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**Chinese-American constructions of food and health:
The impact of culture, migration, and intergenerational differences**

by

Mary Gee

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

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by
Mary Gee

Dedication and Acknowledgements

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents and family, particularly my two nieces, who were always readily on hand to remind me of the importance of balancing work and play.

I would like to acknowledge my dissertation committee for their patience and encouragement throughout the past five years. To Dr. Howard Pinderhughes, my dissertation chair, thank you for being a mentor and always believing in my potential. To my committee members, Drs. Virginia Olesen and Krishnendu Ray, thank you for generously sharing your expertise as well as words of support and encouragement. I cannot express my gratitude enough to each of you.

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Chinese-American constructions of food and health:

The impact of culture, migration, and intergenerational differences

Mary Gee

Abstract

For centuries, the traditional Chinese diet was comprised of grains, vegetables, and fruit, with dairy products and meats sparingly consumed. However, the contemporary Chinese American diet has now become radically transformed due to globalization and industrialization, among other factors. Subsequently, the impact of migration on traditional concepts of food and health within Chinese immigrant communities warrants even closer examination. For this study, the primary research aim focuses on how migration impacts the social construction of food, knowledge, and identity between two generations of Chinese Americans residing in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Chinese Americans over 18 years of age were recruited for one qualitative interview of up to 3 hours. All interviews were individually conducted and recorded, with thematic findings qualitatively analyzed using a grounded theory approach. A total of 25 participants were interviewed, reflecting 6 parent-child dyads, 2 married couples, and 9 single family members. The average age of interviewees was 46 years old. The overall sample was predominantly female (n=18), with slightly over half of the sample (n=15) identifying as first generation (defined as Chinese immigrants from China, Hong Kong, or Taiwan).

Preliminary findings are presented through a set of three papers, which are intended to be exploratory and contribute to current literature and discourses around Chinese American generational differences and food narratives. The first paper utilizes Sobal & Bisogni's Food

Choice Process Model (FCPM) (2009) to examine the life course events/experiences, influences, and personal food systems influencing Chinese American food behaviors from a transdisciplinary perspective.

Generational differences were observed regarding life course events and experiences, with poverty, starvation, and hunger experienced during World War II and Japan's occupation of China frequently cited by older interviewees and household composition, labor resource constraints, and childbirth cited by younger interviewees born post-WWII. Across all generations, turning points did not play a substantial role in reshaping food trajectories. Food memories, time constraints, familial influences, culinary food knowledge/transmission between generations, and geographical boundaries were identified as the most influential factors impacting the evolution of individual food narratives. Personal interest in Chinese foodways emerged as another potential influential factor for shaping one's personal food schema. Many interviewees expressed a desire for their Chinese American children to embrace Chinese cuisine, particularly as a way to connect with their cultural heritage, but also recognized the importance of self-interest. Finally, the intersection of acculturation, identity, and foodways was most apparent through the manifestation of food behaviors. The smell and taste of specific foods can trigger stored memories as well as evoke a sense of identity - a fondness for chicken's feet (dim sum dish) was often associated with "being more Chinese" whereas consuming fares similar to hamburgers, steaks, and potatoes was stereotypically aligned with identifying as "American."

The second paper explores the cultural sites of food knowledge transmission and how they contribute to the formation of food memories and embodied experiences among Chinese

Americans, including inter-generationally. The intersection of food practices and cooking rituals with Chinese American identity and historical consciousness is also explored, alongside the cultural transmission of cooking and culinary knowledge to successive generations.

For many first generation Chinese Americans, food memories can serve as a reminder of a past era - geographically, spatially, and temporally. While transnational corporations and modernization processes have increased access to traditional Chinese ingredients and dishes, they also simultaneously contribute to the generation of new cultural and social meanings associated with the consumption and production of Chinese cuisine.

Lived experiences from the past also inevitably appear in the current food practices and preferences of interviewed Chinese Americans, contributing to intergenerational differences regarding cooking perspectives and knowledge transmission. While the first generation mostly adhered to a Chinese diet, the second generation has expressed a preference for a more expanded culinary repertoire, both with home-cooking and when dining out.

Finally, the intersection between migration and the intergenerational transmission of cooking knowledge and food practices remains largely unexplored in the current literature. Historically, Chinese cooking/herbal knowledge and food practices were transmitted between generations orally, experientially, and, often, matrilineally. Loss of knowledge and tradition may be inevitable in contemporary times, particularly due to disinterest among subsequent generations of Chinese Americans. However, advances in digital media and a resurgence of interest in cookbooks may provide new opportunities for the print and online publication of family stories and recipes as one avenue for documenting and preserving culinary heritage which may otherwise be lost over time.

The third and final paper will rely on Deleuze and Guattari's concept of deterritorialization and multiplicities, Appadurai's notion of global cultural flows, as well as Krishnendu Ray's work with Bengali-American households to understand the social processes underlying Chinese American foodways, including the role of food memories. As we become an increasingly global society, food consumption patterns and migration trends offer an interesting nexus for examining the role of food in perpetuating and re-creating definitions and constructs of culture, knowledge and identity.

Constructs of taste and authenticity tend to be highly subjective. On a macro level, global flows stemming from cultural ideals, mass media, technological advances, and geographical boundaries, as well as financial capital and labor demands, contiguously operate to shape mainstream society's changing perceptions of Chinese American cuisine. In contemporary times, basic Chinese cooking ingredients and produce can be readily found in most Western markets and restaurants representing a variety of Chinese regional cuisines can now be found in metropolitan areas with substantial Chinese immigrant populations. Micro level influences shaping family and individual food narratives include the introduction of modern Western cooking instruments and labor resource constraints.

Historically, private and public interests have relied on mass media to disseminate images and messages intended to shape imagined lives and narratives. However, in the current expansive digital era, the consumer voice has become equally influential, with access to platforms and apps for restaurant reviews, food blogs and pictures, online recipes, and food discussion forums immediately accessible in a few key strokes. Whereas cookbooks and oral tradition were previously favored as methods of transmitting familial recipes and cooking/food

knowledge, online cooking videos and other social media-based mediums now appear to be the preferred sources of information.

Finally, food memories tend to be highly associated with our lived experiences. When situated within contexts of historical consciousness, the macro and micro-level factors shaping the Chinese diaspora's food trajectories become even more evident, particularly from a generational perspective.

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Introduction

In its most immediate form, the act of consuming food sustains the body. Yet, “it also defines us as living cultural beings in the world” and establishes boundaries related to both our social and physical selves (Chen 2009:5). Subsequently, a closer examination of eating manners can “indicate a great deal about status, class, gender, religion, culinary ideology, and even nationality,” as well as identity and group membership (Chen 2009:7; Yuhua 2000). Additionally, socio-political contexts and cultural belief systems reflective of the larger society further define and perpetuate these practices (Chen 2009). For example, a plethora of maxims and traditions within traditional Chinese culture prescribe how, where, what, with whom, and when one should eat. While some of these may have been instituted for practical reasons and to ensure a shared understanding of specific acts and rituals among dining participants, they also offer a glimpse into Chinese society’s spheres of cultural beliefs and social order.

With the rise of global citizenship, Asian Americans have been repeatedly cited as “one of the fastest growing minority groups in North America (US and Canada) (Satia, Patterson, Kristal, Hislop, and Pineda 2001:241; Satia, Patterson, Taylor, Cheney, Shiu-Thornton, Chitnarong, and Alan Kristal 2000). Chinese immigrants now comprise the largest Asian subgroup in the U.S., according to the 2010 US Census. Hence, the impact of migration on traditional concepts of food and health warrant closer study. Specifically, do those strongly adhering to traditional Chinese foodways experience a different trajectory once situated in a Western environment? If so, how and why?

For centuries, the traditional Chinese diet mainly comprised of grains (e.g. rice, porridge, noodles) and was supplemented by vegetables, fruits and meat (Lv and Brown 2010). Dairy

products and meats were sparingly consumed, the latter primarily due to cost and accessibility. However, in contemporary times, the Chinese American diet rarely conforms to this formula, as Chinese immigrants become exposed to a burgeoning array of international cuisine and easy access to a vast variety of cooking ingredients and convenience foods alongside socioeconomic norms uniquely associated with Western culture. As a result, Chinese immigrants in North America have begun to exhibit higher rates of cardiovascular disease and cancer when compared to their counterparts in Asia (Satia et al. 2001). Thus, of specific interest is *if* and *how* notions of health and food related to traditional Chinese culture become redefined following immigration to a predominantly Western society and, additionally, by whom. Yet, “the phenomenon of acculturation from Eastern to Western dietary patterns is not well understood or described in published literature” (Satia et al. 2000: 940). According to Lv and Brown (2010), “in depth data on the Chinese American family food system (the whole process of shopping, preparing, and serving food) and factors that affect decision making in this process are not readily available” (pp. 106).

To address some of these issues, the following three papers will draw from analytical and historical frameworks, as well as qualitative interviews with Chinese Americans residing in the San Francisco Bay Area, to answer the central research question: **What generational differences and similarities exist among Chinese Americans, specifically regarding the impact of migration on the social construction and knowledge of food?** The following secondary research questions will also be explored:

- 1) Under the broader category of food construction, how does the process of food acculturation evolve? Do trajectories differ between and within generations?**

2) Under the broader category of food knowledge, is continuity maintained with regards to the transmission of traditional cultural culinary knowledge and norms? If so, how and in what ways? If not, why not?

These papers are intended to be exploratory and contribute to current literature and discourses around Chinese American generational differences and food narratives. To limit the scope of this study, and also due to the extensive variations of regional Asian cuisine, the sole emphasis will be centered on Chinese American foodways.

The first paper will utilize Sobal & Bisogni's Food Choice Process Model (FCPM) (2009) to examine the life course events/experiences, influences, and personal food systems influencing Chinese American food behaviors. Key hallmarks of this model include the recognition that food choices behaviors can be substantially reconstructed in the face of major life transitions and both macro and micro contexts warrant consideration for fully understanding the lived experience. The processes, influences, and factors influencing food trajectories are not simply "multifaceted, situational, dynamic, and complex" but also highly individualized (Sobal and Bisogni 2009: S37).

In reflecting a holistic approach towards understanding food choice decisions, the FCP Model seeks to address past critiques regarding the singular nature of predominantly rationalist and structuralist approaches to food decisions. The three main FCP model components – life course, influences, and personal system – are viewed as operating relationally to shape food choice decision pathways. However, these components do not function linearly or statically, supporting earlier findings that pathways can be redefined following major life transitions

and/or as a response to the culmination of life experiences (Furst, Connors, Bisogni, Sobal, and Falk 1996).

For example, food culture, along with familial and societal socialization, plays a substantial role in shaping our food preferences, which also inherently reflect who we are (Wagle, Manalansan, Ho, and Roy 2008). Baranowski and Hearn (1997) argue that family functioning and interpersonal relationships within the family unit can strongly determine both family and individual food consumption choices. Yet while this may account for some of our food decisions, there is also an element of fluidity such that new lines of connection may just as easily redefine one's perception of specific foods in different contexts. Therefore, the types of foods consumed and the meanings associated with specific foods are both culturally influenced and socially dependent, for a food highly valued by one social group may not necessarily still be prized in a different cultural or social context.

Thus, food acculturation offers one vehicle for examining how food knowledge, attitudes and consumption behaviors become integrated, maintained or discarded during and following the transition from one cultural society to another. However, in order to fully understand the processes involved, one also needs to study the established rituals and social meanings embraced by each culture (Wagle et al. 2008).

Subsequently, the FCP Model appears to be most relevant for offering a transdisciplinary, innovative approach towards exploring the multitude of factors and processes influencing Chinese American food decisions and narratives post migration, which have mostly been analyzed from a biomedical and/or public health perspective in current research studies. Specific research questions to be addressed in this paper include:

- 1) What specific factors influence the food habit/behavioral trajectories of Chinese Americans?
- 2) How do these factors align with the three key components of the FCP model?
- 3) What is the role of acculturation and how is it mediated by food choices?

Of the three papers presented in this dissertation study, this particular paper is most closely aligned with a research model approach for understanding specific phenomena appearing in a specific population from both macro and micro perspectives. However, the generalizability of findings may be somewhat limited by the lack of substantial data for Chinese Americans extending beyond the third generation as well as the regional clustering of participating interviewees.

The second paper will explore the cultural sites of knowledge transmission and how they contribute to the formation of memories and embodied experiences among Chinese Americans, including inter-generationally. Acquired knowledge of the health properties of specific foods and herbs, as well as recipes for medicinal dishes, have historically been passed matrilineally from elders to younger generations in the same familial household since its perpetuity depended “on the transmission of ideas, values and symbols across generations” (Yuhua 2000: 104; Chen 2009).

However, as the post-Mao era heralded China’s entry into the global market system, a striking shift with regards to food consumption habits and the cultural transmission of knowledge simultaneously occurred, leading to an even greater gap between generations (Yuhua 2000). The introduction of new Western foods and experiences (further perpetuated by food industry commercialization), along with changes to gender roles within the family (i.e.

more women working outside of the home), has created a new generation eager to redefine traditional cultural meanings associated with eating, food, and health, especially with access to higher levels of disposable income.

To understand how and why these shifts occurred, generational differences also need to be situated within historical contexts (Yuhua 2000). For those born prior to the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, famine and war oftentimes determined food access and availability. Maintaining a healthy body using traditional Chinese medicine and dietary principles framed their key relationship with food. Yet, those born post-1949 were eager to forget the tribulations of the prior generation, especially with increased access to disposable income and Western markets. These trends, when studied in the context of increased emigration to the United States, Canada and other Western countries during the late-1990s, can also shed light on the widening chasm between traditional Chinese dietary practices and contemporary consumption choices in a Western society.

Hence, this paper will explore how food practices and cooking rituals are intertwined with Chinese American identity and historical consciousness, especially as the nuclear family increasingly becomes a global family. Questions regarding the cultural transmission of cooking and culinary knowledge to successive generations will also be examined, including the public sphere as a domain for preserving and documenting family food histories that may otherwise be lost. The two central questions addressed by this paper include:

- 1) How are the food practices and narratives of intergenerational Chinese Americans impacted by globalization, modernization, and migration?

2) How do these processes affect the intergenerational transmission of cooking and food knowledge and practices?

Emergent themes arising between parent-child dyads will also be analyzed to highlight intergenerational differences and similarities.

The third and final paper will rely on Deleuze and Guattari's concept of deterritorialization, Appadurai's notion of global cultural flows, as well as Ray's work with Bengali-American households to understand the social processes underlying Chinese American foodways, including the role of food memories. As we become an increasingly global society, food consumption patterns and migration trends offer an interesting nexus for examining the role of food in perpetuating and re-creating definitions and constructs of culture, knowledge and identity.

Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) notion of multiplicities offers a useful framework for understanding how structures, space, and time are organized and connected. The organization of space is never a linear process, for "events always have a multiplicity of entryways; they are correlates themselves that can be approached from many different directions" (Dolphijn 2004:18).

Similarly, "food always already involves a multiplicity of compositions...Food [is] inseparable from its relations to the world" (Dolphijn 2004:30). Thus, dichotomies, as Sassen (1998) argues, do not really exist since "the global is necessarily local and the local is capable of becoming global. Any event is capable of traveling around the world within a split second as long as it finds the proper expression" (Dolphijn 2004:19).

As spaces become created, organized and defined, “lines of connection” also become manifested between spaces, events, and contexts. “The relations that come into being between food and us” shape and define ourselves, our structures and our environment (Dolphijn 2004:13). Subsequently, the processes occurring within the spaces located between and connecting critical points along our food trajectories warrant closer examination. According to Dolphijn (2004), “food functions in immanent structures that are always in a process of change” such that our relationship with food results in a “mutual symbiosis [that] unfold[s] the realities in which we live, the situations in which we end up, by proposing an immanent (re)creation of concepts” (pp. 8-9).

These concepts become redefined as the context within which they are expressed shifts and our present realities change. When this occurs, “a relative deterritorialization and reterritorialization take place” whereby a new “territory” emerges, encoding matter (e.g. food) with new definitions (Dolphijn 2004:18; Deleuze and Guattari 1987). Hence, in studying the intersection of food and everyday life, “we need to study how space is created and how it creates,” especially as the creation, destruction and re-creation of spatial boundaries (i.e. territories) is a constant process, “a kaleidoscopic process of connection that never ends” (Dolphijn 2004:25, 62).

Arjun Appadurai (1996) further extends Deleuze and Guattari’s theoretical perspective by developing a new theoretical framework for addressing disjunctions in a “new global cultural economy” (pp. 33). The five “dimensions of global cultural economy” identified by Appadurai not only highlights its fluid and irregular nature, but also emphasizes the historical situatedness, complexity, and multiplicity of subjective contexts forming “imagined worlds” in the public

sphere. Appadurai's framework is highly useful for examining the food practices/narratives of immigrant populations due to its embrace of multiple lines of departure and return, as well as the recognition that a multitude of diverse factors can have a fluid impact. The immigrant food experience rarely occurs linearly and is often fraught with multidimensional complexities, as signified by Ray's work with Bengali-American households. Thus, this third and final paper seeks to specifically address:

- 1) What are the social processes shaping Chinese American foodways and how do they differ between generations?
- 2) How do food memories play a role in shaping/re-shaping Chinese American identity and food narratives?

Finally, it is important to remember that the presented papers are intended to be exploratory and contribute to a larger interdisciplinary dialogue regarding the social processes associated with food acculturation among Chinese Americans that is still in its infancy stages. With the majority of Chinese Americans currently of first or second generation, research including successive generations will be necessary prior to any definitive generalizations or extension of longitudinal trajectories involving Chinese American foodways.

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Paper #1: Food Acculturation, Food Behaviors, and Chinese American Intergenerational

Differences

Introduction

For centuries, traditional Chinese dietary practices have reflected an extensive history of being intricately linked with the cultural construction of health and well-being, such as through the categorization of foods into yin (*cold*) and yang (*hot*) categories (Lv and Brown, 2010). Yet, as we increasingly become global citizens, with global markets permeating previously insular economic systems, socio-political and cultural contexts shaping the social construction and knowledge of food have also similarly shifted. In contemporary times, not only have the introduction of commercialized Western foods (e.g. McDonalds) reshaped Chinese foodways, but migration trajectories and experiences have also redefined the Chinese immigrant's notions of food and health.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2010), Chinese immigrants comprise the largest Asian subgroup in the United States. Interestingly, over time, they also appear to exhibit higher rates of cardiovascular disease and cancer (compared to their Asian counterparts) (Satia, Patterson, Kristal, Hislop, and Pineda 2001). Thus, of specific interest is if and how traditional Chinese cultural notions of health and food become redefined following immigration to a Western society and how this affects successive generations of Chinese Americans. What are the specific factors which influence and shape food acculturation trajectories? Do trajectories differ between and within Chinese American generations?

Historically, traditional Chinese dietary practices have intimately linked food with the cultural construction of health and well-being. The traditional Chinese diet mainly consisted of

grains (e.g. rice, porridge, noodles), supplemented with vegetables, fruits, and occasionally meat (Lv and Brown, 2010). Dairy products were seldom consumed and meats were rarely the focal point of a meal. The specific composition of each meal consumed by an individual varied according to health needs and was premised on yin-yang theory, which viewed food as *chi* (form of energy). Within this framework, all foods could be categorized as *yin* (cold), *yang* (cold) or neutral (Chen 2009; Wu and Barker, 2008; Satia-Abouta, Patterson, Kristal, Teh, and Tu 2002; Yuhua 2000; Koo 1984). Maintaining a balance of yin and yang was critical to the sustained health of the body.

However, this paradigm oftentimes becomes challenging for Chinese immigrants to maintain once ensconced in a predominantly Western society. Not only is this perspective not a central tenet of Western approaches to health and well-being, but educated Chinese immigrants often favor a hybrid belief system reflecting both Eastern and Western concepts of health and diet (Satia, Patterson, Taylor, Cheney, Shiu-Thornton, Chitnarong, and Kristal 2000; Yuhua 2000).

Additionally, “cultural citizenship is a dual process of self-making and being-made within webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society,” whereby adherence to dominant cultural norms is often equated with good citizenship (highly valued in Asian societies) (Ong 1996:738). Consequently, first generation Chinese immigrants seeking to gain cultural and social capital in their new homeland may reject or distance themselves and their families from Chinese foods and foodways considered to be “un-American” or otherwise emphasize their status as an outsider, thereby re-shaping and re-defining future generations’ perspectives of traditional Chinese foodways. For example, while a deepening disconnect with traditional

Chinese cuisine has certainly appeared among successive Chinese American generations, there has also been a resurgence of interest in traditional Chinese recipes, particularly within the realm of Eastern herbal medicine.

To understand how immigration specifically impacts Chinese American food choices and decisions, Sobal & Bisogni's Food Choice Process Model (FCPM) offers a holistic, transdisciplinary approach towards exploring food acculturation through life course events/experiences, influences, and personal food systems. Thus, this paper is intended to examine how *life course* (defined as “events and experiences prior to food choice decisions, anticipation and expectations about the future”), *influences* (defined as “cultural ideals, personal factors, resources, social factors, and present contexts” shape the way two generations of Chinese Americans perceive Western and Chinese diets/cuisine and how *personal systems* affect food behaviors. The specific research questions to be addressed include:

- 1) What specific factors influence the food habit/behavioral trajectories of Chinese Americans?
- 2) How do these factors align with the three key components of the FCP model?
- 3) What is the role of acculturation and how is it mediated by food choices?

As we become an increasingly global society, food consumption patterns and migration trends offer an interesting nexus for examining the role of food in perpetuating and re-creating definitions and constructs of culture, knowledge, and identity.

Brief Summary/History of Sobal & Bisogni's Food Choice Process (FCP) Model

The processes, influences, and factors shaping food trajectories are often “multifaceted, situational, dynamic, and complex” and highly individualized (Sobal and Bisogni 2009: S37). While dominant paradigms engaging rationalist, structuralist, and constructionist perspectives have been used to understand food choice decision processes across a wide range of disciplines, the assumptions reflected in each of these approaches are frequently incompatible with each other (Sobal & Bisogni, 2009; Furst, Connors, Bisogni, Sobal, and Falk 1996).

For example, the rationalist approach assumes that individual food choices are made from a rational standpoint, with the goal of maximizing benefits and minimizing costs. Conversely, external institutions and environments are the key influencing agents from a structuralist perspective, while the constructionist places primary agency on how an individual engages and interacts with a socially constructed reality that is constantly dynamic and situational. Each of these approaches explores food choice decision-making processes from a unique perspective. However, when applied independently, they seldom comprehensively capture the micro and macro nuances and complexities which shape individual food systems and personal food scripts routinely used on a daily basis.

In 1996, the interdisciplinary Cornell Food Choice Research Group introduced a new inductive approach to understanding food choice decisions with the creation of a conceptual model which sought to “provide a wholistic perspective of the factors influencing the way people constructed the process of choosing foods” (Furst et al. 1996:248). Rather than promote any one particular paradigm, this new model recognizes that a “broad range of factors

and types of processes [are] involved in making food choice decisions” (Sobal and Bisogni 2009: S40).

Subsequently, factors and processes influencing food choice decisions are categorized into three main components: life course, influences, and personal system. Each component operates relationally to the others to shape pathways leading to a food choice decision. *Life course* encompasses past and current personal, cultural, environmental, and historical experiences defining an individual’s personal system regarding food choices. This dynamic process also produces a set of influences and extends beyond life cycle development or linear movement through life stages.

The set of *influences* comprises the second major component and involves five categories (ideals, personal factors, resources, social framework and food context) (Furst et al. 1996). These categories work relationally with each other, at times with salient boundaries. *Ideals*, grounded in self-identity, symbolic and cultural meanings, also encompass “expectations, standards, hopes, and beliefs” which shape how individuals approach their food choices (Furst et al. 1996: 252). Ideals may also shift during periods of transition and self re-evaluation. *Personal Factors* include individual food preferences as well as physiological, emotional, and physical factors while *resources* cover both tangible (money, space) and intangible resources (skills, knowledge, time) available for determining food choices. The crux of *Social Framework* lies in how interpersonal relationships and social contexts, particularly with family, household, work relationships and social engagements, affect food choices. And finally, *Food Context* refers to both the physical environment (i.e. market location), as well as the social climate of the setting.

The final component of the conceptual model of food choice, *Personal Systems*, is comprised of value negotiations and the development of strategies as a habitual response to repeated and re-occurring food choice contexts. Within value negotiations, the “weighing and accommodation of values salient to a person in a particular situation,” Furst et al. (1996) identified six primary key values: sensory perceptions, monetary considerations, convenience, health and nutrition, managing relationships, and quality (of food and in relation to food choices).

Using the above conceptual model to examine food choice decisions, initial findings by Furst et al. (1996) revealed that value hierarchies tended to be salient over time, ideals played a highly influential role, and the managing of relationships was highly valued in food choice decisions. Additionally, while life course encompasses more than just the progression through one’s life cycle, the culmination of diverse experiences as one matures also appears to be a contributing factor with transforming individual food preferences and choices (Delaney and McCarthy 2009; Furst et al. 1996; Elder 1991, 1987).

In 2009, Sobal and Bisogni revisited the Food Choice Process Model (FCPM) and essentially reiterated that a single theory cannot adequately account for all the factors and processes involved with food choice decisions since “the topic of food choice decisions is truly transdisciplinary and needs to incorporate, integrate, and develop new perspectives” (pp. S44). Besides offering “a way to organize the many macro- and micro-level factors and processes involved in food choice,” FCPM also recognizes that food choice decisions are socially constructed and situational (such as revision or adjustment of food scripts for different

contexts) and an interconnectedness exists between historical/life experiences and changing food behaviors as one progresses through life (Sobal and Bisogni 2009: S44).

However, limitations of the FCP model also exist. According to Sobal and Bisogni (2009), these include a focus on general processes (as opposed to any one specific process or factor) and individual food choice decisions (versus collective or group decisions). Additionally, since FCPM was conceptualized with a U.S. population, the generalizability of the model to other populations and contexts still warrants further exploration. Finally, as FCPM was developed using a constructionist approach, particular aspects of other perspectives may not be fully reflected. Yet, despite these limitations, FCPM still offers an innovative and inter-disciplinary framework for examining the diverse range of contexts, factors, processes, and influences underlying the food scripts we each use consciously and unconsciously on a daily basis.

Relevance of FCP model for dissertation project

The FCP model appeared to be the best framework for this dissertation project due to the manner in which it dynamically and fluidly captures the complexity of factors influencing food behaviors and decisions. Additionally, besides incorporating rational, structuralist, and constructionist perspectives, the model's inductive approach also allows emergent themes to be grounded in the data.

Contribution of dissertation research project to field

While the impact of immigration on dietary changes has been widely studied from nutrition and public health perspectives, the specific impact of acculturation in shaping individual food trajectories across generations in Chinese American communities still remains to be explored in depth beyond a biomedical paradigm (Kittler, Sucher, and Nelms 2012; Lv and

Cason 2004; Satia et al. 2000). Eating scripts, habits, and routines become constructed "as a result of both the structure of [people's] lives and the agency that they bring to life" (Jastran, Bisogni, Sobal, Blake, and Devine 2009; Illmonen 2001; Sztompka 1994).

Methodology

This study utilized a qualitative methodology to address the primary research questions previously stated. Data was analyzed using a grounded theory approach to identify emergent themes. Substantial literature exists to support the use of qualitative research methods to investigate phenomena not well understood or extensively studied, including "the phenomenon of acculturation from Eastern to Western dietary patterns" (Satia et al. 2000:940). Frameworks, such as narrative research and semi-structured interviews, "are compelling sources for food studies research because food is an important component of most cultures, and culture is an "ensemble of stories we tell about ourselves" (Fraser 2004:180; Geertz 1975). Additionally, "most people have complex relationships with food and by allowing them to tell their stories, we give them voice in the idiom of food" (Miller and Deutsch 2009:159). Knowledge of social/cultural norms and historical contexts related to food, eating and cooking have a long history of being transmitted through the family unit for generations, yet each individual may embody this information uniquely. Qualitative interviews provide one avenue to more comprehensively explore how individual experiences diverge and converge, especially as successive generations of Chinese American households settle in the United States.

Description/development of interview guide

The semi-structured interview guide utilized for this study encompasses the following seven core areas, including primary and secondary follow-up questions for each section:

Demographics, Perceptions of Chinese/Western Food, Food and Health, Food Consumption, Knowledge Transmission, and Miscellaneous. Interviewees were asked to participate in one recorded in-person interview of up to 2 hours, with all conducted interviews following a semi-structured format.

Sampling and Recruitment

Recruitment flyers were posted in the common areas at the University of California, San Francisco (UCSF) (Parnassus location) as well as circulated online through Craigslist, Facebook, listserves, and personal contacts. A total of 25 participants were interviewed, reflecting 6 parent-child dyads, 2 married couples, and 9 single family members. Participants were required to be over 18+ years of age and reside in the San Francisco Bay Area. The average age of interviewees was 46 years old, with the overall sample predominantly female (n=18).

Slightly over half of the sample (n=15) identified as first generation Chinese Americans (immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan, Canton, Chengdong, Guangzhou, Hefei, Huangshan, Ningbo, Shanghai, and Yulong), followed by 9 second generation Chinese Americans (defined as first generation born in the U.S.), and 1 third generation interviewee (defined as second generation Chinese American born in the United States). First generation Chinese Americans averaged 28 years of residency in the US, compared to second and third generation Chinese Americans who averaged 39 years.

All interviews were 1.5 to 2 hours in duration, individually conducted, and digitally recorded, with participants given an informational sheet prior to initiation of the interview. Twenty-two of the interviews were conducted in English. The remaining three interviews were

conducted in the participants' language of choice (Shanghainese, Taiwanese, Cantonese), with a family member serving as translator.

Theoretical Framework

All qualitative data was analyzed using a constructivist grounded theory approach. Grounded theory, originally developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), provides a framework for generating theory through the use of systematic inductive processes associated with the “gathering, synthesizing, analyzing and conceptualizing” of qualitative data and producing theoretical categories directly grounded in the data (Charmaz 2003: 82). In response to criticism from second generation ground theorists, a constructivist grounded theory has now emerged to explicitly “position the research, relative to the social circumstances impinging on it” (Charmaz 2009: 134). While this nascent methodology shares many similarities with Glaser and Strauss’s original approach (e.g., abductive logic, “inductive, comparative, emergent and open-ended”), its distinct elements include the recognition of multiple realities and subjectivities (both participants’ and researchers’), situated knowledges (emerging contexts cannot be disregarded), relativist epistemology and the limits of abstract generalizations (Charmaz 2009:137). This current study utilizes the latter framework.

Additionally, “what we see, when, how, and to what extent we see it are not straightforward. Much remains tacit; much remains silent.” (Charmaz 2009:131). Therefore, one of the goals of constructivist grounded theory is to showcase these punctuated silences. For example, in searching “for the assumptions on which participants construct their meanings and actions,” connections drawn between the subjective and the social as well as micro/macro levels of analysis become visible (Charmaz 2009:131).

Subsequently, constructivist ground theory offers an invaluable toolbox for examining and understanding the immigrant journey, where a multiplicity of subjective experiences and complex elements often interact to create unique familial food trajectories. Contemporary literature, especially in the public health arena, has increasingly focused on diet and food consumption trends of immigrant populations in the United States. Yet research specifically exploring the impact of food acculturation processes among intergenerational Chinese Americans remains sparse, especially when considering the role of cultural and historical contexts in shaping situated knowledge and social constructions of food.

Results and Thematic Findings

Life Course Events/Experiences

While food trajectories generally tend to be stable over time, they can also shift and change as transitions and turning points occur during one's lifetime. For example, the poverty and hunger faced by many during Japan's World War II occupation of China was a context which substantially reshaped the food trajectories of many of the interviewees' elders. Some subsequently decided to avoid all things Japanese as a result of their lived experiences during the war - "there used to be a HUGE resentment to even eating Japanese, right? Culturally, because of what happened during and before World War II. So, it was a huge resentment, I think they [the previous generation] wouldn't even drive Japanese cars because of that..." (DY: 19; a 49-year old Chinese American born in the States).

Others chose to eliminate any foods from their diet which evoked memories of their wartime experiences. For example, SK (a 37-year old who immigrated from Hong Kong at the age of 4) describes how the Japanese invasion of China re-shaped her father's food trajectory:

"Well, one of the incidences that's shaped him the most was when the Japanese invaded Hong Kong, cuz my dad was 10, so he remembers...my dad's family grew everything, like all fruits and vegetables and rice and everything. So, they [the Japanese] confiscated everything. And my dad remembers going really hungry...when he was ten, when the troops came and took everything and they actually set up camp...So the family started eating yams, eating root vegetables, cuz they [the Japanese] didn't care about those things, right? Potatoes, yams...all the taro, all the root vegetables. So, to this day, my dad wouldn't eat a potato or yam by itself...he won't eat it. If you give him a potato, a mashed potato, he won't eat. He won't even eat, he would NEVER eat a whole potato, like, like a big potato, even if you put bacon in it, he won't eat it. It's just brings back such bad memories...of the times that he has had to go hungry. And that's all they had to eat."

Interestingly, the strong sentiments against Japanese products and foods appears to be limited to the generation of Chinese who lived through the Japanese occupation. As DY states: "I think because so much time has passed and so many generations have come between the end of World War II and now, that you will see more younger people not having ANY issues eating Japanese food" (19). Regardless, the manner by which foods become associated with specific memories and evoke embodied responses when activated, irrespective of length of time, demonstrates our deep connectedness between food and our individual lived experiences.

On the other hand, parents' workforce retirement, childbirth, and changes in the household/family structure (i.e. spouse's passing, adult-aged children moving out) were some of the main transition points identified by the current generation of Chinese Americans born in

the United States. For example, now that DY's father lives alone, "he tends to go out and buy take-out food because it's cheaper and you get big quantities" (15), whereas he "took over everything" (14) related to household food responsibilities following workforce retirement when DY was 16-17 years of age. Daily dinners, which previously served as the focal point for family time, also became replaced over time - "as the kids got older, since they were out of the house, Sunday dinner was the important meal because that was the one day of the week we'd all get together and it was this big thing. My parents looked forward to it" (14).

Across all interviewees who've resided with grandparents and/or parents immigrating from China, food trajectories in the home, particularly during the dinner meal, tended to remain fairly stable. While cooking and prep responsibilities may shift between parents and/or grandparents, Chinese cuisine was almost always favored, served as a multi-course meal, and generally included a soup, rice, and several meat and vegetable dishes. This scenario appeared to apply regardless if either or both parents were regularly exposed to Western cuisine during the course of employment. However, though some of the interviewees representing the successive generation of Chinese Americans stated a preference for Asian cuisine overall, few adhered strictly to serving or consuming Chinese dishes at mealtimes unless they shared a home with parents who were Chinese immigrants and assumed primary responsibility for serving the dinner meal.

Turning points, as defined by Sobal & Bisogni (2009), were not consistently mentioned by interviewees, though several discussed adjusting their diets for health reasons. For example, RM (a 56-year old Chinese American nurse born in the States) talks about giving up a lot of her favorite Chinese comfort foods due to a diagnosis of high cholesterol: ""I think maybe growing

up, I've become more health conscious also because I know I have been diagnosed with high cholesterol so I used to eat things like the lap cheung [Chinese sausage] and...a lot of those things, more Chinese things where I'd go to the store and I'll buy the roast pork, and love all that stuff, and things like the poached tofu that you buy that has the shrimp inside and all those, you know. But I have unfortunately, I was diagnosed with high cholesterol and so I'm trying to be good and so I've eliminated a lot of the stuff now...unfortunately, that's how I have to eat now. I can't eat those things. Of course I will eat them when I go out to eat and I want to eat with my family but when I'm cooking for myself, I have to be good" (19). Several interviewees with young children also mentioned purchasing and serving mainly organic/natural products, meats, and produce in their homes following childbirth due to concerns around pesticide and food safety related to conventionally produced foods/produce.

Influences

Childhood food memories and experiences, time constraints, familial influences, and culinary/food knowledge transmission between generations were some of the most frequently cited influential factors shaping interviewee's personal food system schema. For example, DY places an emphasis on freshness throughout his interview, including childhood memories of fresh food ingredients in Chinatown, his parents' preference for fresh ingredients (during his childhood), and a current household focus on making things from scratch. However, he simultaneously admits that "the biggest issue with us now is time. How much time do we have before someone has to go somewhere or someone has to do something. And then we kind of decide what to eat based on that" (16). Yet, whereas time constraints may determine the dishes served at the familial Chinese American meal table during contemporary times, previous

generations also relied on the assistance of live-in/hired helpers and a single income. Hence, changes to the socio-economic status of the modern Chinese American family also need to be considered within the context of understanding changing foodways and history of the Chinese household.

Expectations regarding children's behaviors during mealtimes was another key theme which appeared throughout interviews. According to DY, "the kids [wife's family] sit still at the table. They don't go running around, especially at the restaurants, they don't go wild in the restaurants. They sit and finish their food. If they're finished and everyone's just chatting, then it's ok for them to get up and socialize with other kids. So, it's kind of unusual to see our kids sitting there while other kids are just going crazy and getting underfoot, which can be dangerous in a restaurant" (9).

For HC (a 49-year old Chinese American who immigrated to the US 30 years ago), family strongly influenced an openness or reluctance towards unfamiliar cuisine - "when we go to China, we actually have the tour books and half the tour books teach you where to eat and we follow those, we go to try different kinds of Chinese restaurants. And my sister's kids, when they go there, they're actually looking for McDonald's...so, kind of against Chinese eating, they're not into those, so I think that's part of it, you're not accepting the culture" (22).

Additionally, the biggest influential factors related to food and culinary knowledge transmission appears to rest in the interest of the next Chinese American generation - "I'll pass it on but it's whether or not they [next generation] find any value in it" (pp. 22). Most interviewees who were also parents stated that they would not impose the information onto their children, preferring instead for their children to initiate the conversation with culinary

questions. At least one parent was optimistic: "You know what, I think it's initially, the kids tend to try to eat what the other kids are eating, what's popular. But you come full circle, cuz I was that way too. I didn't want to eat rice, I didn't want to eat all the vegetables that were there. But as I got older, I went and had food outside...but I find myself coming back so, there's just a certain point when you've been exposed to other foods, you've tried it, and say - ok. You go back. You tend to go back to what you grew up with.." (DY:19).

Personal Food System

Overall, personal food systems appear to be defined by both familial and cultural influences, as well as personal preferences and value negotiations. While DY values the freshness of ingredients and creating dinner ingredients from scratch when possible, he also recognizes that "a lot of it has to do with availability and convenience...where Western foods really shine. They have prepared food in cans, frozen. Whereas the traditional Chinese food is shopped for that day and prepared that day..." (4). Conversely, Chinese peasant food, alongside mac and cheese, Spaghetti O's, potato salad, and focaccia bread, have also been identified as comfort foods, each associated with a particular location evoking special memories.

Many of the interviewees also cited dinner as the most important meal of the day for various reasons, including from a multi-generationally supported perspective. For example, "I have some Chinese friends who are very Western. They would grab their plates and disappear into their room. And that's just not done in our family. When you sit down, you help set the table, you help clear the table. We sit down together. And I think our kids have picked up on it

because they don't argue. They go with it because they know and we've expressed it to them many times, this is family time." (DY:9).

However, household disagreements regarding cooking techniques may also be common, from washing chicken and cooking time of specific ingredients to the use of salt/herbs and deveining shrimp, alongside food consumption preferences (i.e. boneless foods).

Food Behaviors

Finally, the connection between life course events/experiences, influences, and development of a personal food system cannot be dismissed as each aspect shapes our current food behaviors in unique manners, especially the interplay with identity. For example, the regular consumption of rice during meal times may be associated with "being Chinese," as one Chinese American interviewee admitted "I even found myself, if I don't have rice within a certain, a few, within a few days, I tend to miss it. I want to get some sort of grain in me" (DY: 4). Yet, the same interviewee also states "if your family has a history of diabetes, you need to move away from the white rice or just get brown rice for your starch." (6). This raises the larger question - rice, in all the ways it has been served, cooked, and symbolized, has long been associated with the core of Chinese identity and to a larger extent, being Asian American. As diabetes and other health concerns associated with rice consumption arise, one core question which arises is how will changes in rice consumption play a role in shaping Chinese American identity.

Discussion

Unsurprisingly, generational differences were observed regarding life course events and experiences among interviewees, with poverty, starvation, and hunger experienced during

World War II and Japan's occupation of China frequently cited by older interviewees as defining life course experiences and shaping food trajectories. However, food practices and narratives born of wartime experiences (i.e. avoidance of Japanese foods or foods strongly associated with WWII and hunger) appear to be limited to the older generation only. Among younger interviewees born post-WWII, the most frequently identified life course events included adjusting to new household compositions/structures, labor resource constraints (compared to the previous generations' reliance on live-in domestic staff), and childbirth. Consistent with published research, traditional Chinese dishes were generally most often prepared and served during dinnertime, with breakfast and lunch comprised of a hybrid of Western, Chinese, and/or cuisines (Kittler et al. 2012).

Alternatively, across all generations, turning points did not appear to play a substantial role in reshaping food trajectories. For example, many interviewees, especially those with a nursing or medical background, were able to eloquently discuss both the healthy and unhealthy aspects of Chinese and Western diets and cuisines. However, few reported instituting major dietary changes as a direct result of experiencing a turning point, whether for health reasons or otherwise. The one exception was childbirth, with Chinese American mothers in their 20s and 30s expressing a desire to incorporate more organic foods and natural products into their households due to concerns around the use of pesticides/chemicals on their children's health. Though, at this time, it is difficult to ascertain whether this will be a sustained trend embraced by future generations or is a reflection of current popular discourses surrounding food safety and health.

Food memories, time constraints, familial influences, and culinary food knowledge/transmission between generations were cited as the most influential factors impacting the evolution of individual food trajectories and narratives, with geographical boundaries also playing an important role. For instance, families residing in Chinatown oftentimes purchased their dinner ingredients on a daily basis, a ritual facilitated by the close proximity of grocery stores and the high value placed on fresh ingredients used in Chinese cooking. Simultaneously, those residing in suburbs or areas lacking easy access to Chinese/Asian foods and ingredients tended to rely on bulk stores (e.g., Costco), conduct their grocery shopping on a weekly basis, and map out visits in advance to both Chinese and non-Asian grocery stores.

Personal interest in Chinese foodways has also emerged as one of the potential substantially influential factors for shaping one's current and future personal food schema. Many of the interviewed Chinese immigrant parents expressed a desire for their Chinese American children to embrace Chinese cuisine, particularly as a facet for connecting with their cultural heritage. However, they also recognized that self-interest would be the driving force in whether or not this happened and generally waited for their children to initiate discussions around culinary and food knowledge related to Chinese cuisine and eating. Thus, personal food systems appear to be complex, multi-faceted, and defined by a breadth of macro and micro elements, ranging from familial and cultural influences to personal preferences and highly individualized value negotiations.

Finally, the intersection of acculturation, identity, and foodways becomes most apparent through the manifestation of food behaviors. The smell and taste of specific foods

can trigger stored memories as well as evoke a sense of identity - a fondness for chicken's feet (dim sum dish) was often associated with "being more Chinese" whereas consuming fares similar to hamburgers, steaks, and potatoes was stereotypically aligned with identifying as "American."

Yet, this framework becomes more complicated when applied to Chinese Americans who are third generation and beyond. Exposed to a wide variety of cuisines, tastes, and flavors from a young age onwards, the culinary foundation upon which these generations will build their palates already vastly differs from the onset from previous generations. Coupled with their parents' reluctance to strictly enforce Chinese foodways as a manner of transmitting knowledge and shape food trajectories, it remains to be seen how the building blocks of future Chinese American palates will diverge from their ancestors and how this correlates with self-identity. This becomes especially poignant in light of third generation Chinese Americans who've already begun to declare a dislike for Chinese cuisine (which would have been previously unheard of in earlier times), such as RM's niece: "...as we go further into the generations, like at 3rd or 4th or 5th generations, we'll no longer value Chinese food as much. I know even for my niece, you know, you would think – Oh, she's Chinese and she's just one generation or two generations away. It's surprising because my niece doesn't like Chinese food." (10).

Conclusion

From both sociological and food studies perspectives, Chinese American families offer a diverse treasure trove of personal and familial experiences regarding immigration and foodways, especially as we become an increasing global society and define "citizenship" in a

multitude of ways beyond geographical spheres. Prior to the late 1970s, though research examining the food habits of Chinese immigrants was relatively sparse, significant dietary changes, including increased consumption of meat/dairy products and changes to the family and meal structures, were still observed (Newman and Linke 1982). These earlier findings have since been supported by subsequent studies, which ascertained that while many first-generation immigrants may desire to adhere to traditional Chinese foodways, certain factors may redefine these preferences, including children's food preferences, "convenience, cost, and food quality" and family preference for traditional foods/dishes during dinnertime (Satia et al. 2000: 939; Lv and Brown 2010).

Study limitations

Study limitations include: **1)** limited bilingual capabilities, **2)** limited sample of multi-generation dyads; **3)** lack of comparison group with individuals of Chinese ancestry residing in China/Hong Kong/Taiwan, and **4)** researcher bias. Several of the interviewees were monolingual first generation Chinese Americans. Unfortunately, due to limited resources and the vast array of Chinese language dialects, it was not feasible to translate all monolingual Chinese interviews during transcription, despite the availability of a bilingual family member to assist with translation during interviews. Subsequently, two monolingual interviews were listened to verbatim during analysis and one was excluded (partially due to content). One alternative for future studies may be to solicit bilingual speakers in interviewed households to assist with translating and secure funding for a bilingual transcriptionist.

Targeted recruitment of multi-generation dyads would also yield valuable information regarding food acculturation processes specifically occurring inter-generationally and within

families. Of the 25 interviews conducted for this study, there were only 6 pairs of multi-generation dyads. Several factors contributed to this, including family members residing abroad during interview recruitment (usually older generation/parents) and the young age of interviewees' children. Thus, a longitudinal or phenomenological study may warrant consideration, especially for addressing how food trajectories will evolve among successive generations of Chinese Americans.

Thirdly, while this was intended to be an exploratory study exploring potential trajectories related to migration and food narratives, a comparison sample with individuals residing in China/Hong Kong/Taiwan would offer an additional basis for comparison and data validation. Interview participants immigrating to the United States after spending a substantial length of time in Taiwan, Hong Kong, or China may also contribute a unique perspective yielding additional information for a pre/post immigration comparison.

Lastly, one of the key elements underlying a grounded theory approach is the lack of preconceived hypotheses in order to allow data interpretations to be grounded in the data. As a second generation Chinese American, the research focus and questions raised in this study largely stemmed from my own personal interest. Thus, I would be remiss stating that I was able to objectively analyze the data devoid of my own personal lenses, biases, and lived experiences. In this light, constant proactive awareness of the potential for researcher bias throughout the implementation and analysis phases remains critical (Kaufmann 2010).

Suggestions for future analyses/studies

During the 1960s and 1970s (the second wave of Asian immigration to the U.S), Chinese American immigrants were mostly highly educated professionals whose views of diet and

health differed substantially from laborers who comprised the majority of the first immigration wave (Wu and Barker 2008). As this wave of Chinese immigrants settles in the US and their children age, further opportunities will arise to explore the continued evolution of Chinese American foodways among successive generations, as well as identify differences between the second and current wave of Chinese immigrants, including whether and how traditional Chinese food and culinary knowledge and beliefs are transmitted (Yuhua 2000). Thus, “future studies may examine how the meaning of food, the importance of the shared meal, and other values change and are reinterpreted or reprioritized” for different immigrant populations of the Chinese diaspora (Wu and Barker 2008: 53).

Additionally, in the absence of a comparison sample, secondary archival data (easily accessible in the public domain) may contribute to a more complete picture regarding food consumption trends among Chinese Americans, such as the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES) compiled by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) and the National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS). This survey assesses the health and nutritional status of adults and children in the United States through both interviews and physical examinations. The What We Eat in American (WWEIA) survey is the dietary interview component of the NHANES implemented during 2003-04 and includes questions about recalled food intake. Both NHANES and WWEIA datasets and codebooks are available on the CDC website. Secondary data analysis was not feasible within the scope of this study at this time.

Finally, despite the burgeoning interest in contemporary food studies, we are only just beginning to now see food-related topics addressed from truly cross-disciplinary perspectives incorporating theoretical frameworks, discussions, and research ranging from the arts,

literature, and humanities to public health, sociology, and anthropology. Since this paper was intended to be an exploratory study, additional research would yield valuable information regarding migration and foodway trajectories, especially in comparison with Chinese immigrants who have settled in other Western countries (e.g. Australia, Canada), while simultaneously contributing to a larger multidisciplinary discourse regarding what occurs in the spaces and planes shaping our relationships with food, culture, and identity.

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Paper #2: Cultural Sites of Culinary Knowledge: A Conversation Between Two Generations of Chinese Americans

Introduction

"Remember the last time you ate something made by grandma? I can still recall the aroma of the Steamed Pork Slices in Zisha Bowl my grandma made. It was luscious with affection. The person is gone, but the taste of love remains." (Fu 2010:5)

Food is one of the few commodities which not only provides sustenance to the material body, but also permeates practically all aspects of our embodied being. Our food consumption practices offer statements about our individual ethnic, class, national, and gendered social identities, while specific dishes, tastes, and smells quickly transport us temporally to the past and memories of cooking with parents and grandparents (de Solier and Duruz 2013; Sutton 2001). Simultaneously, cooking rituals with children and grandchildren in modern times bonds us to future generations as we transmit our food and cooking knowledge, passing down ways of knowing centered around family histories, cultural and social knowledge, as well as ways of being. Repeated everyday acts and grander rituals centered around food also inscribe cultural meanings to both the foods consumed and the food practices enacted. However, rituals should not solely be equated with the symbolic and everyday acts should not be viewed as merely pragmatic, for both are "mutually reinforcing" and necessary for creating "systems of meaning" (Sutton 2001: 19).

To understand how food practices and cooking rituals come to shape our identities, we need to first explore cultural sites of knowledge transmission and the associated underlying processes contributing to the formation of memories and embodied experiences (Sutton

2001). According to Lambek and Antze, "identity is not composed of a fixed set of memories but lies in the dialectical, ceaseless activity of remembering and forgetting, assimilating and discarding" (1998:xxix). For example, while a nostalgic memory of cooking a traditional dish with an elder may evoke a strong sense of cultural and ancestral connection, this memory also arises amidst a plethora of everyday acts. Thus, its intensity can wax and wane in response to the repertoire of other experiences and personal factors simultaneously present in one's domain of lived experiences, including level of assimilation to dominant culture.

The interplay between identity and immigration becomes even more salient as nation-state boundaries blur amidst an ever increasing number of global citizens, while transnational corporations and local farmers transform food production and consumption practices. Within the United States, Chinese immigrants comprise the largest Asian subgroup, according to the 2010 U.S. Census. Reflective of the growing Asian American population, most major U.S. metropolitan areas now offer convenient access to Asian cooking ingredients, whether through farmers' market stands selling predominantly Asian produce or the establishment of Asian supermarkets and malls, such as Ranch 99 and Kukje on the West Coast. Basic Asian cooking items and produce can even be found in local Western supermarkets, further reducing consumer reliance on local Chinatowns as the primary source for Chinese culinary ingredients.

However, "cultural citizenship is a dual process of self-making and being-made within webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society," whereby adherence to dominant cultural norms is often equated with good citizenship (highly valued in Asian societies) (Ong 1996:738). Consequently, first generation Chinese immigrants seeking to gain cultural and social capital in their new homeland may reject or distance themselves and their families from

Chinese foods and foodways considered to be “un-American” or which otherwise emphasize their status as an outsider, thereby re-shaping and re-defining future generations’ perspectives of traditional Chinese foodways. Particularly in the US and many Western countries, food consumption practices are frequently considered synonymous with assimilation, such that any falling outside the realm of mainstream acceptance becomes viewed as "tasting the other" (Sutton 2001:5). Conversely, older and recent immigrants may prefer to enculturate the next generation rather than emphasize assimilation to the social and cultural norms of the dominant culture, especially if these norms appear to be in conflict with those from their ethnic culture or there is fear of "losing" children to Westernization (Kim, Ahn, and Lam 2009).

Subsequently, the food practices and cooking rituals of immigrant Chinese families offer a rich cultural site for exploring the complex factors underlying the processes and diverse trajectories Chinese immigrants experience as they become situated in a dominant society where widely accepted social and cultural norms may vastly differ from those of their former homeland. As layers of lived and embodied experiences are peeled back spanning generations, food memories provide one vehicle for understanding how a "culturally structured process of shaping the past" (which includes incorporating historical consciousness) can inform "prospective memories" by "orienting [successive generations] toward future memories that will be created in the consumption of food" (Sutton 2001:28, 39).

Historically, transmission of cooking knowledge occurred through a matrilineal lineage within Chinese families, shaping the prospective food memories of future generations and connecting the past, present, and future through the food "practices of everyday life" (Sutton 2001: 29). However, as modernization and globalization gained prominence by transforming

food production, consumption, and migration trends on a macro level, food narratives also became similarly rewritten within intergenerational immigrant homes and Chinese American local communities. Intergenerational households facilitating the matrilineal transmission of cooking knowledge and treasured family recipes have now been replaced by the transnational family, frequently spanning two or more (often Western) countries. Concurrently, modernization and industrialization have also resulted in the commodification and re-shaping of family food production and consumption practices, leading to the "erosion of place-identification of food so central to the generation of social and sensual memories" (Sutton 2001:65).

Yet, while some view the global processes associated with modernization as exacerbating the loss of culture and traditional communities in contemporary times, I argue that the public sphere can offer an alternative arena for preserving the potential loss of familial food knowledge and cooking traditions (Rathore, Ramteke, Singh, and Singh 2011). Inevitably, aspects of culturally-based traditions and knowledge will be lost to successive generations due to a multitude of factors, ranging from personal disinterest and end of family lineages to forced migration and extinction of endangered traditional cultures/societies, particularly indigenous populations. However, the current expansive era of social media and online resources, coupled with a resurgence of interest in traditional Chinese foodways and medicinal knowledge among the current generation of Chinese Americans and greater Western society, offers a critical opportunity for documenting traditions and knowledge in the public domain which may be lost over time otherwise.

For example, a burgeoning global interest in foodways over the past decade has led to the proliferate publication of print cookbooks conversely serving as culinary memoirs, including Yeung Yang's *Grandma Grandpa Cook*, Patricia Tanumijardja's *The Asian Grandmothers Cookbook*, Linda Anusasananan's *The Hakka Cookbook*, and Teresa Chen's *A Tradition of Soup*. Subsequently, public spaces are now populated with personal stories and recipes situated in a historical consciousness previously reserved for familial members only. Simultaneously, online blogs and websites, such as *Christine's Recipes* and *Flavor and Fortune*, have substantially increased the accessibility of information, recipes, and scholarly discussions regarding Chinese cuisine, cooking, and herbal medicine as global communities now have a mechanism for participating in discourses extending beyond geographical boundaries.

Therefore, despite the preference of traditional Chinese families to maintain privacy regarding familial stories, recipes, and cooking knowledge, documentation in the public sphere may sometimes be the only viable option to preserving them for future generations. To address the various processes defining contemporary Chinese American foodways, as well as factors influencing the transmission of Chinese food and cooking knowledge, this paper will seek to address two central questions:

- 1) How are the food practices and narratives of intergenerational Chinese Americans impacted by globalization, modernization, and migration?
- 2) How do these processes affect the intergenerational transmission of cooking and food knowledge and practices?

To answer these two research questions, a constructivist grounded theory approach was employed to analyze data collected from 25 qualitative interviews conducted with Chinese

Americans over the age of 18 who resided in the San Francisco Bay Area. Recruitment flyers were posted in the common areas at the University of California, San Francisco (UCSF) (Parnassus location) as well as circulated online through Craigslist, Facebook, listserves, and personal contacts. Among the 25 participants interviewed, the sample included 6 parent-child dyads, 2 married couples, and 9 single family members. The average age of interviewees was 46 years old and was predominantly female (n=18).

Slightly more than half of the participants (n=15) identified as first generation Chinese Americans (immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan, Canton, Chengdong, Guangzhou, Hefei, Huangshan, Ningbo, Shanghai, and Yulong), followed by 9 second generation Chinese Americans (defined as first generation born in the U.S.), and 1 third generation interviewee (defined as second generation Chinese American born in the United States). First generation Chinese Americans averaged 28 years of residency in the US, compared to second and third generation Chinese Americans who averaged 39 years.

All interviews were 1.5 to 2 hours in duration, individually conducted, and digitally recorded, with participants given an informational sheet prior to initiation of the interview. Twenty-two of the interviews were conducted in English. The remaining three interviews were conducted in the participants' language of choice (Shanghainese, Taiwanese, Cantonese), with a family member serving as translator.

The interview guide addressed six general areas: demographics, perceptions of Chinese/Western foods, food/health, food consumption practices, knowledge transmission, and miscellaneous. All interviews were individually recorded and between 30-120 minutes in length. Key emergent themes will be discussed in greater details below.

Globalization

Modernization

Producing food based on nature-based, seasonal markers declined as the rise of transnational corporations and industrialization redefined food production processes and consumer preferences with year-round availability of seasonal produce and the mass-marketing of pre-processed goods. This phenomenon has also set the "terms for debate over issues of social change and identity, and its implications for the social embedding of memory," destabilizing predictable social and cultural markers of many past generations (Sutton 2001:43; Giard 1998). What was prevalent for generations no longer was considered the norm, a perspective substantiated by LA, a 54-year old cookbook author - "[Previous generations], they had no choice. And then when they had the global agriculture and transportation, that changed everything...Yea, cuz I hear a lot of stories about when you could shop all year round for everything, cuz...that made a significant change I think in the way that people ate" (10-11).

For example, the production of many labor and time-intensive traditional Chinese dishes, especially dumplings, was frequently considered to be a community and/or family event, especially when centered around festive holidays/events. However, as dumplings became mass-produced and more readily available in restaurants, the frozen aisle of supermarkets, or as take-out, the "changing modes of food production [also had] implications for the generation of food-based memories," including the decline of dumpling making as a collective, social activity which facilitated familial and community bonding (Sutton 2001:17).

Additionally, though many study interviewees frequently used "thoughtfulness" and "intuitiveness" as adjectives to describe the essence or "umami" of Chinese cuisine, the

industrialization of Chinese culinary commodities has also resulted in the standardization and mass-production of ingredients, such as sauces. Whereas the artful mastering of a sauce may have once required an apprenticeship, "Chinese Americans, sort of, restaurants, they wanna [now] have sauces formulated and ready to go, just throw it in a wok, mix it with everything...everything is mechanical, very product-line and what not, but even then, it's not even very good...we just want to get as much business as we can and we're gonna have to sacrifice some tradition and some quality to do that. So, overall this trend of industrializing, sort of, lack of care and attention to detail, where you just serve what everyone serves and hope that people, and hope that Americans, buy into that...it's just overall and it's falling into that sort of greasy, salty, bland, uncreative sort of fast food industrialized sort of cuisine." (AC, 24-year old, Food Science undergrad: 5). Bulk purchasing has also become synonymous with the American consumer, with Costco repeatedly cited as an option for high volume (often frozen) food purchases which could be easily reheated, especially when faced with severe time constraints.

However, interestingly, these were the only two major criticisms of modernization, with the remainder of interviewees viewing the consequences of modernization in a positive vein. In light of an increasingly insular nuclear family unit and the erosion of multi-generational households, mass-marketed pre-made ingredients have been seen to increase food access among individuals with mobility and other challenges. For example, "I think it saves time. If I want something, it's already there....my mom's 86 [years old], right? The helper and my brother and sister...when they bought her a container [of vinegar from the supermarket], she's just say - "They have THAT!" And she considered that was something good to eat" (CL:23-24).

Improvements regarding cooking instruments and appliances was another cited positive outcome. Whereas traditional Chinese cooking primarily utilizes the stovetop, the oven was the one kitchen appliance consistently cited as a major benefit offered by Western culinary culture. The traditional (wood-burning) Chinese stove was referred to as "primitive" by HC, a 49-year old who immigrated from China 30 years ago, enjoys cooking, and prefers diversifying his culinary repertoire by combining Western kitchen tools and appliances (especially the oven) with Chinese cooking techniques and ingredients, particularly for large parties.

Additionally, home-baking still remains a growing trend in Hong Kong and China, mostly due to climate-related concerns - "We don't bake a lot and, especially in the Southern area of China, when you bake, it's pretty hot, it's impossible. So everything has to be a little cooler" (CL: 9). However, other Chinese American respondents cited access to an oven (following arrival in the States) as the impetus for their own exploration of baking, whether to make biscotti or savory dishes. The microwave, wok burners, slow cookers, BBQ grills, and gas stoves were also cited as modern Western appliances which increased cooking efficiency in contemporary times, particularly the refrigerator since back in "North China [it's] so cold...there's no refrigerator back then. We just make a rack outside the windows and then we prepare, get all the chick ready and dump it out and frozen over there" (HC: 24).

An emphasis on local, healthy and sustainable eating also frequently prevailed among a subset of Chinese American respondents, with some opting to purchase their cooking ingredients fresh from the market on a daily to weekly basis. Traditional Chinese cuisine, especially in the Southern China regions, is characterized by the use of fresh ingredients, particularly seafood and vegetables, though this has changed in post-modern times. According

to HC, "traditional Chinese food [is] healthier than current Chinese food because current Chinese food, everything is processed...China technically as a food source, it's more polluted now because of the pollution, so it's not as healthy" (13).

Within the U.S., industrialization (e.g., hot houses) and changing food technology have contributed to previously seasonal produce now being readily available year-round, though the quality of the product may vary (such as mealy tomatoes in April). In response, consumer focus has correspondingly shifted away from access to specific ingredients towards an emphasis on food consumption for health, whether be to reduce pesticide exposure or incorporate more raw/health foods into the diet (latest trends include kale, granola, quinoa).

A common sentiment among 2nd generation Chinese Americans, LA (a 32-year old mom of a two year old) states: "[I] very rarely [go to Asian markets for cooking ingredients]. It's funny...like they have better prices and you'd think it would be more attractive to me because I'm so cheap but...when I was younger, I would go more often not think about it. But every since I've just become more aware of pesticides and all of that, I just feel like it might be a dangerous place for me to go shopping. I feel bad because...I feel like I'm being snobby but I just, I want to protect my family" (14). However, despite the current interest in the connection between health and food consumption, it remains to be seen to what extent pesticide and food safety concerns impact the food practices of Chinese Americans on a larger scale. More specifically, the question becomes whether this phenomenon is localized to Chinese Americans residing in the San Francisco Bay Area, where "the focus on eating local, sustainable, really fresh, organic food" appears more prevalently and farmers' markets are in operation every day of the week year-round (LA:20).

Finally, industrialization heralded not only the availability of year-round seasonal produce, but also advances in food technology contributing to the mass-marketing, high volume production of foods supplying supermarkets and bulk stores, such as Costco. Easy access to such a wide and varied diversity of foods was a phenomenal notion for many Chinese immigrants, especially considering their experiences of severe famine during World War II and the Cultural Revolution in China. During those periods, food (and meat especially) was consumed as a precious commodity, as described by CL (a 62-year old piano teacher from Hong Kong who resided in 3 countries prior to immigrating to the States): "I think because in the past when during the war or during the famine or whenever it was difficult to eat? The meat counted as a type of extra so...once a year, they thought the meat was tasting...But during the whole year, they don't anticipate very much meat" (4). Yet in modern times, not only can meat be readily purchased any time of the year, but also in bulk packs: "[Dad has] definitely discovered the magic of FoodCo. And Costco...and it's a lot cheaper so a lot of the meats that he buys, I notice a lot now, it's not really from Chinatown but from FoodCo and we could buy it in packs. Whereas back when we lived around Chinatown, it would just be, like, one pound for the day or something like that" (AH:14).

Migration

Embodied historical circumstances and its association with specific foods still remains sparsely studied as a whole, especially the ways in which food can be used as a cultural site for understanding cultural meanings associated with local knowledge and "experiences of displacement, fragmentation, and the reconstruction of wholeness" (Sutton 2001:75; Fog Olwig and Hastrup 1997). For example, though "migrant food has transformed eating in the US and

other migrant destinations...less attention is given to the implications for identity of the food that migrants bring with them" (Sutton 2001:75).

According to Nordstrom, "worlds are destroyed in a war; they must be re-created. Not just worlds of home, family, community, and economy but worlds of definition, both personal and cultural" (1995:147). Subsequently, the impact of famine and World War II on the foodways of Chinese American immigrants warrants serious consideration, particularly regarding its impact on food practices from a socio-cultural perspective prior to and following immigration to the United State. While a plethora of public health studies examining the dietary changes and health outcomes of Chinese immigrant populations exist, the literature regarding how historical and environmental events become inscribed in embodied eating practices/foodways, shaping identity and symbolic meanings of food, remains limited.

For example, meat was often perceived to be a precious commodity in China and consumed annually based on availability, particularly during wartime, the Cultural Revolution, and in Northern China, where socio-economic conditions and extreme winter weather conditions severely limited food crops and available food resources. HC, a 49-year old Chinese American immigrant, describes mealtimes with his father: "When my dad was here [in the States; now passed away], when we have a dinner and sit down together, he says - 'Oh, there's no food today?' 'What do you mean? There's 5 dishes sitting there!...It's not just one small piece of stir-fry together.' He wants to have, like a roast duck thing...That's considered a full meat plate sitting there. And that's considered meat, I mean. Other than that if there's not that one plate like that and he will say - 'Oh, there's no...they don't have food? Shall we get

something?" Thus, following immigration to the US, the lack of a substantial meat dish at mealtimes can be emblematic of the hunger experienced during wartime or famine in China.

In contrast, the incorporation of external influences influencing regional and local foodways can reflect a long history dating back to the early days of global exploration and colonization. As we increasingly become global citizens and global travel reaches new heights, exposure to international influences begins a cycle of reshaping both the culinary offerings of chefs and consumer palates, with far-ranging impact beginning at younger and younger ages. As LA, the 54-year old cookbook author, notes, "It wasn't until Westerners started traveling and exploring the world that [American] cuisine got much more interesting...when they went to war, a lot of soldiers probably came back with new experiences. I would say that would be kind of the beginning. I think gradually over the years, people begun to embrace traveling as a certain right. I think now the generations...the young people travel all the time. They have a completely different idea of what food should taste like. Their taste buds are different...when you're raised with just eating bland foods, you don't have much expectation. Now, there's just an explosion of what you can eat here [in the U.S.]" (10).

Therefore, what was once widely viewed as decent Americanized Chinese fare would no longer be considered acceptable nowadays: "My father had a Chinese-American restaurant and, you know, during that time, Chinese American food was like...chop suey, which was a lot of bean sprouts and vegetables, some meat...kind of a thick cornstarch sauce...I think that was served over crunch fried noodles...I think those are the most popular dishes on the menu and probably epitomized what people ate as Chinese American food, what they thought of as Chinese food. Now... if you served that these days, people would not probably eat...they don't

eat chop suey like that" (LA:9-10). JL, a 34 year old entrepreneur of traditional Chinese herbal soups, similarly states: "...what is typically considered like the stereotypical Chinese food is no longer as common as it used to be. Like Panda Express kind of stuff? You know, I KNOW where they are but I actually have never eaten in one." (8).

At the same time, U.S. chefs "are doing so much more [now]. They're more well-traveled and they're also stretching what they can do...with what they have...they're learning how to cook better [and borrowing Asian seasons and techniques]" (LA:8-9). Consequently, not only has this reframed discussions and debates surrounding the characterization of American cuisine, but also contributed to the diverse culinary landscape currently available in the U.S. where one can eat "whatever I'm craving at the time" whenever one desires (AH: 5).

Yet, the cornucopia of blended cuisines dominating the U.S.' culinary landscape has also created challenges for describing what exactly comprises authentic American cuisine. Descriptors from interviewees have spanned the gamut of: "a melting pot of all the popular ethnic dishes around the world but somehow, made cheaper and bulkier and greasier" (AC:3) to "I never think about Western food just being its own category because living, growing up in the Bay Area, you're exposed to so many different things..." (LA: 2) and "Western food is like a smorgasbord of...EVERYTHING...it's everything that's not Chinese" (AH:2).

The wide variation of foods available within American cuisine can also result in confusion, especially when dishes come to be strongly aligned with the setting in which they are consumed. For JH, a 39-year old Chinese American born in the U.S., "...my mom used to make [corned beef and cabbage] a lot, if I remember correctly. And I thought it was Chinese

food [as a child] but then later on I said - Irish. To me, it was Chinese food [since it was being regularly served and consumed in a Chinese household]" (47).

Conversely, the ethnic identity of a restaurant's owner and kitchen staff in the U.S. nowadays may convey minimal information regarding the cuisine served, especially as ethnic restaurants are increasingly funded and owned by those of different ethnic and/or cultural backgrounds. For example, when discussing the definition of Chinese food in American, JH replied: "there's a lot of Chinese food that is a mixed thing for me because...some of my friends own a burrito shop and they're Chinese" (2). Hence, he posits - saying the restaurant serves Chinese food (by virtue of the owners being of Chinese descent) would be as valid as saying the restaurant serves Mexican food (based on the menu items offered). In the San Francisco Bay Area alone, the majority of sushi restaurants tend to be Chinese or Korean-owned, with a very small percentage actually operated by Japanese American or Japanese chefs. Thus, while discourse around food taste is already imprecise, even among chefs, defining and categorizing American cuisine appears to be an even more daunting task due to the multiple avenues of perception, personal lived experiences, and interpretations of what is authentic (Sutton 2001: 96).

Despite the lack of consensus for a succinct definition of American cuisine, the extensive array of multicultural food choices in the United States has appeared to be a contributing factor to the diversification of this current generation of Chinese American palates. According to AC, the 24-year old food science undergraduate student - "I guess maybe I would be speaking for perhaps my generation...we're definitely, we can be open to the Chinese, a lot of the Chinese food that exists today, of course, but also other ethnic Asian cuisines. There's Latin, ethnic Latin

American cuisines or whatever. I think we're a lot more open to all the other international flavors, perhaps more so than other generations" (5).

Taking this a step further, not only is the current generation more open to exploring various cuisines but also to blending them, thereby creating personalized versions of fusion dishes in the home kitchen. AH, a 22-year old Chinese American who immigrated to the U.S. with her parents around 6 years of age, describes sharing food tips with her friends: "Just like mixing both [cultures]... I have some friends who tell me, like, yea, I eat hamburgers over rice with ketchup. No bun, just rice." Similar fusion-themed home cooking described by others include meatloaf from Safeway mixed with Hong Kong-style spaghetti, beef stew tenderized with beer, and Western-style breakfasts/lunches followed by Chinese-style dinners. Kitchens fully stocked with an abundance of both Western and Asian ingredients and produce further facilitates the creation of home-cooked fusion dishes. For example, in JL's kitchen - "there's been a lot of staples, it's kind of a full kitchen because it's like Western staples, and then there's the basic staples...I have like a whole section of just Chinese ingredients or Asian because, you know, some of it is Japanese and...I always use the bonito flakes too, you know. I do the crossovers all the time...and then there's the Italian and Mexican area..." (29-30).

However, it's also important to note that the phenomenon of an expansive kitchen is more realistic in the U.S., rather than in China or Hong Kong, where a dense population translates into minimal living spaces (i.e. small kitchens) and shopping for cooking ingredients on a daily basis is the norm due to the close proximity of markets and stores. Thus, a stricter adherence to a Chinese diet abroad should not necessarily be attributed to a lack of exposure to multi-cultural cuisines.

Perspectives about Cooking and Knowledge Transmission between Generations

Perspectives about Cooking

Historically, children have participated in the food enculturation process from a young age, whether through feeding experiences, role playing, or language. The acquisition of food preparation skills was viewed as an avenue "to show off...skill and intelligence," with seemingly basic ingredients/recipes resulting in a "lively discourse on the quality and preparation methods of different ingredients" and local knowledge (Sutton 2001:25, 95).

Within Chinese cooking, an intuitive understanding of the proper techniques and ingredients required to achieve a balanced dish demonstrated both skill and artistry, especially with food's prominence in the Chinese culture. According to LA, "I think the Chinese have always been about...the way food was cooked, the taste of it, the texture...that was all really important...the repertoire of Chinese cuisine is so much more vast than the Western one will ever be" (2, 9). It is also this strong sense of connection to Chinese cuisine (not necessarily to the culture) that permeates through the interviews with Chinese Americans in their 50s and above. While Chinese American food practices have definitely changed over time, with simplified meals due to busy schedules or smaller households, the interviewees of this particular generation still exude a strong preference for both cooking and consuming Chinese food.

A curiosity and interest in exploring new recipes, alongside a joy for cooking at home and others, frequently appeared among this generation of respondents. CL, a 62-year old self employed piano teacher states - "So the Chinese people in our generation, 60 years old-ish, we still enjoy cooking a lot and so, at this time, we don't have to hurry so much so we sometimes

cook a big meal for the family." For her, the art of cooking a Chinese meal for her children and grandchildren becomes the equivalent of a gift - "since they all like Chinese food and then Chinese food actually harder to make so I thought they couldn't make it themselves that often, so I often go for Chinese food for that evening. I ask them sometimes. If Western food, it's much easier. I can do it like short time...but Chinese time, I really have to prepare...When they come here [CL's home], I often cook a meal for them and I could take them out but I think, if I cook for them, it's almost like a gift, so I rather do that actually...it's a harder gift than I just take them out to eat" (17). Since nuclear, rather than intergenerational, households are now the norm in the U.S., cooking for CL's children and grandchildren (who do not reside with her) provides her with an opportunity to spend time with them as well as convey her feelings for them through the gift-giving of a home cooked meal.

Conversely, CL's daughter JL is 34 years old, born in the U.S., married to an Italian-American, and currently cares for a 4.5 year old and 20-month old while operating a traditional Chinese herbal soup company. She "[does] a lot more cooking of Western food, even though I do plenty of Chinese food cooking" (2). However, the time constraints associated with raising young children and managing a company require creativity during meal planning. So, despite plans to prepare a Chinese meal, "in fact, I have leftovers from last night that are a Western dish. You know, I'm like, well, that's just gonna be part of it too. And I think maybe that's also authentic because I think of it as very home-cooking Chinese food...you basically take whatever you've got and you try to make more out of it, you know..." (5). However, JL is also quick to highlight that the dishes for Chinese and Western meals differ enough with ingredients, prep, and cooking time to warrant separate planning processes.

For LA, a 54-year old retired food writer/recipe editor who recently published a Hakka cookbook, cooking now means "ad libbing" and creating dishes for two, especially since her two daughters are in their 30s and raising families of their own. However, during their formative years, LA "did cook mostly for everyday, family meals, I would cook...Chinese style. And I don't know how often it was but I always did cook mostly that..." (12). Even now, "I would say that I always, always, loved, I loved the Asian cuisines more, just because I always felt they were more interesting" (22).

Interestingly, LA's "knowledge of Chinese culture is sort of weak....I didn't live in an environment that much where it was enforced because we were the only Chinese family in the [Northern California] town" (2). LA's mom was also born in the United States and her primary connection to Chinese tradition was through her maternal grandmother, who lived with her family when she was in elementary school. Being the first and only Chinese family in town for many years likely played a role in shaping LA's palate regarding Chinese food: "I struggle with [what makes Chinese food authentic]...because I wasn't raised in China and I wasn't, I mean we ate Chinese food when I grew up but we also ate American food. And I have written about Western foods for most of my career...when you write for a Western publication, you always have to kind of make it accessible for Westerners. So, I kind of think my taste buds have been somewhat jaded over the years. So, I'm not even sure...I always appreciate authentic Chinese food myself" (3). Similarly, though Chinese food offers many health benefits and is "prepared with so much intention for every dish," LA's 32 year old daughter also states that she doesn't cook Chinese-style often because "I don't really know how to cook it authentically" (9).

LA's daughter brings up an interesting facet of knowledge transmission - specifically how and will the immigrant generation's trove of acquired and embodied food and cooking knowledge experiences be lost over time as successive generations in the States become further removed from a connection with their ethnic homeland? While the transmission of recipes allows for studying "processes of enculturation, which is at the same time a key site for the transmission of certain types of memories and histories," will that ultimately be sufficient for preserving knowledge and traditions accessible to future generations who may be embarking on far different culinary trajectories than their grandparents (Sutton 2001:18)?

Knowledge Transmission

For centuries, food production and consumption knowledge has been orally passed down matrilineally within family units (and occasionally through written recipes). Within this shared wisdom, "hidden histories, the practices of everyday life, and the history of the present" exist alongside closely guarded family recipes, narratives of past years, and "food-based memories" shaped by the contexts, nuances, and embodied experiences unique to each family lineage (Sutton 2001:6). However, as intergenerational households transform into nuclear ones and the desire to establish roots transnationally transcends remaining in one's grandparents' hometown, changes can also be observed in the ways traditional Chinese cooking, food, and medicinal knowledge is transmitted to current and future generations. While cookbooks can certainly preserve recipes and knowledge through written text, they cannot serve as a replacement for the "apprenticeship [as] a site of transmission in the broader sense of woman's culture, history, and everyday experience." Practice and learned, embodied knowledge cannot be separated from written documentation, any more than technological advances can replace

the "labor-intensive nature of traditional cooking as a space for passing personal and collective histories to the younger generation" (Sutton 2001:136-137).

The central barriers faced by today's Chinese immigrant population with transmitting food and cooking knowledge center around maintaining a common language to facilitate communication and shared interest in the information being passed down. As Chinese American generations become more firmly entrenched in the States and establish roots, a distancing from the language, culture, and traditions of their ancestry naturally occurs, such that "Steinberg suggests that loss of tradition is a necessary part of becoming the modern Americans that his family members aspired to be" (Sutton 2001: 125). Furthermore, many of the interviewees acknowledged that their children needed to have an interest in preserving the traditions and recipes of past generations, as it was pointless to force the information upon them, especially in light of the substantial variety of culinary cuisines available in the United States. Evolving palates, diverse travel experiences, and ever more sophisticated foodways of the current generation of Chinese American youth also mean they are not beholden to the traditions of any specific culinary tradition or ethnic cuisine. Finally, as several respondents did not/have chosen not to have children, they specifically stated that there would be no one to pass down their family's histories to within their own lineage.

Thus, I argue that contemporary platforms of print and/or digital media provide critical opportunities for Chinese families to preserve family history and culinary knowledge, particularly for Chinese Americans seeking to reconnect to their ethnic culture. Over the past decade, a new surge of interest in food studies has also heralded both a renewed interest in cookbooks and blogs/online media as vehicles for capturing culinary memoirs. For example, JL

states: "There's a lot of oral information from my family? And so, I'd say the majority [of my information regarding food and cooking] is from my mom and my brother and my sister-in-law. And then, I think I'm pretty active about researching myself. I think they've got me started and then I basically [start] diving deeper into the book..." (37).

In the interest of time and convenience, many interviewees also identified online videos and Google as primary sources of information regarding food and cooking. For HC, he mainly relies on "the Hong Kong videos just nowadays. I used to follow the cookbook more but nowadays, I think I'm more follow the videos more. And also friends...I do know a few friends more into the cooking and from them, I learn some of those [techniques] as well." (30). Finally, print cookbooks also provided another avenue for compiling stories and recipes from those whose voices might otherwise be lost as they passed on.

Conclusion

Summary of main findings

According to Sutton (2001), "memory is not simply a passive capacity, but a culturally structured process of shaping the past," with the possibility of defining prospective memories in the future (pp. 39). Additionally, the "ability of foods to produce memories is intimately tied to the possibility of reproducing social identities" (Sutton 2001:61). Thus, vibrant, powerful images facilitate recall not only of a particular moment in time, but also of culturally defined associations alongside the social self present during the specific event (Sutton 2001).

For many first generation Chinese Americans, food memories can serve as a reminder of a past era - geographically, spatially, and temporally. Though transnational corporations and processes of modernization have facilitated increased access to traditional Chinese ingredients

and dishes, they have also simultaneously generated new cultural and social meanings associated with the consumption and production of Chinese cuisine, ranging from Americanized Chinese food and the incorporation of local, sustainable, and fresh ingredients to a new hybrid style of fusion-Chinese cooking using both Chinese and Western appliance, utensils, and cooking techniques.

Lived experiences of the past also inevitably appear in the current food practices and preferences of interviewed Chinese Americans. For example, severe hunger during WWII was a common theme which repeatedly appeared in many of the interviews. Thus, for many first generation Chinese Americans, a meal was not considered "complete" unless there was at least one all-meat dish at the dinner table, for meat was a precious wartime commodity and the lack of access to it was frequently associated with starvation and famine.

Intergenerational differences were also noted regarding cooking perspectives and knowledge transmission. While the first generation mostly adhered to a Chinese diet and preferred Chinese cuisine even when dining out, the second generation tended to favor a more expanded culinary repertoire, whether through preparing mainly Western meals at home or experimenting with different ethnic cuisines in the kitchen and at restaurants. Time constraints, family responsibilities, and lack of knowledge regarding traditional Chinese recipes were often cited by second generation Chinese Americans as the primary reasons for preferring a different cuisine.

Finally, the intersection between migration and the intergenerational transmission of cooking knowledge and food practices remains largely unexplored in the current literature. Historically, Chinese cooking/herbal knowledge and food practices were transmitted between

generations orally, experientially, and frequently, matrilineally. However, in the new diaspora, not only may there be a language barrier between generations, but many first generation Chinese Americans acknowledge that loss of knowledge and tradition may be inevitable to a certain extent, particularly due to disinterest among subsequent generations in continuing the traditional Chinese foodways of the past. In this current age of expanding technological advances, new opportunities for digital media, and resurgence of interest in cookbooks, print and online publication of family stories and recipes may serve as one avenue for documenting and preserving culinary heritage which may otherwise be lost over time.

Suggestions for future analyses/studies

As traditional family structures continue to be redefined, locally and globally, Sutton (2001) posits two interesting questions for future studies: 1) "If the family more and more does not even form a micro-community of shared food, what change is there for larger discursive communities that might form the basis of a collective memory?" and 2) "What might such disembodied, virtual food communities mean in terms of memory?" (pp. 122).

Secondly, what is valued by cultural distinction and can cultural culinary boundaries truly be drawn in light of increased globalization of cuisine, knowledge, and ingredients? How will Chinese American foodways continue to evolve - both as successive generations of Chinese Americans become more distanced from the culture and traditions of their homeland and as non-Chinese Americans display an interest in learning the craft of Chinese cooking?

To answer these questions, a longitudinal, multi-generational study with Chinese Americans within the same family would yield valuable information regarding how food trajectories may change and evolve over time.

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Paper #3: The De-territorialization and Re-territorialization of Chinese American Foodways

Introduction

"Back in the old days, it's like...even the food, that's like [a] precious thing...you have so much variety, these days. There [were] no supermarkets and those things. I think there is a farmer's market...We have to do the biking – 4 hours, single trip...8-hours full trip. I remember when I was young and I was sitting in the back of my dad's bike. I was probably 5 or 6 years old. And so cold, winter time, you know, snowing...and [you] go to buy the whole month's [worth] of food, you know. Good thing North China is so cold, there's no refrigerator back then. We just make a rack, outside the windows and then we prepare, we get all the chicken ready and dump it out, [leaving it to freeze] over..." (HC: 24).

Despite the diverse and complex ways in which food and food practices permeate our daily lives, provide temporal structure (e.g., mealtimes, seasonal produce), and contribute to our development of cultural and social identities, the specific processes underlying how memories shape our food narratives remain sparsely understood. While certain disciplines, such as cognitive psychology and anthropology, have explored aspects of memory in relation to food practices, these studies frequently occur through the lenses of text models reflecting visualist bias (Western culture's hierarchy of senses) or arising as "part of larger works on the 'architecture of memory' or 'memory and personhood'." Subsequently, historical consciousness and/or an examination of cultural sites and the processes underlying the formation of memories and embodied experiences rarely becomes incorporated into the dominant discourse (Sutton 2001:10).

When taking into consideration the situational and historical contexts surrounding cultural sites of memory, memories can yield valuable information about both our identities and the processes shaping them, for memories “are not simply stored images drawn out of the brain at appropriate intervals, but are very much formed as an interaction between the past and the present” (Sutton 2001: 9). Thus, while a memory may be constituted in the past, it is still dynamic and can be remembered slightly differently each time it is recalled in the present, depending on the specific set of circumstances and contexts. The compilation of memories we embody also contains critical implications for the formation of various aspects of our identity, which in itself is oftentimes salient and situationally-based. Subsequently, “identity is not composed of a fixed set of memories but lies in the dialectical, ceaseless activity of remembering and forgetting, assimilating and discarding” (Lambek & Antze 1998: xxix).

Yet, to date, the majority of research tends to focus on the content of memories, as opposed to the cultural and sensory processes leading to their formation (Sutton 2001; Stoler & Strassler 2000). Additionally, Western approaches to memory are often framed in a way that renders them "mechanical and impersonal," devoid of "cultural means of inscription, storage and access," as if one was viewing a soap opera frame by frame (Lambek 1998:238; Sutton 2001). Within this framework, the interpersonal, dynamic aspects of memory situated in experiences, interpersonal exchanges, and cultural/historical contexts no longer appear pertinent, leaving memory to be examined as a passive phenomenon to be studied separately from the subject. When applied to studies involving food memories, the [dis]embodiment of eating and food narratives becomes further perpetuated alongside the visualist bias existing in Western culture, which favors the senses of smell, hearing, and movement while relegating

taste and memory to the lowest positions on the hierarchy of senses as they are “assigned in evolutionary fashion to the ‘lower races’ of mankind” (Sutton 2001: 13).

Alternatively, Sutton (2001) emphasizes the importance of considering historical consciousness and memories of community when examining food memories. Not only is “eating an ‘embodied practice,’ but ‘food’s memory power derives in part from synesthesia” (Sutton 2001: 17). Therefore, through examining the interconnectedness between sensory experiences, historical/cultural contexts, and eating practices, we can better understand how “synesthesia provides that experience of ‘returning to the whole,’” particularly for those experiencing identity shifts during migration (Sutton 2001: 17).

For example, if the “integrated memories” of an individual are considered to be reflective of the larger collective community, then shifts in the modes of food production and consumption practices will have consequences for the re-shaping of both individual and “public memory” (Sutton 2001: 61). Seremetakis (1994) argues that “sensory premises, memories and histories are being pulled out from entire regional cultures, and the capacity to reproduce social identities may be altered as a result” (pp. 3). During immigration, however, it is not the larger collective community that undergoes a substantial cultural shift, but individual immigrant identities instead are altered as a result of new dominant regional and global influences. Thus, the study of food memories in the absence of historical and cultural contexts only captures a sliver of the complex and dynamic factors and processes defining and re-shaping individual food narratives, which may be substantially transformed several times throughout one’s lifetime, whether due to life transitions or migration.

According to the 2010 U.S. Census, Chinese immigrants comprise the largest Asian subgroup, with a population of approximately 4 million Chinese American adults and children currently residing in the United States. Since the majority of this population identifies as either first or second generation, Chinese American families often find themselves straddling two cultures in a variety of aspects, including geographically, socially, economically, and culturally (Pew Research Center 2013). For example, grandparents may opt to spend a portion of each year residing in China/Hong Kong/Taiwan, children may send a portion of their wage earnings abroad to financially assist relatives, and/or Chinese American families may celebrate key Chinese holidays (e.g. Chinese New Year) with elaborate food rituals or large family gatherings as a way of honoring their ancestry and remaining connected to their homeland. Other families may favor preparing predominantly Chinese meals at home while being more relaxed about strict adherence to Chinese foods when dining out or serve a fusion of Western and Chinese dishes during mealtimes. While some of these aspects will be less applicable to Chinese Americans who are third generation and beyond, the construction and de-construction of identities can occur fairly regularly throughout the processes of acculturation and assimilation for first and second generation Chinese Americans.

Using Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) concept of deterritorialization, the lines of flight can be highly individualistic for each immigrant family, as are the points of reterritorialization and migration trajectories. The unique multiplicities embodied by individuals further contribute to the complexity as selves are de-constructed and reconstituted. To examine how these multiplicities interplay with larger macro factors operating on a global level during mass migrations, cultural anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (1996) incorporates aspects of Deleuze and

Guttari's notion of deterritorialization into the development of a new theoretical framework for understanding the "fundamental disjunctions between economy, culture, and politics" in the "new global cultural economy" (pp. 33). Appadurai (1996) identifies five "dimensions of global cultural flows" (*ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes, ideoscapes*), affixing –scape as a suffix to "point to the fluid, irregular shapes of these landscapes" and "indicate that these are not objectively given relations that look the same from every angle or vision but, rather, that they are deeply perspectival constructs, inflected by the historical, linguistic, and political situatedness of different sorts of actors" (with the individual actor placed last) (pp. 33).

Furthermore, these five dimensions are both inter-related and independent, their global flows creating the basis for what Appadurai terms "*imagined worlds*," defined as "the multiple worlds that are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe" (Appadurai 1996:33). In the current "complex transnational construction of imaginary landscapes," Appadurai (1996) positions the *imagination* as "central to all forms of agency, is itself a social fact, and is the key component of the new global order" (pp. 31), situating his analysis in how mass media and movement of actors flow through diasporic public spheres.

Though Appadurai primarily applies the five dimensions of global cultural flows to the public sphere, his framework remains relevant for exploring shifts, points of rupture, and the reterritorialization of identities and food narratives related to the transnational migration trajectories of Chinese Americans in contemporary times. Recognizing that "the transgenerational stability of knowledge that was presupposed in most theories of enculturation can no longer be assumed," Appadurai also eloquently summarizes, in part, the

challenges faced by those studying the transnational family and immigration in *Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy* (1996): "This is a world in which both points of departure and points of arrival are in cultural flux, and thus the search for steady points of reference, as critical life choices are made, can be very difficult. It is in this atmosphere that the invention of tradition (and of ethnicity, kinship, and other identity markers) can become slippery, as the search for certainties is regularly frustrated by the fluidities of transnational communication [and communities]...culture becomes less what Pierre Bourdieu would have called a habitus...and more an arena for conscious choice, justification, and representation, the latter often to multiple and spatially dislocated audiences" (pp. 43-44). Thus, junctions and ruptures within migration trajectories can become problematic if the references for anchoring lines of departure and arrival cannot be clearly identified.

While Heyman and Campbell (2009) concur with Appadurai's concept of multiplicities, they contend that his "view of geography assumes that static units are the opposite of flows, whereas a processual geography understands how flows can create, reproduce, and transform geographic spaces" (pp. 132). Subsequently, when viewed as a reductionist response to prevailing Marxist paradigms, Appadurai's framework appears to inadequately account for causal factors contributing to global financial and political inequalities. All flows are assigned equal weight and the primary focus on disjuncture and boundaries does not explicitly include reinforcement and mutual causation as potential avenues of interaction, including the possibility that "homogeneity and heterogeneity are not opposed tendencies but simultaneous, mutually reinforcing tendencies" (Heyman and Campbell 2009:138).

Additionally, Appadurai's application of history (from past to present) has also been critiqued as being overly simplified, disregarding "how intersecting flows have helped constitute human cultural settings all along" and "the shift from past to present involves reworking of older patterned flows into new set of flows" (Heyman and Campbell 2009:136). The new flows can also be seen as constantly contributing to reterritorialization and the transformation and carving out of new geographic spaces. From Heyman and Campbell's perspective, the role of mobility in creating, reproducing, and emptying out of spaces, as "an ineluctable element of constitutive and processual geography" appears to be explicitly missing from Appadurai's discussion (2009:138).

Yet, despite these critiques, for the purposes of this paper, Appadurai's framework still remains highly relevant for the study of food practices/narratives among immigrant populations. The focus is not centered on the existence of inequalities and barriers but rather a recognition that a multitude of diverse factors contribute to global cultural flow. The reflection of fluidity within Appadurai's approach is a strength, for through deterritorialization, social and culturally constructed boundaries are constantly dissolved and re-formed due to highly individualistic migration, assimilation, and enculturation trajectories (Koshy, 2000). Rarely is the immigration experience a linear process. It is also important to note that Appadurai intended to offer a broad framework for understanding public cultural-geographic spaces globally. He does not directly counter the role of mobility during reterritorialization nor does he advocate for viewing the erosion of cultural and geographic boundaries as the primary objective of flows.

Subsequently, Krishnendu Ray's *The Migrant's Table* draws upon Appadurai's five dimensions of global cultural flow in the public sphere to address the social processes shaping migration, modernity, and globalization within Bengal-American households. Specifically focusing on "food as a place-making practice," Ray (2004) examines "the private sphere of the middle class of these global flows" whose social actors were "produced by earlier phases of globalization" through the study of food practices of Bengali-American households (pp. 5,7). In his study, Ray observed that food consumption patterns changed substantially for certain mealtimes, with changes in food practices reflective of the reconstruction of identity following immigration from India to the United States. In focusing on consumption and cultural spheres, Ray states that "food is used both to affirm a sense of community and to assert individuality against that community" as well as to establish our "place in the world" and within our "social hierarchy" (pp. 159, 166).

Many of the themes highlighted in Ray's research on Bengali-American households can be similarly engaged to explore the food narratives of Chinese American households, including substantial changes in food consumption practices correlated to specific mealtimes (with an emphasis on the communal, traditional Chinese family dinner), less reliance on production of traditional Chinese food dishes as a temporal marker, incorporation/adaptation of Western holidays into the familial repertoire of food rituals (i.e., traditional turkey stuffing replaced by Chinese sticky rice during Thanksgiving meal), and "birth of a 'national' cuisine in the diaspora that 'eventually de-emphasized regional styles'" (the ubiquitous Americanized Chinese food) (2004:103). While a modest body of research exists examining Chinese American health trajectories, diets, and food consumption patterns post-migration, these often reflect a public

health or nutrition approach. Hence, outside of cultural/acclimation/immigration studies, the literature regarding social processes shaping the long-term food trajectories of Chinese American households still remains limited. Since the number of Chinese Americans who are third generation and beyond still remains relatively low, current intergenerational studies regarding Chinese American food narratives continues to be predominantly focused on those from the first and second generations.

Thus, this paper will seek to explore how Chinese American food narratives are shaped and redefined by globalization and modernization, drawing from Appadurai and Ray's work in the public and private spheres involving global cultural flows. Specifically, what are the social processes shaping Chinese American foodways and do they differ between generations? Additionally, how do food memories play a role in shaping/re-shaping identity and food narratives?

To answer these study questions, a constructivist grounded theory approach was employed to analyze data collected from 25 qualitative interviews conducted with Chinese Americans over the age of 18 who resided in the San Francisco Bay Area. Grounded theory, originally developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), provides a framework to generate theory through the use of systematic inductive processes associated with the "gathering, synthesizing, analyzing and conceptualizing" of qualitative data (Charmaz 2003: 82). As a result of these processes, theoretical categories directly grounded in the data are produced.

Recruitment flyers were posted in the common areas at the University of California, San Francisco (UCSF) (Parnassus location) as well as circulated online through Craigslist, Facebook, listserves, and personal contacts. Among the 25 participants interviewed, the sample included

6 parent-child dyads, 2 married couples, and 9 single family members. The average age of interviewees was 46 years old and was predominantly female (n=18).

Slightly more than half of the participants (n=15) identified as first generation Chinese Americans (immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan, Canton, Chengdong, Guangzhou, Hefei, Huangshan, Ningbo, Shanghai, and Yulong), followed by 9 second generation Chinese Americans (defined as first generation born in the U.S.), and 1 third generation interviewee (defined as second generation Chinese American born in the United States). First generation Chinese Americans averaged 28 years of residency in the US, compared to second and third generation Chinese Americans who averaged 39 years.

All interviews were 1.5 to 2 hours in duration, individually conducted, and digitally recorded, with participants given an informational sheet prior to initiation of the interview. Twenty-two of the interviews were conducted in English. The remaining three interviews were conducted in the participants' language of choice (Shanghainese, Taiwanese, Cantonese), with a family member serving as translator.

The interview guide addressed six general areas: demographics, perceptions of Chinese/Western foods, food/health, food consumption practices, knowledge transmission, and miscellaneous. All interviews were individually recorded and between 30-120 minutes in length. Key emergent themes are highlighted below.

Key Themes

Geo-Spatial Boundaries & Tastes of Authenticity

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the majority of recent Chinese immigrants arriving in the San Francisco Bay Area settled in Chinatown, as all the critical amenities for establishing a

new life in the United States could almost virtually be found within its boundaries, from grocery stores and restaurants to schools and laundromats. Additionally, Chinatown's confines offered both a direct connection to home and the familiar, as well as a semblance of community through shared immigration journeys, experiences, common spoken dialects, and cultural traditions.

The establishment of Chinese grocery stores facilitated the re-creation of familiar Chinese dishes within home settings, especially since traditional Chinese cooking ingredients were not readily available in Western supermarkets yet and the convenience and accessibility of corner markets allowed for fresh ingredients to be purchased on a daily or semi-daily basis. During a time when traditional Chinese dishes and ingredients were still viewed as "exotic" by the greater Western society, Chinatown's borders clearly delineated the spatial setting for "the other." Conversely, Chinese immigrants during that period rarely explored other culinary cuisines beyond Chinese fare since "living in Chinatown, we're in our own little bubble. Everything was Chinese. You saw stuff outside [of Chinatown] but you never went and bought it. You never bought pizza, you never bought fried chicken outside of what they made in Chinatown. Everything else was foreign..." (DY: 5). One exception would be if parents or other family members worked in Western work environments and introduced non-Chinese foods to the family. For example, DY's father worked as a cook in the Army and as a short-order cook in Chinatown and a restaurant located in a major department store following immigration to San Francisco in the 1950s. Similarly, his mother also was employed by a major department store. Hence, the repertoire of foods DY describes being exposed to while growing up includes roast

beef, pork chops, salads, meatloaf, Southern-style fried chicken, tacos, and pizza – many of these considered foreign by Chinese families at the time.

Subsequently, for those who spent their formative years living in Chinatown, their culinary experiences, tastes, and memories from this period often become reflected in their palates and food preferences as well as a reference point for future food experiences. For example, DY (a 49 year old, second generation Chinese American who now resides in a suburb of San Francisco) cites “childhood memories of Cantonese food in Chinatown” when asked to describe the images that arise upon hearing the term “Chinese food” (pg 1). For him, “it has to be Cantonese to be authentic [Chinese food]....the Mandarin style of cooking with lots of oil and heavy sauces...doesn’t agree with me.” (pg 2).

However, for those who did not grow up in predominantly Chinese environments, their conceptualization and definition of authentic Chinese food may vary widely due to a number of other influential factors. For instance, JH (a 39 year old Chinese American) states: “I can’t tell if it’s [Chinese food] authentic or not truly because for me, my mom, when I was raised, we ate everything. So, each thing tastes to me like Chinese food. Depends on how you look at Chinese food for me...if no one told you it was Chinese or American food or whatever, you ate it everyday and you’re Chinese, so to you, it’s Chinese food” (pg 4-5). Thus, for those who did not grow up ensconced in an American urban setting defined by Chinese culture, the home environment and the manner in which meals are served in the home may become the primary geo-spatial factors influencing their sense of authentic Chinese cuisine.

The importance of place in shaping food trajectories becomes even more evident, as exemplified through Chinese American families with a tenuous connection to Chinese traditions

and culture. As a third generation 54-year old Chinese American and retired recipe editor for a regional Western magazine, LA admits that “my knowledge of Chinese culture is sort of weak...we were the first Chinese family in town and the only Chinese family in town for many, many years. The only other Chinese families that came were relatives of ours” (pg 2). Though, when asked to describe authentic Chinese cuisine, her response succinctly highlighted the subjective, individualistic, and situational nature of authenticity: “I think authentic is maybe in a person’s own definition of their own experiences because if I had a certain dish and I ate it in China or I grew up with that dish and I had this certain conception of what it should be, the flavor and everything, I’d say that’s authentic. To someone else who’s had a different childhood or a different memory, they would say – that’s not authentic because that’s not what I ate. So I think it’s really hard to say what’s authentic and what isn’t authentic” (pg 3). JH also similarly questions the very concept of authenticity since “If you’re Chinese-American, everything...if you want to be a fusion of cultures, then everything is part of your part, both Chinese, both American – it’s a fusion of cultures and foods. The only difference is how you look at the food” (pp. 10).

LA’s grandmother, who actively practiced Chinese cultural traditions and food practices, also lived with her family during her elementary school years. It was during this period that she was primarily exposed to traditional Chinese food practices and rituals, though they were seldom engaged in following her grandmother’s death, with familial knowledge regarding traditional Chinese medicine, herbs, and foodways dissipating over time. Furthermore, culinary traditions within LA’s family became even more diversified as LA and both of her daughters married into non-Chinese families. Thus, circumstances providing minimal opportunities for the

expression and engagement of Chinese cultural traditions and food practices, particularly in Western societies, increase the likelihood of this body of knowledge disappearing more quickly between successive generations of Chinese Americans.

Thus, geo-spatial boundaries appear to provide multiple points of departure and arrival for both shaping food practices and concepts of authentic Chinese cuisine. Though the above three Chinese American respondents were all born in the U.S., their living situations diverged widely from residing in a “Chinatown bubble” to being the only Chinese family in a small Northern California town. Yet, place alone remains insufficient for predicting the foodway trajectories one will embody. For example, despite DY’s upbringing in Chinatown, his early exposure to non-Chinese foods likely played a role in influencing his preference for cooking mainly Western dishes for his family: “[My wife] generally makes most of the Chinese dishes. I can cook it if she tells me how to cook it” (pp. 8). Incidentally, his wife, who is also Chinese-American, was born and raised in Mexico. On the other hand, LA has sought to reconnect with her Chinese Hakka roots through conducting research for a Hakka cookbook which was recently published, after working for decades as a recipe editor for a magazine serving a predominantly Western audience. Thus, geo-spatial boundaries only offer one piece of the puzzle for understanding the formation of food trajectories among Chinese Americans.

Modernization

Historically, cooking and food consumption practices, particularly geographically or culturally based food dishes, were aligned with the seasons to provide a structure for marking the passage of time. For example, during his childhood years living in North China, HC (a 49-year old Chinese American who immigrated with his parents when he was 20 years old)

described riding on the back of his father's bike during the middle of harsh cold winters in order to travel to the farmer's market, an 8-hour round trip journey. The purchased food was then hung on outdoor racks to freeze since households did not have refrigerators back then.

However, the rise of modernization and industrial food production both promoted the mass-production of food products as well as introduced modern Western cooking appliances and techniques for immigrant communities to adapt to local use (Ray 2004). Subsequently, food consumption habits changed, with many Chinese American immigrants and families replacing labor-intensive dishes with mass-produced and convenient Western foods in response to time constraints and busy family/work/school schedules post-migration to the United States.

DY also considers "availability and convenience [to be where] Western foods really shine. They have pre-prepared food in cans, frozen, whereas the traditional Chinese food is shopped for that day, refrigeration wasn't as prevalent....but with my parents, everything needs to be fresh. Things need to be bought either that day or no more than a day or two prior and consumed right away" (pp.4). Thus, within his own family, "breakfast we rarely have...dinner is, I think we eat a lot of pasta cuz it's fast and we can make it relatively fresh with the ingredients" (pp. 15).

Conversely, traditional Chinese cooking has evolved with the introduction of Western cooking techniques and appliances, such as the oven and grill. HC considers traditional Chinese cooking tools to be "primitive," instead much preferring the richness offered by a hybrid of Chinese-Western cooking techniques. JH exemplifies this fusion of techniques with: "I like using the microwave because it's faster and easier. My mom doesn't like the microwave, she likes to

stir-fry and fry. I like baking, using the convection oven” (pp. 35). However, the wok still remains a central component of Chinese cooking, even in modern times. For those with gas stoves, the wok offers “faster cooking technically. You don’t have to wait over the stove and cook it in a cast iron skillet. The wok has faster heat volume. You cook a whole bunch of different things on it. The thing is you can heat woks, but not really that well [with electric coils], you need a gas thing so woks are, you can do a whole bunch of international foods on it but no one thinks about that” (JH:69).

However, one of the biggest contributing factors to changes in food consumption practices post migration lies in the change to labor. Within Asian countries, many households still employ domestic servants to assist with childcare and/or household tasks, including food preparation. According to Ray (2004), the absence of servants post-migration to the U.S. was one of the largest contributing factors which transformed the domestic labor process within households. Previously, dual parent employment outside of the home may have minimally impacted the serving of traditional cultural foods at mealtimes, especially since servants assumed those responsibilities. However, post migration to the US, Chinese American households no longer had access to this labor supply, with food work simultaneously increasing due to “bifurcation of preferences between generations, making it necessary to prepare different food ensembles for the same meal” (Ray 2004: 121).

For example, CL (a 62-year old first generation Chinese American who immigrated to the US 40 years ago) describes growing up with helpers – “they help us, they will help buy some morning, breakfast, make the breakfast, and they go out to buy the lunch and then they buy the evening [meal]. So my grandma and my mom will tell them [what to buy]. Or they will spot

something nice and they will buy some” (pp. 11). However, since migrating to the US, she has observed a simplification of the meal as one major characteristic of how Chinese American food practices have shifted over the years. This may include “fewer dishes or faster preparation time, thinks like that. In the traditional meal, if in the past, you would spend the whole day to prepare and more people sit together to eat. Now, only...the family sit together to eat. And so...the preparation time has to be faster and maybe the mom and dad are both, are busy. In the old times, they don’t go out to work and they even hire people to cook for them. So, the meal became more elaborate. Now, people talk about 15 minute dinner, even in the cookbooks and things like that” (pp. 2-3).

For NY, a Chinese American mother of two teens, “I think [my parents] took the time to prepare stuff so that they made sure that food was healthier. And then growing up, and then with my kids, I’m like, I’m trying to keep that in mind but I don’t have the time to prepare the food so I go with fast food or take-out food but trying to still keep it within the dietary reason” (pp. 20). Hence, the global flow of labor, along with employment outside of the home, appear to be major contributing factors reshaping how contemporary Chinese American families now engage in food practices.

Media

Appadurai’s notion of mediascapes is centered around the notion of imagined lives and narratives shaped by slivers of reality disseminated through images and narratives by public or private interests. Though Appadurai primarily focuses on the public sphere, mediascapes contains relevance for both the private and public domains, as both worlds increasing collide. In current times, rapid-fire access to information, technology, and immediate communication in

the public virtual realm now appears to have become the cultural norm in the United States, with implications for influencing individual narratives. For example, social media sites, such as Instagram and tumblr, contain an endless array of food pictures taken by a multitude of individuals with varying degrees of interest in food, ranging from the home cook to restaurant owners promoting new dishes. Virtually anyone with online access can now easily create a food blog, upload a cooking tutorial video, or submit a recipe/restaurant review. Whereas printed cookbooks were formerly the primary reference point for recipes outside of the family repertoire, a variety of recipes for practically any dish (local and international) can be quickly found online.

Two decades ago, the question of “where does your cooking and food information primarily come from?” would likely generate responses along the lines of print media (cookbooks, magazines, family recipe books, newspapers), TV cooking shows, and cooking with parents/others. For DY, “My basic cooking skills I learned from my father. Everything else has been experimental or watching cooking shows” (pp. 20). Interviewees aged 30+ years of age tended to respond similarly – crediting their cooking knowledge and skills to observing their parents in the kitchen, internet searches, or clipped recipes from print media, with the more technologically inclined also naming specific food blogs and/or cooking video sites on their list.

Additionally, despite the popularity of immediate online access to cooking videos, restaurant reviews, and food information, print cookbooks have not been rendered obsolete. While the standard cookbook may focus on a specific type of diet (i.e. Paleo), share recipes from a renowned restaurant, or reflect a chef’s compilation of his/her favorite dishes, Sutton (2001) draws our attention to cookbooks attempting to reflect nostalgia, whether through

recapturing a “lost Eden,” memorializing what was lost to modernization (i.e. skilled food production techniques), or recalling the immigrant/extended family seated around the table (pp. 155). Some of these cookbooks also function as memoirs, capturing personal stories and familial histories centered around food.

For instance, though LA stated that felt unfamiliar with the Chinese culture, her research for the Hakka Cookbook, offered an opportunity to further learn about her Hakka roots and history, which she articulated during the interview. The cookbook is “also about the Hakka who have gone all over the world. It’s about their stories and some of the recipes. And it’s also a little bit about my finding my own kind of family history. It’s not complete but I found some of it” (pp. 6). Hence, even when a rupture exists in the transmission of knowledge regarding family history, recipes, and cooking, research projects, such as LA’s, offer a chance to create a new line of reterritorialization.

Memories

According to Ray (2004), the act of tasting can produce memories which shape identity, so that “the past is recalled through food, and no matter how ‘gritty’ that sugar frosting, it was more memorable than the best frosting one can have here and now [in America]” (pp. 88). A specific food smell may also evoke vivid memories of stronger intensity than the actual smell, for “the hunger is in the memory” itself and taste/smell can serve as cues for accessing local knowledge and memories (Lust 1998:75; Sperber 1975).

For DM, a 20-year old Chinese American whose parents immigrated from Hong Kong, eating steamed fish “brings me back to my childhood and my positive experiences of eating steamed fish and having my mom picking out, like the meat for me since I couldn’t eat the

bones" though they rarely ate the steamed fish dish again until one year ago (15). For HC, it was the BBQ full chicken leg which held a special memory - "When I first immigrate, when I leave China and go to Hong Kong and right at the borders, I think I have one of those chicken legs, BBQ chicken leg, it's more of a Cantonese style barbeque. It's a full chicken leg, you can hold it, drumstick and then you can bite. And THAT piece of chicken, you know, I will never forget in my life...in China, you don't, back then, you can eat a whole drumstick yourself - that's unheard of. I remember when we go to buy [meat] at the market...and that knife, those guys are so good, they cut that piece of meat, it's so thin, you can see through it. And that's pretty much the whole day, whole week that you eat that...I had never eaten a whole drumstick myself that way and...also I was so hungry...and you can have that whole thing by yourself and that taste SO good. I will never forget about that moment." (26).

Yet for other Chinese American immigrants, "memories that are under threat may go underground, become hidden or fragmentary, as the dominant culture is replaced by the modernizing and standardizing protocols of consumer culture" and assimilation (Sutton 2001:64). Food can also be viewed as a site of resistance, whether through intentional avoidance of particular foods or an open embrace of dishes considered completely foreign within one's ethnic cuisine. According to Nordstrom, "worlds are destroyed in a war; they must be re-created. Not just worlds of home, family, community, and economy but worlds of definition, both personal and cultural" (1995:147).

For instance, SK identifies the Japanese invasion of China as a defining moment in shaping her father's foodways when he was 10 years old - "Being a farming community, we were very, very prominent because of that. Because the Japanese didn't have a lot of farms,

they did not have a lot of resources when in China, so they literally confiscated all food that was edible in the area and my dad's village was hit really hard...cuz my dad's family grew everything...and my dad remembers going really hungry...if it's on your own property, you had to give it to the Japanese, you can't keep any of it. So, the family started eating yams, eating root vegetables, cuz they [the Japanese] don't care about those things, right? Potatoes, yams...all the taro, all the root vegetables. So, to this day, my dad wouldn't eat a potato or yam by itself...It just brings back such bad memories of the times that he has had to go hungry and that's all they had to eat" (20). Thus, food can serve as a powerful material reminder of significant past life experiences which both shape our personal and cultural identities as well as our palates.

For many Chinese immigrants currently in their 70s-80s, hunger and starvation during WWII was frequently cited as a central defining life event which impacted food narratives, with specific foods vividly and quickly transporting them back to those wartime memories even in contemporary times. Yet, the reference points for Chinese Americans born during the post-war eras will likely divulge widely, due to different generational experiences and exposure to a greater variety of non-Chinese cuisines. AH, a 22-year old Chinese American who immigrated to the States at age 6, discusses exploring different ethnic cuisines with her Mom growing up - "I feel like coming here, just being in San Francisco, a lot of, like different foods that we can try. And I have to say my mom was, is a pretty adventurous eater. She's not like my dad at all. And some of the best parts of my childhood was when she and I would go out and eat. She actually took me out to try different foods, like every week...like I had my first sushi boat with her, she took me to Japanese restaurants, Ethiopian food..." (22).

Unsurprisingly, it is the food experiences she shares with her mother that elicit the fondest memories - "One of my favorite food memories and that I want to do this to my future generation is I remember one time, I was just sleeping in bed. It was a Thursday night, like I had school the next day. She comes back from work and she used to work pretty late, like around 12 she would get off. She wakes me up in my bed - Hey, me and my friends are going out to eat like a midnight snack. Do you want to come? And I'm like, wait, am I dreaming? I was like, it's 12! ...so I was like - OOkay. So I put on my coat and then we went to Steps of Rome in North Beach...and I had the most amazing veal chop and hot chocolate." (22). Thus, for AH, the positive experiences associated with her mother's adventuresome culinary spirit has played a key role in defining her food trajectory, as exemplified by her repeated desire to reenact them with her future children.

Conclusion

Summary of main findings

Constructs of taste and authenticity tend to be highly subjective, with consensus rarely truly reached, particularly surrounding the constitution of Chinese American cuisine. On a macro level, global flows stemming from cultural ideals, mass media, technological advances, and geographical boundaries, as well as financial capital and labor demands, contiguously operate to shape mainstream society's changing perceptions of Chinese American cuisine. The evolution of Chinese American cuisine can be moderately aligned with the settlement patterns of Chinese immigrants in the United States - as dominant Western society exhibited a wider acceptance of formerly "foreign" and "exotic" Chinese food, Chinese immigrants correspondingly began settling in areas beyond the geographical boundaries of urban

Chinatowns. In contemporary times, basic Chinese cooking ingredients and produce can be readily found in most Western markets. Additionally, while restaurants serving strictly Americanized Chinese dishes will likely never fully disappear, restaurants representing a variety of Chinese regional cuisines (i.e. Shanghainese, Sichuan, Cantonese, Hakka) can now be found in metropolitan areas with substantial Chinese immigrant populations.

In the private sphere, within the family home, micro level influences shaping family and individual food narratives include the introduction of modern Western cooking instruments (i.e. oven) and a shift in labor resources, including the rise of two working parent households, decline of intergenerational households, and the absence of live-in domestic servants. Traditional Chinese cooking was also considered to be labor and time-intensive, with most Chinese American parents opting for hybrid Western/Chinese meals or take-out food, especially in busy households with competing schedules.

Historically, private and public interests have relied on mass media to disseminate images and messages intended to shape imagined lives and narratives. However, in the current expansive digital era, the consumer voice has become equally influential, with access to platforms and apps for restaurant reviews, food blogs and pictures, online recipes, and food discussion forums immediately accessible in a few key strokes. Whereas cookbooks and oral tradition were the favored methods of transmitting familial recipes and cooking/food knowledge several generations ago, online cooking videos and other social media-based mediums now appear to be the preferred sources of information.

Finally, food memories tend to be highly associated with our lived experiences, such that a taste or a smell can easily and quickly evoke vivid memories without temporal

constraints. When situated within contexts of historical consciousness, the macro and micro-level factors shaping the Chinese diaspora's food trajectories become even more evident, particularly from a generational perspective. For example, when asked about childhood food memories, hunger and starvation were the most prevalent responses among older Chinese Americans who endured Japan's WWII occupation of China. Conversely, hunger and limited food access (due to harsh weather and land conditions) were the common themes among interviewees growing up in Northern China, while family food experiences were most influential in shaping the food trajectories of Chinese Americans growing up in the United States. However, DY may best summarize generational food trends: "You know what, I think it's, initially, the kids tend to try to eat what the other kids are eating, what's popular. But you come full circle, cuz I was that way too. I didn't want to eat rice, I didn't want to eat all the vegetables that were there. But as I got older, when I went and had food outside, it's one thing that I tended to gravitate towards it, but I find myself coming back, so there's just a certain point when you've been exposed to other foods, you've tried it and say - ok, you go back. You tend to go back to what you grew up with..." (19).

Suggestions for future analyses/studies

Just as a memory can be quickly triggered, it can also be just as easily forgotten over time, especially in light of escalating dementia rates among the elderly population. Subsequently, what is not documented becomes lost, becomes forgotten. Filmmaker Eric Khoo succinctly captures this phenomenon in *The Recipe*, a 2013 film commissioned by the Singapore Health Promotion Board to highlight the impact of dementia.

In the film, an estranged daughter aspires to open her own European-themed restaurant as her mother, who also operates a hawker food stand serving signature Singaporean foods, begins to succumb to dementia. Through cooking with her mother, the daughter decides to reconceptualize her restaurant, opening a "nostalgia-themed restaurant based on her grandfather and mother's hawker recipes to preserve her family's "culinary legacy" (Durez and Khoo, 2015:181). The restaurant's setting and signature era reflect an earlier bygone era, allowing customers to participate in "'memory practices' that function as temporal and spatial anchoring devices" and reflect "a truly rooted Singaporean national identity that is associated with maintaining culinary heritage and an organic multicultural foundation still based on a core CMIO [Chinese-Malay-Indian-Other] identity" (Durez and Khoo, 2015: 181, 182).

Consequently, as the Chinese immigrant population ages and transnational families become the new cultural norm, the larger questions become - can the connection to one's ethnic culture be maintained through a culinary heritage? What is the value of sustaining a culinary legacy for future generations of Chinese Americans? How does this impact their identity and food trajectories? And if there are no family members to pass on familial stories and recipes to, can and should they still be preserved for other potentially interested parties within the public sphere?

Finally, since the majority of Chinese Americans currently represent either the first or second generation, longitudinal studies with Chinese Americans belonging to the third generation and beyond would yield useful information regarding how Chinese American food

trajectories evolve over time and whether similar or different influential factors shape their food narratives.

RM, a 56-year old Chinese American born in the US, observes "as we go further into the generations, like at 3rd, 4th, or 5th generations, we'll no longer value Chinese food as much. I know even for my niece, you would think - Oh, she's Chinese and she's just one generation or two generations away. It's surprising because my niece doesn't like Chinese food." (10). RM also mentions an acquaintance's wife who is third generation Chinese American and similarly dislikes Chinese food, "whereas the husband, who is a first generation, his parents were born in China, does love Chinese food and he misses that a lot because the wife won't cook Chinese or she doesn't prefer to eat Chinese food. So, yea, I think over time, you lose that...great love of Chinese food." (11).

Thus, while DY believes that we all "come full circle" to the tastes we grew up with, what happens when future generations of Chinese Americans explicitly express their dislike for Chinese food? How does this (or does it) reflect the status of their cultural identity and to what extent is maintaining a culinary heritage critical for sustaining a connection to one's ethnic culture?

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Final Conclusion

From both sociological and food studies perspectives, Chinese American families who have settled in the United States offer a diverse treasure trove of personal and familial stories to be recounted and studied in connection with immigration experiences and foodways, especially as we become an increasing global society and define “citizenship” in a multitude of ways beyond geographical boundaries. Prior to the late 1970s, research examining the food habits of Chinese immigrants was relatively sparse (Newman and Linke 1982). However, early studies did observe significant dietary changes among Chinese immigrants – specifically increased consumption of meat and dairy products, increased consumption of overall number of food items and changes in the family/meal structure (Newman and Linke 1982). These early findings have been supported by subsequent studies, which ascertained that while many first-generation immigrants may desire to adhere to traditional Chinese foodways, certain factors may redefine these preferences, including children’s food preferences, “convenience, cost, and food quality” (Satia, Patterson, Taylor, Cheney, Shiu-Thornton, Chitnarong, and Kristal 2000: 939; Lv and Brown 2010).

Oftentimes, breakfast was the first meal to become westernized, primarily due to time constraints in the morning (Satia et al. 2000). However, Chinese immigrant families tended to adhere to traditional foods and dishes during dinnertime, especially if the father was adamant about excluding Western food items (Lv and Brown 2010).

As the second wave of Chinese American immigrants settles in the US, it will be interesting to observe the continued evolution of Chinese American foodways, as well as whether and how traditional Chinese food and culinary knowledge and beliefs are transmitted

to successive generations (Yuhua 2000). Characteristics of different immigration waves also need to be historically situated. During 1960s and 1970s (also known as the second wave of Asian immigration to the U.S), Asian American immigrants were mostly highly educated professionals whose view of diet and health may differ substantially from laborers who comprised the majority of the first immigration wave (Wu and Barker 2008). Thus, “future studies may examine how the meaning of food, the importance of the shared meal, and other values change and are reinterpreted or reprioritized” for different immigrant populations (Wu and Barker 2008: 53).

The papers presented in this dissertation study reflect a symbolic interactionist framework, utilizing one of many potential sociological and theoretical approaches and frameworks (e.g. globalization, economics, post-modern) available for examining the connection between the Chinese diaspora and foodways. Complementing these tools is the encompassing and inclusionary multidisciplinary nature of the current food studies field, at least from a social sciences perspective, allowing for rich discussions between sociologists, anthropologists, historians, and those with lived experience.

Currently, though there has been substantial increased interest in the immigrant experience and foodways, we are only just beginning to see food-related topics addressed from a cross-disciplinary perspective. Traditionally, while food-related topics have periodically emerged in published research literature, they oftentimes remain studied within the silo of a particular approach and/or discipline (e.g. sociology, public health, history, literature). As such, these papers are intended to contribute to a larger multidisciplinary discourse regarding what occurs in the spaces and planes shaping our ancestors’ relationships with food and health as

well as ours. Since was intended to be an exploratory study building upon the foundation established by earlier researchers, additional research would yield valuable information regarding migration and foodway trajectories, especially among Chinese immigrants who have settled in other Western countries (e.g. Australia, Canada).

Potential Limitations

Several study limitations include: **1)** limited bilingual capabilities, **2)** limited sample of multi-generation dyads; **3)** lack of Chinese comparison group in Asia and **4)** researcher bias. Several of the interviewees were monolingual first generation Chinese Americans. Unfortunately, due to limited resources and the vast array of Chinese language dialects, it was not feasible to translate all monolingual Chinese interviews during transcription, despite the availability of a bilingual family member to assist with translation during interviews. One alternative for future studies may be to solicit bilingual speakers in interviewed households to assist with translating and secure funding for a bilingual transcriptionist.

Targeted recruitment of multi-generation dyads would also yield valuable information regarding food acculturation processes specifically occurring inter-generationally and within families. Of the 25 interviews conducted for this study, there were only 6 pairs of multi-generation dyads. Several factors contributed to this, including family members not residing in the US during interview recruitment (usually older generation/parents) and the young age of interviewees' children. Thus, a longitudinal or phenomenological study may warrant consideration, especially for addressing how food trajectories will evolve among successive generations of Chinese Americans.

Thirdly, while this was intended to be an exploratory study exploring potential trajectories related to migration and food narratives, a comparison sample with individuals residing in Taiwan/China/Hong Kong would offer an additional basis for comparison and data validation. Interview participants immigrating to the United States after spending a substantial length of time in China or Hong Kong may also contribute a unique perspective yielding additional information for a pre/post immigration comparison.

In the absence of a comparison sample, secondary archival data (easily accessible in the public domain) may contribute to a more complete picture regarding food consumption trends among Chinese Americans, such as the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES) compiled by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) and the National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS). This survey assesses the health and nutritional status of adults and children in the United States through both interviews and physical examinations. The What We Eat in American (WWEIA) survey is the dietary interview component of the NHANES implemented during 2003-04 and includes questions about recalled food intake. Both NHANES and WWEIA datasets and codebooks are available on the CDC website. Secondary data analysis was not feasible within the scope of this study at this time.

Lastly, one of the key elements underlying a grounded theory approach is the lack of preconceived hypotheses in order to allow data interpretations to be grounded in the data. As a second generation Chinese American, the research focus and questions raised in this study largely stemmed from my own personal interest. Thus, I would be remiss stating that I was able to objectively analyze the data devoid of my own personal lenses, biases, and lived experiences.

In this light, constant proactive awareness of the potential for researcher bias throughout the implementation and analysis phases remains critical (Kaufmann 2010).

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Appendix A: Sample Interview Guide

I) Demographics

- 1) Gender, Age
- 2) Generation
- 3) Year of migration to US (if not U.S. born)
- 4) Region(s) of Chinese ancestry
- 5) Number and ages of household members (adults and children)
- 6) Highest completed education level
- 7) Current occupation

II) Perceptions of Chinese/Western Food

1) What do you think of when you hear “Chinese food”? Why?

- a. What do you consider to be foods/dishes central to Chinese cuisine?
- b. What distinguishes Chinese food? What makes it authentic to you?¹

2) What do you think of when you hear “Western/American food”? Why?

- a. What do you consider to be foods/dishes central to Western cuisine?
- b. What distinguishes Western/American food? What makes it authentic to you?

3) What do you perceive to be similarities between traditional Chinese and Western cuisines? What are the differences?²

4) What do you think of when you hear “Chinese American food practices and habits”? (e.g. food rules, taboos)

- a. Do you think how Chinese Americans eat has changed/evolved?³ If yes, how? If no, why not?
- b. Has your family played a role in shaping your perspectives of Chinese American eating practices and habits? If so, how? If not, why not?

¹ Regional differences/distinctions (i.e. Pan-Asian cuisine)

² Notion of authenticity (Ray 2004:41)

³ use of food to reconnect with homeland/culture/identity; duality of modernity-traditional

(Ray 2004:56); Private-public spheres of food consumption; Structural changes (i.e. market

availability, lack of refrigeration, dual working households, greater availability of Asian

ingredients in marketplace)

III) Food and Health

- 1) **Do you think there is a connection between Chinese food and health? If so, what are they?**
 - a. Are there specific Chinese foods/spices eaten for health reasons?
 - b. Do you cook with Chinese spices?
 - i. If yes, how do you incorporate them?
 - ii. If no, why not?
- 2) **Do you think there is a connection between Western food and health? If so, what are they?**
 - a. Are there specific Western foods eaten for health reasons?
 - b. Do you cook with Western spices?
 - i. If yes, how do you incorporate them?
 - ii. If not, why not?
- 3) **The process of eating food can also be a social act. What are some social aspects related to Chinese meals?**
 - a. Do are these aspects similar to and different from Western meals?

IV) Food Consumption

- 1) **(Immigrants only) Why did you immigrate to the United States? Please describe your experiences.**
 - a. What types of food did you eat before you immigrated?
 - b. Please describe your mealtimes prior to immigration (i.e. how food prepared, who prepares food, what's eaten, where eaten, with whom and when, etc.)
 - c. Have your food habits changed since coming to the United States? If yes, how? If not, why not?
- 2) **Please describe your health. Do you have any chronic or current health conditions?**
 - a. Do you think your diet affects your health condition(s) (better or worse)? If yes, why? If no, why not?
 - b. Have you made any changes to your diet for health reasons?
- 3) **Please describe two childhood/earlier experiences related to food/cooking (e.g. cooking with grandparents, etc.)**
- 4) **Please describe your typical mealtimes (i.e. how food prepared, who prepares the food, what's eaten, where eaten, with whom, when mealtime scheduled, etc.)⁴**
 - a. Who makes the decisions on what foods to buy/serve in your household?
 - b. How are food responsibilities determined? (i.e. prepping, buying, serving, cleaning, etc.)
 - c. How is food eaten in your household (i.e. steamed, fried, etc.)? *(Note: how are foods categorized? Reveals medicinal foodways)*
- 5) **What do you regularly eat for meals and snacks?**
 - a. Where do you generally buy food?
 - b. Where do you generally buy your cooking ingredients?

⁴ Association of specific foods with class, region, etc.; re-creation of community with food (space/time)

c. Are there specific signature dishes (Chinese or Western) made by your household? Recipes?

6) Are there specific foods/settings that evoke special feelings or memories when you eat them? If yes, please describe.⁵

a. Are there specific foods which evoke a sense of being more “Chinese”, “American”, etc.? If yes, please describe.⁶

7) Are there any specific foods you eat when you’re feeling upset, sad, etc.? If yes, please describe. (Note: Eating for emotional health/reasons)

a. Does the setting where you eat these foods affect how you feel?

8) Do you work? If yes, please describe your work environment. If not, where/how do you spend the majority of your waking hours? (School?) Please describe.

a. How do these environments and who you are with influence what you eat?

9) Are there generational differences regarding foods prepared/consumed in your family? If yes, please describe. If no, why not?

10) Do you think foodways within your family has changed, especially between generations? If yes, how? If not, why not?⁷

a. Does your family have any food rules/taboo? If so, what are they?

V) Knowledge Transmission

1) Where do you tend to get your information from regarding food and cooking? (i.e. newspapers, social networks, websites, word of mouth, etc.)

2) Is there someone in your family who is most familiar with family recipes (both culinary and medicinal) and traditions? If yes, who?

3) Does your family have family recipes that have been handed down? If so, what are some of them?

a. How does your family ensure that these recipes/cooking techniques will continue to be handed down to future generations?⁸

4) There is a wealth of information regarding use of Asian foods for medicinal purposes. Was this a tradition your family engaged in prior to migration? If so, will this knowledge be transmitted to future generations? If so, how?

VI) Miscellaneous

1) Is food incorporated into your family’s life in ways beyond eating/medicinal purposes? If so, how? (e.g., life-cycle rituals during special occasions) (Ray 2004:35)

2) Recipe to share?

3) Schedule any additional interviews/contacts

⁵ locating food in time/space

⁶ Identities in opposition to (Ray 2004:80)

⁷ Class status changes post-migration (e.g. access to foods previously considered inaccessible; loss of servants) (Ray 2004:54, 93)

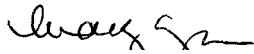
⁸ (Ray 2004:53)

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