุตสาหกรรมผลิตไก่เนื้อสดแล้ว ในช่วงระยะเวลาสองสามปีที่ผ่านมา CPML ได้ขยายกิจการจำหน่ายผลิตภัณฑ์อาหารปรุงสำเร็จ เช่น ผลิตภัณฑ์ไก่ทอด ไก่ย่าง รวมถึงไส้กรอกในร้านค้าขนาดเล็กซึ่งเป็นแบรนด์ของตัวเองทั่วเมืองมณฑลยี่และวางจำหน่ายในห้างสรรพสินค้าทั่วไป

การลงทุนในการผลิตไก่เนื้อของ CPML ได้ส่งผลกระทบต่อผลิตไก่ไข่ด้วยเช่นกัน โดยผู้ให้สัมภาษณ์ท่านหนึ่งกล่าวว่าผู้ประกอบการฟาร์มไก่ได้เปลี่ยนแปลงการผลิตของตัวเองจากการเลี้ยงไก่ไข่มาสู่ไก่เนื้อ เนื่องจากใช้ระยะเวลาในการเลี้ยงน้อยกว่า ยิ่งไปกว่านั้น CPML ยังได้นำรูปแบบการเลี้ยงปลาได้ โรงเรือนเลี้ยงไก่เข้าสู่ประเทศเมียนมาร์อีกด้วย

การกลายเป็นเมือง การสูญเสียพื้นที่เพาะปลูก การเปลี่ยนแปลงรูปแบบการทำงานและแหล่งอาหารพื้นถิ่น

ขณะที่การลงทุนจากบริษัทต่างชาติได้เปลี่ยนแปลงประเภทอาหารที่จำหน่ายในตลาดท้องถิ่น การขยายตัวของเมืองมัณฑะเลย์เข้าสู่เขตชนบทส่งผลต่อพื้นที่เกษตรกรรมที่เคยเป็นแหล่งผลิตอาหารท้องถิ่น อัตราการเติบโตของประชากรเมืองในประเทศเมียนมาร์เพิ่มขึ้นจาก 25 เปอร์เซ็นต์ต่อปี มาสู่ 28 เปอร์เซ็นต์ ในปี ค.ศ.2012 และ 33.2 เปอร์เซ็นต์ในปี ค.ศ.2012 ในขณะที่ประชากรในชนบทลดลงจาก 68 เปอร์เซ็นต์ในปี ค.ศ.2010 เป็น 66 เปอร์เซ็นต์ในปี ค.ศ.2013 ความหนาแน่นของประชากรเมืองมัณฑะเลย์ทำให้รัฐต้องย้ายสถานที่ราชการไปสู่พื้นที่รอบนอกที่เคยเป็นพื้นที่ชนบท สำหรับหมู่บ้านโอบอที่เป็นหมู่บ้านที่ทำการศึกษาวิจัยนี้มีสถานที่ราชการ 4 แห่งที่ได้ย้ายมาก่อตั้งเมื่อไม่นานมานี้ กล่าวคือ 1) สถาบันการแพทย์พื้นบ้าน (The Institute of Traditional Medicine) ในปี ค.ศ.1976 2) เรือนจำมัณฑะเลย์ (Mandalay Prison) ปี ค.ศ.1990 3) มหาวิทยาลัยเทคโนโลยีมัณฑะเลย์ (Mandalay Technological University) ปี ค.ศ.1991 และ 4) มหาวิทยาลัยการแพทย์พื้นบ้านมัณฑะเลย์ (University of Traditional Medicine) ในปี ค.ศ.2003 การย้ายสถานที่ราชการทั้ง 4 แห่งนี้ต้องการพื้นที่เป็นจำนวนมากเพื่อเป็นที่ตั้งอาคารสำนักงานรวมทั้งแหล่งที่พักอาศัยของพนักงานเจ้าหน้าที่ พื้นที่เกษตรกรรมรอบนอกจำนวนมากจึงถูกปรับเป็นสถานที่ราชการเหล่านี้ ประกอบกับการขยายตัวของเมืองมัณฑะเลย์ได้ทำให้ผู้คนอพยพเข้ามาอยู่ในพื้นที่รอบนอกมากขึ้นเพื่อสะดวกในการเดินทางเข้าไปค้าขายหรือทำงาน ราคาของที่ดินได้ปรับตัวสูงขึ้นและเขตพื้นที่พักอาศัยเริ่มหนาแน่นมากขึ้นเรื่อยๆ ในขณะที่พื้นที่เกษตรเริ่มลดน้อยหายไป

ข้อมูลจากการสัมภาษณ์ได้แสดงให้เห็นว่าการโยกย้ายสถานที่ราชการ ทำให้พื้นที่เพาะปลูกตลอดจนการเลี้ยงสัตว์ เช่น ไก่ และวัวในพื้นที่ลดลงและบางแห่งต้องยกเลิกไป ขณะเดียวกันการอพยพของผู้คนเข้ามาอยู่ในพื้นที่ทำให้เกิดความแออัดมากขึ้นส่งผลต่อแหล่งผลิตอาหารทั้งการปลูกข้าว การปลูกพืชระยะสั้น การเลี้ยงไก่พื้นเมืองที่ไม่สามารถเลี้ยงปล่อยตามธรรมชาติในพื้นที่บริเวณบ้านอีกต่อไป ราคาที่ดินที่เพิ่มสูงขึ้นและการไม่สามารถทำการเกษตรได้ ส่งผลให้ชาวบ้านในชุมชนเริ่มขายที่ดินของตนเองให้คนมาใหม่และย้ายตัวเองออกไปอยู่ในพื้นที่ที่ไกลออกไป หมู่บ้านโอบอจึงเปลี่ยนจากชุมชนที่เคยปลูกข้าวมาสู่ชุมชนที่ประกอบอาชีพรับจ้าง ผู้มีเงินออมจะทำการค้าขายและประกอบธุรกิจเล็กๆน้อยๆส่งขายในเมือง เช่น ธุรกิจการทำเต้าหู้ถั่วเหลือง การทำเฟอร์นิเจอร์ไม้ ร้านรับทำเครื่องเงิน-ทอง ร้านทำอิฐก่อสร้าง ร้านตัดเสื้อ ร้านขายของชำ และร้านน้ำชา ชาวบ้านในหมู่บ้านโอบอ

เริ่มซื้อผักสดและเนื้อสัตว์ที่มีพ่อค้านำมาจำหน่ายที่ตลาดรวมทั้งความจำเป็นต้องซื้อข้าว ซึ่งเป็นอาหารหลักของครอบครัวจากแต่เดิมที่ครัวเรือนปลูกข้าวเพื่อการบริโภคเองได้ตลอดทั้งปี

การเปลี่ยนแปลงแบบแผนการประกอบอาชีพรวมทั้งการต้องซื้อข้าวเพื่อการบริโภคในครัวเรือน ส่งผลต่อการเปลี่ยนแปลงแบบแผนการบริโภคอาหารเข้าของครัวเรือน ผู้ให้สัมภาษณ์กล่าวกับผู้วิจัยว่า ในปัจจุบันพวกเขาทานอาหารเข้าที่ร้านน้ำชาซึ่งสอดคล้องกับวิถีชีวิตและรูปแบบการทำงานของพวกเขานอกจากนั้นอาหารเข้าที่ร้านน้ำชามีราคาถูก และเป็นที่น่าสังเกตว่า ผู้สูงอายุบริโภคและของทอดที่ลูกหลานซื้อมาให้จากร้านน้ำชาทุกเช้าเช่นกัน

พื้นที่ และการผสมผสานวัฒนธรรมอาหารในร้านน้ำชา

ร้านน้ำชาได้เป็นเพียงพื้นที่ที่ชาวพม่าบริโภคอาหารเท่านั้น หากเป็นพื้นที่ของการปฏิสัมพันธ์ทางสังคมและการดำเนินการทางเศรษฐกิจการเปลี่ยนแปลงวิถีชีวิตแบบเมืองและแบบแผนการทำงาน แม้ส่งผลต่อการพัฒนาความเป็นปัจเจก หากร้านน้ำชาสะท้อนความเป็นชุมชนที่มีลักษณะร่วม เป็นพื้นที่ของการสร้างและพัฒนาเครือข่ายเพื่อการดำเนินการทางสังคมและเศรษฐกิจ นอกจากนั้นอาหารต่างๆที่จำหน่ายในร้านน้ำชาสะท้อนการผสมผสานทางวัฒนธรรมในสังคมพม่าที่มีรากฐานทางประวัติศาสตร์มาอย่างยาวนาน โดยเฉพาะอิทธิพลของอาหารอินเดียและจีนที่มีต่อการปรุงอาหารแบบพม่า

พม่าได้รับอิทธิพลจากจีนในการดื่มชาและมีการปลูกชาในแถบรัฐฉานซึ่งอยู่ทางตะวันตกเฉียงเหนือของประเทศ การดื่มชาร้อนแบบจีนได้แพร่หลายไปในพื้นที่ต่างๆของพม่ารวมทั้งมณฑลเย่โดยพ่อค้าไทใหญ่และจีนจากรัฐฉานที่เดินทางค้าขายสินค้าระหว่างเมืองท่าชายแดนพม่า-จีนกับเมืองชั้นในต่างๆของพม่าและมักจะมีการตั้งร้านน้ำชาตามจุดพักสินค้าและตลาดขายสินค้า ปัจจุบันการดื่มชาร้อนแบบจีนยังพบได้ในทุกครัวเรือนทั้งในเมืองและในชนบท

การดื่มชาผสมนมและน้ำตาลในพม่าได้รับอิทธิพลจากอังกฤษและทหารอินเดียในช่วงที่พม่าตกอยู่ในอาณานิคมของอังกฤษ เจ้าของร้านน้ำชาในยุคนั้นเกือบทั้งหมดเป็นชาวอินเดีย และมีชาวพม่า ชาวจีนที่เป็นเจ้าของร้านน้ำชาบ้างแต่เป็นจำนวนน้อย นอกจากชาร้อน (ชาแบบอังกฤษ ใส่นมและน้ำตาล) ที่จำหน่ายแล้ว ร้านน้ำชาเหล่านี้จะจำหน่ายของทอดลักษณะต่างๆ ปัจจุบันร้านน้ำชาใหญ่ในเมืองจะมีของทอดและอาหารหลายอย่าง ในขณะที่ร้านน้ำชาในหมู่บ้านจะมีของทอดน้อยกว่าและไม่ขายอาหาร ของทอดและอาหารต่างๆที่ขายในร้านน้ำชาสะท้อนอิทธิพลของวัฒนธรรมอินเดียและจีน เช่น จาปาตี หัสสะยาซึ่งเป็นอาหารแบบอินเดีย ส่วนอิทธิพลของวัฒนธรรมจีนเช่น ปาท่องโก๋ และของนึ่งต่างๆ

รวมทั้งขนมปัง ขนมเค้กและขนมปังกรอบซึ่งได้รับอิทธิพลจากอังกฤษ นอกจากนี้ยังมีอาหารชาติพันธุ์ต่างๆที่เลิฟในร้านน้ำชา อาทิ อาหารฉวน อาหารคะฉิ่น

การเก็บข้อมูลพบการผสมผสานของวัฒนธรรมอาหารและการทำอาหารที่เคยเป็นอาหารจีนดั้งเดิมนั้นมีการดัดแปลงให้เข้ากับรสนิยมแบบพม่า และทำให้อาหารนั้นกลายเป็นอาหารท้องถิ่นพม่าที่สามารถพบได้ทั้งในร้านน้ำชาเขตเมืองและชนบท ตัวอย่างเช่น เปา-ซี่-จ้อ หรือ แป้งทอดมีลักษณะกลมด้านในมีไส้มะพร้าวอ่อนหั่นละเอียดเป็นฝอยคลุกกับน้ำตาลทรายขาว การเปิดประเทศ การขยายตัวของธุรกิจการท่องเที่ยวและการลงทุนจากต่างชาติตั้งแต่ปี ค.ศ.2011 ได้ก่อให้เกิดความหลากหลายของอาหารและอาหารว่างที่จำหน่ายในร้านน้ำชาเพิ่มขึ้น เช่น เครป อาหารว่างแบบไทย ที่ปัจจุบันมีจำหน่ายในร้านน้ำชา

การกลายเป็นเมืองและการเปลี่ยนแปลงแบบแผนการทำงาน รวมทั้งการสูญเสียที่ดินเพื่อการเพาะปลูกส่งผลให้ผู้คนจากชนบทย้ายเข้าสู่เมือง ร้านน้ำชาจึงไม่ได้เป็นเพียงพื้นที่ให้บริการอาหารเพื่อตอบสนองความต้องการทางกายภาพแต่ผู้คนที่ทั้งในเมืองและชนบทใช้ร้านน้ำชาเพื่อการเจรจา แลกเปลี่ยน คำขายสินค้า รวมทั้งเป็นพื้นที่ในการพบปะแขกหรือ ผู้มาเยี่ยมเยียนและญาติพี่น้องจากต่างพื้นที่ ร้านน้ำชาในปัจจุบันจึงเป็นพื้นที่ทางสังคมและเศรษฐกิจ

การขยายตัวของธุรกิจการท่องเที่ยวส่งผลต่อการพัฒนาความทันสมัยของร้านน้ำชาในพม่าด้วยเช่นกัน โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่งการบริการ อาหาร ภาชนะอุปกรณ์และการบริหารจัดการร้าน ร้านน้ำชาในเมืองใหญ่มีบริการทั้งอาหารท้องถิ่นและอาหารต่างชาติที่นำเข้า ความแตกต่างสำคัญที่พบระหว่างร้านน้ำชาในเมืองและในชนบทคือจำนวนและความหลากหลายของอาหาร ภาชนะที่ใช้ และเวลาที่เปิดบริการ ร้านน้ำชาในเมืองมีความหลากหลายของอาหารมากกว่าและใช้ภาชนะเซรามิค ขณะที่บางร้านในเมืองเปิดบริการตลอด 24 ชั่วโมง ส่วนร้านน้ำชาในชนบทโดยทั่วไปจะมีของทอดและอาหารไม่กี่ชนิด และใช้จานพลาสติกบรรจุอาหาร พร้อมทั้งแก้วชาเซรามิคขนาดเล็ก โดยที่จะเปิดให้บริการตั้งแต่เช้าตรู่จนถึงบ่าย ขณะที่อาหารและอาหารว่างจะมีขายแค่เพียงในช่วงเช้าเท่านั้น

ในอดีตร้านน้ำชาในพม่านั้นจะพบเห็นผู้หญิงเข้าไปนั่งบริโภคโดยลำพังน้อยมากโดยเฉพาะร้านน้ำชาในชนบท Mi Mi Khaing (1984: 21) ได้กล่าวถึงเหตุผลของประเด็นนี้ว่าเป็นเพราะผู้หญิงพม่ามีหน้าที่รับผิดชอบกิจกรรมในครอบครัว ไม่ว่าจะเป็นการเตรียม หรือการปรุงอาหารสำหรับทุกคนในครอบครัว ด้วยเหตุผลนี้ผู้หญิงจึงทำหน้าที่จ่ายตลาดในตอนเช้าเป็นประจำทุกวันเพื่อซื้อเนื้อสัตว์และผักสด ดังนั้นร้านน้ำชาจึงไม่สอดคล้องกับวิถีชีวิตของผู้หญิงพม่า โดยมากผู้หญิงจะซื้อน้ำชาจากร้านในหมู่บ้านและไปนั่งดื่มกับเพื่อนฝูงที่ไถ่ร่มไม้หรือที่ร้านอาหารเล็กๆ ในชุมชน พื้นที่สำหรับผู้หญิงพม่าจึงเป็นพื้นที่ที่มีความเป็นสาธารณะมากเพื่อให้สอดคล้องกับกิจวัตรประจำวัน เช่น ร้านอาหารหรือร้านก๋วยเตี๋ยวเล็กๆ ในตลาดเป็นพื้นที่ได้รับความนิยมในการพบปะพูดคุยกันของผู้หญิงเมื่อมาซื้ออาหารเย็น

สำหรับครอบครัว ปัจจุบันผู้หญิงเข้าไปบริโภคในร้านน้ำชามากขึ้นและมักจะไปเป็นกลุ่มหรือไปกับครอบครัว

การกลายเป็นเมืองและการบริโภคอาหาร

ข้าวเป็นอาหารจานหลักของคนพม่า ผู้ให้สัมภาษณ์ทั้ง 36 คน รับประทานข้าวในมื้อกลางวันและเย็น ส่วนมื้อเช้าจะรับประทานอาหารเบาๆ โดยผู้หญิงและเด็กมักจะทานขนมจีนพม่า (Mohinga) จากร้านค้าข้างทาง ขณะที่ผู้ชายจะดื่มชาและอาหารว่างเล็กน้อยที่ร้านน้ำชา ผู้หญิงซึ่งส่วนมากจะเป็นภรรยา ลูกสาวหรือลูกสะใภ้คนโตมีหน้าที่หลักในการประกอบอาหารสำหรับครอบครัว วัตถุประสงค์ที่ใช้เพื่อประกอบอาหารจะหาได้จากตลาดประจำหมู่บ้านซึ่งจะมีการจับจ่ายทุกเช้า การประกอบอาหารมักจะทำในตอนสายหลังจากการจับจ่ายวัตถุดิบจากตลาดและจะทำการประกอบอาหารครั้งเดียวในแต่ละวัน โดยแบ่งอาหารที่ประกอบแล้วออกเป็น 2 ส่วนเพื่อเป็นอาหารกลางวันและเย็น สมาชิกในครอบครัวที่ทำงานหรือเรียนในสถานที่ไกลบ้านพักจะนำอาหารที่ประกอบเสร็จแล้วไปเป็นอาหารกลางวันด้วย ส่วนอาหารเย็นนั้นสมาชิกในครอบครัวส่วนมากจะกลับมารับประทานพร้อมกัน อย่างไรก็ตามก็เป็นที่น่าสังเกตว่า ครอบครัวจำนวนหนึ่งที่ไม่ได้รับประทานอาหารมื้อเย็นพร้อมกันตามแบบแผนที่เคยทำมาเนื่องจากลักษณะการทำงานที่เปลี่ยนไป สมาชิกที่เลิกงานและกลับมาถึงที่พักสามารถบริโภคอาหารมื้อเย็นที่ประกอบเสร็จแล้วได้และผู้หญิงและเด็กก็สามารถรับประทานมื้อเย็นนี้ได้ก่อนสามีหรือพ่อที่เป็นหัวหน้าครอบครัว แต่อย่างไรก็ตามครอบครัวที่มีผู้สูงอายุอยู่ด้วยนั้น ผู้สูงอายุจะบริโภคอาหารก่อนสมาชิกคนอื่นๆ

การกลายเป็นเมืองส่งผลกระทบต่อกระบวนการเปลี่ยนแปลงภาชนะในการประกอบอาหาร และเครื่องปรุงที่วางจำหน่ายในตลาด รวมถึงชนิดของเนื้อสัตว์และผักที่ผู้คนสามารถซื้อหาเพื่อการบริโภค อุปกรณ์ในการประกอบอาหารสมัยใหม่ อาทิ หม้อหุงข้าวไฟฟ้า กระทะไฟฟ้า และกระติกน้ำร้อนถูกนำมาใช้มากขึ้นในปัจจุบัน เนื่องจากมีไฟฟ้าเข้าสู่ชุมชนและกระแสไฟฟ้ามีความเสถียรมากขึ้นจากในอดีตที่มักจะดับอยู่บ่อยครั้ง

ในส่วนสถานที่ประกอบอาหารนั้น ผู้ให้สัมภาษณ์ที่มีสถานภาพทางเศรษฐกิจที่ดี จะมีห้องครัวในการประกอบอาหารซึ่งปกติจะตั้งอยู่ที่ชั้นล่างของบ้านหรือแยกออกมาเป็นสัดส่วนแต่เชื่อมกับตัวบ้าน ส่วนครอบครัวที่มีสถานภาพทางเศรษฐกิจจะมีเพียงเตาที่แสดงถึงพื้นที่ประกอบอาหารอยู่ที่มุมใดมุมหนึ่งภายนอกตัวเรือน ครอบครัวเหล่านี้มักใช้พื้นเป็นเชื้อเพลิงในการประกอบอาหาร ในขณะที่ครอบครัวที่มีฐานะทางเศรษฐกิจปานกลางและสูงจะใช้เตาไฟฟ้า หม้อหุงข้าวไฟฟ้า แต่อย่างไรก็ดี ในทุกครอบครัวจะมีเตาที่ใช้ไม้เป็นเชื้อเพลิงเพื่อสำรองไว้ในขณะที่ไม่มีกระแสไฟฟ้า การใช้แก๊สเป็นเชื้อเพลิงในการประกอบอาหารไม่ปรากฏในชุมชนที่ศึกษาเนื่องจากประวัติศาสตร์เมืองมณฑลพะเย่เกิดไฟไหม้ใหญ่ที่ทำให้ผู้คนมีความหวาดกลัวจากการระเบิดของถังแก๊สหากเอาเข้ามาใช้ในครัวเรือน

ดังที่กล่าวมาแล้วผู้หญิงจะมีหน้าที่ประกอบอาหาร โดยส่วนมากเรียนรู้การประกอบอาหารจากแม่หรือแม่สามี การประกอบอาหารในครอบครัวที่มีสถานะทางเศรษฐกิจต่ำจะมีเมนูอาหารน้อยอย่าง และใช้เวลาในการประกอบอาหารน้อย โดยเมนูหลักของครอบครัวที่มีฐานะทางเศรษฐกิจต่ำจะประกอบไปด้วยอาหารเพียง 2 อย่าง คือ แกงเผ็ด และแกงจืด ในขณะที่ครอบครัวที่มีฐานะทางเศรษฐกิจดีจะมีเมนูอาหาร 3 อย่าง คือแกงเผ็ด ผัดผัก และแกงจืด ในส่วนเครื่องปรุงรสสมัยใหม่ เช่น อายิโนะโมะโตะ คนอร์ น้ำปลา และกะปิจากประเทศไทย เป็นสิ่งที่พบเห็นได้ในครัวของผู้มีสถานะทางเศรษฐกิจที่ดี โดยที่ครัวเรือนที่มีสถานภาพทางเศรษฐกิจที่ต่ำกว่ามักใช้เครื่องปรุงรสที่ผลิตในประเทศ หรือนำเข้าจากจีนซึ่งมีราคาถูกกว่า

ในครัวเรือนที่ทำการศึกษาคูครอบครัวไม่มีโต๊ะรับประทานอาหาร สำหรับครอบครัวที่มีฐานะดีอาหารจะถูกจัดวางไว้ที่โต๊ะกลมเดี่ยวๆ หรือวางไว้บนโต๊ะในครัวที่ซึ่งทุกคนไปทานอาหารร่วมกันที่นั่น ในขณะที่สมาชิกในครอบครัวที่มีฐานะทางเศรษฐกิจไม่ดีจะตักแบ่งอาหารที่ประกอบเสร็จแล้วใส่จานหรือชามและนำไปรับประทานในมุมใดมุมหนึ่งในหรือนอกตัวบ้าน บางครอบครัวใช้เตียงนอนเป็นที่นั่งในระหว่างวันและเป็นที่นั่งรับประทานอาหารด้วยเช่นกัน สำหรับภานะใส่ข้าวเพื่อรับประทานนั้น ทั้งครอบครัวที่มีฐานะเศรษฐกิจดีและต่ำจะใช้ จานหรือชามอลูมิเนียมสำหรับใส่ข้าว ส่วนแกงและอาหารอื่นๆ จะเสิร์ฟในภาชนะเซรามิคและมีช้อนอลูมิเนียมเล็กๆ วางอยู่ด้วย ขณะที่จานเซรามิคจะถูกนำมาใช้ใส่ข้าวเมื่อมีแขกมาร่วมรับประทานอาหารด้วย การรับประทานอาหารในครอบครัวส่วนใหญ่โดยเฉพาะครอบครัวที่มีฐานะทางเศรษฐกิจต่ำใช้มือและจะใช้ช้อนส้อมเมื่อไปรับประทานอาหารนอกบ้าน

การขยายตัวของธุรกิจการท่องเที่ยวได้ส่งผลต่อแบบแผนการบริโภคอาหาร ประเภทอาหาร และเครื่องปรุงรสอาหาร ภาชนะบรรจุอาหาร คุณภาพ และราคาของอาหารในตลาดท้องถิ่น อาหารนำเข้าและการขยายตัวของธุรกิจร้านอาหาร ภัตตาคารเพื่อตอบสนองต่อจำนวนนักท่องเที่ยวที่เพิ่มสูงขึ้นทำให้ชนชั้นกลางและผู้มีฐานะทางเศรษฐกิจดีมีทางเลือกในการบริโภคอาหารได้หลากหลายชนิดขึ้น อย่างไรก็ตามการกลายเป็นเมืองได้ส่งผลต่อแบบแผนชีวิตและการทำงานของผู้คนและส่งผลให้เกิดการบริโภคอาหารนอกบ้านมากขึ้น นอกจากนั้นอาหารที่พร้อมสำหรับการประกอบ อาหารสำเร็จรูปและวัตถุดิบที่ใช้ประกอบอาหารสำเร็จรูป เช่น เครื่องแกง มีจำหน่ายมากขึ้นในห้างสรรพสินค้าและร้านขายสินค้าอาหารขนาดใหญ่ในเมือง การเปลี่ยนแปลงแบบแผนการประกอบและบริโภคอาหารสะท้อนความเปลี่ยนแปลงของสังคมเมืองซึ่งให้ความสำคัญกับเวลา และความสะดวก อย่างไรก็ตามแม้การรับประทานอาหารปรุงสำเร็จนอกบ้านจะเพิ่มสูงขึ้นแต่ครอบครัวที่มีฐานะยากจนในชุมชนที่ศึกษาเลือกบริโภคอาหารที่ประกอบเองที่บ้านเนื่องจากข้อจำกัดทางเศรษฐกิจที่ทำให้ไม่สามารถบริโภคอาหารที่ปรุงสำเร็จที่จำหน่ายอยู่ในเมืองได้

สรุปและข้อเสนอแนะ

1. การเปิดเสรีทางการค้าส่งผลให้มีการนำเข้าอาหาร อาหารว่าง และเครื่องปรุงรสเพิ่มขึ้นเป็นจำนวนมาก สินค้าและผลิตภัณฑ์อาหารนำเข้าจำนวนหนึ่งเป็นสินค้าที่ส่งผลกระทบต่อสุขภาพ สินค้าที่ส่งผลกระทบต่อสุขภาพส่วนมากจะมีราคาถูกและวางจำหน่ายแพร่หลายในร้านค้าในชุมชนและบางส่วนได้จำหน่ายในร้านค้าของสถานศึกษา ปัจจุบันกลุ่มผู้บริโภคได้รวมตัวกันจัดตั้งองค์กรคุ้มครองผู้บริโภคเพื่อทำการเผยแพร่ข้อมูลของอาหารและผลิตภัณฑ์ต่างๆที่ส่งผลกระทบต่อสุขภาพ เนื่องจากการดำเนินการควบคุมสินค้าที่มีผลต่อสุขภาพจากภาครัฐยังไม่สามารถทำได้เต็มที่และครอบคลุม อย่างไรก็ตามแม้ชาวพม่าจะนิยมสินค้าจากไทยและรับรู้ว่าคุณภาพสินค้าจากไทยมีคุณภาพและมาตรฐานดีกว่าสินค้านำเข้าจากจีน แต่ในปีที่ผ่านมาสินค้าที่นำเข้าจากประเทศไทย เช่นสินค้าเครื่องสำอาง 9 รายการได้ถูกระบุว่ามีผลเสียต่อสุขภาพ ดังนั้น ผู้ส่งออกสินค้าไทยควรให้ความสำคัญในมาตรฐานความปลอดภัยของสินค้าเพื่อการรักษาความเชื่อมั่นของผู้บริโภคชาวพม่าและรักษาตลาดสินค้า

2. การเปลี่ยนแปลงแผนการทำงานและการดำรงชีวิตเป็นแบบเมืองส่งผลให้ชาวพม่าบริโภคอาหารปรุงสำเร็จนอกบ้านรวมทั้งอาหารพร้อมเสิร์ฟ (fast food) เพิ่มขึ้น การศึกษานี้พบว่าชาวพม่าที่อาศัยอยู่ในเมืองและพื้นที่รอบนอกส่วนใหญ่บริโภคอาหารเข้าที่ร้านน้ำชาหรือร้านขายอาหารเคลื่อนที่ นอกจากนี้ยังมีนักเรียน พนักงานออฟฟิศ แรงงานที่ทำงานในภาคอุตสาหกรรมและภาคบริการ/การท่องเที่ยวที่ย้ายเข้ามาสู่ตัวเมืองมณฑลยะลาเพิ่มขึ้น จำนวนห้องเช่าเพิ่มจำนวนมากขึ้น ส่งผลต่อการเพิ่มจำนวนร้านขายอาหารปรุงสำเร็จและร้านขายอาหารพร้อมเสิร์ฟเคลื่อนที่ ร้านขายอาหารเหล่านี้มีหลายประเภทเพื่อตอบสนองตามความต้องการของผู้บริโภคที่มีฐานะทางเศรษฐกิจต่างกัน การสำรวจแหล่งขายอาหารปรุงสำเร็จและลักษณะอาหารที่จำหน่ายจึงเป็นฐานข้อมูลที่สำคัญเพื่อพัฒนาแนวทางการส่งเสริมความปลอดภัยลดความเสี่ยงทางด้านสุขภาพแก่ผู้บริโภค นอกจากนั้นยังสามารถใช้ข้อมูลนี้สำรวจดังกล่าวประเมินความต้องการสินค้าและผลิตภัณฑ์อาหารขึ้นต้นเพื่อดำเนินโครงการสนับสนุนแหล่งผลิตอาหารในประเทศหรือประเมินปริมาณและประเภทสินค้าและผลิตภัณฑ์อาหารที่จำเป็นต้องนำเข้า

3. การขยายตัวของเมืองและการเปลี่ยนแปลงในอุตสาหกรรมเกษตรส่งผลต่อการลดลงของพื้นที่เกษตรและแหล่งอาหารของครัวเรือนในพื้นที่การศึกษา นอกจากนั้นการขยายการลงทุนจากต่างชาติในด้านอุตสาหกรรมเกษตรและอุตสาหกรรมประเภทอื่นๆ ส่งผลต่อจำนวนการถือครองที่ดินของครัวเรือนที่ลดลงและการสูญเสียแหล่งอาหารที่มีแนวโน้มจะเพิ่มมากขึ้น การส่งเสริมการเกษตรเพื่อการส่งออกทำให้ปริมาณอาหารท้องถิ่นลดลงในขณะที่ราคาอาหารเพิ่มสูงขึ้น สถานการณ์เช่นนี้ส่งผลกระทบต่อความมั่นคงของอาหารโดยเฉพาะผู้มีฐานะทางเศรษฐกิจต่ำจะเป็นผู้ได้รับผลกระทบที่รุนแรงและได้รับผลก่อนกลุ่มอื่นๆ ยิ่งในบริบทที่รัฐยังไม่สามารถจัดระบบสวัสดิการสังคมได้อย่างครอบคลุมและ

เพียงพอแก่คนในประเทศ การดำเนินการของภาคเอกชนและองค์กรระหว่างประเทศเพื่อช่วยเหลือจึงยังมีความจำเป็น

4. อุตสาหกรรมอาหารพม่าได้รับการพัฒนาน้อยมากในช่วงที่ผ่านมาและพม่ายังมีความต้องการความช่วยเหลือในการพัฒนาเทคโนโลยีการผลิตอาหาร เช่น น้ำปลา กะปิซึ่งเป็นเครื่องปรุงรสจำเป็นในครัวเรือนก็ยังมีคุณภาพต่ำ ทำให้ต้องพึ่งพาสินค้านำเข้าและทำให้เกิดการจำกัดการเข้าถึงสินค้าที่มีคุณภาพ เนื่องจากสินค้านำเข้าเหล่านี้จะมีราคาสูง

5. การบริโภคอาหารปรุงสำเร็จ/อาหารพร้อมเสิร์ฟนอกบ้านที่เพิ่มสูงขึ้นในขณะที่บุคคลมีวิถีการดำเนินชีวิตเปลี่ยนแปลงไปส่งผลต่อความเสี่ยงในการเกิดความเจ็บป่วยที่เกิดจากการบริโภคอาหารมากขึ้น เช่น ภาวะอ้วนลงพุงเป็นพิษเนื่องจากการบริโภคอาหารที่ไม่สะอาด และโรคเรื้อรังอื่นๆ เช่น ความดันโลหิตสูง หัวใจ ซึ่งสัมพันธ์กับการบริโภคอาหารมันและอาหารที่ใส่เครื่องปรุงรส (ผงชูรส) และมีแนวโน้มของจำนวนผู้ป่วยโรคดังกล่าวเพิ่มสูงขึ้นซึ่งเป็นประเด็นที่ควรศึกษาเพิ่มเติมต่อไป

6. การศึกษานี้พบว่า การรับประทานอาหารมือเย็นด้วยกันในสมาชิกครอบครัวนั้นมีแนวโน้มลดลง สะท้อนแบบแผนความสัมพันธ์ในครอบครัวที่เปลี่ยนไปอันเนื่องมาจากการเปลี่ยนแปลงแบบแผนการดำเนินชีวิตและการทำงาน ซึ่งลักษณะดังกล่าวพบมากในครอบครัวชนชั้นกลางและครอบครัวที่มีฐานะทางเศรษฐกิจต่ำ การศึกษาลักษณะการใช้เวลาและแบบแผนความสัมพันธ์ของครอบครัวในสังคมสมัยใหม่เป็นประเด็นที่น่าสนใจในการศึกษาเพิ่มเติม

7. การโฆษณาสินค้าเป็นปัจจัยสำคัญในการให้ข้อมูลเพื่อการเลือกสินค้าของผู้บริโภค ปัจจุบันการเข้าถึงอินเทอร์เน็ตที่ครอบคลุมมากขึ้นทำให้ชาวพม่ารับรู้ข่าวสารได้เร็วขึ้น ทำให้สินค้าอาหารร้านอาหารบางชนิดกลายเป็นอาหารที่แสดงถึงความทันสมัย เช่น ร้านอาหารโดนัท เบเกอรี่ เคเอฟซี ซึ่งส่งผลต่อการเปลี่ยนแปลงพฤติกรรมบริโภคและพฤติกรรมทางสังคมโดยเฉพาะในกลุ่มวัยรุ่น ในบริบทที่เมียนมาร์มีการเปิดเสรีทางข้อมูลข่าวสารมากขึ้น อิทธิพลของสื่อโฆษณาที่มีผลต่อการเปลี่ยนแปลงพฤติกรรมรวมทั้งค่านิยมต่างๆ ย่อมมีมากขึ้น และควรตระหนักถึงผลกระทบทั้งทางบวกและลบที่อาจเกิดขึ้นอันเนื่องมาจากอิทธิพลของสื่อโฆษณา

Abstract

This study examines the impacts of modernization in Myanmar on food sources and food consumption patterns in the country and in particular, the effects of industrialization and urbanization. The types of food consumed and the socio-economic factors related to food consumption among families are also examined. This eighteen month study; running from January 2013 to July 2014, was conducted in a community located in a peri-urban area of Mandalay city, in the upper-central region of Myanmar. Thirty six people, mostly women of different economic statuses and occupations, and living within different family structures, were interviewed in their own homes about the types of food they buy, cook and eat within the family. The interviews were conducted in English, with translation into Burmese provided by very effective local translators. As well as the interviews, tea and food shops, and restaurants, were also observed and their owners interviewed. Statistical data about food sources and food production patterns in the study area was also collected, and some key people within the food production chain, such as the owners of and workers at chicken farms and retailers, were also interviewed.

The consumption of food is not simply the result of biological forces; what we eat, and when and where we eat it, as well as who we eat with, are socially and culturally shaped, and are also affected by the political, economic and environmental conditions within which we live. The rapid modernization and urbanization that has taken place in Myanmar over recent years has affected, not only people's lives, but also their work and food consumption patterns. The results of this study illustrate the effects agricultural changes have had on food production activities, such as the rise of large-scale chicken, mango and water melon farms, in turn impacting upon what food product types people have access to, and their prices. The expansion of the Mandalay urban area into the study village has reduced the amount of land held by rural people, and as such has had an impact on their occupations and family food sources. Changes in occupations, and the move towards an urban way of life, have made the issues of time and convenience crucial, and increased the levels of complexity in people's lives. Though eating food at tea shops has occurred since British colonial times, it has increased in recent years along with the urbanization of Mandalay, and the variety of foods provided at the tea shops illustrates the hybridity of Myanmar's food culture.

Modernization has also manifested itself in terms of the use of modern utensils and cooking ingredients, both in the households and in the tea and food shops. All the study households said they cook lunch and dinner for their family meals, though most said they only eat dinner together; breakfast and lunch are eaten separately. There is little difference among the higher and lower income earning families in terms of the ways they prepare, cook and eat food. The only slightly difference found was that the higher income earning households eat more meat and normally eat three dishes for dinner, while the poor households generally eat only two dishes for dinner and also less meat. Imported seasoning and sauces from Thailand are perceived as tastier and of a higher quality when compared to the Myanmar and China versions; however, very few households in the study community use them, as the price of imported Thai products is higher than those made locally. Infrastructure developments, and especially the introduction of a mains electricity supply, have given

people greater access to information, as well as the ability to use electric rice cookers and pans, and boiled water.

Data from this study suggests that an urgent review of the quality of food consumed in the study area should take place, as most people eat food sourced from outside the home. Some imported foods contain high levels of chemicals, and this issue should be monitored and controlled, as some of these products are of a very low price and so highly accessible to rich and poor families alike. Policies aimed at supporting the local agriculture industry and tourism industries, as well as more studies into the impacts on local urban and rural people of the effects of the changes highlighted in this paper, should be conducted and a strategic plan developed and published.

บทคัดย่อ

การศึกษาแบบแผนการบริโภคอาหารในบริบทการเปลี่ยนแปลงสู่ความทันสมัยของเมียนมาร์นี้ เน้นศึกษาผลกระทบของการพัฒนาอุตสาหกรรมและความเป็นเมืองต่อการเปลี่ยนแปลงแหล่งอาหาร ประเภทและแบบแผนการบริโภคอาหารของบุคคล การศึกษานี้เลือกเก็บข้อมูลในพื้นที่เขตเมือง มัณฑะเลย์ โดยทำการสัมภาษณ์บุคคล จำนวน ๓๖ คนที่มีฐานะทางเศรษฐกิจต่างกันเกี่ยวกับแหล่งอาหาร ประเภท การประกอบอาหารและแบบแผนการบริโภคอาหารของครอบครัว บุคคลเหล่านี้อาศัยอยู่ในชุมชนอันเป็นที่ตั้งเมือง การดำเนินการสัมภาษณ์กระทำที่บ้านพักของแต่ละบุคคลและดำเนินการสัมภาษณ์ผ่านล่ามชาวพม่า นอกจากนี้ ยังทำการศึกษาแหล่งอาหารและแบบแผนการบริโภคอาหารของผู้อยู่อาศัยในเมืองโดยการสัมภาษณ์ผู้ประกอบการร้านค้า ร้านอาหาร และร้านค้าในชุมชนเมือง รวมทั้งผู้ประกอบการฟาร์มเลี้ยงไก่เพื่อทำความเข้าใจผลกระทบของอุตสาหกรรมเกษตร และความเป็นเมืองต่อการเปลี่ยนแปลงวิถีชีวิต อาชีพและแบบแผนการบริโภคอาหารของบุคคล

การบริโภคอาหารไม่เพียงแต่เป็นการตอบสนองทางชีววิทยาของบุคคลเท่านั้น หากเป็นกระบวนการทางสังคม การเลือกประเภทอาหาร วิธีการบริโภค เวลาและบุคคลที่บริโภคอาหารร่วมด้วยถูกกำหนดโดยเงื่อนไขทางสังคม วัฒนธรรม เศรษฐกิจ และสิ่งแวดล้อมทั้งในระดับบุคคลและในระดับโครงสร้างสังคม การขยายตัวของพื้นที่เขตเมืองและการเปลี่ยนแปลงแบบแผนการผลิตทางการเกษตรเป็นแบบอุตสาหกรรม เช่น อุตสาหกรรมการเลี้ยงไก่เนื้อ การปลูกมะม่วงและแตงโมส่งผลต่อแหล่งอาหารธรรมชาติรวมทั้งประเภทและแบบแผนการบริโภคอาหารของบุคคลในชุมชน การลดลงของพื้นที่ปลูกข้าว การจำต้องเปลี่ยนอาชีพของชาวนาไปสู่การรับจ้างและการประกอบการธุรกิจร้านค้าเล็กๆในชุมชน รวมทั้งการอพยพของคนจากต่างพื้นที่เข้ามาพำนักในชุมชนมากขึ้นทำให้การบริโภคอาหารเข้าที่ร้านน้ำชามีความสะดวกและประหยัดกว่าการบริโภคข้าวตามแบบเดิม ยิ่งไปกว่านั้นร้านน้ำชายังเป็นพื้นที่ทางสังคมที่ไม่ใช่เป็นเพียงพื้นที่การบริโภคอาหารแต่เป็นพื้นที่ของการดำเนินการทางเศรษฐกิจ การแลกเปลี่ยนข้อมูลทางสังคม รวมทั้งเป็นพื้นที่ของการต้อนรับแขกผู้มาเยี่ยมเยือน ร้านน้ำชาได้ปรากฏในสังคมเมียนมาร์ตั้งแต่ยุคอาณานิคมและมีพัฒนาการมายาวนานและมีหลายระดับเพื่อตอบสนองความต้องการของลูกค้าที่มีฐานะทางเศรษฐกิจต่างๆ กัน นอกจากนี้ด้วยลักษณะความหลากหลายทางชาติพันธุ์ในสังคมพม่า อาหารและของว่างที่ขายในร้านน้ำชาสะท้อนความผสมผสานทางวัฒนธรรมและการทำให้อาหารของวัฒนธรรมต่างๆ นั้นกลายเป็นอาหารแบบพม่า

ความทันสมัยได้ส่งผลต่ออุปกรณ์การประกอบอาหารรวมทั้งเครื่องปรุง บุคคลในชุมชนกิ่งเมืองเกือบทั้งหมดประกอบอาหารกลางวันและเย็น โดยการประกอบอาหารนี้จะกระทำเพียงครั้งเดียวในตอนสายโดยภรรยาหรือมารดา อาหารที่ประกอบเสร็จแล้วจะถูกแบ่งออกเป็นสองมือ และมือเย็นจะเป็นมือที่ครอบครัวส่วนมากในชุมชนที่ศึกษามีการบริโภคพร้อมกัน การพัฒนาทางด้านสาธารณสุขโรคและไฟฟ้าทำให้ครอบครัวส่วนมากที่มีฐานะทางเศรษฐกิจปานกลางและดีใช้เครื่องใช้ไฟฟ้า เช่น หม้อหุงข้าว กระทะและกระติกต้มน้ำร้อนในการประกอบอาหาร ในขณะที่ครอบครัวที่มีฐานะยากจนยังคงใช้เตาถ่านในการประกอบอาหาร และยังคงใช้จาน ชามอลูมิเนียมในการใส่อาหารเพื่อบริโภค ในขณะที่ครอบครัวที่มีฐานะทางเศรษฐกิจดีจะใช้จานเซรามิก อย่างไรก็ตามก็ดี ครอบครัวเกือบทั้งหมดจะบริโภคอาหารด้วยมือหากเป็นการบริโภคอาหารในบ้านและล่ำพั่งในครอบครัวของตน ในขณะที่การบริโภคอาหารที่ร้านหรือนอกบ้าน เช่นที่ทำงานและโรงเรียนจะใช้ช้อนส้อม งานศึกษานี้พบว่าชาวเมียนมาร์โดยเฉพาะผู้มีฐานะทางเศรษฐกิจปานกลางและสูงมีความนิยมและบริโภคสินค้าเครื่องปรุงรสอาหารที่นำเข้าจากไทยเป็นอย่างมาก เช่น พงชูรส น้ำปลา น้ำมันหอย รวมทั้งอาหารแห้ง เช่น บะหมี่สำเร็จรูปและปลากระป๋อง

การเปลี่ยนแปลงแบบแผนชีวิตและการบริโภคอาหารนอกบ้านเพิ่มขึ้นของคนในชุมชนที่ศึกษาและในเขตเมือง รวมทั้งการแพร่หลายของการนำเข้าสินค้าอาหารและของขบเคี้ยวจากต่างประเทศมากขึ้นส่งผลให้เกิดความตระหนักในอันตรายที่เกิดจากการบริโภคอาหารที่ไม่ได้มาตรฐาน ดังนั้นควรดำเนินการอย่างเร่งด่วนในการควบคุม ตรวจสอบความปลอดภัยของสินค้าอาหาร นอกจากนั้น ควรมีกำหนดนโยบายและกรอบดำเนินการการลงทุนของชาวต่างชาติในด้านอุตสาหกรรมอาหารเพื่อลดผลกระทบต่อแหล่งอาหารดั้งเดิมและอธิปไตยด้านอาหารของบุคคล รวมทั้งอุตสาหกรรมการท่องเที่ยวที่ส่งผลกระทบต่อราคา ประเภท และแบบแผนการบริโภคอาหารของคนในเขตเมือง

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Industrialization, urbanization and food sources

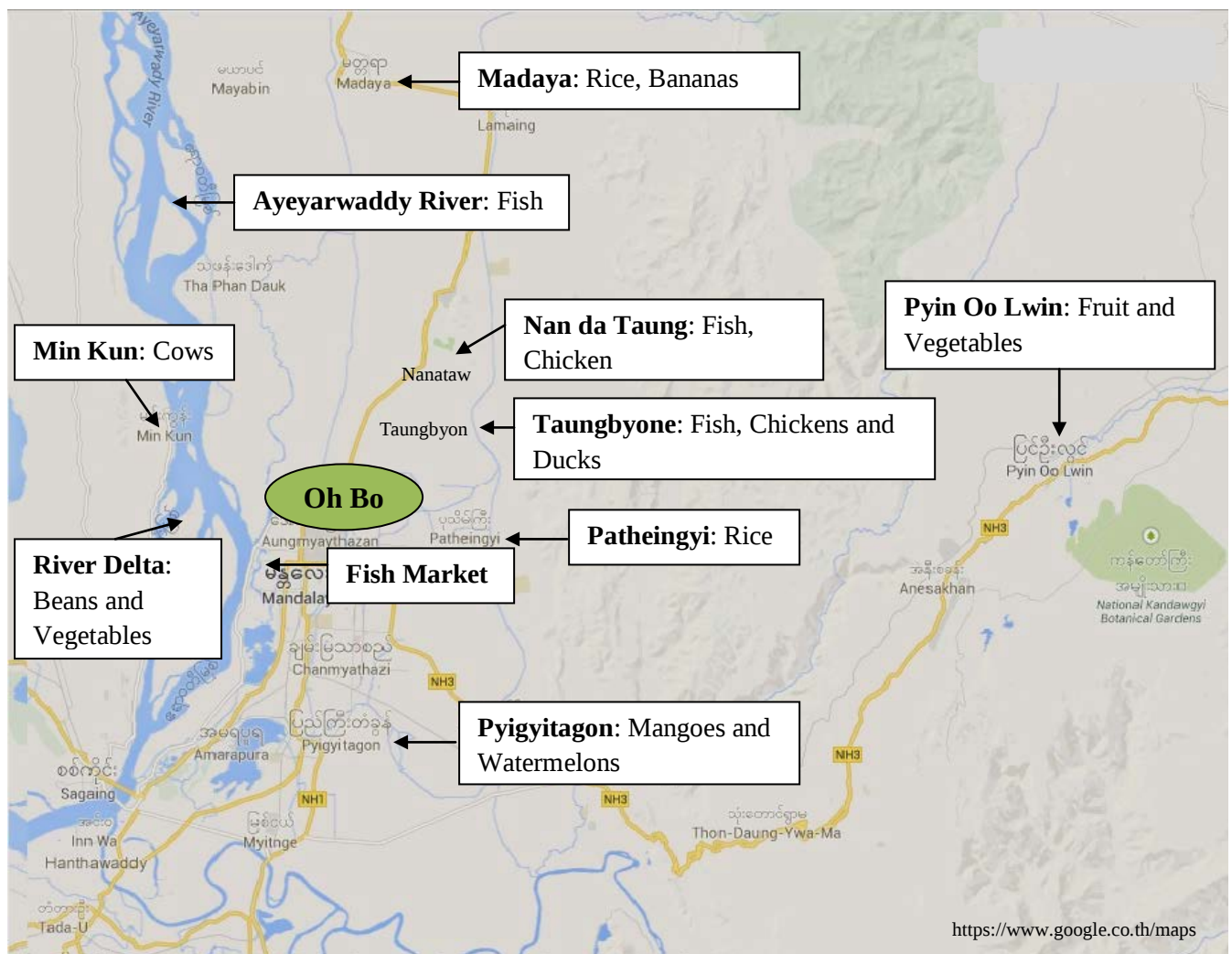
Food consumption does not totally depend on what an individual chooses to use in accordance with his or her taste, but also what kinds of foods are available and affordable. The previous chapter presented an overview of modernization in Myanmar. Based on the data collected from my fieldwork, this chapter will look in more depth at development and food sources in Myanmar. The main argument of this chapter is that the industrialization of agricultural and food production, and also the rise of large food corporations, along with urbanization and tourism, have changed food production patterns, food types and prices on the domestic market.

Based on documentary research, my field study and official statistics, this chapter will first look at the effect of liberalization on food production patterns in Mandalay Division. Data from my interviews will be used to illustrate the food sources available to those in Myanmar people both prior to and after liberalization, focusing on changes in these food sources within the study community.

Mandalay: Geographical location and food sources

Mandalay Division encompasses the study area and is 14,294 square miles in area. It is situated within the central dry zone of Myanmar, with the Shan Plateau situated to the east and the Pako Plateau to the south-west. The presence of the Ayeyarwaddy River, which runs from the north and through the western and central parts of Mandalay Division, and the Chindwin River, maximize the size of the agricultural area and help sustain rice farming and the growing of local food crops throughout the year. Crops grown in the area include rice (the informants' rice growing area is in Pathengyi Township), vegetables and flowers – the latter in Pyin Oo Lwin Township, and a variety of local vegetables grown on land in the middle of and alongside the Ayeyarwaddy River. Fishing is also prevalent in the area. Chilies and groundnuts are also grown in the highlands to the west and north-west. Overall, fishing and the growing of rice and vegetables are the main income sources for farmers in the Mandalay area, as well as the key food sources (see Figure 2.1 below). An official report revealed that in 1988 the planted area in Mandalay Division was 3,527,477 acres, and that this had increased to 6,746,270 acres by 2009. However, this report also highlights the reduction in rice production despite the amount of paddy land increasing. Interestingly, the number of livestock reared, especially chickens for breeding and fish, also for breeding, increased significantly over the same period. The number of chickens used for breeding increased from 3,162,453 in 1988 to 14,434,594 in 2009, while the amount of land used for fish breeding increased from 595 acres in 1988 to 6,411 acres in 1999 (Ministry of Information: 2010: 318, 320).

Figure 2.1 Food production areas in Mandalay Division and around Oh Bo, the study community



Life and food production of local people before liberalization

Rice is a staple food for people in Myanmar. People in rural villages mainly work in the rice fields to generate household income, as well as to provide food for the whole year. In addition to rice, many crops are grown for food, groundnuts and vegetables. Data from my interviews with participants aged over 50 illustrates how family food sources have changed due to recent development activities.

U San^{*} (aged 80 years-old) and his wife lives with his son's family. His son is able to earn surplus money from buying and selling goods. The family has a small grocery shop in

^{*} Alias

front of the house, which his daughter-in-law, being at home, takes care of. U San's family is not poor when compared to most people in the study village. He grew up in a rice farming family, in Madaya Township.

When he was young, his life was “the same as others living in the village”. The whole family woke up very early in the morning and started working on the rice field at 5 a.m. His mother prepared a light breakfast of rice mixed with a small amount of groundnut oil, then eaten with fresh vegetables and grilled fish paste (*ngapi*). These vegetables grew around the house area or nearby. She prepared and packed lunch for him; to eat with his friend while working in the rice field, which was nearby too. U San worked from 5 a.m. until late afternoon. When he walked home, he always picked vegetables on the way back, to use for the family dinner. Sometimes, he fished at the local pond also. U San mentioned that during his childhood, there was not much meat on the family menu; most of the dishes (normally curries) were made of beans and tomatoes, with a very few containing fish. Normally, his mother made fish curry for his lunch and dinner, but not for breakfast. Having rice mixed with groundnut oil and accompanied by grilled fish paste and local vegetables was more convenient for breakfast, and did not cost much. He also mentioned eating large amounts of rice at each meal, in order to build his strength and energy for work. When they grew rice themselves, even eating a large amount rice for each meal did not cost them very much.



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

Given the cooking and eating habits of people in the study village in the past, the families could still save a small amount of their income, as most vegetables and meat, or fish, were collected or caught nearby. Most of the households kept cattle, which were used to work in the rice fields and also provided fresh milk; additional food for the family. Moreover, the cattle dung was used as natural fertilizer in the rice fields. This livelihood pattern can be clearly seen in the case of Daw Mi* and Daw Lay*.

Daw Mi is a friendly lady aged 55. She grew up in a farming family north of Mandalay Hill, and started working in the rice fields when she was just ten years-old. The family breakfast was prepared and cooked by her mother; the same as at U San's house (cooked rice mixed with groundnut oil and vegetables, with grill fish paste). Similar to other farming families in the area, Daw Mi's family had one cow and four oxen. The family kept more oxen as they were better at working in the rice fields, while the one cow was kept to provide calves and fresh milk for the family. The amount of fresh milk from this one cow was not enough for the whole family, which had ten members at that time. However, the family could not keep more than these five cattle, as there was not enough natural grass to feed all of them. Moreover,



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

keeping the cattle required space, as in the past cattle were generally kept on the ground floor, or beside the house.

Daw Lay, aged 76, described her childhood, saying they sometimes mixed fresh milk with rice for breakfast. This represented a simple, convenient and affordable way to eat and was compatible with the working lives of the farmers, who had to go to the fields very early morning each day. Daw Lay's family had only one cow and six oxen working on their ten acres of rice land. The fresh milk from this one cow was sometimes not enough to feed the seven members of her family.

In addition, chickens were kept for their eggs and to sell at the market. Similar to other rural families, Daw Mi's family had only four or five chickens which roamed around the house.

The interview data gathered implies that milk and chicken eggs provided additional food, and were the main protein source for family members in the past. The farming families' main food was rice, and in the context of their poverty, they could not eat much meat. The cheapest meat they could buy was fish, but not too often, especially in the dry season. As a result, milk and chicken eggs obtained from their own livestock and chickens were important food sources.

Beans were another important food source among the rural farming families, and all my informants who grew up on a farm mentioned growing beans for food and for making the cooking oil. Daw Mi's family grew groundnuts on their three acre farm, which was situated alongside the river and flooded during the monsoon season. After the floods were over, the family would start growing groundnuts, which would take four months before being ready to harvest. The groundnuts would then be taken, to the oil mill, where the oil was separated from the groundnuts. The family would then take both the groundnut oil and the nut residue home. The groundnut oil was used for cooking and the groundnut kept for feeding the cow. Sometimes, the groundnut residue could be used in the family's food, by pouring water over it and letting it turn sour for three days. The pickled groundnut was then eaten with rice and vegetables. In this seasonal flooding area, the family sometimes grew other vegetables such as tomatoes and other beans, and these would be used in the family's food.



To sum up, in the past, food sources and production practices among people in the study area were closely linked to their land and rice field holdings. Therefore, to lose land or rice fields had a big and adverse impact on family food security, income and poverty. It was mentioned by all the farming families that they used to grow rice the whole year, and sell any surplus. This was done among both the rich and poor families. In fact, not only rice, additional income sources included cow's milk, beans and chickens, depending on the amount of the land owned. The situation changed when Mandalay started to expand as part of its modern development in 1990.

Liberalization and food production patterns

The food industry in Myanmar was initially developed during colonial times, when the rice industry was mainly developed for export (Brown: 2005). However, the food sector developed only slowly during the socialist and military government periods, then began to expand again after liberalization and market-oriented policies were introduced. The imported food business and food industry have expanded quickly under the latest democratic government, which has promoted and supported foreign investment and tourism. The Government launched market-oriented policies in 1988, after which private industries and businesses were allowed. The economic reforms brought in by the Thein Sein government in 2011 have focused on agro-industrial development and also promoted local and foreign investment, the aim being to accelerate the nation's integration into the international community. The agriculture sector has been the most important, since it still accounted for about 36% of GDP in 2010, and due to the fact that it represents the way in which most people earn a livelihood, especially the 70% of the population which lives in rural areas. However, it was stated in an ADB report that despite the growth in agriculture's contribution to GDP, its share of GDP has been decreasing as a result of the rapid growth of the industrial sector due to economic liberalization and FDI into Myanmar (Asian Development Bank: 2013: 4). However, this increase in the proportion of GDP represented by the industry sector has come mainly from gas exploration and production, services and construction. With respect to investment, in the year 2013, the number of agricultural enterprises permitted was 12, and the number of livestock and fisheries, and hotel and tourism enterprises permitted was 26 and 51 respectively (Swe Mon Aung and Sukanya Sirikeratikul: 2014: 3). The amount of foreign investment in permitted enterprises was shown in Table 2.2 below.

Table 2.1 Myanmar GDP classified by market sector

Sr	Years	% of GDP		
		Agriculture	Industry	Service
1	1970-71	49.5	12.0	38.5
2	1980-81	46.5	12.7	40.8
3	1988-89	47.9	11.5	40.6
4	1990-91	57.3	10.5	32.2
5	1991-92	47.0	13.4	39.6
6	1995-96	45.0	15.6	39.4
7	2000-01	42.8	17.7	39.5
8	2001-02	55.9	10.6	33.5
9	2002-03	52.9	12.8	35.3
10	2003-04	51.9	13.6	34.5
11	2004-05	50.5	14.6	34.9
12	2007-08	43.3	19.9	36.7
13	2010-11	36.2	26.0	37.8
14	2011-12	34.2	27.5	38.3

Source: Data from Key Indicators of Developing Asian and Pacific Countries, ADB, 2005 and Ministry of National Planning and Economic Development (MNPED).

Table 2.2 Foreign Investment in Permitted Enterprises (as of 30 November 2013; US\$ million)

Sr.	Sector Description	Permitted Enterprises		
		No.	Approved Amount	%
1	Power	7	19,284.43	43.71
2	Oil and Gas	115	14,372.27	32.57
3	Manufacturing	293	3,480.01	7.88
4	Mining	68	2,833.73	6.42
5	Hotel and Tourism	51	1,797.92	4.07
6	Real Estate	22	1,229.15	2.79
7	Livestock & Fisheries	26	347.47	0.79
8	Transport & Communication	16	313.91	0.71
9	Industrial Estate	3	193.13	0.44
10	Agriculture	12	191.96	0.44
11	Other Services	12	41.89	0.09
12	Construction	2	37.77	0.09
	Total	627	44,123.68	100.00

Source: USDA Foreign Agricultural Service. Gain Report (Global Agricultural Information Network): Burma-Union of Exporter Guide. 2014: p.3.

As stated earlier, after privatization in 1988, the agriculture sector was promoted, and more fruit and animal production activities were opened-up for export. In the context of the study community I will describe the changes that have since taken place in terms of the farming of chickens, water melons and mangoes, in order to illustrate the production and product changes that have taken place with the domestic market due to privatization and industrialization.

Chicken production

In and around Mandalay Division in the past, rearing chickens for egg and for meat production had been conducted in small scale farms while traditional chicken were raised freely around people house area. There were four small hatchery farms situated in Mandalay, started their small business since 1970. These hatchery farms bought the hatchery technology from Holland and provided 20,000 chicks per week.

In 1988, with the technological support from the Myanmar CP Livestock Co Ltd (MCPL) owned by Charoen Pokphand Group from Thailand, the large chicken farms rearing chicken for meat was built in the military camps and later expanded to other areas. It was told that, in initial stage, MCPL had conducted the situational survey of rearing chicken in Myanmar and started their business by providing the chicks to military. These chicks were raised in the chicken



houses in the military camps. The military offices were responsible for rearing and get the profits from selling the broilers in the local market, whereas MCPL got the profits from selling the chicks to the military. In that time, all chicks which provided to the military were loaded in the flight from Bangkok to Yangon and Mandalay. This is because Myanmar government did not allow importing chicken eggs to Myanmar. In 1993, not only for the military, MCPL also provided the small amount of chicks to local civil farms. The demand of chicken consumption increased quickly and in 1995, MCPL gained the permission from state setting up their company and established the hatchery farms in Yangon. Since then MCPL provided the large amount of chicks to the military and also the local chicken farmers.

The Bird Flu crisis in 2005 impacted rearing chicken in Myanmar. This is due to the fear of getting infection through eating chicken meat among consumers and also due to the state regulation issued. In response to such crisis, Myanmar government issued the regulation on building and place of the chicken houses and restricted transferring lived chicken from places to places. The chicken transfer regulation was lessened later in which the transferred chicken had to be approved by the Divisional Veterinary officer. Due to the regulation, the small local hatchery and chicken farms which were collapsed as the result of the spread of H5N1 infection had also less chance to recover their chicken farm. This regulation has effective until present.

Since 2005, MCPL dominated the chicken market in Myanmar. They have the hatchery farms in Yangon and Mandalay. With specific in Mandalay hatchery farms, 70,000 chicks were provided daily for the local chicken farmers through upper Myanmar. MCPL was also established their own chicken food factory, sell to chicken farms through Myanmar.

It should be pointed out here that the establishment of MCPL has impacted the ways in which chickens are raised and chicken meat is distributed within the local, Mandalay



Photo by Patcaharepan Ravangban

market, as well as in Myanmar as a whole. For rearing chicken, MCPL introduced the modern technology such as the specific chicken food depending on the age of chicks, drugs and



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

vaccination as well as the structure of chicken house. MCPL has not only changed the way the local farmers raise their chickens, it has also introduced the ways of farming fish. In the past, chicken coops in Myanmar were set on the ground, but after MCPL arrived, they began to be constructed with fish ponds underneath. The 2008-2009 livestock and fisheries official statistics report showed the area of fish ponds in 1986 was 6,394 acre and it increased to 42,523 acres in 1991 and 177,236 acres in 2001 and 444,430 acres in 2008 (Central Statistical Organization: 2010: 68). Though not all the fish ponds are underneath the chicken house, this partially reflects the continuously increase of the chicken houses in Myanmar. The chickens

have to be fed for 45 days before they have enough weight to be sold at the market, while the fish in the pond under the chicken coop have to be fed for nearly a year.

The other key impact the presence of MCPL has had on chicken farming, according to my informants, is a reduction in the number of chicken farms set up for egg production. The reason for this is because in order to obtain eggs, the farmers have to raise the chickens for six months. Moreover, after a chicken has been laying eggs for six months, it has to be replaced, as its output falls. The replaced chicken then can be sold on the market as a broiler, but very few people want to buy it. My informants mentioned that lots of chicken egg farms have switched to raising chickens for meat, at the same time building fish ponds underneath the chicken coops.

This change to the production of broiler chickens around Mandalay might also be due to the hot weather that occurs in the area, as this is not suitable for the production of chicken eggs. However, because Mandalay is a big city, and attracts tourists, eggs are in demand, so chicken eggs have to be brought in from farms in Taunggyi, to supply bakeries, for making egg noodles and also for the tea shops.

Official statistics regarding chicken farms in Mandalay are difficult to get hold of. However, data from my interviews with the Divisional Veterinary and Livestock Officer revealed that in 2012 there were 285 chicken broiler farms housing around three million chickens (MCPL and local Myanmar companies) and 678 chicken egg farms housing 1.12 million chickens in Mandalay Division (interview on 18 March 2014). However, these numbers are still small when compared to the number of chickens raised locally around people's houses in Mandalay Division.

The prices of each type of chicken on the market vary. The CP broiler is the largest of the broilers, but its price is lower than the backyard chicken on the local market. The price of the CP broiler on the local market is 3000 Kyat for a whole chicken (weight 1.5 viss), while a chicken freely grow in the backyard goes for 5000 Kyat. Due to the increase of restaurants and food shops in Mandalay, demand for chicken meat increased and we can see huge amount of fresh chicken meat sold in the market especially in early morning every day, including the cooked chicken sold in CP food boots situated over Mandalay city. However, one informant mentioned of her afraid of eating them. "They are fed for only 45 days and grow so big. I am scared to eat them." Other informants also mentioned the texture of the meat, which they say is too tender, and is different from their local backyard chickens.



Table 2.3 Numbers and types of chickens reared in Mandalay Division: 2013

Township	Layer chickens	Broiler chickens	<i>Barma</i> (local chicken)
1.Mandalay	226,233	98,266	3,342,171
2.Pyin Oo Lwin	223,860	97,236	3,307,121
3.Kyake Zae	123,732	55,048	1,872,238
4.Mitila	241,730	104,998	3,571,102
5.Mingyun	197,898	85,959	2,923,581
6.Myaung Oo	61,530	26,726	908,986
7.Yamethin	151,847	66,807	2,229,241
Total	1,226,830	535,040	18,154,440

Source: Mandalay Division Office (interviewed on March 2014)

Relationship between MCPL, local chicken companies and local farmers

As stated in earlier section, in 1988 MCPL started their chicken business in Myanmar through selling chicks to the military, and later expanded to the local chicken farmers. This part will illustrate relationship between MCPL and the chicken farmers in two stages; (1) through MCPL dealers being in township level for selling chicks to farms and (2) through buying chicken meat through slaughterhouse. Moreover, factors undermined MCPL's market domination will be explored, including the impact on local chicken companies.

Ordering chicks through dealers: paying advance and the profits

MCPL has two big hatchery farms in Myanmar. One is in Yangon and the other is in Mandalay. For distributing the chicks to farmers, MCPL set their network through their dealers in each township. It was told that the hatchery in Mandalay situated in Pyi Gyi Tha Gon Township (new town or industrial zone area), provided chicks to farms in upper Myanmar. The farmer who wants to get CP chicks had to order the number of chicks they want as well as pay for them in advance to CP dealer. The longer they ordered and paid in advance, the higher discount the farmers got from CP. The highest discount chicks' price is 10%. Normally the farmer ordered three months in advance as rearing chicken for meat in each time needs 45 days. So if the local farmers do not have enough money to pay in advance, the dealer will do it for them. By this, the dealer will get the surplus of what the dealer paid MCPL at the discount rate and sell to the local farmers in the normal price. There are four to five dealers in each township. These dealers play an important role for marketing and informing CP back of the demand of chicks in their area. Through this connection, MCPL hatchery farm in Mandalay knows of the amount of chicks they should produce in each day. Hence, although the MCPL hatchery in Mandalay can provide 240,000 chicks per day, there are only 70,000 chicks coming out daily at present. This reduces the hatchery cost of MCPL as well as they can control the chick supply which impact on the chicken meat's price in the market. The price of chick for egg sold by MCPL is 1200 Kyats, while a chick's price rearing for meat is 650 Kyats.

As MCPL also produced the chicken food, these dealers did the same for distributing chicken food to farms as for ordering chicks. The price of chicken food is 650 Kyats per 1 wiss. It was calculated that for rearing chicken for meat until its weigh 1 wiss, 2 wiss of chicken food are needed. So the cost of rearing chicken for meat among farmers in total is 2000 kyats (650 kyats for a chick and 1300 kyats for its food). After rearing these chicks 45 days, the farmers can buy it in the price of 3000-3500 kyats. The farmers therefore gain 1000 kyats profitable from rearing one chick. For the normal chicken farm (30x90 feet), 2500 chicken can be raised and therefore around 2,000,000 - 2,300,000 kyats (66,000 – 76,000 Thai baht) the farmers can get after 45 days.

Based on the connecting system mentioned above, MCPL did not direct contact the chicken farmers, but through the dealers in each township. The dealer' profits depend on the amount of chicks and chicken food ordered by the chicken farmers. By advance paid for the chicks and chicken food, dealer can earn more profits and also indirectly secure that the farmers will buy chicks and chicken food from them. The chicken farmers had to order the chicks through dealer and there are around 4-5 dealers in each township, so in order to keep the connection with the farmers, each dealer has to give some support to the farmer not only taking the profit.

Selling the chicken: local merchants or the chicken slaughter

After rearing for 45 days the chicken farmers can sell their chicken freely to the local merchants who come to their farm. The farmers can choose to buy to MCPL too. The farmers can get higher price for selling chicken to the local merchants but they can sell it in a small or limited amount of chicken. So some farmers if they have many grown chicken, they then choose to sell it to MCPL. MCPL will announce the buying price of chicken every day. Sometimes the buying price of MCPL is higher than those local merchants. However, the chicken which MCPL buys from the farmers will be classified in size/weight and its general condition. It was informed that MCPL wants the chicken weight around 1 wiss and in good or healthy condition. The MCPL will assess which chicken are in “good or healthy” by themselves. The chicken which is out of their criteria will get lower price. So it is highly possible that sometime, the farmers cannot get the good price from selling their chicken to MCPL.

While the local merchants directly buy the chicken at the farm, MCPL makes the connection with the chicken slaughterhouse in Mandalay to do it for them. If the chicken farmers decide to sell their chicken to MCPL, the chicken slaughterhouse under the contract with MCPL will go to such farm, weigh the chicken and load it to the slaughterhouse. There are three slaughterhouses in Mandalay. One slaughterhouse run by Muslim owner and the other two was informed that being in the sub-contract of MCPL. Such two slaughterhouses are in Pyi Gyi Tha Gon Township. The slaughterhouses then gain the profits depending on the contract made. Through the contract made with the slaughterhouses, MCPL then control the weight and quality of chicken meat. These chicken meats are served for CP cooked chicken boots situated over Mandalay and in the Department stores.

Information from Divisional livestock officer revealed that only 10% of the chicken farmers signed the contract with MCPL. This means MCPL provides them all chicks and chicken food as well as buy all the chicken back when they grew up. In this contract farming case, MCPL will give the farmer 25 Kyats per chicken (the number of chicken before sending to the slaughterhouse). However, for the chicken which is not in “good condition” and does not have such required weight, MCPL pays only 10-15 Kyats per chicken. Almost the farmers who sign the contract with MCPL have no saving and unable to pay in advance for the chicks and chicken food through dealers. However, it has been told that such contract was done with military in rearing chicken in military camps too.

Considering the way MCPL sells chicks to the chicken farmers, buy them back and control its quality through slaughterhouse, illustrate how MCPL expand their business. However, such created connecting system does not make MCPL dominating the chicken market. This issue will be examined in the following section.

MCPL’s domination of the chicken market and reaction from local chicken companies

As mentioned earlier, before MCPL moved in Myanmar, there were 4 hatcheries in Mandalay. These hatcheries started in 1970 by buying technology and hatchery machine from Holland. These four hatcheries are (1) Aung Htun Chicken Farm (2) Myo Myunt Chicken (3) Arthit Chicken Farm and (4) Lunge Chicken Farm. The first and second chicken farm were in Mawragiwa Quarter, in the street number 75 between 33-34th street. They provided 3,000 chicks per week in each farm. The third and fourth chicken farm were situated in 84th street between 42-43rd street. These farms provided 5-6,000 chicks per week. These small hatchery farms provided the chicks to local chicken farms until MCPL connected with, provided chicks to military camps and gaining the permission to started MCPL hatchery farms in Myanmar in 2000. All these four hatchery farms closed down as they could not compete with MCPL.

MCPL’s domination of the chick production market resulted from two important factors. One is capital and technology which MCPL owned them much higher than local chicken hatchery farms. The other is gaining government connection and support through selling chicks to the military camps. It was told that after buying chicks from MCPL for a period of time, some military officers tried to do the hatchery farm themselves, but due to lack of knowledge and technology, their attempts were unsuccessful. The military camps continue buying chicks from MCPL until recently.

Bird Flu Crisis, state regulation of chicken production and the collapse of local chicken farms

The Bird Flu Crisis in 2005 devastated all chicken farms in Myanmar. It was told that huge amount of chicken died throughout the countries. People were afraid of getting infection and avoid eating chicken meat. The military government in that time attempted to regain the people’s trust on re-eating chicken meat. The information that boiling chicken meat in 100 C was disseminated but people still avoided eating them. In the same time, the government

issued the new regulation and standard of rearing chicken and transportation. These regulations were also effective at present.

The new regulations issued by the military government though aimed to upgrade the standard and hygiene of rearing chicken, but it has limited the chance of small chicken farms re-operated. For example, the local farmers have to ask for permission to start the chicken farm. To get the permission, their chicken house had to be assessed of (1) the place of chicken house which has to be far from the community (2) the air ventilation (3) the sanitation in the chicken farm (4) the disease prevention such as vaccination. However, a small chicken house which reared less than 50 chickens can be allowed to feed in the chicken house which is 100 feet far from the community at least. The large chicken houses (more than 50 chickens) had to move to the specific place which reserved for chicken farms only. This is why there are lots of large chicken houses in Tounghbiyon, Pin Oo Lwin, Mangan and Tha be Gin where these places are set as the animal feeding zone, and no chicken house is found in the community area.

The process for get the permission on rearing chicken takes 6-8 weeks. This is because the application has to pass to and get approved from the central office. The chicken farmer initial applies for the permission at the village livestock administrative officer. Including the permission request form, the farmer has to add information on the number of chicken raised, the size of chicken house, map showing how far the chicken house is from the community and the pictures of chicken house. The information and the permission request form will pass from the village livestock administrative officer to the township level. The township livestock officer will visit the chicken farm, check with the information stated and then pass this permission request to the township committee. The township committee consists of 4 persons; township livestock officer, township veterinary officer, township livestock breeding officer and the township officer who is the representative of Mandalay city development office.

If the township committee agrees of the permission, this permission request will be passed to district level. In the district level, 4 persons are in district committee. They are district livestock officer, district veterinary officer, district livestock breeding officer and district officer who is the representative of Mandalay city development office.

The permission request will be passed from the district to regional level. The regional committee consists of 5 persons. They are Regional livestock officer, Regional veterinary office, Regional livestock breeding officer, Regional officer and Regional deputy minister of livestock and Fisheries who is the chair of this committee.

The permission request will then be passed to the central level. In this level, the committee consists of 5 persons, chaired by Minister of Livestock and Fisheries, in which Minister of Interior and Home Affairs, Minister of Health, Minister of Justice and Minister of Information are members.

Considering this hierarchy approval process, it is highly difficulty or less possible for the local farmer, having no connection with government staffs in each level will be able to get through. Not only the permission request had to be approved before operating the chicken farm, but the approval had to renew in every six months.

The Bird Flu crisis not only effect on the regulation of setting up the chicken house, but it impacts on chicken transportation too. In the first three weeks of the spread of H5N1, all lived chickens and eggs are not allowed to transport to other places outside the community. After that the government lessens this rule and allows the chicken transported to other places outside the community if those chickens were checked and confirmed that there is no H5NI virus which can spread to other areas. However, due to lack of knowledge and technology for checking the chicken, the livestock officers in township level where most of chicken farms were situated, were reluctant to allow the chickens transported. This situation took for one year and the local chicken farms gradually collapsed.

The expansion of MCPL and local chicken companies' adaptation

With more invested capital and higher technology supported by the close connection with the military, MCPL expands its company in the time that local chicken farms collapsed. MCPL established the hatchery houses in Mandalay and to transport the chicks to the chicken farmers in each township, MCPL has to follow the chicken transport regulation. All the chicks transported had to approve by Township livestock officer. The hatchery farm has to apply for transporting approval from the township livestock officer. Before transporting, the chicks had to be checked by township livestock officer and the hatchery farm had to pay one kyats per a chick for the check fee. This fee will be paid by transfer into the bank account of Ministry of livestock and fisheries. It is informed that 6-70,000 chicks were transported daily from MCPL hatchery farm in Mandalay to other areas in upper Myanmar, so MCPL has to apply for this transport approval every day. It also means that MCPL has to transfer 6-70,000 Kyats to the Ministry's bank account for the check fee every day too. Due to this regulation and the amount of money has to pay for the fee, it is therefore difficult for the local hatchery farm to survive from this regulation because they have less money than MCPL. MCPL is now the only one company who sell chicks to the chicken farmers in Myanmar.

There are two local chicken companies providing chicken for egg production. One company named "May Kha", situated in 39th street between 84-85th street in Mandalay. This company is under the company being in Yangon and owned by Indonesian. However, this company is a small company which provided only 2-30,000 chicks per week. The second company owned by Shan doctor, situating in Tounggyi. This Shan farm provided lots of chicken eggs serving Mandalay. It is noticed that MCPL did not expand their business in chicks for egg production. This is because of the weather is Mandalay where MCPL established their hatchery farm is hot which is not suitable for rearing chicken for egg. So with cooler weather in Shan, the local chicken company for egg production survive and expand the business which is not directly compete with MCPL.

There is one local chicken company which sell the same products as MCPL and it has to adjust for their survival. The company named “Sun Pya” once sold the chicken food and has to change to the duck and pig foods instead. This is because as their chicken food cannot compete with MCPL’s chicken food. However, some local chicken farmers want to save the cost of chicken food by ordering chicken food from this company. This “Sun pya” company will produce the chicken food depend on the amount of the farmers’ order and sell it in the lower price than MCPL. It was told that the chicken food produced by Sun Pya is not up to standard as MCPL and the chicken fed with this food is smaller. So only small number of chicken farmers used the chicken food produced by the Sun Pya company.

There is another local company named Myanmar Livestock Breeding Company (MLBC) which owned by Barmar veterinarian. This company is in the first stage and now had a financial difficulty. This company had already bought land and prepared to establish the hatchery farm in Madaya but the hatchery cannot operate yet due to the financial limitation.

Mangoes

Of all the fruit grown in Myanmar, mangoes are the most important, representing 11.85% of total fruit production in the country (DOA 2011, cited in Kaung Myat: 2011: 21). Mangoes are grown throughout the country, with some being exported, such as the Sein Ta Lone , Shwe Hin Thar, Yin Kwe and Mya Kyauk varieties (Naing: 2003, Soe: 2006, cited in Kaung Myat: 2011: 21).



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

Soe’s study (2006) states that due to the export market, the majority (45%) of mango farms in Myanmar are owned by larger farmers, followed by 25% which are run as part of government estates and 30% which are grown on small-scale farms and in backyards. As a result, it can be implied that half of the mangoes produced in Myanmar are grown for export.

Mandalay Division is the best place to grow mangoes due to its hot climate, one suitable for their cultivation. Mandalay is; therefore, the biggest export, wholesale and retail mango market in the country. The mangoes grown in Mandalay are sent to Kachin State, northern Shan State and China, and also to Monywa and Shwebo markets in Sagaing Division, and to the wholesale markets in Yangon Division.

As mentioned earlier, nearly half of the mangoes grown are exported, with China being the largest customer. My informal interviews with local people revealed that the biggest mango farms are co-owned by Chinese businesses, with the best quality mangoes being exported to China through the Muse border zone. However, only a few mangoes are exported to Singapore due to its strict quality standards. The number of mangoes exported to China and Singapore is presented in Table 2.4 below.

Table 2.4 Exports of fresh mangoes from Myanmar: 2007/8 to 2011/12

Year	Export volumes (1000 MT)	Average prices (US\$ / MT)	Export values (million US\$)	Customers
2007/2008	16.704	418.70	6.994	China
2008/2009	21.761	304.21	6.620	China
2009/2010	44.361	296.04	11.935	China, Singapore
2010/2011	34.276	313.16	10.734	China, Singapore
2011/2012	39.913	337.66	13.477	China, Singapore, Thailand

Source: Kaung Myat. Export Conditions of Myanmar Mango: Hindrances and Opportunities in the Supply Chain. International Master's in Horticultural Sciences, University of Bologna, 2012: p.24.

Data from my interviews with local people also reveals that some rice farmers have switched their rice fields over to mangoes, as rice farming is much harder work and the incomes to be made from rice are lower than from growing mangoes. This trend has impacted upon the amount of rice produced and also its price on the local market.

Water melons

Water melons are another important export fruit grown in the Sagaing region and in Myingyan in upper Myanmar. In 2009, a Chinese company started renting farm land to grow water melons, providing local farmers with seeds and fertilizers. The owners of the land were then hired to be workers on their own land, growing water melons for export to China. The rent and also the wages are not high, as the local farmers get 80,000 Kyat (or US\$85) per acre and 1500 Kyat (or US\$1.6) per day for working the land. The Chinese have been importing water melons from Myanmar since 2007, that year importing a total of 3,112,500 kilograms of fruit, rising to 124,379,592 kilograms in 2009.

The demand in China for water melons has been very high in recent years, and this has affected the amount and quality of water melons to be found on the domestic market, as well as the prices charged. In 2010 there was adverse weather in China, leading to reduced water melon harvests. As a result, the number of water melons imported from Myanmar was very high, leading to local shortages (<http://www.myitmakhamedigroup.info/2013/03/05/more-sino-traders-coming-from-china-to-have-watermelon-grown-in-upcountry-of-myanmar/>). Back in 2003, the wholesale price of a water melon ranged from 1,200 to 1,700 Kyat, but it had increased by 2012 up to 2,500 Kyat, especially when the demand from China was highest. Local farmers also mentioned that the good



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

quality water melons were sent to China at this time, with the low quality fruit retained for the domestic market.

To sum up, since market liberalization, the production of broiler chickens, mangoes and water melons has led to changes in production patterns and these changes have affected the amounts, types and prices of food available on the domestic market. Moreover, it has affected the ways in which local farmers work and use their land. For local customers; meanwhile, these changes in food production patterns have not brought benefits, as most of the high quality products are now exported, leaving behind only poor quality, higher priced food domestically. Furthermore, some food products now suffer shortages locally, when the demand for exports is high. Therefore, liberalization and industrialization have had a significant impact on local food sources and prices, in turn impacting upon the kinds of food available and what kinds of food local people can afford. The price of selected foods has increased since liberalization (1988), as shown in Figure 2.2

Tourism and food

Due to the country opening-up to tourism, the services sector has also expanded. The number of tourists arriving to Myanmar increased from 731,230 in 2008 to 1,058,995 in



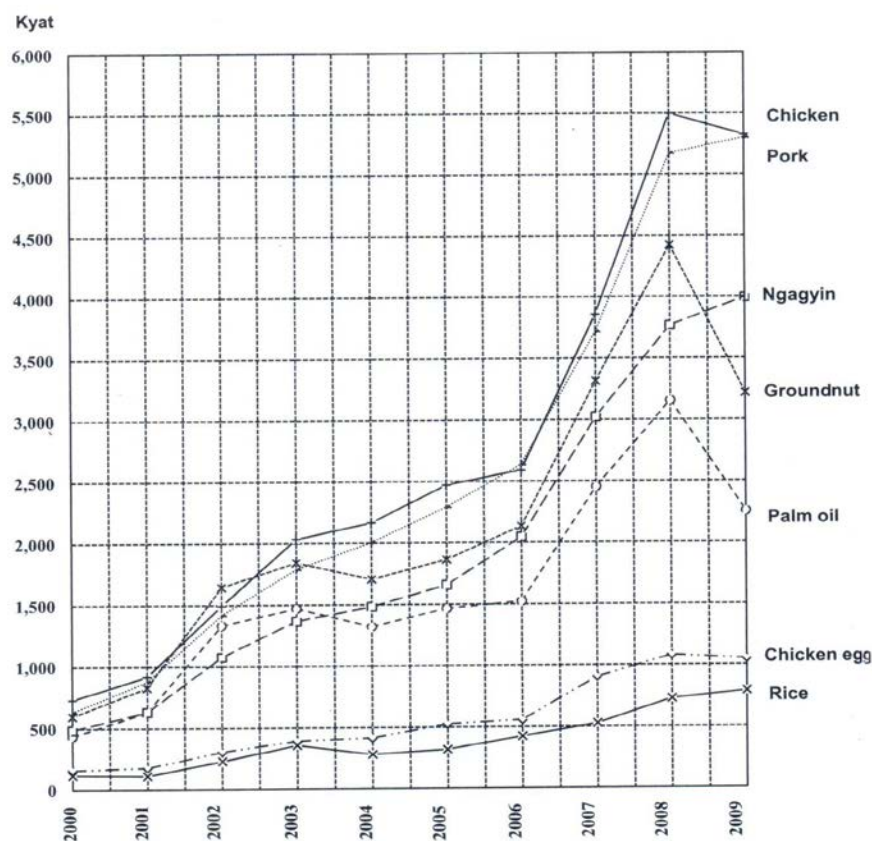
Photo by Patchareepan Ravangban

2012. In Mandalay, tourist arrivals in 2008 were 5,553, jumping to 32,521 by 2012. The number of private hotels in Mandalay Division has also increased, rising from 50 hotels and 1,662 beds in 1995, to 174 hotels and 10,006 beds by 2004 (Central Statistics Organization: 2012: 440). Together with the increase in accommodation for tourists, the number of food shops/outlets, including those serving food from abroad, has increased in Myanmar. The value of food commodities imported from abroad increased from 108.5 million Kyat in 1990 to 1,656.8 million Kyat in 2009. Between 1990 and 2009, imports of animal and vegetable oils and fats increased in value from 433.72 million Kyat to 977.18 million Kyat, and milk (condensed and evaporated) imports increased from 46.48 million Kyat (4,056,000 kg) to 227.94 million Kyat (41,713,000 kg; CSO: 2012: 216, 213, 214). Moreover, the revenue generated from selling food and drinks in hotels constituted about 30% of the total revenues generated over this period (Swe Mon Aung & Sukanya Sirikeratikul: 2013: 10)

As well as accommodation and food shops, many other kinds of service business increased in number, such as car/van rentals, tour agencies and local goods and souvenir shops, as well as clothes shops. In the context of privatization, transportation and communications have also been promoted, as have the facilities necessary to host modern tourists. Much more land in the city area has been required to house the financial and service buildings required, and some buildings, including government buildings, have had to move-out from the inner city and other urban areas, increasing the size of the peri-urban area, which

once was agricultural land. The urban population has also increased, as has the population density, from 68 in 1995 to 90 persons per square kilometer in 2012 (UNDP: 2013:1).

Figure 2.2 Prices of selected foodstuffs: 2000-2009



Source: Central Statistical Organization. **Statistical Yearbook 2011**. Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar. p.224.

Food sources in and around the study community

Actually, there are more than ten local food markets in the Mandalay area, but only three local food markets are used by the study participants, namely Oo Bo, Saya San and Zay Cho markets.

Oo Bo market is the community's local market. It is situated along the railway line which runs from Madaya Township – through the community – to Mandalay. The market opens every day from 7 a.m. until 11 a.m. Initially, it was situated in a small public area in the centre of the community, and had only a small group of sellers. However, as more people moved into the community, and also merchants due to the increase in demand for food and other goods, so in 2003 the market moved to a public area alongside the railway



Photo by Patcahareepan Ravangban

line. As a result, more items, such as fresh vegetables, meats and other daily household items could be sold. Most people who sell at the market live in Oo Bo Community or nearby, and the products sold there are either grown by local farmers or come from the retail market in Mandalay. Some of those who sell at Oo Bo market also own grocery shops in the community. Most people who live in Oo Bo Community buy their meat and vegetables from this market; however, a few stalls also sell clothes, plastic boxes and other household utensils.

Saya San market is located around ten minutes driving from Oo Bo Community, and is bigger than and closer to the city than Oo Bo market. A wider variety of goods is sold here,

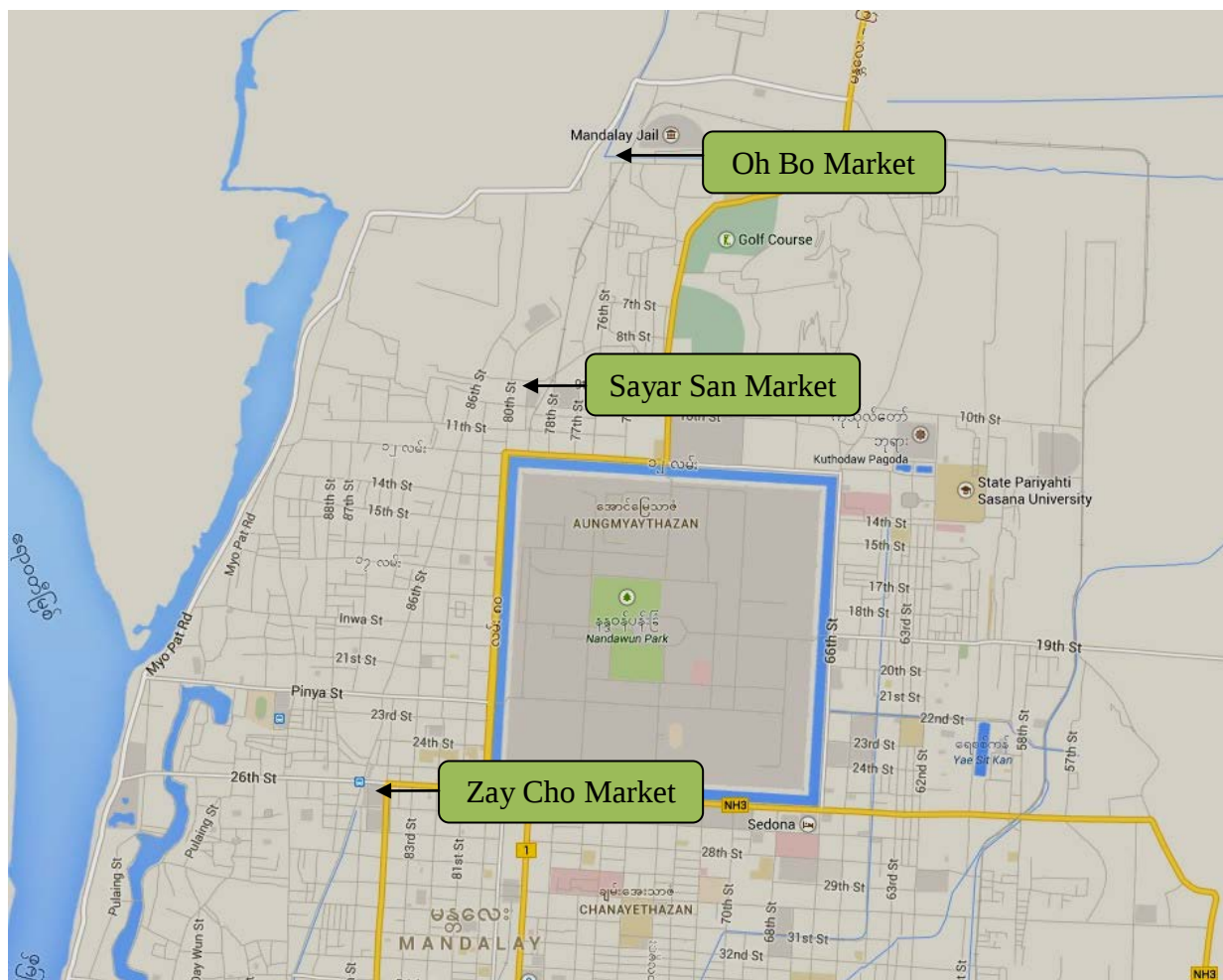


and most people living in Oo Bo buy their rice from this market. While Oo Bo market is a temporary market, in that the merchants there display their goods on the ground and have to move them when a train passes, Saya San market is more permanent, is housed in a two storey building, and the merchants there display their goods on the wooden tables provided. There is also some space on the ground outside the building, in which the local farmers place their local vegetables, fish or chickens for sale. The

market also has a section selling clothes and everyday goods, and this is separate from the food section, which sells meat, pork, chicken, fish and vegetables. The food section opens very early in the day then closes at noon, before opening again in the late afternoon, while shops in the clothes section open the whole day – from 8 a.m. until 5 p.m. However, the afternoon food market has fewer sellers operating than in the morning, because most Myanmar families go to the market early in the morning and buy food to last the whole day. The Madaya to Mandalay train also runs through Saya San market, and farmers from nearby carried their vegetables by train for selling it in the market.

Unlike the two markets mentioned above, Zay Cho market is the biggest retail market in upper Myanmar, and is situated in Mandalay; between streets 21 and 84 in the west of the city. Zay Cho market was initially built during the colonial period, and many kinds of goods and food are transported from other parts of Myanmar to this market. For example, clothes, fruit and vegetables are brought from Shan State as are flowers grown in Pyin Oo Lwin. Fish and other seafood products are brought from Yangon. Moreover, food, fruit and goods from outside Myanmar, such as from China, India and Thailand, are also sold at this market, which opens from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. every day except on Buddhist holidays. However, before the market opens, local sellers from areas nearby can display their goods, meat and vegetables on the roads and pavements in front of the shops, though they have to pack-up their goods by around 7.30 a.m. before the market-proper opens. All owners of the grocery stores in the study community buy their goods from this retail market.

Figure 2.3 Location of the three markets around Oh Bo, the study community



Source: Google Map, <https://maps.google.com/>

Urbanization and changes in food sources within the study community

Since opening-up to the outside world, the urban population growth rate in Myanmar has increased, from 25% per annum in 1990 to 28% in 2010 and 33.2% in 2012. This is expected stay around 30% up to 2015 (UN population). At the same time, the rural population has decreased, at a rate of 68% in 2010 and 66% in 2013 (World Bank). This increase in the urban population, alongside increasing urbanization, is particularly visible in the big cities and tourist centers of Yangon and Mandalay.

The expansion of Mandalay's urban area has impacted upon Oh Bo, the study community. Four important buildings have moved from the city center or have been built in or nearby the community. The first was in 1976, when the Institute of Traditional Medicine was established. At this time, many people from around the country moved to work or study at this institute, and this affected those people living in the community in a variety of ways. *"People used to shout or talk to each other impolitely; it has changed the way people talk."*

They now talk softly and use polite words. Also, in the past some people did not wear shirts when around the home, but because there are now a lot of students and teachers living nearby, people wear shirts when they are at home”.

The second important development in the study community’s area was the relocation of Mandalay Prison in 1990. Before 1990, Mandalay Prison was located near to Mandalay Palace, in the heart of the city. Its relocation had a tremendous impact on people’s lives in the study area, as it was moved to land that had previously been the village cemetery and also where a Hindo-Burmese fed a herd of cows. As a result of the prison move, the village cemetery was relocated to Kya Ni Kan village, 26 miles from Oh Bo Community, and located in Madaya Township. The herd of cows was moved to Yan Kin Taung in Pathengyi Township. The informants mentioned that at that time there were chickens there providing egg, and broilers also. The chickens also had to be moved, to Taungbyone village in Pathengyi Township.

The relocation of Mandalay Prison to the study community led to, not only a loss of pasture land and the chicken farms, but also a loss of rice land among the informants, as so much land was needed for the prison buildings and also the staff’s accommodation.

However, the relocation of Mandalay Prison opened up opportunities in terms of food styles and people’s way of life. The compound for Mandalay Prison included houses for hundreds of staff and their families which, and as a result, new tea shops opened in the community, plus demand for food and other goods led to Oh Bo local market becoming overcrowded; so it had to move to its current location alongside the railway line, which also happens to be close to Mandalay Prison. Not only did new teashops open at this time; the informants also mentioned new jobs being created, such as the opening of grocery stores in front of the staff’s quarters, selling meat, fish, vegetables and flowers, as well as household utensils from early afternoon.



It should be noted that the relocation of the prison had a much larger social and economic impact on the people living in Oh Bo community than the relocation of the building in 1976 had had. The herd of cows being moved to another area once allowed the clay pots to be made in the area. As presented in Figure 2.3, Oh Bo community sits in the east bank of the Ayeyarwaddy River. After the flooding season has finished, the area is perfect for growing crops, and also for making clay pots. The name ‘Oh Bo’ in Burmese means ‘the place where the clay pot is made’. During the process of heating the pots, rice straw and cow dung was used as fuel. Making pots also suited the farmers’ way of life here in the past. The loss of the rice fields and the movement out of the cow herd meant local people were less able to make the pots, and now no one makes a living in this way.

The third significant change to affect the community was the relocation of the University of Traditional Medicine to the area in 2003/2004. Due to the military

government's policy on promoting local medicine, the Institution of Traditional Medicine was promoted to become the University of Traditional Medicine, providing Bachelor's and Master's degree programs from 2012. A big plot of land south of Oh Bo community and adjacent to Mandalay city was used to build the university, and also the accommodation for its staff. My informants mentioned of it becoming much more crowded and of new people moving into the area after the university had been built. It was also mentioned that at this time, people in the community became more interested in improving their level of education, and as a consequence, more people have since graduated with Bachelor's degrees.

The fourth and most recent change has been the construction of the University of Technology in the western part of the community, in Pathengyi Township. This university is quite new and a little bit far from Oh Bo community when compared to Mandalay Prison and the University of Traditional Medicine, which are immediately adjacent to the community's center. For the University of Technology, people travel past the community just in the daytime; to work and study, so the impact has been relatively small; however, the construction of the University of Technology did lead to the loss of some local families' rice land.

Conclusion

The industrialization of agriculture and food production started in 1990, and has been actively promoted again since 2012. The key effects of this have been on the amounts and kinds of food available for local people, as well as the food prices charged in the local markets. Moreover, together with urbanization and tourism, in December 2012, the Myanmar government issued a new foreign investment law which releases private land and repatriate investments proceeds using market exchange rates. This is concomitant with the sharp increases in land prices which have occurred in the study community. The more densely populated, caused by the relocation of government offices, has impacted upon the social and economic lives of people in the study community. Also, the loss of rice fields and other land had had an impact on household food sources, meaning families have had to adjust to new ways of living. Having all their meals at home together is not possible for many people now, as they have to go to work in the city. In addition, the loss of the rice fields and of key household food sources has affected the kinds of food consumed, as well as where it is eaten. This issue will be explored in more detail in the following chapter.

Modernization in Myanmar

Food is the general study topic here and is also a complex issue. Eating food is not simply the result of bio-natural forces, but what we eat, how we eat, when and where we eat, as well as who we eat with, are socially and culturally shaped, and are also affected by the political, economic and environmental conditions within which we live. This study looks at food consumption in Myanmar within a modernization context. It examines what, when and how Myanmar people eat, and also how rapid modernization in the country, along with changing economic policies and urbanization, are affecting people's food sources and consumption patterns.

Myanmar issued its first agricultural development policy in 1960, yet its agriculture has underperformed over the past five decades. Around 70% of the population lives in rural



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

areas and works primarily in agriculture, generating low farm productivities. In 2013, the World Food Program reported of a food security crisis developing in the dry zone of Myanmar, covering nearly 35% of the population, even in the monsoon/wet season (World Food Program: 2013:1). Poverty and food insecurity are closely interrelated. A collaborative study on food security by Michigan State University and the

Myanmar Development Resource Institute's Center for Economic and Social Development, states that despite the fact that Myanmar is a self-sufficient nation in terms of rice, the staple food, many households and individuals still face food insecurity, and the poor have to spend over 70% of their incomes on food (Haggblade: 2013: 4). Poverty and food insecurity have an impact on malnutrition, and 33% of children aged 0 to 5 years in Myanmar is classified as malnourished. Myanmar now has the third highest malnutrition rate among the countries of Southeast Asia, and the death rate from malnutrition in Myanmar is 18.2 per 100,000 in 2011, ranking second in the region, with only Laos ranking higher (at 28.9 per 100,000). Though a National Plan of Action for Food and Nutrition was introduced in Myanmar in 2012, with the support of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the World Food Program (WFP) and UNICEF, a Scaling-Up Nutrition (SUN) movement has also been launched since then to reduce child malnutrition in the country (DVB; 6 February 2014).

Modernization in Myanmar

Social studies based on modernization theory tend to focus on the relationships between social structures, cultural values, behavior and techno-economic development. According to King (2008: 38-43), modernization theory is in itself debatable, and some social scholars have criticized its applicability to non-western societies. For example, it assumes stable social institutions are in place, those able to cope with the dynamic process of social change. Moreover, social scholars who have applied modernization theory in their studies, have focused on different areas. Some have focused on



Photo by Patchareepan Ravangban

the economic organizations in place, others on political institutions, while others still have looked primarily at social institutions. As stated by King (ibid: 38), the vagueness and elasticity of the modernization concept makes it difficult to use when analyzing the modernization process. Generally, modernization theory considers changes in economic, political and social structures, and encompasses many related concepts, such as



industrialization, capitalization, privatization, urbanization, development, westernization and progress. Whereas modernization theory prioritizes Westernization as a goal and a means used to become a modern society, some scholars who have conducted studies in non-western societies, disagree with its use, and so differentiate between modernization and Westernization, as these two do not have to co-exist, since adopting Western values might not need to take place for modern techno-economic development to occur. Though modernization theory has been criticized for its overly positive view of capitalism, it is helpful to use to explain general social changes taking place in a country. As a result, this study looks at modernization in Myanmar by focusing on industrialization, economic policies and urbanization, and the effect these are having on people's lives, and particularly their food consumption habits.

The British colonial era: Rice exports, immigration and foreign goods consumption

Modern agricultural development in Myanmar can be traced back to the pre-colonial times. The modern irrigation system was originally developed in upper Myanmar; the most economically active area during the monarchy era. The irrigation canals were first introduced during the Pyu period (1st century B.C to the 9th century AD) and were extended significantly during the Pagan Dynasty (9th to 13th centuries AD). The Kyaukse irrigation system, which covered an area to the south of Mandalay and over to the western Shan hills area, has been acknowledged as having been effective and efficient, and used scientific principles in its construction. (Aung-Thwin: 2009: 4, 12-16). Extension of the irrigation system and agricultural production, especially of rice, increased significantly again during the British colonial period. The volume of rice exports rose from 0.126 million tons in 1860, to 2.906 million tons in 1929 (Brown: 2005: 10). The British rice export policy not only accelerated and enlarged land cultivation and rice production, but promoted migration, as well as the development of new occupations. An article written by the British official J.S. Furnivall, describes the flood of Burmese people into the lowlands from other areas, changing the dense forest into paddy land. It would take three to four years to clear the wilderness and make the land fertile enough for planting rice. During these years, the pioneers succumbed to infectious diseases and natural disasters. Moreover, in the context of there being no legal and state protection, they risked losing their land to money lenders, or their land would be grabbed by powerful groups. The people benefiting from the new paddy fields; therefore, were not always the ones who had cleared the land in the first place. However, when the Irrawaddy Delta area was turned into a huge rice field, people started mentioning economic progress and modernization in Burmese society. With the surplus gained from selling rice, Burmese people

at that time bought lots of cheap and Western manufactured products flowing into Burma, such as soap, kerosene lamps and textiles. Not only were the necessities bought, but also modern luxury goods such as European glassware and crockery, metal cabinets and chests, and clocks, as well as agricultural equipment. It has been stated that, by the final decades of the nineteenth century, there was evidence of rising imported goods consumption among Burmese people, of some “*smoking a French briar pipe and suckling his motherless babe with an English nursing bottle containing Swiss condensed milk*” (Adas: 1974, cited in Brown: 2009: 12) .

The British rice exporting policy promoted rice crop cultivation, and for this a huge amount of labour was needed. Most of this labour force consisted of Indian migrant workers, the numbers of which increased from around 147,000 in the 1890s to 406,000 workers in the 1920s. These Indian workers were temporary migrants, working in Burma for only a few years before returning home. Some were also seasonal migrants. These Indian labourers worked in groups of around 20 to 50, under the management of an Indian contractor. However, it was not only the Indian labourers who moved to Burma; other Indian businessmen such as moneylenders were crucial to agricultural development, and so dominated the financing of local Burmese farmers. In addition, Indian shopkeepers helped support Indian people within Burmese traditional society. As a consequence and according to the Burmese 1901 census, 51% of the population in Rangoon (now Yangon) at that time was Indian.

It should be highlighted here that, during the British colonial era, local traders such as the Shan and Chinese were also active in Burma and helped its economic development. In terms of the rice industry, although the Europeans dominated most of the rice mills, those situated near the ports, a few of these mills were owned by Indian and Chinese companies, with only a few owned by the Burmese (Brown: 2009: 16). While the Indians played a significant role in terms of finance, the Chinese mostly acted as intermediaries between the rice fields and rice mills. These Chinese and Shan merchants normally stayed in the big cities and traded goods between Burma and China. The migration of these foreign groups – Indians, Chinese, Shan and also Europeans – influenced not only the economy and trade, but also Burmese food culture.

The post-colonial era and Burma’s development into a modern nation (1948-1988)

After independence, Burma had a democratic government for a short period of time, from 1948 to 1961, after which a non-democratic socialist government held power from 1962 to 1987, then a military government from 1988 to 2011. During this time, agricultural development was a key issue, with new techniques and machinery introduced to the rural population, and with factories built in the cities. However, the initial development in this area, between 1948 and 1987, brought little progress. The story of Burmese women, as written by Mi Mi Khaing (1984: 138-149), mentions various businesses being opened in Burma, such as saw-mills and logging companies, mines, foundries and automobile works, as well as agriculture related industries and manufacturers of goods such as slippers, matches,

soap, hosiery and aluminum pots. Food-related industries were also opened, making or processing biscuits, canned fish and sweets, and also glass and bottle factories, cigarette and cheroot manufacturers and textiles factories. Interestingly, Mi Mi Khaing concludes in her book that the lives of urban women were not influenced by this period of industrialization. The women mostly worked in small- or medium-sized factories, in which the atmosphere was more domestic and family-oriented. Although urbanization and industrialization kept on increasing, Burmese women retained their traditional dress and family commitments (Khaing: 1984: 149).

While industrialization did not initially affect women's way of life very much, the same was true of farming in rural areas, for which the government introduced modernization through the use of modern, scientific forms of production, new farm machinery and chemical fertilizers, as well as new cropping techniques (Nash: 1965: 236). The farm tractor was seen as the symbol of modern farming, though a poorly organized government development programme aimed at the market, money and credit did not facilitate national economic growth. (ibid: 239, 245). With farmers lacking economic opportunities and with low levels of access to modern means of production, including the government programme, a lack of modern management skills and commercial instincts, and traditional social relations and infrastructure, Burma at that time (1948-1987) could not be thought of as having modernized as yet (King: 2008: 45, Kiryu: 1999: 11).

Modernization after the market-oriented economy era (1988-present)

The privatization and market economy policies of the military government, those issued in 1988, accelerated private local and foreign investment, and encouraged trade, particularly across borders. People moved to work in the cities and urban areas on a large scale; for example, the percentage of people living in urban areas rose from 24% in 1980 to 24.6%, 27.2% and 33.2% over the years 1990, 2000 and 2012 respectively (Table 1.1)

Table 1.1: The percentage of Myanmar's population living in urban areas (1980-2012)

Population	Year			
	1980	1990	2000	2012
Total population* (Number)	34,474,755	42,123,003	48,453,000	52,797,319
Urban Population** (% of population)	24.0	24.6	27.2	33.2

Source: *Myanmar-Population. www.Countrypeconomy.com/demography/population/burma

**United Nations ESCAP. Statistical Yearbook for Asia and the Pacific 2013. United Nations Publications, Thailand: p.17

Development policies emphasized agricultural development and the growth of agro-industry. Also, since 1990, new industrial zones have been established and also more

factories built and foreign companies attracted to the big cities; mostly from India and China. Of all the industrial enterprises registered between 1990 and 2010, those in the food and beverage sector dominated (Table 1.2), with drinking water, sugar and shrimp paste being the major products (Table 1.3). According to Nang Saw Nandar Hlaing (2014: 15), 90% of the factories in Myanmar are small factories with less than 50 workers, and half of these are food and beverage manufacturers aimed at the domestic sector.

Table 1.2 Myanmar Public Industrial Enterprises, classified by year and enterprise

Particulars	1990-91	1995-96	2000-01	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10
Food and beverages	134	154	164	165	106	176	179	166	145	105
Clothing	38	29	30	23	30	32	44	43	45	41
Construction Materials	119	117	118	122	128	122	134	125	122	112
Personal goods	30	30	30	18	21	24	28	43	43	42
Household goods	11	11	15	26	28	27	28	23	29	21
Printing and Publishing	26	24	25	24	30	31	31	35	34	34
Industrial raw materials	53	58	75	66	41	44	48	46	42	41
Mineral & Petroleum products	36	36	34	20	27	36	23	27	30	20
Agricultural equipment	6	14	16	20	23	13	10	10	11	19
Machinery and equipment	4	4	3	11	13	29	22	24	20	17
Transport vehicles	84	91	103	174	181	173	172	169	14	10
Workshops and dockyards	20	20	26	152	110	106	108	112	122	111
Miscellaneous	55	120	209	96	80	134	93	94	83	79
Total	616	708	848	917	818	947	920	917	740	652

Source: Statistical year book 2010, Central Statistical Organization, Ministry of National Planning and Economic Development; p 163

Table 1.3 Production of food and beverages, by year and output

Commodity	Unit	1990-91	1995-96	2000-01	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10
Food and Beverages											
1.Sugar	Ton	19153	41438	92936	45060	52920	38816	34783	24170	28413	20298
2.Molasses	Ton	10437	26857	43365	27904	26316	19966	16509	22471	13249	10294
3.Salt crude	(000)	259	218	231	382	267	172	223	153	242	409
	Ton										
Salt refined	(000)	125	143	201	271	272	276	250	234	182	250
	Ton										
4.Biscuits	Ton	8464	1806	1320	1323	1226	989	751	761	726	133
5.Noodles	(000)	47386	18016	489	746(r)	1550	1813	1532	1981	2172	2298
	lb					(r)	(r)	(r)	(r)	(r)	
6.Coffee	(000)	79	204	121	141	124	84	106	114	96	89
	lb										
7.Tea	(000)	1471	1609	1851	2132	1880	1729	1870	1866	1848	1883
	lb										
8.Condensed milk	(000)	36159	5709	3621	2066	2117	2560	3215	5491	3358	7613
	lb										
9.Shrimp paste	(000)	53272	1147	624	644	633	632	746	419	700	644
	viss										
10.Soft drinks	(000)	2207	2658	9306	15827	14624	15708	15466	14967	14741	9485
	doz									(r)	
11.Beer	(000)	494	-	1212	254(r)	251(r)	1637	1375	1545	9116	972
	gal						(r)	(r)	(r)	(r)	
12.Alcohol	(000)	2386	3216	5332	1305	1542	1471	1311	1643	1676	838
	gal				(r)	(r)	(r)	(r)	(r)	(r)	
13.Purified drinking water	Liters	153900	1788389	2210861	3175829 (r)	6040747 (r)	4732287	6270994	7771562	6549796	3723116
14.Candy	M.	-	-	11	392	410	328	281	321	136	125
	Ton										

Source: Statistical yearbook 2010, Central Statistical Organization, Ministry of National Planning and Economic Development: p 164

The liberalized and market-oriented economic policies introduced in 1988, and the subsequent economic growth in Myanmar, have mainly relied on industrial development and international trade. Myanmar issued a Foreign Investment Law in 1988, allowing foreign direct investment (FDI) to occur within the processing and manufacturing sectors, and

established industrial zones in the 1990s. The impacts of these industrial zones on people's lives and occupations, especially those farmers whose land was used to construct the factories inside the zones, has been direct and obvious (Thapin Phatcharanuruk and Hla Moe 2001). Industrial development has accelerated since 2012, as the democratic government has set up seven new industrial zones and three more special economic zones, in Dawei, Yangon and Rakhine State (see Appendix A 1 – 4 for a timeline of Myanmar's industrial development process, plus a map and details of the older and new industrial zones). However, it is worth mentioning here that, notwithstanding the fact that industrial development has been prioritized by the government in order to move the country towards modernity, it is the agriculture sector which has increased the most in importance since the 1980s. Agriculture's share of GDP increased from 40% in 1985 to 55% in 1995, due mainly to the increases in prices, which had previously been fixed by the military government. (Kudo: 2001: 20). Furthermore, a recent study reported that in 2012, the livestock, fishery and forestry sectors together made-up 43% of GDP (Swe Mon Aung and Sukanya Sirikeratikul: 2013: 2). However, in contrast to the limited government support provided to help with agricultural development, the tourism and service sectors have received more focus in terms of enhancing the country's GDP (Kudo: 2001: 20). Despite this, the agriculture sector still dominates the GDP figures, as up to 2011 it still represented 34.2% of GDP. The industrial sector; however, has started to increase in importance since 2010 (see Appendix A 5).

The modernization process has been swift, with the development of infrastructure being a key priority. The number of telephone lines has increased, rising from 158,000 in 1995 to 521,100 in 2011, and the number of mobile phones has increased from only 2,007 in 1995 to 1,244,000 in 2011. The number of internet hosts has increased from only three in 2003 to 1,033 in 2010, which the number of internet users increasing from 500 in 2000 to 110,000 by 2009. (CIA World Factbook, 2011 cited in Indexmundi). The number of tourists visiting Myanmar has also increased, from 8,806 in 1990 to 394,427 in 2009 and then 1,058,995 in 2012, the majority arriving at Yangon and Mandalay International Airports being Thai. The number of private hotels has also increased, from a mere 96 in 1995 to 583 in 2004 (Central Statistical Organization: 2012: 438, 439, 440, Ministry of Hotels and Tourism). Related to tourism, more airlines now have been formed or have a presence in Myanmar. Tin Naing Tun, Director General of the Department of Civil Aviation at the Ministry of Transport, said that Myanmar expects to be an Asian aviation hub by 2030 (DVB : 2014: 'The battle for Burma's crowded skies'). These changes have also affected the education sector; there has been an increase in the number of students graduating in computing and technology related subjects (see Appendix A 6-9).

The rapid increase in tourist numbers has also impacted on revenues, with 30% of all food and beverage revenues derived from products sold in hotels. Furthermore, tourism development has impacted on the importing of foreign food products, such as Norwegian



salmon, New Zealand mussels and wines from Australia and France. Foreign restaurants; for example, those serving Indian, Chinese, Thai, Japanese, Italian and Korean food, have increased noticeably over the last few years (Swe Mon Aung and Sukanya Sirikeratikul: 2013: 10). It is not only imported food products that have flooded the urban areas. According to a UNDP socio-economic survey in rural areas, among the rural population, 90% of non-food and durable-use expenditure is now on foreign-made goods (Kudo: 2001: 24). This illustrates the influence of foreign markets and products on people in Myanmar as a result of liberalization.

Industrial development and the growth of foreign and domestic investment has resulted in the expansion of urban areas. It was stated that there were 400 foreign and domestic investments between 2011 and 2013, with nearly 200,000 jobs created as a result (DVB, 23 June 2014). With the increase in tourist numbers, so 238 new hotels and guest houses have been opened in Yangon, and 302 new hotels in Mandalay have been approved by the Ministry of Hotels and Tourism. Farmers, and people whose land is situated on the urban peripheries, have been forced to sell their land, a situation exposed by the media. It is alleged that farmers living on the periphery of urban areas have been threatened by development companies wishing to use their land to build hotels. Of course, it has been stated that such hotel developments will accelerate economic growth and create many jobs for local people (The Myanmar Times: Thursday 15 May 2014). The expansion of urban areas has impacted upon food production activities, and especially where the land being developed is fertile agricultural land. The issue of development versus food sources will be detailed further in a later section.

Looking at the health and medicine sector, in 2009 Myanmar imported pharmaceutical products valued at 797.67 million Kyat, double what it had been in 2004 (314.82 million Kyat) and around 8.5 times than the amount imported in 1990 (94.24 million Kyat) (Central Statistical Organization: 2012: 214). These figures exclude a huge number of drugs imported illegally across the country's border, though this cannot be certified (DVB, 24 June 2014). Not only drugs, but foreign-made cosmetics, and especially skin-whitening products are being imported from China and Thailand, some of which contain dangerous chemicals. In March 2014, the Burma Food and Drug Administration (FDA) announced that nine Thai cosmetics brands contained harmful chemicals (DVB, 13 June 2014). Moreover, foreign investment in hospitals has increased in recent years, and a large hospital covering a total area of 50 rai is planned for Mandalay by the Thonburi Hospital Group, an investment group from Thailand. Working jointly with Aung Shwe Three International Group, an investment group from Myanmar, Thonburi Hospital Group will also construct a 150-bed hospital in Yangon, and plans to build 30 to 40 modern clinics throughout Myanmar by the year 2018 (Bangkok Post, 24 June 2014).

To sum up, industrialization, though starting during colonial times and continuing during the socialist period, has gathered pace during the recent liberalization and market-oriented economy period. The expansion of industrial zones, infrastructure developments, urbanization, the service sector and tourism, has created opportunities for people to take-up

new occupations and have access to foreign goods and information. However, such changes are having a negative impact on food sources, as presented in the following section.

Development, food and health security

Development has had both positive and negative impacts on people's lives. The development of roads and an increase in the availability and use of communications devices, have improved transportation and access to information. However, the modernization process taking place is based on a capitalist model, meaning that industrialization and urbanization are inevitably impacting upon the agricultural sector and local food production activities. According to Young (2012: 91), the Western model of development is mainly based on industrialization, and has been promoted within (or indirectly forced upon) developing countries through international channels, such as the structural adjustment programs introduced by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). Participating in these programs in order to pay-off national debts, poorer countries have had to reduce the subsidies and protection enjoyed by local food producers, and many of these producers have gone out of business; unable to compete with foreign goods and companies in the liberalized context. Whereas not all countries have followed IMF rules and regulations, most have opened-up to FDI, plus exploited their cheap labour pools, readily available land, and the environment, to mass produce food and luxury goods for export. Young (2012) describes the situation with regard to local agricultural and marine products, many of which are cultivated or caught, then delivered to supermarkets in the West, such as prawns, coffee and exotic fresh fruits.

Liberalization and globalization have also impacted upon local food consumption patterns, due to the changing agricultural products available, and also FDI in the food processing and retailing sectors, as well as global food advertising and promotion (Hawkes, 2006: 1 – cited in Young: 2012: 92). The popularity of Coca Cola and other modern goods among developing countries clearly shows how people's food and drink consumption patterns, as well as lifestyles in general, are being transformed due to new forms of marketing and advertising. Moreover, there has been an increase in meat and dairy product consumption among developing countries, resulting from mass meat production activities and the development of export markets (Young: 2012: 92). These changing food consumption patterns are also having an impact on people's health, with illnesses related to changing food consumption patterns beginning to appear in the developing countries.



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

Industrialization and liberalization have also affected changes in local food sources and how food is accessed, resulting in increased food insecurity among the rural poor, who are the most vulnerable group under liberalization. Through industrialization and urbanization, urban areas have increased in size by encroaching upon rural areas. As a result, rural agricultural land has been transformed, and local people have had to adjust their

occupations; working as labourers or employees in towns and cities. The prices of food have increased, whereas the variety of local food available has decreased as a result of changing modes of production; in a situation where more foreign foods and food products are being imported. Development; therefore, has had an impact on the availability of food (food sufficiency) and the types of food people have access to. Moreover, development has also impacted on food safety due to the use of fertilizers and chemicals within modern food production, processing and packaging activities. Added to this, food sovereignty has become an issue in the context of modern food production methods and the liberalization process. Young describes food sovereignty as *“people’s right to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture system (Young: 2012: 24)”*; however, this is being placed in the hands of the market and of corporations.

One can assess the impact development, liberalization and marketing have had on food products consumption by looking at commodity imports data for Myanmar from 1990 to 2009, which shows the proportion of consumption goods forging ahead of capital goods and intermediate goods. Of the imported consumption goods, food is the most popular; in particular condensed and evaporated milk, edible vegetable oils, spices, seasoning powders, snacks and ready-made foods (Central Statistical Organization: 2012: 216, Kudo: 2001: 28). There are three main channels through which food products



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

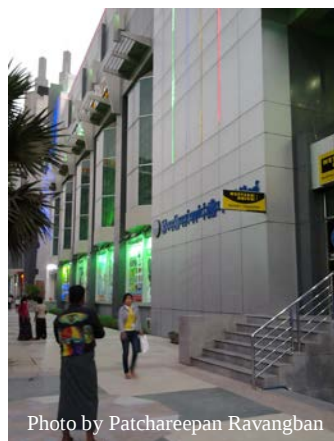


Photo by Patchareepan Ravangban

are imported into Myanmar; by sea into Yangon, by air through Yangon International Airport, and over land from China and Thailand. Most food products imported over land are of the daily consumption variety, and many imported food products are now available in modern supermarkets and local shops in the big shopping centres around Myanmar. The most popular modern supermarket chains are City Mart Supermarket and Ocean Supercenter, as well as Orange Supermarket and Capital Hypermarket. Most of the supermarkets are to be found in Yangon and Mandalay, with only a few in Bagan and Nay Pyi Taw. However, recently, with the increase in the number of tourists visiting Myanmar, new supermarkets and hypermarkets have opened in Mandalay also, such as Diamond Plaza.

Myanmar people spend 70% of their incomes on food (Haggblade: 2013: 41, Swe Mon Aung and Sukanya Sirikeratikul: 2013: 5); however, food prices have increased in recent years, particularly rice and chicken eggs, chicken, pork, groundnut oil and palm oil. The prices of such foods were at their highest in 2008; for example, the price of chicken in 2008 was ten times higher than it had been in the year 2000 (see Appendix A 10). These increased food prices have affected people’s food consumption patterns, since some people can no longer afford certain foods, especially the economically disadvantaged. Among rural

people – for whom farming is the main income source - small-scale trade and basket weaving are among the key secondary income sources, especially during the agricultural off-seasons. Small-scale livestock rearing, poultry farming and also fisheries are important sources of income as well as food for rural families. Haggblade (2013: 38-39) revealed that half of the income generated among those living in rural areas comes from crop production activities and working on farms, while small-scale trade represents 11% and fish production 9% of total incomes. Moreover, among the landless, small-scale trade activities provide 15%, fishing 11% and livestock rearing 2% of total incomes. This study also revealed that among the landless, nearly 60% of financial loans are spent on food purchases (Haggblade: 2013: 41), leading to high levels of vulnerability among the rural poor due to food insecurity.

With the foreign investment taking place in the agriculture sector, food production patterns have changed, with the phrase “contract farming” initially appearing in Myanmar’s agricultural policies in 2008. However, there is limited data and information available on contract farming within Myanmar’s official statistical reports. However, a survey of fruit and vegetables exported to China revealed that the number of mangos exported to China increased by more than 750% over the period 2005 to 2009. China started to import mangos in 2006, the volume then being 120,000 kilograms; however, this amount increased ten-fold over the next two years, so that by 2008, the number of mangos being exported to China was 18,293,416 kilograms, with this amount doubling again, to 30,171,612 kilograms, in 2009 (International Trade Center: 2011: 10). In a similar vein, the same report revealed that the amount of water melons exported to China from Myanmar in 2007 was 3,112,500 kilograms, and this had increased to 99,095,912 kilograms by 2008 and 124,379,592 kilograms by 2009 (International Trade Center: 2011: 11). A similar situation has been reported in the case of bananas, which China started importing from Myanmar in 2008 (4,398,239 kilograms), and with the amount increasing to 94,308,088 kilograms by 2009 (International Trade Center: 2011: 13).



In response to the need for higher agricultural production levels, the use of pesticides and chemicals has been increasingly promoted and subsidized by the Myanmar government. The amount of fertilizer used in 1990 was 151,565 metric tons, decreasing to 6,866 metric tons by 2009, while the amount of pesticide in powder and in liquid form used in 1990 was 308,464 pounds and 43,900 gallons increasing to 1,618,615 pounds and 660,051 gallons by 2009 (Central Statistical Organization: 2012: 119,120). In line with this, the amount of fertilizer imported was 22,000 metric tons in 1990, increasing sharply up to 2000 and 2004, with figures of 140,000 and 113,000 metric tons respectively in those years. It can be seen that after the year 2004, the amount of imported fertilizer decreased to a similar value as for 1990. By 2009, the amount of fertilizer imported was 37,000 metric tons (Central Statistical Organization: 2012: 214); however, the values for pesticides and fertilizers were higher than those recorded and published by the Myanmar Agriculture Service, the Myanmar Industrial

Crop Development Enterprise and the Customs Department, as a large amount of these products are imported illegally and so unrecorded.

The large amount of fertilizer and pesticide used in agricultural production has increased health risks, and it has been stated that farmers use large quantities of potentially dangerous chemicals on a regular basis, using instructions written in foreign languages. As a result, it is highly likely that farmers use them without knowing of the dangers; they do not know how to use them safely. Recently, public concern has been aroused regarding the use of chemical substances and food safety, and a group called the 'Myanmar Organic Agriculture Group' (MOAG) has been formed, as has the Consumer Protection Association, in 2012. Though no official data was available for organic farming, it was reported that in 2011 there were six organic farms covering 59.89 hectares in the country, increasing to 20 organic farms by the end of 2012. However, MOAG believes that some organic farms have not registered or been recorded as such; estimated to cover 2,000 to 5,000 acres (The Myanmar Times, 11 August 2013). Food safety concerns have arisen in the context of more foreign foods coming into Myanmar. The Consumer Protection Association of Myanmar has run a food safety campaign, investigating foreign snacks consumed at schools in the country (DVB, 15 March 2014).



Photo by Patchareepan Ravangban

Not only has crop production increased due to FDI; in 1997 the livestock sector grew significantly due to the investment's the Charoen Pokphand Group (C.P.) from Thailand. In the past, as mentioned above, local chickens were fed around people's houses for household consumption and to provide additional income. A small group of ten to 20 chickens would be fed by each household. Due to the activities of Myanmar C.P. Livestock Co. Ltd (MCPL), new chicken production activities have been introduced, with hundreds of chickens housed in large coops. MCPL started off breeding chickens for their egg and broiler business, building chicken hatcheries and chicken food factories. It has been reported that chickens were originally housed and fed on military premises, and that this practice has expanded since MCPL moved into Myanmar. In Myanmar, MCPL has around 50% of the chicken market, raising local concerns regarding the possibility of a monopoly developing in the Myanmar poultry market (DVB, 15 April 2014).

Changes in food production patterns, and the effects of agricultural land reduction as a result of urban expansion, have impacted on the availability of local foods, raised the price of food products and increased consumption levels, with more foreign-origin foods available at higher prices. It is worth pointing out here that changes in local food sources and food products have had a direct impact on people's health and well-being, especially among the economically disadvantaged.

Changes in food sources, prices and consumption patterns eventually effect people's health, and Myanmar is currently facing a double burden of malnutrition and obesity (The World Bank). A UNICEF report (2009) revealed that 41% of children aged below five are stunted (low height for age), 30% are underweight (low weight for age) and 11% are 'wasted' (low weight for height). Moreover, it was also found that nearly one in seven infants in Myanmar have a low birth weight. Malnutrition among children under five is closely related to the poor food security situation, in which 17% of households are food insecure and in poverty. As mentioned earlier, the poor spend nearly 70% of their incomes on food, and some living in rural areas raise livestock for food and to provide additional income. The reduction in agricultural area caused by the expansion of urban areas has led to a deterioration in the poor's food security situation.

Seemingly at odds with this, the problem of too much weight is developing among the Myanmar population, with 39% of men aged 30 years or more, and 53% of women, said to be overweight in 2005. It is estimated that by 2015, 46% of males and 60% of females will be classified as overweight. In 2008, the prevalence of obesity was 4% (males 1.9% and females 6%), and 2.6% of children under five were reported to be overweight in 2010 (WHO: 2014). This reflects the impact of changes in food consumption patterns taking place, with more foreign, processed foods becoming available in Myanmar since liberalization in 1988. However, in 2010, the proportion of children under five found to be underweight was 22.6%, reflecting the double-burden of obesity and malnutrition that exists within Myanmar society today, a situation that is getting worse.

It should be noted here that Myanmar has long-faced food-related health problems. For example, in 2008 the proportions of men and women with high blood pressure were 31.1% and 26.4% respectively. Hypertension has long been an important mortality issue in Myanmar, as has diabetes. The recent Myanmar National health plan (2006-2011) states that approximately 20% of the population in Myanmar has hypertension, and that 8% to 12% of the population has been diagnosed as diabetes mellitus (Ministry of Health: 2006 :138). Such diseases, together with smoking and obesity, are important risk factors in relation to the development of cardiovascular diseases, now the leading cause of death in Myanmar.

The research project

This eighteen-month research project, which ran from 15 January 2013 to 14 July 2014, was a collaborative study between the University of Traditional Medicine in Myanmar and Chiang Mai University in Thailand. It was financially supported by the Thailand Research Fund. Initially, the study ambitiously aimed to explore the effect of changing food consumption patterns on health in Myanmar, within the context of modernization. However during the first presentation on the project's progress, it was suggested that due to the limited time the focus should switch to the effects of modernization on food consumption patterns, with the health implications of this would be explored in a later project.

Objectives of the study

The specific objectives of this study were as follows:

1. To examine food consumption patterns among families in Myanmar; the types of food consumed and the socio-economic factors related to food taking.
2. To examine the effects of industrialization, urbanization and liberalization in Myanmar on food sources and food consumption patterns.

Study area

The study was conducted in Mandalay, the second biggest city in Myanmar, whose geographical location has helped it develop into a focal point for the transportation of foodstuffs and goods from many parts of Myanmar and beyond. For example, since ancient times, Mandalay has been a hub for goods being transported from the north to the south (from China and Shan State to Yangon), and also from the east to the west (from China and Shan State, or Yangon, to the western parts of Myanmar, plus onwards to India and Bangladesh). As a result of its advantageous geographical position, a variety of goods and foodstuffs are readily available in Mandalay. Furthermore, as a result of liberalization and government policies towards tourism in Myanmar, Mandalay now receives many foreign visitors and also stocks many goods from abroad. The number of modern restaurants in the city is increasing, and this is having an impact on the local Myanmar food scene, which is being tailored to cater for tourists' tastes.

The research for the study was conducted in a small community in Oo Bo Shwe Gin Quarter, Aung May Thar Zan Township in Mandalay. This community is located in a semi-urban area, and from there it takes around ten minutes by car to reach the centre of Mandalay. The history of this community can be traced back to the colonial era, helping one to understand the changes that have taken place in terms of local geography, people's way of life and their occupations, alongside the process of modernization. The community is located next to the Ayeyarwadee River, and this location long supported pottery activities in the past, as well as fishing for local, household consumption. Over the past five years; however, the area has become more crowded, as people who once lived in the city have sold their land to newcomers, mostly businessmen from other towns, and then moved to buy small plots in the study community, thereafter traveling to work in the city each day. As the city's area has increased, so more businesses and shops have opened in the area, with people from other rural areas moving to the community in search of work.

Data collection methods: Who, where and how?

Interviews were the main data collection method used. The interviews were carried out in English, with translation into Burmese undertaken by efficient local translators. As well as the interviews, data was taken from historical documents on food, official annual reports and also from observations made during the data collection period. The data collection activities were executed over four time periods: (1) 24 January to 3 February 2013,

(2) 10 to 23 March 2013, (3) 9 to 23 October 2013, and (4) 11 to 23 March 2014. The people interviewed and places observed can be classified as follows:

1. People living in Oo Bo Shwe Gin Quarter

Thirty-six people living in Oo Bo Shwe Gin Quarter were asked if they could be interviewed in their own homes. In order to understand the influences of socio-economic conditions on food preparation and consumption activities, these people were selected based on their varying economic statuses, ages, family structures and occupations. The social characteristics of the interviewed people are presented in Appendix A 11. The interview questions covered topics such as the families' food purchasing decisions, what they cook and where they prepare their meals, as well as how they eat their meals within the family.

2. Food shops and businesses

2.1 Local Burmese food shops were observed and were sites where informal interviews took place. These food shops provide the ready-cooked food for local villagers, but vary in terms of the food served and their sizes. For this study I carried out interviews/observations at four local Burmese food shops, as follows;

(1) Two Burmese food shops/restaurants

These two Burmese food shops-restaurants are big and attract many customers each day; as many as 60. In terms of size, they are around eight by ten meters and have been serving food in the Mandalay area for more than ten years. The shops are quite modern, as the plates used are ceramic, there are spoons and forks provided and the décor is of a high quality. The restaurants also provide hand towels, and have running water and liquid soap available for the customers to use to wash their hands before and after eating. The prices of the food provided here are a little bit higher at the smaller local shop (see below). One of these shops starts in the early morning at 7 a.m. and closes at 9 p.m., while the other opens for lunch and dinner only, starting at 11 a.m. and closing at 8 p.m.

(2) One buffet-style Burmese food shop

One buffet-style food shop was observed, with the owner interviewed informally. This shop is owned by a Shan man and is open from 6 a.m. until 2 or 3 p.m.. As the shop is situated in the central business district of Mandalay, customers are mostly local businessman, workers and a few tourist groups. The price per head for a meal in 2012 was 2000 Kyat, but this had increased to 4000 Kyat by 2013. There are more than 20 cooked dishes available each day; the customers can take rice and choose from a range of cooked dishes, eating as much as they want. The shop provides free drinking water, but for fruit juices and other kinds of soft drink, the customers have to pay. In the past, the plates used in this shop were made of plastic, but the shop changed to using ceramic plates in 2014. This might be because the number of customers from Western countries has increased since the end of 2013.

(3) One small, local Burmese food shop

The owner of a small, local food shop was also interviewed. This shop covers an area of three meters by four, and is situated on the ground floor of a two storey house. There are around ten cooked dishes provided, which customers can choose from and add to a plate of rice. The shop is near Mandalay University, so most customers are students who live in the private apartments or rented rooms in the area. The shop opens at 6 a.m. and closes at 8 p.m. The food is served on plastic plates and the price for rice with one cooked dish is 1000 Kyat. Some clients buy rice with cooked food and eat it at home.

2.2 Tea shops

Two tea shops were observed, with the owner of one also interviewed. Both these tea shops are very popular among local people and have more than 100 customers each day. One teashop is located in the west of the city centre and opens 24 hours-a-day, while the other is located in the east of the centre, near Mandalay Palace moat, and opens from 6 a.m. until 3 p.m.. As well as tea, coffee and cold drinks, a variety of foods, Burmese noodles, Burmese snacks and baked items are served in both teashops, and both shops have been operating for more than ten years.

2.3 Bakery/doughnut/fast food and western food restaurant

The number of this type of modern food shop and restaurant has increased since 1990. Two doughnut/bakery shops, one fast food outlet (similar to KFC) and two restaurants serving Western and Korean food were observed, in order to gather data on the variety of foods and snacks provided, the types of customer entering the shops, and the general conditions to be found at these premises. It was found that most of the customers at the doughnut shops are teenagers who meet at the shops socially, while at the bakery (which also serves cold drinks and hot tea/coffee) most customers are family groups. For the Western restaurant, people go there not only for the food, but also to discuss business matters, plus families (especially among the rich) go there on special occasions or with guests. Moreover, lots of tourists, mostly from Europe, go to eat at this restaurant. However, during my data collection period, the fast food outlet similar to KFC had only just opened, so very few customers visited. The prices of food and snacks served in the fast food and Western restaurants are very much higher than at the doughnut and bakery shop.

2.4 Retail outlets and food section in a department store

The owner of a retail shop selling canned drinks (Coca Cola, orange etc) was also interviewed. This shop has been in business for more than ten years, and the goods sold there are both local and imported from Thailand. As well as drinks, the shop sells some imported goods from Thailand such as herbal soaps and cosmetics, which are displayed in a small cabinet. The food items sold in the department store consist mostly of processed food products and seasoning, both local and imported. Cooked foods and desserts are also sold, as

well as a variety of fresh meats and vegetables. Most customers go to buy items here at the weekend; mostly middle-class people who work in the city.

3. Chicken farm owner and worker

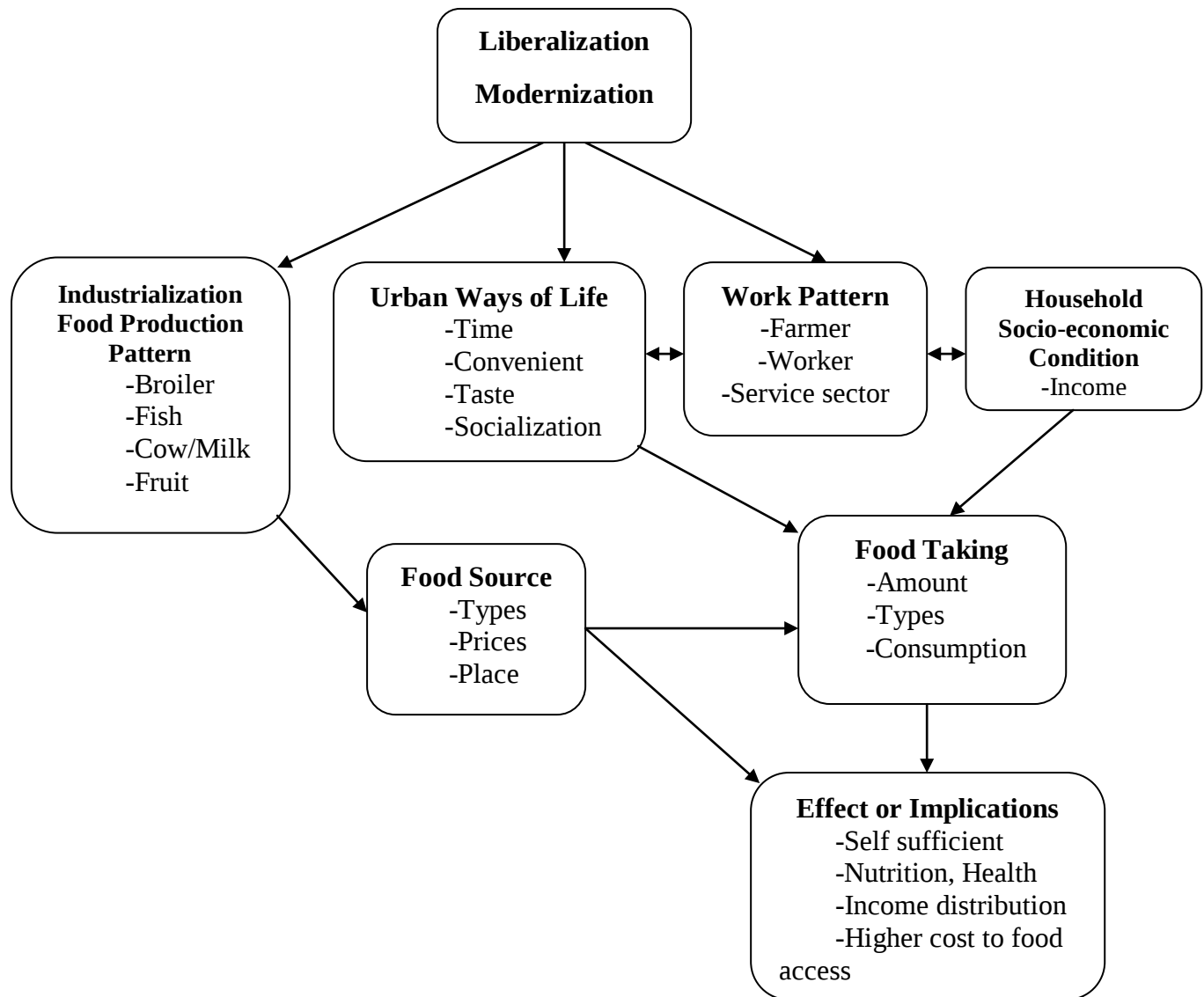
One owner of a chicken farm and a worker there were interviewed, at the farm. There are two large chicken houses on this farm, and each house has fish ponds underneath. This farm buys chicks and chicken food from both local companies and Myanmar CP Livestock Co Ltd. After the chickens have been fed for 45 days, the CP broilers are sold in the local market, while the chicks bought from a local company (called *Bamar kjet* in Burmese) have to be fed for around 90 days. Both the CP and local broilers can be sold independently by the farm, directly to the local market. The price per viss¹ for a CP broiler at the market is cheaper than for a local *Bamar kjet*.

4. Divisional livestock officer and township officer

A divisional livestock officer was contacted for information on the local situation in terms of the types and number of chickens and broilers in Mandalay Division. Moreover, a township officer was interviewed to obtain population and socio-economic data about the study township.

¹ Viss is the Myanmar measure which 1 viss equal to 3.6 lb.

Conceptual framework of the study



Structure of the report

This report is divided into five chapters. The first chapter covers the modernization, industrialization, health and food security situations in Myanmar, and includes a description of the methods, data collection and conceptual framework used for the study. The second chapter begins with how modernization has impacted upon and changed food sources and food price, and describes the effect urbanization has had on people's ways of life, and the kinds of food they buy. The third chapter looks more specifically at a Burmese teashop, presenting how collective food consumption behaviour has changed as a result of urbanization and changes in the urban way of life. Moreover, the issue of food hybridization, or Burmanization, is highlighted in the context of the socio-economic dimensions of food consumption in urban Myanmar. The fourth chapter deals with the food consumption

behaviours of the study population; what they eat, how they prepare the food, when and with whom they eat, as well as the socio-economic factors influencing their food consumption behaviours. The final chapter concludes by discussing the changing food consumption behaviours of the study population in light of the modernization taking place in Myanmar.

Myanmar Teashops:

The Space and Hybridity of Food Culture in an Urbanisation and Tourism Context

The previous chapter described the changes in food production that have affected food sources and the kinds of foods available in Myanmar due to agricultural industrialization, urbanization and tourism at the macro level. Prior to looking at food consumption at the household level in the next chapter, in this chapter I will focus on the social aspects of food consumption by discussing the phenomenon of Myanmar tea shops in line with my theoretical concerns. A tea shop in Myanmar is a "space" which clearly illustrates how people have adjusted to urban life. It is a place where people not only eat food, but also acts as a socio-economic space in which people share information, and create and strengthen their socio-economic networks. Interestingly, such spaces were first created before the colonial era, then were adjusted during the colonial and liberalization periods, and right up to the present day. Moreover, tea shops are cultural spaces into which different kinds of food and customers have entered as modernization has taken place; tea shops present the hybridization of traditional Myanmar food and foods from other cultures and societies. They also reflect the non-static state of culture, which changes over time along with changes in society and values, as influenced by external influences and cultures.

Second, the theory of urbanization states that a characteristic of urban areas includes population growth, increases in population densities and also high levels of heterogeneity among people living in such spaces. Such characteristics impact on patterns of social relations in urban areas, as people become more individualistic and the agricultural collective fades away. The social interactions that take place and networks created in tea shops in Myanmar present the idea of an urban community, of sharing things and information in support of those living there, although in theory, urban people are more individualistic.

Finally, using the sociology of food, I will examine food consumption as an individual action in everyday life, and its connection to the social process. Although economic conditions, individual incomes and food prices are all related to food consumption, the wider social context, such as changing work patterns and the division of labour within the family, also have an effect on what kinds of food families can consume and when. This chapter will illustrate how eating food at a tea shop is compatible with the changing work patterns seen in Mandalay as it has modernized.

I will start by describing the multicultural foods served at tea shops in Myanmar over time and the crucial role tea shops play, not only as places to eat food, but also as spaces embedded within the social relations and connections that support economic and social life in the country. Based on my fieldwork, I will focus on particular tea shops in Mandalay to illustrate the changes brought-about by modernization, based on how space in the tea shops has been created for and is used to support social and economic activities, and also the hybridity of food served there. The third part of this chapter deals with the consumption of food at the tea shops, as a reflection of changes of urban lifestyles. The final part of this

chapter describes how the tea shop has become a key symbol of Myanmar culture within the tourism industry.

Tea shops in Mandalay in the past

Tea is cultivated in areas of China, India and Burma, and the culture of tea drinking first developed in Southeast Asia a long time ago. The Shan Plateau is an important tea growing area in Myanmar, due to its cooler weather. Interestingly, tea in Myanmar can be perceived as a food and also a beverage. Tea leaves, called *laphet tok* in Burmese, are used in food served at festivals and for welcoming guests to people's homes. However, in this chapter I will concentrate on tea as a beverage and the tea shops which serve hot tea or coffee and many kinds of food, meaning they are also perceived as food shops.



I was told by an elderly informant that the drinking of tea in Myanmar has a long tradition, and that Myanmar people enjoy drinking it throughout the country. As stated earlier, tea is grown in Shan State, and in the past Myanmar people drank tea without milk (plain tea) at home. Mi Mi Khaing (1996) describes the routine activity of a woman in a family which usually wakes up very early in the morning, to make the fire and boil the water ready for making tea. The Burmese preference for drinking tea without milk was commented upon by one informant, who said “during the Second World War, Burmese people had to go to air raid shelters, and they always took a flask of hot tea with them.” Burmese people drink tea at home in the early morning and can drink it all day if they wish, especially older people. In addition, for farmers, gathering under the shade of a tree in the afternoon to rest from work for a while and drink tea is a very common habit. This habit of drinking hot, plain tea is still followed, in both rich and poor houses across the country.

Drinking tea with milk and sugar; however, was introduced by Indian soldiers during the British colonial era, with the drinking of such tea moved from the home to the tea shop. Almost all the tea shops open in big cities during colonial times were owned by Indians and Chinese, with only a very few belonging to Burmese people. The number of tea shops increased over time, and created a huge demand for cow's milk, a necessary ingredient for making tea at a tea shop. A study conducted by Manning Nash (1965) mentions herds of cows migrating from Tatu south of Mandalay, to an area near Yadaw village between February and July. The fresh milk was then bought by condensed milk factories. Nash's study also mentions three condensed milk factories situated in Yadaw village, which supplied condensed milk to the tea shops in Mandalay and Amarapura (Nash: 1965: 217).



The tea shop provided, not only hot milk tea, but also snacks, and so tea shops also became a place to eat food. The most famous Myanmar dish is *mohinga* (Myanmar rice

noodle soup), which is sold at food stalls mostly early in the morning. It was mentioned by



sections, as well as a rice noodle and fried snack sections.

From their beginning, tea shops opened in specific locations that suited their customers. In the past, tea shops opened in areas serving traders. In the case of Mandalay, my informant mentioned that the first tea shop opened in 1942 in a place where the caravans of rice farmers stopped to have a rest before continuing to the rice mills located in Mandalay city. The traders came from villages in the south of Mandalay Division, leaving their hometowns at night in order to reach Mandalay early in the morning. The tea shops then opened to serve them tea and breakfast, before they moved on to Mandalay city. It should be noted here that, as well as being places to relax, tea shops have always had a social and economic function also. In these early days, information would be shared and connections made among groups of rice farmers and other goods traders who arrived to consume tea and food. This shows how tea and tea shops, as places providing food and drink, not only serve the biological needs, but provide places where information can be shared and connections made, on support of people's economic and social lives. This issue will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

It should be noted here that not only tea is provided in the tea shops in Myanmar. It is mentioned by Mi Mi Khaing (2009: 65) that in the past coffee beans were cultivated and ground in Tavoy and Tenasserim and along the coast in the south of Myanmar. However, there is no mention of coffee drinking taking place in this area. It seems drinking tea with milk has always been preferred, the result of Indian soldiers and workers moving to Myanmar in large numbers during colonial times¹. Moreover, drinking tea is more in line with the older tradition of drinking green tea without milk. In addition, the ready supply of tea leaves grown in Shan State, making them relatively low priced, has supported Myanmar people's preference for drinking tea over time.

¹ The influence of British culture in terms of growing and drinking tea, was mainly brought through trade activities, and in particular through The British East India Company, which monopolized the tea trade in western and south Asia. This company was supported by the British government and extended tea cultivation throughout Assam. The company sent a botanical expert to China, to learn about planting and processing tea, after which he adjusted the seeds, then grew and processed tea in India, for export to the UK, where it was promoted as a drink. To make drinking tea more popular among Indians, the British provided it to workers during their work breaks, after which Indians switched from drinking Chinese tea to British style tea.

While the original tea shops opened in peri-urban areas to serve farmers and traders from villages around the city, tea shops also began to open in the cities, serving traders and workers too. The study by Hsue Hgnet (2003) describes Mandalay city in the 1970s, and mentions the tea shops there, which were located in or near to retail markets and in other densely populated areas. Based on his description, tea shops in the city at that time varied in terms of the kinds of snack they provided, and also the time they served their customers. For example, a tea shop at the corner of 84th and 28th streets in Mandalay opened all day and throughout the night. This tea shop had more customers at night, as it was close to Zeygyo Market, the largest retail market in upper Myanmar. Not only was tea provided, this tea shop also served fried rice (pp.117-118). Another tea shop described in this book was situated at the intersection of 80th and 12th streets, named Let-Yway-Sin tea shop. The food served in this tea shop included mutton soup and roti with potato curry. The style of tea served at this tea shop was strong with less sugar (p.59). The other two tea shops described by Hsue Hgnet were situated on the corner of 80th and 28th streets. These shops were located in the Chinatown area, and the food served there included dumplings, sweets and *ei-kyar kwe* (deep fried dough sticks). These tea shops opened all day and night (p.73). Actually, there are more tea shops described in the book, but the three tea shops mentioned above clearly present the multi-cultural foods served at such places; from traditional Burmese food to Indian and Chinese foods based on the location and customers. Due to Mandalay's location, and its role as the biggest retail centre in upper Myanmar, many traders from surrounding areas and of varying ethnicities moved to stay there and helped influence the kinds of food served at the tea shops. Nowadays, tea shops are not only influenced by Indian and Chinese food; it was mentioned by one of my informants that there are an increasing number of Shan noodle shops in Mandalay and the surrounding areas as a result of rice, groundnut, bean and fruit traders from Shan State sending their goods to the retail markets each day. This informant also mentioned that Burmese people are now quite used to eating Shan noodles as a result of the opening of these Shan noodle shops.



To sum up, this section has described the history behind tea drinking in Myanmar, which started with the consumption of plain Chinese tea and later changed to include tea mixed with milk and sugar as influenced by Indian soldiers, merchants and workers who had migrated into Myanmar with the British. In addition, due to its geographical location next to China, foods from other cultures, such as Chinese and Shan food began to be served in the tea shops in Myanmar, as well as traditional Burmese food. Another crucial issue mentioned here was the variety of tea shops that exist, as they are not only places for eating and drinking, but also a “space” created and embedded within social relations and work/livelihood networks, as has been the case for a long time.

Tea shops in Mandalay in 2012: Modernity and hybridity

The data presented in this section was derived from interviews with the study tea shop owners and by observing tea shops in the study community and in Mandalay itself during

2012. There are no official statistics as to the number of tea shops in Mandalay Division. Based on my informal interviews, the number of tea shops registered in Aung Myay Tharzan Township, where the study community is situated, is 155 (2013/2014). The number of tea shops located there over the last three years is presented in Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1 Number of tea shops registered in Aung Myae Thar San Township

Year	Number
2011-2012	171
2012-2013	165
2013-2014	155

Source: Informal interview with Mandalay city staff

The tea shops in Mandalay vary in terms of size, the kinds of food they serve and their locations (which denotes customer types). In this study, the tea shops can be classified



broadly into three groups. The first includes big tea shops normally situated in the urban area and providing many kinds of food; not only snacks and light meals but also main dishes. These tea shops are frequented by workers and owner-managers from the modern administrative sector. The tables and chairs in such tea shops are strong and in good shape, and the plates, bowls and coffee/tea cups used are ceramic, mostly of a white colour. These tea shops are larger than the other two types mentioned below, and the air ventilation is better. In addition, this type of tea shop is cleaner and up to the standard of a typical food shop or small restaurant. The kitchen section is normally separated and, being at the back of the shop, only the tea making section is in sight of the customers. The tea shops in this group open from the early morning until late afternoon, and some are open 24 hours a day.

The tea shops in the second group are smaller in size than those from the first group; normally located in the city or peri-urban area. The tables and chairs at these tea shops are not in as good condition as the first group, and the general condition of the shops in this group is moderate in terms of cleanliness, with floors made of cement. The plates and bowls are made of both ceramics and plastics, whereas the coffee/tea cups are made of white ceramics. Fewer kinds of food are available at these tea shops. They normally open very early in the morning, but



fewer snacks or dishes are provided in the afternoon, though these tea shops stay open until late afternoon.

The third group of tea shops includes those mostly located in local communities or villages. These shops are the smallest in size, and most of them provide just small wooden



tables and chairs, which are lower in height, meaning customers have to sit with their knees at the same level as the tables. The general condition of these tea shops is not do good in terms of light and air ventilation, as well as the cleanliness of the shops and the utensils used. Only the coffee and tea is served in white ceramic cups, while the plates and bowls are made of plastic. Very few snacks and types of food are available. Normally, only a big pan fueled by wood is used at the front of each shop, so customers can choose what snacks they want as they walk in. Two or three workers are hired in such tea shops, but it is mostly the owners and their family members who work in these shops. These shops open very early in the morning and close in the late afternoon. The shops provide only a few types of food, mostly deep fried, and most of these are sold-out by the late morning. However, some simple snacks may be made and served during lunch time. The customers visiting these tea shops in the late afternoon can choose from a small packet of biscuits and other processed snacks to go with their tea.

The tea shops in all groups, whether in the city or in a village, have televisions situated in the corner to provide entertainment for their customers, and these are always switched-on while the shops are open.

In order to present the changes that have taken place among tea shops in Myanmar, and the hybridity of food types served within the country's modernization context, I will discuss in more detail tea shops from the first and third groups.

Space and food hybridity at the tea shop

The first tea shop described here belongs to the first group, is situated in the western part of Mandalay and is open 24 hours-a-day. The shop is wide, comfortable and clean, and has more than 30 tables are placed around the shop, meaning it can serve upward of 100 customers at a time. The shop is a family business and has been passed down through a number of generations. The family that runs the shop is involved in the local food business, supplying Burmese food shops and restaurants in and around Mandalay. The tea shop first opened in 1989, and there are now five branches located in the city. I observed and interviewed the owner at the fifth tea shop, which has been open for five years (since 2009). The shop was designed to have an open kitchen section in the middle of a hexagonal building, and the food provided in the tea shop is abundant and varied. Moving clock-wise around the shop, the first sections one comes across is the open kitchen, which is used for making the tea, followed by a section which makes Indian *rotis* and *chapatis*. The next section is where the noodles are prepared, while the fourth to sixth sections are used to cook

other food. Various kinds of food are available; customers can choose from fried vegetables, soups, salads and curries.

The shop was renovated in 1990, to a modern standard, with all the old plastic plates, soup bowls and noodle bowls being replaced by white ceramic crockery. This was a time when the government developed a strategy to turn Myanmar into a modern nation. It was stated by my informant that the health dangers of using plastic utensils were spread by government staff and on television. At that time, the government encouraged tea and food shops to change their utensils, and also to make the shops clean and hygienic. The customer toilets are housed in a separate space from the food service area.

Similar to other modern food shops, the menu at this shop is clearly displayed on permanent signboards which hang on the wall around the kitchen. The menu includes a wide range of dishes, including curries, salads, soups and fried vegetables. There is also a big signboard informing customers of the quality of the milk used by the shop to make its tea; as approved by the government. This signboard even has the milk factory's license number shown, reflecting the shop's concern for modern safety standards. This also illustrates the influence of modernization; regarding the shop's scientific way of thinking and expressing such issues.



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

Modernization theory refers to growing organizational complexity and division of labour used as traditional societies become modern. The nature of such modern management and division of labour systems can be seen in the management of this tea shop. The tea shop



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

opens 24 hours-a-day, so needs a lot of staff working in shifts. The skillful cooks have to work across all shifts, with one assigned to be a head cook, who monitors and supervises the other staff in the kitchen and also looks after the waiters serving the customers. Because the kitchen is hexagonal in shape, being in the centre of the shop, so it is very easy to see and look after the whole shop. A variety of Indian, Chinese and Myanmar snacks are provided in the tea shop, as well as noodles and rice with traditional Myanmar dishes. Customers can order the dishes they prefer from the food menu posted on the signboards.

The food served in this tea shop reflects the multicultural society that exists in Mandalay, and also the hybridity of the food culture there. One informant mentioned that when tea shops first opened in Myanmar during colonial times, only Indian snacks such as *samosas*, *tussaya*, *num pyar*, *japatis* and *palatas* were served, since the first tea shops were owned and run by Indians. However, as there were lots of Chinese people in Myanmar also, so tea shops owned by Chinese people started serving steamed snacks or *pau-si*, as well as deep-fried dough sticks or *ei-jar-kwea* and *sun-pyi-yok*. These snacks mixed foreign

influences with traditional Burmese snacks, particularly after Burmese people started to own the tea shops during the socialist era (from 1980). A typical traditional Burmese snack is made of fried dough and tastes sweeter than the Chinese and Indian snacks. Moreover, as coconut is generally used in Myanmar desserts, so coconut is mixed with the foreign snacks also. Later, snacks which started off as foreign influenced ended up being adopted as Myanmar style snacks. This Burmanization process can be best seen in the snack called *pau-si-joe*.

Pau-si-joe is made of deep fried dough, and has chopped coconut and sugar inside. The origins of the snack are Chinese, as indicated by the flour used. Even more interestingly, this snack can be found both in tea shops in the city and in the villages outside.

Pau-si-joe is a good example of a hybrid snack, involving as it does a mix of Myanmar and Chinese food cultures. This hybridity occurs among curries too; however, it is worth noting here that food cultures can be transmitted from the lower social classes to the upper classes, as described in the study of Cecilia Leong-Salobir (2011) regarding the transmission of curries from the Indians to the British during colonial times. The curry, which was once perceived by the British as “a stew for the lower classes” (p.48), was later viewed as a healthy food. Indian curry eventually became a popular dish in Britain, with curry powder developed by the British and later this British curry powder replacing the local Indian *masalas*. This means it is difficult to identify truly authentic food nowadays. This is also the case in Myanmar, and particularly among foods and snacks served at tea shops, which often assimilate local Myanmar food with foreign foods and tastes, as well as the ingredients and cooking methods used, as these differ from those used in the past. As a result, a more in-depth study of this hybridity of food culture in Myanmar should be carried out in the future.



Photo by Patcaharepan Ravangban

As mentioned earlier, this tea shop covers a large area, located as it is between 35th and 41st streets in Mandalay city. This location is on the periphery of the city area, through which passengers pass when travelling from the outskirts of Mandalay to the centre. This shop is used as a meeting place for people visiting their relatives from other towns. Some people also use this shop as a place to visit while waiting for buses out of Mandalay, as they normally stop near the shop. The shop is also close to Mandalay jade market, which is always crowded with jade trader and customers. As Mandalay has opened-up to tourism, mainly since 2011, the number of tourists visiting this jade market during the day has increased, as has the demand of jade (jewellery and accessories), and this has also led to an increase in the number of jade traders and workers in this area.



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

As a result, this tea shop has three different types of customer visit throughout the day. In the early morning, most of the customers are those who order tea and snacks while

waiting for their relatives to arrive from outside town on the bus, or themselves are waiting for a bus out of Mandalay. The food provided at this time includes fried rice and *mohinga*, the traditional Burmese noodle soup. During the late morning and until late afternoon, the tea shop is full of jade traders, who come from other areas and occupy the same tables in the tea shop each day. These merchants bring with them jade and the people who want to buy the jade, who know that here they can buy the gems direct from the merchants. These jade merchants are retailers who do not have enough money to hire a spot in the Jade Market.

In the early evening, the tea shop is full of the workers from the jade workshops located around the jade market nearby. These workers are mostly teenage men from other areas, who come to the tea shop, order tea and some snacks, and watch television. It is the television that is most likely key to attracting these workers to the shop, and the shop is even more crowded when football matches are being shown on the television. However, at night it is not only tea that is served, but also alcoholic beverages and other cold drinks.

Given the customers' key purposes for visiting the shop, the activities and social relations that take place while they are there illustrate well the social dimensions that exist and relations that occur in the area. Consuming tea and food at this shop cannot simply be viewed as a response to biological needs and hunger; the people who visit the tea shop are also socially connected. As a result, a place for eating food and drinking tea has become a business venue, as shown by the presence of the jade merchants, who occupy specific tables every day while waiting for their clients.



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

Issues of the hybridity of food and social space can be assessed when looking at my study tea shops located in the local communities and villages. These tea shops are smaller and less modern than those in the city. Though the tea and coffee cups are ceramic, the snacks are served on small plastic plates. *Pau-si-joe* can also be found in these tea shops, as can *ei-jar-kwea* and *samoosas*. While my other study tea shop in the city has signboards up pointing out the quality of the milk used to make the tea, in these tea shops cows' milk is brought-in by local people in the villages nearby every morning. They also buy their condensed milk from the nearby market, but of the same brand as that used by the tea shops in the city. Some of the tea shops are set on the ground and have less variety of snacks on the menus. All these tea shops open very early in the morning, at 5.30 a.m. and close in the late afternoon, between 4 p.m. and 5 p.m. None of them open 24 hours-a-day. The customers at these tea shops are those who live in the local community. One tea shop provides fried rice only in the morning, while the other tea shops serve only fried Myanmar and Indian snacks. No steamed snacks are available in these tea shops.



Photo by Patchareepan Ravangban

Those tea shops crowded in the morning in the community serve food for breakfast. At these times most of the customers in the tea shops are adult men, as the older men have their breakfasts picked up by their daughters or sons. No women are to be found eating



breakfast at the tea shops; they buy the food and eat it at home. As a result, I did not see many women sitting at the tea shops during my data collection work, and most were there with their husbands, discussing business with others from other community. Similar to the tea shops in the city, tea shops in the community are used as places to discuss business activities. People meet at these tea shops to buy and sell goods, and this includes merchants from other communities. These shops are also places to meet friends or relatives who have come to visit, but aren't sure of the address of their relatives' houses. The prices charged for food at these community tea shops is cheaper than at those in the city. For example, the price of *pau-si-joe* at one tea shop in the community I visited was 100 Kyats, while in the city it was 300 Kyats. For the *ei-jar-kwae*; meanwhile, the price in the city tea shop was 150 Kyats, while in the community it was only 50 Kyats.

Urban life and changing work patterns: The issues of time and convenience

This section focuses on the effect of changing lifestyles due to urbanization on food consumption activities in the study area, and in particular the increase in popularity of eating breakfast at tea shops in Myanmar, both in the city and in local communities. Urbanization has created new job patterns, those which differ from the patterns created by traditional agricultural work. Adults now have to go out to work, including the women who previously stayed at home doing the domestic chores. Time has become more important; urban dwellers often have less time to do domestic chores themselves, including cooking. This situation has happened throughout Myanmar, and also in most other countries globally, as modern technologies have been developed and adopted, leaving people with less time to do domestic work (Warde: 1997: 127). Many studies in the West have discussed the issue of the commodification of food, a development which has increased the variety of foods available, while at the same time has reduced the amount of time available for people to prepare food. However, the amount of time spent shopping has increased. This is a result of the fact that shopping for food in the West is now mainly carried out in supermarkets, meaning it takes longer to travel, find and pay for goods. Due to the importance of time in urban society, studies of food consumption have identified convenience as being a big influence on how people choose what kinds of food they will buy and consume, and when and where this happens.

Mandalay; however, is not as urbanized as most developed countries, but even so changes in job patterns and urban lifestyles are forcing people there to choose and consume food in ways which maximize convenience and affordability. The loss of rice farms had led to limitations developing in terms of household food sources, and my informants said they have had to find new ways to earn a living. People now have to travel from where they live to

others areas for work, in line with new work regulations. Once at work their hours are controlled, and so the issue of using time efficiently has become more important.

“Eating breakfast at the tea shop is convenient; I do not have to waste time cooking. I simply place it in a plate or in a cup (this informant buys breakfast from the tea shop and takes it home for family members to eat). It does not take long to eat, and I do not have to wash-up, as is the case when we cook a rice meal. When we have finished eating, we can go out to work immediately” (female informant: number 20).

Even my informant, who has a cooked food stall in front of her house, also buys her breakfast from the tea shop. *“I have to go to the market early every day to buy meat and vegetables for my shop. I stop at the tea shop, buy tea and some snacks, then go back home and eat for a few minutes. Then I can cook and prepare to open my shop”* (Female informant: number 15).

My male informants who work outside also have breakfast at the tea shop before leaving for work. For their children, breakfast normally is *mohinga* bought from food stalls in or near the market. As a result, their mother can go out with the children, then leave them at the food or noodle stalls and then go and buy things at the market. As the market is in the community, some of the children can go there by themselves or in a group, then return home, and prepare to go to school, during which time their mother has finished cooking and packed a lunch box for them to use at school.



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

Eating breakfast at the tea shop also occurs in the city, particularly as the food provided in tea shops there is more varied than in the community or village tea shops, so families can go and eat together before the father takes the children to school and the mother goes to work. While women are not often seen sitting and eating at tea shops in the community, one does see women at tea shops in the city; they usually go with a man; such as their father, husband or a male friend. If no man accompanies her, they normally visit the tea shops in groups. The gender issues associated with sitting and eating food in the tea shops is interesting, as a woman who sits and eats food at a tea shop alone or in a small group (two to three people) will not be socially accepted and be perceived as a “bad” woman.

Having breakfast at a tea or noodle shop illustrates the changes in food consumption pattern that have occurred among Myanmar people in recent times, both in the city and in local communities. However, it is not only the convenience of taking-out food that is the attraction, but also the affordable prices of the tea, snacks and other foods provided. The price of a cup of tea and a snack in the community tea shops is lower than at those in the city.

In the study community, people pay only 100 Kyats for a cup of tea and 100 Kyats for a



Photo by Patchareepan Ravangban

snack, while at a tea shop in the city it costs around 1000 Kyats for a cup of tea and a snacks or light meal.

The increase in the number of food stalls and small food shops has led to more variety among the cooked food stalls or shops, where people can buy and consume food in the shop or take it home, and this also reflects the changes in people's lifestyles due to modernization and urbanization. Most of the customers at these places are university students or office workers who leave their homes and stop by a tea shop before traveling on to university or the office.



During lunch, these people buy food from the food stalls and food shops located nearby. Some even stop at these food shops on the way to work in the morning, buy food already cooked, and then eat it at the office. The lack of time in people's lives nowadays has had an effect on food consumption patterns, and this has also happened on the local communities. At the study community, then while taking the

children to school, the mothers sometimes stop at a tea shop in the community, order fried rice, which is then cooked and packed for the children's school lunch.

While having breakfast at a tea shop indicates changes in urban ways of life, it may also be seen to reflect urbanism and a modern lifestyle. This was expressed to me as follows: *"I do not eat food from the tea shop; I don't even go there. I am not an urban person, not modern. I am a rural woman"* (Female informant: number 14). Due to the modern symbolism associated with buying food from the tea shop, some informants mentioned that they buy food from tea shop when guests or relatives come to visit them at home. However, it should be noted here that it is not only the perception of tea shops as modern and urban that has an influence here; other issues made this informant's choose not to eat food at tea shops.

In this section, I have presented how eating food from tea shops reflects the changing lifestyles and work patterns caused by urbanization in Mandalay. These changes in food consumption patterns have occurred both in the city and in local communities; as here urbanization still has an influence on people's lives. Issues of a lack of time and convenience are crucial in leading to people choosing to eat breakfast and food at or from the tea shops. Moreover, consuming food from the tea shops represents an affordable option, as presented here.

Women and the tea shop: Social status and responsibilities

As mentioned earlier, tea shops in Myanmar have traditionally been places where tradesmen and male workers meet to discuss business and relax, with women rarely seen, and this situation is still true of tea shops in the study village, though less so in the city. Although one may see a few women sitting in a tea shop in the city, during my time in the field collecting data, I never saw a woman sitting and drinking tea in a tea shop alone; if I saw a woman it was as part of a group, or with her husband or male friends. This raises two questions for me: (i) Does this phenomenon reflect the fact that women in Myanmar have a

lower social status than men? And (ii) Why do women frequent tea shops less frequently than men?

A number of previous studies have debated the status of Burmese women when compared to the men. In his book *'Burmese Days'*, George Orwell (1934) describes the social lives of the British and their interactions with the colonized Burmese, as reflected in the events that took place at the British Club, described by Orwell as a place where British men and women could socialize, but that was a restricted area for Burmese people. Burmese women in his book are described as mistresses or household servants; however, the areas restricted to local women in the "white" or "colonizer's clubs", as described by Orwell, was countered by Benjamin B Cohen (2009) in his book on colonial India. Cohen highlights the significance of the Women's Clubs in colonial and post-colonial India; as places which supported interactions between the colonizers and colonized, that is, between the British, Indian, Hindu and Muslim women, and between communities. Cohen states that in the early nineteenth century, the British Clubs were frequented by British and upper-class Indian men, but that the British in India persuaded their male Indian colleagues to bring their wives with them (Cohen: 2009:177). The small number of Indian women who joined the British Clubs was the result of Indian culture, whereby Indian women could not mix freely with the "stranger or foreigner". As a result, clubs for women were created in the second half of the nineteenth century. These 'women's clubs' were located in similar areas to the British, mostly male clubs, such as in the national capital, hill stations and state capitals. Women primarily used these clubs to discuss issues related to the home, children and food. Interestingly, Cohen states that the women's clubs were established specifically to bring together Indian women, including Muslims and Hindus, as well as British women (p 174), and that these clubs played a significant role in helping to improve the social status of women. As a result, it was clearly stated at the time that "the objective of the Club is not only to give a delightful change, after hard duties of the household, to the minds of women, but they also find here opportunities to partake in all sorts of intellectual, moral and national movements" (p 179). However, the British and Indian women who joined these clubs were mostly drawn from the aristocracy and upper classes.

Cohen describes the role of Indian women within the social, public arena during colonial rule; but in colonial Burma there were no such women's clubs. This might have been because of the lower number of British residing in Burma at that time, and also the relatively less significant role Burma as a nation played when compared to India from the point of view of the British colonizers. The social status of Indian women was relatively elevated in certain circles, through the social and political activities that took place in the women's clubs, and such was the case among Burmese women, as described in missionary documents of the time and by Mi Mi Khian (1984). The early missionaries' and British officers' documents describe Burmese women as having greater freedom and independence than their Indian counterparts, due to the influence of Buddhist culture. Burmese women are mentioned as having been of an equal status to men, due to marriage and inheritance regulations, as well as

their economic importance. However, within political and spiritual circles, they still had an inferior status.

Mi Mi Khaing (ibid) also describes the social participation of Burmese women in the public arena, who describes a number of roles played by Burmese women at that time, within political movements, education, professional work and in factories. This study stresses the fact that Burmese women occupied a relatively high social status and had a higher public profile than the Indian women. The studies mentioned here would seem to imply that there should not have been a problem with women sitting in teashops, as in general they were not prevented from taking part in public life.

As a result, the most likely reason for women not frequenting tea shops in the past was their family responsibilities. In the Myanmar socio-cultural context, the belief in “suitable” feminine behaviour is very strong (Mi Mi Khaing: 1984: 21). As a result, women learned their responsibilities at home from the parents, and if they were not married with a



husband and children, they had their own family to look after. During my fieldwork I found that women’s activities and responsibilities in the past covered the procurement, preparation and cooking of the family’s food, as well as looking after the children and any elderly family members. Some women who worked outside also took on full responsibility for household duties. As a result of these responsibilities, going to tea shops did not fit with their lifestyles; women could not sit and eat breakfast at a tea shop in the morning, as they had to go to the market, buy food, cook and hurry to go to work. Though all the domestic chores may have been completed, women could not sit and drink tea at a tea shop, either for relaxation or social purposes, because they had to take care of the smaller children. So, if a tea shop was used for social, relaxation and business purposes among Burmese men, where did the women go for such purposes?

The female informants I spoke to talked of meeting friends under the shade of big trees in the community in the past, mostly during the afternoon. Some said they bought tea from the tea shop and took it to these meeting places. For women who had small children, the children would stay with them while they met their friends. Some women said they met at small, temporary food stalls which sold Mohinga or Burmese fried snacks. For those women who lived in the city, food stalls at the market or near their houses were used as meeting places when they had to go out to buy food for dinner. It is places such as these which women used to gather socially, share information and relax, in the same way as the men did in the tea shops.



Another interesting thing I found is that the men and women’s food and leisure tastes differed in the past, with men were likely to drink tea or coffee and watch sport on the

television provided at the tea shops, and with the women more likely to eat Mohinga, though the Mohinga would probably have been bought from the local market.

In recent times the tea shops and the food they provide have evolved to suit modern, international tastes, as has the role of women in Myanmar as a whole. Mohinga and other kinds of food and snack are provided at the tea shops, and more women can be seen sitting in tea shops than in the past, especially in the cities. Some families who have moved to work or study in the city eat breakfast at tea shops together, on the way to school or work. I was also told that more women are involved in trade and business activities nowadays, so they sometimes meet their customers at tea shops. However, these changes have not yet percolated down to all the community and rural areas.

Tea shops as a Myanmar cultural symbol: The response to tourism

Mandalay is one of the more famous tourist destinations in Myanmar, due to its historical setting and natural location, as well as its transportation and the infra-structure. Tourism there has been promoted in earnest since 2011, and is a key part of the economic development strategy. As well as the historical sites, cultural heritage and natural scenery, traditional lifestyles are also promoted in order to attract tourists. Burmese food and tea shops are presented as a key part of the traditional Myanmar lifestyle, and foreigners are invited to experience authentic Burmese food and lifestyles in the town.

Tea shops which opened in the past were promoted and actually placed on maps of Mandalay for tourists to find, though only within the city. One of the tea shops added to tourist maps has been open since 1980, and is also famous among local people. It opens from 6 a.m. to 5 p.m. every day. The tea and snacks provided in this shop are seen as very good. This tea shop is situated near Mandalay Palace moat, and people living in the city generally take a walk along the moat and have breakfast at this tea shop on their way home. The shop then was very crowded in the mornings, and the snacks there run out very quickly. Various kinds of food, noodles and salad, as well as baked items, are served there, and the



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

shop owner also runs a bakery to which a lot of merchants come to this shop to load up their motorcycles with baked items, before selling them on to groceries or shops in the local communities for a profit. The variety of food offered in this tea shop has increased, with foreign snacks added to the menu. As recently as 2014, *crepe*, a grilled Thai style snack has been served in the shop too. However, as the shop is usually very crowded with local customer, not many tourists visit the shop, though its name and location are clearly shown on local maps.

Another tea shop I will feature here is not on the map, but a lot of tourists to visit this one to taste the local Myanmar food and drink tea. These tourists normally come in small



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

groups led by a local Myanmar guide. The owner of this tea shop does not advertise very much, but due to its wide frontage and comfortable seats, as well as the variety of food and snacks served, its cleanliness and the fact that it opens 24 hours-a-day, are important factors as to why it is so popular. Moreover, it has a lot of space for parking cars and vans, though it is located on the outskirts of the city.

Not only for tasting local Burmese tea and snacks, Myanmar tea shops have long been talked about as places to disseminate political news, and also places to conceive of and create political movements, especially during the military government period. Tea shops are; therefore, places in which many stories, both cultural and political, have been played out. As Myanmar moves to a new chapter of its history; developing into a modern nation, tea shops are being promoted, and are beginning to serve the tourism industry also. However, for whatever purpose tea shops are used, they illustrate the complexity of social relations along urbanisation that occur within the country.

Conclusion

This chapter has elaborated upon the complexity of social relations played out in the tea shops of Myanmar, within an urbanization context. Historical studies have shown that all Burmese social gatherings centre round, either religious observances or eating, with pagodas and the private gardens of families used as meeting places. This explains why Burmese people never form social clubs like those created in the West (Mi Mi Khaing: 1996: 43). However, tea shops – including the culture of drinking tea mixed with milk as practiced by the Indians and British during colonial times – have become places which highlight the multi-cultural influences to have acted upon Myanmar's food and snacks, and also show how people's lives have had to adjust to the changing socio-cultural, economic and political contexts within Myanmar. By looking closely at a number of tea shops in Mandalay, I have been able to identify the new work patterns and urban ways of life currently affecting food consumption and eating patterns in Myanmar. Issues of time, convenience and affordability are of particular interest in this context, and these issues will be examined in more detail in the next chapter.

Food consumption among people in the study community

The previous chapters examined the effect of liberalization on food production, food prices and household food sources in Myanmar. Changes in the ways people live, their occupations and food consumption patterns as a result of urbanization were also presented. I have also examine the tea shops in Mandalay, which respond not only to the biological needs of local people in terms of thirst and hunger, but also act as socio-economic and political spaces within the complex urban society. Moreover, the multiple cultures and hybridity of foods in the study area have also been presented through the cases of tea shops. In this chapter, I will focus on food consumption at the household level; what people eat, when and how they eat, and why. The data used in this chapter was taken from my fieldwork in north Mandalay, and in it I argue that although urbanization and agro-industry have had a significant effect on people's ways of life, food choices and ways in which they eat food, food prices and convenience are also crucial factors influencing these choices.

In order to present the effects of urbanization on people's food sources and ways of life, in this chapter I will first describe the social and historical contexts of the study community and the lives those living there. I will then examine how urban ways of life have impacted upon food consumption activities. Finally, the issue of food sources and prices will be illustrated, as well as the socio-cultural aspects of community tea shops.

Oh Bo community: Past and present

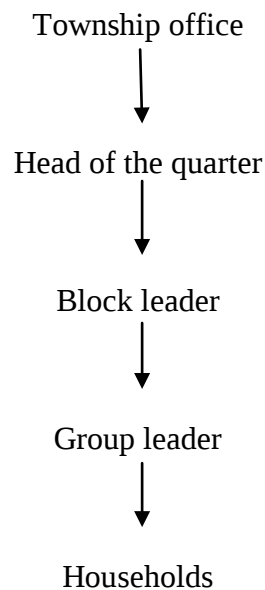
Oh Bo community is situated in the north of Mandalay city, in Aung Myay Thar Zan Township, which has a total population of 5,851 (2,731 men/3,118 women). The full name of the community is Oh Bo Shwe-Gin Quarter, but people normally shorten this to Oh Bo. Administratively it is divided into five blocks. The number of households in each block is presented in Table 4.1 below. The head of the quarter, named U Shwe Ba, has five deputies, and has been in the position for five years. In the past, the head of the village and quarter was nominated and selected by the township and divisional officers, but under new regulations introduced in 2012, the head of the quarter is now elected by people living in the quarter itself. The salary of the head of the quarter is 75,000 Kyats per month, and for every 100 households in each block, there is one leader and for every ten households, there is one group leader. The administrative structure in the quarter is shown below in Figure 4.1. In terms of health and social services, there are three private, modern clinics and one private dental clinic, traditional medicine clinic in the community, plus one community fire station.

Table 4.1 Number of households in each block – Oh Bo Quarter

Block No.	Number of Households
16	40
40	450
50	17
51	200
52	350
Total	1,057

Source: Interview with the Deputy Head of Oh Bo Quarter

Figure 4.1 Administrative structure in Oh Bo Quarter



The history of Oh Bo can be traced back to the monarchical period. The location of the current community office was the King's military camp previously. During the colonial period, the community was a typical agricultural village, as most people farmed rice on the wide Ayyarwaddy floodplain, where people grew many after the flooding season had ended.

The community had a reputation for making pottery, and in fact the name 'Oh Bo' in the Myanmar language means 'the place for making pots'. Pottery would have earned additional income for people in the past, as their main incomes would have been derived from rice farming. Interviews with elders in the community, those who used to make pots, revealed that the clay which was used as the main raw material was deposited during the seasonal floods each year alongside the Ayyarwadee River. For the kiln-firing process, rice straw and cow dung were used as fuels. The use of rice straw reflected the main occupation of people living there, which was rice farming, while the cow dung was taken from the dairy farms run by the ancestors of Hindus-Indians who had moved there from India during colonial times, then settling down. The Indians raised cows to supply milk to the local tea shops; making condensed milk, butter and other dairy products. The demand for milk increased at this time, as mentioned by Nash (1965: 217-218), as quite a lot of tea shops opened around Mandalay and Amarapura, supplied by three small condensed milk factories nearby.

In Oh Bo, the making of pottery stopped around 1990 due to a lack of essential materials; in particular rice straw and cow dung, and this coincided with a period of rapid development around Mandalay, with many infrastructure facilities such as highways, bridges, electricity and water supplies put in place based on the government's modernization policy. Work opportunities and the increase in trade and business activities led to a movement of

people into Mandalay, with the city becoming much more crowded. This influx of people from other divisions, as well as from outer to inner Mandalay city included merchants, businessmen and workers. This population growth in Mandalay city led, in 1990, to the government moving Mandalay Prison to an area where the Indian-Hindus had previously raised cows, and in 2003 a technology college was built in Pathengyi Township – which had once been a rice growing area.

As a consequence, and due to the shortage of rice straw and cow dung – the main raw materials used to make clay pots, pottery activities in Oo Bo declined over a number of years and eventually disappeared. Nowadays, there are no potteries in the community, and so the local grocery stores have to order their clay pots from other areas, as they are still used to store drinking water. However, people living on the outskirts of Oo Bo Quarter, along the Ayyarwaddy River, still make bricks due to the availability of sand in the wet season, but they are only small-scale businesses.

While the ‘Oh Bo’ part of the village’s name¹ means ‘making pots’, the other part, ‘Shwe Gin’, means ‘making gold’. The official name of this quarter reflects the merging of two communities under an official administration, adjusted to deal with the extension of Mandalay city. This area was once classified as a rural area, but has recently developed into an urban space. While no pots are made in the area anymore, the making of gold and silver accessories does still take place.

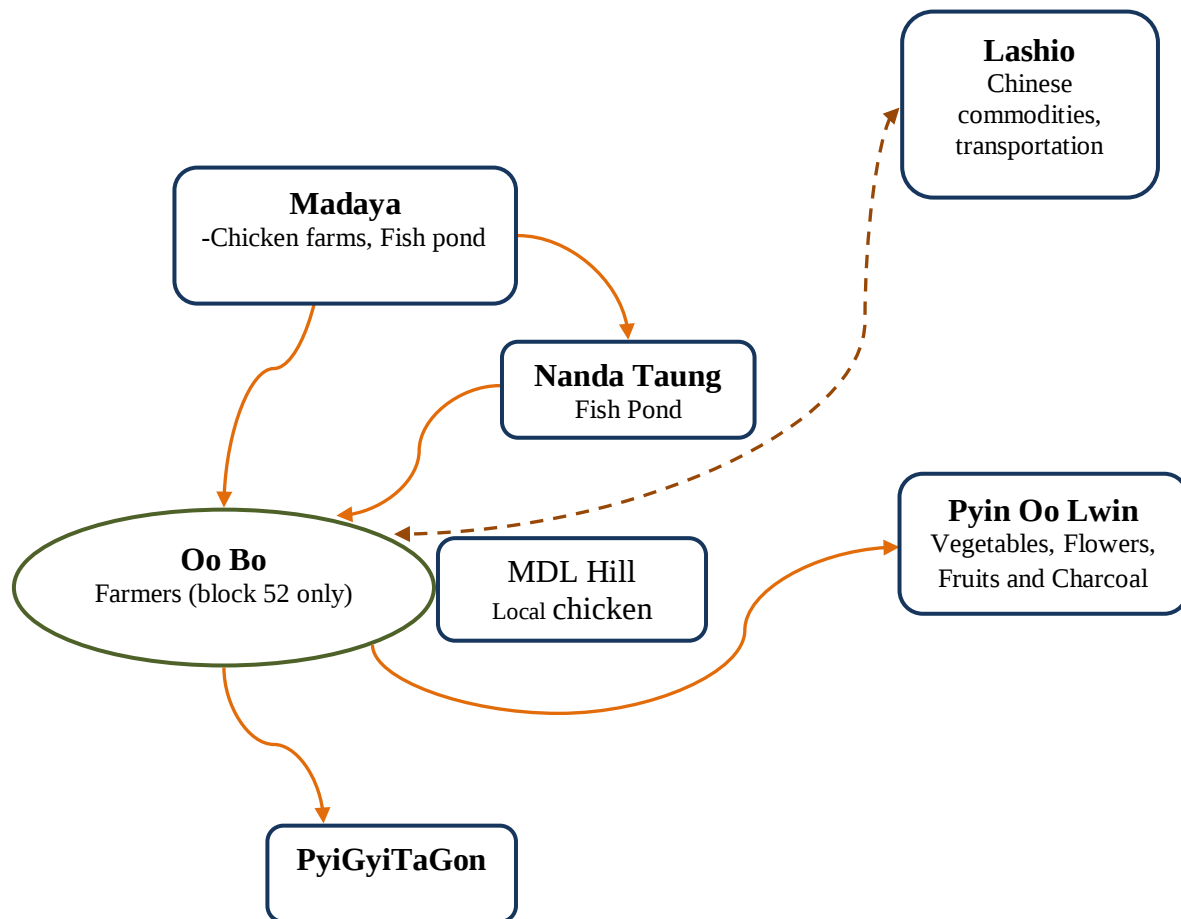
The expansion of the urban area has also affected people’s lives in the community, which is now a peri-urban area. People living in Oh Bo who once earned a living through agricultural work lost their land due to modernisation. Rice and vegetables, which were once grown on the land saving the households on food costs, now have to be bought from the market. Oh Bo community has also become much more crowded, as people have sold their land in the city to businessmen for a profit, then moved to the community, while others have moved in in search of work and to access the local education services. The location of and transportation connections in Oh Bo allow people living there to travel to the city center with ease, as there is a small minibus terminal from where buses travel to the city every fifteen minutes. People use the minibus services to go to work, plus to buy goods from Zay Cho market. The fare from the community to Zay Cho market is 200 Kyat. In addition, the Madaya to Mandalay train also passes through Oo Bo three times a day.

It should be noted here that the movement of people to find a place to live and work is quite normal in Mandalay city, even though it is not yet fully modernized. Data from my interviews shows how people have long moved around the community in line with their

¹ In Myanmar the name of a community can signify whether it is classified as being in an urban or rural area. A community in a rural area is called *hmong ywa* or village, while a community classified as urban is called *yar quaet*, or quarter.

occupations, as shown in Figure 4.1 below. Rapid urbanization since 1990 has accelerated the mobility of people in the area.

Figure 4.1: Routes and occupations of people traveling to and from the study community



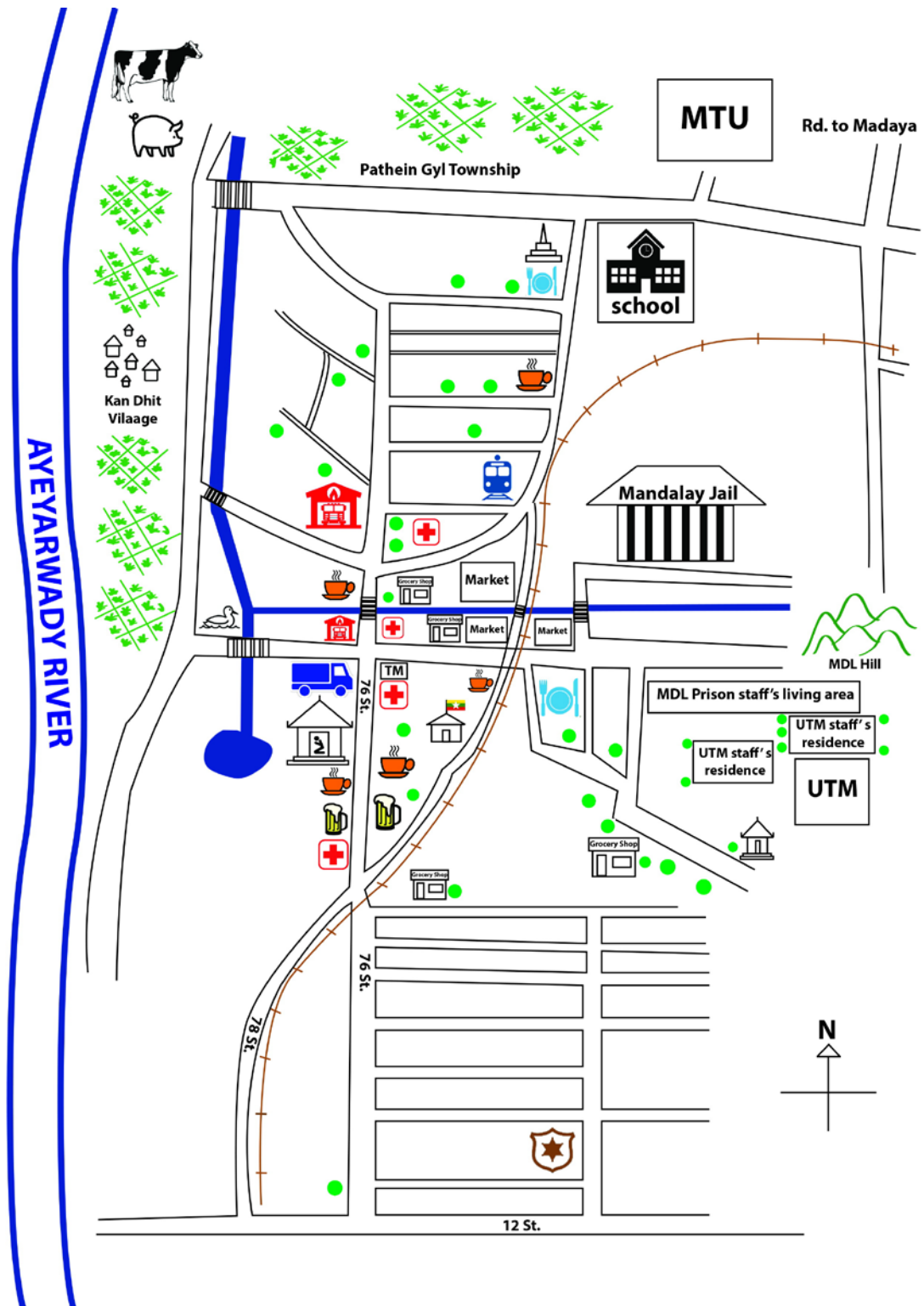
In the past, groups of rice farmers moved from Madaya Township, in the north of the community, to stay in Oh Bo, while others moved from Madaya to Nandataung, and then on to settle in Oh Bo. The level of mobility shown was related to people's occupations, and the locations in which people lived also. In the plains around Oh Bo, there were plenty of rice fields due to its proximity to the Ayyarwaddy River. For Nanda Taung, which is in the northeast, far from the river, most people dug fish ponds there. In Madaya; meanwhile, which is far from the city, agriculture was the main occupation of the people there, as well as feeding chickens around the house.

By 1990, Oh Bo had become more crowded and people who had previously moved in, moved out to other areas. Some moved to Pyi Gyi Ta Gon Township, which at that time was a new town, because the government built it as part of an industrial zone project. Some people moved to the west, to Pyin Oo Lwin, and earned a living growing flowers, fruits and vegetables. Others made money from buying land and starting small businesses transporting

goods and food from China through Lashio to Mandalay. Feeding chickens around the house in Oh Bo does not happen anymore; just a few chicken egg farms have move to Taung Pyi Yon, with a few cow herds moving to Yak et hill.

Currently, there are only four families in Oh Bo who still grow rice for a living, and their rice fields are located in Pathengyi Township, which is in the north-west of the community (see the map of the community). People in the community currently have to go to the city for work. There are a few small businesses in the community, such as the silver and gold shops, businesses making iron pans for carrying bricks and stones on the construction sites, as well as soybean/tofu making businesses, and also grocers and tea shops.

Oh Bo Quarter Map



Food consumption and the lifestyles of people in Oh Bo

The data described in this section was derived from interviews with 36 people currently living in Oh Bo community, of varying economic statuses and family backgrounds. Of the 36 informants, 29 are female and seven are male, and in terms of their economic status, 20 could be described as being of a higher economic status, and 16 of a lower status. Only five of the participants have a bachelor's degree, four finished high school and 19 participants finished at primary school level. Nine had no schooling at all. In terms of their family structures, 19 informants live within an extended family structure (with more than two generations living together), while 16 live in families which could be described as 'nuclear', with only a husband, wife and children living together. One informant stays alone. The socio-economic characteristics of the informants are presented in Appendix A11.

Going to the market

As is typical in Myanmar, people living in Oh Bo community wake up early in the morning, after which the wives or daughters-in-law walk to the market at 6.30 a.m. to 7.30 a.m. They will stop by at a tea shop in the community to buy tea and a few snacks for their parents and themselves, whereas the husband or grown up son will actually go to have breakfast at a tea shop. Children will go with their mother or elder sister/brother to the market, having breakfast at a noodle stall there.



Photo by Patchareepan Ravangban

Of the 36 household informants I studied, 33 households said it is the responsibility of women to go and buy things from the market, and also cook food for the household members. There are two households in which the husband goes to the market to buy things and take them home, but the wife has to cook the food. Only one household said that the husband goes out to buy things at the market, and also cooks for the family.

Types of food bought and food prices

All the informants said they buy food in the morning at Oh Bo market. Various kinds of meat and vegetables are provided there, and also lots of utensils and other necessities such as clothes and drugs. Oh Bo market moved to alongside the railway line in 1994, after the government moved Mandalay prison to the community and constructed staff quarters there. Some merchants in the community have shops in Oh Bo market, while many merchants come from other areas to the market, carrying their vegetables and goods by train. The prices of meat and fish at this market are not so different from at other markets; all the informants said they buy meat and vegetables from Oh Bo market, and they only buy rice from Saya San market. Normally, it costs 3,000 to 4,000 Kyats for the households' lunch and dinner (a small family with three



Photo by Patchareepan Ravangban

to four persons). For the rice, 15 kilograms can last a whole month, and this costs 12,000 Kyats. The price of meat and other selected foods are presented in Table 4.2 below

Table 4.2: Price of selected foods

Items	Unit	Price (Kyat)
Fish paste	1 Viss	4,000-5,000 (made from fish) 2,000 (made from shrimp)
Pork	1 Viss	4,000 (for 4 people)
Chicken	1 Viss	5,000
Mutton	1 Viss	6,000
Fish	1 Viss	3,000
Chicken eggs	1 Egg	100 (small), 120 (large)
Duck eggs	1 Egg	120
Quail eggs	1 Egg	50
Tinned sardines	1 Can	800
Tinned mackerel	1 Can	1,000
Monosodium glutamate (MSG)		
-Thai product	250 Grams	500
	500 Grams	900
-Chinese product	500 Grams	650
Peanut oil	1 Litre	1,500
Coconut oil	1 Litre	1,000
Rice	1 sack (15 kilos)	28,000
Milk	1 bottle (1 litre)	1,200
Myanmar Tea	1 cup	150-200
<i>Ei-ja-kway</i> (deep fried dough sticks)	1 piece	100
Samoosa	1 set (3 pieces)	100
Roti (with sugar)	1 piece	250

Kitchens, utensils and ingredients



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

Most households have their kitchens outside, or in a separate building attached to the main house. For the wealthier families, these kitchens will have a roof and a cement floor, whereas the



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

poorer families may have only a clay stove placed on the ground outside. All the study families said they use wood-fuelled clay stoves, because the electricity supply in Myanmar is unreliable.

Electric rice cookers are used among most of the households, while electric pans are also used by some. Most of the informants said they use electric rice cookers early in the morning – only a few mentioned using the electric pans. The wood-fuelled stoves are used outdoors otherwise the resulting smoke, fumes and ashes would pollute the air inside. Mi Mi Kiang (1984:19) says that people believe cooking with a good quality wood makes the food taste better, but that open wood fires are only used by the very poorest.



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

The most important utensils within a Myanmar kitchen include an aluminum pot without a handle, and a small saucepan. The aluminum pots are used to make soups, while the saucepans are used to make curries. The frying pans used in Myanmar are not like the Chinese wok – they are more like the Indian frying pans used to make rotis, though the Myanmar pans have a more curved shape. Most of the households said they do not eat beef, so fish is often eaten, with local, seasonal vegetables.

The main ingredients used during cooking are salt, curry powder and seasoning. Quite a few dishes use fish sauce, and most households in Myanmar use this form of seasoning. The wealthier households also use Knorr seasoning and/or ‘Aryinomoto’ (MSG), which are both imported from Thailand. For the poorer families, seasoning is bought from the local market, which comes in a small plastic bag with no brand label. This small pack of seasoning is imported from China and is cheaper than the other two forms of seasoning.



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

Cooking

In general, most households prepare three dishes each day; a curry as the main dish, vegetables (normally fried) and a soup. For the curry, fish is preferred over pork or chicken, as it is the cheapest of these. The curries are mostly cooked with tomatoes, which are also cheap. The vegetables used are grown locally, so are not too expensive. For the poorer families, they may have only two dishes a day; a curry and a soup. The soups are made with boiled vegetables, and chicken eggs are also used, as they are cheap and can be cooked in the curries.

As fish is the cheapest meat available, poor households normally buy dried, small fish and a small number of local fresh vegetables to fit their limited budget. During my data collection activities, I had the opportunity to observe the way in which one poor household prepared and cooked fish curry with tomatoes for the family, as it was the tomato season, as well as a vegetable soup. The cooking process did not take very long, despite only having one clay stove. After they had finished



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

cooking, the soup was allowed to simmer in an aluminum pot and the fish curry was kept in the saucepan. The cooked food was then placed on a small wooden table until it was time to eat. For those of a higher economic status, the meals cooked might be kept in a wooden cupboard having been prepared. Some households leave the cooked food on a circular wooden table, which is used as a dining table, and then use a plastic cover to keep the flies off.

Wives or daughters-in law start cooking immediately after returning from the market, with rice having been placed in the rice cooker before leaving for the market. The cooked rice and food are used for both lunch and dinner. Among those families whose children have to go to school or who have family members who work outside, the prepared food is stored in an aluminum or plastic 'lunch box', which they then take with them. In places where the schools and/or work locations are located close to home, people return home for lunch each day. The food cooked in the morning will be reheated for dinner when people return from school and work, at around 6 to 7 p.m.

Myanmar Meals: When, where, how and with whom

The staple food in Myanmar is rice (*htamin*) which is eaten in many types of cooked dish. U Khin Maung Saw (2012: 3) mentions the general misunderstanding that surrounds the word *hin* among foreigners. He states that *hin* "means any type of main and/or side dish of meat or fish or vegetables, which may be roasted, stewed, cooked, boiled, fried, steamed, baked, or grilled; any type of soup, type of salad (with either meat, fish or vegetables) or any vegetable or fruit either fresh/raw or boiled – in some cases with gravy – all of which are normally eaten together with rice."

There are seven types of main and side dish in Myanmar cuisine. According to Daw Mi Mi Khian (1984: 12-13), a meal in Myanmar is made up of a curry of meat or fish, soup, a salad, cooked vegetables, a dip or relish (*ngapi*) – usually hot or sour in taste and accompanied by leaves, shoots or green fruit usually raw or boiled, and something crisp (which may be made of vegetables, beans, rice or meat). Most of the study villagers have three dishes for their family meals: a curry, a soup and cooked vegetables, while those of a lower economic status make only one curry dish and a soup. Fruit and desserts are rarely served after meals, in either the higher or lower economic status households.



None of the study households have a dining room. Those families of a higher economic status eat their meals at a table or on a wooden bench which is also used to welcome guests, or for the family to relax on. The poorer households; meanwhile, fill a plate with rice and curry and find somewhere convenient to sit and eat. For the very poorest households, this may be outside the house. The elderly in these households usually sit on a wooden bench to eat, one they also use to sleep on at night. Most of the households do not use a spoon or fork to eat their rice; they use their fingers. A spoon is used for eating the

soup, though for the study families, one spoon is placed in the soup bowl and shared among the whole family. Spoons are also used if a guest visits their homes and they eat a meal together. Spoons are also placed in the children's lunch boxes for when they go to school. Most households use aluminum plates and bowls; ceramic plates and bowls are only used when guests come to visit.

One extended family I spoke to said that the elderly (grandfather and grandmother) tend to eat their meals early; before the other family members, followed by the male adults and then the children (sometimes with the mother). The nuclear families (with only a father, mother and children) often have their meals together at the same time, especially dinner. However, some nuclear families said they sometimes eat dinner separately, depending on their work circumstances; for example, a father who finishes work and returns home late will tend to eat dinner alone, with the mother and children having eaten first. Although most of the women are responsible for preparing and cooking the meals, they generally eat their meals with or after the men (the father or husband in an extended family context).

Breakfast: Light and convenient food

Among most of the households, breakfast is not cooked at home, and 33 out of the 36 informants said they normally eat breakfast at tea shops in Oh Bo community. There are four tea shops in the study community, and so the sons or daughter-in-laws in the household usually visit the shop nearest to home, buy hot tea (Indian style tea) plus fried or crispy vegetables for the family members. The hot tea is generally drunk by the elders for breakfast. Women do not normally attend tea shops, so the adult son (if there is one) will normally go to buy tea – the daughter or daughter-in-law will only go if there is no man in the family. One rarely sees a woman sitting in a tea-shop in the community and actually drinking tea or coffee, especially in the morning. This may be because women are responsible for preparing the family meals, and so have to go to the market in the early morning to buy food.

Only three informants out of the 36 said they do not buy their breakfast from a tea shop; they cook rice early in the morning and eat at home. When I asked one such informant why she does not buy her breakfast from a tea shop, she replied, "I am not a city woman". However, she is 74 years-old and her family still works on its rice farm. One of the other



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

families that do not eat at a tea shop own a grocery shop in the community, so prefer to cook rice and eat curry for breakfast, and in this family, the grandmother and daughter-in-law go to the market together early in the morning and buy food there. Another family which does not buy its breakfast from a tea shop is a poor family, and the husband has to go to work very early (so he has breakfast at a tea shop outside the community), while the wife has to go to Saya San market to sell wood for fuel. She then returns home around 9 a.m., having bought food at the market on the way back, and cook the food at home. She and her children; therefore, have breakfast around 9.30 a.m.

While most of the adults buy their breakfast from tea shops, the children also eat out, but usually eat *mohinga* from the market – on their own or with their mother when she goes shopping. For breakfast, it is normal for the men and children to eat out and the women and elderly eat at home. Also, having breakfast at a tea shop allows the men to discuss work and share information with other people.

While a few informants said they prefer eating fried rice mix with oil and groundnut for breakfast, as was common in the past, most said they like drinking tea accompanied by a few fried snacks for breakfast. One informant said, “*Having tea and a few snacks is good; it is easier to digest than fried rice. Fried rice is hard and is not easy to digest*” (Informant number 3). Fried rice uses rice left over from dinner the day before, so is harder, making it difficult for the elderly to eat. Most of the informants said it is convenient eating breakfast at a tea shop, and is also cheap and doesn’t take-up too much time. This concern with time is an interesting issue, as it reflects one key aspect of a modern, urban lifestyle.

Lunch: Take-away food

In the study village, lunch is cooked by the mothers or wives in the morning having returned from the market. Rice is normally cooked using a rice cooker, as the electricity supply in the community is now quite dependable. For those women who work outside, the cooking has to be done quite quickly, with everything finished by 8.30 a.m., so they can get to work on time. In these households, the wives pack the prepared food for their husbands, children and themselves. Those who work nearby return home for lunch, though their lunch break may not be very long, so they might only be at home for ten to fifteen minutes. As a result, in such households, the couples may eat their lunches at different times. For those men who work outside and cannot return home for lunch, they take lunch at a tea shop near their workplace.

For those families whose members work or stay at home, lunch is served between 11.30 a.m. and 12.30 p.m. The elderly take lunch first, at around 11 a.m., and then the younger men and women, plus the children, take their turn. Lunch normally consists of cooked rice and one curry, *ngapi*, vegetables and a soup. The wealthier families normally have cooked rice with a fish, pork or chicken curry, plus soup made from vegetables and meat, and cooked vegetables on the side, while the poorer families eat rice with only two dishes; a curry (with fresh or dried meat, or an egg curry) and a vegetable soup.



As mentioned, most children take their lunch to school with them, and eat it with their friends; however, those whose school is close to home go home for lunch. Normally, when children return home for lunch, the mother will prepare the food for them, after which they go back to school.

Dinner: Reheated food

The families' dinners consist of the same food as served for lunch, since all the informants said they cook in the morning only. If there is not enough food for the whole family by the end of the day, the families will go and buy cooked food from two shops in the community. One of these shops is open until late afternoon, and while I was in the community, many people came to buy food from this shop. The price of the food sold by this shop is not expensive; for example one fish curry costs 300 Kyats.

Dinner normally starts around 6 p.m. after work and school, though the elderly may have their dinner earlier, at 5 p.m. Of the 36 informants, 22 said they have dinner together – the whole family, while seven stated that the elderly family members eat dinner first in the late afternoon. Only four of the informants stated that the women in the family have dinner first, and this is influenced by their work circumstances. One lady said she has dinner first because her husband has to work late, so she eats first and keeps his dinner aside for when he gets home.

Development and food related changes in Oh Bo

Data taken from the interviews reflects the impact development and urbanization is having on villagers' occupations and way of life, as well as the kinds of food they eat and where they shop. As shown in Table 4.3 below, people's occupations have changed since the socialist period (1980-1988). The modernization that started in 1990 has led to an improved village infrastructure, as well as an increase in educational opportunities. The development of agri-industries, new occupations and urban ways of life, have all impacted upon people's food consumption activities also.

The tea shops in the area first opened for business in the community during the socialist time, and have increased in number since then, plus the range of imported foods and ingredients available has increased. Agri-industries such as chicken farms and fish ponds have impacted upon the kinds of chicken and fish people buy and eat. People's occupations have also changed, from having been rice farmers to now being workers, or running grocery shops and small businesses. People have had to change their lifestyles to keep-up with the new work patterns; working outside the home and eating a quick breakfast, and the tea shops in the area are the best choice, as the food they serve is not expensive, and they are convenient.

Table 4.3: Development timeline in Oh Bo, including food related changes

Year	State Policy	Infrastructure	Occupation	Education behaviours	Changes of food and food related issue
1980, 1983-84	Socialist Government	Institute of Traditional Medicine	- Farmers - Carpenters - Construction	Primary education level	-First tea shop opens - 4 tea shops

Year	State Policy	Infrastructure	Occupation	Education behaviours	Changes of food and food related issue
1985		Only 4 or 5 houses have access to electricity	workers		- Villagers start eating breakfast at tea shops -Battery chicken farms (owned by the military) - Canned fish imported from Thailand, and biscuits
1988	People living in Ayeyarwaddy flood plain move to Oh Bo and Myin Mu villages (most living in block 40)	Public land used for raising cows for milk, and the village cemetery			-1980-88: People start going to tea shops -1986-90: MSG from China and Thailand used in Yangon -CP opens a chicken factory in Myanmar
1990	Industrial Zone opens (Chinese and Indian factories)		-Silversmiths and goldsmiths		- Palm cooking oil and seasoning powder imported
1991			-No farmers because they have no land -Tea shops and Shan food shops	First person graduates with a bachelor's degree	
1992			-Carpenters -Workers in MDL city -Truck drivers		- 5 th tea shop opens - Small market opens in village centre
1993	Mandalay Prison and staff accommodation built/opens	-Villagers sell own land - Oh Bo mini market opens in Boh Tree village (1992)	-Labourers		

Year	State Policy	Infrastructure	Occupation	Education behaviours	Changes of food and food related issue
1994	UTM and staff compound built	New, bigger village market opens along the railway line	Street food and goods vendors	Ways of behaving and dressing at home change	- More grocery shops -Broiler chicken farm opens in the former military-prison area
1995				More Bachelor's degree graduates	
1996	Spirit licenses issued by the government			Teenagers start drinking beer and smoking cigarettes	- TV programs and video shops -Alcohol and beer shops increase
1997					CP opens chicken farms
2000	1. Policy of one university/one state (Yadanaborn University) 2.Zay Cho market renovated by the government, allowing more space for businesses and traders		Farmers sell the land to the chicken farms/become workers there	More people attending university	- 6 th tea shop opens -Ready-made curry paste sold in the market -Broiler chicken farms in Taungbyon
2003					Ready meals and ingredients sold at the supermarket -Video shop closes/gaming shops open
2004					Start using electric rice cookers

Year	State Policy	Infrastructure	Occupation	Education behaviours	Changes of food and food related issue
2006					7 th and 8 th tea shops open. CP sells ready-made sausages and other foods at MDL supermarkets
2009-2010		-Electricity supply more stable and greater coverage -Many land plots sold for the profit			9 th tea shop opens -New seasoning powder imported from Thailand; Knorr used for seasoning among the middle class families -Increase in number of cake and ice-cream shops especially around the university
2011					10 th tea shop opens in the village
2012		-The price of land reaches a peak -Large number of people migrate to Oh Bo			-Villagers start using electric pans for cooking
2013					-CP opens dairy factory and farm in NPT

Food consumption: comparison between city dwellers and the studied community

The observations and interviews carried out in the studied community and urban areas revealed differences in the food consumption behaviours of these two groups. This section will look at such differences in (1) meals and eating out and (2) cooking seasoning and ingredients

Meals and eating out

While most participants in the study community; either being in higher and lower economic level have breakfast at (men) or from (women) a tea shop, and from noodle stalls (the children), they still cook their own meals for lunch and dinner. There is only one cooked food shop in the studied community, and people buy from there when the food they have cooked in the morning has run out by lunch or dinner. In the case that their workplace is far from home, lunch will be cooked at home in the morning, packed and took with for having it at work. Almost participants have dinner at home.

People in the city also have breakfast at the tea shop. There are many kinds of tea shops ranged from the big and modern tea shop, serving varied kinds of foods to the small tea stall in the city. These various kinds of tea shops are compatible with city people who are various in their economic status and lifestyles. The food price in the big and modern tea shop is high and most of their customers are in higher middle class. These people normally come with the group. While no woman is seen sitting at the tea shop in the studied community, the group of women having breakfast is normally seen. Some women group came to the tea shop after their morning exercise along the Mandalay mole, having some chat for a while and return home. Some come with their family, having breakfast together, before going to work or sending children to school. For those who are in the lower economic status, they will have breakfast at the small tea shops situated around the city or having Mohinga which provided at the noodle stall beside the tea shop. Moreover, for people; both man and woman who had to go to the market, there are plenty of cooked food stalls and tea shops situated in the market area. City worker and student are often seen having breakfast at these small tea shops and food stalls situated in the market and along the pavement.

While people in the studied community cooked and packed their lunch with, city people normally have it at the food shops. Lots of food shop provided cooked food and rice in the city area. Some take the food here during lunch break and some buy the cooked food, packed and have it at the office. The price of one curry and rice is 3000 Kyats (100 Thai baht). For people being in lower economic class can have light foods or snacks at the tea shop which opened all day for lunch. Moreover, there are many small food shops which serve rice and curry and noodle shop which people can pay only 1500 Kyats (50 Thai Baht).

People in the city who have their home will have dinner at home with their family. It



is noticed that only those being in middle and higher class will cook for dinner. Those who come to work in the city, government staffs and students, renting the room where cooking is



inconvenient, will buy cooked food or eating out for dinner. There are many food stalls

opened since early evening until very late at night. These food stalls are varied in terms of the food quality and its price. The moderate standard of food stall provided rice with one curry cost 1300 Kyats (43 Thai Baht). The food stalls which opened only the night time along the road charge only 800 Kyats (26 Thai Baht) for the same menu. For the poor people in the city, they can have dinner which cost them only 200 kyats (6 Thai Baht) if they bought it from the mobile small food stall. For the small food stalls and shops, rice will be served in the ceramic plate, but curry will be filled in a small aluminum bowl. There is few food shop which serve rice in the middle aluminum bowl and top it with curry in the same bowl.



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanutuk

Food shops in the Department store

Modernization and the increasing number of people moving into Mandalay, especially traders and businessmen, as well as tourists, has increased the level of demand for modern goods. Teenagers and middle-class families spend their weekends and evenings at the shopping centres in the area. Many of these teenagers are university students whose hometowns are in other parts of Myanmar but who attend university in Mandalay. The lack of educational support in remoter divisions means many students move to Mandalay for their further education. In response to the increasing number of students, businessmen and tourists in the area, many modern restaurants and shops have opened within these shopping centres in Mandalay. One large centre opened in 2011, and there are three other, medium-sized shopping centres in the city also. There are four supermarkets located inside these shopping centres in Mandalay, these being Orange, City Mart, Fuji and Ocean, which sell local and imported foods, vegetables and fruit, as well as cooking ingredients. Most students were seen in group at the department store, having ice cream or snack especially on weekend or in the evening. Lots of higher and middle class families come to buy things and have snacks at the department store too especially on weekend. Most of the imported snacks, cooking oils and other cooking ingredients as well as seasoning sauces and powders sold at the supermarkets, are imported from Thailand.

On the contrary, most people interviewed in the community said they prefer to eat at home, especially dinner: *“Our family never eats out. We do not like the noise at the food shops; lots of people are there. I cook food at home; there is no need to eat out”* (female informant: number 25). Interestingly, one informant mentioned eating out as being more like Western culture, and that it is not part of the Myanmar culture, adding *“When I was young, we ate every meal at home, or carried food with us if we had to go to school. We did not eat out. Eating food from a shop or at a restaurant is Western style”* (male informant: number 29). Moreover, one informant talked of eating out only on special occasions, or for lunch: *“When my children finished their school exams, we had a meal out, just to celebrate”* (female informant: number 8).

One of my wealthier informants said that his entire family (husband, wife and two young children) goes to the shopping centre once a month to buy cooking ingredients. On

these occasions they normally eat food and snacks at a coffee shop or bakery within the centre.

“We go to the shopping centre once a month to buy things such as seasoning (sauces and powders), sugar and fish sauce. We also buy ice cream, cakes and coffee, as well as steamed snacks, at the shops located inside. I do not like eating food outside of home, but our visits to the shopping centre are the one time we eat food outside” (male informant: number 29).

One of my female informants stated that her family goes to the shopping centre every weekend:

“We go there to buy stationary for our children, as well as fries, jelly, coffee powder and cream; fish sauce and also cooking oil. I buy the fish sauce and cooking oil once a month. We also take the opportunity to eat outside when we go to the department store. Sometimes we eat Chinese food at a restaurant inside, but mostly we go to the burger shop. Sometimes we go to the bakery, but in general we do not like eating sweet food, so we tend to go for a hamburger more often, and the children like burgers too” (female informant: number 26).



Photo by Ravangban

Cooking seasoning, ingredients and utensils

Noticeably, more variety of cooking sauce and ingredients are provided in the grocery shops in the city. Most of these cooking sauces and seasoning are imported from Thailand. Interview the owner of the grocery shop in the city reveal *that the dealer will come to the shop and re fill these cooking sauces on the shop's shelf every week*. The demand of Thai cooking sauces and seasoning is high. With particular for seasoning, there are five Thai seasoning powder brands selling in the city grocery shop. Moreover, Thai fish sauce is in high demand as it normally used in the restaurant, food and tea shop in the city.



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

However, these imported cooking seasoning and sauces are rarely found in the kitchen of the participants' home and the tea shop in the studied community. People being in lower economic status, either being in the city or in the community normally used salt. It is noticed that very few ingredients used by people in lower economic status. Among these few cooking ingredient, curcuma powder, salt and sweet soy sauce are the main ones.

People in the lower economic class, being in the city and the community use aluminum plate and bowl. Having food with hand is normal when they have it at home. However, for having food at the food shop and tea shop, people use spoon and fork. There is not much difference of cooking utensils between people in the city and the community. Electric rice cooker and pan are most found in houses. This is because of the increased access of electricity throughout Myanmar nowadays and the increase price of charcoal and woods.

Modernization and food consumption

This section will present the effect modernization has had on the food consumption patterns of people in particular: (1) food choices; what kinds of food are available, (2) cooking ingredients and utensils used and (3) food meal.

Food choice and food sovereignty

Changes in land use patterns within the study community, along with people moving in, has had an impact on household food sources. For example, keeping chickens around the house for their eggs and meat is impossible nowadays, as is growing vegetables. Moreover, the loss of rice fields and other land means households no longer keep cows, which in the past, were kept for their milk. Family food sources now rely on what can be bought at the market, but there is much less choice than in the past. In addition, the price of food has increased due to liberalization and the creation of agro-industries, but the quality has not improved. Overall, the choices open to families when selecting food are much more limited than in the past, especially for those of a lower economic status.

While people's dependency on household food sources has reduced, market-oriented policies have encouraged new kinds of food to be offered at the local markets. The importing of foods such as canned fish, instant noodles and cheap, processed snacks and biscuits, as well as fruit, has increased. Also, more chicken products are now available, due to chicken industry developments such as the partnership between CP from Thailand and Myanmar



investors. The chickens sold by this partnership are the biggest broilers on the market, yet are priced the lowest. The cheaper price of this product is due to a marketing strategy which is looking to increase market share. During my fieldwork, lots of CP fresh chickens were displayed in all the local markets, and also around the community. Though some informants mentioned their concerns at the unnatural feeding processes used by CP, which might adversely affect consumer health, the low prices make the chickens the most attractive on the market, especially for the poor families. This strategy of selling at a lower price than the locally sourced products has been practiced since the late Monarchy era (Thibaw), when it was used in by the British with regard to cotton; people eventually preferred to buy British cotton which was less durable but much cheaper. This also happened with the silk manufacturing and lacquerware industries (p. 181 Than Myint Oo).

CP sells not only fresh chickens, but has started a fried chicken business, displaying its chickens at small booths around the city. People can now stop by the booths and buy fried chicken for dinner. A fried chicken leg costs 800 Kyats (less than US\$1) and a wing 700 Kyats. These prices are higher than the fried snacks sold in the tea shops; however, the fried chicken is easy to eat when living in an urban area, and when the mother has little time to prepare dinner for the children. As a result, lots of people on motorbikes stop in front of the CP fried chicken booths and take the chicken back home. It should be noted that fried chicken is compatible with the cultural food preferences of Myanmar people, who enjoy eating fried food.

Urbanization has also impacted on the places at which people can find food. Tea shops started in the community during the socialist period, and have increased in number since 1990. People's occupations have also changed, from working as rice farmers to workers at companies, as well as grocery shop and small business owners. People have lost their own food sources, but have to work outside of the home, so having a quick breakfast at a tea shop is the best choice for them, as the food is not expensive and is convenient. Moreover, as stated in a previous chapter, eating food at or from the tea shops is not only a biological response, but is an economic and social one too.



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

Cooking: Utensils and ingredients

Modernization has brought modern cooking utensils to the country, and they have made cooking easier and less time-consuming. The extension of the electricity supply to the community and the subsequent appearance of the electric rice cooker, took place around 2004, and other electric cooking utensils such as electric pans and kettles has increased rapidly since 2009/10, as the electricity supply has stabilized. However, although the crockery used in the restaurants and food shops in the city has changed from plastic to ceramics, due to concerns regarding the danger of eating hot food off plastic, very few households in the community have followed this trend. Most the households still use plastic plates, and feel it is easier to eat the food with their hands rather than with a spoon and fork.



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

Imported foods and ingredients introduced by the market-oriented economy have had



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

an impact on how local people cook food. This is particularly the case with the use of seasoning, which in the past involved the use of small, chopped shrimps to make the food taste better. Since



Photo by Thapin Phatcharanuruk

seasoning powder was first introduced from Thailand and China around 1990, households have stopped using the small shrimps, and instead use the imported seasoning powder. Price is the crucial factor here, for the price of the shrimps is higher than the price of the imported seasoning powder. Those of a higher economic status use a seasoning powder from Thailand called 'Ajinomoto', which is more expensive than the powder from China. This change in the use of seasoning powder occurred in 2009, as merchants imported a new seasoning powder from Thailand made by 'Knorr', which is seen as being healthier than Ajinomoto and the Chinese seasoning powder. However, the price of the Knorr product is higher than the other powders, so only those of a higher economic status can use it.

For the same higher economic status households, using ingredients imported from Thailand, such as fish paste, sauces and fish sauce is now common. Thai products are perceived as being of a higher quality than those produced in Myanmar or imported from China, though the prices of Thai products are higher.

Interestingly, a few households mentioned using the ready-made curry paste; those with women responsible for the cooking and who have limited time in which to do so. One female informant, who lives with her husband's family, including his mother and father, mentioned using ready-made curry paste, though her husband's father said the taste was not as good. Given that this informant is responsible for taking care of the children, looking after the family grocery shop, going to the market and cooking food for the whole family, plus doing other domestic duties, her decision to use the ready-made curry paste is understandable. The increasing use of such curry pastes can also be found among the city dwellers, as lots of different curry pastes could be seen in the food sections of all the supermarkets in the city, and lots of people were buying them when I was observing there.



Eating food: Dinner as a family time

Modernization and new occupations have had an effect on how food is eaten among family members in the study area. In the past, people had breakfast made of fried rice mixed with groundnut oil and maybe grilled fish paste, but now they have to go out to eat breakfast at tea shops. As only men sit and eat breakfast at the tea shops, families can no longer eat breakfast together, especially as the children get their breakfast from the local noodle stalls.

Not eating lunch together is not so much of a change, as in the past they had their lunch in the rice fields with the other rice farmers; however, what has changed is that those working in the city cannot return home for lunch, so buy ready-cooked food from food shops in the city. The poorest; meanwhile, also eat their lunch in tea shops.

Dinner is the only meal during which family members eat together, but not all of them; those from very poor families eat dinner separately, as usually someone working outside the home cannot get back in time. In such household, a portion of cooked food and

rice will be kept aside so that he or she can eat it later. This also happens in the case of the higher economic status families who own small businesses in the community. In these households the husband and elder son will have lunch and dinner first, as they have to go out to take products to shops in the city, while the mother and daughter stay at home looking after the workers at their small factories. One poor female informant said she has a late breakfast, as she has to rush-out very early in the morning to go to a market in the city, where she sells fuel wood to the merchants there. She has to take her wood very early in the morning, to try and sell it to the merchants before they buy from others. After selling the wood fuel, this lady goes home and starts cooking a late breakfast.

In conclusion

This chapter has focused on the effects of modernization and urbanization on people in Oh Bo community. The evolution of development, and the infrastructure changes that have taken place, alongside government policy and changes in living conditions, have resulted in people taking-on new occupations, as well as developing new food consumption habits, as revealed here. I elaborated upon food consumption patterns, such as what kinds of food are now available and how, and the cooking utensils used. Eating as a family happens less now due to time limitations, and is restricted to dinner, plus the eating of breakfast at tea shops also reflects changes brought-about by an urban way of life and working patterns which make time and convenience crucial. The market-oriented economy, and presence of imported foods and cooking ingredients, means some people have more cooking choices, but only those of a higher economic status.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have examined (i) the changes in food sources and consumption patterns taking place in Myanmar due to its rapid industrialization and urbanization, changes taking place within a modernization process, and (ii) the types of food consumed and the socio-economic factors related to food intake among families in study area. My eighteen-month research study, which started in January 2013 and ended in July 2014, was conducted within a community located in a peri-urban area of Mandalay city. In total, 36 people – mostly women of different economic statuses, in different occupations and with varying family structures – were interviewed in their own homes about the types of food they buy, cook and eat. The interviews were conducted in English, with translations into Burmese provided by very experienced local translators. Each interview took two hours on average. Tea shops, food shops and restaurants were also observed. In all, four local Burmese food shops of varying sizes and with different menus were observed, and their owners interviewed. A Western food restaurant and a bakery were also observed, as was one chicken farm, whose owner and workers were informally interviewed.

Eating is not simply the result of bio-natural forces; what we eat, and when and where we eat it, as well as who we eat with, are socially and culturally shaped, and are also affected by the political, economic and environmental conditions within which we live. The rapid modernization and urbanization taking place in Myanmar has affected people's lives as a whole and in particular their work and food consumption patterns. This study is based on modernization theory, which takes into account changes in economic, political and social structures, and encompasses many related concepts, such as privatization, development and urbanization.

The impacts of industrialization, urbanization and liberalization in Myanmar on food sources and food consumption patterns

Since 1990, Myanmar development policies have focused on agricultural development and the growth of agro-industry, and the resulting changes have impacted upon local food production activities and the kinds of food available in local markets. Industrialization based on a capitalist model has had a deteriorating effect on local farming activities, a decline which has accelerated since Myanmar issued a Foreign Investment Law in 1988 allowing foreign direct investment. Since the current, democratic government was formed in 2011, infrastructure development and international trade have been promoted, as have the tourism and service sectors, which are expected to create jobs among local people and help boost the country's GDP.

Agricultural development in Myanmar began during the monarchy era, and accelerated during British colonial rule when the irrigation system built and the focus on producing rice for export formed a solid base for the modern rice sector. British rice exporting policies affected social and cultural change in Myanmar, as a flood of Indian workers and moneylenders, as well as British merchants, moved in, changing the kinds of food available and eaten throughout Myanmar. For example, the culture of drinking tea

mixed with milk was introduced to Myanmar at that time, as promoted through the actions of the British East India Company, and demand for Indian tea increased in all the big cities as a result. Drinking plain, Chinese-style tea had been the normal routine in households prior to the arrival of the British, so drinking tea mixed with milk at a tea shop was perceived as new and modern behaviour at that time. Moreover, the arrival of tea mixed with milk was also accompanied by an influx of Indian foods and snacks. Meanwhile, international trade between Myanmar and China, based on the Shan merchants' overland trade caravans, led to the opening of shops serving food and drinks, and these were used by the merchants to rest and meet others plying the same routes. Local Shan food, such as Shan noodles, was then introduced throughout Myanmar, and since that time Shan noodle and food shops have become more common in Mandalay.

Liberalization and industrialization have affected, not only how local food is produced, but also what types of food are available in the local markets and the food's quality. Foreign investment in the cultivation of mangoes and water melons illustrates how the majority share of such production activities is exported each year to China. My informants said that while good quality agricultural produce is exported, local people are left with the produce that does not reach the required export standards. Foreign investment in agricultural production has also introduced modern production technologies, and these have put the health of farm workers at risk, as well as that of consumers. The number and amount of fertilizers and other chemical substances used during the agricultural production process in Myanmar have increased in recent years, due to the strict production schedules imposed by foreign companies. Some of the former owners of farming land have had to become workers on their former land to make ends meet. At the same time, with almost the entire production process under their control, big players in the agriculture industry have been able to increase the prices of their products.

While the fruit grown in Myanmar are mainly exported to China, for the production of chickens the situation is different. CP Myanmar Livestock Co. Ltd (CPML), an investment group from Thailand, has developed hatcheries and broiler production units in Myanmar, with the resulting chicken products sold inside Myanmar. CPML has introduced new methods in terms of raising chickens, plus rears fish underneath the chicken houses. As well as hatcheries, CPML has its own food processing factories, and these have helped it expand into other crops such as corn, as corn is the main ingredient used in the production of animal feed. CP broiler chickens; meanwhile, are sold in local markets, and these are cheaper than the broilers produced by other, local broiler companies, or those reared around houses using natural feed. Though these CP broilers are the cheapest on the market, some of my informants expressed their concerns about the health hazards they pose, as the chickens are fed with processed animal feed, and it also takes only 45 days for them to reach the market-required weight. Not only has CPML introduced broiler farms, it also sells a range of ready-cooked chicken products such as grilled chicken and sausages at food outlets dotted across the Mandalay city area, and also in supermarkets.

The Myanmar government has in recent years promoted the tourism and service sectors, and this has facilitated increased urbanization rates and the influx of foreign goods into Mandalay. The number of hotels and modern restaurants has increased, and it has been stated that 30% of the revenue from food in the country comes from food sold in hotels and other service outlets. Transportation facilities, telephone lines and the internet have swiftly been introduced, and foreign goods are now flown into Myanmar, including household items such as electric cookers and pans, and other utensils, as well as sauces and seasoning products. It should be noted here that goods imported from Thailand are perceived as being of a better quality than products imported from China, though Thai imported goods are more expensive.

Urbanization has not only improved infrastructure standards in the country, it has also increased population densities in Mandalay and other cities, including in peri-urban areas. The expansion of the Mandalay urban area has extended into the peri-urban communities, with urban dwellers selling their land in the city and moving out towards the suburbs. This includes the study community, whose residents experience different living conditions than in the past, as it has become more crowded. As the business and service sectors in the city have grown, so the selling of land to businesses and businessmen moving in has become more profitable. The encroaching urban area and the relocation of government buildings into the study area has created a “new official town”, which some of my informants said has changed the way they dress at home, and the way they talk to each other; they now use very polite language. The expansion of the urban area into this peri-urban community has reduced the amount of land people own and that is available for agriculture, which means fewer people raise chickens (for eggs and meat) or rear cows (for milk). This reduced food sufficiency has had a severe impact on local people, and especially the poor. People in Myanmar spend on average 70% of their incomes on food. In the context of the rising price of food as a result of liberalization and industrialization, and the reduction in household food sources, the food supply situation, as well as health status of people in the study area, is highly likely to deteriorate. Development based on the capitalist model, as well as the loss of land due to agricultural industrialization and the expansion of Mandalay urban area into the community, illustrates the importance of food sovereignty issues.

During my interviews with the informants, I asked them about life in the study area in the past, and they noted how access to natural food sources and also land rights have been crucial factors over the years in helping to sustain family food availability and also people's health. In the past, families owned their own land and were able to grow rice – their staple food item, throughout the year. As well as rearing cows, to work in the rice fields and to provide milk for breakfast, they could access medicine when they were weak or fell ill. This tradition of drinking milk among the rice farmers of Myanmar is interesting, as for most people in Southeast Asia this has never been a traditional activity. However, for the rice farmers of Myanmar, cows' milk used to be an important source of nutrition, and was very accessible and convenient. The loss of land in recent times has impacted upon, not only the farmers' key sources of income, but also their food sources. People now have to buy food from markets, and the food they have access to is dependent on whether or not they have

sufficient money available. The development of the agro-industry sector might have increased the choice of food products available at the markets and supermarkets, but now consumers are concerned both about the quality of these products as well as the price. My informants mentioned how large CP-raised broilers seem to be, despite the relatively short amount of time spent feeding them .

Changes in people's occupations and way of life have affected food consumption patterns. For example, the tea shop has become the main food source for many people, and especially at breakfast. The variety of foods provided at the tea shops and the low prices charged for tea and snacks, have made them accessible to families of all socio-economic statuses, with the urban way of life encouraging their use in the mornings, as local people travel to school or work. The increase in the number of food outlets in the city reflects a decrease in the amount of time people spend cooking at home, and especially in the cities. Moreover, the diversity of food provided at tea shops reflects the hybridity taking place within the food culture of Myanmar, as the country assimilates other food cultures such as those from India and China, those countries with which Myanmar has long interacted, both economically and politically.

The growth in business and tourism has led to an increase in the number of food outlets, bakeries and coffee shops catering to overseas customers in Mandalay, as well as department stores providing foreign goods and food items. Families, and especially those from the middle- and upper-income brackets, spend their weekends at these department stores, while teenagers tend to spend their afternoons and weekend at the doughnut shops and bakeries, most of which are located in the city. The improvement in mobile phone and internet coverage has helped people in Myanmar access information and develop a more modern lifestyle.

In the study community in particular, the relocation of government buildings has had significant socio-cultural impacts, plus has affected land ownership patterns. These changes have also led to infrastructure improvements in the study community, and particularly those related to transportation and electricity supplies. In addition, the greater diversity of people and growth of small businesses in the area has led to a growth in the number of grocery and tea shops in the community.

Food consumption patterns among the study families in Mandalay

The research for this study was conducted in a small community north of Mandalay, one with a total population of 5,851 people spread across 1,057 households. The community is only a ten minute drive from the city centre, and most people in the community are skilled workers, such as carpenters, gold and silversmiths and dressmakers, or labourers. In the past, people in the community mostly grew rice, but now only five households do so. The changes in occupations and loss of rice fields that have taken place in recent times have had an effect on people's food consumption patterns, with most people now relying on food bought and eaten outside the community, including rice, which is their staple food. Most of my informants now buy rice from the local market; only one informant household was still

growing rice during my field research, though this was about to change, as a large proportion of this household's fields were to be transformed into a chicken farm, with fish ponds located underneath. My interviews clearly show a decrease in the level of food self-sufficiency in the study area as a result of market liberalization and urbanization processes.

Linked with these changes in household food consumption patterns, my informants described their current lifestyles and daily routines. Most household members get up very early in the morning, with the women – mothers or daughters-in-law – taking responsibility for buying meat and vegetables at the market, and for cooking the family meals. Only one household mentioned the husband going to the market and cooking each day, while two stated that the men in their households go to the market, but that the women takes charge of cooking. All the informants I spoke said they buy meat and vegetables from the market located in the centre of the community.

In addition, almost all the informants said they buy their breakfast each day from the tea shops in the community. The children tend to eat traditional Myanmar noodles – which are sold by small noodle stalls near the community market – while their mothers go shopping, meaning they leave home together in the morning.. The men in the households normally eat breakfast at the local tea shops, with some taking home food for their grandparents to eat later. This habit of buying breakfast from tea shops developed during the British colonial period, when tea shops run by Indians were first opened. Recent occupational and urban lifestyle changes have left people relying more on these tea shops, particularly for their breakfasts, as the food at these outlets is affordable and convenient. However, for those informants I spoke to who still have their rice fields, they do not eat breakfast at the tea shops; they still eat rice mixed with oil and groundnut at home. This highlights the importance of food sources on food consumption patterns among the informants.

Fresh food bought at the local market is used to cook lunch and dinner for the whole family. All the informants said they cook food once a day, with the food shared between lunch and dinner. Most of my informants said they cook two or three dishes at a time; a curry, some vegetables and soup. However, the poorer families said they only cook two dishes; a curry and a soup, with the soup used to boil the vegetables. The higher economic status families said they eat chicken or pork curries, while the poorer households tend to use eggs or dried fish for their curries, as the price of pork and chicken is higher than fish and eggs (one small chicken egg costs 100 Kyats, or around three Thai Baht). In general, the families spend 3,000 to 4,000 Kyats on food at the market; that used to prepare lunch and dinner for the family each day (normally three to five people).

Most of the informants' houses have a kitchen area set apart from the house. The reason for this might be because in the past, wood was used as fuel, so having the kitchen separate prevented smoke from blowing into the house. However, modern cooking devices tend to be used now – those powered by electricity, such as electric rice cookers, pans and kettles – as the electricity supply has become more stable.

Modernization has brought with it imported seasoning powders and sauces, and the informants said they use these to cook nowadays. 'Ajinomoto' a seasoning powder imported from Thailand, has been used for a long time now, while 'Knorr' another seasoning powder from Thailand has appeared over the last few years. Because Knorr is quite expensive, only the middle- and higher-income families can afford to use it, while the poorer households use seasoning powder sold in small plastic bags, of no specific brand. I was told these small packets of seasoning powder are imported from China. As well as seasoning powder, fish sauce and other seasonings are imported from Thailand, and these are displayed in shops at the local market. These Thai products are perceived as being tastier and of a higher quality than those imported from China, and even those produced in Myanmar.

After buying food from the market, the women start cooking, with the food then placed in lunch boxes for the children to take to school. Among the other family members, the husbands and wives who work near home return for lunch, while those who work further from home like the children take a packed lunch with them.

Dinner is the meal at which most family members eat together. The families normally sit down to dinner between 6 and 7 p.m.; however, I was told the elders tend to eat dinner first, at 5 to 5.30 p.m. I was also told that in a few households, the men eat dinner before the women, while among the families that run small businesses, family members take it in turns to eat dinner while the others work.

Modernization and changing food consumption patterns

In this study, I have found that modernization has had a significant effect on food consumption patterns, particularly in terms of the food bought and eaten, the cooking ingredients and utensils used, and where meals are eaten. Recent modernization in Myanmar based on the capitalist mode of production and supply, has had an impact on the food sources used, the types of food available at the local markets, as well as the food's quality and price. Increasing tourism has led to the greater use of modern foods and more people visiting restaurants in Mandalay; however, most of the food outlets, as well as the restaurants, are patronized mainly by tourists and business people, as the prices tend to be very high, meaning they are out of reach of most ordinary people. In addition, a greater number of imported cooking utensils and ingredients are being sold at the markets and supermarkets, with the supermarkets also selling ready-cooked food. This increased use of ready-cooked food and imported ingredients, such as curry pastes, illustrates well the lifestyle changes taking place among people in the study area as a result of urbanization. These people now have less time to buy and prepare food themselves, meaning the issue of convenience is a crucial factor for them. However, though the variety of imported food items in the markets and supermarkets has increased, only those of a higher economic status can afford such items. I found that among the poorer households, the buying and/or eating of food outside the home is rare, except at breakfast, when household members buy their food from the local tea shops. Finally, I found that the types of dishes served at home during family meals are influenced by the economic statuses and income levels of the study households.

Suggestion

1. Foreign foods, snacks and cooking ingredients have flooded into Myanmar in recent years, and concerns around the quality and safety of these imported foods are growing. Most of the imported snacks and cooking ingredients sold in the rural areas are cheap, and some of them are a health hazard. The Myanmar Consumer Protection Organization is working actively on this issue, disseminating information on the danger of such foods. However, due to the high levels of poverty in the country, the low prices of these snacks make them attractive to many people. As a result, such food items will continue to be imported, with their consumption likely to spread throughout Myanmar.

2. Among the imported foods, Thai goods, food items and seasonings are perceived as being of a higher quality than those imported from other countries. As a result, to preserve a good image, the quality of the goods exported to Myanmar should be of concern to Thailand, to preserve its image. As the majority of Myanmar people are still poor economically, maintaining the price of goods at a reasonable level should be taken into account by the governments involved, as well as their quality.

3. The consumption of food outside the home has increased in recent years alongside urbanization, and in this study I have found that most people in the urban and peri-urban areas eat their breakfast at tea shops or food stalls. The number of people such as students and office workers moving into Mandalay from rural areas and renting accommodation in the city is likely to increase markedly in the near future, due to the expansion of tourism and service related industries in Mandalay. This development will benefit the food and catering sector, but will also make it more difficult to control and monitor the quality and price of food provided in the area.

4. I have also highlighted in this study the effect of urban expansion and changes in the agriculture industry on household food source in the study area. In the context of Myanmar's government encouraging foreign investment in agro-industry and other industrial sectors, the resulting reduction in household land and loss of food sources is likely to continue at an increasing rate, as more and more rural dwellers move into the city. An urban planning review should therefore be carried out in order to prepare for the complex set of issues and problems likely to arise due to this mobility. Moreover, a review should be carried out of the planning needed in rural communities, as these areas are being negatively affected by increasing rates of urbanization.

5. As found in this study, family eat together mostly at dinner, but this is also likely to change as more Myanmar families open small businesses at home, as this will mean family members have to take it in turns to eat in order to maintain their businesses and production capacities. The impact of this reduction in the time spent eating together as a family needs to be assessed; especially as this is likely to happen among the middle come and poor families. With internet accessibility increasing, and with modern goods and media increasingly available, families might need to create new ways of strengthening their relationships, but using these same modern goods and technologies could also create new social problems.

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Appendix

Appendix A1

Table of Timeline of the Industrial Development Process in Myanmar (1962-2012)

Period	Process
1962-1988	Only state-owned industries and a few JVs
1988	Introduction of Foreign Investment law which allows FDI in processing and manufacturing sector
1989	Introduction of State owned Enterprises Law that allowed private sector participation in economic activities
1990s	Enactment of Private Industrial Enterprises Law, allowing import of raw materials so that the local manufacturers to enter the manufacturing sector Export-oriented garment industry reached a peak in this period Industrial Zones were established since 1995
2000	US Sanction imposed affecting budding private-owned industries
2011	Enactment of Myanmar SEZ Law and Dawei SEZ Law
2011	Industrial changes and reformation of Industrial Development Committee
2012	Establishment of 7 new industrial zones

Source: Aung Min and Kudo, K., 2012. New Government's Initiatives for Industrial Development in Myanmar. In *Economic Reforms in Myanmar: Pathways and Prospects*, edited by Hank Lim and Yasuhiro Yamada, BRC Research Report No.10., Bangkok Research Center, IDE-JETRO, Bangkok, Thailand. p.69.

Appendix A2

Table of Existing and new industrial zones in Myanmar (as of August 2012)

No.	Industrial zone name	Location	Year of establishment	Total area (acre)	No. of factories	No. of employees
Existing industrial zones						
1	Yangon east district	Yangon east district	1996	3,200.34	3,319	60,506
2	Yangon west district	Yangon west district	1996		659	8,389
3	Yangon south district	Yangon south district	1996	432.60	85	1,134
4	Yangon north district	Yangon north district	1996	5,108.61	1,092	78,938
5	Mandalay	Mandalay Region	1995	1,239.33	1,154	11,783
6	Myingyan	Myingyan-No-19 ward, beside of Myingyan-Yangog highway road	1995	163.59	333	1,534
7	Meiktila	Meiktila-Meiktila Township, Mandalay Region	1995	348.45	429	2,377
8	Monywa	Saging Region	1995	365.34	666	3,099
9	Yaenanchaung	Both side of Yangog-Mandalay highway road, 36 village tract, Yaenanchaung Township, Magway district, Magway Region	1995	171.71	121	484
10	Pakokku	4 miles away from north- east Pokkoku and both side of the Pakokku-Yasakyo	1996	378.80	281	1,313
11	Pyay	Pyay Township, Bago Region	1995	120.92	132	290
12	MyaungMya	MyaungMya	1995	108.69	37	578
13	Hinthada	Hinthada Township, Ayeyarwaddy Region	1995		384	1,518
14	Myeik	Innlay Myeik Industrial Zone, Myeik Tuang campus, Myeik Township	1995	318.14	30	6,373
15	Taunggyi (Ayethaya)	South-east of Taunggyi beside of Ayethayar-NyaungShwe Highway road	1995	902.00	505	2,781
16	Mawlamyaing	(Kyakemayaw Township, Nyaung Pinn Seik village, Kayone Kwin, Plots No.386)	1995	1,71.04	164	1,092
17	Pathein	Pathein Township Ayeyarwaddy	1999		359	2,927
18	Kalay	Saging Region	2004		76	318
New industrial zones						
19	Pa an	Taungkalay village,		971.86		

		Pa an Township				
20	Yatanarpon (Pyi Oo Lwin)	Pyi Oo Lwin Township, Mandalay Region		10,000.00	26	
21	Nay Pyi Taw (TetKone)	Between Nay Pyi Taw and TetKone		500.00		
22	Myawaddy	Kayin State				
23	Phayar Thone Su	Phayar Thone Su Township, Kayin State			35	2,051
24	NantOn (Muse)	Between Muse and Kut Khaing, Shan State				
25	Ponenar Kyun	Ponenar Kyun Township, Rakhine State		656.55		

Source: Aung Min and Kudo, K., 2012. New Government's Initiatives for Industrial Development in Myanmar. In *Economic Reforms in Myanmar: Pathways and Prospects*, edited by Hank Lim and Yasuhiro Yamada, BRC Research Report No.10., Bangkok Research Center, IDE-JETRO, Bangkok, Thailand. pp. 80-82.

Appendix A3

Map of 18 Industrial Zones in Myanmar



Source: Aung Min and Kudo, K., 2012. New Government's Initiatives for Industrial Development in Myanmar. In *Economic Reforms in Myanmar: Pathways and Prospects*, edited by Hank Lim and Yasuhiro Yamada, BRC Research Report No.10., Bangkok Research Center, IDE-JETRO, Bangkok, Thailand. p.76.

Appendix A4

Map of New 7 Industrial Zones in Myanmar



Source: Aung Min and Kudo, K., 2012. New Government's Initiatives for Industrial Development in Myanmar. In *Economic Reforms in Myanmar: Pathways and Prospects*, edited by Hank Lim and Yasuhiro Yamada, BRC Research Report No.10., Bangkok Research Center, IDE-JETRO, Bangkok, Thailand. p.78.

Appendix A5

Table of Share of GDP by Sections in Myanmar

Sr	Years	% of GDP		
		Agriculture	Industry	Service
1	1970-71	49.5	12.0	38.5
2	1980-81	46.5	12.7	40.8
3	1988-89	47.9	11.5	40.6
4	1990-91	57.3	10.5	32.2
5	1991-92	47.0	13.4	39.6
6	1995-96	45.0	15.6	39.4
7	2000-01	42.8	17.7	39.5
8	2001-02	55.9	10.6	33.5
9	2002-03	52.9	12.8	34.3
10	2003-04	51.9	13.6	34.5
11	2004-05	50.5	14.6	34.9
12	2007-08	43.3	19.9	36.7
13	2010-11	36.2	26.0	37.8
14	2011-12	34.2	27.5	38.3

Source: Data from Key Indicators of Developing Asian and Pacific Countries, ADB, 2005 and Ministry of National Planning and Economic Development (MNPED).

Note: The values of 1988 to 2001 are calculated by 1985/86 constant price and those of 2001-2005 are calculated by 2000/01 constant price. Agriculture sector also comprise of Livestock and Fishery, and Forestry, while Industrial sector comprises of manufacturing, energy, electricity, construction and mining, and Service sector comprises of services and trade.

Appendix A6

Table of Overseas visitors

S.N.	Year	Total ¹	Tourist ²				Other visitors ³
			Total	By Air	By Sea	By Land	
1	1990-91	25261	8806	8446	360	-	16455
2	1995-96	170143	120205	81428	1978	36799	49938
3	2000-01	325042	260616	121016	2960	136640	64426
4	2003-04	330320	269205	122940	1194	145071	61115
5	2004-05	372460	313066	156015	-	157051	59394
6	2005-06	391177	315535	144628	1798	169109	75642
7	2006-07	448135	370974	191979	1720	177275	77161
8	2007-08	363976	288776	131784	2492	154500	75200
9	2008-09	334954	255288	100439	1879	152970	79666
10	2009-10	394427	298556	164000	1458	133098	95871

Source: Central Statistical Organization. **Statistical Yearbook 2011.** Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar. p.438.

¹ Includes visitors with visa and daily or overnight travelers with border pass.

² Visitors with tourist visa only.

³ Includes visitors with special re-entry visa, entry visa, (business, social, gratis official courtesy, multiple journey, gratis diplomatic courtesy and transit) were started from April, 2005.

Appendix A7

Table of Tourist arrivals at Yangon and Mandalay International Airports by type of nationality

(Number)

S.N	Nationality	1990-91	1995-96	2000-01	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	Feb 2014**
1	American	896	5586	7651	7444	9508	8567	9253	6309	5564	7399	5645
2	Australian	178	1326	1461	1917	2729	2549	3178	2871	2182	3355	2250
3	Bangladeshi	3	164	84	595	808	573	599	400	353	444	320
4	Belgium	199	1041	2113	1899	2368	2323	2928	1620	1114	1840	705
5	British	554	4468	4615	4040	5127	4710	4713	3071	2279	3922	4159
6	Canadian	166	818	1430	1573	1922	2001	2417	1408	1203	1469	1198
7	Chinese	1	1139	2979	2718	4413	6161	8933	12122	11397	17361	10410
8	Dutch	180	1314	1834	1482	1702	1849	2281	963	838	1690	n/a
9	French	895	6722	10826	9725	12787	12809	16558	9028	6203	10405	5199
10	German	1841	4346	8791	11110	12470	12010	18550	9358	5655	9447	4172
11	Indian	5	604	1054	1727	2811	2058	2169	1919	1620	2200	2254
12	Israeli	19	458	892	857	935	1303	1635	739	578	1162	n/a
13	Italian	1068	3507	7075	4852	6941	8023	12532	3299	3182	6648	1472
14	Japanese	872	12347	13051	11742	13713	12651	12998	6820	4934	7838	7578
15	Korean	27	3080	2010	4185	6513	7755	15962	8981	6305	8662	5279
16	Malaysian	51	1782	5628	5692	6835	4761	5138	4141	3575	4859	4120
17	Pakistani	8	436	411	276	304	348	494	452	428	409	n/a
18	Russian	-	35	99	229	444	656	1360	1099	969	1783	523
19	Singaporean	56	3488	5480	5565	6224	4950	6682	4175	2888	4507	3657
20	Swiss	475	1791	2859	3042	3471	3631	4681	2020	1646	3234	1361
21	Thai	201	7159	7414	17217	20829	17699	25861	25387	19964	38189	16813
22	Taiwanese	-	14086	23269	11776	13454	9054	8123	6038	5224	6769	2585
23	Other*	751	5731	9990	13277	19707	18187	29434	19564	12338	20408	17431
	Total	8446	81428	121016	122940	156015	144628	191979	131784	100439	164000	97131

Source: Central Statistical Organization. **Statistical Yearbook 2011.** Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar. p.439.

** Visitor Arrivals by Nationality February 2014. **Today Magazine.** Myanmar, Vol.21, April 2014, p.42.

* Includes Austrian, Brunei, Hong Kong, Indonesian, Mexican, New Zealand, Philippines, Spanish, Swedish, etc.

Appendix A8

Table of Hotels, Motels and Inns/Guest Houses by Type of Ownership and by State and Division

S.N.	Particulars	1990-91			1995-96			2000-01			2003-04			2004-05		
		No. of hotels and inns	No. of rooms	No. of beds	No. of hotels and inns	No. of rooms	No. of beds	No. of hotels and inns	No. of rooms	No. of beds	No. of hotels and inns	No. of rooms	No. of beds	No. of hotels and inns	No. of rooms	No. of beds
1.	State-owned															
	Total	39	1238	2612	46	1477	3161	31	1708	3416	32	1766	3532	12	795	1590
	Mandalay Division	15	433	881	15	455	925	11	439	878	10	434	868	5	206	412
2.	Private-owned															
	Total	-	-	-	96	1603	3206	483	13656	27312	538	15467	30934	583	17738	35476
	Mandalay Division	-	-	-	50	831	1662	165	4165	8330	161	4315	8630	174	5003	10006

Source: Central Statistical Organization. **Statistical Yearbook 2011.** Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar. p.440.

Appendix A9

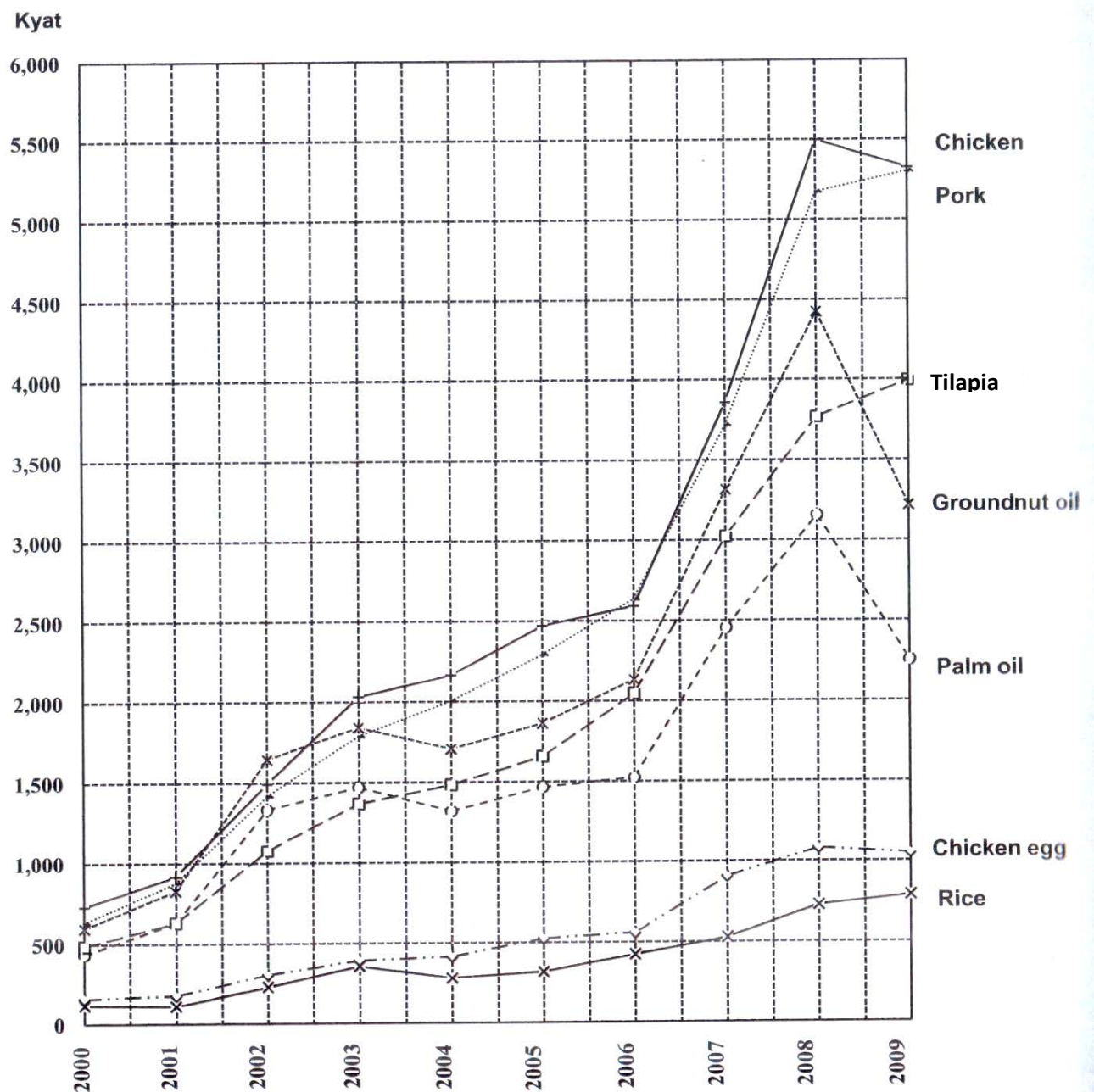
Table of graduates of higher education by field of specialization

S.N.	Field of specialization	1990-91	1995-96	2000-01	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10
1.	Medicine	124	1667	1748	2173	3387	4046	4366	5699	5330	5012
2.	Technology	-	908	2609	3476	1950	1637	1823	2960	527	3501
3.	Myanmar aerospace and engineering					44	86	19	54	-	78
4.	Education	-	853	1146	3497	3510	1920	4179	3761	4123	2804
5.	Economics	-	960	1790	2467	6795	4181	3140	4538	3275	2768
6.	Agriculture	-	213	242	333	397	404	400	252	332	456
7.	Forestry graduate	-	36	49	36	76	69	38	23	27	48
8.	Veterinary	135	108	132	100	142	145	103	64	105	76
9.	Computer	-	130	1223	5868	8404	8866	5759	4477	727	4530
10.	Arts and culture graduates	-	-	109	204	370	167	163	129	134	149
11.	Myanmar maritime	-	-	-	-	-	-	340	328	218	268
12.	Arts and sciences	-	51618	-	78571	160163	117243	96347	97006	100068	102250
13.	Foreign language	-	-	-	323	422	336	343	368	426	314
14.	International Theravada Buddhist Missionary University	-	-	46	113	128	122	99	110	107	95

Source: Central Statistical Organization. **Statistical Yearbook 2011.** Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar. pp.393-394.

Appendix A 10

Prices of Main Food Items



Source: Central Statistical Organization. **Statistical Yearbook 2011**. Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar. p.224.

Appendix A 11

The social characteristic of the informants

Informants no.	Sex		Age	Family Characteristic					Economic Status	
	M	F		Extended		Nuclear			Rich	Poor
				All generation with children	All generation	Parent & children (Salary+rich)	Parent & children (Labour+poor)	Parent & younger children (rich+rich)		
1.		/	36	/					/	
2.		/	75	Alone and the husband relatives look after her						/
3.	/		70		/				/	
4.		/	80	/						/
5.		/	42			/			/	
6.		/	50	/						/
7.		/	41	/					/	
8.		/	47					/		/
9.		/	50		/				/	
10.		/	50		/					/
11.		/	35	/						/
12.		/	63		/					/
13.	/		40	/					/	
14.		/	74	/						/
15.		/	45	/					/	
16.		/	44					/	/	
17.		/	51				/		/	
18.		/	59			/			/	
19.		/	46				/			/
20.		/	43			/			/	
21.		/	42					/		/
22.		/	59			/			/	
23.		/	50			/			/	
24.	/		51			/			/	
25.		/	43			/			/	
26.		/	44					/	/	
27.		/	35	/						/
28.		/	41	/						/
29.	/		39					/	/	
30.		/	70		/					/
31.		/	62	/					/	
32.		/	56		/					/
33.	/		50				/			/
34.	/		80	/					/	
35.	/		36					/	/	
36.		/	55	/					/	
Total	7	29		13	6	7	3	6	21	15

Appendix 11 (Cont.)

Informants no.	Education Level				Occupation						
	BA.	High school	Primary School	Non Education	Professional	Shill work	General labour	Business owner	Elder, Housewife	Farmer	Block Leader
1.			/					/			
2.			/						/		
3.			/					/			
4.				/					/		
5.	/							/			
6.				/					/		
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30.				/					/		
31.				/				/			
32.				/					/		
33.			/								/
34.				/					/		
35.		/									/
36.				/					/		
Total	5	4	19	8	4	4	2	11	12	1	2

สัญญาเลขที่ RDG5610006

โครงการ “ความเชื่อพื้นบ้าน แบบแผนการบริโภคอาหารและสุขภาพพม่าในบริบทการพัฒนาเศรษฐกิจและความทันสมัย”

ตารางสรุปกิจกรรม

วัตถุประสงค์	กิจกรรมที่วางแผนไว้	กิจกรรมที่ดำเนินการ	ผลที่ได้รับ
1. เพื่อศึกษาแบบแผนการบริโภคอาหารของครอบครัวชาวพม่าอันประกอบด้วยประเภทของอาหารและปัจจัยทางสังคมเศรษฐกิจที่สัมพันธ์กับการบริโภค	1. การทดลองแบบบันทึกการบริโภคอาหารในครัวเรือนของชาวพม่า (Food diary) จำนวน 2 ครัวเรือน 2. สัมภาษณ์อาหารที่ครัวเรือนชาวพม่ารับประทานในแต่ละวัน จำนวน 10 ครัวเรือน 3. สัมภาษณ์เชิงลึกกรณีศึกษา จำนวน 20 คน เพื่อศึกษาความคิด ความเชื่อในการบริโภคอาหารและบทบาทในการจัดการอาหารของครอบครัว และปัจจัยสำคัญที่มีผลต่อการเลือกปรุงอาหาร 4. สัมภาษณ์แพทย์พื้นบ้านใน	1. การทดลองใช้แบบบันทึกบริโภคอาหารในครัวเรือนของชาวพม่า (Food diary) จำนวน 4 ครัวเรือน 2. การศึกษาประวัติชุมชน สังคม และการเปลี่ยนแปลงของพื้นที่และสังคมพม่าโดยรวมจากผู้ให้ข้อมูลหลักในชุมชนและเอกสาร 3. สัมภาษณ์แพทย์พื้นบ้านในเกี่ยวกับประเด็นในประเด็นความรู้ แนวคิด การปรุงและการบริโภคอาหารของชาวพม่า 4. สัมภาษณ์และสังเกตปฏิสัมพันธ์ของสมาชิกครัวเรือนในการบริโภคอาหาร และ	ผลการดำเนินกิจกรรมที่ได้รับตลอดทั้งโครงการประกอบด้วย 1. ข้อมูลภูมิหลังของประเทศพม่าทั้งในด้านนโยบายการพัฒนาประเทศด้านเศรษฐกิจ อุตสาหกรรมและสังคม และการก้าวเข้าสู่ความทันสมัยเพื่อเป็นรากฐานของการทำความเข้าใจประเด็นและพื้นที่ในการศึกษา ดังที่เสนอไว้ในบทที่ 1 2. การพัฒนาอุตสาหกรรมและอุตสาหกรรมเกษตรของพม่าที่มีผลต่อแหล่งอาหาร ประเภทอาหาร ราคาสินค้า แหล่งจำหน่ายสินค้า และการเกษตรเพื่อการส่งออก ซึ่งนำเสนอไว้ในบทที่ 2 3. การเปลี่ยนผ่านของช่วงเวลา การพัฒนาสู่การเป็นเมือง การกลายเป็นความทันสมัยและอุตสาหกรรมของพม่า การสะท้อนถึงการผสมผสานในการเปลี่ยนแปลงเชิงมหภาคต่อปัจเจกบุคคล ผ่านพื้นที่

	ประเด็นความรู้และแนวคิดเกี่ยวกับอาหาร การบริโภคและสุขภาพ 5. สสำรวจรูปแบบการปฏิสัมพันธ์ระหว่างสมาชิกในครอบครัว บรรยายภาคในการรับประทานอาหารในครอบครัว	บทบาทหน้าที่ของสมาชิกครัวเรือนต่อการเลือกซื้อ การเตรียมและการปรุงอาหาร รวมถึงรูปแบบในการรับประทานอาหารของครัวเรือนพม่า	ร้านน้ำชา อันเคยเป็นพื้นที่ของการค้าและการบริโภคสู่การเป็นพื้นที่ทางสังคมที่มีนัยยะทางเศรษฐกิจ ปฏิสัมพันธ์และเครือข่ายทางสังคมของผู้คนชาวพม่าทั้งในพื้นที่เขตเมือง กึ่งเมืองและชนบท โดยได้นำเสนอไว้ในบทที่ 3 4. ข้อมูลของหมู่บ้านและ Township จากเอกสารและการบอกเล่าของผู้ให้ข้อมูลหลักที่แสดงให้เห็นถึงพัฒนาการหรือการเปลี่ยนแปลงในบริบทเศรษฐกิจ สังคมของหมู่บ้าน ต่อแหล่งอาหาร ความคิดต่ออาหารต่างชาติ เครื่องปรุง-การปรุง อุปกรณ์เครื่องครัว และการบริโภคอาหารของชาวพม่า ความสัมพันธ์และบทบาทหน้าที่ของผู้ประกอบอาหารในครัวเรือน แบบแผนในการบริโภคอาหารของชาวพม่า รวมทั้งแผนที่ชุมชนในปัจจุบัน ดังรายงานในบทที่ 4 และภาคผนวก 5. บทสรุปสถานการณ์ความทันสมัย การกลายเป็นเมือง และการพัฒนาอุตสาหกรรมต่อแหล่งอาหาร และการบริโภคอาหารของครัวเรือนชาวพม่า รวมถึงข้อคิดเห็นต่างๆ ในด้านความปลอดภัยและคุณภาพอาหารทั้งอาหารท้องถิ่นและอาหารต่างชาติที่
2. เพื่อศึกษาผลกระทบของการกลายเป็นอุตสาหกรรม การกลายเป็นเมือง และการเป็นเสรีนิยมในประเทศ เมียนมาร์ต่อแหล่งอาหารและรูปแบบการบริโภคอาหาร	1. สัมภาษณ์เชิงลึกกรณีศึกษาจำนวน 10 คน เพื่อศึกษาความคิด ความเชื่อในการบริโภคอาหารของชาวพม่า และความคิดต่ออาหารสมัยใหม่ พร้อมทั้งการปรับตัวหรือการเปลี่ยนแปลงการบริโภค 2. สัมภาษณ์ผู้สูงอายุเพื่อได้ข้อมูลในด้านวัฒนธรรมความเชื่อเดิมเกี่ยวกับอาหาร การดูแลสุขภาพ และการเปลี่ยนแปลงอาหารในสังคมพม่าปัจจุบัน 3. สสำรวจแหล่งจำหน่ายวัตถุดิบ/	1. สังเกตการดำเนินชีวิตประจำวัน การทำงานและพฤติกรรมบริโภคของประชากร 2. สัมภาษณ์ประชากรในชุมชนถึงสถานการณ์การเปลี่ยนแปลงที่เกิดขึ้นในชุมชนและการปรับตัวในการดำเนินชีวิต 3. สสำรวจแหล่งอาหาร แหล่งจำหน่ายวัตถุดิบ ลักษณะการจำหน่ายอาหารพื้นเมือง อาหารปรุงสำเร็จและอาหารฟาสต์ฟู้ดส์ 4. สัมภาษณ์ผู้ประกอบการร้านค้า	พัฒนาการหรือการเปลี่ยนแปลงในบริบทเศรษฐกิจ สังคมของหมู่บ้าน ต่อแหล่งอาหาร ความคิดต่ออาหารต่างชาติ เครื่องปรุง-การปรุง อุปกรณ์เครื่องครัว และการบริโภคอาหารของชาวพม่า ความสัมพันธ์และบทบาทหน้าที่ของผู้ประกอบอาหารในครัวเรือน แบบแผนในการบริโภคอาหารของชาวพม่า รวมทั้งแผนที่ชุมชนในปัจจุบัน ดังรายงานในบทที่ 4 และภาคผนวก 5. บทสรุปสถานการณ์ความทันสมัย การกลายเป็นเมือง และการพัฒนาอุตสาหกรรมต่อแหล่งอาหาร และการบริโภคอาหารของครัวเรือนชาวพม่า รวมถึงข้อคิดเห็นต่างๆ ในด้านความปลอดภัยและคุณภาพอาหารทั้งอาหารท้องถิ่นและอาหารต่างชาติที่

	ประเภท/ลักษณะการจำหน่าย อาหารพื้นเมือง อาหารปรุง สำเร็จและอาหารฟาสต์ฟู้ด	ปลีก-ส่ง ในตลาดสด ใน ประเด็นการเปลี่ยนแปลงของ ตลาดและที่มาของสินค้าต่างๆ 5.สัมภาษณ์ผู้ประกอบการ ฟาร์มไก่ (contract farming) ใน การประกอบการ การ เปลี่ยนแปลงของสถานการณ์ อันเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของแหล่งอาหาร ในปัจจุบันของชาวพม่า 6.สัมภาษณ์ผู้ประกอบการร้าน น้ำชาและร้านอาหารท้องถิ่น ต่อ บทบาทและการเปลี่ยนแปลงของ ร้านน้ำชา-ร้านอาหารในอดีต และปัจจุบัน รวมถึงประเภท อาหาร	หลังไหลเข้าสู่ประเทศเมียนมาร์ ทั้งในส่วนของ ผู้บริโภคอาหารและผู้ผลิตโดยเฉพาะประเทศไทยที่ สินค้าบริโภคเป็นที่ได้รับความเชื่อใจในคุณภาพสินค้า ดังที่นำเสนอไว้ในบทสรุป
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