
Japanese maina-shikou: From Hong Kong Cuisine to Chinese Tea

日本のマニア志向—香港料理から中国茶まで

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Abstract:

In Japan, Chinese foodways is familiar to most people and Chinese tea will not be the exception. However, regarding the habits of drinking Chinese tea, we realize that cold vending machine oolong tea (烏龍茶) is surprisingly the most popular form, rather than the hot and freshly brewed style that most Chinese people are used to. We know the meanings of food vary across different countries and are always negotiable, and anthropologists have done extensive studies on the domestication of foreign culture including dietary culture; however, the necessity of long-term investigation to observe the progression of localization of foods and eating habits has been overlooked. In this paper, I would talk about the domestication of foreign culture in Japan with a particular emphasis upon the emergence of “real and expensive” Chinese delicacy as compared to chuka-ryori (中華料理) and Chinese tea as compared to the popular vending machine type, for the understanding of the dynamism of social taste among Japanese during the last two decades.

Keywords: Chinese foodways, localization, social taste, internationalization, Japan

キーワード：中華料理文化、ローカリゼーション、社会的嗜好、国際化、日本

Introduction

Anthropological research in earlier studies on food and cuisine centered largely upon questions of taboo, totems, sacrifice and communion, shedding light on the approach of cultural symbolism and reflecting our understanding of humans and their relations with the world. Previous structural anthropological research on edibility rules emphasizes why food is a symbol through which the “deep structure” of humanity can be investigated and how corresponding concepts of the body and spatial territories can be discerned (Levi-Strauss 1965; Douglas 1966). Moreover, scholars have broadened the studies on food as: (1) an indicator of social relations, as in gifts of food, marriage banquets, and other special feasts (Watson 1975, 1987); (2) a symbol of caste, class and social hierarchy (Goody 1982; Mintz 1985); and as (3) a metaphor through which the mechanism of self-construction with regard to ethnicity and identity can be discerned (Tobin 1992; Ohnuki-Tierney 1993).

More recently, among various ethnographies regarding ethnicity and identity in Asian countries, food is viewed as playing a dynamic role in the way people think of themselves and others. As an example, Janelli and Yim (1993) point out that dog eating in Korea reflects not only traditional eating habits but also political relations between South Korea and the United States during the 1980s. As it is written: “Similar comments surrounded the positive evaluations of certain foods identified as Korean, such as *posint’ang*, a stew made with dog meat. ... *Posint’ang* was a particularly potent symbol of identity because it has old-fashioned and folksy connotations, because all but a very few Americans disliked it, and because it had prompted foreign animal-rights activists to threaten a boycott of the 1988 Olympics” (Janelli and Yim 1993: 186). In other words, eating dog meat is not just a Korean tradition but also a political stand as well as an identity drawing an ethnic boundary between the U.S. and Korea. Therefore, we know the meanings of foodways might vary across different countries and are always negotiable in distinct social context, and it would be important having more extensive studies on the localization of foreign culture including both traditional dietary culture and postmodern consumerism.

In order to have a comprehensive and long-term investigation on the progression of localization of foreign culture in Japan, I suggest tracking down the emergence of “real and expensive” Chinese cuisine/delicacy as compared to *chuka-ryori* (中華料理) and the promotion of Chinese freshly brewed tea as compared to the popular vending machine *oolong* tea (烏龍茶), for the understanding of the dynamism of social taste among Japanese during the last two decades. In the following, I will examine the meanings of foreign culture since the era of internationalization in the mid-1980s; the meanings of Chinese foodways in Japan; and the popularity of “real and expensive” Chinese foodways instead of the popular and inexpensive *chuka-ryori* and vending machine *oolong* tea. Finally, I would suggest that their interpretation of Chinese foodways being a distinctive hobby helps us to better understand the meanings of cultural importation and complexity of domestication in contemporary Japanese society.

History of Chinese Food in Japan

In Japan’s nowadays, one can find so many different kinds of food ranging from domestic to foreign, Japanese to non-Japanese, cheap to expensive, ordinary to rare, local to global, traditional to newly invented or re-invented. Apart from some popular food such as French *nouvelle* cuisine, Italian pasta, Cantonese seafood, American fast food, Japanese circulating sushi bars and Korean barbecue, there are also various kinds of snacks, street food, vendor *ramen*, luxurious high-class

gourmet food, traditional festive food, exotic foreign delicacies, new invented hybrid food etc. Nevertheless, such a recounting of different types of food available in Japan is not sufficient to even sketch the relations between food and culture in a socio-political perspective. Rather, it is necessary to understand what kinds of food are consumed by what kinds of people, and why? Even though it is obvious that the logic behind food choice is different for different people, as we have known that one person's food can be another's poison, it is important to examine the meanings behind different foods as they shape different people's choices.

Likewise, talking about how western food was introduced into Japan and how it became popular in the early part of the twentieth century, Cwiertka (1999) used *wayo setchu ryori* to show the western impacts on modern Japanese dietary and the rise of *yoshokuya* (洋食屋) to demonstrate the influences on Japanese daily lives. Similar situations could be found in Cheung (2002) and Tsu (1999)'s examination of Chinatowns in Yokohama and Kobe, as both studies explained the production side of foreign cultures and their particular ways of localization reflecting the ethnic relations with Chinese and Japanese in the society.

By looking at some popular Chinese food in Japan during the last century, we might question whether there is any similarity or commonality to the pattern of change that cross the regionally distinct varieties of Chinese food and variation in Japan's social development. Regarding the development of Chinese food in Japan, the most comprehensive and inspiring study should be considered as Kimura Haruko (1995a-1)'s serial called *Brief History of Chinese Food in Japan* published as article series in a professional food magazine. Kimura Haruko, the President of *Nihon chugoku ryori kenkyukai* (Association for Chinese Food Study), mentioned that Tamura-cho (present *Nishi-shinbashi*) in Tokyo should be considered the center of Chinese food in Japan during mid 1950s to mid 1960s.

Regarding the origin of Chinese food in Japan, there was not much completed data about either the beginning of Chinese eating house or restaurant in Japan, therefore, most people believed that it arrived when some Chinese workers became to work in Japan during the late nineteenth century. One of the earliest Chinese restaurant/eating house found in Kosuge's book called *Kindai nihon shokubunka nenpyo* should be referred to *Kairakuen* and *Tautautei* began from 1883 (Kosuge 1997: 43). In 1885, another Chinese restaurant called *Jyuhoen Manhan Shukan* was opened in Tsukuji, Tokyo; for some inexpensive and popular items, I found that Tokyo's first noodle shop called *Rairaiken* was opened in Asakusa Park in 1910, and during 1920s, Chinese cuisine became a special area among those who were interested in culinary and foodways (Kosuge 1997).

However, Japan's defeat in World War II brought dramatic changes to Japanese society, both in political and cultural ways. Apart from the military restrictions and security force maintained by the U.S. government, American popular culture, commercialization and urbanization invaded post-war Japanese society and challenged the so-called Japanese tradition. Several factors brought about a subtle change to Japanese social values and initiated a quest for identity, especially during the post-war era of development into an economic power. For the development of Chinese restaurant in Japan after WWII, I suggested that characteristics of Chinese restaurants and the corresponding social meanings of eating Chinese cuisine should be divided into four phases. The first phase began right after Japan's defeat and ended with the Tokyo Olympics held in 1964. This was a period of enormous social change which Karatani (1993) refers to the *sengo* period; same as the pre-war period, Chinese restaurants were high society oriented, while at the same time, the

customers of high class Chinese restaurants were foreigners, mostly Americans. And, Yokohama Chinatown was a neighborhood of Chinese residents and also a public market place for inexpensive food for local residents.

The second phase is defined as the decade between the mid-1960s and 1970s, the period in which Japan experienced rapid economic development. With a rise in living standards and the emergence of the new middle class, there was a great demand for family restaurants generally characterized by spaciousness, western style, easy highway access, attractive menu design with colorful pictures, and special children's meal sets. Most importantly, these restaurants were marketed and advertised as being suitable for families. At the same time, a similar change in Chinese cuisine was observed. This was reflected by the increasing popularity of the modified *chuka-ryori* (meaning Chinese cuisine in Japanese) combining different regional cuisine, further, when upscale Chinese restaurants in hotels were established to meet demand brought about by the Tokyo Olympics, the standard of Chinese cuisine for average consumers was upgraded.

Until the mid-1970s, mainland China was ideologically different from Japan as well as other capitalist countries. However, after the Open Door policy of 1978, the relations between China and Japan changed greatly. A pair of pandas were sent from China to Japan as symbols of the re-establishment of foreign affairs, and their popularity did not only bring benefit to Ueno Zoo but also contributed to constructing a positive image of China among the Japanese public. The Chinese impact made Chinatowns in Yokohama and Kobe popular tourist destinations among Japanese. Those were only parts of the "China boom" in Japan during the 1980s. Again, in the third phase during the 1980s, with the tremendous increase in the numbers of Japanese working and traveling abroad for business and tourism came the idea of internationalization infiltrating into individual lifestyles and diets. Being able to appreciate foreign cuisine gave a person the reputation of being an international citizen. Nevertheless, the popularization of the distinctive and exotic Cantonese dim sum, starting from Yokohama Chinatown, serves as a good example of changing tastes and social values in the search for delicacies (Cheung 2002).

And, finally during the 1990s to the present, as we have seen in the mass media, Chinese dishes have become something not only good to eat, but also good to know, in particular through watching television show and comics book. Different cooking competitions between chefs from famous restaurants, home-made food cooked by celebrities, cuisine from various tourist destinations, international speed eating competition etc. Therefore, apart from domestication and localization of foreign foodways in Japan (Tobin 1992), we might want to think about how food is recently consumed in the form of image as well as information that would be highly influenced by the mass media. Detailed studies on television cooking program or cooking contest starting from the renowned television programme such as *Iron Chef* in the early 1990s would be expected.

A Minor Interest in the Era of Japan's Internationalization

How can food-related phenomena be significant for the study of modern Japanese society? Again, what kinds of social issue are we paying attention at or investigating for the understanding the greater context of Japan? In order to gain a closer look at the changing cultural-political situations through food consumption in contemporary Japanese society, I would like to consider social changes beginning in the early 1980s. During that time, the notions of internationalization spread out in all directions ranging from government policy to individuals' daily practices. The demand of "upgrading" one as an international being could be reflected on the taking in foreign

stuff through various ways. We can see there has been a great change in Japanese society in the way they rush to learn English, travel abroad, dabble in tasting different cuisines.

With regard to the phenomena of internationalization in Japan, Kelsky (1999) argued that it is in related to gender politics and the ideas of modernity, while Iwabuchi (1999, 2001) emphasized the economic recession in the early 1990s, which explained why young Japanese intended to search for a more powerful, professional, nostalgia, individualistic symbol which appeared in Hong Kong pop-culture. Again, from the technological development's perspectives, Fukuda (1994) stated that we are now living in the complex society with overflow of information, which created an environment for us to choose something distinctive for ourselves. Regarding the decentralization of traditional information control comes with new technologies, it might not be difficult for us to imagine the phenomena of "minorization" as the resistance to mainstream illusion created for the confirmation of individualistic selections in social practice.

By using Fukuda's idea of "minorization" as well as *maina-shikou* from an individual perspective, I suggested that it helps us to understand the motivations of postwar generation's concerns of identity, their values and worldviews, and experience with foreign cultures both inside and outside Japan. The word *maina-shikou* is a hybrid term consisting of two components: *maina* is from the word "minor" in English and *shikou* (志向) means intention in Japanese. Taken together, *maina-shikou* means "intended to be minor." It is a common expression in Japan, especially for those who do not want to be counted as part of the mainstream or majority. In other words, people with *maina-shikou* show some similarity with those who identify themselves as *otaku*, fans, maniac etc. (also see Kinsella 1998).

Maina-shikou or the intention of being minor that I am talking here is not simply some strange and unusual habit among Japanese; rather, it means how distinctive social tastes can be internalized as one's own cultural identity or capital that can be invested and re-invested. This distinction might not be as solid as the class-related social identity about which Bourdieu (1984) has spoken, but an imaginary individualism out of the ordinary social life experience. The whole idea is used to create distinguished social tastes in which potential symbolic/cultural capital can be fully developed and re-invested, motivated by the capitalistic ideology which tells us that only those can "grow and increase" are valuable. Regarding the meaning of hobbies as social expression, it is important to know why Hong Kong culture is chosen and how it is in related to one's social life. For example, they visit Hong Kong a couple of times in one year and, at the same time, they maintain a stable job in Japan where their expertise can be applied; in other words, they can probably enjoy the most personal selection by themselves through an absolute distinction. Overall, the significance of Hong Kong culture among some of them would probably be some sorts of material culture reflecting specific social values with the emphasis upon spiritual satisfaction. The case study of *HonPara* (香港天地) and its subscribers is suggested for the understanding of changing social tastes, the mechanism of distinction in terms of "cultures" and young middle class, as well as the following generation of *shinjinrui* (新人類) and their negotiation between individualism and groupism, regarding social networks and transnational cultural understandings (Cheung and Kawaguchi 2000).

Apart from what Ivy (1995) mentioned as the search of nostalgia being the idiosyncrasy of *shinjinrui*, I would like to pin down on their use of computer-mediated communication (CMC) in order to understand how their lifestyles changed in accordingly. Nowadays, information brought us a different dimension in daily lives in terms of the expansion of knowledge and flexibility of

information exchange in the form of unbounded territory when compared to their family and work place as the major living areas in the past. The emergence of CMC helps people to gain a wider access to information from the outside world, for which we used to rely only on other media, while at the same time, it allows us to form new human networks in spite of geographical separation. More importantly, CMC is different from other types of media in that opinions and ideas are expressed and commented on by individuals rather than the authority of the media. In order to know more about people's motivation beyond the CMC, we will make use of a computer-mediated discussion group as a case study to investigate the social implications of CMC, the development of interest group networks and the way information is shared among globally connected individuals.

Rather, one aspect of localization refers to how distinctive social tastes can be internalized as one's own culture identity or capital that can be invested and re-invested, among the *shinjinrui* generation. It is found that interest in being "minor" was common among this particular generation who had a hard time negotiating between Japanese traditional culture and American-oriented modern culture. In the case of *HonPara*, we found that "Hong Kong Culture" was used for one's own purposes. The meanings of Hong Kong metropolitan culture among Japanese would be a suitable aspect for the further investigation on the motivations led by *maina-shikou*.

The Case of H

To better understand how one survives in facing the enormous cultural transformation, we need to have an in-depth study investigating the social backgrounds for the emergence of new choices in hobbies and leisure. Regarding how and what one chooses their lifestyles, many scholars have shown that hobbies and leisure actually reflect the changing social values and tastes, and here are some examples. Many scholars have shown how Japanese ideas of individuality can be investigated through the language of overseas travel brochures; state ideology can be seen through the localization of foreign food and domestication of foreign lifestyles. By showing our informant's experience in the past few years of participating in different groups, from virtual to actual gatherings, I would like to trace the change in social tastes among some young Japanese middle-class people and in their ideas of culture as the means to respond as well as link oneself up with the ideal aiming to reach the internationalization initiated by the central government. In the following, I will give some backgrounds in terms of the media, travelling and use of computer of my informant for the understanding of their perspectives regarding foreign cultures. So, here is the case of H who was born in the early 1960s and has a stable job in Japan. H knows quite a lot of single Cantonese words and is able to understand pretty well but not much in speaking.

H's cultural experience through the media

In the primary school period, H used to watch foreign TV dramas such as detective stories, Mission Impossible; movies such as Walt Disney's animation, James Bond etc. In commercial TV channel, H remembered that one of the popular travel programme was *Sekai no tabi* (Travelling in the World) by Kanetaka Kaoru. During his secondary school period, H remembered watching an American television drama programme called Roots in the Japanese channel and listening various western pop music. In the university, H recalled that about 10% of his college friends went abroad for different kinds of short-term or one-year study/academic exchange programs. But, for himself, H spent all his four winter vacations teaching ski in the Ski School of Miura Yuichiro in Sapporo; during that time, he also got some change to meet many foreigners by teaching them skiing.

Therefore, H's childhood would not be fully understood without the consideration of the existence of TV in their socialization, especially programmes from different countries brought them all kinds of information. Again, H was born in the affluent Japan in which leisure activities and overseas travel should not be overlooked for the understanding of their lifestyles.

Overseas travel

Talking about H's overseas travel experience, he told me that his first overseas trip was his honeymoon trip in 1987; they went to Canada and Los Angeles for a short stay and visited some popular tourist destinations as well. In 1990, they went to Hong Kong together because of his wife changed her job and there was a transitional period before she had to start working for the new environment. (H recalled that the exchange rate in currency was HK\$1 = JPY17~18). They joined a 3 nights 4 days Hong Kong tour package that was about 130,000 yen per person. The tour had one day guided tour for shopping, and the hotel they stayed at that time was YMCA in Wan Chai. Soon, H found that Hong Kong was an interesting place different from Japan in several aspects. On the one hand, they found Hong Kong very different from Japan, especially the ways that people communicated with each other. He added that there were much more people in the street and all of them look powerful and most sales people were extremely active in approaching visitors with a very "direct" way in promoting their stuffs.

On the other hand, they also found Hong Kong as the place they could explore by themselves with the help of some guidebooks such as *Chikyu no arukikata* (How to travel on Earth) for some basic information such as local transportation and restaurants searching. The second time they went to Hong Kong was one year after the first trip. Travel in the era of internationalization was considered an obsession; cultural contact also brought breakthrough to individual's social norms and values, as seen from how H mentioned his first experience in Hong Kong.

Personal Computer Communication (pasokon tsushin) and CMC

Finally, CMC brought people to a different level in networking and community of imagination. Around 1994, H was introduced by a high school friend about Nifty which was the most popular computer server in Japan at that time. In the beginning, the monthly charge for the 15-hour package was 2000 yen. Beginning from 1994, for the amount of daily usage, one had to pay NIFTY-Serve a packaged access fee of JPY 3,800, of which JPY 1,800 goes to the NIFTY-Serve BBS and JPY 2,000 to NTT (the telephone company). Later, H kept trying different companies including Infoweb from 1995 to 1996, AT&T from 1996, and Goo (free e-mail account) in 1998. Apart from the exposure to different information, building up one's own network would be considered an important aspect through CMC. As H mentioned to me that he felt there existed a shorter distance compared to the physical distance and no one needs to be introduced by anyone. As far as one is active enough, it is possible to make a lot of friends; no boundary for friends, exceed the class barrier.

H began intensive communication in *HonPara* during the first two to three years until some members became quasi-experts from the hobby of discovering Hong Kong. However, at a certain point, they began searching for something more "real," and their choices were well reflected in the establishment of the Chinese Tea Association in Japan and *You-Cha* in which they were able to "invest" their knowledge of Hong Kong society into a specific and new area. The shift from *HonPara* to tea associations did not only show the change from virtual to real, but also created

room for their production of Chinese tea culture in Japan. Again, H admitted that: “I recognize I am more *maina-shikou* than ordinary Japanese, and it is an option which middle class can choose to manage our own lives without feeling inferior. I know many Japanese people who tried to fit themselves well into the ‘major’ and live peacefully without any doubt. However, such attitude is mainly taken by upper class in which one will not doubt their or their parents’ social position or lower class people who cannot do it. We want to carry conviction for ourselves and those can only be gained through our ‘exploration’ and ‘participation’ in something meaningful. I think that will explain the desire underlain my own *maina-shikou*.”

Chinese cuisine, Hong Kong style Cantonese cuisine, and Chinese tea

Concerning the studies on foreign food in Japan, scholars have done extensive studies on the localization and domestication of non-Japanese food in Japan, either food from nearby Asian countries or some western countries which used to have a very distinctive diets compared to Japan (Cwiertka 1999; Ohnuki-Tierney 1993; Tobin ed. 1992). Here, I use Hong Kong style Chinese cuisine and Chinese freshly brewed tea as cases for the understanding of its social change.

During the 1980s, there was a tremendous increase of Japanese working and traveling abroad for business and tourism. In fact, the idea of internationalization infiltrated into individual lifestyles well as social tastes. Being able to appreciate foreign cuisine gave one the reputation of being an international citizen. H and his wife have been very interested in Hong Kong, particularly Hong Kong style Chinese cuisine. According to their previous visits to Hong Kong, they met with other *HonPara* friends eating in not only famous and expensive restaurants such as Tin Heung Lau (天香樓) in Tsimshatsui but also inexpensive Hakka restaurant and local eating places for desserts such as special herbal jelly (B仔涼粉) in Yuen Long, New Territories. Therefore, Hong Kong style Chinese cuisine might be seen as a tool for them in maintaining a cultural identity during the era of internationalization among the *shinjinrui* generation (Cheung and Kawaguchi 2000).

However, when minor hobbies became more popular, what would they do? In this case, the obvious change after the Hong Kong handover was that H and his wife came less to Hong Kong and spent more time on their new hobby in drinking and learning about Chinese tea. If instant *oolong* tea is the mainstream cool drink for Japanese, then the “authentic” Chinese tea that H is interested might be another minor hobby for him and his friends. At a certain point, they began searching for something more “real,” and their choices were well reflected in the establishment of the Chinese Tea Association (中國茶協會) in Japan and *You-Cha* (遊茶) in which they were able to “invest” their knowledge of Hong Kong society into a specific and new area. The shift from cyber community to exclusive tea associations did not only show the change from virtual to real, but also showed the changing hobbies. Starting from 1998, H was interested in Chinese tea and was involved in some business-related strategy considerations, even though he did not do it for business. Different from his interest in Chinese cuisine, his active involvement might be considered similar to those previous culture brokers and Hong-Kong-ologists. Moreover, their identities of being both the consumers of Hong Kong cultures and producers or promoters of authentic Chinese tea culture became mutually effective in the current process.

Yet, there were different purposes among Japanese who invested time and money on drinking and learning Chinese tea. As H mentioned that those who had interest in profit-making activities could choose to participate in *You-Cha*, and those who just wanted to enjoy Chinese tea drinking as a hobby could join the Chinese Tea Association in Japan. Some of them joined both, as did H.

Yet, relations between the Chinese Tea Association in Japan and *You-Cha* are sometimes unclear, especially when there is overlapping affiliation among members; however, both of them could be considered “real” groups developed from the *HonPara*. The tea association was established with an aim to contribute to the further advancement of the Chinese tea industry and culture through different types of intercultural exchange.

You-Cha was a small commercial enterprise financially supported by a small Hong Kong investment company. It is mainly managed by two persons: M who is Japanese in her early forties and Y who is a Chinese in his early forties. Both of them are subscribers to *HonPara* and directors of the Chinese Tea Association in Japan. M previously worked as a Japanese language instructor in Beijing and Hong Kong and is now working full-time for *You-Cha* as one of the two presidents. Y was born in Hong Kong and is now the vice president of the above Hong Kong investment firm run by his father and serves concurrently as a managing director of *You-cha*. Basically, all decisions are made between the two of them, though Y usually takes more initiative in *You-cha*'s management. According to H, Y had certain beliefs that the Chinese tea business would expand in Japan as well as in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and mainland China, in the near future and that was the reason for their enthusiasm. *You-Cha* did not only sell Chinese tea and tea sets through mail-order, but also organized tea parties, lectures, and activities, including Chinese tea fairs in different major department stores. In 1998, their first teahouse was opened in *Omote-sando* (表参道), which was considered the most fashionable street in Tokyo, and several part-time salespersons were hired by the store. At the same time, they also tried very hard in building up their business network through making contact with influential people in mainland China. In the summer of 2001, I had a chance to talk with one employee (E) working in a *You-Cha* located in one of the most busiest area in Tokyo about how their company promoting Chinese tea in the Japanese market. E was originally from Taiwan and had been living in Japan for several years. After talking for a while, it seems to me that they have a clear image, regarding Chinese tea for Japanese customers, which needed to be well-defined (origins, harvest time, highland/lowland, ranking, water temperature, waiting time, number of rounds, etiquette, tea pot, tea set ... etc.) but also can be very flexible in matching food and dissert. In particular, I was told that Chinese tea would match well with Japanese dessert (*or wakashi*) and could be drunk in any time, any way, any style etc. In other words, it should be authentic in terms of origins but could be consumed in any way consumers would prefer.

It seems to me that major factors in the Chinese tea business depend on how it is promoted to Japanese. As H and his wife mentioned to me that introducing the selected or refined Chinese tea with special drinking etiquette was a big challenge in the contemporary Japanese society since most Japanese had well adopted “drinking cold *oolong* tea in bottle.” Again, their interpretation of Chinese tea was a highly distinctive activity instead of a drink for thirst. Therefore, instead of conspicuous consumption, it should be considered some sorts of high-culture anticipate for a deeper understanding of the complexity in cultural importation and adaptation in Japan during the last two decades.

Conclusions

Regarding the meanings of food, Sidney Mintz suggested that we should investigate it in two different levels including the outside or social level and inside or individual level (1996: 20-24). At the society level such as the emergence of *haute* or high cuisine through which the social significance of the change and continuity embedded in food and cuisine can be examined. This is

relevant to what Goody (1982: 105) mentioned that the higher cuisine inevitably acquires ingredients from outside and drew our attentions to the disparity of cuisine in terms of ingredients and technique within a global exchange context. The individual side will be on personal level reflecting the fact that individual choice rather than the key trend in the maintenance of self-image, status and identity. Yet, the investigation on Chinese cuisine and tea give those dimensions in both levels.

Likewise, being one of the most popular foreign foodways, Chinese cuisine and tea in Japan can also be examined at the mentioned two levels. On the one hand, we realize the socio-historical level about Chinese foodways' development in the Japanese society as a whole. On the other hand, we should examine the more specific individual level reflecting how some Japanese as well as *shinjinrui* have been making used of Chinese food in the construction of their own cultural identity in a particular political context.

Considering the changing cultural-political situations in Japan starting from the early 1980s, the notions of internationalization and being international have spread out in all directions. The demand in upgrading oneself into an international being could be reflected in the internalization of foreign cultures through various ways, especially in the case of changing dietary and foodways in Japan. Finally, with an ethnographic approach in studying the experience of H representing the larger group of Japanese born in the 1960s, this paper provides a show case of the localization of Chinese foodways taken place in Japan during the last two decades.

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