

6. Japan's Gastrodiploacy: A Historical Overview

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Abstract

[EN] This short article examines the historical development and contemporary contradictions of Japanese gastrodiploacy through the concepts of food heritage, gastro-anomy, and compressed modernity. While gastrodiploacy is often treated as a recent form of cultural diplomacy associated with UNESCO heritage politics and nation branding, this article situates it within the long-term transformation of Japanese cuisine and *washoku*. Drawing on historical studies of Japanese food culture, diplomatic history, and recent debates on UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage, the article argues that contemporary gastrodiploacy should be understood as a reflexive process in which national cuisine is continuously reconstructed through global circulation. The first part traces the historical formation of Japanese cuisine from aristocratic banquet cuisine and warrior-class cuisine to Zen-influenced vegetarian cuisine, tea ceremony cuisine, *kaiseki* cuisine, and modern *washoku*. The article demonstrates that Japanese cuisine developed through processes of social differentiation and trickle-down transmission comparable to those identified in studies of French gastronomy. The second part reconstructs the history of Japanese gastrodiploacy from early encounters with Christian missionaries and Korean embassies to modern diplomatic banquets shaped by French cuisine. It shows that modern Japanese gastrodiploacy was paradoxically founded not on *washoku*, but on Western cuisine as a performance of «civilization» during the modern period. At the same time, tea ceremony diplomacy represented an alternative form of cultural diplomacy grounded in reconstructed notions of Japanese tradition and peace after World War II. The third part analyzes the heritage-making of *washoku* following its UNESCO inscription in 2013. It argues that *washoku* is an inherently polysemic concept encompassing elite cuisine, everyday food practices, regional traditions, and

globalized images of Japanese food. Because of this ambiguity, *washoku* has become an arena of symbolic struggle among states, markets, experts, and consumers. The article further examines several contradictions surrounding the heritage discourse of *washoku*, including nutritional myths, the gendered idealization of *ichijū-sansai* («rice, one soup and three side dishes»), and tensions between authenticity and globalization. Finally, the article situates gastrodiploamacy within the broader context of Asian compressed modernity. It argues that the strong development of gastrodiploamacy in Asia reflects conditions of rapid modernization, intensified regional competition, and the weakening of stable food norms. Behind the globalization of *washoku* lies a deeper condition of gastro-anomy in which food identities are increasingly reconstructed through heritage, tourism, science, and state policy. Rather than a temporary cultural trend, gastrodiploamacy should therefore be understood as a structural consequence of globalization and food modernity.

Keywords: *Washoku, Japanese cuisine, gastrodiploamacy, food heritage, food modernization*

1. Gastro-Anomy and Gastrodiplomacy

Sociologist Claude Fischler (1990) famously described the condition faced by contemporary eaters as «gastro-anomy». The original meaning of gastronomy, a term closely associated with French food culture, refers to the normative regulation of one's own eating. By incorporating Émile Durkheim's sociological concept of anomy into this notion, Fischler used «gastro-anomy» to describe a condition in which individuals no longer know what they should eat because of the collapse of dietary norms or the proliferation of conflicting dietary norms. It denotes a state of ontological anxiety and loss of identity. The search for «national cuisine» and «food heritage» is rooted in this fundamental condition. For anxious eaters, national identity and tradition appear to provide legitimate sources of dietary norms. Food-related actors—producers, chefs, and other agro-food businesses—supply the ingredients, menus, and culinary experiences that constitute national cuisine, often for economic reasons. States, meanwhile, mobilize everyday food practices as forms of «banal nationalism» to construct and reinforce the nation-state as an «imagined community» (ANDERSON 1983; BILLIG 1995). Movements surrounding national cuisine have existed since the modern period, but they were largely domestic in orientation.

What is distinctive today is that such movements have become outward-looking and circulatory, involving international organizations such as UNESCO and global markets. This new phase is commonly called «gastrodiplomacy». Gastrodiplomacy thus directly relates to the theme of this special issue, as it involves the reconstruction of national cuisines and food heritage through global circulation. Using Japan as a case study, this article examines the historical development and contemporary dynamics of gastrodiplomacy.

The concept of gastrodiplomacy itself is relatively recent. The term is generally traced to the Economist (2002) article «Thailand's Gastro-diplomacy», which discussed Thailand's Global Thai program. The initiative aimed to increase the number of Thai restaurants overseas in order to promote tourism and improve international relations. Since the 2000s, similar government-led campaigns have emerged across Asia, including Japan, China, South Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia, and Indonesia.

Despite its growing use, gastrodiplomacy has primarily functioned as a policy and media term, and its theoretical foundations remain underdeveloped. This

does not mean, however, that the concept lacks analytical value. Before proceeding, a working definition should be established. The following definition synthesizes more than two decades of gastrodiploamacy research and offers a relatively balanced formulation: Gastrodiploamacy is «a form of cultural diploamacy that uses the appeal of food to expand a nation's soft power among foreign publics, with the aim of achieving economic, political, and other related benefits» (LI & MOK 2025: 10)¹.

Gastrodiploamacy research is also notable for its strong Asian concentration: more than 70 percent of existing studies focus on Asian countries (LI & MOK 2025). Explaining why gastrodiploamacy has become particularly prominent in Asia, and identifying the historical and social conditions behind this development, constitutes an important scholarly task.

Recent studies on Japan's gastrodiploamacy have emerged largely in response to the UNESCO inscription of *washoku* as an Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) in 2013 (RATH 2016; ICHIJO & RANTA 2016; CwierTKA & YASUHARA 2020; UEDA 2022). As CwierTKa argues:

«*washoku*, as it is currently being promoted, is a myth constructed for the purposes of the UNESCO inscription, whose propagation ultimately aims to solve the problems faced by the Japanese authorities since the beginning of the post-bubble era: Japan's declining competitiveness in the global marketplace, the Japanese population's poor opinion of their country's achievements, and the country's low food self-sufficiency ratio» (CwierTKA 2018: 98).

Similarly, Farina notes that:

¹ Similarly, cultural diploamacy may be defined as «an actor's attempt to manage the international environment through making its cultural resources and achievements known overseas and/or facilitating cultural transmissions abroad» (CULL 2008: 33), while soft power refers to «the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments» (NYE 2004: x). Related concepts such as culinary diploamacy, gastro-politics, and gastro-nationalism overlap considerably with gastrodiploamacy and are not distinguished in this article.

«The *shokuiku* campaign and the inscription of *washoku* in the UNESCO ICH list are an example of a political process which, through the use of stereotyped — if not invented — concepts relating to the Japanese culinary tradition (such as the centrality of rice, the *ichijū-sansai* structure, the health benefits, the respect of nature) tries to foster national identity and reorient the Japanese towards a major consumption of domestic food» (FARINA 2021: 103).

As these studies suggest, Japan's gastrodiploamacy emerged as a response to broader economic, political, and moral contradictions within Japanese society. Gastrodiploamacy is not simply an external promotional strategy. Because it simultaneously reshapes the meaning and definition of Japanese cuisine itself, it functions as an inherently circular process (BESTOR 2014).

Gastrodiploamacy remains an ongoing phenomenon, making definitive evaluation difficult. Existing studies have mainly focused on developments surrounding the UNESCO inscription of *washoku*. Yet Japan possesses a much longer historical tradition of gastrodiploamatic practice extending back even before the modern period.

Methodologically, this article adopts a historical-conceptual approach, reconstructing the long-term development of Japanese cuisine and culinary diplomacy primarily through existing secondary literature, while also building on the author's previous historical research based on primary sources (UEDA 2022; 2026). It draws particularly on Japanese-language historical scholarship on Japanese cuisine and diplomatic dining, bringing these studies into dialogue with the international literature on gastrodiploamacy, food heritage, and sociology of food. Rather than providing an exhaustive historical account, this reconstruction rereads these historical developments through the concept of gastrodiploamacy in order to situate what is often regarded as a recent nation-branding practice within a longer historical trajectory.

2. A Brief History of Japanese Cuisine and Washoku

Before examining modern gastrodiploamacy, it is necessary to outline the historical formation of Japanese cuisine (UEDA 2022; 2026). The earliest documented form was *daikyō ryōri*, an aristocratic banquet cuisine that emerged under the seventh-century *ritsuryō* state. Centered on rice, it consisted of numerous dishes made from fish, seafood, and vegetables. Diners seasoned foods individually with condiments placed before them, using chopsticks and spoons. The number of dishes varied according to rank and office, making cuisine a marker of social distinction. Although visually elaborate, many dishes relied on relatively simple techniques such as drying or preservation. In the medieval period, the warrior class gradually replaced the aristocracy as the dominant political force. Yet cultural authority remained with the court nobility, and *samurai* elites initially imitated aristocratic food culture. This led to the development of *honzen ryōri*, the formal cuisine of warrior society. In ceremonial banquets, especially *onari* feasts hosted for the *shogun*, multiple trays of food and *sake* were served in highly codified sequences. The refinement of *honzen ryōri* astonished European observers. Jesuit missionary Luís Fróis wrote that, whereas Europeans regarded eating as a natural act, «for the Japanese it is a ritual». He also noted the extraordinary cleanliness, visual arrangement, and sophistication of Japanese fish cuisine (UEDA 2022: 155).

Alongside *honzen ryōri*, Buddhist temples developed *shōjin ryōri*, a vegetarian cuisine. From the thirteenth century onward, Zen monks returning from China introduced advanced culinary techniques using vegetables and grains, including simmering, boiling, and grinding methods that later influenced elite cuisine as well. Zen philosophy also deeply shaped Japanese food culture through the idea that «food itself is the Dharma».

Temples further contributed to the spread of tea culture. Tea drinking expanded beyond warrior elites and monasteries into popular society through roadside tea stalls and religious communities. While elite tea gatherings emphasized luxurious meals and expensive utensils, townspeople developed *wabi-cha* or *cha-no-yu*, a simpler tea culture grounded in modest food practices and Zen aesthetics. *Wabi* may be understood as an aesthetic of poverty. Before tea was served, *wabi-cha* gatherings offered a simple meal consisting of soup and side dishes, later known as *cha-kaiseki*. As the missionary João Rodrigues

observed, *cha-kaiseki* differed from the highly formalized *samurai* style by emphasizing the natural flavors, seasonality, and temperature of ingredients (UEDA 2022: 155).

In the early modern period, *kaiseki* cuisine gradually separated from tea practice and became an independent form of restaurant dining centered on food and *sake*. In modern Japan, restaurants reintroduced the cultural authority of the tea ceremony and refined *kaiseki* into a symbol of «Japanese cuisine». Through restaurants, cookbooks, women's education, modern nutrition science, and the activities of housewives, elements of *kaiseki* also entered domestic cooking, contributing to the formation of contemporary *washoku*. At this early stage, the distinction between «Japanese cuisine» (*nihon ryōri*) and «*washoku*» remained ambiguous. Both terms emerged in contrast to the spread of Western cuisine during modernization and referred broadly to indigenous food culture. The standard meal centered on rice, soup, side dishes based mainly on vegetables and soy products with limited fish or meat, and pickles. Everyday rice-based meals usually consisted of «one soup and/or one side dish», while the more elaborate «one soup and three side dishes» pattern was largely reserved for restaurants and special occasions.

The historical formation of Japanese cuisine closely resembles the developmental patterns identified in studies of French gastronomy (GOODY 1982; MENNELL 1985; POULAIN 2017). The establishment of *daikyō ryōri*, *honzen ryōri*, *cha-kaiseki* and *kaiseki* depended on processes of social differentiation among aristocrats, warriors, and townspeople. One can say that refined culinary «forms» created by elite classes were gradually combined with the «substances», including techniques, tastes, and Zen aesthetics developed in temples and urban popular culture. The diffusion of *kaiseki* cuisine into broader society through restaurants, culinary discourse, and education after the modern period may therefore be understood as a classic process of trickle-down «civilization» (ELIAS 2000)².

² Note, however, that the development of French gastronomy cannot be reduced to a simple trickle-down model. It also involved more circular «trickle-round» processes, including the rise of regionalism and tourism, as well as the gastronomization of popular and regional cuisines in the Nouvelle Cuisine movement. Likewise, in the Japanese case, the processes through which elite *kaiseki* cuisine and domestic cooking influenced one another, particularly in the modern and contemporary periods, remain empirically ambiguous in many respects.

3. A Brief History of Japan's Gastrodiploamacy

Continuing from this point, the following section provides an overview of Japanese history from the perspective of gastrodiploamacy (KUROIWA 2008; NISHIKAWA 2017). The aforementioned astonishment expressed by early Christian missionaries may be regarded as the first documented encounter with Japanese gastrodiploamacy. During the early modern Tokugawa period (seventeenth to nineteenth centuries), formal *honzen ryōri* banquets were also served to Korean embassies (*Chōsen tsūshinshi*). In Nagasaki, local officials and merchants occasionally hosted Chinese and Dutch traders, although the Tokugawa shogunate itself rarely organized official banquets for foreigners. Even within Japan, the emperor formally entertained the *shogun* only twice during the entire early modern period.

The modern history of Japan's gastrodiploamacy began with American Commodore Matthew Perry's arrival in 1853. Perry had previously enjoyed banquet cuisine in the Ryukyu Kingdom, which resembled Chinese cuisine in its heavy use of pork and oil. Precisely because of this experience, he reportedly reacted unfavorably to the formal *honzen* cuisine served in Yokohama, despite the inclusion of braised wild boar intended to suit American tastes (KUROIWA 2008: 15). Thirteen years later, Shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu hosted foreign diplomats at Osaka Castle with a full French-style banquet. Although prepared by French chefs, Japanese cooks may also have participated. Even after the fall of the Tokugawa regime in 1868, this model of French diplomatic dining became institutionalized and was inherited by the Meiji government and the Imperial Household Agency.

As a result, French full-course cuisine became the standard form of gastrodiploamacy, largely detached from the everyday *washoku* consumed by ordinary Japanese people. This was not simply a matter of taste. It reflected Meiji Japan's broader modernization strategy of achieving recognition as a «civilized nation» among the Western powers under the slogan of «rich country, strong army». Since French cuisine functioned as the *de facto* international standard of nineteenth-century diplomatic culture, the Japanese government officially adopted it for state banquets in 1873. Diplomatic hospitality was thus westernized not only in cuisine, but also in dress, etiquette, and architecture. Even today, state hospitality in Japan remains strongly shaped by this Meiji tradition. Contemporary diplomatic banquets are generally divided into three

categories: imperial state banquets for visiting heads of state, official dinners hosted by the prime minister, and official working visits. At imperial banquets, French cuisine remains the standard under the principle of offering «the best equally to everyone». Nevertheless, recent decades have seen increasing hybridization between Western and Japanese cuisine. Guests known to appreciate Japanese food, such as France's President Jacques Chirac or China's Premier Wen Jiabao, have sometimes been served hybrid menus accompanied by *sake* or *awamori* alongside wine. At the March 2025 imperial banquet for the Brazilian president, chopsticks were placed alongside Western tableware and Japanese-style appetizers were incorporated into the course meal.

Although Japanese gastrodiploacy from the modern period to the present has been centered largely on French cuisine, there were also partial attempts to develop forms of gastrodiploacy grounded in «authentic» Japanese food culture. One example is the international promotion of the tea ceremony through world expositions. Since the late nineteenth century, Japanese tea had expanded rapidly in the American market and temporarily surpassed Chinese tea imports. However, from the 1920s onward, Indian and Ceylon black tea steadily overtook Japanese tea. Japan therefore became increasingly motivated to promote tea culture abroad, including through tea ceremony exhibitions at international expositions.

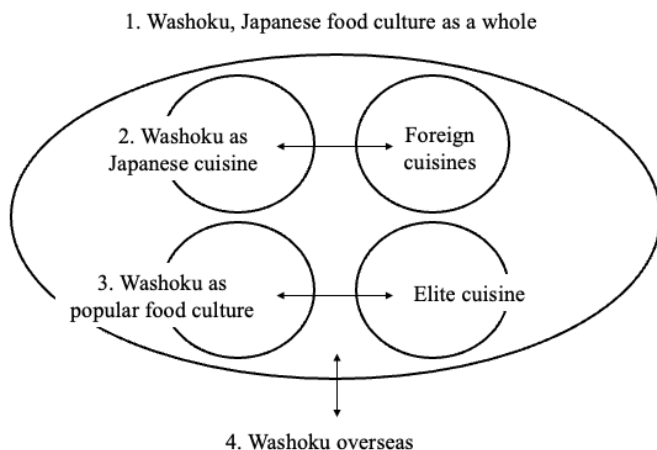
At the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, a traditional tea room serving *matcha* was installed. American visitors admired the atmosphere of peace and refinement, sometimes comparing the experience to a religious ritual, while simultaneously struggling with the unfamiliar practice of sitting formally on *tatami* mats. At the 1933 Chicago World's Fair, tea was instead served using the *ryūrei* (table ceremony) style devised by Gengensai, the eleventh head of the Urasenke school, allowing guests to experience the spirit of tea without the discomfort of floor seating.

The full internationalization of the tea ceremony, however, largely developed after World War II under Hōunsai, the fifteenth head of the Urasenke school. During the war, Hōunsai famously prepared tea for fellow soldiers departing on *kamikaze* missions. For men facing certain death, tea represented a final moment of shared humanity. Shaped by this wartime experience, Hōunsai later promoted the tea ceremony internationally as a practice embodying peace. Notably, «peace» had not been a central discourse within prewar tea culture itself; rather, it was reconstructed after the war. Sociologist Yoshino

Kōsaku describes this process as reconstructive nationalism, distinct from more creative forms of nationalism (YOSHINO 1997). Long before the contemporary discourse of *washoku* diplomacy, postwar Japan had already developed rich traditions of gastrodiploamacy.

4. Washoku as a Controversial Heritage

Having reviewed the historical development of Japanese food culture and gastrodiploamacy, we now move on to reconsider the polysemic nature of the concept of *washoku*. While *wa* means «Japanese» and *shoku* means «food and eating», the term currently contains at least four distinct meanings: (1) Japanese food culture as a whole; (2) Japanese cuisine contrasted with foreign cuisines, notably Western cuisine (*yōshoku*); (3) everyday or regional food cultures associated with ordinary people in contrast to elite Japanese cuisine (*nihon ryōri*); and (4) «*washoku*» as perceived overseas (see f.1). Because these meanings constantly interact, *washoku* has become an extremely ambiguous concept. Precisely because of this ambiguity, various social actors—including the state and private corporations—engage in struggles over its meaning.



F.1 - The Concept of Washoku

Source: Developed by the author

The original heritage-making initiative emerged from a group of Kyoto chefs who sought to promote the cultural superiority of *kaiseki* cuisine internationally while stimulating domestic consumption. However, UNESCO intangible cultural heritage must constitute a broadly shared «social practice», making elite cuisine such as *kaiseki* unsuitable for inscription. At roughly the same time, South Korea's attempt to register royal court cuisine had been rejected. In response, Japanese stakeholders shifted the target of inscription toward the more popular and inclusive concept of *washoku*, leading to its successful inscription in 2013. More precisely, there remains a significant gap between the domestic Japanese understanding of *washoku* and the global definition institutionalized by UNESCO, although this issue cannot be explored fully here (UEDA 2022; 2026).

The Japanese side defined *washoku* as a social practice based on «respect for nature» and characterized by four elements:

- (1) the use of diverse and fresh ingredients that emphasize natural flavors;
- (2) nutritional balance and healthiness;
- (3) aesthetic presentation reflecting the beauty of nature and the seasons;
- (4) close ties to annual events and rituals.

Yet these characteristics are not unique to Japan and can be found in many food cultures worldwide. UNESCO evaluators themselves reportedly found the concept too abstract and requested greater specificity. As a result, Japanese representatives increasingly highlighted social practices associated with the New Year, such as *mochi*-pounding and *osechi* cuisine (a box of auspicious dishes), as emblematic examples of *washoku*. However, these are festive foods associated with special occasions rather than the everyday meals of ordinary Japanese people. Contradictions thus emerged from the beginning. One major issue concerns nutritional discourse. The official definition emphasizes the healthiness of *washoku*. Before World War II, most Japanese people consumed relatively modest diets centered on grains, vegetables, and fish. During the postwar economic boom, food availability increased dramatically and dietary westernization progressed. By the 1980s, Japanese diets had reached what nutritionists regarded as an ideal PFC (protein–fat–carbohydrate) balance. Yet this was only a temporary condition, as fat

consumption continued to rise thereafter. Conversely, pre-1980s diets were heavily carbohydrate-based and far from nutritionally ideal. If UNESCO heritage refers to «traditional Japanese food culture», then identifying the relatively recent dietary balance of the 1980s as «traditional» involves a significant historical distortion.

Another largely neglected issue concerns the gendered ideal of *ichijū-sansai* («rice, one soup and three side dishes»). Although not formally included in UNESCO's definition, this meal structure repeatedly appears in background reports and safeguarding policies as the supposed foundation of *washoku*. Historically, however, ordinary households rarely achieved such elaborate meal structures before the war. Analysis of cookbooks, newspapers, and culinary magazines suggests that *ichijū-sansai* only became standardized as the normative model of home cooking during the mid-1980s (UEDA 2022). This period coincided with the erosion of the postwar family system, including the decline of full-time housewifery. In reaction to these social changes, culinary expectations imposed on women were intensified, producing the normative ideal of *ichijū-sansai*. As contemporary surveys demonstrate, fewer than 10 percent of national households consistently practice this model for dinner, and it creates significant moral dilemmas, especially for working women (UEDA 2026).

At the same time, the globalization of *washoku* has accelerated rapidly since the 2000s. Japanese cuisine is not simply transferred abroad unchanged; rather, cultural encounters generate numerous fusion forms. Overseas perceptions of *washoku* also tend to focus narrowly on iconic dishes such as *sushi*, *sashimi*, *ramen*, *tonkatsu*, and *tempura*, thereby simplifying what is in fact a highly diverse food culture. This has generated debates over the «authenticity» of Japanese cuisine. Yet attempts to manage authenticity have proven difficult, as demonstrated by the failure of the so-called «sushi police», the Japanese government's certification system for overseas Japanese restaurants introduced in 2006³.

³ The scale of globalization is nonetheless striking. According to government statistics, the number of overseas Japanese restaurants increased from approximately 24,000 in 2006 to 187,000 in 2023. Exports of Japanese agricultural and food products expanded from 400 billion yen in 2005 to 1.5 trillion yen in 2024. Meanwhile, the number of foreign visitors to Japan rose from 6.73 million in 2005 to 36.78 million in 2024.

5. Conclusion: Toward a Redefinition of Japanese Cuisine

This article has situated gastrodiploacy within the long-term historical development of Japanese cuisine and *washoku*. With the partial exception of the tea ceremony, however, modern Japanese culinary diplomacy was largely conducted through Western, especially French, cuisine. Efforts to promote Japanese cuisine and *washoku* internationally developed only gradually. Historically, *washoku* had been defined primarily in contrast to foreign cuisines entering Japan. Through gastrodiploacy, however, it has increasingly come to be redefined in relation to overseas interpretations and adaptations of Japanese food. *Washoku* is now embedded within a reflexive structure of global circulation.

Domestic conditions have also reinforced this tendency. Concerns over the decline of traditional food culture, the weakening of national identity, shrinking domestic agricultural markets, and demographic change have intensified the need for outward-oriented cultural policies. Gastrodiploacy should therefore not be understood as a temporary trend. Rather, it is a structural consequence of food modernization and globalization and is likely to become increasingly important as both a political practice and a scholarly research program.

This reflexive dynamic may be understood in relation to theories of food modernization. In parts of Asia, where rapid social transformation has produced what scholars describe as «compressed modernity» (CHANG 2025), gastrodiploacy may be understood as emerging from the intersection of accelerated economic growth, nation-state formation, regional competition, and struggles over cultural prestige. Behind these developments lies a profound condition of gastro-anomy in which dietary norms have lost regulatory power and legitimacy. Into this unstable situation, multiple systems of authority—science, heritage, politics, and markets—have intervened simultaneously in order to promote «authentic» national cuisines such as *washoku*, Korean food, Taiwanese food, Thai cuisine, or Malaysian cuisine.

Developments elsewhere in East Asia suggest that this process has taken different but related forms. In South Korea, the representation of national cuisine has shifted from the elite tradition of royal court cuisine toward the communal practice of *kimjang*, while in Taiwan, indigenous, Hakka, local, and other previously marginalized cuisines have been selectively foregrounded in

representations of Taiwanese cuisine. China presents a different but related difficulty, since its enormous regional diversity makes the construction of a singular national cuisine inherently problematic. These trajectories suggest that compressed modernization and nation-state formation have not produced a single model of national cuisine or gastrodiploamacy, but have instead intensified the need to define and repeatedly redefine what can represent the nation through food.

France possesses perhaps the richest historical tradition of gastrodiploamacy (POULAIN 2017), yet French gastrodiploamacy has not become a social phenomenon to the same extent as in Asia. These comparative patterns suggest that the particularly strong development of gastrodiploamacy in Asia (LI & MOK 2025) may be related to the conditions of compressed food modernity in the region, although further comparative research is needed to examine this hypothesis systematically.

Amid these reflexive conditions, new attempts are also emerging to reconsider the meaning of Japanese cuisine itself. At the University of Tokyo, the Global Unit for Study and Transcription of Japanese Cuisine was established as a platform for rethinking Japanese cuisine within a comparative global framework, and in 2026 it is scheduled to become a research institution under the name Global Research Center for Japanese Gastronomy. Through interdisciplinary workshops comparing cuisines around the world, the project examines the philosophies, techniques, and industries of Japanese cuisine. Although studies of food heritage and gastrodiploamacy often emphasize negative dimensions such as invented traditions or the loss of authenticity, reflexive processes of this kind may also generate productive forms of intellectual and cultural renewal.

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