

識別番号	P 4
研究課題	Culinary Soft Power—a new concept for cultural politics （“食のソフトパワー” — 国際政治文化論における新概念の研究）
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Summary	本研究では昨今特に政治の場で注目を集めている“食のソフトパワー”という概念について、その定義づけとグローバル社会における動向を調査、分析した。 “食のソフトパワー”とは、ある国や地域独自の食文化が、他の地域の人々を惹き付ける力として定義される。食のソフトパワーの基盤となるものはふたつあり、ひとつは地域料理の格付け(quality)、もうひとつは人気・購買力(quantity)である。アメリカのファストフードを例にとると、格付けではフランス料理などに劣るが、世界各地における普及率や店舗数の多さはその人気の高さを裏付けている。現代において、食のソフトパワーはレストランなど外食産業と料理本、その他のメディアを通して外へと発信される。そして急速にグローバル化する社会の中で、食のナショナリズムと食の世界主義(cosmopolitanism)が互いに絡み合って発展するという複雑な様相を呈しているのも注目すべき点である。また、食のソフトパワーの強弱を決定する要素はグローバル社会における主要な関心事とも密接に関わっている。例えば、国際大都市圏(global cities)の形成、海外移住、インターネット、観光産業、国力のブランド化、などである。

1.定義

Culinary soft power can be defined as the acknowledged attractiveness and popular appeal of food culture that adheres to a nation, region or locality. Culinary soft power has two basic dimensions. One is the *status* of a cuisine. The other is the *popularity*. Both are in principle relatively easy to measure. For example, for a measure of status of a national cuisine globally, we can assess the rankings of restaurants by nationality in major cities by examining sources such as newspaper reviews, restaurant guides and online guides, then coding restaurants by ethnicity or nationality. Krishnendu Ray's survey of reviews of New York restaurants is one step towards this kind of measure (Ray 2010 Institute of Comparative Culture). For a measure of popularity of cuisines, we can simply count the numbers of restaurants of various cuisines in major cities. Both dimensions tell us something about the culinary soft power of nations, regions or localities. For example, French restaurants have retained high status longer than any other cuisine, while American fast food restaurants dominate in terms of their numbers and geographic reach. In sum, both quantity and quality matter, giving China, for example, a reputation for exporting both cheap eats and high cuisine. China thus seems to have acquired culinary soft power largely through the efforts of ethnic culinary entrepreneurs.

2.現状

Culinary soft power is a concept that only makes sense with the relatively recent historical development of a globalized field of cuisine, largely based in restaurants, but also transmitted through cookbooks, cooking shows, and other media. The development of globalized field of restaurant cuisines means that middle-class consumers all over the world can now locate their own cuisines on a globalized map of national, regional and local cuisines that is increasingly elaborated and devoid of blank spaces. Within this globalized culinary field, culinary nationalism and culinary

cosmopolitanism develop hand in hand. Indeed, they even depend on one another, with many advocates of local or national cuisines, also actively consuming alternative cuisines. Consumers in Shanghai and Beijing, for example, can find local guidebooks that include restaurants specializing in regional Chinese cuisines from almost all provinces or regions of China organized side by side with the cuisines of other nations or regions around the globe. The vast expansion of both regional and international offerings is a culinary phenomenon of the last decade in China.

3.食文化の力関係

It is more difficult to come up with an explanation for what brings culinary soft power – or a higher status within the culinary field – to a nation, region or locality. Underlying economic and political influence are one likely explanation for the prestige of cuisine, but I would argue that culinary soft power is not simply reducible to supporting hard power, nor for that matter, to other forms of soft power. For example Germany is an economic and political power, but not a culinary power. And both Spain and Thailand are perceived as rising culinary powers with little political, economic or broader cultural bases for their success. Clearly food fashions matter, for example, the fashion for the sweet spicy flavors typical of Thai curries. Singular innovators also matter, as in the global reputation achieved by the extraordinarily innovative Spanish restaurant *elBulli* that has promoted an increased interest in Spanish cuisine globally. Other influences on culinary status include a reputation for healthiness and safety of ingredients that has benefited both Japanese and Mediterranean cuisines.

I would list the following factors as important in the development of culinary soft power: (1) location in or connection to trend-setting global cities that support innovation (2) an overseas diaspora that transmits cuisine abroad (3) reputation for healthiness and food safety (4) strength of food publics, including both online and mainstream media (5) touristic interest in the region (6) prestige of culinary profession and institutions for training chefs in the techniques of the cuisine both domestically and abroad (7) culinary nation branding, or the development of signature dishes (8) length of a tradition of restaurant cuisine (9) initiatives of national and local governments to promote the cuisine

4. “食のソフトパワー” と政治

Although government initiatives may be the weakest of these factors, a new politics of cuisine is emerging in Asia and around the world. Local and national governments promote food cultures associated with a nation, region or locality, aiming not only at increasing exports, but also at increasing the status and appeal of a region or nation. The term “culinary soft power” has been used, for example, to describe the growing popularity of Japanese cuisine globally. Asian governments seem to have become particularly conscious of national culinary soft power. With an eye on the global popularity of Japanese and Thai cuisine, the governments of Malaysia and Korea both have projects aimed at promoting the status of their national cuisines abroad. In addition to nations, however, regions and cities also support the promotion of culinary traditions or culinary zones. Culinary soft power can adhere to a nation, region or locality. Especially for cities, this promotion is not limited to exporting local foods, but also attracting star chefs associated with international or fusion cuisines. Urban culinary status and national culinary status thus seem built around very different principles. However, both are evidence of an active culinary politics, with nations emphasizing invented traditions of a national cuisine, and cities emphasizing invented traditions of culinary cosmopolitanism.

5.上海 EXPO と食

Culinary politics is now global in scope. In a concentrated set of examples, at the Shanghai Expo in

2010 most national pavilions featured some reference to culinary culture, with an idea to exporting particularly products or elements of the cuisine as a whole. Cuba's pavilion featured little else but a bar promoting Cuban rum. Similarly, Moldova's small pavilion focused on the marketing of Moldovan wines. Caribbean countries promoted various sauces and tropical fruit products at their joint pavilion. Numerous pavilions promoted their own restaurants, including Czech, Bulgarian, Peruvian, Dutch, Australian, Italian, Taiwanese, Ukrainian and Turkish. Tickets to the "six star" restaurant at the Japanese pavilion were reportedly being resold by black market hawkers at a mark-up of 10,000 rmb to the already high original price of 3,000 rmb (A 4,000 rmb meal is roughly 52,000 yen, or over US\$500). Building on its considerable reputation in China, Japan chose a successful high ground strategy, aimed at status conscious wealthy Chinese visitors. The restaurant at the Peruvian pavilion, managed by Shanghai-based Peruvian chef Eduardo Vargas, chose a much lower key and low cost strategy and was also successfully packing in customers. Shanghai celebrity chef David Laris was managing the offerings of both the Dutch and Australian pavilions. Although this is only one example, the expo shows the importance of this new culinary politics, and also the involvement of migrant entrepreneurs and chefs in promoting cuisines across borders.

6.まとめ：食のソフトパワーの立役者達

In sum, the politics of cuisine depends on numerous factors and numerous actors. States are not able to control the flows of culture, though they do try to influence the production and reception of their foodways abroad. Other actors, such as ethnic entrepreneurs, celebrity chefs, restaurant chains, magazines and transnational culinary movements are probably having a greater influence on the culinary reputations of nations, regions and cities.