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DEVELOPMENTS IN FOOD CONSUMPTION IN SOCIALIST ROMANIA DURING THE 1960s AND 1970s: IMPLICATIONS FOR A REEVALUATION OF CONSUMERS' EXPERIENCES UNDER SOCIALISM

Abstract

The topic of food consumption in Socialist Romania and Eastern Europe commonly conjures up images of widespread deprivation: rationing of supplies, frequent queuing, 'progressive' public health policies that were actually intended to restrict intake and adulteration of food products. Less adequately discussed in the popular press and in the academic literature remains the dietary transition that began in the 1960s and which transformed the rural and urban diets from a traditional, 'core'-'fringe' type to the modern type characteristic of industrial societies. My article addresses this gap in the literature by analyzing the main developments in rural diets from the 1960s and 1970s along with the rural consumers' perceptions of these developments from a standard of living perspective. Over and above its contribution to the study of food consumption in 20th century Romania, my analysis contributes to a better understanding of consumers' experiences under State Socialism given that food consumption, together with housing and clothing, was a key aspect in the rural residents' conception of 'the good life'.

Keywords: Food Consumption under Socialism, Dietary Transition, Rural Development, Everyday Life in Socialist Romania

Introduction

This article discusses a cluster of developments in food consumption in the Romanian countryside during the 1960s and 1970s. While the relevance of such a research focus may not be readily apparent even to researchers from the burgeoning field of Consumption under Socialism,

I maintain that such an analysis can inform better understandings not just of diets and nutrition in the Romanian countryside, but also of the trajectory of the Romanian Socialist Regime and of competing versions of life under Socialism. Regarding the selection of the research topic, the focus on food consumption is, fortunately, relatively well established in the scholarship on Socialist Romania as researchers have readily recognized the importance of, and explored, the relations and experiences surrounding food mostly in connection with the fall of the Socialist Regime and to previous (c)overt manifestations of discontent. For instance, for the 1980s, academic writers and journalists,¹ museum curators and film makers² have all described in detail the extensive deprivation that queuing for food painfully reflected, the 'progressive' program of rational consumption used to justify further requisitions of basic foodstuffs to be traded internationally for the much needed hard currency and the various strategies deployed by ordinary citizens to secure meager supplies of food. Thanks to such research, the image of long lines of people queuing to retrieve, bags in hand, their meager rations of meat, milk, bread or sugar has justifiably become one of the most recognizable images of Socialism in Romania. In addition, developments in food consumption during the first decade of Socialist rule have also been covered, including not just the post-war deprivations and the 1946-1947 famine, but also the imposition of a rationing scheme through which scarce food supplies were re-directed from rural areas to social categories privileged by the new regime (urban residents and particularly workers in heavy industry) or the use of heavy in-kind levies (cote) to break the resistance of villagers opposing collectivization.³ While acknowledging this valuable research, I find that discussions of developments in food practices from the intervening period remain exceptionally rare, both in the academic literature and in attempts at memorialization despite the witnesses' readiness to reference these developments.⁴ My primary intention has been, therefore, to bridge this gap in the literature by exploring a group of developments in food consumption during the 1960s and 1970s which jointly marked a transition from a 'core'-fringe' dietary pattern typical of traditional populations to a more modern diet typical of industrial populations. The underlying assumption motivating such a study is that food consumption had been one of the central components of the Romanian consumers' idea of a 'good life', not just negatively in that the absence of food produced acute discontent, but also positively in that the growing availability of highly prized foods promoted consumer satisfaction. Accordingly, the Romanian

consumers' experiences with food are crucial for understanding both why the Socialist Regime collapsed and why it had become stabilized and the actual impact of the observed developments will be evaluated by interpreting them from a standard of living perspective.

Finally, the research focus is on the food consumption of rural residents - a heterogeneous social group defined by their underprivileged position relative to urban residents - which although had accounted for more than half of the country's population throughout the studied period has nonetheless received less attention in the literature on Socialism beyond the experience of collectivization. Moreover, in the field of Consumption under Socialism, the consumption experiences of rural residents feature disproportionately rarely, the focus having been conventionally on privileged social categories that were almost always urban, frequently the residents of capital cities or important industrial towns, and having access to high economic and cultural capital. More importantly than filling this gap in the literature, however, the study of rural residents has theoretical value and relevance outside of the academia since it underlines clearly the shortcomings of the dominant approaches to the study of consumption under Socialism (see the next section) and facilitates the examination of a specific version of life under Socialism that has been too often uncritically dismissed. Specifically, rural residents and residents of small industrial towns that were in their 40s and 50s when the regime fell readily maintain in private discussions that consumption experiences under Socialism had not been uniformly bleak but that, in fact, during the 1960-70s life became more comfortable compared to both pre-1960s and post-1980s standards. Such versions of events have been commonly explained within the dominant narrative by assuming some kind of 'error' in the remembering process (either nostalgia, selective memory or confounding entanglement of time spent under Socialism and youth when life is generally better) and my intention is to examine the merits of such accounts by cross-checking them against contemporary information and data from multiple agents. The results of such an evaluation can then inform a more productive dialogue between supporters of two opposing versions of life under Socialism which so far has been complicated by mutual misunderstandings and preconceived opinions, with repercussions for the polarization of Romanian society along generational lines.

Theoretical Perspectives, Methodological Outlook And Approach To Sources

My analysis builds upon an understanding of consumption in which consumers actively invest consumption practices with meaning and creatively appropriate consumption opportunities to fit their own purposes.⁵ Consequently, to retrieve consumers' expectations and experiences under Socialism, it is necessary to apply an anthropological approach in the sense of Clifford Geertz's 'thick description'⁶ that can capture the complexities of consumer experiences and properly interpret them within their local contexts of meaning. Such an approach differs sharply from the normative approaches which have dominated research during the first decade after the demise of Socialist Regimes and which mainly consisted in comparing levels of availability of consumer products in Socialist and Capitalist countries.⁷ While these approaches have merits in evaluating the relative performance of the two systems of supplying the population with consumer goods, my evaluation is that they have less value in making sense of the consumers' experiences under Socialism. Specifically, with the possible exceptions of East Germany and of a minority of individuals who had travelled abroad, consumption practices in Western Europe have doubtfully been sufficiently visible to function effectively as a standard of reference for Socialist consumers and, as a result, their contribution to the study of consumers' experiences under Socialism is rather limited.

My approach shares the same theoretical perspective with the new wave of studies on consumption under Socialism that has emerged in the past decade but differs in the degree to which it incorporates in practice the local contexts of meaning. This new wave of studies has the undeniable merit of having refocused research on how consumption had been experienced rather than on how it measured up to Western performances or to Marxist ideals.⁸ Underlying this theoretical perspective is the understanding that consumption experiences are individually created by the subject and, therefore, that they cannot be fully regulated, prescribed or controlled⁹ nor retrieved by applying a normative interpretative scheme. Nevertheless, the studies inspired by this approach have the significant drawback of having included a number of assumptions about the Socialist consumers' expectations and preferences which were modeled on Western normative experiences and, as a result, of having reproduced a softer version of the 'Western'-centric narrative which it intended to replace. This

normative influence of Western experiences is perhaps most evident in the set of products that have been selected for analysis: both the established durable goods (automobiles, refrigerators, city apartments) and the newly added soft goods (fashionable clothing, coffee, tobacco and champagne, alternative music and opera performances, erotic materials and camping equipment) have in common, despite their material diversity, the fact that they had defined or at least had a counterpart in the contemporary Western consumerist society. In line with the theoretical perspective presented above, however, the principal uncertainty concerns whether, and to what extent, the typical selection of products adequately reflects the horizon of expectation of the various groups of consumers from the Socialist Block. The assumption that it does is not altogether justified especially considering the significant differences between the Western and Eastern parts of Europe, not least in the initial and overall level of economic development and in the proportion of households that had access to the infrastructure required by most durable goods. In contrast to these approaches, my approach acknowledges the crucial importance of selecting meaningful indicators for representing consumers' expectations and experiences - measured in terms of their salience for the respective consumers - and responds to this challenge by tapping into the relevant contexts of meaning, by being mindful of fine local and socio-economic differences and by emphasizing the need for self-reflexivity and awareness of one's own biases in approaching consumption.

The application of a 'thick description' approach acquires particular significance in the study of the consumption experiences of rural residents. My argument is that in the case of this social category, the focus on standards of reference and sets of consumer products modelled on 'Western' experiences are singularly irrelevant partly because emblematic consumer products such as durable goods fell outside the horizon of expectations of most consumers, the majority of which did not have access to such basic infrastructure as electrical power as late as 1970s, and partly because such sets fail to include consumption goods and practices which were particular to the region and to a stage of relative economic underdevelopment but which were, nevertheless, salient to a considerable number of consumers. Instead, I argue that the research focus needs to shift to a set of 'unconventional' consumer products/needs that retrospective testimonies and contemporary written information indicate were culturally loaded, locally meaningful and, therefore, more representative for the rural consumers' horizon of expectations. For instance, the focus may

productively shift from the 'poor' quality of Socialist housing according to optimal or designers' standards¹⁰ to the rural consumers' experiences of having a house built from building materials (bricks, tiles) commonly associated with well-off villagers and from the 'kitchen wars' over which Block can provide the most functional, technologically up-to-date kitchen to the first, generalized emergence in the Romanian countryside of a permanent kitchen as a separate space for cooking and eating. Furthermore, the focus in the consumption of clothing and footwear can fruitfully shift from the undeniable shortcomings of the industrial sectors in providing 'adequate' goods defined according to the industries' quality standards to the rural consumers' perceptions of the move from flax to cotton materials or from rural to urban fashions considering their access to the technical know-how in sewing and tailoring that came together with an extensive experience in homemade clothing production. Finally, the focus in food consumption needs to shift from cookbooks, luxury products (caviar, champagne) and department stores to include, besides culturally loaded products such as tobacco and alcohol, changes in meat consumption, the transition from mămăligă to bread, the turn towards market-acquired, convenience foods and the growing stability of the food supply. In this paper, I focus exclusively on such developments in food consumption which are, first, reviewed together to emphasize their interconnections within a shifting dietary configuration and then interpreted from a standard of living perspective.

Before proceeding to the actual analysis, several clarifications concerning methodology and the availability of, and approach to, sources are required. In terms of methodology, my study is first and foremost an exploratory study: its aim is to raise awareness about a previously neglected topic and to propose a reinterpretation of consumer experiences under Socialism by building on this new information and by employing more relevant standards of reference (diachronic reference points). Methodologically, such a study occupies a privileged position since, within the confines of a non-experimental research design, it is comparatively easier to prove that previous analyses have been incomplete and that competing interpretations of a phenomenon are available rather than to prove that a particular interpretation is singularly important.¹¹ When interpretations of developments had to be provided, I have always considered competing interpretations as well and I have presented arguments for why I believe they are less plausible than the accepted interpretation. In terms of sources, my analysis builds on data

from a variety of sources that have been related to each other through the method of data triangulation and which have been collected and analyzed through the application of a variety of research methods. The method of data triangulation assumes that data derived from various types of sources are not inherently incompatible and, consequently, that by combining data from sources that are susceptible to different kinds of errors, a more accurate description of the studied processes may emerge.¹² The method has been applied most consistently in reconstructing the trends in food consumption: information from large-scale household budgetary surveys using self-report, small-scale in-depth dietary studies conducted by trained personnel and using various periods and intervals of observation and nationwide food balance sheet have been confronted to exclude biases associated with any specific study format. In addition, the information from these studies, which had been almost always produced through interactions with state representatives, has been confronted with information from retrospective interviews that are supposedly free of this shortcoming.¹³ Furthermore, the method has been applied in interpreting the observed dietary trends as information from contemporary sociological studies has been confronted with information from retrospective interviews and from indicators of demand in a non-market economy (queuing, petitioning and relative prices on the black market). Finally, the required information has been amassed through methods of systematic data collection (unstructured, semi-structured and structured interviews coupled with random sampling, archival data collection) and has been analyzed using exploratory and inferential statistical methods and narrative analysis.

Shifting Dietary Patterns: From a 'Core'-'Fringe' to an 'Industrial-Style' Dietary Configuration

The central claim of this article is that the general dietary configuration of the Romanian rural residents had changed from a 'core'-'fringe' configuration to a typically modern configuration between 1900 and 1980 and that the most dramatic changes had occurred beginning with the 1960s. The 'core'-'fringe' dietary configuration refers to the model developed by Sidney Mintz to formalize what he perceived to be strong regularities in the diets of such populations.¹⁴ Specifically, Sidney Mintz argued that the dietary configurations of traditional populations are organized, with few exceptions, around a recognizable 'core' food,

commonly the processed product of grains or tubers rich in complex carbohydrates (starch). This food forms the element of stability in a diet since it is consumed in largely unmodified form at almost every meal, it represents the principal component of the meal since it is consumed in greater quantities than any other component and, in some cases, than all the other components of a meal taken together and it provides most of the required calories and significant parts of the needed macronutrients.¹⁵ By comparison, the 'fringe' component of dietary configurations, which typically sample a wide variety of food sources, adds welcomed diversity to the meal since it is presented under various forms, it is consumed in relatively smaller quantities and supplies important nutrients that are absent or present only in insufficient amounts in the 'core' food. Within each meal, the 'core' and 'fringe' components form a functionally interdependent pair with the 'core' foods having been historically consumed only exceptionally without anything else to accompany them while the practice of consuming typical 'fringe' dishes with small or no quantities of typical 'core' foods is largely restricted to social groups from modern, industrial societies. Furthermore, the 'fringe' dishes perform the function of facilitating the ingestion of the copious quantities of 'core' food and, therefore, are usually prepared under liquid or semi-liquid form.¹⁶ Finally, the larger part of the ingredients of the 'core' food and the majority of the ingredients for 'fringe' dishes are produced within the economic unit of the household, most of the ingredients are of vegetal origin while the ingredients of animal origin cover mainly milk, eggs, cheese and only small quantities of meat and the served foods are almost always prepared within the household. In contrast, in dietary configurations typical of industrial societies, the 'core' food is considerably less important, both absolutely and relative to the other ingredients of the meal, meat consumption is significantly higher, most of the ingredients are purchased from outside the household while semi-prepared and already prepared purchased foods feature frequently in the menus.¹⁷

THE PRE-1960S 'CORE'-'FRINGE' DIETARY CONFIGURATION

Table 1 summarizes data on food consumption from several dietary studies conducted in the countryside between 1900 and 1995 that is intended to inform the analysis of the dietary change. The data has been organized under the broad categories of Cereal products, Plant-based ingredients and Animal-based ingredients, with the subcategory: Meat, to

facilitate a clearer discussion of dietary configurations along the lines of the two models presented above but throughout the analysis new categories for comparison will be introduced to reveal other important developments in diets. The referenced studies have been selected for analysis primarily because they returned quantitative results which facilitated comparisons across time and, secondly, because they involved a meaningfully large number of participants. Besides the data on food consumption, information has been included regarding the process by which the data had been generated to help clarify, qualify, and caution the reader about, the quality of the data.

According to this data, the majority of rural residents up to the 1960s had subsisted on a 'core'-'fringe' type of diet at least in terms of the configuration of served meals. First and foremost, cereal products (mămăligă, bread, turtă) had been consumed at each meal in absolute quantities consistent with the function of 'core' food. The data from the rigorous studies in which food consumption was measured by specialized personnel are indicative in this sense: in Ineu village, Bihor County, a relatively well-off village, adult males performing mid-intensity work were reported to consume, on average, 770 gr. of cereal products per day;¹⁸ in Măguri, Cluj County, a relatively poor village, 131 adults were reported to consume, on average, 870 gr. of bread,¹⁹ while in Pojejena Română, Barloveni-vechi and Pătaș, Caraș County, 210 adults and children were reported to consume 930 gr. of either bread or mămăligă.²⁰ The highest credible figure that I have identified in the literature puts the average daily consumption of cereal products at 1.5 kg of mămăligă and it was reported by Enescu and Radenschi for adult males performing mid-intensity work based on observations of 4 families (32 members) from Roman County, Moldova.²¹ These levels of consumption, confirmed by studies using self-report and longer periods of observation, are impressive by modern standards and high enough to provide between a minimum daily load of 1550 kcal in the case of Ineu village and a maximum load of 2100 kcal in the case of the villagers from Roman County.

Secondly, consumption of cereal staples was important not just in absolute, but also in relative terms with cereal products outweighing all the other ingredients of a meal put together, when milk is excluded. Specifically, the relative weight of bread, mămăligă or turtă within a meal ranged from 56% in the Ineu study to **70%** in the Măguri study with mămăligă generally accounting for a higher share of a meal than bread or turtă since it incorporated larger quantities of water, had a

lower caloric density, and, consequently, was consumed in higher quantities. Concerning the accompanying dishes, these were prepared mainly from vegetal ingredients while among animal ingredients, meat was relatively less important than eggs and cheese. Furthermore, meat consumption remained generally low in absolute quantities as well: the highest consumption had been reported for Ineu village, which enjoyed good economic conditions, and for the villages covered by the 1906 Dietary Study, which had been surveyed between Christmas and Lent,²² a period when meat consumption was customarily at its highest. However, even in these cases the quantities consumed are modest by contemporary standards. In addition, the quantities reported for Măguri, Pojejena Română, Barloveni-vechi and Pătaș villages are remarkably low, a situation partly explained by their less privileged economic position and partly by the time of the observation - Spring and Summer - when meat consumption was customarily at its lowest. All these ingredients have been mainly prepared into liquid or semi-liquid dishes with the 1957 Dietary Study reporting an average frequency of consumption for soups of 198 days and for stews of 167 days.²³ Furthermore, consistent with the functional interrelationship between 'core' and 'fringe' dishes, when food items were eaten raw as side dishes, they mostly consisted of onions, pickled vegetables, salads or dairy products, foodstuffs that facilitated the ingestion of the large quantities of 'core' foods by stimulating the secretion of saliva or by moistening and lubricating the resulting admixture.²⁴

Thirdly, cereal products have been central not just within individual meals but also within the longer-term dietary patterns with variants of cereal products (mămăligă, bread, turtă or all of them with various frequencies) having accompanied virtually every meal throughout the year. In this sense, the 1957 Dietary Study, which reported the frequencies of consumption of various food products for 88 families from 9 villages from Oltenia, Muntenia and Dobrogea, suggests a minimum limit of almost 300 days per year in which cereal products had been consumed.²⁵ However, several observations by different researchers for various regions and years indicate that cereal products had been consumed at least each day if not at each meal,²⁶ observations consistent with the maximum limit of consumption frequency allowed by the 1957 Dietary Study. Nonetheless, while cereal products had been served, most likely, at every meal, a different product had been served predominantly in various geographical regions of the Romanian countryside, by different socio-economic classes within each region and at various periods during the agricultural year. In

particular, mămăligă had been consumed preponderantly by the majority of rural residents from the regions of Moldova, Muntenia, Southern Oltenia, Maramureș, more or less as frequently as turtă in Northern Oltenia and as bread in Southeastern Transilvania and only in insignificant quantities in Dobrogea, Banat, Crișana and Central Transilvania, where the consumption of bread predominated.²⁷ However, within each of these regions, not everyone consumed the dominant cereal product to the same extent: in regions where the consumption of mămăligă predominated, well-off villagers consumed bread relatively more frequently than poorer villagers while in regions where turtă or bread predominated, mămăligă was consumed relatively more frequently by poorer villagers. Finally, in regions where mămăligă predominated, bread was nevertheless generally consumed at festive meals occasioned by major religious holidays or life events (weddings, funerals, family celebrations), was offered as a special treat for children and as a comfort food for the sick and was consumed more frequently during the time window after the harvesting of wheat and the bringing in of the new maize crop (August-September).

The practicalities of acquiring and preparing the 'core' foods are, unfortunately, not sufficiently well established for the Romanian countryside and, therefore, can only tentatively be checked for consistency with Mintz's dietary model. The share of ingredients produced directly by the economic unit of the household rather than acquired from the market is difficult to establish precisely. In terms of the main ingredients for 'core' foods (maize or wheat), data on patterns of land usage which show that, nationally, rural households owning less than 1 Ha of land nonetheless cultivated, on average, 56% of it with cereals reveals a concern with securing at least part of the needed quantities through own production.²⁸ At the same time, data broken down by geographic location shows that in mountainous villages, the majority of rural households owning less than 1 Ha assigned for cereal production surfaces of land that could not yield sufficient quantities to cover their consumption needs and, correspondingly, that they had to acquire variable quantities from outside the household, a practice confirmed by contemporary observers (for Măguri, Cluj County,²⁹ Nerej, Vrancea,³⁰ Arsura, Fălciu³¹) and the respondents to my oral questionnaire (Retevoiești village, Argeș County). Regarding all food ingredients, data for 1938 from 234 household budgets from villages from various regions of Greater Romania show that, on average and depending on the region, 70 to 90% of food items by monetary value were produced within the household, with the share remaining high

(61 to 83%) for households that owned 'insufficient' amounts of land by contemporary standards of between 0.1 and 3 Ha.³²

Relatively, the information available for the acquisition of ready-to-eat 'core' foods from outside the household, as opposed to the acquisition of grains or flour, is more straightforward and consistent in showing few acquisitions. In this regard, the availability of industrially-produced bread in the Romanian countryside, derived by subtracting from the total production of bread by state-owned factories the quantities consumed by the urban population, has been estimated for 1959 at around 15 kg per rural resident. The levels of availability of industrially-produced bread per rural resident ranged from insignificant quantities in most regions to 26-36 kg in the regions of Stalin, Ploiești, Pitești and Constanța but in none of the regions did it cover, on average, more than one third of the total 'core' food needs of the rural residents.³³ The presence of industrially-produced bread in the Romanian countryside had been, most likely, equally unimpressive before 1950. According to data derived from two general censuses of the population, there existed a maximum number of 1404 rural bakeries in 1912³⁴ in the Old Kingdom of Romania and 1356 in 1930³⁵ in the same territories except Dobrogea. These bakeries were serviced, on average, by 2.7 workers (the owner and 1.7 employees) in 1912 and by 1.8 workers (the owner and 0.8 employees) in 1930 which suggests a low capacity of production capable of catering adequately to the bread requirements of one medium-sized village. Nevertheless, considering that in 1912 the rural population was divided among 2781 rural communes comprising 8525 villages, that the distance between villages was often considerable and that the network of roads was underdeveloped, the proportion of the rural population that had access to industrially produced bread must have been quite low. Concerning the acquisition of *mămăligă* or *turtă* from outside the household, I have found no evidence indicating such a practice, a possible limitation for developing it having had to do, from the supply side, with the challenge of commercializing products that were usually consumed while hot. Overall, most quantities of 'core' food have been prepared within the household, a task which required significant expenditure of time and energy given the frequency of 'core' food consumption throughout the year, the high quantities consumed at meals and the rural residents' preference for consuming such foods while fresh/hot.

One possibility to bring all this information together in an evocative manner is to imagine an average rural resident prior to the 1950s, sitting down for lunch, expecting to partake from a copious serving of cereal

products, the same way he/she did in the preceding months or will do in the coming months as well. This sizable portion of cereal products would be served together with a soup and/or a stew, frequently prepared using comparatively smaller amounts of vegetal ingredients, especially, although not necessarily, during fasting periods, or from meat products - more rarely in Summer and with greater frequency during Carnival. These dishes would have been prepared, most often, within the household, which would have required the expenditure of considerable time and energy, while the majority of the ingredients would have also been produced within the economic unit of the household through demanding year-long agricultural activities. Certainly, the actual experiences of individual rural residents would have differed to particular extents from those of the statistically average rural resident: some would have consumed more or less quantities of cereal products (villagers from Roman County vs. villagers from Bihor County) and more or less under the form of mămăligă, bread or turtă (Moldova and Muntenia vs. Banat vs. Northern Oltenia), some would have consumed more or less quantities of meat (well-off vs. less well-off villagers in Roman County) and more or less quantities of ingredients would have been acquired from outside the household (Măguri vs. Ineu). Yet, the qualitative features of the statistically average diet (predominance of cereal products, emphasis on ingredients of vegetal origin, low intake of meat, high reliance on the economic unit of the household to prepare meals) remain generally valid across socio-economic profiles and geographic locations and are radically different from those of the statistically average diet from the end of the 1970s.

THE POST-1960S 'INDUSTRIAL-STYLE' DIETARY CONFIGURATION

The 1979-1980 Dietary Study 1 is the first available in-depth study to show a significantly different average dietary configuration for a large segment of the rural population.³⁶ First, according to this and subsequent studies, the consumption of cereal products has dropped to almost half its pre-1960 level. Secondly, the drop in the consumption of cereal products, together with a rise in the consumption of food products of animal origin, has markedly reduced the relative weight of cereal products in overall intake to the point that food consumption from the three categories was considerably more balanced. Furthermore, average meat consumption doubled over the intervening period to become the preponderant food item among the increasingly important category of solid products of

animal origin. The rise in meat consumption remains considerable even after adjusting for changes in the age structure of the rural population and in patterns of sharing the meal between members of the different generations with the villagers surveyed in the 1979-1980 Dietary Study 1 still consuming around 75% more meat than the participants to the 1906 Dietary Study and around 83% more than the participants to the Ineu Dietary Study even under the least favorable restrictions. The rising trend is confirmed by dietary studies reporting intake over a full year, an important methodological feature given a food product whose consumption varied significantly throughout the year, when it is considered that the Household Budgetary Survey of 1968 reported an adjusted consumption level of 128 gr. for a representative sample of the population while the 1938 Dietary Study reported 114 gr. for a sample in which the top rural households were heavily overrepresented.³⁷ Thirdly, the consumption of industrially-produced bread, and within this category, of bread produced with cereals from the State's Central Reserves, increased at the expense of cereal foods produced, to various extents, within the household. According to my calculations, an estimated quantity of almost 70 kg of industrially produced bread had been available, on average, to rural residents in 1975, of which 54.5 kg was produced using flour from the State's Central Reserves and 13.5 kg through baking services using flour provided by customers.³⁸ This quantity was sufficient to cover half of the cereal consumption needs of rural residents at this time and the levels of availability increased further and continuously during the next 5 years. The distribution of quantities of bread varied, again, considerably by region with rural residents from counties such as Arad, Timiș, Satu Mare and Iași having had access to insignificant quantities while rural residents from Gorj, Vâlcea, Argeș, Dâmbovița and Prahova having had access to quantities high enough to cover their entire consumption needs. Concomitant with this change towards convenience food, bread increasingly replaced mămăligă and turtă in the diets of rural residents, in the rural areas of Muntenia and Oltenia, for instance, having progressed from an exceptional food item to the position of basic cereal product according to the 1979-1980 Dietary Studies.

Admittedly, alongside these changing features, there remained important points of continuity: cereal products continued to be consumed at least every day, and quite likely at every meal, together with hot liquid and semi-liquid dishes (soups and stews)³⁹ although the consumption of milk had most likely decreased markedly. Yet, my argument is that by the

end of the 1970s the consumption experiences at the table of most rural residents were recognizably different than before 1960 and that this change in dietary patterns was remarkable in terms of its widespread coverage and short duration. In particular, the trends discussed above have been observed for all age categories including persons aged 60 or above in the case of women (born before 1921) and 65 or older in the case of men (born before 1916) which, according to the 1979-1980 Dietary Studies, have come to consume preponderantly bread, historically higher quantities of meat, and higher quantities of animal products in general. Such findings indicate that the observed dietary trends have not been the mere outcome of the natural shift in generations, but rather that persons who have subsisted on a 'core'-'fringe' diet for a considerable part of their lives had nonetheless switched to a new type of diet by 1980. Furthermore, even though geographical differences in food consumption persisted, villagers from plain (1979-1980 Dietary Study 2), hilly (1979-1980 Dietary Study 1) and mountainous (Nehoiu Dietary Study)⁴⁰ villages have been uniformly shown to consume lower quantities of cereal products, higher quantities of bread and higher quantities of meat thus indicating the wide geographical reach of such changes. The data by geographic region does suggest, however, that the magnitude of the dietary changes had been greater in hilly and mountainous regions where features of the 'core'-'fringe' dietary configurations had been formerly more marked, a geographic pattern possibly related to the differential impact of the industrialization program in the Romanian countryside. Finally, concerning the duration of the dietary transition, the first pair of available studies showing markedly different patterns of consumption for a representative number of rural residents have been conducted 22 years apart from one another. Nevertheless, I believe that, at the level of the individual household, the dietary transition had occurred over a much shorter timespan related to the move of some or all members into industrial employment, the opening of a new baking unit in the nearby urban locality or in the local Agricultural Cooperative or to the marked improvement in payments for workers in Agricultural Cooperatives from the early 1970s.

Interpreting the Dietary Changes within the Non-Market Version of Socialism

The dietary developments presented above are challenging to interpret from a standard of living perspective, first, because like most dietary changes, they involved a trade-off between various foodstuffs and, secondly, because they happened within the non-market version of Socialism. The first difficulty arises from the dynamics of dietary developments: the rising consumption of industrially-produced bread necessarily translated into a decreased consumption of homemade bread, *mămăligă*, and *turtă* while the higher consumption of energy-dense meat and animal products went together with a reduction in the consumption of cereal products. Unlike dietary developments which involved only additions of new/more foodstuffs, the interpretation of these particular developments requires a careful assessment of the rural residents' relative preferences for the added food item compared to the directly substituted item. Such assessments are, however, difficult to perform for the non-market, centrally planned economic system and the confidence in their overall results is necessarily lower than in the case of free market economic systems. Specifically, in the context of a free market economic system, the consumers' actions to increase the consumption of food items whose prices are higher than those of the substituted items generally reflect their preferences for the added items. By contrast, within Socialist Romania's non-market economic system in which prices were fixed and supply was centrally-planned, the same actions are equally compatible with a preference for the added items as well as with a case of forced substitution in which consumers opted for a second-best alternative given that the preferred items were simply not available.⁴¹ The possibility of forced substitution needs to be considered given that through collectivization, rural residents lost control over most of the land that formerly supported their diets and, as a result, came to rely to an unprecedented extent on an external food distribution system that, in the particular case of Socialist Romania, adjusted imperfectly, infrequently and with delays to consumers' demands.⁴² In the absence of information from prices, my approach for differentiating between the two possibilities has been to combine alternative sources of information and indicators of demand in a non-market economy to retrieve the parameters of the decisional processes that produced the dietary changes. The following section includes assessments informed by this approach of the rural residents' actions to increase their consumption of meat and

animal products at the expense of cereal products, of industrially-produced bread at the expense of homemade products and of bread at the expense of mămăligă and turtă.

The least controversial claim is that rural consumers had perceived positively the rising consumption of meat even at the expense of a decreased consumption of cereal products. Several lines of evidence, from the more general to the more specific, support this claim: the high preference for meat observed across such a wide variety of cultures⁴³ that some researchers have come to consider it an inherited biological predisposition rooted in evolutionary history,⁴⁴ the presence of meat products on festive menus in the Romanian countryside⁴⁵ which typically featured comparatively prestigious ingredients and the information provided by specific indicators of demand in non-market economies such as letters of complaint constantly referencing the insufficient distribution of meat,⁴⁶ retrospective accounts consistently emphasizing the frequent and long queues for meat and series of prices on the peasant free market uniformly showing the high costs of consuming meat,⁴⁷ are all indicative of the special status of meat consumption. Accordingly, the rising consumption of meat, together with that of other animal products and vegetal ingredients for 'fringe' dishes, and the parallel marked decrease in the consumption of cereal products most likely corresponded to consumers' preferences rather than having been an instance of forced substitution. Besides such circumstantial evidence, the rural household's greater maneuvering space in terms of consuming meat or cereal products further suggests that instances of forced substitution, in which rural residents preferred to consume higher quantities of cereal products but, because these were not available, had to settle for consuming meat, must have been comparatively rare. Specifically, the rural households' widespread and enduring practice of producing most of the animal products consumed at meals by converting variable quantities of grains, otherwise available for human consumption, into animal products shows that most households were in a position to readily consume greater quantities of cereal products but instead chose to consume them under the form of animal products. Assuming a conservative conversion ratio of 2 kg of grains to 1 kg of meat as typical for animal husbandry performed by rural households and a price ratio of 4 kg of grains to 1 kg of meat/animal products on the state controlled and free peasant markets, the choice to increase meat consumption mobilized/accounted for much of the observed decrease in the consumption of cereal products. Certainly, such a shift

entailed a considerable decrease in the intake of calories and, as such, it had been made possible by a marked decrease in the physical intensity of work which accompanied the progressive mechanization of industrial and agricultural operations (especially the sowing and harvesting of grains). Overall, however, the increasing conversion of cereal products into animal products corresponded to consumers' preferences while among the developments involving strictly the 'core' foods I consider more relevant and positive from the consumers' perspective the growing stabilization of the food supply following collectivization. Specifically, up to the 1960s, rural residents faced occasional periods of widespread famine in years when both the maize and wheat crops failed (1907, 1946-1947) and periods of recurrent seasonal hunger in which varying numbers of rural households ran out of sufficient supplies of cereal products beginning with Spring and, consequently, had to adjust their intake downwards, add flour from lesser grains (barley) to lengthen their supplies of 'core' food or borrow the needed quantities. With the 1960s, however, the marked increase in the production of bread grains per capita, the development of a physical and institutional infrastructure for transferring cereal supplies from surplus to deficient regions and the development of a wide-reaching commercial network which distributed growing quantities of cereal products (bread, flour, and grains) at relatively stable, low prices assured for the majority of rural residents an adequate supply of cereal products throughout the year. Contemporary perceptions as reflected in the Securitate documents reviewed for the village of Fundulea by Raluca Nicoleta Spiridon⁴⁸ and retrospective evaluations from my oral interviews indicate that rural residents had highly appreciated the increased availability of cereal products and other foodstuffs throughout the year.

Similarly well-established may be the interpretation that rural residents had increased their consumption of industrially-produced cereal products because they appreciated their labor- and time-saving qualities compared to homemade products even though they seem to have preferred the latter in terms of taste. In this regard, the preparation of *mămăligă*, bread or *turtă* engaged the time and energy of the housewife in different ways, but each one demanded high engagement in its own way. Specifically, the preparation of *mămăligă* involved boiling water in a suitably sized pot, adding maize flour when the water reached the appropriate temperature, leaving it to boil until the mixture acquired the desired consistency, stirring it vigorously at the end to ensure that there are no chunks of uncooked flour and then turning it over a wooden plate.

Mămăliga would then be cut into slices using a string as it stuck to metal and was eaten by hand with various side dishes preferably while hot or warm. The entire process of cooking mămăligă took between 30 and 45 minutes but it required minimal actual involvement beyond the tasks of preparing the water for heating, pouring the maize flour when the water temperature was appropriate, adding subsequently small quantities of flour to ensure that the mixture had the desired consistency and the final stirring. Nevertheless, because mămăligă had to be prepared once, twice or even three times a day since it was preferred hot or warm, the moderately difficult tasks could become tedious through repetition. By contrast, bread was prepared by allowing dough made by mixing wheat/rye flour with water to rise under the action of leavening catalysts before baking it in the oven. Through kneading, the dough became elastic enough to capture the carbon dioxide released during leavening and baking and through baking, the crumb (interior of the bread) increased in volume by becoming more aerated and elastic and a more or less thin crust formed around the crumb at its point of contact with the hot air. For such changes to take place, however, energetic kneading and adequate time allowance for leavening were required and baking had to be done using a heat source that generated and maintained a high temperature all around the bread. Given that properly kneading the dough was a particularly arduous task and that adequate leavening and baking required considerable time, the preparation of bread involved work of higher intensity and demanded a greater expenditure of time than the one-off preparation of an equivalent quantity of mămăligă. Nevertheless, because the housewives could prepare all at once an 'oven' of bread sufficient to last a number of days as bread was usually consumed while cold, certain rural residents might have preferred the option of concentrating their labor over a shorter time span to the alternative of preparing the equivalent quantity of mămăligă in several sessions before each meal especially during the tightly scheduled harvest season. Finally, turtă was prepared by mixing maize flour, various quantities of wheat flour, water, and salt, to which was added a small quantity of wheat bran or sugar, kneading the mixture to various extents, and baking it in the oven until a glaze crust formed on top. Compared to mămăligă, the preparation of turtă was more demanding since it required preparing the oven and some kneading, although its readier consumption while cold offered greater flexibility to the housewife, while compared to bread it demanded less effort for kneading and less time for leavening. In the case of all three foods, however, the requirement to prepare

them regularly in high quantities may have been perceived particularly demanding by housewives, especially following their move into industrial employment, which might explain the rural residents' willingness to increase considerably their consumption of industrially-produced bread, in some regions to levels sufficiently high to cover entirely their cereal consumption needs. Actually, the convenience of consuming ready-made bread was the single most important reason offered by the rural residents from Argeș County whom I had interviewed for consuming, then and now, industrially-produced bread rather than homemade mămăligă even with side dishes with which they would otherwise prefer mămăligă (see below) or even if they continued to prefer homemade bread especially after the switch in the baking industry from earthen to steam and, finally, to mechanical ovens.

Given the rural residents' preference for homemade products, the possibility that the increased consumption of industrially-produced cereal products was an instance of forced substitution needs to be discussed more thoroughly. Specifically, rural residents might have increased their consumption of market-acquired bread simply because they did not have access to sufficient quantities of unprocessed ingredients (grains or flour) to prepare homemade foods to the extent they wanted given the central authorities' decision to distribute through the State Commercial Network the majority of cereal products already processed as bread and the consumers' decreased capacity to secure the required supplies through own production following collectivization. Furthermore, even if consumers had access to sufficient quantities of unprocessed cereals to consume homemade products whenever they desired, they may not have had access to adequate quantities to feed their livestock and, therefore, may have accommodated the increased distribution of industrially-produced bread as an imperfect solution to increase their feed supplies and, indirectly, their consumption of animal products. Nevertheless, the case of bread produced through baking services and my estimates regarding the percentage of households that had access to sufficient quantities of cereal products to support a diet centered on homemade products argue against the forced substitution interpretation. Specifically, in the case of bread produced through baking services, consumers provided to bakeries functioning within Agricultural and Consumers Cooperatives the required ingredients for preparing bread plus an in-kind or monetary fee in exchange for receiving ready-made bread. Given this arrangement, the consumption of bread produced through baking services cannot be explained by an

insufficient availability of unprocessed cereals since customers had to hand to Cooperatives the equivalent quantities of wheat nor can it be explained as a strategy to increase feed supplies since customers had not only to provide all ingredients, but also to pay an in-kind fee consisting of either grains or flour. Accordingly, the consumption in 1975 of a total quantity of 152400 tons of bread produced through baking services⁴⁹, equivalent to roughly 13 kg per rural resident, mostly by villagers from plain regions, suggests that at least part of the consumers had appreciated the convenience of consuming ready-made bread over homemade products. Furthermore, my estimates that, in regions where distribution of industrially-produced bread covered almost the entire cereal consumption needs of consumers and where rural residents were found by the 1979-1980 Dietary Study 1 to consume almost exclusively bread, one third to one half of rural households had access to sufficient quantities of maize to consume homemade mămăligă at 6 out of 7 meals shows that consumers appreciated the convenience and /or taste of industrially- produced bread.

The interpretation of the shift from mămăligă to bread presents more challenges not only because in the literature there are diametrically opposed views regarding the consumers' perceptions of dietary changes involving 'core' foods but also because the locally relevant information is ambiguous.⁵⁰ Less glamorous at first glance than other lifestyle changes under Socialism, the rising consumption of bread is significant because bread consumption had been invested with rich meanings in those regions in the Romanian countryside where mămăligă was consumed preponderantly. Specifically, written and oral testimonies indicate that bread had been used as a ritual and festive food, as a marker of social status, as a special treat for children and as a comfort food for the sick - consumption practices which both reflected and reaffirmed the communities' judgment that bread was socially more valued than mămăligă. Indicative in this sense, rural residents of appropriate age from Argeş County whom I had interviewed have explicitly recalled that bread was formerly considered a luxury product while 19 out of 90 respondents have stated that they used to refer to bread as 'cozonac' (a special type of cake) to indicate both that its consumption was rare and particularly valued. Yet, the respondents' answers to an oral questionnaire in which they were asked to state their preferences for bread or mămăligă in combination with six typical side dishes (vegetable soup, bean soup, bean stew, omelet/fried eggs, sarmale and steamed sauerkraut, with or without meat) shows that the overwhelming majority continued to prefer

to this day the last three dishes with mămăligă. The respondents have been prompted to consider that both bread and mămăligă were readily available without the need to prepare or purchase them with the purpose of excluding motivations due to convenience or price and of retrieving exclusively their hedonic preferences. The overall evidence suggests, therefore, that on the one hand, rural residents may have always wanted to consume certain dishes with bread but could not do so before the 1960s because of the considerably higher price of wheat compared to maize. However, beginning with the 1960s, the growing distribution of industrially-produced bread through the State Commercial Network at fixed prices that were actually lower than the prices of equivalent quantities of maize sold on the peasant market finally enabled rural residents to increase their consumption of bread. On the other hand, the 1979-1980 Dietary Studies reported consumption levels for bread that were sufficiently high to imply that rural residents consumed it even with dishes with which, according to contemporary and retrospective information, they most likely preferred mămăligă. Considering the evidence presented in the previous section, in the majority of such cases rural households might have preferred the convenience of consuming ready-made bread more than the taste of homemade mămăligă but in a minority of cases, rural households might have been forced to consume bread even though they preferred mămăligă because they did not have access to sufficient quantities of maize.

Conclusions

This article presented the argument that the dietary configurations of Romanian rural residents have changed radically beginning with the 1960s and that the majority of these developments have been interpreted positively from a standard of living perspective. The implications of such findings need to be stated explicitly not just to understand their potential contribution, but also to avoid any overstretching or misrepresentation. First and foremost, my assessment is that such findings enrich the understanding of food experiences in Socialist Romania by revealing the particular experiences of an under-researched social group outside the customary timeframe of previous research. However, the finding that the food experiences of rural residents during the 1960s and 1970s have been generally positive does not contradict the experiences of widespread shortage from the 1950s and 1980s but, in fact, helps to put them into

perspective by showing how welcomed developments in lifestyle have been unraveled with a vengeance after 1980 and even throughout the 1990s. Furthermore, such findings should not be understood to suggest that the Socialist experiment had, in the grand scheme of Romanian history, some positive effects either specifically under the form of these improvements in food consumption or more generally in terms of economic development. Such a claim assumes that consumers' experiences would have been worse under an alternative economic system (free market economy, for instance), an assumption impossible to evaluate in the absence of a proper control case and less plausible on theoretical grounds given the comparatively less efficient flow of information and system of incentives within the Socialist economic system. Finally, my discussion should not be understood as whitewashing a criminal Regime that has been responsible for much suffering by focusing exclusively on its 'achievements'. Rather, my intention through this research has been to draw attention to major developments in the Romanian countryside during a specific phase of Socialism, first to developments in diets and, through subsequent publications, to developments in housing and clothing as well, to promote a better understanding of the trajectory of the Socialist Regime as well as of the underpinnings of the worldview of a distinct generation. Specifically, my guiding argument has been that the experiences of this generation of consuming a diet radically different from that of their parents or of their childhood, of living in what they perceived to be more high-status houses and of wearing prestigious urban-style clothing has promoted a sense of a 'good life' that, regardless of its exact attribution, had helped stabilize the Socialist Regime. Furthermore, these experiences may have instilled into this generation a sense of positive expectations for the future which had been painfully betrayed during the 1980s and 1990s and only partially and costly met during the 2000s, a shortfall in expectations which may explain an enduring nostalgia for a time when life experiences and prospects were promising. I believe that further research on this generation that would consider in a serious manner their version of events could help in coming to terms with a turbulent past, a task that so far has proven quite divisive.

Table 1. Data on Food Intake, Method of Collecting Data, Geographic Coverage and Number of Participants for Major Dietary Studies, 1900-1995

Dietary Study	Year	Method of collecting data	Number of participants	Observation period	Length of observation	Geographic Coverage	Average daily food consumption in grams		
							Cereals	Plant-based	Animal-based (of which meat)
Lupu Dietary Study	1906	End of the year inventory	150 (Adults)		1 year	Arsura, Fălciu			(40)
1906 Dietary Study ⁵¹	1906	7 day recall	116	January-February (Carnival)	7 days	Old Kingdom of Romania			(75)
Măguri Dietary Study ⁵²	1934	Food weighing – daily	131 (Adults)	Summer (non-fasting)	1 to 2 days	Local	872	273	89.2 (28)
Râmneanțu Dietary Study ⁵³	1937	Food weighing – daily	210	Spring and Summer	1 to 2 days	Local	930	334.5	124 (39)
Ineu Dietary Study ⁵⁴	1938	Food weighing – daily	47 (Adults)	October and December (non-fasting)	6 to 7 days	Local	720	391.2	165 (75)

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60 Romanian Villages Dietary Study ⁵⁵	1938	End of the year inventory	1440	Agricultural	1 year	National			(114)
Household Budgetary Surveys ⁵⁶	1953	Record keeping – daily	3000	Calendaristic year	1 year	National			(41.6)
Household Budgetary Surveys ⁵⁷	1958	Record keeping – daily	3000	Calendaristic year	1 year	National			(76.7)
Household Budgetary Surveys ⁵⁸	1968	Record keeping – daily	3000	Calendaristic year	1 year	National			(137.9)
1979-1980 Dietary Study 1 ⁵⁹	1980	24 hours recall	688 (Adults)	September- October	7 days	Oltenia and Muntenia - Hilly	464.4	481.6	263.5 (144.2)
1979-1980 Dietary Study 2 ⁶⁰	1980	24 hours recall	981 (Adults)	September- October	7 days	Oltenia and Muntenia - Plain	560	480.65	273 (122.5)

Public Health Institute Dietary Study ⁶¹	1979-1984	24 hours recall	7367	Winter, Spring and Autumn	7 days	National	505.8	367.9	230.1 (116)
1992-1994 Dietary Study ⁶²	1992, 1993, 1994	24 hours recall	692 (Adults)	Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter	7 or 10 days	Muntenia - Plain	540	740	315 (88.7)

NOTES

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- ¹⁰ Susan Reid, "Communist Comfort: Socialist Modernism and the Making of Cozy Homes in the Khrushchev Era", *Gender & History*, vol. 21, 2009, 465-498.
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- ¹³ 90 face-to-face interviews have been conducted by the author between July and October, 2013 in the following villages from Argeș County: Rociu, Căteasca, Retevoiești, Bogați, Cerbu, Curteanca, Drăganu, Lăzărești, Ungheni, Băiculești, Mârghia, Mănicești, Popești and Izvoru-Recea. The interviews focused primarily on the consumption of bread and mămăligă, past and present, but the respondents have frequently discussed more general developments in food consumption and lifestyles during the 1960s and 1970s as well.
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- 36 Iulian Mincu, *Impactul Om-Alimentație: Istoria alimentației la români din cele mai vechi timpuri și până în prezent [The Human-Nutrition Relationship: A History of Romanian Diets from the Earliest Times up to the Present]* (Bucharest: Editura Medicală, 1993), 274-310.
- 37 Out of the entire sample of households considered in the 1938 Dietary Study, the first 10% owned land which put them in the top 1.5% nationally, the first 32% in the top 6.5%, the first 50% in the top 25% while the poorest villagers were strongly under-represented. Data on landowning by the surveyed households comes from Anton Golopenția (Ed.), *60 Sate Românești*, 253-261 while data on landholding at the national level from Roman Cresin, *Recensământul agricol al României din 1941 – rezultate provizorii [The Agricultural Census of Romania of 1941-Provisional Data]* (Bucharest: Imprimeria Institutului Central de Statistică, 1945), Annex no. 7.
- 38 Mircea-Lucian Scrob, *From Mămăligă to Bread as the “Core” Food of Romanian Villagers*. pp. 135 and 208.
- 39 See the data from Iulian Mincu, *Impactul Om-Alimentație* on the frequency of consumption of various foods in the villages of Bălțești and Bratovoști.
- 40 Sebastian Dumitrache et al., “Cercetarea modului de alimentație și a stării de nutriție a populației din două localități rurale în curs de urbanizare [Research on the Dietary Patterns and Nutritional Status of Residents from Two Rural Communes in the Process of Urbanization],” in *A XII-a sesiune științifică a Institutului de Igienă și Sănătate Publică: Rezumatele Lucrărilor [The 12th Scientific Session of the Institute of Hygiene and Public Health: Summary of Papers]*, (Bucharest: Ministerul Sănătății, 1977), 85-86.
- 41 The concept of forced substitution comes from Janos Kornai, *Economics of Shortage* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1980).
- 42 Nevertheless, the qualification needs to be made that rural residents retained a comparatively greater freedom than urban residents to shape their own meals through private plot production, continued ownership over land in non-collectivized regions and more readily available possibilities to convert vegetal products into the possibly more desirable animal products.
- 43 H. Leon Abrams, Jr, “The Preference for Animal Protein and Fat: A Cross Cultural Survey,” in *Food and Evolution. Toward a Theory of Human Food Habits*, ed. Marvin Harris and Eric B. Ross (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), 207-224.

- 44 William J. Hamilton III, "Omnivorous Primate Diets and Human Overconsumption of Meat," in *Food and Evolution. Toward a Theory of Human Food Habits*, ed. Marvin Harris and Eric B. Ross (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), 117-133.
- 45 Mihai Lupescu, *Din bucătăria țăranului român*, 164.
- 46 ANR. C.C. al P.C.R. Secția Cancelarie. 193/1972, 102, 191/1972, 42, 61, 92, 179-180.
- 47 C.C. al P.C.R. Secția Economică. 13/1970, 57, 19/1974, 17, 21, 31/1964, 1.
- 48 Raluca Nicoleta Spiridon, "Raporturile familiale private copii-părinți în anii '80. Studiu de caz: comuna Fundulea [Children-Parents Private Family Relations in the 1980s. Case-study: Fundulea Village]," in *Stat și viață privată în regimurile comuniste [State and Private Life under the Communist Regimes]*, ed. Cosmin Budeanca and Florentin Olteanu (Iași: Polirom, 2009), 217-235.
- 49 Calculated as the difference between total bread production and the quantities produced using state-supplied flour in 1975 based on data from ANR. C.C. al P.C.R. Secția Economică. 134/1976, 4.
- 50 This discussion summarizes and streamlines a longer analysis that I have provided in Scrob, *From Mămăligă to Bread as the "Core" Food of Romanian Villagers*.
- 51 Proca, Gh & Kirileanu Gh, *Cercetări asupra hranei țăranului*.
- 52 Benetato, Gr, *Problema Alimentației pentru Individ și Colectivitate*. 184-231.
- 53 Râmneanțu, P, "Starea de nutriție și alimentație din trei comune ale județului Caraș".
- 54 Grigore Benetato, "Alimentația țăranilor din Ardeal și Banat", 326-327.
- 55 Dan Georgescu, *L'alimentation de la Population Rurale en Roumanie*, 36.
- 56 Arhivele Naționale ale României. C.C. al P.C.R. Secția Economică. 220/1959, 55.
- 57 Ibid.
- 58 Arhivele Naționale ale României. C.C. al P.C.R. Secția Economică. 8/1970, 89.
- 59 Iulian Mincu, *Impactul Om-Alimentație*,. 287-297.
- 60 Ibid., 276-286
- 61 Ibid., 310-312.
- 62 Albu, A, *Comportamentul alimentar și starea de nutriție a unor esantioane de populație din localități rurale situate în zona Munteniei [Food Intake and Nutritional Status of Population Samples from Rural Localities from the Region of Muntenia]*, Universitatea de Medicină și Farmacie „Carol Davila”, Institutul de Sănătate Publică, București, 1997.

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