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Summary

Gastrodiplomacy is a subset of public diplomacy that uses food as a means of persuading audiences about the power of cuisine to promote specific foreign policy goals. The term entered the popular vocabulary in 2002, after an article in *The Economist* described Global Thai, a program launched by the government of Thailand to promote its cuisine abroad by providing financial incentives for Thai nationals to open restaurants in foreign countries. Like public diplomacy, gastrodiplomacy seeks to change foreign perceptions of a country and assumes a country's image or brand can be managed to gain favor with foreign publics.

A subset of activities arising from gastrodiplomacy is social gastronomy, which uses food to achieve social change. Social gastronomy is citizen driven, linking entrepreneurship, food justice, and gastronomy. It started as a chef-led response to hunger and social inequality but has expanded to refer to projects that use entrepreneurship and culinary training as a means of social activism. Social gastronomy is a dynamic field, demonstrating the changing role that food plays in supporting a broad range of societal needs such as income inequality, refugee and immigrant needs, climate change, and humanitarian crises.

As an increasingly influential form of public diplomacy, gastrodiplomacy demonstrates the "soft" power of the plate to address some of the enduring challenges people face, from climate change to conflict to global migration.

Keywords: gastrodiplomacy, culinary diplomacy, social gastronomy, nation branding, soft power, tourism, middle powers, conflict resolution

Subjects: Food Politics and Policy

Overview

The term *gastrodiplomacy* entered the popular vocabulary via a 2002 article that appeared in *The Economist*, which described Global Thai, a program launched by the government of Thailand to promote its cuisine abroad by providing financial incentives for Thai nationals to open restaurants in foreign countries. The Thai government's goal was to increase the number of Thai restaurants abroad by four thousand over the course of a decade.¹ By 2009, there were thirteen thousand Thai restaurants globally, and the experiment was so successful that Thailand continues to offer concessional loans to Thai nationals who want to open restaurants in other countries. Global Thai was the first time a campaign to use national cuisine as a branding tool captured the attention of marketing experts who recognized that food, like sports or automobiles, could distinguish a country, elevating it to a sought-after destination for tourism and commerce.

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Although gastrodiplomacy was originally used to describe a way for middle-power countries like Thailand, South Korea, Taiwan, and Peru to create a larger national brand for themselves and increase understanding of their culture, it has since evolved to include a wider set of practices that reflect the growing importance of food culture globally. The evolution of gastrodiplomacy from a limited concept to a broader and more dynamic one illustrates the search for a new vocabulary to describe the role that food plays in international relations. For example, gastrodiplomacy has become a means of promoting food in the tourism and hospitality industry. In the 21st century, where mobility and communication have expanded the reach of many people beyond their own communities, countries are promoting their unique cuisines and foodways to attract new visitors, increase foreign revenue, and support foreign direct investment in their agricultural sector. Most significant is that gastrodiplomacy is a recognized field of public diplomacy, another tool of statecraft, using national cuisines to make a country more attractive, a central concept of soft power.²

In fact, a world of "gastros" (a prefix used for words related to food) now exists that goes beyond nation branding³ to promote trade, export, tourism, and food nationalism that supports identity and self-determination.⁴ Gastrodiplomacy has expanded to include practices ranging from the citizen-based use of food as a means of livelihood creation to socioeconomic integration and community building; it can even serve to help reimagine countries that have a negative image. Gastrodiplomacy empowers diaspora communities to share their traditions and cultures.⁵ It also reaches into a related concept, social gastronomy, where food becomes a means to address social needs, such as supporting entrepreneurship training among immigrant and refugee populations and helping to find sustainable agricultural solutions to climate change through the food system.

Definitions: Gastrodiplomacy versus Culinary Diplomacy

Gastrodiplomacy and *culinary diplomacy* are often used interchangeably to describe public diplomacy strategies that use food as a means of communicating culture to foreign audiences. Both use food and cuisine to forge connections among communities,⁶ but they differ in their objectives and in the audiences they try to influence.

The conflation in terminology arose from a 2013 article by Sam Chapple-Sokol on culinary diplomacy, which stated that both culinary and gastrodiplomacy attempted "to use food to win hearts and minds."⁷ He saw the concept of culinary diplomacy having two sides: a public side and a private one.

Public diplomacy expert Paul Rockower helped untangle these concepts, suggesting that gastrodiplomacy "is a form of public diplomacy that combines cultural diplomacy, culinary diplomacy and nation branding to make foreign culture tangible to the taste and touch."⁸ It is also a strategy of middle powers to create greater brand recognition by using food to achieve this goal.

By contrast, culinary diplomacy is solely the practice of states, "characterized by using food for diplomatic pursuits."⁹ It is part of statecraft, used by diplomatic actors to build and strengthen diplomatic relationships by offering dining experiences as a form of engagement. It is a soft power tool that "uses cuisine as a medium to enhance formal diplomacy in official diplomatic functions"¹⁰ and to promote specific foreign policy goals. Its audience is members of the elite diplomatic community.

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Gastrodiplomacy, like culinary diplomacy, is a form of cultural diplomacy. It differs from culinary diplomacy since it is practiced by both states and private citizens. It is a way for both governments and ordinary citizens to communicate their culture through food.

Rockower claims that gastrodiplomacy "seeks to raise awareness and understanding of national culinary culture" among foreign publics "to influence broader audiences rather than high-level elites."¹¹ Gastrodiplomacy uses cuisine to reach wider audiences outside the diplomatic community by engaging citizens in cultural exchange through food and helps to provide insights through cuisine sharing that broadens cross-cultural understanding. Like culinary diplomacy, it is also a form of soft power,¹² but it involves a much broader set of practices used by the private sector, including "celebrity chefs, food corporations, tourist agencies, public relations firms, diplomacy practitioners,"¹³ and a variety of hospitality and nongovernmental advocacy groups that all look to build better relations among people.

Rockower's research distinguishes gastrodiplomacy from culinary diplomacy by demonstrating that it is practiced by citizens and by nation-states as opposed to governments, which use food as a tool of statecraft. However, there is some overlap. Gastrodiplomacy can also be used by governments to brand a food or cuisine to attract international attention by having a certain product positively associated with their country. It can be used to engage national and regional governments that use unique cuisines to market a location as a tourist destination or support the export of locally grown or manufactured food products. These components of gastrodiplomacy—citizen-driven food culture and nation branding—are connected, but they are practiced by different actors.

A World of Gastros

Since the term *qastrodiplomacy* was first introduced, the prefix "gastro-" has been used to describe many food-related activities and concepts related to it. There is gastronationalism,¹⁴ a way for a nation to elevate its cuisine to national brand status—France is the best example. The French gastronomic experience is considered a central piece of that nation's cultural identity, sending a powerful signal connecting nationalist sentiment to certain foods. Gastronativism¹⁵ is described as the use of cuisine as an ideological weapon. The list of other "gastros" goes on, including gastromediation, where the food itself (e.g., hummus) is used as the tool to defuse an ongoing conflict,¹⁶ or shared foods and recipes that serve as the basis for reconciliation, such as between Armenia and Turkey.¹⁷ There is gastro-advocacy, where chefs have used their voice to advocate for a more sustainable planet;¹⁸ gastroecology; and gastro-topography, the study of food-related placenames in Ireland.¹⁹ Anthropologist Ravindra Khare²⁰ coined the term gastrosemantics to explain the central role of food "in a culture's communication . . ., experience, and systematization of life."²¹ The term *qastroanomie* originated in 1999 when farmers were protesting the entry of the McDonald's restaurant chain into France. It describes the negatively perceived invasion of fast food into France's culinary culture—the opposite of gastrodiplomacy. French farmers saw a situation where industrial food could undermine a nation's cuisine and people's relationship to food.²² What all these terms reflect is a growing food vocabulary and a multidisciplinary awareness of the extent to which food is connected to a wide range of sociopolitical activities.

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Social Gastronomy

Social gastronomy is a citizen-driven, unofficial field that links social entrepreneurship, food justice, and gastronomy. It started as a chef-led response to hunger and social inequality but has expanded to refer to projects that use entrepreneurship and culinary training as a means of social activism.²³ Because it is directed at specific social ends—greater community welfare and using food as the means to achieve it social gastronomy is intricately linked with gastrodiplomacy. Social gastronomy shares many gastrodiplomacy practices, such as having food become a tool that is used to train and support people whose lives have been impacted by external challenges. Refugees and migrants, the incarcerated, and women who often become the breadwinners during conflicts are the beneficiaries. Food training programs can have a social impact when the goal is to help people find a means of financial support. Social gastronomy programs have been applied to societal problems such as social inequality, refugees, disaster situations, and mitigation of climate change through a focus on sustainable farming. Examples include creating food-related job training in correctional institutions, supporting entrepreneurs whose mission is to serve food to those without means, or serving in emergency situations that arise from both humanmade and natural disasters. Moreover, social gastronomy <<u>http://www.socialqastronomy.org></u> efforts are also seen as educational, helping consumers understand ways to achieve healthy diets or promoting greater food security.

David Hertz, a Brazilian chef and social entrepreneur, first used the term *social gastronomy* to describe a program, Gastromotiva, that he established in the favelas of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro to train young men and women in the culinary arts. He believed this type of vocational education, taught in the community, would help lead to jobs with livable wages.²⁴ The success of his work in Brazil attracted the attention of the World Economic Forum in Geneva. There he promoted his concept and gained support and seed money from Cargill International for his work to build training centers and dining rooms in Rio de Janeiro.²⁵ These centers, or *refettorios*, modeled after a similar type of program started by Chef Massimo Bottura <<u>https://www.foodforsoul.it/about-us/></u> in Italy, became a way for trainees and volunteers to interact with people in need of food assistance in their communities.

The term *social gastronomy* was first used in 1903 in an Australian newspaper. It referred to different classes of people dining at the same table.²⁶ In 1975, the term resurfaced in a book about everyday pleasures, using social gastronomy to describe dining in New York City's expanding ethnic food scene.²⁷ Today, it has come to mean the application of social entrepreneurship in gastronomy and the food industry. It has also been used to describe programs that use food production and training to address larger social challenges that exist in communities around the world. The Social Gastronomy Movement was launched in Davos, Switzerland, at the World Economic Forum in 2018.²⁸ Later that year, at a meeting in Rio de Janeiro, Hertz and his colleague Nicola Gryczka, chefs, social activists, policy experts, and representatives of the private sector from Latin America, the United States, and Europe came together to discuss the creation of a movement. All those who participated expressed a shared understanding of the benefits of income generation through training immigrants to create businesses in the food industry. What made this approach novel was the specific application of social entrepreneurship to gastronomy.²⁹

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The Social Gastronomy Movement's website describes itself as "a growing global impact network of people and organizations using the power of food to transform individual lives, foster more inclusive communities, and create positive social change." It has worked with communities of food activists, chefs, and agricultural experts to "address social inequality, improve nutrition, and engage people to leverage their skills for social good."³⁰ This is done by "co-creation," a process that uses dialogue with community practitioners who use food to connect people and support a more equitable and caring society. Less a movement than a loose confederation of groups and individuals in seventy countries, the proponents share a common goal of addressing societal challenges, such as refugee crises, feeding the homeless, and helping people who have been displaced by conflict build new lives through culinary training.

Today, other groups that reflect similar goals participate in working sessions organized by the Social Gastronomy Movement. For example, The Clink Charity in London trains nonviolent offenders in prison in food and hospitality skills with the aim of improving their lives when they finish serving their time in jail.³¹ The Refugee Food Festival in France, started in 2015 to help Syrian refugees and other migrants, is another way that social gastronomy projects can provide valuable training and increase awareness of the plight of displaced people. The businessmen who developed this food festival have expanded its programming to other cities in Europe.³² Über den Tellerand, a Berlin-based organization, also uses training in the culinary arts to integrate refugees. It has helped create a positive response to a growing problem by showing that gathering with newcomers around the table can provide common ground for engagement with others.³³

In the United States, groups that address issues of food access in low-income neighborhoods and teach young people to cook have become another form of social gastronomy. Appetite for Change, a Minneapolis-based organization, develops training spaces for food entrepreneurs and education centers for families seeking ways to eat more healthily.³⁴ Similar groups, such as Ghetto Gastros in New York, address the needs of young men and women who may otherwise join gangs by opening training facilities that provide food-related vocational tools to empower them economically.³⁵ Emma's Torch, a New York–based training kitchen and now a restaurant, started collaborating with immigrants and refugees in a program to help newcomers develop skills for employment.³⁶ These are examples of hundreds of organizations spread across the world that have chosen social entrepreneurship using food as a means of building community.³⁷

World Central Kitchen, a project started by Spanish-born chef José Andrés in response to the 2010 Haiti earthquake, has expanded to become the premier humanitarian feeding group for victims of war, refugees, and displaced peoples. Originally working only in areas of natural disasters, Andrés has created a global network of chefs and supporters to form a rapid response team to provide food in times of crisis. Like other projects that address entrepreneurship and training, World Central Kitchen has tapped into the entrepreneurial spirit of communities in the wake of disasters.³⁸

Chefs as Advocates: Chefs' Manifesto and Sustainable Development Goals

The Chefs' Manifesto is a coalition of chef-activists from around the world who use their kitchens as platforms for teaching about sustainable agricultural practices and the power of food to support greater food security. In their manifesto, the chefs outline a set of eight practices: protection of biodiversity and

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animal welfare, ingredients grown with respect for the earth, investments in livelihoods, valuing natural resources and reducing waste, celebrating local and seasonal food, focusing on plant-based ingredients, educating about healthy diets and nutritious cooking, and providing access to affordable and nutritious food.³⁹ The Chefs' Manifesto movement has many roots, all arising from an effort between the United Nations Development Programme and the World Food Program to address the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goal 2: ending global hunger. The Chefs' Manifesto connects chefs across the globe to educate and to influence the eating patterns of future generations. They do this by preventing food waste, using less animal protein, and ensuring that food insecurity is reduced through a wide range of culinary tools.

Culinary activism represents the dynamic nature of gastrodiplomacy and social gastronomy. An example of this nexus of food and political action comes from Chef Julia Turshen's *Feed the Resistance*, a combination of food manifesto and cookbook.⁴⁰ Connecting those who prepare food with those who grow it, as well as giving voice to people who can play a role in influencing thought leaders, is a significant form of advocacy that can help translate global development goals into practice.

Gastrodiplomacy's Theoretical Underpinnings

The theoretical underpinnings of gastrodiplomacy include contact theory, nonverbal or non-logocentric communication, and nation branding. Beyond these theories, gastrodiplomacy has also taken on a political dimension, which is discussed in the "Nation Branding's Role in Middle-Power Gastrodiplomacy" and "Gastrodiplomacy as Intangible Cultural Heritage" sections.

Contact Theory

The principal underlying theoretical framework of gastrodiplomacy is Gordon Allport's contact theory.⁴¹ According to Allport, properly managed interpersonal contact should reduce issues of stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination that commonly occur among rival groups and lead to better intergroup interactions. When this theory is applied to gastrodiplomacy, dining together can potentially be a means of encouraging positive interaction and might help create a positive setting for negotiation.⁴² Industrial psychologists Woolley and Fishbach found that eating food together serves as a cue for trust and can help improve negotiating outcomes later because of the familiarity established in the process of dining.⁴³ Similarly, chefs who prepare foods are among the most trusted members of society.⁴⁴ There is also a growing interest among practitioners of mediation and peacebuilding to incorporate the use of foods as a tool for building trust.⁴⁵

A 2017 study of communal eating demonstrated that "those who eat socially more often feel happier and are more satisfied with life, are more trusting of others, and are more engaged in their local communities."⁴⁶ Commensality, or sharing a common meal, was described as early as Aristotle⁴⁷ as a practice that creates solidarity at both the political and family levels. *How We Gather*, a Harvard Divinity School survey conducted in 2015, showed that gathering and dining together for secular reasons can even

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serve as a substitute for participation in formal religious services.⁴⁸ But in gastrodiplomacy, common meals may be shared at home or in restaurants or other public places among all sorts of people, with the goal of creating shared experiences and widening awareness of local cuisine.

Nonverbal Communication

Food is a form of nonverbal communication. The offering and preparation of a meal conveys messages about class, identity, and power. There are meals used for holidays and foods served at funerals. There are ceremonial foods for weddings and births. For those who are immigrants and refugees, food can be a way to communicate in a new country without knowing the language—hence the growing popularity of gastronomy as a form of social entrepreneurship training. When a tourist consumes a national cuisine in a foreign land, they are also gaining an understanding about another culture.⁴⁹ Each culture has certain food norms. Linguistics expert Dan Jurafsky writes that every cuisine has an order for eating certain foods, which becomes a language with its own grammar and syntax.⁵⁰ Similarly, the diplomatic historian Ragnar Numelin noted that among tribal societies, food and drink were used as means of concluding or ratifying treaties.⁵¹ The concept of *gastrosemantics*, the ability of food to become so central to a culture's communication, is yet another example.⁵²

Nation Branding's Role in Middle-Power Gastrodiplomacy

Nation branding is a term coined by pollster Simon Anholt to describe "the management of the country's overall reputation."⁵³ Like public diplomacy, it is a concept that seeks to change foreign perceptions of a country and assumes that a country's image or brand can be managed to gain favor with foreign publics.⁵⁴ Nation branding is about making the nation a product.⁵⁵ Gastrodiplomacy is considered an important tool of middle-power diplomacy in that it helps "under-recognized nation brands increase their cultural visibility through the projection of national or regional cuisine."⁵⁶

Middle powers are loosely defined as a class of states that neither are superpowers nor sit at the other end of the political spectrum of weak states. Being a middle power allows countries to "punch above their weight."⁵⁷ When middle powers use their unique culinary identity, it helps them to stand out in a crowded field of nations. It is this focus on food that gave rise to the concept of gastrodiplomacy.⁵⁸ Middle powers using their cuisines create gains in familiarizing the foreign to outsiders, a goal of public diplomacy. It also helps a country improve its economy through the promotion of food products and tourism.

For middle powers, gastrodiplomacy has been a tool of foreign policy. Using cuisine to increase a nation's soft power can create a more emotional connection to a country's unique culture among those who can enjoy a meal. Promoting a unique cuisine becomes one of the rationales behind using food as a tool of international engagement by small states that want to distinguish themselves.⁵⁹ This was certainly the case when Thailand launched its Global Thai program in 2002, leading *The Economist* to first use the term *gastrodiplomacy* to describe food as an ambassador of the state. "Branding has emerged as a state asset to rival geopolitics and traditional considerations of power. Assertive branding is necessary for states as well as companies to stand out in the crowd since they often offer similar food-related products."⁶⁰

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Thailand was not alone, but its aggressive food goals to have Thai cuisine accepted worldwide laid a foundation for other nations, especially in Asian cultures, which used nation branding through unique foods to stand out in a very populous region of the world.⁶¹ Thailand's example was followed by other Asian nations, including Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, and China. South Korea, for example, has established government programs and made use of social media and celebrities to promote its cuisine. Its export companies have aggressive marketing campaigns in cities like London and New York to promote "kimchi diplomacy." These efforts have resulted in significant media attention and public recognition of Korean food globally.⁶² India's entrance into the nation-branding arena uses social media and a video game to demonstrate the power of food as a cultural marker. Singapore turned to its vibrant street foods to gain greater visibility of its culinary power.⁶³ Venba, a streaming game, portrays an Indian diaspora family living in Canada giving cooking lessons for specific dishes. The game teaches about traditional foods while also offering entertainment through games.⁶⁴ While each country has promoted its foodways differently, the goal is the same: to increase awareness of regional cuisines and to inspire others to view their country in a more positive light—a vital component of soft power—by using their cuisine to train their palates.

Other regions have also used their kitchens to raise their visibility on the global stage. Peru created Cocina Peruana Para el Mundo in 2004 to promote its cuisine, a combination of indigenous foods and the regional food that arose from European and Asian influences.⁶⁵ Using gastrodiplomacy to create a national brand using cuisine yielded very positive results. Through government support, Peru became an important culinary destination in the Americas. Starting in 2003, Peru has hosted an annual food festival, Mistura, the largest festival of its kind in South America. By drawing attention to the country's culinary strengths and the diversity of its food production, the government was also seeking to rehabilitate the country's image as a dangerous tourist destination after more than a decade of civil war waged with the Sendero Luminoso and other urban guerilla groups.

Similarly, the Mexican government started a gastrodiplomacy program, Ven a Comer, with the goal of attracting tourists to enjoy one of the oldest American cuisines. The 2015 initiative has been highly successful in promoting the importance of this national cuisine on the global stage.⁶⁶ Some suggest that both Peru and Mexico were using "foodwashing" to burnish their reputations as safe places to travel after years of violence, as well as an opportunity to taste excellent cuisine. The focus on food, or cuisine, and culinary engagement serves as a cover that either enables the appearance of a progressive narrative or offers a means to disguise or dismiss the violence of the region and normalize the conflict.⁶⁷

In the second decade of the 21st century, growing interest in food tourism has led to the publication of several scholarly pieces about the nexus of food tourism, gastrodiplomacy, and diversity. Muhammet Erbay and Suleyman Ates describe the recent role that African cuisine has played in gastrodiplomacy and demonstrate the growth potential of this geographic region.⁶⁸

Middle powers are not the only group of nations using food to promote commercial interests. Great powers have also used gastrodiplomacy to gain greater visibility for their cuisines, but often these efforts focus on more regional foods to highlight the diversity of culinary styles that exist. The US Department of State, in 2012, launched its first Culinary Diplomatic Partnership,⁶⁹ which partnered with the James Beard Foundation, a private foundation. Together they created the American Culinary Corps, which brought

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together over eighty chefs from around the United States who were willing to travel abroad to demonstrate the breadth of American culinary skills.⁷⁰ China also had its own program, part of its larger cultural outreach efforts abroad.

Are nation-branding programs that rely on gastrodiplomacy a reaction to globalization? It appears that the cases mentioned are about celebrating national, regional, or local foods that are part of the culinary DNA of a nation. It is possible for a state to have a unique culinary footprint that is used for both cultural and commercial purposes while also engaging in a wider global culinary experience. The case of Belize after its 1981 independence from the United Kingdom is an example. Within a decade, in the 1990s, Belize's ecological and cultural tourism industry flowered, allowing new culinary traditions to create a form of food nationalism⁷¹ that has endured as a form of Belizean gastrodiplomacy.⁷²

Preserving culture through a local or national cuisine is one way to counter this trend while also yielding other collateral economic benefits, such as creating new opportunities for entrepreneurs and the diaspora to promote local cuisines. This phenomenon is being seen worldwide. A good case for this effort comes from the Cumari: Rainforest to Table program, which was launched in 2015 to connect the worlds of conservation, food production, and culinary arts to sustain foods of the Amazon.⁷³

Gastrodiplomacy as Intangible Cultural Heritage

In 2003, UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, launched the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. The goal of the convention is to preserve and protect nations' intangible cultural heritage, which includes a wide range of traditions, skills, crafts, and other types of knowledge.⁷⁴ National cuisines and unique foods and methods of food preparation qualify under this Convention.

By 2023, thirty-six cuisines had been designated as part of the intangible cultural heritage of various nations and regions. Among the foods and food preparations and traditions that are protected by the convention are the gastronomic meals of France and Japan; Algerian, Mauritanian, Moroccan, and Tunisian couscous; South Korean and North Korean kimchi; Singapore Belgian beer; various flatbread making and sharing cultures; Turkish coffee; Neapolitan pizza; and Ukrainian borsch.⁷⁵

Politics plays a significant role in the identification and selection of cuisines. The pursuit of the UNESCO designation has taken gastrodiplomacy to another level by politicizing the process of nation branding using specific cuisines or foods. It is argued that the countries that submit applications to declare their cuisines a unique part of their cultural heritage may serve as a powerful form of a branding campaign.⁷⁶ A recent example is Ukraine's successful application to designate borsch as a national dish. The ongoing conflict with Russia was believed to threaten this aspect of Ukraine's culinary heritage. Gaining the UNESCO brand became even more urgent once the Russian invasion began. In early 2023, Ukraine sought a special emergency procedure under the Convention to expedite its application for borsch. The country prevailed, much to the chagrin of Russia.⁷⁷

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Even before the Russian invasion, Ukraine had established a campaign to use food as a soft power tool. In its strategic plan for 2022, the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry listed gastrodiplomacy to help promote Ukraine's cultural identity. It enlisted culinary ambassadors to cook the national cuisines in its embassies around the world and started its application to UNESCO to designate borsch as part of Ukraine's intangible cultural heritage.⁷⁸ Today, Ukrainian borsch is recognized by UNESCO with an entry on the list of dishes that require safeguarding.⁷⁹

Intellectual property law has also evolved to protect the food preparation and practices of some cuisines. Efforts to protect specific foods and methods to prepare them have become the subject of intellectual property disputes. The challenges that arise over a product name that designates a specific city or country have become the subject of many legal battles when it comes to violating a country's intangible cultural heritage. These types of challenges reinforce the political nature of food as a proxy for other types of issues, such as illegal immigration or copying the production methods of specific foods. Efforts are under way to catalogue and understand the lucrative property rights that arise from owning the rights to chefmade cuisines.⁸⁰

Gastrodiplomacy's Role in Tourism and Hospitality

Gastronomic tourism is an emerging phenomenon in the travel and hospitality industry. This type of tourism, in which tourists share meals at local restaurants or taste locally made products at farmers markets, is a form of gastrodiplomacy. According to the World Food Travel Association, "food tourism is the act of traveling for a taste of place in order to get a sense of place"⁸¹—in other words, tasting foods of different countries becomes the reason for travel. A recent survey of food tourism revealed that 53 percent of leisure travelers are food travelers.⁸² This is precisely what gastrodiplomacy seeks to achieve: giving people a way to experience a foreign culture by using the palate as a tool to inform about the local cuisine.⁸³

There is a strong economic motivation for countries to pursue this type of citizen food diplomacy. The average tourist spends a third of their trip budget on food consumption. Ministries of tourism consider this in their nation-branding campaigns that focus on promoting national cuisines as an integral part of their culture. Promotion of food through gastronomical festivals, fairs, events, cooking demonstrations, and other activities related to food have become an important component of the tourist experience and an example of how gastrodiplomacy has entered the travel and hospitality sector.⁸⁴

Gastrodiplomacy in Practice

What does the future of gastrodiplomacy look like? Is it a global standardization of national cuisine served at fast-food outlets, or is it the ongoing integration of new dishes, flavors, and recipes into communities that receive more and more immigrants each year? Will gastrodiplomacy homogenize people, lessening the differences among them by increasing intimacy, equality, and solidarity, or will it heterogenize people by accentuating differences and increasing social distance?⁸⁵

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Who sits at the table and who is not invited has always been at the heart of culinary diplomacy. Gastrodiplomacy is less about what anthropologists call gastropolitics, which uses eating events to manipulate the social relationships among those sharing a meal,⁸⁶ and more about making a longer table so that everyone has a place.⁸⁷ Going forward, the potential of gastrodiplomacy—citizen-to-citizen food diplomacy—which offers the power of the plate to address some of the challenges being faced, from climate change to conflict to global migration, cannot be ignored.

Peacebuilding and Conflict Resolution

In recent years, increasing attention has been paid to commensality as a means of building trust and resolving conflicts.⁸⁸ For example, in 2014, British NGO International Alert,⁸⁹ known for its work in postconflict peacebuilding, added the use of food and culinary projects to their toolkit of programs. A London dinner series, Conflict Café, became a source of cultural integration and education for anyone interested in learning more about conflict. Refugee chefs prepared a meal and engaged diners in conversations about food memory, recipes, and the role food plays in promoting peace. The organization even added a "Recipes for Peace" section to their website.⁹⁰ Whether this form of commensality can be characterized as another form of Track 3 or citizen diplomacy, the value of coming together to encourage understanding and awareness of issues among different communities is still unproven. However, it is another tool that uses food to promote dialogue.⁹¹

Gastromediation, a term coined by Israeli sociologist Nir Avieli, examines the way food might become a tool of dispute resolution.⁹² Mediation could use a specific food to resolve differences, as, for example, in the hummus wars between Israel and Lebanon, since the food itself shares a common culinary root in the Levant even though it has been appropriated by individual countries as theirs alone. Avieli notes that "food is a perfect metaphor for building peace. It becomes a means to facilitate interaction and cooperation, during and after a meal. It is the perfect peacebuilding tool."⁹³

Countries emerging from conflicts have also turned to kitchens and chefs to create bridges connecting war-torn societies. In Colombia, a country that has experienced a civil war for over sixty years, the government turned to Chef Alejandro Cuellar to become a peace ambassador following the ceasefire and peace accord in 2016. Cuellar traveled to former conflict zones to help train chefs to use products that were once again available after years of fighting.⁹⁴ Similarly, Chef Juan Manuel Barrientos uses his skills as a tool for peacebuilding by training former combatants to work in his kitchen while also impressing the culinary world with his masterful creations using local products. The Colombian government also established a Kitchens of Peace program to promote Colombia's diversity and unique contributions to food sovereignty, the movement that supports citizens growing and using locally accessible foods.⁹⁵ This effort to highlight Colombia's foodways and diverse influences is a hybrid of nation branding, social gastronomy, and gastrodiplomacy.⁹⁶

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Food as Public Art

Italian philosopher Andrea Borghini has contended that culinary experiences can in some instances be regarded as public art. As Borghini and Baldini explain, food is something that is not only consumed but also linked to a complex web of culinary values, and as such, it has the power to bring into play forms of memorial art, social protest art, and even art that enhances.⁹⁷ This can happen when a public art space also becomes a venue for serving traditional cuisine: the mix of viewing art exhibits, consuming local foods, and partaking of an artistic experience is an extension of understanding the practice of gastrodiplomacy—familiarizing the foreign for new audiences.⁹⁸ Food can also become a memorial or a form of sociopolitical awareness, as in the artist Judy Chicago's *Dinner Party* installation, which features a V-shaped dining table symbolizing a woman's body. A more recent example involves Israeli artists who re-created a Sabbath dinner table in a Tel Aviv plaza with empty chairs to commemorate the hostages taken by Hamas on October 7, 2023. Both works express what Borghini considers food as public art.⁹⁹

In the United Kingdom, the Victoria and Albert Museum hosted an exhibition, *FOOD: Bigger Than the Plate*, as a tribute to the material culture of food. This exhibition extended the boundaries of the usual museum exhibition "to explore new ways of connecting us to what we eat" by viewing food as a tool to address global challenges such as climate change and food insecurity and exploring the way immigrants use cuisine to explain the culinary history of their homelands. It looked at food from a variety of angles, ranging from "the pleasures of one of life's single greatest necessities" to the infringement of cultural sovereignty and social empowerment through food politics.¹⁰⁰ In New York in 2018, the Museum of Modern Art hosted an event that explored gastrodiplomacy, engaging scholars, chefs, food museum directors, and social gastronomers to discuss their work.¹⁰¹

An interesting overlap of food as art and conflict resolution was the performance art project Pittsburgh's Conflict Kitchen, which served food only from countries with which the United States was in conflict,¹⁰² as well as Conflict Cuisine,¹⁰³ a hub for academic work on diaspora food and gastrodiplomacy, as well as, most important, a growing thought center for the social gastronomy network that is developing globally.¹⁰⁴ In 2012, Michael Rakowitz hosted an exhibit and teaching project, Enemy Kitchen, which served the Iraqi food of his childhood to Americans in cities across the United States. He noted that "preparing and consuming food opens up a new route through which Iraq can be discussed,"¹⁰⁵ especially after the US invasion in 2003.

Conclusions

The field of gastrodiplomacy is dynamic and evolving, as is the concept of social gastronomy. Research about practice and application is still in its early stages. But the term has entered the popular vocabulary, being designated the "word of the day" by Dictionary.com on October 6, 2023.¹⁰⁶ Gastrodiplomacy not only is a tool used by citizens to promote their cuisines or nations to build their reputations as tourist and hospitality destinations but has also become a way for a variety of academic disciplines like philosophy and law to enter the kitchen.

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Gastrodiplomacy has also emerged as a component of nation building and geopolitics. Global concern about the nexus of food security, climate change, and supply chains has made nations more aware of these connections, both for promoting better outcomes for its citizens but also for the potential to create instability in those countries with less capacity to produce food. The many ways that both nations and individuals view their cuisine—from a means of attracting tourism and hospitality industry investors to making certain dishes subject to strong national identity, like borsch—are all part of the discourse on gastrodiplomacy. Politicizing certain foods or raising claims of ownership of specific dishes has led to a growing tension among different countries that share similar dishes but challenge their neighbors when it comes to those dishes' origins. The kitchen can have borders even in a world where so many dishes are borderless.

Social gastronomy offers a way to make foods a means to create greater social equality by using the kitchen to promote greater inclusion of newcomers and help alleviate emergency needs that arise from conflict or natural disasters. The growing community of chefs who have taken their activism from the kitchen to the community is one of the more hopeful aspects of the way food, essential to everyone's survival, has now become the focus of attention among a wide swath of the population.

Finally, as a field of practice, gastrodiplomacy has become an expanding means of expressing the soft power of governments, private citizens, and the private sector, who make something as basic as what people eat hold a myriad of opportunities to help this planet become a more peaceful and food-secure place for future generations.

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