



Milk consumption in Modern China: politics of science, dietary health knowledge, and identity building

Shaping milk consumption in modern China: an examination of the development and management of Dairy industry in modern Shanghai (in Chinese), by Zhang Sirui, Shanghai, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press, 2020, 216 pp., ¥58.00 (paperback), ISBN: 9787552031430
Mother's milk and cow's milk: infant feeding and the reconstruction of motherhood in modern China, 1895–1937 (in Chinese), by Lu Shuying, Shanghai, East China Normal University Press, 2020, 350 pp., ¥69.80 (paperback), ISBN: 9787576004472
Milk craze: body, science, and hope in China, by Veronica S. W. Mak, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2021, 224 pp., \$28.00 (paperback), ISBN: 9780824887988

Hang Lin

To cite this article: Hang Lin (2022) Milk consumption in Modern China: politics of science, dietary health knowledge, and identity building, *Critical Asian Studies*, 54:2, 294-303, DOI: [10.1080/14672715.2022.2064890](https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2022.2064890)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2022.2064890>



Published online: 19 Apr 2022.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 34



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

REVIEW



Milk consumption in Modern China: politics of science, dietary health knowledge, and identity building

Hang Lin

Department of History, Hangzhou Normal University, Hangzhou, People's Republic of China

Shaping milk consumption in modern China: an examination of the development and management of Dairy industry in modern Shanghai (in Chinese), by Zhang Sirui, Shanghai, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press, 2020, 216 pp., ¥58.00 (paperback), ISBN: 9787552031430

Mother's milk and cow's milk: infant feeding and the reconstruction of motherhood in modern China, 1895–1937 (in Chinese), by Lu Shuying, Shanghai, East China Normal University Press, 2020, 350 pp., ¥69.80 (paperback), ISBN: 9787576004472

Milk craze: body, science, and hope in China, by Veronica S. W. Mak, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2021, 224 pp., \$28.00 (paperback), ISBN: 9780824887988

ARTICLE HISTORY Received 5 April 2022; Accepted 7 April 2022

For centuries, milk was not a staple food in China; in fact, it served as a marker of racial distinction between the agricultural Han-Chinese and the non-Han nomads on the steppe. Since the nineteenth century, however, milk has increasingly become a common choice for infant feeding and adult nourishment; moreover, it has become a matter of national prosperity. Even though lactase persistence is markedly low in China (five percent compared to eighty-six percent in the United States), China has become the world's fourth-largest dairy producer in the past twenty years.¹ This surge in milk consumption in China is directly reflected in the bulk purchasing of infant formula milk by Chinese tourists traveling abroad after the 2008 melamine-tainted milk scandal in China. Now that milk, especially formula milk, is playing a significant role in the daily lives of contemporary Chinese citizens, one may wonder how milk transformed from being a marginal food to an important food in Chinese diets. What does the increasing prominence of milk tell us about how Chinese citizens acquire dietary health knowledge and define their identities in the process of modernization? What does this obsession with milk reinforce or obscure?

Zhang Sirui, Lu Shuying, and Veronica S. W. Mak have tackled these questions from different geographical and temporal perspectives, collectively providing a multisite ethnographic analysis of milk by focusing on Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Shunde (in Guangdong Province), respectively. Shanghai is probably one of the earliest places in Asia to have had foreign dairy cows, as breeds from Europe had arrived there by 1870. As the first mainland city to possess a large-scale, commercialized dairy industry, Shanghai in

CONTACT Hang Lin  hang.lin@hznu.edu.cn

¹Wang et al. 1984, 103–106; Nicklas et al. 2009, 222–227.

the 1930s had the most dairy farms, the largest milk production, and the largest number of milk consumers in China. In 1880, the first dairy cow arrived in Hong Kong from the British Isles, and dairy products soon became popular and were incorporated into Chinese culinary culture in the territory. Compared to these two megacities, Shunde, located two hours north of Hong Kong, is home to an indigenous tradition of water buffalo milk and cheese, even though in recent decades this tradition has been experiencing a serious decline. Given Hong Kong's current model of "one-country, two systems" after over a century of British colonial rule, Shunde and Hong Kong are politically dissimilar despite their geographical proximity. As a result, these two cities offer a valuable venue to examine the influence of political factors on dietary changes. Covering an extended period from the late nineteenth century to today, these three books collectively analyze the complex issues centered around the adoption of dairy in Chinese diets as well as the new cultural and ethnographical meanings created through this process.

Institutionalization of milk in modern Shanghai

In *Shaping Milk Consumption in Modern China*, Zhang Sirui takes her readers back to Shanghai in the first half of the twentieth century, tracing the evolution of the dairy industry's regulatory body and the formation of industry standards. Dairy cattle were introduced into Shanghai by European residents as a foreign community began to form in the settlement after the city opened up for international trade as a result of the First Opium War.² Given a constant increase in local milk production in the following decades, as Zhang demonstrates in Chapters Two and Three, the Shanghai Municipal Council – the administrative organ of the Shanghai International Settlement – began to regulate the dairy industry by introducing food safety standards as well as regulatory rules. The council took a series of measures, including the implementation of a license system in 1898, the establishment of an independent testing laboratory in 1906, and the promulgation of obligatory pasteurization in 1936. Such procedures show, as Zhang cogently points out, that the settlements "processed the dominance of both discourse and action by installing rules and regulating behaviors" while the local Chinese community "only played a secondary role in cooperating with the actions of the settlements."³

While professional knowledge about cow milk only had a limited impact on the public in the nineteenth century, Zhang notes in Chapter Four that the rise of commercial advertisements in the 1920s contributed greatly to milk's popularity among Shanghai residents. Through an examination of advertisements for dairy products in contemporary newspapers and magazines, Zhang reveals that media advertisements "effectively stimulated people's desire to buy through emphasis on various appeals [to health-related issues] and compelling images, combined with a variety of marketing strategies."⁴ Aided by such advertisements, milk powder by Lactogen and condensed milk by Nestlé become widely accepted among mothers, who began to rely on dairy products as substitutes for human milk.

²Ke 2009, 73, cited in Mak 2021, 82.

³Zhang 2020, 51.

⁴Zhang 2020, 120–121.

After outlining in Chapter Five the difficulties that the dairy industry in Shanghai faced during the Japanese occupation from 1937 to 1945, Zhang analyzes the post-war reorganization of Shanghai's dairy industry by undertaking a detailed case study of the disputes between Shanghai's two dairy industry associations and their eventual merger. In contrast to the existing literature, which tends to emphasize competition for profit or the predominant role of the new government of the People's Republic of China, Zhang argues that the conflict was in fact caused by industry standards.⁵ While one association insisted on the pasteurization of fresh milk, the other, consisting of smaller producers who could not afford the large investment cost of pasteurization facilities, rejected this. This tension was further complicated by national regime change from the Nationalists to the Communists in 1949. With a state-orchestrated merger of the two associations in 1951 and the establishment of the state-owned Shanghai Dairy Company in 1956, "milk produced by all dairy farms was collected by the company and then sold after pasteurization in the factory."⁶ It was thus that Shanghai's dairy industry finally became consolidated.

Reconstructions of motherhood through cow milk feeding

As Zhang demonstrates, from the Shanghai Municipal Council in the nineteenth century to the Shanghai People's Municipal Government in the 1950s, the city's administration had a dominant role in both the development of the dairy industry and the adoption of milk as a part of daily diets. Yet government involvement was not the sole factor that contributed to the emergence and rise of Shanghai's dairy industry. Focusing on the changing perceptions and practices of infant feeding in Shanghai from the end of the nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries, Lu Shuying in *Mother's Milk and Cow's Milk* explores how bottle-feeding replaced breastfeeding and brought about changes in the role of mothers in socio-cultural spheres. Lu analyzes this change from the mothers' perspectives which, in her words, reflects "how the lives of mothers and their children were affected by [medical] science, new trends of thought, and ideas of modern nation-states."⁷ With this as her conceptual basis, Lu sets out to uncover "the contradictions and tensions between women's career, motherhood, and personal pursuit."⁸ By tracing the trajectory of this development, she illustrates how foreign food and material culture took root in China as a part of the evolving process of Chinese modernity.

Following a brief introduction that summarizes her main arguments, Lu provides an overview of traditional Chinese infant feeding approaches to explain how the introduction of cow milk and feeding-related knowledge by foreigners in the late nineteenth century paved the way for later changes in feeding methods. In her second chapter, she expounds on how, as China came under tremendous socio-political pressure in the early twentieth century, breastfeeding suddenly gained special importance. A number of Chinese scholars at the time promoted it as the standard for being a good mother and a way to strengthen the Chinese nation-state. This politicization of the

⁵Glosser 1999; Wang 2009.

⁶Zhang 2020, 194.

⁷Lu 2020, 10.

⁸Lu 2020, 305.

female body intensified in the 1920s when the central government and local administrations alike issued regulations to ban women from wearing corsets, because, they claimed, these would “obstruct breast development and reduce milk secretion, which not only affects women’s health but also endangers national health.”⁹ In 1934, under the combined influence of the Great Depression and the Guomindang’s (KMT) New Life Movement, women were urged by academics and politicians to stay at home to raise their children through breastfeeding. Despite this, a growing number of women in Shanghai, known as “modern mothers,” opted for wet nurses and cow milk instead of breastfeeding.¹⁰ Such decisions ran counter to the state-promoted vision of good wives and good mothers. However, as Lu aptly points out, these women were permitted to do so partly because the improved material well-being and the spread of liberalism provided women with agency to rethink how to perform motherhood and solve the problem of infant feeding.

While cow milk was not widely considered by Chinese a perfect substitute for mother’s milk, Lu shows in Chapter Three that the perception and acceptance of using cow milk for infant feeding changed significantly in the 1920s. The previously negative attitude towards cow milk began to change with the rise of nutrition as a science. In particular, knowledge about vitamins confirmed the nutritional value of cow milk and “constructed the argument that cow milk could create a civilized and progressive nation.”¹¹ When imported milk powder became available, bottle-feeding became increasingly popular as dairy companies combined nutritional science with traditional Chinese medical knowledge in their advertisements and promotional events. As a result, sales of dairy products and milk substitutes shot up and bottle-feeding became widely popular among urban residents of all strata of society. This had a big impact on the lives of mothers, as they were no longer required to stay at home with their babies; their mobility increased and their living space expanded. New knowledge about feeding methods prompted mothers to reconsider their roles in both family and society.

In her final chapter, Lu discusses why mothers in Shanghai in the 1920s and 1930s opted for cow milk for infant feeding and how it empowered them both domestically and socially. Through an analysis of two social surveys conducted in 1927 and 1930, Lu argues that intellectuals during that period held diverse, sometimes even contradictory, opinions about bottle-feeding. A considerable number of parents would not adapt cow milk, even though, “[relevant] health knowledge and material requisites for bottle-feeding were available.”¹² As case studies of educated women including Qin Ying (1906–1993) and Ding Ling (1904–1986) reveal, even though mothers had a considerable degree of agency to decide how to feed their infants, “it does not mean that they agree heartily with their choice” and cow milk, though increasingly accepted, did not “bring about substantial changes to mothers’ agency.”¹³ Bottle-feeding required a considerable amount of health knowledge that was only accessible to educated women and well-off families; it also made the life rhythm of both mothers and babies subject to certain procedures, which did not help mothers work or liberate their bodies.

⁹Lu 2020, 75.

¹⁰Lien 2001, 180–188, cited in Lu 2020, 99. On the definition of “modern mothers” and their actions, see Edwards 2000.

¹¹Lu 2020, 128.

¹²Mak 2021, 223.

¹³Mak 2021, 280–281.

Syncretization of foreign ideas and local norms

While both Zhang and Lu focus on the historical adoption of cow milk and related cultural transformations in Shanghai, Veronica S. W. Mak focuses on Hong Kong and Shunde in her ethnographic study of how Chinese consume dairy products today and the socio-cultural meanings created through milk. She conducted extended field trips and interviewed people from diverse socio-economic backgrounds. These included mothers, nutritionists, doctors, food historians, culinary teachers, water buffalo farmers, cheese makers, and chefs. In her book, she emphasizes the importance of political and economic forces that pattern social behavior, generate cultural meanings, and condition collective identity.

Mak opens her book by briefly tracing the history of dairy products in ancient China and discussing their place in traditional Chinese medicine. Though decidedly unheralded in the old days, a milk culture has existed in China for centuries, and it has been shaped by environmental, historical, political, social, and cultural factors. In the case of Shunde, for instance, there has been an established milk culture thanks to “the popularity of water buffalo husbandry, high availability of water buffalo milk”, and “a leisure class with the cultural capital to appreciate [water buffalo] cheese [...] and milk delicacy.”¹⁴ These indigenous water buffalo milk products, as Mak explains in Chapter Two, are being quickly replaced by dairy cow milk in the context of economic globalization and China’s modernization. The rise of milk consumption in colonial Hong Kong marked the advance of foreign values of food, science, and health, acting as “a way of inculcating social values related to particular ideals of good bodies, good citizenship, and a strong nation.”¹⁵ Challenging the notion of cultural homogenization, Mak cogently demonstrates that Hong Kong, with its evolution of nutritional and cultural knowledge centering around milk, is an example of food science contributing to the rejuvenation of local culture and the creation of a culture of differences.

In Chapter Three, she traces the growth of a cow milk industry in tandem with a decline in indigenous water buffalo milk production and examines the changing socio-cultural values carried by formula milk. Building upon Pierre Bourdieu’s notion of cultural taste, Mak vividly depicts how global flows of capital, nutrition science, modern food and packaging technologies, as well as marketing techniques, have interacted to shape a new taste for cow milk.¹⁶ In the context of China’s modernization, cow milk is closely associated with “[new] meanings of milk products, our ideal bodies, and health and citizenship under the neoliberal governmentality and modernizing vision of the Chinese state.”¹⁷ While migrant workers in Shunde returned home with imported formula milk to show their earning capabilities and care for their children, middle-class mothers in Hong Kong relied on formula milk to meet the labor market’s aesthetic demands on their bodies. In both mainland China and Hong Kong, where competition in the exam-centric education systems is intense, dairy companies use carefully crafted marketing strategies that speak to anxious parents who tirelessly seek “scientific” techniques to produce high intelligence and strong bodies in their children.

¹⁴Mak 2021, 44–45.

¹⁵Mak 2021, 48. Similar expressions, though in the context of Shanghai, also appear in Lu 2020, 195–196.

¹⁶Bourdieu 1984, 231, cited in Mak 2021, 75.

¹⁷Mak 2021, 84.

Her final chapter examines the multi-faceted connections between milk consumption, dietary health, body management, and urban residents' attempts to cope with social, political, and cultural challenges. Mak refers to Yan Yunxiang's discussion of the drive for success in contemporary China to describe two types of milk-related illness, namely a mothers' "lack-of-milk syndrome" as a result of stress from work and the cultural norm that prizes slim female bodies, and children's "picky-eating illness," for which bottle-feeding is depicted as the best solution.¹⁸ Acknowledging that these two syndromes mirror the will of mothers and fathers of different social classes to perform as ideal parents, competent workers, and good citizens, Mak adopts a critical anthropological approach to de-medicalize these syndromes by arguing that they are constructed owing to the particular socio-economic and socio-cultural landscape of contemporary China.

Examining China's modernity through the lens of milk

Taken together, these three engaging studies trace the emergence of China's dairy industry and explore the cultural implications created through milk. While Zhang and Lu focus primarily on the historical aspects of milk production and consumption, Mak provides an ethnographic examination that analyzes contemporary Chinese consumption patterns as well as their ambivalent moral experiences and social concerns. Despite such differences in their approaches, all three studies are firmly based on meticulous research using a wide range of materials. To elucidate the evolution of a dairy industry and milk consumption in early-twentieth-century Shanghai, both Zhang and Lu delve into annual reports of the Shanghai Municipal Council, legal and mediation documents, sales records of dairy companies, personal diaries and correspondence, as well as local newspapers and magazines such as the *Shanghai Post (Shenbao)*, *North China Daily News (Zilin xibao)*, *North China Herald (Beihua jiebao)*, and *Ladies' Journal (Funü zazhi)*. Mak, on the other hand, conducts an in-depth analysis of data she gathered during her field trips and from a variety of other sources: marketing and public health materials on television, in newspapers, books, social media advertisements, and even informational brochures distributed in hospitals. Moreover, the authors have scrutinized all the available records without taking them at face value. Such a credible approach ensures the quality of these books, which, in Hon Ming Yip's words, are "informative in content and diverse in topics involved."¹⁹

Although their temporal and geographical emphases differ, all three studies raise important issues that pertain to the development of milk consumption and the related changes in cultural perception and practical engagement. First, the state has played a crucial role in the institutionalization of cow milk in modern China, albeit in different ways and for different reasons. In accordance with the concept of "food regime" coined by Harriet Friedmann, all three of these authors note that while there is an overlooked milk culture in Chinese diets, the introduction of cow milk into Chinese society began with colonialism.²⁰ To ensure the hygiene of cowsheds and the quality of fresh

¹⁸Yan 2013.

¹⁹Lu 2020, 3.

²⁰Friedmann 2005.

milk, the Shanghai Municipal Council issued regulations to classify dairy producers and promote pasteurization, a move that laid the foundation for the later collectivization of the dairy industry in the 1950s. The rising popularity of formula milk in China and other Asian countries in the post-war period, as the authors have noted, was largely promoted by international food aid programs, in which Anglo-American countries exported milk and made milk powder accessible to people from different social classes. Faced with competition from transnational dairy giants, the Chinese government actively pushed for the consolidation of smaller dairies into larger companies.

Commercial marketing was also vital in the promotion of a milk-drinking culture in China. Quoting nutrition statistics and emphasizing modern production technologies, milk powder manufacturers in the 1920s and 1930s endeavored to present cow milk as more nutritious, safer, and more reliable than mother's milk.²¹ In addition, advertisements with images of fashionable and slender women were used to imply that milk powder was the choice of "modern mothers" who could maintain their figures and enjoy social mobility by adopting formula feeding for their infants.²² These observations resonate with Li Zhongping's study of milk advertisements in the *Shanghai Post*, confirming that the images and texts were deliberately chosen to embody unique socio-cultural implications focused on medical knowledge, state modernization, and women's liberation.²³ Today's multinational dairy companies (such as Nestlé) label their powdered milk with formulas, symbols, icons, and chemical abbreviations of the ingredients – all to communicate the health and social benefits of their products. The result of this commercial offensive, as Mak vividly shows, has been the medicalization of milk-related illnesses as manifested in the "lack-of-milk syndrome" and the "picky-eating illness." By combining marketing strategies with China's culture of scholastic competition, milk powder companies have found a niche in providing parents with a means to enhance their children's cognitive development and, at the same time, partially resolve the cultural contractions they face.

In tandem with the introduction of cow milk came dietary education and nutrition science, which submerged traditional Chinese medical knowledge and substantially changed Chinese perceptions of their bodies and health. In the 1910s, milk consumption began to be used to measure the prowess of a nation, while in China people began to attach more importance to science. The dairy industry seized this opportunity to promote milk as a food that could strength both the body and the country. As revolutionary ideologies and nutriology gained popularity among urban intellectuals, together with the notions of timing, quantification, and rigorous procedures, a positive image of milk feeding was created.²⁴ In today's China, this emphasis on health knowledge and the construction of bodily ideals is again revealed in how formula milk is promoted to enhance children's academic performances. In other words, milk has been used in China since the late nineteenth century to pursue various social aims while at the same time creating new values attached to it. Such dynamics echo Ma Shuhua's vivid depiction of the introduction of beer and Frank Dikötter's observations on the localization of daily commodities in modern China.²⁵ Thus, milk has been consumed for reasons beyond health. There seems

²¹Zhang 2020, 97–99; Lu 2020, 123–124, 158–160.

²²Lu 2020, 88–93, 158–160, 166–169.

²³Li 2010, 106–113.

²⁴Lu 2020, 117.

to be a pattern, as many non-Euro-American countries, including China, eagerly accept Euro-American knowledge and regard it as progress in the pursuit of modernity. This leads to a syncretization of foreign ideas with local elements that ultimately reinforce local values and social norms.

In their discussions of the adoption of cow milk into Chinese diets, all three authors call attention to milk's impact on women's agency and the changing perception of this agency by both women and men. During the reform era in the late nineteenth century, Chinese intellectuals saw women's lack of knowledge and absence from work as a partial reason for China's poverty and weakness. As a result, women's bodies, behaviors, and thoughts became the object of reforms that aimed at promoting breastfeeding. The same reasoning was behind the development of domestic science, introduced into China in the 1920s via Japan, and the Nationalist government's corset ban in the 1930s. While women's autonomy expanded as education became more accessible during this period, breastfeeding was construed as their most important vocation: motherhood was endowed with the meaning of cultivating strong future citizens, and this in turn required women to stay at home and restrict their mobility. However, women were also increasingly exposed to educational and employment opportunities that enabled them to use cow milk as a substitute for breastfeeding. Concurrently, the new aesthetic emphasis on body curves also created incentives for many women to reject breastfeeding. Today's middle-class mothers in China and in many Asian countries have more freedom than their predecessors to choose their own work and way of life, yet they are also fully aware of the benefits of breastfeeding. In consequence, many mothers face the dilemma of choosing between breastfeeding and formula milk. As Wang Shuyin notes, such situations reveal that mothers' infant feeding decisions are driven by their desire to build ideal identities as capable workers, good mothers, and decent individuals.²⁶

While cow milk feeding greatly empowered women in general, it also impacted the role of fathers. While a growing number of mothers in Shanghai in the 1920s and 1930s began to enjoy the autonomy of choosing their own infant feeding method, the deciding factor in whether they could exert their subjective initiative, as Lu reminds her readers, was the preference of their spouses.²⁷ Because educated men often had better access to dietary knowledge and were the main source of family incomes, they frequently played a dominant role in determining infant feeding choices. In today's Hong Kong, as Mak reveals, obsessions with formula milk also reflect growing paternal influence on infant-feeding, as they now take "earning money to buy milk powder" as "a socially acceptable reason to justify their lack of time spent at home, engaged in child-rearing or housework."²⁸ Such arguments supplement Wang Shuyin's observation that participation in decision-making about feeding methods provides an opportunity for fathers to build a more intimate father-child relationship, which can be seen as the embodiment of modern individualism in the private sphere.²⁹

²⁵Ma 2016; Dikötter 2007.

²⁶Wang 2021.

²⁷Lu 2020, 275.

²⁸Mak 2021, 116.

²⁹Wang 2021, 45.

Conclusion

These three books add to the growing body of literature on the production and consumption of food as an object of modern dietary health knowledge, project of state modernization, outcome of commercial marketing strategies, as well as a site of social status and space to exercise autonomy and agency. Using extensive archival documents and ethnographical records, these books provide us with not only a multifaceted picture of the history of milk in China but also fascinating perspectives on the politics of science and construction of gender identity. All three analyze the change in the status of milk as a socio-cultural example of Chinese people's pursuit of modernity and construction of a modern identity.

Much of the discussion is illuminating, yet critical readers may find that the historical materials related to breastfeeding are mostly expositions of male intellectuals. This compels us to rethink some of the arguments concerning the pattern of the adoption of cow milk in Chinese diets and the cultural transformation this entails. Under such conditions, ideas and practice may sometimes be disconnected. Although Lu provides some detailed case studies written by women about how mothers made their feeding choices, she also acknowledges that these authors were female intellectuals, a distinct minority at that time.³⁰ Moreover, as Yung-Chen Chiang points out, many views expressed in women's magazines during this period tended to be extreme.³¹ In her study of contemporary Hong Kong and Shunde, on the other hand, Mak uses a case study method combined with ethnographic observation, thus the number of her interviewees is limited. While this qualitative approach creates a particular intimacy with her informants, she also runs the risk of overstating the cases' representativeness of urban middle-class Chinese families. If the overall appearance of a mother's role is summarized by using subjective expressions of particular cases, this may cause a distortion of historical facts.

These minor quibbles aside, these three books are admirable. By weaving together stories of milk consumption and cultural meanings of cow milk's adoption into Chinese diets, Zhang, Lu, and Mak offer stimulating and thought-provoking answers to some serious questions. Compellingly argued and eloquently written, these books provide their readers with a fruitful starting point for historicizing food in the Chinese context and are thus suitable reading for both academics and general readers interested in food history, material culture, and social transformation in China.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

This work was supported by Zhejiang Provincial Education Science Planning Project: [Grant Number 2022SCG017].

³⁰Lu 2020, 10.

³¹Chiang 2006.

Notes on contributor

Hang Lin is a professor of history in the School of Humanities at Hangzhou Normal University, China. His research focuses on the cultural history and transformation of China, with a particular focus on ethnology and ethnography of Chinese society. He has published articles in the *Journal of Urban History*, *Acta Orientalia*, *Medieval History Journal*, and the *Journal of Ethnography and Folklore*. In addition, his co-edited book, *Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts*, was published by De Gruyter in 2016.

References

- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Translated by Richard Nice. London: Routledge.
- Chiang, Yung-chen. 2006. "Womanhood, Motherhood and Biology: The Early Phases of *The Ladies' Journal*, 1915-1925." *Gender & History* 18 (3): 519-545.
- Dikötter, Frank. 2007. *Things Modern: Material Culture and Everyday Life in China*. London: Hurst.
- Edwards, Louise. 2000. "Policing the Modern Woman in Republican China." *Modern China* 26 (2): 115-147.
- Friedmann, Harriet. 2005. "From Colonialism to Green Capitalism: Social Movements and Emergence of Food Regimes." In *New Directions in the Sociology of Global Development*, edited by Frederick H. Buttel, and Philip McMichael, 227-264. Bingley: Emerald.
- Glosser, Susan. 1999. "Milk for Health, Milk for Profit: Shanghai's Chinese Dairy Industry Under Japanese Occupation." In *Inventing Nanjing Road Culture in Shanghai, 1900-1945*, edited by Sherman Cochran, 207-233. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Ke, Zhixiong. 2009. *Zhongguo naishang: Zhongguo naiye shedu diaocha baogao* [China's Milk Tragedy: An In-depth Investigation Report on China's Dairy Industry]. Taiyuan: Shanxi Economic Publishing Company [Shanxi Jingji Chubanshe].
- Li, Zhongping. 2010. "Cong jindai niuru guanggao kan Zhongguo de xiandaixing: yi 1927-1937 nian Shenbao wei zhongxin de kaocha [China's Modernity Viewed from Milk Advertisements in Shanghai Post from 1927 to 1937]." *Anhui daxue xuebao (Journal of Anhui University)* 3: 106-113.
- Lien, Lingling. 2001. "Searching for 'New Womanhood': Career Women in Shanghai, 1912-1945." PhD diss., University of California at Irvine.
- Ma, Shuhua. 2016. "Pijiu renzhi yu jindai Zhongguo dushi richang [Beer Cognition and Metropolis Daily Life in Modern China]." *Chengshishi yanjiu [Journal of Urban History]* 35: 163-196.
- Nicklas, Theresa A., Haiyan Qu, Sheryl O. Hughes, Sara E. Wagner, H. Russel Foushee, and Richard M. Shewchuk. 2009. "Prevalence of Self-Reported Lactose Intolerance in a Multiethnic Sample of Adults." *Nutrition Today* 44 (5): 222-227.
- Wang, Di. 2009. "Chengdu chashe tongye gonghui de xiaowang [The Perish of Chengdu's Trade Association of Tea Houses]." *Ershiyi shiji [Twenty-First Century]* 115: 46-54.
- Wang, Shuying. 2021. "Buyu Zhongguo: niunai yuying yu jindai Zhongguo jiating jiegou ji qinzi qinggan bianqian [Nursing China: Milk Nursery and Modern Chinese Family Structure and Parent-Child Relationship Changes]." *Hebei shifan daxue xuebao [Journal of Hebei Normal University]* 44 (5): 37-47.
- Wang Y. G., Y. S. Yan, J. J. Xu, R. F. Du, S. D. Flatz, W. Kühnau, and G. Flatz. 1984. "Prevalence of Primary Adult Lactose Malabsorption in Three Populations of Northern China." *Human Genetics* 67 (1): 103-106.
- Yan, Yunxiang. 2013. "The Drive for Success and the Ethics of the Striving Individual." In *Ordinary Ethics in China Today*, edited by Charles Stafford, 263-291. London: Bloomsbury.