

A Brief Introduction to Anthropological Perspectives on Diet: Insights into the Study of Overseas Chinese

Lim Chan Ing

Faculty of Arts and Social Science, Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman

Jalan Universiti, Bandar Barat, 31900 Kampar, Perak, Malaysia

E-mail: limchaning@hotmail.com

Abstract

Anthropology has long been interested in human diets. The main objective of this article is to introduce the perspective of cultural anthropology about food in culture, and the way by which food embodies the relevant sociocultural significances. The case studies chosen cover the study of the Chinese in Malaysia, China, Taiwan and Hong Kong, as well as studies conducted in the Asia and Pacific Islands. The short review in this article aims to provide some ideas and case studies about the interrelationship between food and culture. The anthropological perspective of food in different cultures may provide an insight into the study of Overseas Chinese and help to expand it to a wider concern on a variety of human activities. In this way, the writer believes the study of Overseas Chinese can mark its particularity, research value and potential in world academia.

Keywords: Overseas Chinese, Food in culture, Classification, Identity, Social changes, Medicine

1. Introduction

Food, in the first instance, is what grows on farms, comes from the sea, is gathered from the jungle, sold in the market, and appears on our tables at mealtimes. However, as a cultural phenomenon, food is not simply an organic product with biochemical qualities that may be utilized by living organisms to sustain life; rather, food is both the substance and symbol of social life, a means by which people communicate with each other, and, an embodiment of that communication itself (Foster & Anderson, 1978, p. 265). In fact, Anthropologists have long been interested in diets, especially in the sociocultural determinants of food; the nutritional and medical consequences of particular consumption patterns, which includes pattern of food; and the changing patterns of food production and markets, also, the awareness of the socioeconomics of hunger, famine and food aid (Pottier, 1996, p. 238). Basically, the study of food in anthropology can be distinguished into two major approaches: the anthropology of food; and, nutritional anthropology. The former focuses on the symbolic or structural analyses of food; and the latter is based on ecological theory and considers human dietary behavior and requirements within its environmental context, including the physical and social environment (Quandt, 1996, p. 273-274). However, this article will primarily review the former approach.

The main objective of this article is to introduce the perspective of cultural anthropology about food in culture, and the way by which the food embodies the relevant sociocultural significances. Diet is the most efficient way and medium to embody sociocultural significance. First, there are five topics in this article: food classification, identity, social changes, medicine and religion. These topics aim to provide some ideas and case studies about the interrelationship between food and culture. Second, most of the case studies exemplified cover the research of Chinese underlying Malaysia, China, Taiwan, Hong Kong as well as studies conducted in the Asia and Pacific Islands. This intends to dedicate more reference points and wider perspectives on the research of Overseas Chinese. Lastly, the writer considers that anthropologist's theoretical perspective and research methodology may provide an insight into the study of Overseas Chinese beyond its limitation to a wider concern on a variety of human activities.

2. Food Classification

Classification is the activity in which objects, concepts, and relationships are assigned to categories. We cannot think about the world unless we order it into categories and categories also help us to act upon the world (Ellen, 1996, p. 155). The principle of distinguishing food and nonfood, edible and inedible plants and animals may vary from culture to culture. For example, people in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Malaysia assign food into hot and cold qualities according to its physiological effects on the body in particular contexts (Anderson, 1980; Manderson,

1986b). Similar classifications are equally pervasive in India and some South American lowland cultures as well (Nichter, 1986; Messer, 1981). Other classificatory schemes exist, such as: the Wik-Mungkan in Papua New Guinea, who find visual analogies between plants and human sexual organs and, thus, categorize plants into those with male and female qualities (McKnight, 1973).

Culture defines meals as well as food. The category of a formal meal typically includes the selection of a set of basic foods (staple, secondary, or snacks), frequent use of characteristic flavorings, the characteristic processing of such foods, and the adoption of a variety of rules dealing with food acceptance and combination (Douglas, 1997). Basically, meals can be divided into two types: formal meal and snacks. The formal meal is a food event governed by strict rules and recipes, and is a structured event that is organized according to rules prescribing time, place and sequence of action, while snacks lack rules and strict order, and can be consumed whenever and wherever a person wants (Douglas, 1997). For example, in most regions in Southeast Asia, rice is an indispensable element in a real meal. Southeast Asians often claim that without rice they remain hungry no matter how many other dishes they have ingested (Fernández, 2003, p. 309-310). Meal patterns vary widely from culture to culture. For example, the British typically have four food events in a day, North American practice favors three daily meals, while in continental Europe, five or six food events are common (Fieldhouse, 1995, p. 63). Interestingly, the convives of a formal meal normally only include those who have a close relation, such as family members, friends, and respected guests, while informal meals may involve strangers (Douglas, 1997).

Meals become more elaborate and complicated and carry more sophisticated symbolic significance during a festival event. For example, shark's fin and suckling pig, two high value food items served at Han Chinese feasts are two good examples (Anderson & Anderson, 1977, p. 273). Elaborately prepared and plentiful food at a feast signifies the hospitality and social status of the host. Periodic feasting and fasting that celebrate group cohesion may also mark cultural and social group membership. The sharing of food certainly has both political and nutritional dimensions. On the one hand, it helps in associating, solidifying and extending social relationships; on the other hand, it serves as a mechanism to avoid food shortages and to distribute scarce resources (Whitehead, 1984).

3. Food and Identity

Following Lévi-Strauss's (1973) analyses of food types and transformations in South American mythologies, linguistic anthropologists have explored the food code presented in myth and retold in ordinary and ritual food preparations as a way in which people mark social distinctions, complementarities, and transformations. Indeed, food categories serve as the cultural marker of identifying one's self with others. For example, in Africa, where the basic staple is porridge, ranging from "thick" to "thin, watery gruel", different groups distinguish themselves by the texture they prefer in their staple food (Messer, 1984, p. 219). In China, the non-Han minority treats buckwheat as their ethnic food in contrast to the Han Chinese who eat rice as their staple food (Wang, 2002). In Japan, rice was employed subjectively in the construction of nationality while confronting the threat from European outsiders in the late nineteenth-century (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1993). In Hong Kong, the idiosyncrasy and syncretism of yumcha (literally, drink tea) helped the residents to construct their paradoxical local identity during the return of the territory to the People's Republic of China (Tam, 2001).

Likewise, through emphasizing ethnic food and cuisine, individuals and groups make their statement of self and others. For example, among Malaysian Chinese, food is used as a reference point to reinforce cultural identity. They refer the statement "We Chinese eat a lot" to a dream and a myth, conveying a sense of belongingness to China, a security provided by the abundance of food and a message of success. But, this statement does not accord with the reality, as the majority of migrants were people pushed out a few generations ago by the scarcity of food and the hardship of life in China (Tremayne, 1993, p. 82). The historical transformations of diet among the Malaysian Chinese may also provide another good example. The Chinese in Malaya had picked up many Malay dietary customs over the centuries. The fusion of both ethnic cuisines was often impossible to untangle. However, serious ethnic tension between the Chinese and Malays in the 1960s and 1970s led to a widespread abandonment of this style and anything else associated with a Malay influence (Anderson, 1988, p. 210). Other similar cases include: the emergence of a national cuisine in India via the production of cookbooks and the textualization of the culinary realm, which provided a medium for the people to strengthen their national identity (Appadurai, 1988). It is also evident that many immigrant groups retain their diet and mark their food in a new environment by particular flavors of seasoning and patterns of food preparation (Mintz et al., 2002, p. 104). However, due to changes in time and space, the shortage of ingredients, price, historical conditions, and so on, migrants will often absorb local ingredients in their recipes (Douglas, 1984).

As food distinguishes between groups, it may also distinguish individuals within their own society. Humans are

what they eat, and status, gender and age are thus defined accordingly in different categories. People are ranked by the food they eat. For instance, in India, the Brahmin adoption of a strictly vegetarian diet with a concomitant emphasis on milk products used in sacrifice is intended to assert their superiority among other castes (White, 1992, p. 54). In France, the consumption of what are perceived as aesthetically tasteful items operates as a medium of social stratification. People present their aesthetic dispositions underlying their food tastes to depict their status and distance themselves from lower groups (Bourdieu, 1984). In some countries, strong smells/tastes have been conceived as an uncivilized smell/taste (Amerine, 1966). Among the Han Chinese in Taiwan, those who are invited to share the family meal are usually of the same social status (Anderson, 1988, p. 199-213).

In addition, table manners also distinguish different social classes (Cooper, 1986). Food can still be used as the means to mark a connection with a higher social class. In contrast, the members of upper classes may use expensive cuisine and ingredients to keep a social distance between themselves and those who are unable to serve such costly food. Likewise, the lower classes will try their best to copy the so-called “upper class recipes” in order to be one of them. For example, the non-Han minority in China, who consider buckwheat as their ethnic food, eat rice in order to be connected to the Han Chinese who they regard as the superior culture (Wang, 2002). Furthermore, the rules of food consumption apply differently to men, women and age, and thus distinguish them individually. For example, in Tahiti, women were generally prevented from eating pigs, dogs, turtles, sharks, dolphins, whales, and porpoises (Oliver, 1974, p. 244). In Malaysia, Orang Asli children and women avoid eating certain meats that are considered too strong in spirit (Bolton, 1972). In addition, in many societies, nearly all aspects of food procurement from production to consumption demonstrate different gender involvement, with women usually being responsible for the greater share of food related activities (Fieldhouse, 1995, p. 106).

4. Food and Social Change

The effects of broad societal change via shifts in dietary behavior are also an important theme in Anthropology (Mintz et al., 2002, p. 104). Audrey Richard (1939), who is considered as the founder of Nutritional Anthropology (and Applied Anthropology), in her 1939 classic study of the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia, found that food and hunger was basic to their understanding of social relationships, political life, and changing cultures disrupted by British rule. She concluded that the reasons local people did not work harder (a primary concern for British mining and other economic interests) was not a question of sloth but of undernutrition. Since men had been drawn away to labor in the mines, women found it difficult to perform the heavy clearing tasks traditionally assumed by men, in addition to their own cultivation and foraging roles. During the period of the year when women most needed food for energy for field and sowing crops, food was least abundant. Thus, they were enmeshed in a vicious cycle of underproduction and undernutrition (Messer, 1984, p. 208). Indeed, policy making does sometimes create a risk to people’s nutritional status and result in dietary change. For example, the policy of resettlement of the aboriginal people in Peninsular Malaysia has led to the inefficiency of their traditional foraging strategy and, in turn, caused the people to become enmeshed in the cycle of malnutrition (Khor, 1994). The one child policy in contemporary China created an individual and collective anxiety among parents, and this was embodied in an increasing concern about children’s nutrition (Jun, 2000) and campaigns for encouraging breastfeeding (Gottschang, 2000).

Further, anthropologists claim that culinary history is social history (Messer et al., 2000, p. 1367). That is, the study of culinary changes can be a way of understanding the social shifts as well as technological development. This can be readily seen in Sidney Mintz’s work (1985) about the history of sugar. The widespread availability of sugar calories from the New World (consumed in relatively new beverages) due to the Industrial Revolution in Britain, can be tied together with the vastly changing food patterns all over the globe, as well as economic issues of social history, like changing landholding and cropping patterns, slavery, and imperialism. In addition, throughout Chinese history, the location of the capital has moved back and forth between the north and south, and each shift of new capital becomes the center of innovation in fashions and taste (Sabban, 2000, p.1165).

Social dynamics, accompanied by the changes in the mode of food production and consumption, further reshapes and reconstructs the sociocultural system as a whole. For instance, the beginnings of China’s Reform and Opening policy in 1978 raised incomes and reforms in agriculture, and, further, has created a burgeoning variety of foodstuffs for urban markets (Veeck, 2000). The increasingly elaborate banquets, in turn, motivate a more effective process of social network building (Yang, 1994). The development of capitalism and industrialization not only brings an increment in the outcome of food production and commercialization of daily food, but also a shift in gender division of labor and changing food consumption activities in the household domain. For instance, women’s participation in economic and labor production has resulted in the consumption behavior of “eating out” (Goodman & Redclift, 1991, p. 1-46).

It is not only people that move across the globe, but also food. For example, Goody (1982, p. 36) notes that olive oil only became an indispensable ingredient in Provencal cooking at the end of the nineteenth-century; maize, which is now regarded as a staple food in many regions of Africa, is not indigenous to that continent. The moving of food into a new milieu is often associated with a phase of transformation to fit with the environment. David Wu and Sidney Cheung (2002) edited a volume about the globalization of Chinese foodways, tastes, and consumption around the world via trading networks and immigration, which includes several chapters focused on localization and the transformation of Chinese communities in new environments. Watson (1997) edited a volume which focused on local consumer behavior in five East Asian societies (Japan, China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea), showing the reconstruction of McDonald's restaurants in local milieus.

However, the globalization of food is not just a matter of the movement of foodstuffs between nations and cultures; nor is it simply the amalgamation or accommodation of cuisine. It is a complex interplay of meaning and intentions that individuals employ subjectively to make statements about who they are, and where and how they are to be located in the world (James, 1996, p. 92). For example, Allison James (1996) described contemporary British food culture, which provides a way of embracing otherness (immigrants) and confronting the global through the localization of global food (e.g. Chinese restaurants). It is undeniable that the international circulation of food production as commodities, the transnational expansion of food-based corporations, and the global governance of food and food issues have further constructed and shaped a global imaginary (Phillips, 2006, p. 38).

5. Food and Medicine

Medicine as well as food is indispensable to human life; both almost control our daily life. Definitely, our lives are full of culturally shaped notions about food. For example, a poor appetite is a sign of sickness, in contrast, a good appetite is a symbol of recovery; hunger is the worst disease. Culture defines health, so does it set dietary instructions for maintaining health, and preventing and curing sickness (Foster & Anderson, 1978, p. 267). In fact, we regulate our food intake everyday and at every meal, to attain a healthy body and to avoid illness.

Food therapy is an important method of treatment in many cultures because the food we eat builds up our body. For example, Chinese cuisine has long emphasized food as therapy (Liu, 2004). One of the fundamental principles of Chinese food intake is the equilibrium between hot and cold food. This treatment is based on the Chinese cosmology that everything is interconnected in a relationship of cooperation and coordination. It stresses the relationship between daily diet and health, and the balanced intake of hot and cold food is needed to redress any imbalance (Liu, 2004, p. 710-712). Similarly, this principle of treatment based on the hot-cold dichotomy is prevalent in many other cultures (Anderson, 1980; Manderson, 1981; Messer, 1981), although the food items classified as hot and cold may be different.

Food shapes the body and the regulation of food intake prevents bodily danger. For example, the Jews emphasize the purity of food to prevent food deemed as polluting from entering the body (Douglas, 2003, p. 51-71). The Brahmins of India adhere to vegetarianism as a means to maintain their pure bodies and spiritual authority (White, 1992). The restriction on certain food qualities marks a person's ritual status and also prevents liminal danger. For example, in Hong Kong, an expectant mother is restricted from eating a series of food categories: cold food – such as bananas, watermelons, and pineapples as they are thought to cause miscarriages; itchy food – shellfish is avoided as well, since prawns and crabs are thought to cause eczema and other skin problems and have a bad effect on the baby's character; Dark food – grass jelly, chocolate, coffee and coca cola are thought to give the baby a dark skin (Martin, 2001, p. 105-109). Postpartum Malays in Terengganu, a state in peninsular Malaysia, were traditionally prohibited from eating 'cold' food like vegetables and fruit, and 'poisonous' food like fried and spicy food during the 40-day 'roasting period' (McKay, 1971). The food restrictions during rites of passage in both cases, however, were mainly aimed at emphasizing the mother's social obligations.

Culturally shaped food preferences, in some cases, do lead to physiological disease. For example, food restrictions on Malay women during the postpartum period (cited above) are considered a contributor to malnutrition (McKay, 1971, p. 72). Restrictions on meat in Orang Asli cultures cause a lack of protein intake among young children and women (Bolton, 1972, p. 797). In addition, some of the so-called 'nutriment' is something not fulfilled in the proposed nutritional requirement very well. One of the most remarkable examples is Cicely William's report about Singaporean infants in the 1930s. In her report, she argued that the increased morbidity and mortality seen in Singapore infants was directly attributable to the increase in bottle feeding with inappropriate breast milk substitutes and the decline of breastfeeding (Williams, 1986).

6. Food and Religion

The link between religion and food is highly complex and varied. Religion offers a structure to construct meaning, and it reflects human beings need for order. Food often plays a prominent role in the interpretation of its function, as a symbol of the religion and in important rituals and customs. In fact, all religious food practices have a similar function: to communicate with a supreme being or deity (God) or other supernatural forces; to demonstrate faith; to reject worldliness; to enhance identity and belongingness; and, to express separateness (Fieldhouse, 1995, p. 120-149). Through food, we express and establish the systematic relationship with the supernatural, different groups of people, individuals, and other cultures as well. Certainly, food is an important medium for establishing and maintaining the relationship with the supernatural. For instance, in much of the classical Chinese literature, various kinds of sacrifices to ghosts and gods are conducted in order to prevent calamity and to pray for blessings (Fu, 1999). Through the consumption of red wine (God's blood) and bread (God's body) in the Holy Communion, Christians or communicants access and obtain redemption from God (Bynum, 1997). Many cultures hold a thanksgiving worship ceremony after a good harvest (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1993). Different supernatural beings have different attributes as well as different functions, or perhaps offer different solutions and meets different needs. The commonly worshipped *Datuk Gong* spirit among the Chinese in Malaysia is a good example. Pork and wine are avoided in this offering as the Chinese consider the *Datuk Gong* a Malay spirit (Cheu, 1992).

Religious beliefs are commonly associated with food prohibitions. For example, Muslims are prohibited from consuming pork because the pig is not able to be classified with their religious doctrine. Buddhists follow a vegetarian diet in order to emphasize the doctrine of not taking life. Food prohibitions further function as the boundary to distinguish people. For example, in Malaysia, the prohibition on pork distinguishes the pork-avoiding Malays from other communities, which are pork-eating (Manderson, 1986a, p. 9). However, food prohibitions are, much of the time, associated with living ecology. For example, the prohibition on pork for Muslims may have been derived from the bad long-term economic risk of pig keeping in Arabia (Harris, 1987). The ban on killing and eating cows arose in Indian society because the cow was much more useful alive as a plow animal, cart puller, and a source of fertilizer, milk, and warmth rather than for meat (Harris, 1966).

In many religions, the purpose of fasting or restricting certain categories of food is to adjust the bodily situation. Followers respect the purification in diet and behavior to transform the ordinary body to a sacred state. Such food prohibition is not only aimed at rejecting worldliness and acquiring bodily purity, but also to demonstrate faithfulness and to conduct morality. For example, Ramadan fast among Muslims is a way of enhancing spirituality by denying carnal appetites. The observance of vegetarianism during the festival of the nine-emperor god in Malaysia is not only for a purification of the spirit, but an emphasis of healthful conditioning of the body (Cheu, 1996). The practice of such fasting in fact is a way of transformation. Through a public demonstration, people strengthen group identity and belongingness, and reaffirm both religious and secular bonds. Pulai village in the Kelantan state of Malaysia may serve as an interesting example of this. All the villagers observe a half-month long vegetarian diet in every second lunar month of the Chinese calendar before the Guanyin Bodhisattva festival. During this period, the temple will prepare a vegetarian meal for all the believers. This ritual helps to solidify the community belongingness and reaffirm the gendered labor organization (Castens, 2005, p. 101-126).

7. Conclusion and Some Suggestions

This article briefly reviews the anthropological studies relevant to food and culture. The case studies above include research conducted in Malaysia, China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, as well as studies conducted in the Asia and Pacific Islands. The writer reviews the factors that anthropologists have identified as affecting food selection, food preferences, and dietary intakes. The writer assumes that the study of food is not an understanding of food culture, but a research on food in culture and its circulation and manipulation. Culture defines human diet, and the ways by which people maintain health, strengthen ethnic identity and religious belief, and distinguish social status, age and gender. These concepts indicated above are widely used by social and cultural anthropologists to distinguish the universality, generality and particularity of human behavior as well as culture. Emphatically, anthropological studies of food are not to question 'what is food', but to explore the way by which the food embodies the sociocultural dimensions. Food is meaningless by itself, it is humans who endow it with different significance. This article provides convincing references and wider perspectives on the research of Overseas Chinese. The writer believes that the anthropological perspective of food in different cultures may provide an insight into the study of Overseas Chinese and help to expand it to a wider discussion on a variety of human activities.

This article is definitely unable to cover all issues. In fact, the study of anthropology has move to a wider discussion on a variety of human activities. Body and emotion, aging and death, education and regulation, modern and industrial society, business and consumption, and so on, are currently the central issues for anthropologists to discuss and debate concerning the definition of culture and cultural shift. Furthermore, anthropological studies of food have a value in methodological terms. It is a fact that anthropologist's fieldwork and ethnographical method, micro-level data analysis, oral history, and life history have been generally accepted by other disciplines (Zhang, 2003). Remarkably, the study of Anthropology is no longer limited to studying "Others" whose alien cultural worlds. The emergence of native anthropologists in China is one such noticeable example (Harrell, 2001, p. 155). This article's alternative objective is to motivate native scholars to pay more concern to one's own local culture.

Last but not least, following the recent (and growing) concern about the processes of globalization and consumption in recent years, the relevant studies of food have gained importance concerning different cultural interaction in terms of food consumption. However, the writer considers that the current study of Overseas Chinese is too enmeshed in a surface discussion. The study of Overseas Chinese should not be merely limited to an extensive understanding of Chinese culture 'surviving' in other parts of the world, nor an attached population who keep distinguishing themselves in an 'assimilation' context. The writer considers that the study of food in Overseas Chinese could move forward to a wider discussion of food and local sociocultural systems in pluralism terms, that is, the coexistence or the hybridity of a variety of different food systems. For example, in the multicultural society of Malaysia, the multiple principles of food classification, beliefs and taboos in the face of multiple medical and religious systems might be one such interesting issue. In this way, the writer believes that the study of Overseas Chinese can mark its particularity, research value and potential in world academia.

References

- Amerine, M. A. (1966). Flavor as a value. In S. M. Farber, N. L. Wilson, & R. H. L. Wilson (Eds.), *Food and civilization* (pp. 140-120). Springfield, Ill: C. C. Thomas.
- Anderson, E. N. & Anderson, M. L. (1977). Modern China: South. In K. C. Chang (Ed.), *Food in Chinese culture: Anthropological and historical perspectives* (pp. 317-382). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Anderson, E. N. (1980). Heating and cooling foods in Hong Kong and Taiwan. *Social Science Information*, 19(2), 237-268.
- Anderson, E. N. (1988). *The Food of China*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Appadurai, A. (1988). How to make a national cuisine: Cookbooks in contemporary India. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 30(1), 3-24.
- Bolton, J. M. (1972). Food taboos among the Orang Asli in west Malaysia: A potential nutritional hazard. *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 25, 789-799.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: a social critique of the judgment of taste*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Bynum, C. W. (1997). Fast, feast, and flesh: The religious significance of food medieval women. In C. Counihan & P. V. Esterik (Eds.), *Food and culture: A reader* (pp. 135-158). New York and London: Routledge.
- Castens, S. A. (2005). *Histories, cultures, identities: Studies in Malaysian Chinese worlds*. Singapore: NUS Press.
- Cheu, H. T. (1992). The Datuk Gong spirit cult movement in Penang: Being and belonging in multi-ethnic Malaysia. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 23(1), 381-404.
- Cheu, H. T. (1996). The festival of the Nine Emperor Gods spirit-medium cult in Malaysia: Myth, ritual, and symbol. *Asian Folklore Studies*, 55, 49-72.
- Cooper, E. (1986). Chinese table manners: You are how you eat. *Human Organization*, 40(2), 179-184.
- Douglas, M. (1984). Introduction. In Mary Douglas (Ed.), *Food in the social order: Studies of food and festivities in three American communities* (pp. 1-39). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Douglas, M. (1997). Deciphering a meal. In C. Counihan & P. V. Esterik (Eds.), *Food and culture: A reader* (pp. 135-158). New York and London: Routledge.
- Douglas, M. (2003). *Purity and danger: An analysis of concepts of pollution and taboo*. London and New York: Routledge.

- Ellen, R. (1996). Classification. In A. Barnard & J. Spencer (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of social and cultural anthropology* (pp. 155-160). London and New York: Routledge.
- Fernández, D. (2003). Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines. In S. H. Katz & W. W. Weaver (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of food and culture* (pp. 309-314). New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Fieldhouse, P. (1995). *Food and nutrition: Customs and culture*. London: Chapman & Hall.
- Foster, G. & Anderson, B. (1978). *Medical Anthropology*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Fu, Y.-S. (1999). *Zhongguo shanggu jisi wenhua* (China's sacrifices in ancient times). Changchun, China: Northeastern Normal University Press.
- Goodman, D. & Redclift, M. R. (1991). *Refashioning nature: Food, ecology, and culture*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Goody, J. (1982). *Cooking, cuisine, and class: A study in comparative sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gottschang, S. K. (2000). A baby-friendly hospital and the science of infant feeding. In Jun J. (Ed.), *Feeding China's little emperors* (pp. 160-184). Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Harrell, S. (2001). The anthropology of reform and the reform of anthropology: Anthropological narratives of recovery and progress in China. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 30, 139-161.
- Harris, M. (1966). The cultural ecology of India's scared cattle. *Current Anthropology*, 7, 51-59.
- Harris, M. (1987). *The sacred cow and abominable pig: The riddle of food and culture*. New York: Touchstone.
- James, A. (1996). Cooking the books: global or local identities in contemporary British food cultures? In D. Howes (Ed.), *Cross-cultural consumption: Global market and local realities* (pp. 77-92). London and New York: Routledge.
- Jun J. (Ed.). (2000). *Feeding China's little emperors*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Khor, G. L. (1994). Resettlement and nutritional implication: The case of Orang Asli in regroupment schemes. *Pertanika: Journal of the Society for Science and Humanity*, 2(2), 123-132.
- Lévi-Strauss, C. (1973). *The raw and the cooked: Introduction to a science of mythology (mythologiques), Vol. 1*. J. Weightman & D. Weightman (Trans.). London: Bedford Square.
- Liu, X.-W. (2004). Han. In C. R. Ember & M. Ember (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of medical anthropology* (pp. 703-719). New York: Springer.
- Manderson, L. (1981). Traditional food classifications and humoral medical theory in peninsular Malaysia. *Ecology Food Nutrition*, 11, 81-93.
- Manderson, L. (1986a). Introduction: The anthropology of food in Oceania and Southeast Asia. In L. Manderson (Ed.), *Shared wealth and symbol: Food, culture, and society in Oceania and Southeast Asia* (pp. 1-25). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Manderson, L. (1986b). Food classification and restriction in peninsular Malaysia: Nature, culture, hot and cold. In L. Manderson (Ed.), *Shared wealth and symbol: Food, culture, and society in Oceania and Southeast Asia* (pp. 128-143). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Martin, D. (2001). Food restrictions in pregnancy among Hong Kong mothers. In D. Y. H. Wu & Tan C. B. (Eds.), *Changing Chinese foodways in Asia* (pp. 97-122). Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.
- McKay, D. (1971). Food, illness and folk medicine: Insights from Ulu Trengganu, west Malaysia. *Ecology of Food and Nutrition*, 1, 67-72.
- McKnight, D. (1973). Sexual symbolism of food among the Wik-Mungkan, *Man*, 8, 194-210.
- Messer, E. (1981). Hot-cold classifications: Theoretical and practical implications of a Mexican study. *Social Science Medicine*, 15(b), 133-145.
- Messer, E. (1984). Anthropological perspectives on diet. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 13, 205-249.
- Messer, E., Haber, B., Toomre, J., & Barbara, W. (2000). Culinary history. In K. F. Kiple & K. C. Ornelas (Eds.), *The Cambridge world history of food* (pp. 1367-1375). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mintz, S. W. & Du Bois, C. M. (2002). The anthropology of food and eating. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 31, 99-119.

- Mintz, S.W. (1985). *Sweetness and power: The place of sugar in modern history*. New York: Penguin.
- Nitchter, M. (1986). Modes of food classification and the diet-health contingency: A south Indian case study. In R.S. Khare & M. S. A. Rao (Eds.), *Food, society, and culture* (pp. 185-221). Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.
- Ohnuki-Tierney, E. (1993). *Rice as self: Japanese identities through time*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Olliver, D. L. (1974). *Ancient Tahitian society*. Canberra: ANU Press.
- Phillips, L. (2006). Food and globalization. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 35, 37-57.
- Pottier, J. (1996). Food. In A. Barnard & J. Spencer (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of social and cultural anthropology* (pp. 238-241). New York: Routledge.
- Quandt, S. A. (1996). Nutrition in medical anthropology. In C. F. Sargent & T. M. Johnson (Eds.), *Handbook of medical anthropology* (pp. 272-289). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Richard, A. (1939). *Land, labour, and diet in northern Rhodesia: An economic study of the Bemba tribe*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Sabban, F. (2000). China. In K. F. Kiple & K. C. Ornelas (Eds.), *The Cambridge world history of food* (pp. 1165-1175). Cambridge University Press.
- Tam, S. M. (2001). Lost and found: Reconstructing Hong Kong identity in the idiosyncrasy and syncretism of yumcha. In D. Y. H. Wu & Tan C. B. (Eds.), *Changing Chinese foodways in Asia* (pp. 49-69). Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.
- Tremayne, S. (1993). We Chinese eat a lot: Food as a symbol of ethnic identity in Kuala Lumpur. In G. Mars and V. Mars (Eds.), *Food, culture, and history, Vol. 1*. London: The London Food Seminar.
- Veeck, A. (2000). The revitalization of the marketplace: Food markets in Nanjing. In D. Davis, (Ed.), *The consumer revolution in urban China* (pp. 107-123). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Wang, M.-K. (2002). *Qiang zai hanzhang zhijian* (Qiang nationality between Chinese and Tibetan). Taipei, Taiwan: United Press.
- Watson, J. L. (Ed.). (1997). *Golden arches east: McDonald's in East Asia*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- White, D. G. (1992). You are what you eat: The anomalous status of dog-cookers in Hindu mythology. In R. S. Khare (Ed.), *Eternal food: Gastronomic ideas and experiences of Hindus and Buddhists* (pp. 53-93). New York: State of New York Press.
- Whitehead, T. (1984). Sociocultural dynamics and food habits in a southern community. In M. Douglas (Ed.), *Food in the social order: Studies of food and festivities in three American communities* (pp. 97-142). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Williams, C. (1986). Milk and murder. In N. Baumslog (Ed.), *Primary health care pioneer: The selected works of Dr. Cicely Williams* (pp. 66-70). Geneva, Switzerland: World Federation of Public Health Associations and UNICEF.
- Wu, D. Y. H. & Sidney, C.H. C. (Eds.). (2002). *The globalization of Chinese food*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Yang, M. M.-H. (1994). *Gift, favor, and banquets: The art of social relationships in China*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Zhang, X.-J. (2003). Lishi de renleixuehua he renleixue de lishihua (Anthropologized history and historicized anthropology). *Journal of History and Anthropology*, 1, 1-28.