1. Introduction

More and more countries are embarking on so-called “food heritisation” projects, i.e. the inscription of their food cultures as intangible cultural heritages (ICH), with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). This is a worldwide programme to grant legitimate status, as an ICH, to the practices, knowledge and skills that express cultural diversity but are being...
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threatened by globalisation and to ensure their perpetuity by implementing safeguarding measures (awareness-raising, education, promotion, etc.) [1].

Since more than 10 food heritages have been already listed, the most recent discussion is on the need for comprehensive reflection[1]. Contrary to this global trend, Japan has yet to venture into reflexive discussion on its food heritage, which was inscribed in 2013 as “Washoku, the traditional dietary cultures of the Japanese, notably for the celebration of New Year” (hereafter, Washoku) [2]. Therefore, this study is aimed at scrutinising the definition of Washoku and its safeguarding measures to prepare useful knowledge for future reflection, while effectively referring to the very first food heritage, “Gastronomic meal of the French” (GMF) [3], which has attracted the most academic attention since its inscription in 2010.

The reasons for its comparison with GMF are as follows: Japanese food heritage Washoku is somehow particular, because it refers to the “comprehensive” food practice at a “national” scale, if compared to other product-based (Turkish coffee, Belgic beer making etc.) or non-national scale heritages (such as Mediterranean diet). Aside from Washoku, this type of food heritages can be seen only in two countries, namely “Mexican cuisine” and GMF.

However, the literature on the food heritization (including its process and definition) of the Mexican cuisine is not as rich as those on Washoku and GMF[2]. Thus, the GMF was selected as the comparative reference, since the former shares the same “comprehensive” and “national” scope for its definition and its academic discussion as Washoku has.

2. Literature Review and Research Questions

1) Challenges in Definitions and Decision-making Processes

Perhaps because the abovementioned rationale for the ICH was not fully understood, confusion was evident in both Japan and France during their defining stages.

(1) Ambivalent Definitions: Kaiseki to Washoku

Initially, “kaiseki” (Japanese haute cuisine) was proposed by a Japanese culinary association in Kyoto for the pre-inscription working group (Pre-WG) to inscribe as the ICH. However, responding to the fact that South Korea’s application for the “royal court cuisine” as its ICH was pending with UNESCO, the Japanese Pre-WG decided to shift its focus of inscription from kaiseki to a more popular and everyday food culture, i.e. Washoku.

However, Cwiertka and Yasuhara [4] pointed out that the Pre-WG’s definition of Washoku [5] had resulted in “modifying historical facts”. Indeed, certain components, namely the everyday consumption of rice at a national level, a particular meal structure, namely “ichiju-sansai” (one soup and three dishes), and beautiful decoration with equipment or flowers were normalised as “traditional” in this definition of Washoku. However, in reality it was not until the post-war economic development that the ordinary Japanese managed to practice them [4]. Even long before such criticism, existing studies [6] have also described the Japanese rice-centred dietary habits prior to the economic development as nutritionally poor and monotonous (as detailed later).

Therefore, it can be concluded that such modification of historical facts might have been due not only to the conversion from kaiseki to
Washoku but also to inadequate recognition of the historical transition of the dietary habits of the ordinary Japanese. Fujihara [7] pointed out that the components of this definition were not exclusive to Washoku and these could be true to other food cultures and moreover that its inter-relational developmental process with other countries was neglected in its current definition. Yasui [8], compiling the claims in previous studies, alarmed us about the gendered, patriarchal and ethnically exclusivist ideologies underlined in the state-run programme to institutionalise Washoku.

(2) Ambivalent Definitions: High Gastronomy to GMF

Much debate can be also identified in the French case. The food heritisation project was initiated by the European Institute for the History and Culture of Food (IEHCA) with a view to ensuring the social recognition of food culture research. Initially, these project initiators intended to inscribe high gastronomy, partly under the influence of political intention to prove the excellence of its food culture to the world. However, responding to UNESCO’s request for a more popular social practice, the working group shifted the focus of inscription from high gastronomy to the GMF, by which its inherent elitist nature was deemed to be eliminated [9]. However, the inadequacy of the definition of the GMF was highlighted even by the working group members because they had to eliminate descriptions about products and producers from the definition to follow the principle of UNESCO; thus, any economic activity to safeguard products/producers would not be justified [10]. Moreover, Naulin [11] argued that this definition of the GMF was an artefact of the compromise between the project initiators’ vision of high gastronomy and the popular UNESCO’s conception of heritage, and the result of neither pure scientific discussion nor social agreement.

(3) Rationale for Analysis of UNESCO’s Final Definitions

As noted above, previous studies were focused mainly on the defining processes at the pre-inscription stage, while underestimating the final definition authorised by UNESCO and its institutional significance at the post-inscription stage. However, no matter how controversial, it is the latter that is deemed the target of safeguarding measures, as well as the reference point for international monitoring institutions (such as UNESCO’s inter-governmental evaluation committee). Therefore, the main objective of this paper will be to articulate the content - i.e. the constituting concepts and the inter-relationships of these - in UNESCO’s final definitions for their future reorientation (such as safeguarding or redefinition), instead of disclosing the underlying ideologies, which was partly the focus of past studies.

2) Challenges in Safeguarding and Rationales for its Analysis

To the best of our knowledge, there is a scarcity of studies on safeguarding measures in both countries. Although most of them are merely “recycled” projects at the pre-/post-inscription stages, the “awareness-raising” measures are unique to these food heritisation programmes and they have markedly higher levels of progress than the others. Japan established a post-inscription working group for safeguarding Washoku (Post-WG) and under their initiative various new projects (relevant publications, symposia, etc.) have been promoted. On the other hand, France has launched a new national-scale project called the Gastronomic Cities Project (hereafter Cité Project), which is centred on four selected cities (Dijon, Lyon, Paris-Rungis and Tours) and is aimed at valorising its gastronomy among the French public.
An interesting commonality of these awareness-raising activities is their intention to “redefine” their ICHs. In Japan, the primary objective of the Post-WG is to determine “what is Washoku and what is not” for its safeguarding programmes, which can therefore be seen as an act of redefining. In the French Cité Project, the project members in the four selected cities have been conceptualising “gastronomies” while reflecting the voices of the public and considering their territorial specificities; in this sense, gastronomy will be able to be redefined. These redefining processes constitute the very first phase of safeguarding their food heritages. Thus, the course of these projects is worth analysing. Given that satisfactory agreements over their definitions were not reached at the pre-inscription stage, it is useful to analyse the “processes” - who are involved in the decision making and how - and the “content” of their redefinition. A particular focus will be on how much these decision makers acknowledge the ICHs as the social practice of ordinary people and how they integrate such public voices: this perspective is indeed consistent with UNESCO’s principle of a “bottom-up” approach in identifying and safeguarding the ICH.

3) Research Questions

We have confirmed the common challenges in Japan and France regarding the defining process of their ICHs and their safeguarding. Therefore, the objectives of this paper will be to investigate the final definitions of inscribed Japanese Washoku and French Gastronomy(5), as well as their safeguarding measures, and to articulate the challenges in their future safeguarding measures.

To achieve these goals, first an analysis will be done of UNESCO’s final definitions of Washoku and Gastronomy in order to elucidate the constituting concepts and the structure of these inter-relationships in the final texts. Their commonalities and differences will be then identified through comparative analysis and problems inherent in defining ICHs will be articulated. It must be noted here that the content in these final definitions is not clearly evident and thus a careful interpretative analysis is required to articulate it. In particular, to pre-empt the result of this qualitative analysis, the final definition of Washoku turned out to have the different content from that which has been normalised by the Pre/Post-WGs and even critics (e.g., Cwiertka and Yasuhara [4]). This clearly presents the rational for this first study.

The second investigation will be of their safeguarding measures and states of progress. The focus of analysis in this second step will be on awareness-raising initiatives, not on the other measures proposed in the nomination files. These activities, namely Japan’s Post-WG and France’s Cité Project, will be analysed with a particular focus on their content and the processes of redefining the ICHs. Moreover, these initiatives are taking place dynamically but are still at the beginning stages; therefore, we intend to neither “holistically” orientate their safeguarding measures nor propose their actual redefinitions. Nevertheless, contrary to previous studies that were focused solely on the defining processes at the pre-inscription stages, in this study the final definitions and their safeguarding are in the forefront. The aim is to initiate a more pragmatic and proactive discussion that might be useful for the safeguarding actors.

3. Methodologies

1) Analysis of the Final Definitions

The final definitions (i.e. their described content) of the inscribed elements will be analysed. Here, the “elements” refer to the ICHs
themselves. The data used for analysis were the nomination files finally authorised by UNESCO [2][3]. For Washoku the first whole section in the file, 1. Identification and Definition of the Element (including a brief summary), was analysed, while for Gastronomy the first two sections, D. Brief Summary of the Element and 1. Identification and Definition of the Element, were scrutinised.

There are a variety of well-formulated methods for qualitative analysis of texts (such as grounded theory approach), and many of them have been developed with quantitative orientations. Given the character of this single set of files (of Washoku and Gastronomy) with certain predetermined description requirements by UNESCO, applying the existing well-formulated methods might not have been effective. Therefore, a simple method was employed for both elements (Washoku and Gastronomy) with the following procedures, which were aimed primarily at maintaining and articulating the constituting concepts and the inter-relationships of these. This method was eventually similar to Berelson’s classic content analysis and Funashima’s operationally systematized one (i.e. selection of units, grouping/categorizing and naming), although the number of units was not counted [12][13]. This analysis was conducted only of the “manifest content”, not of the latent one (such as the hidden intention of producers of the text). To ensure its objectivity and validity of the analysis, the results were discussed and confirmed at each procedural step by the two authors.

(1) The simple sentences (each of which includes a set of subject and predicate) that directly explained the elements were extracted as recording units. “Directly” means that these units included the elements themselves (i.e. “Washoku”, “the gastronomic meal”, “the element” and “it [the element]”) as subjects, and thus their predicates (i.e. be-verbs and general verbs) explained the content of the elements. These units were then named Main-Units.

(2) The Main-Units of similar content were grouped into categories. These categories correspond to conceptual components of the elements, and thus each of these categories was given some “conceptual” name that could explain the meanings of the units grouped in each category. This extracting and grouping process (step 1-2) was effective in maintaining the text context because the units that directly explained the elements were preferably extracted and then constituted the initial categories.

(3) The preceding procedure, however, did not capture other simple sentences and phrases that “indirectly” explained the elements. These “indirect” sentences and phrases refer to those that had not been captured yet but further explained the predicates of the Main-Units. These were the simple sentences and phrases that included the following signals: relative pronouns (that, which, etc.) following Main-Units; prepositions (for, among, etc.) after Main-Units; predicates for Main-Units as subjects (including their demonstratives [its, this, etc.]); and conjugations and adverbs that signified the reasons and consequences of the Main-Units (since, thus, etc.). Such simple sentences and phrases were extracted as recording units and named Sub-Units.

(4) The similar Sub-Units were grouped into existing or, if applicable, new categories. The Main-Units and Sub-Units were collectively called Primary-Units. There
could be cases where a given unit was grouped into more than two categories, according to its meanings.

(5) Although most of key phrases were extracted in the preceding procedure, there were still some simple sentences and phrases that indirectly explained the elements that had not been captured because of their grammatical forms\(^6\). Thus, these phrases were extracted as Secondary-Units and grouped into existing categories. This procedure, contrary to the preceding ones, required some level of interpretation by the authors, so the extracting process is detailed in 4.1.

(6) The list of the identified categories and their content was described in Table 1. The identified categories were regarded as “constituting concepts” (which are “definitions”) for the elements. The meanings of each concept (i.e. category) and its inter-relationships were analysed in comparative perspectives between Washoku and Gastronomy.

2) Analysis of the Safeguarding Measures

Next, the safeguarding measures were investigated. As explained above, the target of this analysis was the awareness-raising activities that are unique to the heritisation programme, and the content and processes (notably, the integration of public voices) of their redefining actions were analyzed.

In Japan, the Post-WG is mainly responsible for the awareness-raising activities; thus, the course of their discussion and its achievement were analysed. The data used for analysis included the minutes of their discussions and their publication. In France, among the four selected cities for the Cité Project, the situation in Dijon was closely analysed (refer to the endnote 4 again). The data used for this analysis included semi-structured interviews with the Cité Project members in Dijon, as well as relevant literature (such as the project brochures). The semi-structured interviews were composed of the following questions.

1) What is your definition of gastronomy?
2) What kind of projects are you (will you be) planning to do?
3) How are you (will you be) engaged in this project?

In the same manner as the first analysis, simple sentences described in the first question from interview data were extracted and those of similar content were then grouped into categories. In every procedure, the result of extracting and grouping was confirmed and discussed by the two authors to ensure its validity. This result was also considered in comparison with the result of the first analysis of Gastronomy. Concerning the second and third question, although a similar extracting and grouping was not performed, the interview data that were relevant to the content of the project and its decision-making process were analysed. These interviews were carried out in February 2017.

4. Results and Discussion

1) Final Definitions: What is written in the text?

In the first analysis it was found that both Washoku and Gastronomy were composed of the following eight categories (which constituted the final definitions). Seven of these had common category, while the remaining two had different category (Table 1). The commonality in category did not necessarily mean that these categories had common meanings. Thus, the content of common categories was analysed separately and its meanings are articulated below. In addition,
to visualise the overall structure of the content, the conceptual maps for Washoku and Gastronomy were developed on the basis of the findings (Figure 1 and 2).

1-1) Constituting Concepts

(1) Social Practice

Both elements were explained as social practices. This explanation constituted the very first sentence for both elements, which implied its higher symbolical importance than those of the following categories. The common characters were that the occasions of its practice were identified and that the practice had been historically transmitted, which are examined later. On the other hand, the difference was manifested in their content and the ways of explanation.

Gastronomy was composed of the following two dimensions: 1) The first dimension referred to meanings such as sharing the pleasure of taste, togetherness, consideration of others, etc., as well as values such as attachment to the agricultural world, attention to good products, etc. 2) The second dimension referred to specific rites that consisted of reference to recipes, structure and order of courses, tasting and conversation, etc. As explained in its “shared vision of eating well rather than with specific dishes”, Gastronomy was characterised by its emphasis on human interactions such as sharing, consideration and conversation.

In contrast, the aspects of social practice of Washoku were not explicitly explained, only leaving the general description such as, “[which is] based on a comprehensive set of skills, knowledge, practice and traditions”. Only after extracting the Secondary-Units, its dimension of knowledge and skills could be concretised as consisting of proper seasoning of home cooking, those related to dashi (stock) and fermented seasonings, and preservation skills of drying and pickling. Nevertheless, as illustrated above, the content of social practice in Washoku was not explicit and the resultant challenges will be discussed below.

(2) Social Ties and Integration

The common functions of both elements were to reinforce social bonds among family and community members, to promote intergenerational and intercultural dialogue and to respect humanity. However, differing connotations were also evident in the process of such social integration. Social integration in Gastronomy was generated through sharing the value of conviviality or its social practice. On the other hand, social integration in Washoku was realised mainly through sharing the meals or dishes, such as traditional and well-balanced meals, and ones accompanies with alcohol. To interpret this subtle nuance in its text, this “sharing meals” puts more emphasis on the material aspect of the meal, rather than the act of sharing (which is observed again in the third category).

(3) Identity and Belonging

It was also elucidated that the common functions of both elements were to strengthen feelings of identity and belonging to the community. Similarly to the second category, however, difference was observed in the process of strengthening such functions. In Gastronomy, feelings of identity and belongings were reinforced through the values of its social practice and foreign perspectives (which take gastronomy as an identity of the French). On the other hand, similarly to the second category, identity and belongings in Washoku were strengthened through material media such as traditional and well-balanced “meals”. Although the centrality of “meals” was emphasized, these meals themselves were merely described as “culturally, socially and nutritionally appropriate”, and what could be “appropriate” was not explained.
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Figure 1 The Conceptual Map of Washoku

Source: This figure was developed by the authors to visualize its conceptual structure.

Figure 2 The Conceptual Map of Gastronomy

Source: This figure was developed by the authors to visualize its conceptual structure.
Table 1  Conceptual Components of Washoku and Gastronomy

| Washoku | Gastronomic Meal of the French |
|---------|-------------------------------|
| **C1. Social Practice** | **C1. Social Practice** |
| - is a customary/homogeneous social practice (SP) (D.1; 1.1; 120) | - is a customary/homogeneous social practice (SP) (D.1; 1.1; 120) |
| - for celebrating important moments in the lives of individuals and groups (D.1) | - for celebrating important moments in the lives of individuals and groups (D.1) |
| - SP is nourished in France for centuries (D.22) | - SP is nourished in France for centuries (D.22) |
| - with which all French people are familiar (D.6) and very attached (1.1) | - with which all French people are familiar (D.6) and very attached (1.1) |
| - SP is constantly changing and being transmitted through the shared history (D.5; 176) | - SP is constantly changing and being transmitted through the shared history (D.5; 176) |
| - SP is associated with a vision of eating well rather than with specific dishes (D.7) | - SP is associated with a vision of eating well rather than with specific dishes (D.7) |
| - ESP is homogeneous in the whole community (D.8; 121; 220; 539; 75) | - ESP is homogeneous in the whole community (D.8; 121; 220; 539; 75) |
| - meanings – togetherness, sharing the pleasure of taste, the balance between human beings and the products of nature, consideration of others/conivollity. | - meanings – togetherness, sharing the pleasure of taste, the balance between human beings and the products of nature, consideration of others/conivollity. |
| - is associated with a vision of eating well rather than with specific dishes (D.7) | - is associated with a vision of eating well rather than with specific dishes (D.7) |
| **C2. Social Ties and Integration** | **C2. Social Ties and Integration** |
| - has important social functions...to foster cohesion (118) among families and communities (iv.7) including very elderly and handicapped (iv.8) | - has important social functions...to foster cohesion (118) among families and communities (iv.7) including very elderly and handicapped (iv.8) |
| - by sharing traditional well-balanced meals (i.20), often accompanied with Sake, and mealtimes and non-formal (school lunch) education (i.12) | - by sharing traditional well-balanced meals (i.20), often accompanied with Sake, and mealtimes and non-formal (school lunch) education (i.12) |
| - These dishes are shared by the family members, or shared collectively by the community members, ensuring social cohesion (i.4) | - These dishes are shared by the family members, or shared collectively by the community members, ensuring social cohesion (i.4) |
| - Food preparation by community cooperation and mutualism is an example to strengthen the feelings of solidarity and fellowship. (iv.8; 10) | - Food preparation by community cooperation and mutualism is an example to strengthen the feelings of solidarity and fellowship. (iv.8; 10) |
| - food preparation by community cooperation and mutualism is an example to strengthen the feelings of solidarity and fellowship. (iv.8; 10) | - food preparation by community cooperation and mutualism is an example to strengthen the feelings of solidarity and fellowship. (iv.8; 10) |
| - has laid the foundations for development of social capital (iv.12) such as the spirit of solidarity shared among farmers in the production of WASHOKU ingredients (iv.13) | - has laid the foundations for development of social capital (iv.12) such as the spirit of solidarity shared among farmers in the production of WASHOKU ingredients (iv.13) |
| - promotes dialogue in a spirit of mutual respect beyond gender, cultural differences, generations (iv.4; 16) | - promotes dialogue in a spirit of mutual respect beyond gender, cultural differences, generations (iv.4; 16) |
| - In daily life (118) | - In daily life (118) |
| **C3. Identity and Belonging** | **C3. Identity and Belonging** |
| - has important social functions for the Japanese to reaffirm identity (i.18) in daily life (118) | - has important social functions for the Japanese to reaffirm identity (i.18) in daily life (118) |
| - through sharing traditional well-balanced meals (i.20) | - through sharing traditional well-balanced meals (i.20) |
| - through sharing traditional well-balanced meals (i.20) | - through sharing traditional well-balanced meals (i.20) |
| - through sharing culturally, socially and nutritionally appropriate meals that Japanese people consume and that their ancestors enjoyed, fostering belonging (i.1) | - through sharing culturally, socially and nutritionally appropriate meals that Japanese people consume and that their ancestors enjoyed, fostering belonging (i.1) |
| - provides a sense of identity and continuity to the Japanese (i.21) | - provides a sense of identity and continuity to the Japanese (i.21) |
| - their underlying spirit and functions continue to prevail. Thus, the element (i.3; 20) | - their underlying spirit and functions continue to prevail. Thus, the element (i.3; 20) |
| - Japanese people strengthen feelings of belonging (iv.2; 19) reinforcing identity as Japanese (iv.2; 19) | - Japanese people strengthen feelings of belonging (iv.2; 19) reinforcing identity as Japanese (iv.2; 19) |
| - (symbols of Japanese traditional diet), providing a valuable opportunity to reconfirm Japanese tradition and sense of identity (iv.3) | - (symbols of Japanese traditional diet), providing a valuable opportunity to reconfirm Japanese tradition and sense of identity (iv.3) |
| **C4. Diversity** | **C4. Diversity** |
| - are regionally rich in diversity (110) in New Year’s celebrations (i.10) | - are regionally rich in diversity (110) in New Year’s celebrations (i.10) |
| - given that each province has its own historical and geographical specificity (110) | - given that each province has its own historical and geographical specificity (110) |
| - the food system is regionally rich in diversity (110) in New Year’s celebrations (i.10) | - the food system is regionally rich in diversity (110) in New Year’s celebrations (i.10) |
| - the food system is regionally rich in diversity (110) in New Year’s celebrations (i.10) | - the food system is regionally rich in diversity (110) in New Year’s celebrations (i.10) |
| - opens to the diversity of traditions, food and cuisines (1.28) which is the reason for its constant renewal (1.29) | - opens to the diversity of traditions, food and cuisines (1.28) which is the reason for its constant renewal (1.29) |
| - it combines folk and savant traditions, transcends local customs, generations, social classes and opinions, and adapts to religious and philosophical beliefs. Its values take in diversity (1.33) | - it combines folk and savant traditions, transcends local customs, generations, social classes and opinions, and adapts to religious and philosophical beliefs. Its values take in diversity (1.33) |
C5. Human-Nature Relationships

- is associated with spirit of respect for nature related to the sustainable use of natural resources (1.3)
- is (constantly) recreated in response to changes in human relationship with natural and social environment (5.5)
- through maximizing the use of natural resources (v.12)
- the use of locally available ingredients helps to reduce emissions of carbon dioxide. Thus, the element contributes to efforts (v.12)
- contributes to building sustainable societies as a component of sustainable development (v.11)
- By sharing mealtime and appreciating nature-gifted ingredients together (v.11-12)
- cultural capital such as spirit of solidarity among farmers in production of Washoku ingredients (v.13)
- The spirit of the element, "respect for nature", encourages the sustainable use of natural resources (v.7)
- the balance between human beings and the products of nature (D.8-13, 121-28)
- attachment to the agricultural world, an important part of the French imaginary that explains the attention paid to finding good products (1.26)
- such [local] products symbolize the outcome of humans' intelligent interaction with the environment (1.8-16)
- strengthening respect for the harmonious management of the environment, biodiversity and landscapes, as well as reinforcing the social fabric (1.18)
- [all of which] constitute the building blocks of sustainable development (1.90)
- natural-gifted ingredients together (iv.11-12)
- [cultural capital] such as spirit of solidarity among farmers in production of Washoku ingredients (iv.13)
- The spirit of the element, "respect for nature", encourages the sustainable use of natural resources (iv.7)

C6. Tradition and History

- based on a comprehensive set of skills, knowledge, practice and traditions related to the production, processing, preparation and consumption of food (11)
- their tradition transmitted from generation to generation (18)
- shared tradition: the very popular gastronomic tradition (1.14; 1.15)
- shared tradition: the very popular gastronomic tradition (1.14; 1.15)
- [which] is familiar to all French people (1.15)
- long handed down from generation to generation and constantly renewed (1.5; D.5)
- adds life, value to diversity (1.53)
- gives them a feeling of continuity (1.77)
- refers to the very popular gastronomic tradition (1.14, 1.15)
- is rooted within the community (1.85)
- is a festival meal (D.3, 110)
- [Basic knowledge] are typically seen in New Year’s cerebrations (12, 1.10)
- [Basic knowledge] are typically seen in New Year’s cerebrations (12, 1.10)
- tradition: the high-society meal, transmitted in revolutionary France, inspired working-class practices; the ideal of happiness for all, legacy of eighteenth-century philosophy; and popular model of festive opulence
- is a festival meal (D.3, 110)
- for celebrating important moments in the lives of individuals and groups (D.1)
- its making and consumption taking longer than an everyday meal (1.26)
- the establishment beforehand of an unusual dinner (1.31)
- the popular model of festive opulence (1.76)

C7. Ordinariness-Extraordinariness of Occasions

- has developed as part of daily life and with a connection to annual events (14)
- has developed as part of daily life and with a connection to annual events (14)
- Food preparation for various events such as rice pounding for New Year’s celebration, (v.8-9)
- Food preparation for various events such as rice pounding for New Year’s celebration, (v.8-9)
- bringing together for an occasion to enjoy the art of good eating and drinking (D.3)
- preparing special meals such as beautifully decorated dishes (11)
- preparing special meals such as beautifully decorated dishes (11)
- [Basic knowledge] are typically seen in New Year’s cerebrations (12, 1.10)
- [Basic knowledge] are typically seen in New Year’s cerebrations (12, 1.10)
- These dishes, ensuring people's health and social cohesion (14)
- These dishes, ensuring people's health and social cohesion (14)
- requires intake of various nature based and locally supplied ingredients (16)
- requires intake of various nature based and locally supplied ingredients (16)
- such as rice, fish, vegetables and edible wild plants (17)
- these dishes, ensuring people's health and social cohesion (14)
- since the requisite meals offered to the element are nutritionally well balanced (17)
- basic knowledge of the element including spiritual and health aspects (ii.4; 2.20)
- Each item of Osechi has a specific health related virtue (ii.7)
- Through sharing nutritionally appropriate meals that their ancestors enjoyed (iv.1)
- is associated with a shared vision of eating well, rather than with specific dishes (1.13)
- to enjoy the art of good eating and drinking (D.3)
- sharing the pleasure of taste (1.13, 1.28, conviviality, 1.21-28)
- for a time of shared pleasure (1.10)
- through the positive value of conviviality (1.78)

C8. Health and Nutrition

- has important social functions for the Japanese to contribute to healthy life (118)
- in daily life (1.18)
- through sharing traditional and well-balanced meals (120)
- [Basic knowledge] are typically seen in New Year’s cerebrations (12, 1.10)
- contributes to a healthy life, long life expectancy and prevention of obesity among the Japanese (iv.15)
- requires intake of various nature based and locally supplied ingredients (iv.16)
- such as rice, fish, vegetables and edible wild plants (iv.17)
- since the requisite meals offered to the element are nutritionally well balanced (iv.17)
- These dishes, ensuring people's health and social cohesion (iv.14)
- These dishes, ensuring people's health and social cohesion (iv.14)
- basic knowledge of the element including spiritual and health aspects (ii.4; 2.20)
- Each item of Osechi has a specific health related virtue (ii.7)
- Through sharing nutritionally appropriate meals that their ancestors enjoyed (iv.1)
- is associated with a shared vision of eating well, rather than with specific dishes (1.13)
- to enjoy the art of good eating and drinking (D.3)
- sharing the pleasure of taste (1.13, 1.28, conviviality, 1.21-28)
- for a time of shared pleasure (1.10)
- through the positive value of conviviality (1.78)

C9. Pleasure and Conviviality

- is associated with a shared vision of eating well, rather than with specific dishes (1.13)
- to enjoy the art of good eating and drinking (D.3)
- sharing the pleasure of taste (1.13, 1.28, conviviality, 1.21-28)
- for a time of shared pleasure (1.10)
- through the positive value of conviviality (1.78)

Note 1: Main-Units non-italic and non-underlined, Sub-Units non-italic and underlined, and Secondary-Units italic and non-underlined. The key units were bolded by the authors.
Note 2: Due to the space constraint, some units were modified without changing their meanings. For the raw data, please refer to the indicated lines (the mark beside each unit) in the nomination files [2][3].
(4) Diversity

Diversity was identified as common to both elements, while difference was observed in "what is diverse". Washoku was regionally rich in diversity. Each region had its historical and geographical specificities that were then translated into locally unique ingredients and ways of presentation, notably for New Year's celebration. On the other hand, Gastronomy was characterized more for its diversity in generations, social classes, and religious and philosophical beliefs than its regional diversity.

(5) Human-Nature Relationships

The common character of the two elements was to maintain balanced relationships between humans and nature, and to contribute to building a sustainable society, while manifesting some different nuances in the nature of the relationships. Gastronomy was explained as having a balance with the "product" of nature, not the nature itself. In addition, nature (the environment) was described as an object of management. On the other hand, nature itself was the object of respect in Washoku. Based on this essential spirit of respect for nature, Washoku was characterised by the use of local and natural ingredients, which then contributed to the environment (such as reducing global warming). Despite the symbolical importance of respect for nature in Washoku, its background (such as philosophies, customs and mores) was not explained.

(6) Traditions and Histories

The traditional nature of the food was common to both elements, but there was some difference in the explanation of their traditions and histories. Gastronomy was explained as having been transmitted from high society through the French revolution and the eighteenth-century philosophy, while transcending generational, class and philosophical differences. In contrast, the process of transmission and specific historical periods were not described for Washoku, although "traditions" and "historical transmission" were repeatedly emphasised.

(7) Ordinariness and Extraordinariness of Occasions

The occasion of celebration was common to the practice of both elements, while the purpose of celebration and the level of extraordinariness differed. Gastronomy was explained as a "festive" meal to celebrate important moments in the lives of individuals and groups (such as birthdays and weddings) when the unusual menus were prepared, which is clearly defined as an "extraordinary" social practice. On the other hand, the explanation of Washoku practice was ambiguous: It was explained as part of "daily life" (which represents ordinariness), while it was also practiced during annual events such as New Year's celebration (which signifies extraordinariness). The challenges resulting from such ambiguity are discussed below.

(8) Health and Nutrition - Unique to Washoku

Washoku was characterised by its nutritionally well-balanced status resulting from the use of nature-based and local ingredients and culinary techniques with dashi and fermented seasonings. Indeed, its healthy and nutritionally balanced nature was mentioned nine times in the text. This healthiness was not observed in Gastronomy and was unique to Washoku among these two elements, and thus it must be closely analysed (as detailed later).

(9) Pleasure of Eating - Unique to Gastronomy

On the contrary, the pleasure of eating was not observed in Washoku and was unique to Gastronomy. This pleasure was due to the taste, sharing it with others (conviviality), and the art of eating and drinking well. Indeed, this aspect was mentioned seven times in the text.
The Problems in the Definition of Washoku

These findings provide implications for comparatively considering Japanese and French food cultures, but in this paper these findings are crystallised into the following four discussion points to articulate the challenges in defining Washoku (Figure 3).

Firstly, unlike Gastronomy, the aspect of popular “social practice” in Washoku was not clearly explained. It is certain that the pre-inscription working groups in Japan and France constantly emphasised both Washoku and Gastronomy as “social practice”, not as specific ingredients and dishes [10][14]. However, again, the aspect of social practice in Washoku was obscure in the final definition. Only after the interpretative analysis, a part of its social practice aspect (such as knowledge and skills) was concretised. Moreover, most of the identified components tended to be explained in terms of ingredients and meals (contrary to human-interaction in Gastronomy), as if it were a “tangiblised” heritage. This unelaborated concept revealed the inadequacy of the pre-inscription discussion on its definition. Indeed, it can also be argued that current confusion regarding the safeguarding measures (as detailed later) might have been due to this absence of the details of social practice in Washoku.

Secondly, a particular attention should be paid to the discrepancy between the semi-final definition proposed by the Pre-WG [14] and UNESCO’s final definition [2]. Although the former definition was said to consist of the following four characters based on the essential spirit of respect for nature, the latter definition turned out to be clearly different from the former, which was the point of analysis in this paper. Surprisingly, even the critics [5][7][8] have neglected this conceptual discrepancy between at the pre-/post-inscription stages.

(1) Various fresh ingredients and the use of their natural tastes
(2) Well-balanced and healthy diets
(3) Emphasis on the beauty of nature and changing of seasons in the presentation of dishes
(4) Connecting to annual events

The findings tell us that the final definition was not as clear as that was composed of the above-listed four characters, and was rather composed of the eight categories. Again, these four characters cannot be equally identified in the text: In particular, concerning the third character, the word related to “beauty” appeared only once, while the word “season” never did. The concern is that the more normalized this four-layered definition is (including by the critics), the more deviated Washoku will be from the internationally authorised definition. Rather, to begin the effective reflection, it is essential to acknowledge this conceptual complexity of the final definition.

Thirdly, the ambiguity of the descriptions of tradition and historicity, as well as its resultant logical contradiction, should be pointed out: In
particular, Washoku’s “healthiness”, as highlighted in the eighth category. From the perspectives of nutritional sciences, the meal structure with an ideal PFC balance refers only to that of 1980s, not those before this period (which were characterised by the fat deficiency) or those after this (characterised by an excessive consumption of fat) [15]. Moreover, there has been a body of studies on the transition of Japanese dietary lives before this period, for example in agricultural economics: Nakayama [6], one of the pioneering scholars on this theme, identified the mid-Taisho period (1920s) as a turning point when rice obtained its status as a popular meal at a national level. He also analysed that this rice-centred meal structure (such as rice with miso soup for breakfast and with simmered dishes for lunch) was monotonous, nutritionally poor, and cheap but that it continued to be practiced because of its favourable taste. Therefore, the diversification and sophistication of Japanese meals were not achieved, despite the economic development in the Meiji era [6]. Nakayama and Namiki [16] added that dietary meals until 1970s were thus rich in carbohydrates but extremely poor in animal food and fat and concluded that it was only since the post-war economic development that dietary practices have started to change dynamically. These analyses were further supported in studies such as that of Yoshida [17].

It can be concluded that the findings of these previous studies were not fully visited when discussing the definition of Washoku. In other words, while “traditional” was repeatedly emphasised in the text, no specific period was mentioned, which might have been the reason for the so-called “modification of historical facts” [4]. Therefore, it is necessary to identify the historical process of the development of Washoku and redefine its basic characters based on the historical facts. This might include examining the influences of mores, religions and philosophies (Buddhism, etc.), as well as classes (court aristocracy, bushi (warriors), hyakusho (multi-professionals), chonin (merchants) etc.), all of which are absent from the current text.

Fourthly, there is ambiguity regarding whether Washoku is an ordinary or extraordinary practice. Indeed, such contradiction might be an unexpected product of the discussion in the Pre-WG. Washoku, in an ordinary sense, refers to popular, everyday and familial meals in Japan, and this was the intention behind its inscription as the Japanese ICH. However, Washoku in the UNESCO’s final definition was found to be strongly emphasized by its extraordinariness, in particular New Year’s celebration, and to deviate from such initial intension. Such diluted ordinariness and the expanded extraordinariness of Washoku can be observed in the following safeguarding measures.

2) Safeguarding Measures

Hereafter, the content and the decision-making processes in the awareness-raising activities in safeguarding, namely the Japanese Post-WG and French Cité Project in Dijon, were analysed.

2-1) The Awareness-raising Measure in Japan
(1) The Process of Redefinition

The content of Washoku to be safeguarded was discussed in a series of eight working group meetings (2015-2016). This content was articulated around its 5WH: what [ingredients, techniques, etc.], when [periods of its genesis, transmission, etc.], who [parents, chefs, etc.], where [schools, families, etc.], why [reasons for transmission, etc.], and how [school education, community activities, etc.]. This discussion can be thus regarded as the redefinition of Washoku. Most of the members of this group were from
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the Pre-WG composed of researchers, chefs and delegates from private food companies, and other relevant experts under the leadership of an anthropologist, Isao Kumakura.

A series of surveys (Table 2) were implemented for such purpose. The data on Washoku was analysed mostly by a private research agency commissioned by ministries but sometimes re-analyzed according to the demands of the Post-WG. The overall result was regularly discussed and a report was finally compiled by the Post-WG based on the findings of these surveys (Table 2) [18][19].

The overview of the process for redefinition was reviewed above, and this reveals three notable characteristics. Firstly, as a result of the analysis of these eight discussion meetings, it was the semi-final definition with the four characteristics [14] that was regarded as a starting point for the safeguarding [20]. In other words, UNESCO’s final definition was neglected.

Secondly, the emphasis was put on the importance of integrating public opinions into its redefining process. As clearly stated by Kumakura himself in the first meeting, the gap in the understandings of Washoku between the experts and the public had been constantly visited [20]. This consideration was integrated into the development of their survey protocol. To put it concretely, not only academic literature but also popular websites and magazines were reviewed to solicit public understandings of Washoku. With a similar purpose, incorporated were the web-based questionnaire sent to the public (more specifically, the members of its monitoring institution, the Washoku Conference), as well as the inter-generational workshops. In the complementary web-based questionnaire, the public practice of Washoku was more closely considered in relation to occupation, gender and age. These processes can be considered “democratic”, but its validity has to be assessed in relation to the results of their surveys (as explored later).

Thirdly, “traditionality”, which had been the matter of debate in our first analysis, was not fully addressed when redefining Washoku. Although they concluded, on the basis of the literature review, that most of the core components of Washoku had been developed through the Edo period until 1955 [21], these “components” were not assessed respectively on the basis of historical evidence. Thus, for example, the problematic “healthiness” in Washoku was not challenged at all.

Table 2  The Survey Protocol of the Japanese Post-inscription Working Group

| Research Type               | Research Content                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Literature review        | Relevant literature, including academic articles, websites and magazines, (n=228) were reviewed to elucidate the content regarding the 5W1H of Washoku.                                                                 |
| 2. Web-based questionnaire  | The web-based questionnaire was distributed to the members of the Washoku Conference (n=114), in which the level of importance of the identified 5W1H was evaluated and other open-ended questions were answered. |
| 3. Field research           | The interviews, with the items regarding the 5W1H of the ICH in France and Spain (i.e. GMF and the Mediterranean diet), were conducted with the following safeguarding actors: In France, IEHCA, MFPCA, French National Centre for Scientific Research, Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Education; and in Spain Foundation for the Mediterranean Diet, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Education, Catalanian Ministry of Agriculture and the Soria Cooperative Bank Science Foundation. |
| 4. Intergenerational workshops | Intergenerational workshops were held in Yamagata, Tochigi, Kanagawa and Nagasaki prefectures, in which the three generations (the young, parents and grandparents), each of which was composed of six people, discussed the 5W1H. |
| 5. Complementary web-based questionnaire | A complementary national-scale web-based survey (n=10,235) was conducted to broadly understand the level of practice of Washoku and the degree of perceptual importance of Washoku. This survey was carried out by a private company. |

Source: Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries [20] [27]
(2) The Content of Redefinition

Although the 5W1H of Washoku was further concretised, such discussion did not lead to the full reconsideration of Washoku. The Post-WG, based on the semi-final definition, intended to make a more practical output, that is, the scoring of the level of its practice. The conceptual model of Washoku was then tentatively developed [22]. This model was drawn as concentric, in which the closer and closer to the centre, the higher and higher the level of “Washoku-ness” becomes. This Washoku-ness is evaluated based on four respective criteria: ingredients, culinary techniques, ways of eating, and traditions (such as annual events), which were translated from the four characters normalised in the semi-final definition. To exemplify this, Japponica rice or Japanese green tea are positioned closer to the centre of the model, representing high Washoku-ness, while cauliflowers or zucchinis are positioned at its perimeters, expressing its low Washoku-ness.

We can identify the three reasons for the development of such a model. First, the Post-WG speculated that scoring the level of its practice would contribute to effectively evaluating the progress of safeguarding measures. Secondly, a more fundamental challenge is evident, namely whether certain hybridised dishes, such as ramen, hamburger steak and pasta with cod roe sauce, should be considered Washoku. Agreement was not reached and consequently preferred was a conceptual model that enables one to put such controversial dishes with medium Washoku-ness in the grey zones (between the centre and perimeter). Thirdly, perhaps because they were so obsessed with this second challenge, Washoku was constantly discussed as if it were merely certain ingredients or dishes. Such a course of discussion resulted in reinforcing a view of Washoku in which its aspect as “social practice” was diminished, as clarified in our first analysis.

(3) Is the “Gap” in Understandings between Experts and the Public Really the Point of the Matter?

The analysis above revealed that integrating public opinions on Washoku was emphasized in the process of redefinition, with its rationale to narrow the “gap” in its understandings between experts and the public. However, is this really the point of matter?

Our findings tell a different story: Our first analysis of its definition reveals that the validity of some components of Washoku (social practice, healthiness, etc.) was not fully assessed in relation to their historicity. The second analysis of the discussion around the safeguarding measures implies that the experts themselves could not reach a consensus - particularly on what was Washoku and what was not - and thus they had no choice but to rely on the understandings of the public. Nevertheless, it is also true that these public voices would not have been able to be effectively integrated without the experts’ corresponding capacities.

It is certain that there were some constraints when considering its redefinition. However, if that is the case, the Post-WG could have proposed alternative redefinition processes, such as the more “decentralised” initiative in France (as explored later), rather than limiting the discussion to the Post-WG that had such limited resources. This is not a mere critical evaluation of the past discussion but rather a proactive caution for future safeguarding efforts, given the dangerous situation in which a so-called “tentative” concept of Washoku has been already reproduced and normalised through the official documents as an output of the Post-WG.

2-2) Awareness-raising Measure in France

(1) The Overview of Cité Project in Dijon

First the overall content and objectives of Cité Project in Dijon were identified. The main
approach to valorising gastronomy was to establish the International Wine and Gastronomy Exhibition Centre. As of December 2017, the following eight projects were planned for the centre: 1) Exhibition of gastronomy and wine; 2) professional training by a culinary school, the Ferrandi School (a five-month training on French cuisine for international students) and the Wine School of the Inter-professional Burgundy Wine Board; 3) commercial facilities with restaurants and wine bars; 4) exhibition of cultural heritages in Burgundy; 5) construction of a four-star hotel; 6) movie theatres; 7) residences; and 8) development of its eco-friendly neighbourhood.

As of February 2017, when the interviews were conducted, the centre was still at the construction stage (which is planned to be completed in 2019) and discussion was dedicated to deciding the project themes. At this preparatory stage, it was important to identify the project members’ concepts of gastronomy, as well as their decision-making processes. Therefore, hereafter the latter is elucidated based on the interviews related to the second and third questions. Then the former is explored based on the interviews related to the first question. The interviews (n=4) were conducted with the project members (as of February 2017), namely the delegates from Eiffage, a construction company responsible for the project organisation, the Centre des Sciences du Goût et de l’Alimentation (CSGA), which is a research institute, Vitagora, an agri-food industrial cluster, and the Mission Française du Patrimoine et des Cultures Alimentaires (MFPCA), a monitoring institution for the overall safeguarding measures.

(2) The Process of Redefinition

Regarding the decision-making process, it was found that the concrete plans, as well as the concept of gastronomy, would be decided by the Comité d’Orientation Scientifique (COS) composed of researchers, chefs and other experts, including those from the institutions to which the interviewees belonged. Eiffage puts a particular emphasis on the commercial facilities (such as restaurants) and residence, so that this centre can be a living space for the citizens in Dijon rather than functioning merely as a “Disneyland” of gastronomy for people outside of the city. CSGA aims to concretise educational content based on the principle of “participatory science” while integrating the voices of the public (including children and tourists) obtained from their educational workshops. These were developed on its long-accumulated research results on children’s dietary behaviours. Vitagora recognises its role in the economic domain and thus intends to contribute to valorising gastronomy through the development of new product and service (such as taste education) and technical advice.

Founded on these findings, it can be safely said that the project members intend to contribute to redefining the concept of gastronomy through their own professionalism, such as construction, research and economic development, while aiming to integrate public opinion into the decision-making in the COS. Since the COS had been established just before our interviews, the discussion in the COS had not yet started and thus its content could not be revealed in this paper. Nevertheless, identified through the interviewing the important decision makers were some critical properties of the process for redefining gastronomy. Moreover, at such a developmental stage, it would be more useful to elucidate the concepts of gastronomy among these decision makers. This will be discussed in the following paragraph.

(3) The Content of Redefinition

The key answers to the first question on the concept of gastronomy were reviewed in Table 3. It must be noted that these interview data
were analysed as the voices of individuals who were experts involved in this project, not as representatives of their organisations.

Although there were subtle differences, commonality was observed in the following components: Firstly, gastronomy was perceived as a practice that was not only for professionals (such as restaurant chefs), but open to everyone, if one takes the examples of food in schools and families (No. 1-4 in Table 3). Secondly, most recurrent themes of gastronomy were sharing meals/mealtimes (No. 1-3) and taking time (No. 1, 2, 4). The centrality of these second components is consistent with Gastronomy in the final definition (UNESCO), namely that is a social practice rather than specific dishes and ingredients.

However, its more or less polysemous aspect was simultaneously observed. There were individual differences in levels of understandings on the following components, which were also listed in the final definition: the order of courses (No. 1), traditional recipes (No. 1), social integration (of Muslims) (No. 1), the use of good products (No. 3), the pleasure of eating (No. 3), the art of the table (No. 3). In addition, a notable deviation from the “festive” meal in the final definition was elucidated, because an “ordinary” meal was more explicitly perceived among the interviewees.

(4) Addressing Polysemous Gastronomies, Exploring the Public Understandings

The findings in the second analysis can be summarised into the following two discussion points: Firstly, the analysis of the content and the decision making in the Cité Project in Dijon reveals that the process of redefining was still ongoing and the consensus on the concept of gastronomy was not yet fully reached. At such a developmental stage, therefore, the importance of elucidating the concept of gastronomy among the decision makers was presented.

Secondly, a gap between UNESCO’s final definition and that of the project members was identified. Although the core part of the definition (i.e. a social practice of sharing the table) was certainly shared among them, the other components, particularly its level of ordinariness/extraordinariness, were differently perceived. It might be plausible to assume that
there would be a wider gap between the experts (i.e. the project members in this case) and the public\(^7\). In light of such a challenge, a safeguarding measure can be rephrased as the process of narrowing the gap in understanding the values of gastronomy between the experts (such as the project members) and the public, while articulating and acknowledging their diverse and polysemous conceptions. To effectuate it, future studies should be aimed at exploring the public understandings of gastronomy, without which the safeguarding would not be able to help the public address their real problems (for example, time constraints, cooking techniques and income) in realising gastronomy as a social practice.

5. Conclusion: Future Reflection on Washoku

In this paper we aimed to articulate the challenges in defining and safeguarding Washoku with a view to providing useful knowledge for future reflection while referring to the corresponding case of French Gastronomy.

In the first analysis, the constituting concepts and their inter-relationships (i.e. final definitions) of Washoku and Gastronomy were clarified. One of the major contributions of this paper was to elucidate a conceptual deviation between the semi-final and UNESCO's final definitions of Washoku. The previous studies focused mainly on the semi-final definition and did not recognize such conceptual deviation. This study is inviting to pay more careful attention to the "final definition" - since this is the internationally official reference - and to orientate the measures to define and safeguard Washoku.

Another contribution of this paper was to demonstrate certain problems in the final definition of Washoku: The absence of the clear and direct description of its social practice (which is the core of ICH), little demonstration of its historical evidence as a traditional and healthy meal, and the ambiguity of ordinariness/extraordinariness, all of which should be further scrutinised in detail and in relation to their historicity. Furthermore, its conceptual structuration is turned out to be weak.

Secondly, the content and process of the awareness-raising activities for safeguarding their food heritages were elucidated. The action to redefine their heritages was identified as the common task for both countries. In Japan, the challenge in this action was to narrow the gap between the experts and the public. On the other hand, the first step for France was to reconfirm the diverse concepts of all the stakeholders. In the French Cité project, the final definition of Gastronomy as a social practice was surely considered by the decision makers. As a result of our interviews, the gap was observed between the final definition and the concepts of the project members. However, the on-going process of integrating the public's understanding of gastronomy for their safeguarding could effectively address such gap.

By contrast, the final definition was completely neglected among the Japanese decision makers. Moreover, coupled with the inadequate pre-inscription discussion, they were locked into a discussion on its tangibilised aspects (such as eligible ingredients and dishes) while diminishing the aspect of a "social practice". The process for redefining Washoku was seemingly "democratic" but found to be unable to effectively investigate and integrate the public understandings on Washoku. In addition, the components of Washoku were not verified in relation to their historicity in the redefining process.

These findings were made possible by the two properties of our research framework employed in this study. First, the simultaneous
approach to the questions of “inscribed definition” and “safeguarding measures” led us to structurally understand the current challenges in defining and safeguarding Washoku (such as the *tangibilisation* of its inscribed definition and the content of redefinition by scoring its Washoku-ness based on ingredients/dishes) Secondly, the Japan-France comparative perspective presented us common issues in UNESCO’s food heritisation programme - most notably, narrowing the gap between the expert and the public - as well as some unique problems in Washoku (such as the inherent conceptual ambiguity).

Therefore, future reflection should start with acknowledging these two problems. More practically, the actors currently involved in the safeguarding are required to re-examine the “nationally” normalised semi-final definition of Washoku and to make a more realistic discussion about Washoku among the public. It is hoped that the challenges identified in this paper could constitute a starting point for such reflection.

**Notes**

(1) For example, the 2018 conference organised by the Institute Européen d’Histoire et des Cultures de l’Alimentation (IEHCA) dedicated its theme for reflecting the past challenges, processes and future perspectives about food heritization.

(2) The academic discussion on the food heritization in France has started around 1990s when the Conseil National des Arts Culinaires (CNAC) institutionalized preparing the inventories of regional cuisines as food heritages. Indeed, such inventories have their origin in the Austin de Croze’s pioneering work of collecting “gastronomic treasure of French provinces” in 1920s and the succeeding Curnonsky’s inventory of French regional cuisines in 1930s, which were later positioned as the “root” of such food heritization movement [24]. Ethnologists, anthropologists, and sociologists gathered in this movement have largely contributed to the food heritization studies.

(3) In the third section of UNESCO’s nomination files [2][3], the overview of proposed safeguarding measures in both countries is detailed. The four different measures were proposed for Washoku: food education, awareness-raising, support for preserving local ingredients (geographical identification, etc.), and establishment of its monitoring institution. The five were proposed for Gastronomy: food education, documentation and research development, awareness-raising (notably, Cité Project), monitoring, and international cooperation.

(4) Each city was selected with the specific theme: Wine cultures for Dijon, the market and its contribution to the urban for Paris-Rungis, nutrition, health and culinary arts for Lyon; and social sciences and humanities of food for Tours [25]. As of February 2017, Dijon marked the most advanced progress, therefore, Dijon was chosen as the case for analysis in this study.

(5) Although the project initiators intend to differentiate GMF from gastronomy in an ordinary sense, this differentiation is hardly recognisable among the French public and the latter is more prevalent. Thus, hereafter in this paper, GMF is rephrased as “Gastronomy” to effectively link the first and second analyses.

(6) Particularly, the content of Washoku cannot be fully understood without this additional interpretative procedure.

(7) Although not being detailed due to a space constraint in this paper, the complementary analysis was conducted on the interview data on the definition of gastronomy answered by the chefs in Dijon [26]. Interestingly it was found out that gastronomy was perceived as common for restaurant chefs and that most recurring components were the use of good products and the art of the table, which implies the different conceptions by occupation even among the agri-food experts.

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