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The Constructing of "Chinese-ness": The Culinary Identity of Chinese Restaurants in Gettysburg, PA.

Abstract

General Tso's Chicken. Egg Rolls. Fried Rice. Fortune Cookies. Since the creation of Chop Suey in 1849, Chinese restaurants have not only displayed one of the most fascinating ethnic cuisines in the US but also become a commonly recognizable cultural symbol for Chinese-ness in the American "melting pot." Then what kind of "Chinese-ness" is presented and how is it constructed by these restaurants? Does its Otherness prevent it from fitting into mainstream American society or does its Americanization make this identity less 'authentic'? By taking the Chinese restaurants in Gettysburg, PA, as a case study, this research studies the construction of their culinary identity through the strategic crafting of food, space, and customer experience. It argues that the constructed Chinese-ness reveals a complex process of cultural negotiation with the larger American society, including its entrenched racism. This process not only reflects the fluid and performative nature of the culinary identity of these restaurants but also the power of ethnic agency to find its own positioning in mainstream American society.

Keywords

Chinese restaurants, Chinese food, Cultural Negotiation, 'Chineseness', Americanization

Disciplines

Chinese Studies | Community-Based Research | Food Studies

Comments

Written for AS 460: Individualized Study-Research

The Constructing of "Chinese-ness": The Culinary Identity of Chinese Restaurants in Gettysburg, PA.



By Lureann Semple Fall 2021

Introduction:

There is not much discussion when it comes to the role of Chinese food in American society despite its popularity. There is no such thing as a national cuisine in China; food is regionally based, and every region's food intertwines with the ethnicity and local culture there creating their own food traditions. For example, Beijing is famous for Peking Duck, and Sichuan is known for its spicy hotpot. Yet in America, Chinese food has a more complicated identity. For most average Non-Asian American consumers, the food in a Chinese restaurant is 100% authentic Chinese food. But for the Huágiáo (A person of Chinese nationality residing overseas), most Chinese food available in America is not Chinese food at all. Since the creation of Chop Suey in 1849, Chinese restaurants have not only showcased one of the most fascinating ethnic cuisines in the US, but also became a commonly recognizable cultural symbol for Chinese-ness in the American "melting pot". But what does this mean for the Chinese Americans and their standing in American society? The presence of an ethnic business outside the sphere of its ethnic community directly affects the larger society's perception of its community. In this paper, I will navigate through this complexity when addressing Chinese restaurants and the Chinese American identity.

With the popularity of Chinese restaurants in the US—according to The United Chinese Restaurant Association of America (UCRAA), there are over 40,000 Chinese restaurants, making it the most popular food brand on American soil— they have become a visible marker and platform for their owners and staff to perceive, represent, and construct their images for themselves and the larger society (Rude, 1). Gettysburg is a small tourist town situated in southeastern Pennsylvania known for the battle of Gettysburg, and housing Gettysburg College, a private 4-year institution. This is where I mostly reside and take part in consuming Chinese

food. Thus, taking Gettysburg as a case study, this project aims to research the role of Chinese restaurants in representing and constructing the 'Chineseness' identity in this community. I specifically want to investigate, what kind of "Chinese-ness" is presented? How is the "Chineseness" constructed by these restaurants? And does its 'otherness' prevent it from fitting into mainstream American society or does its Americanization make this "Chinese-ness" identity less authentic? Gettysburg's Chinese restaurants construct their identity through the strategic crafting of food, space, and customer experience. This constructed 'Chinese-ness' reveals a complex process of cultural negotiation within the larger American society, including its entrenched racism. This process not only reflects the fluid and performative nature of the culinary identity of these restaurants, but also the power of ethnic agency to find its own positioning in mainstream American society.

Methodology:

This study used the anthropological research approach of participant observation to collect data. Surveys, semi-formal interviews, and observations were also used for data collection. Over the course of a few months, 4 Chinese restaurants in Gettysburg- Kitchen Village, J&J Asian Fusion, Ji, and KH¹ were under observation. Two weeks of participant observation and interviewing took place in J&J Asian Fusion. Another few weeks was spent going to the other restaurants with friends for observation as a customer. At these restaurants, Chinese food such as General Tso's Chicken, Fried Rice and Fortune Cookies were consumed. These foods will be included in the food case studies section later in the paper. And the two months of data collection were spent interviewing and surveying faculties and students at

¹ To protect the identity of these restaurants the actual names are not provided (except J&J Asian Fusion that wanted their name to be included). Instead, we will use pseudonyms.

Gettysburg College, the 4-year private institution that largely impacts the businesses in town. To keep track of everything a google docs timesheet was created to document the hours spent and what was done on a specific day.

In the second week of fieldwork, the staff at J&J Asian Fusion were interviewed in a series of semi-informal interviews. They were asked particular questions from a questionnaire created for the restaurants specifically. If need, they were asked additional questions outside of the questionnaire. The questions they were asked will be available in the appendix at the end of the paper. A cell phone voice recorder was used as a piece of documentation equipment during the interviews. Before the interview started, the equipment and its purpose were explained to the interviewee to get their consent to be recorded before continuing. They were also reminded that their identity will remain confidential.

During a span of two months, I interviewed students and faculty from Gettysburg

College. The demographic of the students targeted were mostly international students from

China or Chinese American students. A few interviews with students that were not of Chinese
descent, but often ate at the Chinese restaurants in town were also conducted. The questions they
were asked are also listed in the appendix. Again it was a questionnaire that was specifically
designed for them, and other questions that are not listed in the questionnaire were also brought
up in the interview if necessary. Interview times were set up using a website called Calendly, that
way it was easier to be able to keep track of who will be interviewed and how to contact them.

The student and faculty interviews took place on the first floor of Gettysburg College's

Musselman library or at a place more convenient for the interviewee. Similar to the J&J Asian

Fusion's interview, a cell phone voice recorder was used as a piece of documentation equipment.

At the start of each interview, this instrument and its purpose were explained to obtain the

consent of the interviewee before moving forward with the interview. They were also reminded that their identities will remain confidential.

Literature Review:

The framework of cultural negotiation is the main framework in which the identities of the Chinese restaurants in town will be examined. Many scholars have also discussed Chinese restaurants in the West using this framework. They argued that naturally, through migrating to a new society/environment, the owners behind the restaurants had to negotiate their culture, lifestyle, and identity. The results of the negotiation are the identities constructed and presented by the Chinese restaurants. More on what these identities are will be discussed later in the paper. However, this framework is a complex process with multiple layers that I will lay out with the discussion of various scholars' approaches. Moreover, another framework that works closely with the framework of cultural negotiation is Elliott R. Barkan's 6 stages of ethnicity. This nonlinear model is proposed by Barkan to analyze the immigrant experiences in America. Barkan's 6 stages of ethnicity are also useful to display how food can be an expression of ethnicity to further emphasize the generational changes of the immigrant's experiences and the identity they create for themselves. In his book, Barkan states the items that are "transitional [such as] food...make it clear that the individual's ethnic identification persists, attachments to and participation within the ethnic group may remain" in a host society (Barkan, 47). This will be useful to keep in mind when examining the identity construction in Chinese restaurants through the food they present.

Moreover, in his study of Chinese restaurants, Liu Haiming argues that to be successful in the American food market, Chinese restaurants' food preparation, decoration & food serving presents a Chinese Americanness identity. Liu states in his journal article, 'Chop Suey as

States that, "The homecoming of Chop Suey [Cantonese Chinese food] was the invention of American Chineseness" (Liu, 2). Liu further adds that "As a piece of transnational culture, Chop Suey had an American base but Chinese root" (Liu, 2). Liu's arguments show that the development of the Chinese-Americanness identity taken on by Chinese restaurants demonstrates a complex cultural negotiation. And at the base of this negotiation is the restaurants' efforts to appeal to an American standard. Liu highlights this by discussing food racism: he points out that there is a double standard for Chinese restaurants, "compare to other businesses, Chinese restaurants are held accountable at a higher rate" (Liu, 144). In other words, more emphasis is placed on Chinese restaurants to be cleaner and cheaper than other cultural restaurants.

Furthermore, to elevate their status and fight back against food racism, Liu described how Chinese immigrants used storytelling and they solidified their food in pop culture (Liu, 5).

To add on, 'otherness' is also explored in Lucy M. Long's 'Culinary Tourism: A Folkloristic Perspective on Eating and Otherness', Long mostly investigates how 'otherness' and perception are working closely together in tourism eating culture. Long points out, "The perception, or categorization, of a food complex as 'other,' is essential in understanding food culture and tourism because it is [mainly] this perception that shapes our approach to the food." (Long, 22). How we perceive a certain cuisine increases or decreases our chance of eating it. Long discusses two ways that 'otherness' comes into play with our perception using ethnic restaurants and local festivals. If a consumer thinks the food in an ethnic restaurant is too unfamiliar (other) they will be reluctant to try it as it is inedible to them. But it does not stop there—perceiving something as the other can also hinder us from enjoying it—once they try it they might find it to be 'gross'or 'unpalatable' (Long, 24). Though it can also be vice versa as Liu

shows us above—the unfamiliar can make a cuisine look exciting—thus making the cuisine edible and palatable. Nonetheless, again we see that the restaurants need to negotiate.

Another analysis of Chinese restaurants in the West is that 'authenticity' is a major strategy of negotiation. This analysis was examined in Li Mu's article on Chinese restaurants in Canada. Li explains that because the nature of cultural negotiation and the role of the construction of identity is performative and fluid, Chinese restaurants are able to be vastly successful because of their customers' understanding of authenticity. Those who take pleasure in the excitement of taking part in the consumption of the 'other' demand authentic ethnic food. And Li states that "many Chinese restaurants have the golden Maneki Neko, or lucky cat, sitting on their counters.", and because of this, these restaurants were believed to be more 'authentic' than those without these kinds of decorations (Li, 278). In this case, because Westerners already have a perceived assumption of 'Chinese-ness', they seek out to engage with Chinese restaurants that make it clear that they are Chinese through their decorations or name. But as Li clarifies, certain decorations that contain Chinese elements are probably just "traditional Chinese good luck beliefs are kept alive by restaurant owners, who might not intend to 'sell' their culture in this way." (Li, 278).

Furthermore, the performative and fluid aspects of Chinese restaurants are highlighted by the examples of backstage authenticity, the restaurants sometimes offer a certain atmosphere that "represent Chinese culture and help Chinese-Americans or overseas Chinese to re-experience and maintain many of their cultural values"(Li, 269). As we have already seen explained by other scholars, Chinese restaurants have to modify themselves to appeal to the standard of the society they are in. Therefore, often there are two fronts in a Chinese restaurant, the one designed for the American customers that have all the food and things that they are comfortable with. And

another front that is created for those operating the restaurants and other Chinese immigrants to retain part of their identities. Meaning consuming food that they would usually eat back in China.

Furthermore, Shun Lu and Gary Alan Fine also examined "Authenticity" as a strategy of negotiation in Chinese restaurants. They explained that ethnic authenticity "often becomes a marketing tool, part of an entrepreneurial market...many of these transactions by which ethnicity is made 'real' are economically grounded...restaurants" (Lu & Fine, 537). But unlike Li, they argued that even though Chinese restaurants are 'Americanized' in a sense, authenticity is a social construct and is linked to cultural expectations. They claim that "Cultures are never entirely closed systems: external changes affect cultural logics. Nowhere is this more evident than with regard to cuisine. From generation to generation, some culinary preparations and foodways absorb features of "alien" foods-perhaps a function of biological succession of foodstuffs, migration, technological change, shortages, or alterations in food-related ideologies' (Lu & Fine, 538). Meaning that because cultures are ever-changing, authenticity cannot be measured, it depends on the location in which the food is being presented that authenticity is brought into question. As shown by these scholars, there are two kinds of cultural negotiations taking place. One is negotiation through foodways, this negotiation is examined closely by scholars such as Liu Haiming, Li Mu, Lucy Long, and Lu & Alan. The second negotiation is the Chinese restaurant's negotiating with the larger American society through the social-cultural environment in which they inhabit. Liu Haiming's discussion on Chinese restaurants also pointed out this negotiation. This paper collectively agrees with all the perspectives of these scholars and will use their arguments to discuss the data collections findings from fieldwork, interviews, and surveys.

History of Chinese food in America:

We must first understand the history of Chinese food in America to understand the framework of cultural negotiation and discuss the type of "Chinese-ness" presented in Chinese restaurants today. Especially, since food is a significant cultural symbol that cannot be separated from the people creating it. Let's then rewind 200 years to the 19th century, the first landing of the Chinese on America's west coast, San Francisco, California². During the 18th century opening of China through Western force, the Qing dynasty (1644-1912) sent a couple of their youths, talents, and scholars into the Western world to study the way of the West and to bring back that knowledge to improve China's soon-to-be fallen kingdom. She was coming to the end of her ropes from external and internal conflicts and unfair treaties happening all at the same time. One of those destinations was America. Thus began the influx of Chinese immigrants from a small part of the Qing dynasty—mostly from the south, Canton, now known as Guangzhou (广 州). Before Qing decided to legally deploy their people to America, it was speculated that wealthy merchants came to California in search of gold during the Gold Rush (1848-1855) (Rude, 2016). Food historian, Emelyn Rude recorded in her Time's article "A Very Brief History of Chinese Food in America", "In 1849, the rumors of gold nuggets that drew thousands of East Coast get-rich-quick hopefuls out to California during the Gold Rush also resonated across the Pacific with the merchants of Canton in South China." (Rude, 1). The word of gold in the west echoed into the ears of these merchants to embark on a daring few months boat voyage to America. After they spent a few months in America, they soon realized they had a craving for

² It is important to note that there was not proper documentation of Chinese immigrants at that time. So it is a little challenging to present the numbers of the first arrival of Chinese immigrants in San Francisco. A journal article by the American Federation of Labor titled "Some Reason for Chinese Exclusion: Meat vs. Rice, American Manhood against Asiatic Cooliesm. Which Shall Survive?" states that it was recorded in 1850 on January 1st a total of 789 Chinese men and 2 Chinese women (1901).

the food back home. With nothing else to turn to, they eventually either relied on food from the peasant Chinese immigrants who followed the merchants to search for gold and had set up food stations/stalls. This also attracted the attention of white gold miners, who after tasting the food at the stalls developed an appetite for Chinese food. At least that's how one of the legends of the origin of Chinese food restaurants in America goes. Another legend of Chinese food origin in America is that a Chinese mineworker offered his white counterpart his leftovers. His co-worker loved it so much and told all his friends that the Chinese worker decided to open a restaurant (Liu, 3). Thus Chop suey³ or Zásuì (杂碎) as you would say it in Chinese, was born.

The first Chinese restaurant, the Canton Restaurant was established in 1849 on Jackson Street in San Francisco (Liu, 10). It had a capacity of 300 seats and also catered to American miners as it had English-speaking waiters. This restaurant was most likely established by a Chinese merchant because "The 49-Niners from China were restaurateurs, tradesmen, or investors who migrated to California not to dig gold but to engage in trade and business" (Liu, 12). In the same year, an all-you-can-eat buffet called Macao and Woosung was opened at Kearny and Commercial Street, San Francisco. It was known for its cheap prices and large portions, where a meal costed \$1, an estimated value of \$21.77 today (Liu, 12). Furthermore, the numbers of the members of the Chinese working class that had immigrated to the US in the 1840s were starting to rise during the Gold Rush. They were almost entirely made of males seeking work to send money back home to take care of their families. Because of ancient Chinese traditions, it was inconvenient for a woman to spend time outside her home unless she was working as a maid. Thus, there were only a small number of early female Chinese

³ When translated from Chinese to English, Chop Suey translates as "mixed bits", "garbage" or "odds and ends".

⁴ 49-niners equal people in 1849

immigrants. It was not easy to pay for their passages to the New World, but once there they immediately went into work becoming miners and railroad workers (Yang, 64). These were both cheap and physically demanding jobs that their white counterparts for the most part avoided. Similar to the merchants, these laborers were missing the taste of their home. To satisfy their cravings they also took part in the restaurant business, either as a worker or eventually, as an owner. Their food and professionalism in managing their food establishment impressed White Americans. Soon they were also taking part in the consumption of Chinese food (Liu, 3). "However, the upper-class Chinese cuisine served at restaurants like the Canton was generally unappealing to privileged whites, who 'attended ceremonial banquets . . . mainly to promote the business interests they shared with the Chinese merchants" (Li, 276).

Eventually, the Chinese migrated East and brought along with them Chop Suey. Chop Suey soon became popular in places like New York City with its biggest client being African American. "'Early menus offered a number of dishes that would have been familiar to the traditional black palate, including collard greens, pig's feet, and barbecued pork'" (Liu, 10). This is one of the biggest keys to Chinese food success in America, its ability to alter itself to the taste palate of the local community. Even so, restaurants in NYC still found it hard to venture outside Chinatown until the arrival of minister Li Hongzhang who sparked an interest in Chinese food and culture among upper-class Americans. Restaurateurs used that opportunity to attract many people to their restaurants and they ultimately expanded beyond Chinatown. Then the 20th - century nightlife and eating out culture emerged which led to an even bigger success of Chinese food. It was also at this time that Chinese food made its way into pop culture; it was used as a motif in Louis Armstrong's songs & Edward Hopper's paintings (Liu, 12). This implemented the seed of Chinese restaurants being the identity for the Chinese in the head of Americans. Later,

take-outs and deliveries that were offered by Chinese restaurants were popular as it was a time where both men and women were working and it provided a convenient alternative to cooking (Lee, 171).

Contemporary History: Searching for Authenticity

In the more contemporary history of Chinese food, the Taiwanese immigration boom of the 60s and President Nixon's visit to China in the 70s marked an increased interest in eating 'authentic' Chinese food or what I would like to call the search for authenticity in American food and tourism culture. Chinese food was becoming more and more popular every day, yet Americans were still surprised to learn that what they were eating was not 'authentic' Chinese food that you would find in China. It was not until the 1960s that Chinese food transformed from Cantonese-inspired Chop Suey into a more 'authentic' form giving rise to regional Chinese restaurants in the US. "The liberalization of American immigration policy in 1965 brought new arrivals from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the Mainland, who in turn brought with them the foods they had enjoyed in areas like Hunan, Sichuan, Taipei, and Shanghai." (Rude, 4). Before this time, mostly Chinese immigrants from Guangzhou were heavily present in America, so only Cantonese food was available to Americans. This was their only exposure to what they perceived as Chinese food. And "In 1967, the fine-dining Sichuan restaurant Shun Lee Palace became the first Chinese eatery to receive a four-star review from the New York Times. In the years that followed, many more skilled Chinese chefs began immigrating to the ever-more receptive and lucrative United States." (Rude, 1). Major cities like New York and San Francisco became the destinations for the Taiwanese immigrants to chase the American Dream⁵ like their ancestors did

⁵ The American Dream is an ideal popularized in the 40s and 50s in which when equal opportunity is available to every American, anyone can achieve their highest goals or aspirations. This definition varies from person to person.

years before. The Taiwanese immigrants consisted of "three different groups of Chinese: the Fujianese, the Hakka, and the mainlanders⁶" (Liu, 87). Unlike the Cantonese immigrants, the Taiwanese brought with them flavors of different regions. General Tso's Chicken, was one of these flavors, the Hunan flavor as food symbolizes the nostalgia of a distant homeland for the Taiwanese. In cities, we saw that Chop suey houses were abandoned for restaurants that have a name of a region so you know what you were eating or the last name of the family that owns it. "Some of the Chinese restaurants in those areas were stylish, elegant, and offered authentic Canonese, Hunan, Sichuan, or Shanghai cuisine" (Liu, 86), which also signals that Chinese restaurants can now move up from only being a low class restaurant to a high class restaurant. A trend that continued into the 90s and early 2000s.

Not to mention, the 1976 President Nixion's visit to China reignited an obsession with Chinese culture. "As Nixon's visit greatly aroused American public interest in Chinese food, Chinese restaurant owners...were eager to cash in on the enthusiasm...many quickly put together a nine-course menu that supposedly replicated Zhou Enlai's banquet for Nixon" (Liu, 2015). Again, we see the work of ethnic agencies of restaurant owners using the American media craze to elevate the status of their restaurant. Restaurateurs in America were not the only ones to try to benefit from this, it led to some foreign policies in Mainland China and Taiwan. "In response to Nixon's visit, the Taiwan government flew in a team of chefs to show that they were ' 'the true guardians of Chinese culinary tradition ''" (Liu, 103). And in the Chinese cultural policy promoting Sichuan cuisine amongst other Chinese cuisines to the world, known as the "Go Global" trajectory "has been a national policy to expand China's global economic power since

⁶ "In identity politics in Taiwan, southern Fujianese and Hakka were usually perceived as more native than the mainlanders, as many of them had been there for more than two or three generations" (Liu, 2015).

the 2000s, and there have also been a variety of cultural policies to promote China's soft images beyond China" (McDougall, 4). This policy helped to establish many Sichuan hotpot restaurant chains in America, such as Xiao Long Kan and Haidilao. Moreover, in the 80s and 90s Chinese food also started to follow the mainstream fast food trend. Fast-food chains such as P.F Changs (1993) and Panda Express (1983) advertising authentic Chinese food, started to appear across America. "By 2006, P.F Chang's...had about 150 fast-food Pei Wei Asian Diner stores in fifteen states (Liu, 139). Today, the Chinese restaurant business makes up about "30 percent of the total number of ethnic restaurants in the United States" (Liu, 141). But in 2020, the Covid 19 virus has posed a threat to a lot of Chinese businesses and Chinese Americans' well-being, as rumors of the virus being a "Chinese virus" and originating in China spread among Americans. Many restaurant businesses were the target of racist attacks as well as people, some of which were not Chinese. All east and southeast Asians got grouped together as Chinese during this time. More on racism will be examined in a later section called Racism, Food, and Culinary identity. From looking at the history of Chinese American and Chinese food we can see how the cultural negotiating process of immigration marked the beginning of the Americanization of Chinese communities and food.

What kind of 'Chinese-ness' is constructed?:

One day as I was jotting down some notes in J&J, a father, a small child, and an elder couple walked in. They were a part of the same party, but the elder lady told the elder man "come on, let's eat here, it is something different and exciting". This interaction between the couple showed how Chinese restaurants represent the 'other' for them. This 'otherness' or 'exoticness' surrounding the restaurants is also reflected in my survey responses. One response expressed, "Chinese restaurants are a feeling of a new and untapped world of culture that I am

not familiar [with]" - November 2021. Again, this demonstrates that the 'other' is a common perception of Chinese restaurants. The 'otherness' of Chinese restaurants comes from Americans' experience of something outside of their daily mundane life. "Other" in this definition refers to the anthropological notion of humans defining the world according to their own socially constructed perceptions of reality" (Long, 23). In Gettysburg, most people do not partake in the eating of ethnic food regularly, so it is still seen as something distant and 'otherly' in their mind.

Even though "Chinese-ness" is perceived as the other, the identities of the restaurants in town are a hybridization of American and other Asian identities. Barkan explained that hybridization usually takes place "where a group desires to perpetuate traditional memories or to foster a claim to superior values or where "ineradicable prejudice" is present" (Barkan, 39). Again, Gettysburg is a predominantly white community; to relate to this community restaurants would have to integrate certain aspects of what Americans like. I spent most of my time observing J&J, the only Asian fusion restaurant in town. Fusions are a popular American trend that symbolizes the hybridization of identities. A waiter, participant S, pointed out that a wider variety of Asian food is most popular among their customers. They claim, "There are not a lot of Chinese restaurants in Gettysburg and not a lot of those restaurants sell Sushi". So, since we have sushi, I think that is what keeps a lot of our customers coming back" (October 2021). The hybridized pan-Asian culture of J&J is further emphasized by the co-owner, he revealed that,

[&]quot;In the restaurant. We do try to stick with an Asian theme because it is an Asian fusion. We do try to stick to the Asian feeling of it, but there is more of a fusion thing. For us, it is not just a fusion of different Asian food. It is what we want to make, you know? There might be a nice roast-beef recipe that we like, that is more so American influenced, we could change it, change the ingredients, you know? This is how I roast beef, it is a fusion of different cultures, not just a specific type." - October 2021.

This illustrates the growing Asian Fusion trend in America that incorporates multiple aspects of Asian culture in an Americanized version. Ji also serves sushi at its restaurant following this trend.

Ji is a buffet-style Chinese restaurant located a few blocks from the square. It is popular amongst the locals in town, especially the Chinese students and professors at the college. However, Ji represents the localized "Chinese-ness" identity that suits the culture of Gettysburg's community. They make it their mission to connect to everyone in the community. One way they do this is through birthday walls. They throw a mini birthday celebration for the Birthday guest, that includes balloons hats and pictures to put on their wall. The moment you enter the restaurant you can see the wall that extends towards the dining area. Participant R, one of the interviewees, highlighted this relationship Ji has with the community,

"If it is someone's birthday and you tell the boss, he'll take a picture of them and put it on the wall. Sometimes he'll even prepare gifts for the birthday guest. Especially for us who can't make it home for birthdays."- October 2021. Here we can see the complexity of identity construction in Chinese restaurants because while the 'Chinese-ness' in the restaurants is being seen as the 'other', it is also being presented as a hybrid of both American culture and other Asian cultures. But then again, the identity of Chinese restaurants is localized to fit in with their community's culture. Yet, in the section of 'Contemporary History; Searching for identity', the 'Chinese-ness' identity is regionalized to display distinct flavors of a region in China.

How is 'Chinese-ness' crafted through food?:

Now that we know what kind of 'Chinese-ness' is constructed, we should also see how it is constructed. To do this, we will be looking at three food case studies, General Tso's Chicken,

Fried Rice, and Fortune Cookies. These foods were particularly selected from what was observed during fieldwork in each restaurant and from the responses of usual orders from the interview process. Not only are these foods a fan favorite of those in town, but they also display how the 'Chinese-ness' identities of the 'otherness', authentic and imaginary authenticity are constructed through food preparation, food serving, and presentation.

1st Case Study: General Tso's Chicken as moving from Chinese localism to comforting otherness:

General Tso's Chicken is one of the most recognizable Chinese American foods in America. It is a classic favorite dish that many Americans order for take-out or dine-in. Brought to America by Taiwanese immigrants, General Tso's chicken is the perfect example of Chinese food accommodating to American's taste. But before General Tso's chicken comforted the taste buds of Americans, it served an act of nostalgia for those in Taiwan. "As they often felt nostalgic or even sentimental about their native origins, they were consciously or sometimes unconsciously acting as much Chinese as possible in their way of thinking, lifestyle, speech, and...eating habits" (Liu, 87). Named after an infamous Qing general, Zuo Zongtang (1812-1885), a Taiwanese chef, Peng in the 50s invented this dish to connect to the flavors of the distant homeland (Hunan province) of his family. Furthermore, in Taiwan, "food was an expressive form of their political identity and cultural behavior" (Liu, 87). People were often associated with the part of China their family or they immigrated from, and they took great pride in doing this. This localism was displayed through the setting up of translocal restaurants on the Taiwanese island. Then it was brought to New York City by the Taiwanese immigration boom of the 60s. It did not take Americans long to realize that General Tso's Chicken was "very different from chop suey meals" and much richer in flavor (Liu, 86).

During the fieldwork for this project, General Tso's Chicken was one of the dishes being ordered and consumed the most. This shows just how far General Tso's chicken came to become the spokesman for Chinese food, adopting to please Americans' taste as it is commonly consumed by them. It is cooked using one of the most popular cooking methods in American food culture, frying/deep frying. Frying/deep frying or Zhà (炸) is also used in certain regions in China such as Guangdong but it is not used as frequently as it is in America. General Tso's chicken or zuo zongtang ji (左宗棠鸡) as it would be called in Chinese is a red/orange chopped chicken pieces that are served with broccoli and chili pepper over steamed white rice. You can order it with egg-fried rice like I did if you want to. The flavor is very sweet, savory, and the sauce was extremely heavy but it was still very tasty. J&J Asian Fusion co-owner disclosed to me that for his restaurant, "General Tso's is fried chicken, and sauce, usually a sweet-spicy, and savory sauce. It comes with all foreign stuff like celery." He concludes by saying that "General Tso's Chicken is essentially...it is not a real Chinese dish, it is a very Americanized Chinese dish." (October 23, 2021). While the presentations of the vegetables like celery, broccoli, or chili pepper—even though chili peppers are common in Chinese cuisines like Sichuan's hotpot (四川 火锅), is not Chinese but indigenous to the Americas. Another way that General Tso's chicken has accommodated American taste is by removing every aspect of the chicken except for the flesh but even that is deeply coated in sauce. "Chinese restaurants in America tend to shy away from anything that is recognizably animal. Mainstream Americans don't like to be reminded that the food on their plate once lived, breathed, swam, or walked." (Lee, 56). Unlike Americans, Chinese do not like to waste animal parts and prefer stronger tastes so, in Taiwan, the dish still has the skin on with big chunks of garlic and Chili pepper (Lee, 106). To appease their American customers and make money, the restaurants had no choice but to present General Tso's chicken in the way it is today. This is why General Tso's chicken is an accommodation for Americans.

2nd Case Study: Fried Rice as holding onto authenticity:

Unlike General Tso's Chicken, Fried rice is one of the Chinese foods in Chinese

American restaurants that retains the traditional Chinese cooking process and flavor. But still, it
omits certain elements that would be found in the bowls of those from a Chinese household. A
student interviewee, Participant I reveals, "So for the fried rice, at home, I'll cook it with white
rice and in the restaurant, we used yellow rice. In the restaurant, you'll find pork, bean sprouts,
and onions. At home, we'll use egg, sausage...we don't put bean sprouts in our fried rice, so it is
different." Nonetheless, Fried rice demonstrates the holding onto authenticity by the restaurants.

Rice is a staple food in China & variations of fried rice can be found throughout China. "China
is, after all, the world's biggest rice producer...[because] in China, people eat rice" (Hollmann,
17). Thus it is natural that rice came to America along with Chinese immigrants⁷.

In Chinese-American restaurants, there are three kinds of fried rice; yellow, brown, and white. From what I have gathered from my research data, the yellow one is made from a yellow dye (traditionally made with egg yolk). The white one is made without any soy sauce, it contains salt, onions, and light peppers. Finally, for the brown one, you fry the vegetables in soy sauce and then you stir in the rice. In J&J Asian Fusion, they use the a fried rice recipe that the co-owners grew up on since their family was also in the Chinese restaurant business.

Co-owner- "The way we do our fried rice is we don't put any vegetables in it except for onions and eggs. So you know stir-fry the onions, until it becomes aromatic. We have the eggs...don't

⁷ I was unable to locate the exact period that rice was brought to the US and served to Americans.

know why we put an egg in it, it's just the ingredients...Then stir-fry the rice with the soy sauce, super simple, and that's just the method I grew up on." - October 23, 2021

While the ingredients of fried rice may not all be the same, its presentation is still exhibited as being authentic Chinese food. It has most of the aspects of Chinese elements at the core but still maintains an American approach to it by using American vegetables such as peas or bean sprouts. But at the homes of the restaurateurs, it is cooked slightly differently than the way it is served in the restaurant.

3rd Case Study: Fortune Cookies as an imagined authenticity

Fortune cookies are an American/Japanese American creation that demonstrates Americans' perception of 'Chineseness' and Chinese folk beliefs. It serves the imagination of what Americans believe to be Chinese such as telling fortune or being mysterious. "It's fairly easy to trace fortune cookies back to World War II. By the 1940s English-language fortune cookies were already commonplace in Chinese restaurants in San Francisco and southern California." (Lee, 68). Although, before the Japanese were put into concentration camps, "The little slips of paper inside [the cookie] had originally been written in Japanese" (Lee, 71). The possibility of fortune cookies being a Japanese-American creation is highly likely, as in Japan there is a traditional game of writing down fortunes on a slip of paper, known as Tsujiura. And baked goods such as Senbei (a circle cookie/biscuit) are customary in Japanese food traditions. Moreover, during the 1940s Japanese women would often hold tea parties in Chinese restaurants. In these parties, "a bag of crescent-shaped crackers with little slips of paper inside" (Lee, 75). And the "laughter of the women as they read the fortunes...[often] caught the attention of the Chinese restaurant owner" (Lee, 75). Furthermore, there were also shops such as Shungetso-do & Benkyodo that regularly sold their Tsujiura baked goods. It was rumored that the owner of

Shungetso-do, a grandfather one playfully put together Tsujiura (written note) & a crescent shape Senbei for his grandkids (Lee, 76).

So how come fortune cookies are mostly associated with Chinese culture? My theory is that the joy from reading the fortunes from the Japanese women promoted the Chinese restaurant owners to recreate that among their customers. Probably because at that time Americans were not knowledgeable about the different Asian cultures, they just assumed it to be Chinese. Or maybe to Americans, fortune cookies are most representative of their understanding of the Chinese fortune stick divinations. Nonetheless, whatever it may be, fortune cookies demonstrate an imagined China in America. While the international student's interviewees did not recognize Fortune cookies as Chinese, the American survey responders did. One wrote, "Fortune cookie? It's a stereotypical Chinese folk belief that is fun and silly" (December 2021). Another one also revealed, "I don't know if it actually comes from Chinese culture or not, that's just what comes to my mind first, but I like the fortunes because they're usually very funny" (December 2021). However, nothing about fortune cookies is Chinese at all. Fortune cookies are sweet baked goods, "In contrast, traditional Chinese desserts use little sugar and fat, and a lot of red bean and lotus, peanut and sesame, soy and almond." because traditional "Chinese families didn't bake." (Lee, 67-68). Yet, if you received a fortune cookie with your bill at the end of your meal, you know for certain that you are in a Chinese restaurant. Fortune cookies symbolize the doorway to cross over to China from America in local Chinese restaurants.

How is 'Chinese-ness' constructed through space?:

To further emphasize the cultural negotiation & adaptation aspects of Chinese restaurants, I want to now discuss the Chineseness constructed through space and the worker. Up until this point, I highlight in detail that foodway is the most notable process that is negotiated

but it is not the only thing negotiated. A restaurant consists not only of food but also of the people that run it and the dining space that the owners have created. It is only fair to also examine people and space when talking about the identity of the restaurant. Not to mention, decorations in Chinese restaurants which include Chinese folk belief elements like Buddhist efficacies, good luck charms, dragons, and their names are the doorway to China for their American customers (Liu, 7). A participant pointed this out to me when they said, "American Chinese restaurants like to name their restaurant using pandas, dragons or China something. And their zhuang xiu (decoration) tends to exaggerate certain elements...Chinese-related elements. So, you'll see dragons everywhere." (October 25, 2021). Kitchen Village, the restaurant mostly decorated out of the other three, the store sign is modeled after ancient Chinese coins, inside the stores are Buddha statues and an incense table. This shows that the decorations in Chinese restaurants show the owner's attempts to retain a little bit of their identity after the negotiating process.

The decoration also displays the ethnic agency of the owners to construct their own identity whether that is a religious identity (Buddhist efficacies) or a pan Asian identity (anime posters). Inside of J&J, the decoration is one thing that stuck out to me. There are a lot of different Asian elements added to the decor of the restaurant, which gives you the vibe that you are in an Asian restaurant. When you first walk into the sconce-lit dining area, you are greeted by a bronze statue of the Bodhisattva of compassion, Guanyin. She is a major figure in East Asian Buddhist religious tradition and the Fairy Tale anime poster next to it. Further, into the dining area, there are more anime posters hanging on the wall and a giant traditional Chinese painting of a mountain on the back wall. There is a sushi station in J & J. By the station there is a cloth painting of a Japanese woman in traditional clothing. Across from the station, near the hall to the

bathroom is a calligraphy painting, multiple Chinese landscape paintings, and a yawning black & white portrait of a little girl. The J & J co-owner tells me, "We decided to go with what we liked, stuff from the Asian culture that we liked. There are a lot of anime, a lot of...you know? We play different types of music, [like] K-pop." This reveals that in the process of cultural negotiation, ethnic agency is still strong and the negotiation works both ways. Not only do the restaurants have to modify what they present to the larger social-cultural environment but they get to make the decision on what will be modified and showcased. This agency allows Chinese restaurants to create their own unique identity.

'Chinese-ness' construction through customer experience?; Backstage authenticity

Furthermore, as I have mentioned previously, customer's perceptions play a large role in the construction of identity in Chinese restaurants. Li Mu points out that non Chinese participants play a "significant role" in "the making and interpretation of Chinese culinary traditions and vernacular Chineseness." (Li, 270). Li Mu further adds that "This intercultural interaction assists in creating a hybrid and creolized sense of belonging of both Chinese and non-Chinese in response to constantly changing socio-cultural circumstances." (Li, 271). Gettysburg's Chinese restaurants are seen as a comfort space by their customers, as they like eating out or ordering Chinese food because it gives them a sense of comfort, family & belonging. Li Mu also claims that Chinese restaurants "represent safe spaces in which customers can encounter the other, while not straying too far from their own tastes" (Li, 280). Many of the interviewees and surveys also declared that they regard Chinese restaurants as their comfort space where they can unwind and relax.

"I don't know why but a lot of Chinese restaurants make me feel relaxed in a way. They are never usually crowded or fast-paced. Everything always seems to be moving calmly and with patience." - November 2021. Another person also stated that "The Laoban [boss] in ji's, he is so nice. He provides us with so many choices. He tries very hard to make us happy. He tries his best to make us feel more at home and we really appreciate that." - October 2021.

On the other hand, Chinese restaurants present different experiences to their American and Chinese customers. For their Chinese customers, the restaurants try to give them an experience that is close to what they are used to with secret menus and off the menu ordering options. This can be summarized as backstage authenticity, what is 'real' and intimate (MacCannell, 590) to the owners, this may be their hometown food. In Gettysburg, like many other places, the restaurant will share this backstage with those they believe will relate to it, such as other Chinese immigrants or Chinese tourists. The international student and Chinese faculty interviewees share their experience of ordering off menus and from secret menus at the Chinese restaurants in town. One interviewee states that he loves eating out at Ji because, "We can name what we want, and he'll try his best." October 2021. Another interviewee also said, "I eat at Ji's a lot and they have different choices. You can eat American- Chinese food and real Chinese food if you ask." October 2021.

Racialism, Food, and Identity: Social-Cultural Negotiation with Mainstream American Society

Chinese restaurant business represents the most important aspects of the Chinese experience in America. Most Chinese immigrants work in a Chinese restaurant. Race and racism work constitutively within the US labor market...[and] the category of the immigrant in the Postbellum US was initially defined against the Chinese (Yang, 65). When no other jobs were available to them most Chinese immigrants learned the restaurant trade (Liu, 2). Others went into the laundry trade, offering to wash the clothes of anyone willing to let them. Both trades were

foreign to America at that time and the Chinese did not discriminate against their clients based on race and social class, they treated everyone fairly. It was easy for Chinese immigrants to prepare Chop Suey and establish their own Chop Suey house⁸ because it was a common homemade dish. It was commonly known as Chop Suey house back then. In Chinese culture, seldomly any part of butchered livestocks was wasted. Plus it was considered a humble dish, so many poor people of China had access to it (Liu, 3). Moreover, since it was a homemade dish there was no set recipe allowing the cooks flexibility whenever or wherever they presented it. As I have stated before, one of the reasons for Chinese food's success is that it is able to adapt itself to the taste of the locals. Not having a set recipe allows for the food to be easily adoptable because of the flexibility given to the restaurateurs.

At the time of the establishment of the first Chinese restaurant in San Francisco, racial tension was brewing between the Chinese and White people. The growing population of Chinese immigrants made some white people uncomfortable, their numbers now surpassed that of European immigrants in California. By 1852, the population rose to 11,780 men and 7 women. To manage this increase California imposed a tax as a license to mine (American Labor Federation, 1901). This made it harder for them to be hired by mining companies. Chinese people were blamed for stealing jobs, opportunities, and corrupting communities with their food. California continued to put in place many labor legislations to limit what Chinese people could do, but their population kept growing bigger. "In 1868 after the ratification of the Burlingame Treaty⁹ and the enactment of the first restriction act against Chinese immigration in San

⁸ Of course not every Chinese immigrant had the funds to open a restaurant. But eventually some were able to save up enough to after working years in Chop Suey houses.

⁹ The Burlingame Treaty is a treaty between the US and Qing Dynasty amending the Treaty of Tientsin (1858) to a formal friendly relationship for trade.

Francisco the population of Chinese immigrants 'exceeded the entire increase of the white population of the state of California for the same year, from births, interstate migration and European immigration combined ''" (ALF, 1901). The growing population of Chinese immigrants was seen as a threat to the American society, so on May 6th, 1882, President Chester A. Arthur signed the Chinese Exclusion Act banning Chinese workers from coming into America and those of Chinese nationality that are already here from ever becoming citizens. "This act was feuded by the tension of race and class that was brewing since the founding of America." (PBS, 2018). The Chinese Exclusion Act is the first time by name that an ethnicity/nationality was singled out through immigration law as being undesirable to be an American. "The 1882 bill was not a bill of labor but of white purity...Starting in California, the act led to a chain of legislation, race riots and massacres that was on the brink of ethnic cleansing" (PBS, 2018). But these laws weren't taken laying down; groups of Chinese fought back against this law relentlessly. They also fought back through food, Chop Suey was still winning over the hearts of Americans and its popularity was still steadily growing.

On the other hand, some were not a fan of Chinese food, they did not like the fact that it was quickly becoming a comfort food. Rumors that the meat in Chinese food was unclean began to circulate. One journal article in the late 1800s claimed that "Canton people are very hospitable when approached properly and offer the visitor such delicacies as fried dog, stewed cat, boiled owls, pickled rats, smoked boa constrictor and birds nest soup. On account of this hospitality, Americans do not visit much in Canton" (Li, 2020). Images of Chinese people eating rats also started to appear in major newspapers. This racist and xenophobic behavior against the Chinese was made in an attempt to prevent the public from becoming too accepting of them. Unfortunately, the image of Chinese people eating rats, dogs, and cats never left the

minds of Americans. Even in today's time, the urban legend of rats being cooked in Chinese restaurants is often used as a racist joke against Chinese people. These kinds of jokes are not limited to the United States only. For example, in 2007, the Richmond Newspaper covered the stories of several Chinese restaurants being targeted by an internet hoax at Yaohan Centre, Richmond, BC, Canada. In this hoax, pictures of several rats in their kitchen were sent in a mass email chain throughout the city. Supposedly a health inspection discovered rats in one of the restaurants and told his friend who then told another friend and the news spread like wildfire. Of course, this was untrue and the restaurants filed a lawsuit against the perpetrator but their reputations were forever damaged (Bennett, 2007).

The racism Chinese restaurants experienced was not limited to rat-eating rumors. Chinese food restaurants could not become a high-class service as "Rice became a symbol of Chinese inferiority, while beef consumption became a symbol of white Americans' superiority." (Liu, 9). Moreover, they could only serve tea not because it was something of cultural significance to them but because they were not allowed to get liquor licenses. Chinese restaurants were only allowed to operate if they did not compete with other white businesses. The Chinese Exclusion act was not reversed until 1942 and still, the Chinese were not allowed to become citizens until the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that prohibits discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin (PBS, 2018). Despite the struggles Chinese food faced in America it still managed to secure its place in mainstream American culture. These struggles are also reflective of the hardships Chinese-Americans endured throughout their time here in the US. But even though their voices were often ignored or silenced, they still fought back against food racism.

Resistance to racism:

The contemporary demonetization of the usage of MSG is another example of food racism against Chinese restaurants. Mainstream American health society categorized MSG as an unhealthy ingredient that Americans should keep away from if they want to maintain good health. Liu states as soon as this health warning, MGS became one of the "common problems associated with Chinese restaurants" (Liu, 133). To avoid the similar association in mainstream corporate-owned and operated Chinese restaurants, "MSG was absolutely forbidden" (Liu, 133). The controversy surrounding MSG was also brought up in my interview with the J&J co-owner, he disclosed,

"So a lot of it is just things we know as a Chinese American, in a restaurant industry growing up, kind of learned about the things that happened. So, there is an ingredient called MSG, very common in Chinese-Asian food in general. It is even common in some American food here, [in] fast food MSG is the ingredient. But here you don't hear somebody saying I get headaches from eating MSG, except in a Chinese restaurant. Where the myth grew, don't go to Chinese restaurants, it's dangerous for you, they're using a dangerous ingredient, mainly MGS. So, that's when I hear someone say 'Ah, I get headaches from eating MSG', they're usually older and probably were taught that by somebody else. "

His awareness of mainstream society's health perceptions on Chinese food reveals ethnic agency because it shows marginalized voices trying to be heard. This reflects the way that Chinese Americans have been fighting back against the injustice and prejudices they faced since the Chinese Exclusion Act. In the end, they mainly fought back and won through their food, they successfully made Chinese food the most profitable ethnic food in America. And ironically, Chinese food, compared to American food joints such as McDonald's or Wendy' is perceived as healthier, more flavorful, and more delicate. One of the J & J Asian Fusion waiters reveals, "I think [Chinese food] is a lot more fresh, a lot lighter, easier on the--for me personally, I think it is

easier on the stomach. I would rather eat here every day than eat anywhere else." - October 2021.

Limitation:

Unfortunately, due to Covid-19, I was not be able to fully observe each restaurant for a sufficient amount of time. Originally, in my IRB application, I proposed doing participation-observation at 2-3 restaurants in town because it would be helpful to witness firsthand business operations. I was hoping to be at each restaurant for at least a week and spend a minimum of 4 hours a day at each restaurant. That would have been a total of 4 weeks or 56 hours spent primarily on the main site (the restaurants). But the arrival of Covid-19 caused a lot of internal issues at the restaurants I was hoping to work with and they could not accommodate my research. Therefore, the data in this paper may be a little limiting. In the future, to present a wider range of data, I would suggest spending longer times at each restaurant for at least a month or two.

Conclusion:

Chinese restaurants were able to successfully play upon stereotypes associated with them to secure a successful business while maintaining/creating their own identity and for the most part a positive image. During my time doing participation observation, interviewing, and surveying I was able to see how the restaurant's purposeful designing of food, space, and customer experience displayed the Chinese identity constructed and presented in the restaurants represents a fluid and performative that is a product of a complex cultural negotiation with the larger American society. We can see this negotiation of Chinese identity with mainstream American culture takes place in Chinese restaurants since the first Chinese restaurant in 1849. I would like to end with this quote from J&J Asian Fusion co-owner, the quote is "Almost

anything can be American food if it's here, even Chinese in America, it is not Chinese food, it is American Chinese food. There is not a distinctive American food. Maybe there is something distinctively created here. Maybe there is, you know? A more American, but you bring any culture's food here, it gets changed over time and becomes American food"- October 23, 2021. To me, this quote summarizes the framework of cultural negotiation that we witnessed through the paper.

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Appendix

Interview questions:

Restaurant

- 1. Tell me more about yourself, and how you got into the restaurant business
 - a. Discuss the person's personal history working in restaurants
 - b. Discuss how the person came to own the restaurant and what challenges they had to overcome
 - c. What are your responsibilities as the co-owner of this establishment?
- 2. When you are in this restaurant how does it make you feel?
- 3. Why have you decorated the restaurant as you have?
 - a. What items of décor do you consider to be particularly important?
 - b. Are there things you might want to add or change about this space in the future?
 - c. Ultimately, what kind of environment are you aiming to create through the restaurant's décor?
- 4. What is Chinese food to you?
- 5. What is American food to you?
- 6. What is the most popular item on the menu? 2 most popular? 3rd?
- 7. Do you make special preparations to get your food to look and taste the way it does? For example, General Tso chicken?

- a. What considerations do you give when deciding what types of food to include on your menu?
- 8. How do you hire and train cooks to make the kinds of food that you offer?
 - a. Is it a challenge to train cooks to make this kind of cuisine?
 - b. When preparing the food, do you think to yourself that you are making Chinese food? Or American food? Or neither? Why?
 - c. If someone were to ask you what kind of food your establishment sells, how would you describe it to them?
- 9. How would you describe your ethnicity? Do you think the food you make/sell is Typical of people from that ethnic group?
- 10. Do you think the food you are selling is authentic? Do you think it matters if it is authentic or not? Why or why not?
- 11. Is Gettysburg a good place to run a Chinese restaurant? [discuss challenges and opportunities]
 - a. What do you think is the significance of having a Chinese-restaurant in Gettysburg?
 - b. How does your Chinese restaurant compare to other Chinese restaurants in town?
- 12. Do you think not making authentic Chinese food would hinder that significance in any way? Why or why not?

Student/Faculty

- 1. How often do you order from a Chinese restaurant in town?
- 2. What is your usual order?
- 3. What is Chinese food?
- 4. What is American food?
- 5. Do you think the food you are eating is authentic Chinese food? Why or why not?
- 6. Do you care if the food you eat at these restaurants is authentic? Why or why not?
- 7. When you are inside the restaurant how does it make you feel?
- 8. What do you think is the significance of Chinese food restaurants in this community?

Survey Questions:

- 1. About how often do you eat at a Chinese restaurant?
- 2. What is your usual order? Why?
- 3. Do you like the Chinese restaurant's options in town? Why or why not?
- 4. Is there a specific reason that you usually choose to dine out at a Chinese restaurant?
- 5. What are the decorations usually like in the Chinese restaurants you've been to?
- 6. Is there usually music playing in these restaurants? If yes, could you describe it?
- 7. What is Chinese food to you? Explain your thoughts on why you think of Chinese food as such?
- 8. What are some of the first things that come to mind when you hear American food? Why do you think those items were the first to pop up in your mind?
- 9. Do you think the food you are eating in the Chinese restaurants in town is authentic Chinese food? Why or why not?
- 10. Do you care if the food you eat at these restaurants is authentic? Why or why not?
- 11. When you are inside a Chinese restaurant does it give you a certain feeling? Explain?
- 12. What do you think is the significance of Chinese restaurants in the Gettysburg community?