

# Travelling Cuisines:



## Culinary Politics and Transnational Foodways in and out of Asia



### PROJECT PRECIS

Food is a focus of cultural politics, whether in individual projects of projecting a cosmopolitan self-identity through dietary practices or national projects of projecting culinary soft power through promoting national cuisines. This volume of essays documents the politics of producing Asian cuisines in the contemporary age of rapid culinary globalization. Culinary politics may occur at the micro-level of constructing a cookbook as a way of revising or challenging national culinary cultural traditions, or it may happen at the macro-institutional level of applying for recognition as “intangible cultural heritage” to the UNESCO. In all these cases local, national and transnational issues shape the production and meanings of cuisines, while cuisine are also used as a way of talking about or influencing larger social relations.

The project aims to make original contributions to ethnography of Asian culinary contact zones, or spaces in which transnational cultural flows and local foodways interact. This includes studies of the ways in which Asian cuisines cross borders and subsequently interact with local culinary systems. It also includes studies of how cuisines within Asian cities, including imported cuisines, are also modified or employed in local, national and transnational cultural politics. Contributors use multi-sited and cross-border ethnographic fieldwork and comparative qualitative case studies to uncover the transnational pathways and the cultural politics of national, regional and urban cuisines. As ethnographies of globalization, each contributor makes use of qualitative fieldwork and historical ethnography to produce a story of historical developments as well as a thick description of the cultural and social production of cuisine themselves.

Theoretically, the collection contributes to conceptualizing the politics of cuisine. We want to go beyond the conceptualization of culinary globalization as primarily about the “domestication” or “indigenization” of the foreign. As cuisines cross borders they do indeed become site of negotiation and hybridization, or the politics of culinary contact zones, but they also are objects of the state-led politics of food, or strategies of projecting culinary soft power (both by national local politics). They may also be spaces for individuals constructing regional, national and/or cosmopolitan identifications. And we must not forget that cuisine itself is a field of social relations with key players, challengers and changing relations of power. The kitchen is itself a field of cultural politics. This proposal brings together a diverse and experienced team of ethnographic researchers to examine these various expressions of the culinary politics in the dynamic field of foodways moving into and out of Asia.

PROGRAM (Updated on June 8: Final in PDF)

**Sophia University, Library Building 9F, Room 911  
June 22-23, 2013**

**JUNE 22: DAY ONE (Open to the Public)**

**9:30 – 11:45 Session One**

**Discussant: Jordan Sand, Georgetown University**

**Culinary Politics of Localized Western Cuisine in Shanghai**

**James Farrer**, Sophia University

**The Travels of Kitty's Love Cake: A Tale of Spices, 'Asian' Flavours and Cuisine sans Frontières**

**Jean Duruz**, University of South Australia

**Japanese as Global Food: Umami, Celebrity and the Global Urban Network**

**Shoko Imai**, The University of Tokyo

**1:15 – 3:30 Session Two**

**Discussant: Takeshi Ito, Sophia University**

**Japanese Cooks in Italy: The Institutionalization of Overseas Training during the 1980s and 1990s**

**Keiichi Sawaguchi**, Taisho University

**Consumer Education Initiatives in Japan in Transnational Perspective: Slow Food, Nippon Food Action and JRO**

**Stephanie Assmann**, Akita University

**Making Crayfish Local: From Exoticism to Localism**

**Sidney C. H. Cheung**, The Chinese University of Hong Kong

**3:45 – 6:00 Session Three**

**Discussant: Gavin H. Whitelaw, International Christian University**

**Searching for Local Food in Japan**

**Eric C. Rath**, University of Kansas

**"Kosa kosa per pani badle, chara kosa per vani": Indian Ocean Cuisine and the Politics of National Cultures**

**Krishnendu Ray**, New York University

**Why Doesn't Malaysian Cuisine Fare Well in the Global Restaurant Industry?: A Sociological Enquiry**

**Kosaku Yoshino**, Sophia University

**JUNE 23: DAY TWO (Closed session: Invited participants only)**



This symposium is funded by Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research. It is organized by ICC Research Unit on "Globalization, food and social identity in the Asia Pacific"

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### About discussants at this symposium

#### Jordan Sand

Jordan Sand is Associate Professor of Japanese History and Culture at Georgetown University in Washington, DC., and Visiting Professor at Tokyo University. He holds a Masters degree in Architecture History from Tokyo University and a Ph.D. in History from Columbia University. He is the author of *House and Home in Modern Japan* (Harvard University Press, 2004) and *Tokyo Vernacular: Common Spaces, Local Histories, Found Objects* (University of California Press, forthcoming 2013). He is also co-editor of *Flammable Cities: Urban Conflagration and the Making of the Modern World* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2012). Other publications include "Good Science, Bad Science and Taste Cultures: A Short History of MSG" (*Gastronomica*, Fall 2005), and the forthcoming article "How Tokyo Invented Sushi." He teaches on various aspects of cities and material culture as well as a seminar on the world history of food. He is presently working on a book about material culture in the Japanese empire.

#### Gavin H. Whitelaw

Gavin H. Whitelaw is Associate Professor of Anthropology at International Christian University (ICU) in Tokyo. He is also Coordinator of ICU's Japan Studies Program. From 2004-2005, he conducted ethnographic research on Japanese convenience stores and the globalization of small shop culture. In addition to his articles and book chapters related to food culture, work, and globalization, he is the curator of a special exhibition on convenience store material culture for ICU's Yuasa Memorial Museum. In 2014, his ethnographic study of convenience cuisine 'afterlives' entitled, "Shelf Lives and the Labors of Loss Food, Livelihoods, and Japan's Convenience Stores," will appear in volume, *Capturing Contemporary Japan* edited by Satsuki Kawano, Glenda Roberts, and Susan O. Long.

#### Takeshi Ito

Takeshi Ito teaches and researches at the Faculty of Liberal Arts and the Graduate School of Global Studies, Sophia University. His research concerns Agrarian Studies, Comparative Politics, Environmental Politics, Global Agro-Food Systems, International Political Economy, Southeast Asia, State-Society Relations, Transnational Social Movements, and Power, Domination, and Resistance. His courses include Introduction to Comparative Politics, Political Economy of Development, Southeast Asian Politics, Environmental Politics of Agriculture, and Agrarian Societies.



# Culinary Politics of Localized Western Cuisine in Shanghai

**James Farrer,**  
**Sophia University**

The foodscapes of “global cities” are heterogeneous geographies in which “foreign,” “ethnic,” or “international” eateries are a key markers of a multicultural urban culture and cosmopolitan lifestyle. Elements of global foodscapes range from multinational chains such as McDonalds and Starbucks to small owner-operated boutique restaurants and the high-end projects of celebrity chefs. Previous discussions of culinary globalization in East Asia focused primarily on the processes of indigenization or localization of imported foodways, but these concepts are imperfect descriptions for the changing urban foodscapes of Asian global cities such as Shanghai (see Watson 1997, Tobin 1992). They are also inadequate models of the complex culinary politics involved in producing globalized urban foodscapes. In particular, urban foodscapes in global cities are closely related to patterns of elite migration and transnational flows of both producers and consumers. They have a transnational as well as local geography. The ways in which foreign cuisines become embedded in the larger urban foodscape are tied to both the types of producers and types of consumers who act as the driving forces in a culinary field or scene. The focus of this project is on the migrant chefs, from Australia, the America, Europe, and Asia, actively producing the international restaurant scenes that have developed over the past two decades in Shanghai. The study shows how immigrant chefs play a central role in some international dining scenes, for example French food in Shanghai, and a less central role in others, for example Japanese food in Shanghai. Foreign consumers, or international migrants and expatriate sojourners in Shanghai, also are shown to play a crucial role in creating and shaping the foodscapes of the global city. There are three levels of culinary politics at work here. One is the local, subtle kitchen politics of how chefs from abroad establish and claim a position in the transnational, and local, culinary fields in which they participate in Shanghai. The second level is the way that consumers use the consumption of foreign cuisine to signal a cosmopolitan identity in Shanghai, and the role that they as fashion leaders in authenticating taste cultures within the field of culinary consumption. The third level is the urban cultural politics of planners and designers in producing the “global city” as a space of cosmopolitan consumption and thus facilitating the place making of foreign chefs and restaurant entrepreneurs.

**James Farrer** is Professor of Sociology and Global Studies at Sophia University in Tokyo. His specialties are urban studies and cultural sociology. He has used qualitative sociological research methods to investigate urban culture in Shanghai and Tokyo, including sexuality, cuisine, nightlife, and expatriate communities. His research on cuisine focuses on the globalization of urban restaurant scenes in Shanghai and Tokyo. He holds a Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Chicago and a B.A. in Cognitive Science from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.



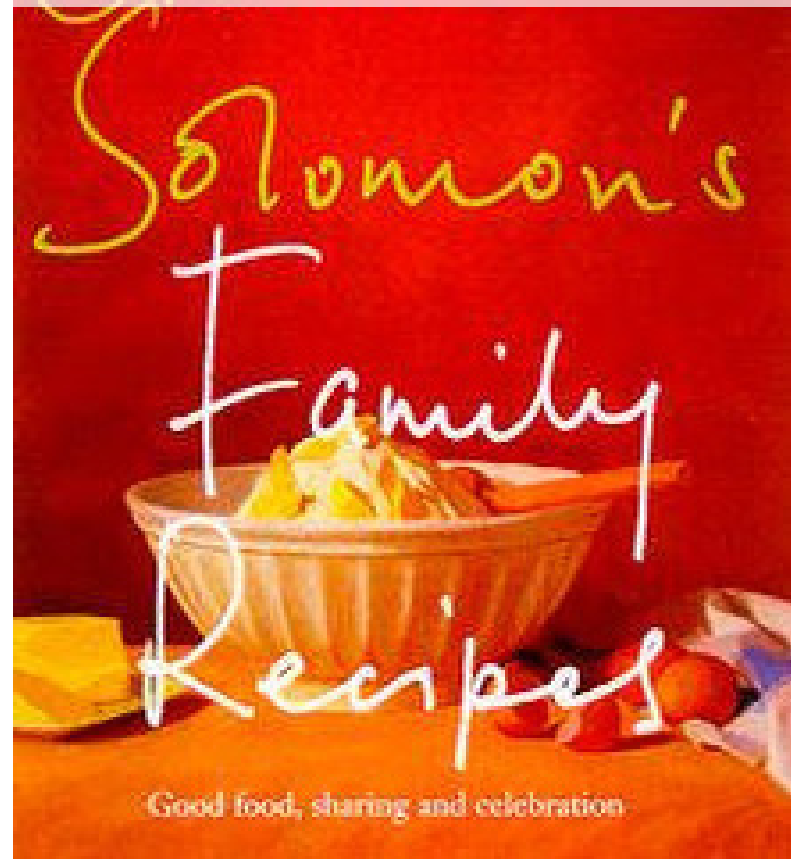
# The Travels of Kitty's Love Cake: A Tale of Spices, 'Asian' Flavours and *Cuisine sans Frontieres*

**Jean Duruz,**  
University of South Australia

Visiting her Aunt Connie in London in 1979, Charmaine Solomon carried a sentimental gift – a traditional Sri Lankan lovecake, made according to her mother's exacting recipe (semolina, zest of lime, cinnamon, cloves, cardamom ...). While cake and other sweet treats could be traced as significant threads in Charmaine's own life story, her reputation as a cook and cookbook writer hardly rests on these. Acknowledged as a much-celebrated home cook who, in the second half of the twentieth century, substantially changed Australia's culinary landscapes (think also of Margaret Fulton, Stephanie Alexander and Maggie Beer), Solomon occupies a distinctive position in this history. With *The Complete Asian Cookbook* (1976), Charmaine Solomon had achieved iconic status as 'Australia's Spice Queen' and 'the Queen of Asian cooking in Australia'. Over twenty years (and many cookbooks) later, however, *Charmaine Solomon's Family Recipes* (1998) was to set out on a slightly different course.

This paper proposes to follow this course, mapping, for a particular postcolonial moment, meanings of 'Asian', sugar and spice in this later cookbook. These meanings, in turn, become ways of reflecting on intersections of 'Asian' and 'Australian' cooking and eating, reflecting on global culinary flows in and out of Asia, on hybridizations of dishes, ingredients and flavours, and on intimations of vernacular cosmopolitanism. Through *these selection of recipes, photographs and stories for a family 'album', and through commentary on this, Charmaine Solomon implies the complexity of her own 'mixed' culinary roots and serendipitous journey to 'Asian' cooking. The voices of her family too constitute resonant ethnographic fragments, questioning tendencies to homogenise cuisines on behalf of a unified national imaginary and embodying, instead, the dynamic qualities of food cultures in this current period of rapid globalisation. As such, Solomon's 'album' and its framing culinary cultures might be construed as a 'soft' political challenge to essentialism – as an Australian family's claim to 'mixed' heritage and mobile identities for 'the Asian century'. Mica Nava's *Visceral Cosmopolitanism* (2007) will provide a theoretical tool for taste-testing these reflections.*

**Jean Duruz** is an Adjunct Senior Research Fellow within the Hawke Research Institute of the University of South Australia. Her research and publishing has focused on food as a medium of exchange, particularly across the borders of ethnicity, within global cities/city states such as Singapore, London, Mexico City, New York City and Sydney. Much of her research has a strong focus on ethnography, as well as on global movements of food within the Asia-Pacific. Other recent writing examines cookbooks and the work of cookbook writers/chefs as symptomatic of everyday eating in 'multicultural' nations. Jean Duruz has published in journals such as *Gastronomica*, *Space and Culture*, *New Formations* and *Cultural Studies Review*. She is currently working, with Khoo Gaik Cheng, on a book manuscript on Singaporean and Malaysian street food and its culturally 'mixed' origins.

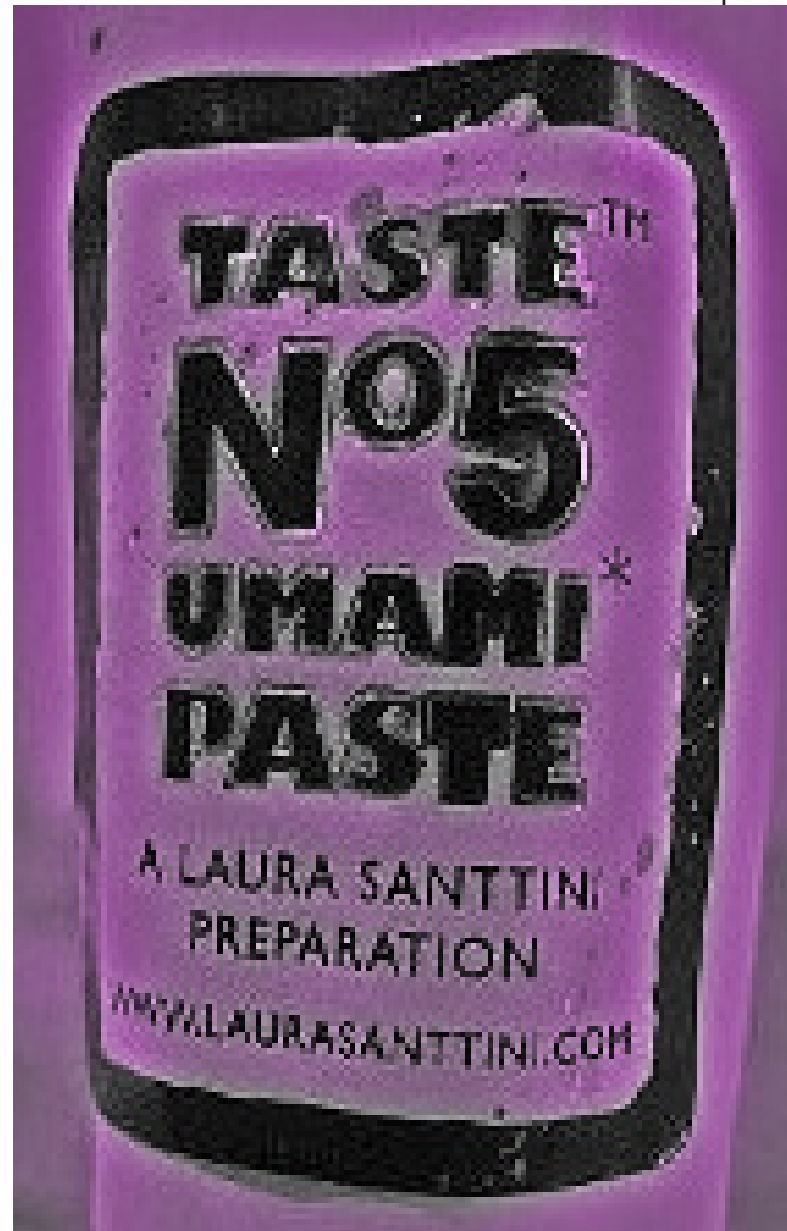


# Japanese as Global Food: Umami, Celebrity and the Global Urban Network

**Shoko Imai,**  
The University of Tokyo

This paper looks at the way in which Japanese food culture has recently come to be seen as a global phenomenon. Not only dishes such as sushi and sukiyaki, but also traditional food ingredients and techniques are now appreciated worldwide by a wide ranging clientele as well as by celebrity chefs who were trained in and are using other cuisines as their base. With dashi stock, miso, and tofu now attracting curious chefs around the world, these ingredients are being examined, adopted and adapted to create new innovative dishes. In this paper in order to analyze this global culinary trend, I focus on the sense of taste from geographical perspectives. The signature concept of Japanese cuisine is umami, often defined and recognized as the fifth basic taste. I discuss how the ingredients and techniques of traditional Japanese cuisine have become disseminated within networks created by globally famous chefs and thereby spread around the world. And I also investigate how the notion of place-based authenticity complicates the whole process of the globalization of Japanese food.

**Shoko Imai** is a graduate student in Area Studies Department of Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at the University of Tokyo. Currently she is working on her PhD thesis on the globalization of Japanese food culture.



# Japanese Cooks in Italy: The Institutionalization of Overseas Training during the 1980s and 1990s

**Keiichi Sawaguchi,**  
Taisho University

This paper aims to examine the institutionalization of the overseas training in Japan's Italian restaurant business. It has developed quite rapidly both in quality and quantity since 1980s. One of the factors which effected the qualitative development is the spread of overseas training in Italy. Many Japanese cooks have stayed in Italy more than 12 months because they think that the overseas training is an inevitable experience for their career attainment. The overseas training for Japanese cooks have institutionalized with the development of the reciprocal relationship between Italian restaurant business and Japanese cooks. The transformation of the overseas training is a path-dependent process. It has reflected the context of the Italian society and the field of Japanese cooks.



**Keiichi Sawaguchi** is Professor in the Department of Human Studies of Taisho University. He has an MA of Literature from Waseda University. He is interested in the sociology of family, profession and life course. His research interests focus on the change of career structure in specific industry and the social context. His current research issue is the history of Japan's Italian restaurant industry and the life history of cooks. He wrote an article in 2012 titled "An Introductory Essay on history of Italian Restaurant Industry in Japan and the Life Histories of Cooks"(Published in Japanese).



# Consumer Education Initiatives in Japan in Transnational Perspective: Slow Food, Nippon Food Action and JRO

**Stephanie Assmann,**  
Akita University

Japan is struggling with three food-related issues. At 40 percent, Japan has one of the lowest food self-sufficiency rates among the industrial nations. Japan imports sixty percent of her foodstuffs, mainly from China, the United States of America, Australia and Canada. Second, Japanese consumers have been alert to food safety due to a number of food scandals, such as the Morinaga milk incident in 1955. In 2008, the scandal of Chinese tainted dumplings that caused food poisoning among ten consumers led to the perception of domestic foods as being safer than imported goods. The third problem is an increase of lifestyle-related diseases among the population such as obesity and underweight, diabetes and high blood pressure that are a result of poor eating habits.

Consumer education initiatives in Japan target these entwined issues. Consumer cooperatives such as the Consumers' Union of Japan and the Japan Homemakers' Association have been active in Japan since the 1960s and 1970s. This chapter features three recent consumer education initiatives in Japan. The Slow Food Movement is a transnational activist network that took root in Japan in 1998. The aims of the Slow Food Movement are to protect culinary heritage, strengthen culinary conviviality and educate consumers about food production and food preparation skills. In 2008, the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAFF) founded Food Action Nippon, a government initiative which utilizes the promotion of regional foods to counter Japan's low self-sufficiency rate. Lastly, the Organization to Promote Japanese Restaurants Abroad (JRO) conveys an image of Japanese haute cuisine outside Japan through promotion events.

Despite differences in structure and aims, all three consumer education initiatives seek to strengthen Japan through increasing domestic food sovereignty and promoting a unique culinary heritage within and outside Japan. From a transnational perspective, the goal of consumer education initiatives to achieve domestic food self-sufficiency contrasts with the dependence on food imports and the Prime Minister's objective to engage in a Pacific free trade area. Through an analysis of consumer education initiatives, I seek to provide an answer as to how successfully Japan will be able to counter globalization through an emphasis on food sovereignty and culinary heritage.

## Stephanie Assmann

Originally trained as a Japan specialist at the University of Hamburg, Germany, Stephanie Assmann is associate professor of Cultural Studies at Akita University, Japan. She has done extensive research on the cultivation and promotion of regional agricultural products, on activities of the Slow Food Movement and on food education programs (shokuiku) in Japan. She applies a sociological approach towards her research and has extensive experience in using qualitative research methods such as participant observation and in-depth interviewing in Japanese. In her recent research, she examines the promotion of regional food products as a way to revive tradition and counter food-related risks. (as of June 2013)



# Making Crayfish Local: From Exoticism to Localism

**Sidney C. H. Cheung,**  
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

This article aims to explain the rise of crayfish eating in New Orleans, United States and Nanjing, China from the global perspectives of food production and consumption. Being local has different meanings such as traditional, home-made, seasonal and small scale production, and I would like to track down the path of how exotic ingredients were turned into local food catered for outsiders as well as tourists. Of these, the study of red swamp crayfish (*Procambarus clarkii*) both in the New Orleans, Louisiana (NOLA) and Xuyi, Jiangsu (XYJS) provides an interesting case showing the relevant transformations in the two different countries in many parallel ways regarding their socio-cultural development. Based on my recent fieldtrip to New Orleans, Louisiana, I found the rise of crayfish farming only taken place since the late 1960s, and before that, all crayfish was wild, caught from bayou and drainage. When I asked local people about the origin of crayfish dishes and how and why it became popular and boomed in Louisiana, I often got the answer that crayfish eating has a long history and it had become a common dish because crawfish is essentially delicious; therefore, I would like to bring in the emotional attachment of local people to crayfish, which symbolizes an identity as well as a sense of belonging, but more importantly, as an anthropologist I aim to learn how the changing individual taste is related to the social and political environment. In the Chinese context, *P. clarkii* was brought to Nanjing by Japanese in the 1930s though the reason is still unclear. The Chinese in the Jiangsu area did not welcome it since it ate crops and fishes and did not bring benefits to the people there. For a long time, no one paid attention to it, and the emergence of the dish called 'Nanjing little lobster' did not appear until the early 1990s; yet its rapid growth in popularity was not limited to Nanjing but extended to big cities such as Shanghai and Beijing. However, with the establishment of local museum and annual international festival, the crayfish dishes became a famous local food for outsiders as well as tourists visiting the city with various interests.



**Sidney C. H. Cheung** received his anthropological training in Japan, and is currently Professor and Chairperson of the Department of Anthropology in The Chinese University of Hong Kong. He has carried out field research in Japan, Hong Kong, mainland China, Southeast Asia and Louisiana, and published his research on visual anthropology, anthropology of tourism, cultural heritage, food and identity in journals such as: *Visual Anthropology*, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, *Annals of Tourism Research*, *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, *MUSEUM International*, *Asian Studies Review*, etc.; and his co-edited books include *Tourism, Anthropology and China* (White Lotus 2001), *The Globalization of Chinese Food* (Routledge Curzon and University of Hawaii Press 2002), *Food and Foodways in Asia: Resource, Tradition and Cooking* (Routledge 2007), and *The Conference Proceedings of Foodways and Heritage : A Perspective of Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage* (Department of Anthropology, CUHK and Hong Kong Heritage Museum, LCSD-HK (2013).

# Searching for Local Food in Japan

**Eric C. Rath,**  
University of Kansas

In March 2011, Japan's Agency for Cultural Affairs applied to UNESCO to include "Japanese traditional dietary culture" (washoku) as an Intangible Cultural Heritage Asset, defining washoku as, "utilizing various fresh ingredients depending on such factors as the four seasons and the locale." This definition not only grants local foods the same importance as seasonality in Japanese cooking, but it also suggests the diversity of Japan's dietary culture. Efforts to describe national food preferences by incorporating provincial examples are neither new nor unique to Japan, but the Japanese case as demonstrated by major ethnographic studies undertaken before, during, and after World War II have left local dietary culture surprisingly undefined except in the ways that it can be mobilized to support the policy aims of the central government. The regional diets represented in these studies reveal more about how culinary boundaries have been superimposed by the central government rather than how variations in eating habits stem from local geography and culture. Consequently, the conspicuous role of the central government in the process of defining local food in Japan offers a counter example to the situation that Arjun Appadurai has described for India where he finds that premodern regional cuisines contributed to the rise of a modern national cuisine. My paper contends that the opposite situation occurred in modern Japan where dominant definitions of national cuisine shaped the meaning of local food.

**Eric C. Rath** is professor of premodern Japanese history at the University of Kansas and a specialist in Japanese dietary culture and the traditional performing arts. His recent publications include *Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Japan* (University of California Press, 2010) and "Revaluating Rikyū: Kaiseki and the Origins of Japanese Cuisine," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 39.1 (2013): 67-96. His current research interests encompass local foods in Japan, tobacco, confectionery, and sake.





# “Kosa kosa per pani badle, chara kosa per vani”:

## Indian Ocean Cuisine and the Politics of National Cultures

**Krishnendu Ray,**  
New York University

Within and across Asia, a new history of oceans and renewed visibility of transnational circulation are reinvigorating discussions of cultural domains that exceed the nation-state. The inaudible world of taste and trade in comestibles is opening a window into the stifled science of the space between nations. The reality of shared tastes, flavors, ingredients, culinary tools and technologies proliferate at the very border region and oceanic link where territorial cultural difference is shrilly asserted. While national cuisines have been amply theorized, the edges of continents and territories remains to be examined: it is where the New World chili meets the littoral coconut and the curry leaf to materialize a culture not merely as metaphor but as tangible curry, hot, spicy and aromatic. The basic tools of modern cultural history and demographics have become so nationalized that they have repressed the centrality of connections both between neighboring territorial regions and between the port cities of the Indian Ocean, the zone that connects Mombasa, Mumbai and Malacca through flows of knowledge, resources and material culture.

As much as a spatial argument there is a temporal dimension to our contention here. Culinary cultural products such as toddy and betel nut, for example, are ubiquitous in peninsular India and Southeast Asia, much like tea and whiskey. But the latter are clear products of British imperial influence on the global palate, through hierarchy, emulation, propaganda and advertising, while toddy and betel nut are decisively not products of British imperial design. Rather, such instances underline the obfuscated link between East and South Asia, echoing the pathways of dispersal of coconut, sagopalm, rice, certain yams, and perhaps even green chilies. Many of these flows pre-date Western imperial interventions; these are extra-colonial links hiding in plain view as ubiquitous everyday practices under conditions of post-coloniality.

Instead of heartlands and national wholes we propose a productive mapping of taste and place that is encapsulated in the Hindustani saying, Kosa kosa per pani badle, chara kosa per vani: every two miles the water changes – where water is a metonym for taste here but can also be read literally – and every four miles the language. This locates taste at the center of the landscape that extends incrementally in all directions, exceeding the edges, borders and boundaries of the four-colored maps of modernity that colonize our minds.

**Krishnendu Ray** is an Associate Professor and Chair of the Department of Nutrition, Food Studies and Public Health at New York University. He is the author of *The Migrant's Table: Meals and Memories in Bengali-America Households* (2004). He taught for a decade at the Culinary Institute of America at Hyde Park, New York and was the Acting Dean of Liberal Arts & Management. Most recently, he is the co-editor of *Curried Cultures: Globalization, Food and South Asia* (2012). He is currently working on a book-length project titled “Immigrant Restaurateur and the American City: Taste, Toil & Ethnicity.”





# Why Doesn't Malaysian Cuisine Fare Well in the Global Restaurant Industry?:

## A Sociological Enquiry

**Kosaku Yoshino,**  
Sophia University

Malaysian restaurants are very limited in number in most major cities of the world compared with Thai, Vietnamese and Indonesian restaurants. Why doesn't Malaysian cuisine fare well in the global market? This chapter investigates this unforgotten case of culinary globalization. Its approach is sociological, enquiring into social processes that take place among producers, reproducers and consumers of cuisine. Analysis is made in particular of social characteristics of consumers of ethnic cuisine and then of some pertinent issues regarding reproducers of Malaysian cuisine in the global market such as the role of small businesses and the government. Attention is also drawn to ethnic relations and nationalism in contemporary Malaysia.

**Kosaku Yoshino** is Professor of Sociology at Sophia University and previously a Professor at the University of Tokyo. He received his PhD from the London School of Economics and Political Science. His areas of specialisation are nationalism and globalisation in Japan and Southeast Asia. His best-known books include: *Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary Japan: A Sociological Enquiry* (Routledge, 1992) and *A Sociology of Cultural Nationalism* (Nagoya University Press, 1997). He has also edited and published *Consuming Ethnicity and Nationalism: Asian Experiences* (Curzon Press and the University of Hawaii Press). He is currently completing a book on the impact of 'Englishisation' on ethnicity, social classes, nationalism and transnationalism in and out of Asia. relationship between Italian restaurant business and Japanese cooks. The transformation of the overseas training is a path-dependent process. It has reflected the context of the Italian society and the field of Japanese cooks.

