

THE HANDBOOK OF FOOD AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Edited by
Jakob A. Klein and James L. Watson

Bloomsbury Academic
An imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

B L O O M S B U R Y
LONDON • OXFORD • NEW YORK • NEW DELHI • SYDNEY

2016

CHAPTER FIVE

Approaches to Food and Migration: Rootedness, Being and Belonging

EMMA-JAYNE ABBOTS

INTRODUCTION

Food plays a significant role in the social lives of diasporas: it can create a sense of continued belonging and reiterate affiliations to 'home'. Following debates on food, identity, ethnicity and commensality, food preferences have been demonstrated to facilitate the construction of discrete migrant subjectivities and group identities by both inclusion – in that they reaffirm relations between migrants – and exclusion – in that others in the host region do not share migrant tastes. Variations on this theme address the role that food plays in negotiating interactions between migrants and hosts, particularly its potential to change attitudes to, and the political economic situation of, migrant groups, the creativity of migrants and the formation of hybridized foodways. Building on an established body of literature on household hierarchies and gender, an additional topic has been the investigation into how food labour relations within migrant households shift in accordance to the new social and environmental context in which they find themselves.

This chapter initially surveys and reflects upon this literature, indicating how it engages with broader themes within the anthropology of food. In particular, I wish to point to how studies of food and migration can make a significant contribution not just to the anthropology of food, but also to our understanding of the ways in which the globalized movement of people, objects, narratives and ideas is experienced and negotiated. The broader themes discussed include the ways in which food, and ideas about food, travel; memory and nostalgia; the assertion of regional, place-based foods; the practices of everyday food provisioning; and the ways that food can reveal political divisions and economic inequities, as much as it can show community and cohesion. However despite its engagement with these wider questions, I wish to suggest that the scholarship on food and migration has also been somewhat contained, and indicate possible future directions for research that could enhance its wider contribution. These new directions and developments

can, I hope to demonstrate, broaden the scope of investigation by encompassing both the migrant 'in situ' and their 'home' community, as well as considering the movements of foods and food practices. I further contend that a renewed focus on 'the body' can deepen analysis.

Throughout, I focus on work that addresses migration from the global south to north as, paralleling scholarship on migration more generally, the anthropology of food and migration has concentrated its efforts in this area. However, a small but emerging field of work is drawing attention to privileged migration and the experiences of those moving from north to south (see, e.g., Fechter 2007), although little of this material engages with food explicitly. This, I suggest, is an oversight. Although small in number, privileged migrants and expatriates often have the political and economic capital to potentially significantly shape food markets and practices in their host country. Further explorations into the ways their food encounters are negotiated and experienced (see Abbots 2013) thereby has the promise of deepening our understanding of the relationship between food and migration, as well as migratory processes more broadly.

In the latter sections of this chapter, I explore the possibilities of these emergent areas of research. Drawing on my ethnography from the Ecuadorian Andes, I argue that food exchange networks between migrants and those at home play a pivotal role in anchoring migrants and contend that the recent emphasis on food practices of migrants in situ obscures the labour of those who remain in the home communities. I consider the ways that food gifts not only remind migrants of their obligations to their home household, but also, through the sharing of dishes across time and space, socially and physically (re)make them as members of that household. Thus, I aim to elucidate the manner in which migrants' food practices are governed from afar, as well as how migration can influence and change food practices 'at home'. Within this argument the body is central, and one of my aims in this chapter is to draw out the threads of embodied food practices that are often implied in accounts of food and migration, but rarely developed. Invoking Strathern (1988), I show how home foods constitute migrant bodies by acting as a counter to the 'exogenous' foods of their host environment, and reflect on how familiar smells, tastes and textures can facilitate imaginings of place – effectively transporting migrants back home. As such, I hope to highlight food's capacity to potentially stem loss and promote continuities in a migratory context, as well as suggesting the tensions to which these processes can give rise.

BEING AND BELONGING: MIGRANT FOOD SPACES

Migrant food practices are not uncommonly analysed through the framework of ethnic belonging and the construction of identities (Chapman and Beagan 2013; Kalcik 1984; Harbottle 2000; Ray 2004; Vallianatos and Raine 2008). As Caplan points out, there has been a preoccupation with 'food as a marker of difference' and identity (1997: 9), and the well-established argument, that commensal relations and the consumption of specific foods enact group and individual identities, has been a productive lens for scholars of food and migration. Migration places an individual's sense of being and belonging into a state of flux; as they become pulled in multiple

directions and subjected to a range of influences and changes in their everyday lives, they have to (re)construct their identities and relations. Food, as will become evident, has been demonstrated across a number of ethnographic contexts to play a significant role in 'anchoring' a migrant, while also enabling the creation of new subjectivities and orientations. Consequently, food frequently becomes viewed as a marker of ethnic identity (Vallianatos and Raine 2008: 365).

One of the most nuanced texts on this topic is Ray's (2004) study of first and second generation middle-class Bengali-Americans. *The Migrant's Table* articulates how modern and traditional, ethnic and universal and the local and global intersect (2004: 10). Ray explains that certain meals and patterns of eating are subject to change, whereas some remain stringently Bengali and others are Bengali 'traditions' invented in the United States. He further elucidates how migrants construct culinary identities and assert gustatory boundaries in relation to 'others' – in this context, Bengali in Bengal, Indian in the United States and American (2004: 78–9). This theme of 'commensal sociality' is similarly found in the work of Renne (2008: 616) who shows how West Africans in the United States use foods, which, although different in terms of their production, remain ideologically similar, to maintain and reproduce social relations with families, 'hometown associations' and religious groups. She further draws attention to the significant role of speciality grocery stores in enabling the reproduction of West African social relations and reinforcement of their identities (*ibid.*).

Migrants interact with speciality groceries and restaurants at multiple levels. They are, as I discuss further below, historically a source of labour, employment and income – and potentially a site of exploitation – as well as being a space of definition between migrants and hosts. They are also a stopping point on the routes along which foods travel. Whether they are direct imports or have travelled through globalized networks and associated with home by other means (Renne 2008), a number of the foods consumed by migrants are sourced via speciality groceries. Mankekar (2005), among others (Charon Cardona 2004; Diner 2001; Hage 1997; Saber and Posner 2013), reflects upon how 'ethnic' grocery stores reproduce home, both materially and discursively. She examines Indian groceries in the San Francisco Bay area and argues that they 'form a crucial node in the transnational circulation and consumption of commodities and discourses about India' (Mankekar 2005: 210). The stores, she explains, are not just locations to purchase 'Indian' food, but are also 'social spaces' in which migrants 'might forge identity and community' (2005: 207) – a process that is reassuringly familiar to some and stiflingly claustrophobic for others. The stores are also assemblages in which food, the arrangement of products, the 'customer service', the advertisements, the decoration and the music serve to (re)produce India in the United States in a manner that invokes powerful and contested notions of gender, class, family and nation. Mankekar thereby reminds us not only that the production of home culture is a polyvocal process, but also that responses to home can be deeply ambivalent and as divisive as they are cohesive.

Yet places of migrant belonging can also traverse previously entrenched social boundaries and foster solidarity between minority groups within a wider diaspora. Tuomainen (2009) demonstrates how, in their efforts to construct and uphold a

Ghanaian or African subjectivity, Ghanaian migrants in London diminished regional and ethnic contrasts by consuming foods previously associated with other ethnic groups (see also Beyers 2008 and Diner 2001). Likewise, Saber and Posner's (2013) sensitive account of Eritrean and Sudanese asylum seekers' experiences in Tel Aviv elucidates how their restaurants, while being perceived as 'traditional', are also sites of cultural hybridization and transnationality in which familiar experiences are shared and diasporic identities forged from multiple ethnic identities. Referring to such restaurants as 'culinary safe havens' (2013: 198), Saber and Posner argue they provide asylum seekers with a sense of familiarity, security, empowerment and certainty and stress the critical importance of familiar foods in everyday survival strategies. Foods and food spaces are thus coping mechanisms for migrants that can also cut across social and ethnic divisions.

Mankekar and Saber and Posner further emphasize the embodied experiences of migrants' food spaces and the ways that multi-sensory cues – such as visual displays, textures and smells – create a familiar home environment that can provide both security for some and unease for others. In so doing, they move beyond discussions of 'taste' and remind us not only that purchasing, preparing and consuming food is experienced through all the senses, but also that these practices can effectively transport migrants back 'home'. Food, then, transcends space and time. As such, these accounts resonate with the anthropology of the senses (see Stoller 1989) and work on food and memory (see Holtzman 2006), as well as indicating how we can approach 'the body' in a migratory context. Arguably one of the most influential accounts within the genre is Sutton's ethnography of food and embodied memory in Kalymnos, Greece. I discuss this, together with the ways work on food and migration can engage with the body, below, but first I turn to relations between migrants and hosts.

ACCULTURATION, APPROPRIATION AND HYBRIDIZATION: INTERACTIONS BETWEEN MIGRANT AND HOSTS

Spaces of migrant foods are not produced in isolation but are interwoven with that of the host country. Whether it is Sydney-siders enjoying 'ethnic' restaurants (Frost 2008) or migrants incorporating new foods into their diets, the interactions between host and diaspora have just as much salience as those between migrants. Given the dominance of debates over globalization, homogenization and creolization in the anthropology of food (see Abbotts 2012a, 2014a; Caldwell 2004; Ritzer 2010; Watson 2006), and the discipline more widely (Hannerz 1987), it is not surprising that questions of acculturation, incorporation, hybridization and rejection have framed many of these discussions (see Beyers 2008; Caplan 1997; Harbottle 2000; Jamal 1996; Tuomainen 2009; Vallianatos and Raine 2008). An extension of this theme also demonstrates that food habits are one of the last cultural traits to change among migrants (Charon Cardona 2004; McIntosh 1996) and often point to the way that the main meal of the day, and festive and weekend meals, have the greater continuity (Bradby 1997; Ray 2004).

Scholarship on how migrants' food practices adapt and change can also indicate structural disparities and environmental factors (Charon Cardona 2004; Hage 1997; Jamal 1996), and demonstrate migrant agency and creativity in the production of hybrid dishes (Renne 2008). It can further suggest broader political and economic dynamics. Tuomainen (2009), for example, situates her discussion of Ghanaian food practices in London within the historical context of Britain's colonial relations with Ghana and explains that many Ghanaians regarded British culinary habits as part of their own food culture *before* migration, even though these foods were primarily restricted to socially elite groups (2009: 544). Upon migrating, Ghanaians discovered that they could access these, once elite but still high status, foods easily and could thus emulate the privileged. This demonstrates, Tuomainen argues, that Ghanaians have a more positive view of colonialism than, for example, the Irish migrants to the United States discussed by Diner (2001), who rejected the foodways of their occupiers.

The ways in which food practices and knowledges become markers of difference (and similarities) between hosts and migrants is further expounded by Frost (2008). Her ethnography of a group of Indonesian migrant women in Sydney traces the ways they adapted their domestic culinary knowledge for public consumption by running a successful cookery course for a local adult education college. This, Frost explains, enabled the women to confirm their commonality while concomitantly reiterating their differences to their hosts, as their lack of knowledge of how and what to eat as an Australian was brought into sharp relief. But this distance was also a point of intersection. Frost reveals how the women had a 'deeply strategic knowledge of the Sydney cityscape' (2008: 180) that was premised on their ability to source 'their' foods, and this enabled them to engage, critique and 'mildly subvert' the dominant culture of their host country (2008: 180–1). Although cautious of the ways in which host desires for 'ethnic' food and rubrics of multiculturalism can potentially essentialize migrants, Frost thus shows how food can be a mechanism of 'empowerment and exploration' for a marginalized group (2008: 187).

The extent that ethnic restaurants and multicultural food spaces facilitate cohesion and community between migrants and hosts has been subject to some debate. A body of related literature also assesses whether celebrations of multicultural foods deflect attention away from structural inequalities or provide the locus for cross-cultural understandings and identity (Cook, Crang and Thorpe 1999; Harbottle 1997). In the context of the Netherlands, van Otterloo (1987) argues that relations between migrants and their Dutch hosts were more confrontational in other contexts than 'at the table', whereas Hage (1997) argues that the celebration of migrants' food is a form of gastro-tourism which requires little to no engagement between hosts and migrants. His account of middle-class Australians' enthusiasm for 'authentic' Vietnamese cuisine, and the collusion of Vietnamese migrants in presenting their food in this manner, points to how moments of encounter can be based upon stereotyped caricatures. Hage concludes this form of 'multiculturalism without migrants' (1997: 118) has little to no consequence to the hegemonic Anglo-Australian identity (see also Flowers and Swan 2015). Moreover, while Frost suggests that ethnic food may offer a route of economic advancement for migrants, others (Baxter and Raw

1988; Kalra 2004) have pointed to the ways in which the catering industry, and the food sector more generally, thrives from cheap migrant labour and can be sites of significant exploitation, discrimination and the reiteration of economic and social disparities.

It is not, however, just gastro-tourists who potentially essentialize and reify migrant food practices. Whether focused on migrant communities or the interactions between migrants and hosts, the risk remains that anthropological analysis, despite its best intentions, invokes a static and dichotomous relationship between their 'food from there' and 'our food from here' – a process that, in turn, treats identities, and those of migrants in particular, as singular and fixed. Chapman and Beagan (2013) raise this point in their study of two Punjabi-Canadian families. Drawing on influential theorists of transnationality and migration (Ong 2003; Rouse 1995; Schiller, Basch and Blanc 1995), and the fluid understandings of identities that emerge from this work, they emphasize that migrant subjectivities are multiple and demonstrate that food practices can simultaneously constitute, and reflect, a range of, sometimes contradictory, attachments that intersect with ethnicity, class, gender, age and nationality. They also highlight how migrants can establish affiliations to multiple nation-states. Chapman and Beagan are, then, highly critical of the accounts of migrant food practices that centre on acculturation and the gradual loss (or retention) of culinary patterns of home, concluding that

theoretical conceptualizations of food and migration that focus on acculturation or resistance – in which ethnic identity is either retained or lost after migration – do not adequately capture the reality of transnational experiences. (2013: 381)

This perspective is supported by Renne (2008), who demonstrates that the subjectivities of West African migrants are as multiple and hybridized as their foods. Moreover, just as the foods within host environments change, so do those from home, with Collins (2008) reminding us that a neat line cannot be drawn between 'traditional' foods from home and hybrid foods in migrants' host contexts. This indicates how the framing of foods from home as place (or ethnicity) based and traditional is an artificial construct, that is often founded upon a nostalgia or imagining of home (see also Tuomainen 2009). Thus, we have to remember that just as people and food (and their narratives) travel and circulate, so do the meanings attached to them.

UPHOLDING HOME: GENDER, GENERATIONS AND FOOD LABOUR

The recognition that migrant subjectivities are multiple and that culinary practices are subject to myriad influences and changes, raise questions as to which individuals shoulder the responsibility of (re)producing migrant identities, as well as the ways multiple influences are negotiated. Accounts sculpted by these questions are often, although not exclusively, framed by gender, generations and household hierarchies (see Ray 2004). As such, they commonly engage with a wider body of work on the gendered dimensions of food knowledge and labour (see also Sutton, Chapter 16,

this volume, and R. Watson, Chapter 15, this volume). The ways that women are the primary performers of food work within the home, and the extent that this can be a site of empowerment and agency, have been well documented outside migratory contexts (Counihan and Kaplan 1998; Pilcher 1998; Weismantel 1988), as have discussions of how women privilege other family members' needs, tastes and preferences above their own (Counihan 1999; DeVault 1991; Murcott 1983). Given that migration, of both individuals and households, affords the opportunity for gender roles to be reconfigured (Abbots 2012), it is perhaps not surprising that concerns over who feeds and cares for a migrant household, and, in turn, (re)produces migrant foodways, emerge.

As Frost's (2008) ethnography suggests, migrant women's capacity to source food forms the basis for many of their social interactions outside the domestic sphere (see also Mankekar 2005), and food can provide one of the key mechanisms for interacting with their hosts and other migrants. It is also, as Flowers and Swan (2015) point out, a mechanism through which gender, as well as race and ethnicity, is essentialized and reified. The 'primary carer' role that women continue to play within migratory contexts is further examined in Vallianatos and Raine's (2008) account of Arabic and South Asian female immigrants in Canada. They reveal the fluidity and renegotiation of gender roles within migrant families, and the ways this is informed by broader economic and social pressures, such as the time men are required to spend at work. Nevertheless, they also point to the ways that both Arabic and South Asian women's self-definitions continued to be fixed upon being mothers and wives, and that provisioning food and cooking remain critical to their own gendered identity. Due to these continuing responsibilities, Vallianatos and Raine refer to such women as 'gatekeepers' who inculcate 'family and community values via traditional foods and cuisines' while brokering 'outside' influences (2008: 357). As suggested above, Vallianatos and Raine's analysis can be criticized for the manner it dichotomizes 'food from here' with 'food from there', but it does draw attention to ways that food practices are mediated within migrant households, the pressures to which primary food-provisioners are subjected and the tensions that emerge from this process. Of these tensions, generational differences emerge as one of the most significant aspects in Vallianatos and Raine's discussion, a theme further addressed by Harbottle (2000) in her account of Iranian migrants in Britain (see also Chapman and Beagan 2013; and Ray 2004).

Thus, one of the primary questions that emerge from explorations of the interplays between food and migration is 'who does the work of (re)producing migrant identities and mediating between host and home, and to what extent does this change over time?' The oft-implied, but rarely articulated, assumption of this question, and work on food and migration more broadly, is that migrants' practices – and their pre-migration food practices – are at risk of being lost. Food, the argument goes, can help stem that loss by maintaining continuities and (re)embedding the migrant in their home community (however that may be defined), while also enabling change to occur and facilitating the creation of new relations of being and belonging. Notions of loss can be further discerned in discussions of assimilation and nostalgia, and it is perhaps a concept, along with gain, that warrants more considered attention, at the very least from migrants' perspectives.

Loss, continuities and change are themes in Strathern's (1988) synthesis of Melanesian anthropology, *The Gender of the Gift*. The relationship of this text to the topic of food and migration may not be immediately self-evident, but I would like to suggest that the arguments put forward by Strathern provide a productive jumping-off point for broadening the scope of this particular field of study. Similar to the accounts above, Strathern makes the point that, in migratory contexts, it is women who emerge as specifically 'social in their orientations' and 'become visible reminders of enduring norms of social conduct' (1988: 76–7). Women, as such, become the upholders of culture. Drawing on the ethnography of Jolly, situated in a *kastom* village in the Vanuatu peninsula, Strathern explores how foodways in this context are both gendered and related to social status, with yams being associated with masculinity. Male migration is consequently understood to weaken men's bodies as, instead of ingesting yams, they consume the 'foreign' foods of rice, tinned fish and corned beef. Yet, this weakening, Strathern explains, can be replenished during the yam harvest. She thereby elucidates how a symbolically resonant food from home can counteract potentially dangerous exogenous foods and help minimize the loss of migrants' bodies to European influences. Moreover, in helping ensure male migrants' (re)rootedness to home through yams, women, who are actively prevented from accessing the 'outside world', ensure the continuation of *kastom*.

The reasons I draw attention to this work are twofold. First, it further reiterates the gendered dimension of food labour and women's role in (re)producing culture and stemming loss in a migratory context. Second, it indicates that, in analysing the interplays between food and migration, we should be taking into account the broader social networks that traverse host and home. In other words, it throws into sharp relief that most works on food and migration are ironically limited in geographical and analytical scope. These limitations, I would like to suggest, have also inhibited the topic's contribution. The examples I have discussed thus far, while wide-ranging in subject, have one clear commonality – they focus on migrants in situ. This may be the obvious starting point, but migrants do not necessarily sever their ties to home but rather, instead, actively maintain them. Likewise, as Strathern's discussion suggests, those at home may proactively nurture continuities with migrants. Households, however geographically and physically dispersed, can remain symbolically and socially united (Abbott 2011, 2014b, 2015). The social lives of migrants, then, are not just enacted in their host locations but instead played out with, and influence, the lives of those who remain at home. Here and there are mutually entangled.

RETHINKING FOOD AND MIGRATION: THE FLOWS BETWEEN HERE AND THERE

For a subject ostensibly addressing movement, work in the anthropology of food and migration has hence been arguably confined by geographical location and straight-jacketed by locale. In this section I would like to offer an alternative analytical frame that addresses the flows between home and host as part of broader networks of

exchange. In particular, I argue that a focus on the actions of individuals at home warrants just as much attention as migrants' activities in situ.

The village of Jima in the Southern Ecuadorian Andes, where I have conducted long-term fieldwork, is a community significantly affected by sustained migration to predominantly the United States. Migration of primarily, although not exclusively, men is a long-term household strategy for many, and remittances have dislodged small-scale agriculture, waged labour and petty entrepreneurship as the main sources of income. Migration, and the economic benefits it brings, has thus transformed the organization of social life and the enactment of cultural practices. As such, Jimeño foodways, as I have discussed elsewhere (Abbots 2011, 2012a, b), are subject to change. Yet they also play a critical role in enabling the (re)production of cultural continuities and the perpetuation of household relations across space.

It is through the broader networks of exchange between migrants and their kin at home that the capacity of food in ensuring continuity comes to the fore. As with Strathern's discussion of Vanuatu migrants, in Jima there is a risk that migrated men will be 'lost' while in the United States and to mitigate against this, the women who remain look to continually remake their male kin as Jimeño and root them back into the village and their household. They achieve this through food packages. But these packages do not contain just any foods, nor are they sent randomly. Rather they contain *cuy* (roast guinea pig) and *mote* (white hominy), which, as I have argued previously, are locally framed as 'typical' foods laden with symbolic meaning (see Abbots 2011, 2012a). *Cuy*, in a domestic context, is subject to a number of commensal restrictions in that it travels through limited networks of exchange and is only eaten with intimate members of a household's social network – and, as such, helps define those relations – while *mote* is firmly rooted to Jima through oral histories that reaffirm its specificity to the locale. Moreover, packages of *cuy* and *mote* are commonly mailed to migrants during ritual and festive events in both the wider community's and the household's calendars, thereby enabling the migrant to participate in the celebration, albeit at a geographical distance (Abbots 2011: 213).

Food packages do not travel, however, in isolation. Instead they articulate with the flows of other objects and remittances that are sent by migrated men back to Jima. Packages of culturally important food, then, form part of a broader process of transnational exchange through which affective relationships are enacted and maintained within a geographically dispersed household, and through which physically absent men are made symbolically present (Abbots 2014b, 2015). These exchanges are based on reciprocal labour relations and the mutual reproduction of the household, with migrated men transforming their labour into remittances, and their female kin producing food (Abbots 2011: 212). This process of perpetual gifting thereby maintains a continual cycle of obligation, indebtedness and reciprocity that practically remind men of their obligations to their household, as well as serving to physically and symbolically (re)root them within that household, a point to which I return below.

The broader, more holistic approach to food and migration that I present here demonstrates that food cannot be considered in isolation but has to be situated in a wider context of movement, travels and flows across space. It further shows how

we can deepen our understanding of (gendered) food labour, agency and power in a migratory context if we take these broader networks into account. Much of the literature I have discussed thus far has addressed migrants' actions and their agency (or disempowerment) vis-à-vis their hosts. But this, I contend, is only part of the story. The ethnography from Jima shows that there are other actors involved in the reproduction and reinvention of migrant food practices, but these individuals and their actions are commonly obfuscated by frameworks that assume that migrants are the ones performing and (re)creating culture and identities. This is not to deny migrant actions – for in the Jimeño context men sometimes request *cuy* from home and thus seek to remake themselves as Jimeño – but rather to advocate an approach to food and migration that encompasses and brings to the foreground the food labour of those that are, at best, treated as 'off-camera' and, at worst, overlooked entirely.

A focus on the flows between home, migrant and host further draws our attention to how migration can shape and inform food practices in the sending community, thereby helping ensure that these are not falsely reified and portrayed as static. One of the most significant aspects of this process is the receipt of remittances and their power to potentially transform lives. The ways that remittances are and should be used have been subject to some debate, both within anthropology and more widely. On the one hand, reports show that remittances are channelled into agricultural production and the continuation of rural livelihoods (Durand et al. 1996; Vasco 2011); on the other, it is evident that remittances facilitate a significant change in social and cultural life, including foodways. It is this second scenario that is, to some extent, being played out in Jima.

Newly acquired remittance prosperity, the low social status of the peasantry, the loss of agricultural knowledge, not to mention labour power, and the resultant breakdown of reciprocal labour agreements have all contributed to the rejection of small-scale agricultural production in Jima. As remittance prosperity has increased and is seen to be secure, agricultural yields have diminished. This is not to state that smallholding has disappeared entirely: many households still maintain a small plot and grow symbolically important maize for domestic use, although, when resources allow, this is now worked by a waged labourer. People also still raise *cuy*, albeit in a separate space in the garden as opposed to within the house, as historically practised. Cooking practices within the home have also changed. The introduction of waged domestic workers into newly-prosperous households have changed food labour practices and created new household hierarchies, although these remain gendered (see Abbotts 2012b). Remittances have further transformed food spaces, especially the kitchen. As the arrival of domestic appliances, purchased in the United States and installed in Jimeño homes, becomes a social signal of migratory success and continuing transnational kinship relations (Abbotts 2013, 2015), methods of food preparation change – as do modes of eating, with the building of formal dining rooms and the construction of spacialized divisions between domestic workers and family members (Abbotts 2012b). On the other hand, some food labour practices are consciously continued, especially in relation to *cuy* and maize products, and domestic workers are excluded from the familial preparation and consumption of *cuy*. To fully understand these processes, I suggest, we cannot view them in isolation

but have instead to situate them within the context of ongoing affective relations with migrants and the remaking of them as Jimeño (see Abbots 2011).

Moreover, outward migration can encourage changes in food consumption practices at home, as those who remain have the resources to purchase food from different stores, produce less of their own foods, and look to emulate the food practices of the 'more modern' migrant kin. In Jima, this most evidently plays out in the popularity of global fast-food chains (Abbots 2012a). These changes can, of course, have consequences on dietary health, although we have to be cautious that we do not assume causal connections between changing methods of food production and sourcing, consumption and health; the interplays between these are complex and subject to multiple factors and influences.

Food practices in Jima, both 'traditional' and 'new', can thus be intimately related to affective relations with migrants. As well as more public displays of mobility, new foods and kitchen equipment (and new kitchens) can consequently also be interpreted as public representations of continuing intimate relations with migrants. At times, these statements are made during cultural fiestas, with equipment being taken out of the kitchen and publicly displayed. This practice subverts the intended attempt to promote cultural continuities and food traditions by highlighting change and 'modern food'. And, while the display of material wealth and technology and its relation to social position and aspirations is not a new insight, the way migration enables this process, and the different meanings that are overlaid onto food and kitchen paraphernalia as a result, is a potentially productive line of enquiry. Just as we ask how migrants adapt their food practices to new social and material environments, so too can we examine how they change the environments back home. This can interrogate how the foods and the food-based objects associated with migrants come to 'stand in for' the physically absent migrant and produce their symbolic presence. Thus, to fully unpack the shifting meanings of foods and food stuffs in relation to migration, we should be traversing both public life and domestic life and looking to expound how food can enact the intimacies of physically dislocated kinship, as well as examining how migration informs food's role in the (re)construction (and contestation) of social hierarchies.

In ethnographic contexts that are being affected by migration, we can then ask what food practices are subject to change, what is allowed to change, what do individuals strive to maintain, and how do they negotiate the multiple influences and discourses to which they are subject. As explored above, these questions have been asked, to variable effect, in host sites, both from the perspective of the migrant and the host. However, those accounts have rarely considered the consequences of migration on the sending communities, which also experience, and have to negotiate, new food influences and tastes. This question of how 'traditional' local food is changing and being reinvented in relation to global processes is not a new one within the anthropology of food, and migration is not the only factor. But, perhaps somewhat surprisingly, the recognition that it is a factor has often been overlooked in favour of more structural processes such as the expansion of supermarket retailing and the extended reach of the fast-food industry. I would like to suggest that the ethnography from Jima suggests that development of individual, community and

regional migratory networks that span multiple locales and food spaces forms a significant aspect of these global dynamics. Migration also informs the way these structural factors are experienced and managed at a local level. To give an example, I have argued that one cannot fully comprehend the significance of major US-based fast-food chains in Southern Ecuador without taking outward male migration to the US and transnational households into consideration (Abbots 2012a). This wider perspective, then, can aid our understanding of how and why the foods from 'home' change and adapt (or not) and how migrants can sculpt these processes. I now conclude by turning to look at how this is experienced through the body.

MIGRATION, FOOD AND THE BODY

The body is a recurring, although often implied, theme, in work on food and migration, and I would like to propose that this is another research direction that has the potential to be developed. Returning to Strathern briefly, she shows us how foreign food is understood in Vanuatu to weaken migrated men's bodies, and how women work to replenish those bodies. Invoking Strathern, I have made similar arguments in relation to packages of *cuy* (Abbots 2011), arguing that its consumption physically and socially (re)constitutes Jimeño migrants living in the United States as Jimeño and as kin, and examining the ways the dish, and the moral values with which it is associated, is juxtaposed against those of the host country. Thus, we can see that those at home can govern what is ingested from afar as they look to (re)make the bodies of migrants. Migrants can, of course, reject, accept and request these foods. The ways that these embodied attempts to re(root) and disentangle migrants are experienced and negotiated (by both migrants and those at home), as well as the tensions that can emerge from those potentially disciplining procedures, further indicates the import of attending to the relationships between migrants and the individuals at home, as opposed to framing 'home' in a more abstract, oblique manner.

The ways that migration is an intensively embodied experience is also evident in accounts that are concerned with the sensory experiences of food and the ways that they can transport migrants 'back home', in a manner that is both pleasurable and disconcerting (see Mankekar 2008). As Sutton's (2001) study of food and memory in Kalymnos demonstrates, the embodied act of eating enables individuals to look backwards to past meals while enjoying those in the present and anticipating food events in the future. As such, Sutton not only highlights food's 'memory power', as grounded in the embodied and sensory experience of consuming, tasting and smelling, but also demonstrates its rhythms and rituals, and the ways these maintain connections between places, events and people. Eating can thus be accorded to remembering both home and the people contained within it. Similarly, Ben-Ze'ev (2004) elucidates the processes through which taste and smell are central to the retrieval of memories among migrants and traces the processes through which these embodied experiences of food become abstracted and codified. This account thereby details the ways in which narratives, the senses and food's materialities interplay in creating a collective identity among diasporas, with Ben-Ze'ev concluding that tastes and smells (and their discourses) can provide the foundation on which belonging is constructed.

Ethnographic accounts of memory and the senses thereby show how food can move an eating ingesting body beyond the confines of its physical locale and transcend space. Yet, as with most work on food and migration, the focus remains on migrant experience, not on how, for example, those who remain at home form memories and construct narratives of migrants through food. We can, however, use this literature as a starting point from which to explore the ways that food can bring together bodies that are dispersed in space, and examine the ways that eating the same foods but in different places produces coterminous bodies that are 'made' of the same substances. The anthropological study of food has arguably concentrated its efforts on the political economy and symbolic meanings to the detriment of the body (Abbots and Lavis 2013), but the fact remains that food is ingested and brought into the body. It is this process of incorporation, drawing on Fischler (1988), that makes it a particularly powerful medium in the constitution of personhood. This making of coterminous bodies was evident in my research participants' approaches to *cuy*, in that they expressed the view that consuming the dish would constitute individuals as Jimeño (Abbots 2011). Personhood was therefore not fixed and static but somewhat mutable and made through the ingestion of substances that were deemed to be of the locale. In the context of migration this process continues through the sending of *cuy* packages, with families 'sharing' meals and substances despite being in different locations – an argument that develops and extends Carsten's (1997) conclusion that individuals are made as kin through shared meals. The ways in which the bodies of migrants are connected back to home and are also linked to other bodies at home through shared substances are, then, research directions that have plenty of scope for expansion.

Finally, returning to migrants *in situ* we can also further explore how migration is experienced through the body. There has been some work on this topic but, as indicated above, much of it tends to focus on the familiar tastes, smells and images of foods from home. We can, however, ask how unfamiliar foods are experienced and examine not only the ways in which these encounters are felt through the body, but also, in turn, how these embodied experiences shape perceptions and understandings of both 'foreign' places and the people living within them. Just as sharing substances can create coterminous bodies, a refusal to ingest the food of others can remove oneself from potential social entanglements. It was this perspective that I have adopted in my attempt to better understand how privileged North American migrants respond to moving to Ecuador.

As I have discussed elsewhere (Abbots 2013), privileged migration in this context is lifestyle motivated, with my research participants desirous of a 'simple life' and 'simple food' that is produced outside of the agro-industrial complex. However, their lived reality is characterized by their distancing from local foods as they struggle to source food that, in their terms, is risk and anxiety free. Many privileged migrants consequently sourced their food from 'modern' supermarkets and imported it from home. In interrogating these tensions and contradictions, I have sought to elucidate how they are shaped by migrants' visceral reactions and looked to demonstrate how focusing on these embodied responses can illuminate how migrants construct themselves in relation to the 'foreign bodies' – microbes, foods and local people – they encounter. Arguing that privileged migrants' views of their Ecuadorian hosts

are informed by their own, often violent, bodily responses to the local food they consume, I have documented not only how concerns over bodies, specifically their physical health and well-being, are a motivating 'push' factor that encourages their migration in the first instance, but also how these concerns – and the embodied risky realities of eating food to which the body is not accustomed – limit migrant integration. In order to protect their bodies from harm, the privileged migrants with whom I conducted my research withdrew from Ecuadorian foods and food spaces – and people – and retreated into food practices that they deemed to be 'safe' and trustworthy. As such, this ethnography shows that the body plays a critical role in shaping not just migrant food practices, but also their experience of migration more widely. We thus ignore the embodied interactions of migration at our peril.

CONCLUSION

The topic of food and migration is broad and cannot be considered in isolation, but should be situated within broader questions of the interplays between food and ethnicity, identity, globalization, memory, kinship and the body, to name but a few areas I have highlighted in this chapter. People, foods and ideas about foods, as well as food's material culture, travel. They are also continually (re)rooted and embedded. One of the challenges facing studies of food and migration is developing theoretical frameworks and approaches that account for both movement and the establishment of new roots. To date, much work has focused on the second part of this equation and one of the key concerns has been on how food practices facilitate the reiteration of established, and the construction of new, ways of being and belonging among migrants. Whether focused on upholding ethnic identities, cutting across previous social boundaries in the making of new collectivities, or the creation of new hybridized, multifaceted and shifting subjectivities, this body of scholarship has demonstrated that food plays a critical role in migrants' everyday lives. Sourcing, preparing and consuming food, together with feeding others, are some of the most immediate and pressing concerns migrants face and, as the ethnography demonstrates, these processes can be a mechanism for security, empowerment, and affiliation with others, just as much they can be a site of difference, marginalization and uncertainty.

Regardless of its specific subject orientation, approach or ethnographic context, the anthropology of food and migration further highlights that migrants do not live in a vacuum, but are instead entangled in networks of relations, all of which potentially shape their food practices and, in turn, inform those of others. Some may prefer to focus on relations within migrant groups or those that cut across such divisions as part of wider diasporas, whereas others may focus on the interactions between hosts and migrants or between migrants and the sending communities. But what is of central importance is that we recognize that these relationships are interwoven, and that neither the foodways 'from here' nor the foodways 'from there' are static, but are instead subjected to multiple influences and change. In this chapter, I have made a particular plea for more attention to be directed towards the dynamics between migrants in situ and their sending communities, and advocated

a broader framework that incorporates these relations. I have also encouraged an approach that recognizes the consequences of migration on the sending community, as a way of emphasizing these dynamic interplays and processes. I have further signalled that the embodied experience of migration, while subject to some discussion, is an emergent area of research that has significant potential to provide new insights into the relationship between food and migration. This is not to disparage, or diminish the contribution, of work that has focused on the ways that migrants (re)establish their own food practices in their host contexts and (re)produce identities through food. Rather it is to state that this trope of literature, while providing a solid foundation for the anthropology of food and migration, is treading a rather well-worn path. Studies of food and migration have a significant contribution to make to the ways in which we understand the flows of people, objects and narratives and the ways individuals – both those who are ‘on the move’ (Renne 2008: 623) and those who appear to be staying ‘at home’ – experience and negotiate these movements. I hope to have indicated some possible directions that could augment and enhance this contribution.

REFERENCES

- Abbots, E.-J. (2011), “It Doesn’t Taste as Good from the Pet Shop”: Guinea Pig Consumption and the Performance of Class and Kinship in Highland Ecuador and New York City’, *Food, Culture and Society*, 14(2): 205–24.
- Abbots, E.-J. (2012a), ‘The Celebratory and the Everyday: Guinea Pigs, Hamburgers and the Performance of Food Heritage in Highland Ecuador’, in M. McWilliams (ed.), *Celebrations: The Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 2011*, 12–23, London: Prospect Books.
- Abbots, E.-J. (2012b), ‘In the Absence of Men? Gender, Migration and Domestic Labour in the Southern Ecuadorean Andes’, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 44(1): 71–96.
- Abbots, E.-J. (2013), ‘Negotiating Foreign Bodies: Migration, Trust and the Risky Business of Eating in Highland Ecuador’, in E.-J. Abbots and A. Lavis (eds), *Why We Eat, How We Eat: Contemporary Encounters Between Foods and Bodies*, 119–38, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Abbots, E.-J. (2014a), ‘The Fast and the Fusion: Class, Creolization and the Remaking of *Comida Típica* in Highland Ecuador’, in J. Klein and A. Murcott (eds), *Food Consumption in Global Perspective. Essays in the Anthropology of Food in Honour of Jack Goody*, 87–107, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hants: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Abbots, E.-J. (2014b), ‘Investing in the Family’s Future: Labour, Gender and Consumption in Highland Ecuador’, *Families, Relationships and Societies*, 3(1): 143–8.
- Abbots, E.-J. (2015), ‘Buying the Ties that Bind: Consumption, Care and Intimate Investment among Transnational Households in Highland Ecuador’, in E. Casey and Y. Taylor (eds), *Intimacies, Critical Consumption and Diverse Economies*, 36–59, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hants: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Abbots, E.-J. and Lavis, A. (2013), ‘Introduction: Mapping the New Terrain of Eating: Reflections on the Encounters between Foods and Bodies’, in E.-J. Abbots and A. Lavis (eds), *Why We Eat, How We Eat: Contemporary Encounters Between Foods and Bodies*, 1–12, Aldershot: Ashgate.

- Baxter, S. and Raw, G. (1988), 'Fast Food, Fettered Work: Chinese Women in the Ethnic Catering Industry', in S. Westwood and P. Bhachu (eds), *Enterprising Women: Ethnicity, Economy, and Gender Relations*, 58–75, London: Routledge.
- Ben-Ze'ev, E. (2004), 'The Politics of Taste and Smell: Palestinian Rights of Return', in M. Lien and B. Nerlich (eds), *The Politics of Food*, 141–60, Oxford: Berg.
- Beyers, L. (2008), 'Creating Home: Food, Ethnicity and Gender among Italians in Belgium since 1946', *Food, Culture and Society*, 11(1): 7–27.
- Bradby, H. (1997), 'Health, Eating and Heart Attacks: Glaswegian Punjabi Women's Thinking about Everyday Food', in P. Caplan (ed.), *Food, Health and Identity*, 213–33, London: Routledge.
- Caldwell, M. L. (2004), 'Domesticating the French Fry: McDonald's and Consumerism in Moscow', *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 4(1): 5–26.
- Carsten, J. (1997), *The Heat of the Hearth: The Process of Kinship in a Malay Fishing Community*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Caplan, P. (1997), 'Approaches to the Study of Food, Health and Identity', in P. Caplan (ed.), *Food, Health and Identity*, 1–31, London: Routledge.
- Chapman, G. E. and Beagan, B. L. (2011), 'Food Practices and Transnational Identities: Case Studies of Two Punjabi-Canadian Families', *Food, Culture and Society*, 16(3): 367–86.
- Charon Cardona, E. T. (2004), 'Re-encountering Cuban Tastes in Australia', *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, 15(1): 40–53.
- Collins, E. L. (2008), 'Of Kimchi and Coffee: Globalisation, Transnationalism and Familiarity in Culinary Consumption', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 9: 151–69.
- Cook, I., Crang P. and Thorpe, M. (1999), 'Eating into Britishness: Multicultural Imaginaries and the Identity Politics of Food', in S. Roseneil and J. Seymour (eds), *Practising Identities: Power and Resistance*, 223–48, Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Counihan, C. M. (1999), *The Anthropology of Food and the Body: Gender, Meaning and Power*, New York: Routledge.
- Counihan, C. M. and Kaplan S. L. (1998), *Food and Gender: Identity and Power*, Amsterdam: Harwood.
- DeVault, M. L. (1991), *Feeding the Family: The Social Organisation of Caring as Gendered Work*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Diner, H. R. (2001), *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration*, Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.
- Durand, J. Kandel, W., Parrado, E. A. and Massey, D. S. (1996), 'International Migration and Development in Mexican Communities', *Demography*, 33(2): 249–64.
- Fechter, A.-M. (2007), *Transnational Lives: Expatriates in Indonesia*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Fischler, C. (1988), 'Food, Self and Identity', *Social Science Information*, 27: 275–92.
- Flowers, R. and Swan, E. (2015), 'Multiculturalism as Work: The Emotional Labour of Ethnic Food Tour Guides', in E.-J. Abbots, A. Lavis, and L. Attala (eds), *Careful Eating: Bodies, Food and Care*, 25–44, Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate.
- Frost, N. (2008), '"Strange People But They Sure Can Cook!" An Indonesian Women's Group in Sydney', *Food, Culture and Society*, 11(2): 173–89.
- Hannerz, U. (1987), 'The World in Creolization', *Africa: Journal of the International Africa Institute*, 57(4): 546–59.
- Harbottle, L. (1997), 'Fast Food/Spoiled Identity: Iranian Migrants in the British Catering Trade', in P. Caplan (ed.), *Food, Health and Identity*, 87–110, London: Routledge.

- Harbottle, L. (2000), *Food for Health, Food for Wealth: The Performance of Ethnic and Gender Identities by Iranian Settlers in Britain*, New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Hage, G. (1997), 'At Home in the Entrails of the West: Multiculturalism, Ethnic Food and Migrant Home-Building', in H. Grace, G. Hage, L. Johnson, J. Langsworth and M. Symonds (eds), *Home/World: Space, Community and Marginality in Sydney's West*, 99–153, Annandale, NSW: Pluto Press.
- Holtzman, J. D. (2006), 'Food and Memory', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 35(1): 361–78.
- Jamal, A. (1996), 'Acculturation: The Symbolism of Ethnic Eating among Contemporary British Consumers', *British Food Journal*, 98(10): 12–26.
- Kalcik, S. (1984), 'Ethnic Foodways in America: Symbol and the Performance of Identity', in L. Keller Brown and K. Mussell (eds), *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: The Performance of Group Identity*, 37–65, Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Kalra, V. S. (2004), 'The Political Economy of the Samosa', *South Asia Research*, 24: 21–36.
- Mankekar, P. (2005), '"Indian Shopping": India Grocery Stores and Transnational Configurations of Belonging', in J. L. Watson and M. Caldwell (eds), *The Cultural Politics of Food and Eating: A Reader*, 197–214, Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- McIntosh, W. A. (1996), *The Sociologies of Food and Nutrition*, New York: Plenum Press.
- Murcott, A. (1983), '"It's a Pleasure to Cook for Him": Food, Mealtimes and Gender in some South Wales Households', in E. Garmanikow, D. Morgan, J. Purvis and D. Taylorson (eds), *The Public and the Private: Social Patterns of Gender Relations*, 78–90, London: Heinemann.
- Ong, A. (1999), *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Pilcher, J. M. (1998), *Que Vivan Los Tamales!: Food and the Making of Mexican Identity*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Ray, K. (2004), *The Migrant's Table: Meals and Memories in Bengali-American Households*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Renne, E. P. (2007), 'Mass Producing Food Traditions for West Africans Abroad', *American Anthropologist*, 109(4): 616–25.
- Ritzer, G. (2010), *McDonaldization: The Reader*, Los Angeles, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Rouse R. (1995), 'Questions of Identity: Personhood and Collectivity in Transnational Migration to the United States', *Critique of Anthropology*, 15: 351–80.
- Saber, G. and Posner, R. (2013), 'Remembering the Past and Constructing the Future Over a Communal Plate', *Food, Culture and Society*, 16(2): 197–222.
- Schiller, N. G., Basch, L. and Blanc, C. S. (1995), 'From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Migration', *Anthropological Quarterly*, 68: 48–63.
- Stoller, D. (1989), *The Taste of Ethnographic Things: The Senses in Anthropology*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Strathern, M. (1988), *The Gender of the Gift: Problems with Women and Problems with Society in Melanesia*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Sutton, D. (2001), *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory*, Oxford: Berg.

- Tuomainen, H. M. (2011), 'Ethnic Identity, (Post) Colonialism and Foodways: Ghanaians in London', *Food, Culture and Society*, 12(4): 525-54.
- Vasco, C. (2011), *The Impact of International Migration and Remittances on Agricultural Production Patterns, Labor Relationships and Entrepreneurship: The Case of Rural Ecuador*, Published thesis, Kassell, Germany: Kassell University Press.
- Vallianatos, H. and Raine, K. (2008), 'Consuming Food and Constructing Identities among Arabic and South Asian Immigrant Women', *Food, Culture and Society*, 11(3): 355-73.
- Van Otterloo, A. H. (1987), 'Foreign Immigrants and the Dutch at Table, 1945-1985: Bridging or Widening the Gap?' *Netherlands Journal of Sociology*, 23: 126-43.
- Watson, J. L. (ed.) (2006), *Golden Arches East: McDonalds in East Asia*, 2nd edn, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Weismantel, M. J. (1988), *Food, Gender and Poverty in the Ecuadorian Andes*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.