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# UNESCO Recognition Reinforced the Relationship between Kyoto and Japanese Food through Japanese Newspaper Articles

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## Abstract

This research discusses the influence of the registration of Japanese food (*Washoku*) on UNESCO's transnational list of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2013 in terms of the image of place associated with Japanese food. We examine the reaction of Japanese public's concern about Japanese food in relation to this transnational recognition. Using content analysis of three nationally distributed Japanese newspapers, we evaluated the ratings of 47 place names in Japan and 50 keywords in newspaper articles containing the words for Japanese food published from December 1, 2009 to November 30, 2016. The results demonstrated that the appearance of place names in these articles was geographically limited. The growth ratio of appearance of Kyoto exceeded 50% in 2009 and 2016, higher than that of Tokyo and Osaka. The results suggest that UNESCO recognition enhanced the appeal of and interest to Japanese food linked to place and memory. As a result, further value was added to the image of Kyoto combining historical image and the taste following the UNESCO recognition.

**Keywords:** Japan; city image; food; UNESCO world heritage list; Kyoto; newspapers.

## Introduction

In December 2013, “*Washoku*, traditional dietary cultures of the Japanese, notably for the celebration of New Year” were added to UNESCO's transnational list of Intangible Cultural Heritage. Moreover, in the nomination file for UNESCO's list, Japanese cuisine (*Washoku*) is described as being practised throughout Japan. However, there may be a bias whereby more attention is paid to Japanese cuisine in Kyoto than in other places. For example, all three nationwide newspapers, *Asahi Shimbun* (2013), *Mainichi Shimbun* (2013), and *Yomiuri Shimbun* (2013) focused on the activities of chefs in gastronomy restaurants in Kyoto in the articles they published in response to the UNESCO listing. The articles regarded these Kyoto chefs as leaders of *Washoku*. In other words, the media discourse regarding the registration seemed biased in terms of region, contrary to the nomination file for UNESCO's list. It has been reported that the registration of *Washoku* made the

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headlines in many Japanese newspapers. Triggered by the UNESCO registration, the number of articles about Japanese food increased rapidly, and the UNESCO registration exerted a direct and unprecedented effect on the interest in Japanese food. In the newspaper articles on Japanese food that appeared, the words “culture,” “heritage,” and “world” were used frequently and following the UNESCO registration, historical time and place, rather than specific foods, were critical elements in the characterisation of Japanese food (Omori, 2018).

In Japan, newspapers are an information medium with a very high household subscription rate. Japanese national newspapers serve the entire country, including *Yomiuri Shimbun*, which has the highest circulation of any newspaper in the world, at 9.14 million copies per day in December 2015 (Dentsu, 2016). Furthermore, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (2016) revealed that of all Japanese media, newspapers have the highest credibility rating. Therefore, there is a significant association between newspaper article content and social consciousness trends in Japan (Higuchi, 2011). On the other hand, it has been noted that the Japanese mass media do not sufficiently represent the many regional differences in terms of article frequency (Mizukoshi, 2011).

The purpose of this study is to investigate the relationship between newspaper discourse about Japanese food and the image of place following the registration of *Washoku*. Our study is based on the hypothesis that the number of appearances in newspaper articles of the UNESCO registration will differ by region; that is, following the registration, the articles that appeared on Japanese food were associated more strongly with specific places, including Kyoto, which are linked with the image of “cultural heritage.”

The image of place attached to Kyoto by Japanese people is as a symbol for “good old Japan” in comparison with the modern metropolises of Tokyo and Osaka. The ancient capital was situated in Osaka before its relocation to Nara and then Kyoto. Its differentiation from Tokyo and Osaka was what led to Kyoto’s image as a traditional city after World War 2. When the Historic Monument of Ancient Kyoto was listed amongst UNESCO’s World Heritage sites in 1994, this ancient image was reinforced, and Kyoto is now considered the cultural capital of authentic Japan (Noda, 2005; Souda, 2005). Accordingly, many people have turned to the ancient capital of Kyoto when seeking Japan’s gastronomic roots. Aiba et al. (2004) reported that those who eat gastronomic food in Kyoto imagine the cuisine as representing the traditional culture, but no details are commonly shared regarding how the gastronomy of Kyoto came to be shaped.



As stated earlier, on the UNESCO list, the term *Washoku* refers to the traditional dietary culture unique to each region in Japan.

Meanwhile, Kanemitsu (2014) claimed that nominating Japanese food for UNESCO's list contributed to the increase in Kyoto's brand strength. However, few details have been reported on the benefits of this listing, and it remains unclear how the topic of the registration of *Washoku* spread in connection to the image of Kyoto. Moreover, few studies have focused on the change in the media discourse on this topic in relation to Kyoto.

Zenker and Braun (2010) define a place brand as 'a network of associations in the consumers 'mind based on the visual, verbal, and behavioural expression of a place, which is embodied through the aims, communication, values, and the general culture of the place's stakeholders and the overall place design'. Lichrou et al. (2017) assert the link between place experience, identity and image are paramount to place branding. There is awareness that differentiation has a significant effect on competitive positioning relative to other places (Hanna and Rowley, 2012).

Ooi and Stöber (2010) underline that the branding of place increasingly incorporates the arts and culture into brand stories. The reason is that the arts and culture offer uniqueness in the place image. The idea of obtaining uniqueness to differentiate a place from others is clearly attractive. In this context, the authenticity issue is particularly paramount importance in place branding. Therefore, World Heritage listing can serve to reinforce the value of place brands through identification (Hall and Piggn, 2003).

Sutton (2006, 2010) has investigated the attachment of taste to place as one of the tautologies of food and identity. Many previous studies that have investigated the correlation between the political background associated with modern, established nation-states and the formation of a national cuisine have discussed the notion that nation-states' institutions, such as the military or mass media, edit and diffuse regional cuisine on the national stage (Anderson 2009; Appadurai 1981; Cwierka, 2006; Tubek, 2000; Wilk, 1999). The editing process flows from a nation-state's intention to create a national cuisine that adjusts its people's sense of shared identity and links the image of the place. Thus, food plays an important role in sharing the place image.

According to Ashworth (2009), event hallmarking is widely used throughout the world as instruments of place branding. On the other hand, Richards and Wilson (2014) point out their impacts on the image of place are very hard to measure. Doğan (2016) describes the image

of Istanbul was transformed through the process of European Capital of Culture (ECOC) 2010. Doğan analysed the posters of Istanbul ECoC 2010 and clarified the changes in Istanbul's image by ECoC 2010.

Although the registration of Japanese food on UNESCO's transnational list is a kind of hallmarked event that is deeply related to authenticity and food, very little consideration has been given to the effects on the image of the place. This study attempts to provide an evaluation of the impact of the UNESCO's registration on the image of Kyoto, which is known as the former capital of Japan.

As mentioned above, *washoku*, which should be linked to all regions, was significantly focused on the activities in Kyoto, in the editorials in the days immediately after the UNESCO registration, although various local groups and their activities throughout Japan were listed in the nomination file. We, therefore, hypothesised that there would be a particular tendency regarding the vocabulary used to describe Japanese food in Japanese newspaper articles pertaining to Kyoto following the UNESCO registration, which simultaneously reflects Kyoto's image of a place in food discourses. We examined the relationship between 50 keywords and the place names of five major Japanese prefectures, Hokkaido, Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka, and Fukuoka, in articles on Japanese food.

Here, we discuss how the newspaper articles reflect on the image of Japanese food and demonstrate that UNESCO recognition reinforced the relationship between Kyoto and Japanese food through newspaper articles.

## Data and Methods

In 2016, the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, *Asahi Shimbun*, and *Mainichi Shimbun* newspapers had a combined household subscription of more than 32% (Japan Audit Bureau of Circulations, 2016). Using paid search engines operated by each newspaper publisher, the contents of these three newspapers were examined from December 1, 2008, to November 30, 2016. This study period of approximately eight years centred around the date of registration of Japanese food as UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage.

Our research found 14,531 articles that included the terms *nihonsyoku*, *nihonryori* or *washoku*, which are commonly used in Japanese daily life to refer to Japanese food. We employed all 47 Japanese prefecture names as place names. The changes in the number of appearances and relative frequency of each place name in all 14,531 articles were compared before and after the UNESCO registration. We also found 8,364,108 articles that contained any of the 47 prefecture names to examine the regional differences in the



number of news reports. In these place name articles, the changes in the number of appearances of each place name were analysed. Spearman's rho test was used to examine the correlation between the number of appearances of Japanese food articles containing each place name and the number of appearances of articles containing each place name.

**Table 1.** The 50 keywords\*

from political announcements	from the definition of previous studies	related places
<i>anime</i>	natural features	abroad
certification	rice	hometown
<i>chisan-chisyo</i>	<i>yoshoku</i> (western foods)	local
(local production for local consumption)		regional
cool Japan		world
economy		
export	community	
self-sufficiency	Japanese people	
<i>shokuiku</i>	home town	related times
tourism	local	continuity
	nation states	heritage
from UNESCO list (government explanation)	region	history
		tradition
annual events		
bonds (social cohesion)		
cooking technique	food names	
daily life	<i>dashi</i> (bouillon)	abstract concepts
eating habits	fish	bonds
family	<i>kaiseki</i>	culture
	(traditional Japanese multiple course meal)	
four seasons		heart
health	<i>miso</i>	hospitality
<i>ichiju-sansai</i>	<i>nikujaga</i>	pride
(one soup and three dishes)	<i>osechi</i>	taste
Japanese people	<i>ramen</i>	tradition
nature	rice	
region	<i>sashimi</i>	
social practice	soy sauce	
tradition	<i>sushi</i>	
<i>umami</i>		

Some keywords are listed in more than one category.

Source: Data adapted from Omori(2018).

The second method used was to identify Japanese food articles containing the word Kyoto. The study comprised a comparative analysis of the appearance frequency of 50 keywords between five place names. These keywords were gathered from the nomination file for the UNESCO list, explanations offered by the Japanese government, the results of several polls run by *Yomiuri Shimbun* and *Mainichi Shimbun* pertaining to food (2004, 2005, 2013), previous

studies on Japanese food (Harada, 2005; Kumakura, 2002), and public service announcements related to Japanese cuisine during this period (Table 1). These were the same sources as used in Omori (2018). The appearance frequency of Japanese food articles containing each of the 50 keywords in articles containing the top five most common place names, Hokkaido, Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, and Fukuoka, were evaluated. In order to understand how Japanese food articles containing each place name changed after the UNESCO registration, the appearance frequencies of each keyword in the articles containing each place name were analysed using cluster analysis. Statistical analysis was performed using SPSS software (v. 20).

### **Results: The number of articles for each of the 47 place names**

We first examined the regional differences among 47 place names in terms of the number of articles on Japanese food pre- (Dec 2008-Nov 2012) and post- (Dec 2012-Nov 2016) the UNESCO registration period. We also examined the number of articles containing each of the 47 place names respectively, to conduct a comparison with the overall number of articles containing the place names (Tables 2 and 3).

The results were as follows. First, the appearance of place names in these articles had a geographical bias (Figures 1 and 2). Table 2 shows that the number of articles containing Japanese food and any of the top three place names, Tokyo, Osaka, or Kyoto, accounted for more than 32% of the total number of Japanese food articles containing any of the 47 place names, which is remarkably frequent. Almost no change occurred between the pre- and post- periods in terms of the occupancy ratio of the total number of Japanese food articles containing any of the 47 place names to the total number of articles containing one of Tokyo, Osaka, or Kyoto. However, the occupancy ratio for Kyoto increased by 1.6 points between the pre- and post-UNESCO registration periods. Furthermore, the number of Japanese food articles containing Kyoto had the highest growth ratio (82.8%) following the UNESCO registration (Tables 2 and 3).

We analysed the data using Spearman's rho to ascertain if there was a correlation between the number of articles containing each place name and the number of articles containing Japanese food and each place name. The results demonstrated that over the whole period, a positive correlation could be observed between the number of articles containing each place name and the number of articles containing Japanese food and each place name ( $r_s = 0.886$ ,  $p < 0.00$ ). A significant correlation was also observed in both periods (pre-period:  $r_s = 0.782$ ,  $p < 0.00$  post- period:  $r_s = 0.790$ ,  $p < 0.00$ ).



**Table 2.** Number and occupancy of Japanese food articles containing each of the 47 place names

Place name	Number of Japanese Food Articles			The Growth Rate from Pre- to Post-period	Place name's share of food articles in Pre-period*	Place name's share of food articles in Post-period**
	2008 Dec.1-2016 Nov.30	Pre-UNESCO (2008 Dec. 1-2012 Nov. 30)	Post-UNESCO (2012 Dec. 1-2016 Nov. 30)			
Hokkaido	875	389	486	0.249	0.032	0.030
Aomori	296	132	164	0.242	0.011	0.010
Iwate	338	142	196	0.380	0.012	0.012
Miyagi	450	192	258	0.344	0.016	0.016
Akita	305	142	163	0.148	0.012	0.010
Yamagata	333	149	184	0.235	0.012	0.011
Fukushima	816	405	411	0.015	0.033	0.025
Ibaragi	382	172	210	0.221	0.014	0.013
Tochigi	347	132	215	0.629	0.011	0.013
Gunma	304	122	182	0.492	0.010	0.011
Saitama	476	186	290	0.559	0.015	0.018
Chiba	702	316	386	0.222	0.026	0.024
Tokyo	5438	2439	2999	0.230	0.201	0.184
Kanagawa	529	234	295	0.261	0.019	0.018
Niigata	500	188	312	0.660	0.015	0.019
Toyama	276	110	166	0.509	0.009	0.010
Ishikawa	497	201	296	0.473	0.017	0.018
Fukui	337	129	208	0.612	0.011	0.013
Yamanashi	288	131	157	0.198	0.011	0.010
Nagano	473	205	268	0.307	0.017	0.016
Gifu	435	169	266	0.574	0.014	0.016
Shizuoka	508	207	301	0.454	0.017	0.018
Aichi	587	231	356	0.541	0.019	0.022
Mie	539	217	322	0.484	0.018	0.020
Shiga	288	113	175	0.549	0.009	0.011
Kyoto	1530	541	989	0.828	0.045	0.061
Osaka	2200	935	1265	0.353	0.077	0.077
Hyogo	706	304	402	0.322	0.025	0.025
Nara	546	234	312	0.333	0.019	0.019
Wakayama	342	146	196	0.342	0.012	0.012
Tottori	200	94	106	0.128	0.008	0.006
Shimane	251	103	148	0.437	0.008	0.009
Okayama	308	125	183	0.464	0.010	0.011
Hiroshima	448	162	286	0.765	0.013	0.018
Yamaguchi	757	276	481	0.743	0.023	0.029
Tokushima	325	167	158	-0.054	0.014	0.010
Kagawa	351	162	189	0.167	0.013	0.012
Ehime	300	151	149	-0.013	0.012	0.009
Kochi	311	164	147	-0.104	0.013	0.009
Fukuoka	919	375	544	0.451	0.031	0.033
Saga	341	150	191	0.273	0.012	0.012
Nagasaki	339	150	189	0.260	0.012	0.012
Kumamoto	386	162	224	0.383	0.013	0.014
Oita	325	129	196	0.519	0.011	0.012
Miyazaki	438	207	231	0.116	0.017	0.014
Kagoshima	401	155	246	0.587	0.013	0.015
Okinawa	436	205	231	0.127	0.017	0.014
Median	401	167	231	0.344	0.014	0.014
Total	28479	12150	16329			

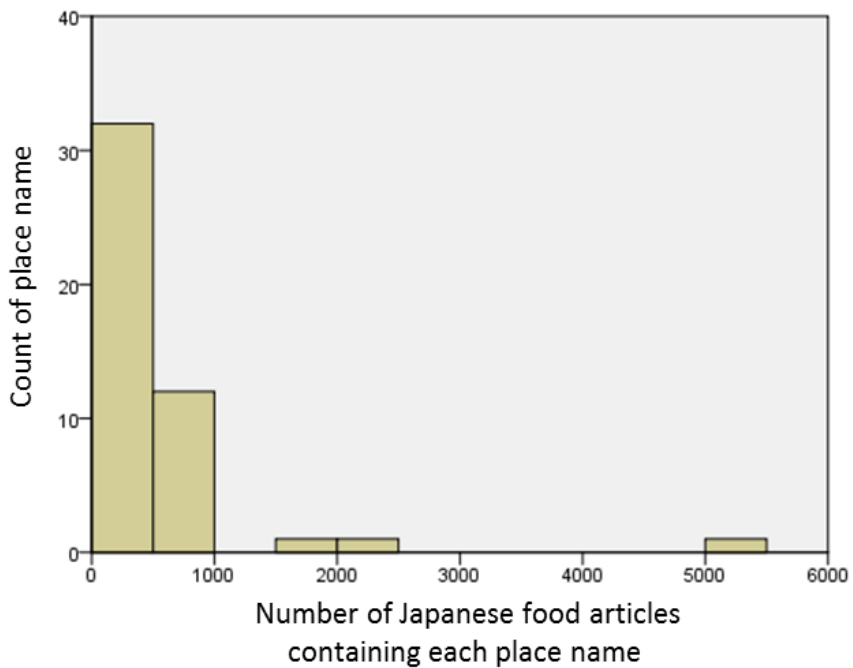
**Table 3.** Number and occupancy of all articles containing each of the place names

Place name	Number of all the articles containing place name				Place name's share of the articles in Pre-period	Place name's share of the articles in Post-period
	2008 Dec.1-2016 Nov.30	Pre-UNESCO (2008 Dec.1-2012 Nov.30)	Post-UNESCO (2012 Dec.1-2016 Nov.30)	The Growth Rate from Pre-to Post-period		
Hokkaido	223672	115288	108384	-0.060	0.028	0.028
Aomori	106597	55370	51227	-0.075	0.013	0.013
Iwate	138371	77841	60530	-0.222	0.019	0.016
Miyagi	169671	95972	73699	-0.232	0.023	0.019
Akita	101066	52197	48869	-0.064	0.013	0.013
Yamagata	105170	56875	48295	-0.151	0.014	0.013
Fukushima	258686	145183	113503	-0.218	0.035	0.030
Ibaragi	125586	65365	60221	-0.079	0.016	0.016
Tochigi	116756	59832	56924	-0.049	0.014	0.015
Gunma	121086	60221	60865	0.011	0.014	0.016
Saitama	171422	88449	82973	-0.062	0.021	0.022
Chiba	211698	111287	100411	-0.098	0.027	0.026
Tokyo	960340	484177	476163	-0.017	0.116	0.124
Kanagawa	178150	90480	87670	-0.031	0.022	0.023
Niigata	137835	74035	63800	-0.138	0.018	0.017
Toyama	108929	57756	51173	-0.114	0.014	0.013
Ishikawa	156994	82676	74318	-0.101	0.020	0.019
Fukui	108619	56383	52236	-0.074	0.014	0.014
Yamanashi	92371	45414	46957	0.034	0.011	0.012
Nagano	145549	72868	72681	-0.003	0.017	0.019
Gifu	130595	67365	63230	-0.061	0.016	0.017
Shizuoka	141479	73401	68078	-0.073	0.018	0.018
Aichi	211317	113641	97676	-0.140	0.027	0.026
Mie	140229	73663	66566	-0.096	0.018	0.017
Shiga	100617	53654	46963	-0.125	0.013	0.012
Kyoto	226777	116950	109827	-0.061	0.028	0.029
Osaka	550022	291032	258990	-0.110	0.070	0.068
Hyogo	218999	114647	104352	-0.090	0.028	0.027
Nara	141068	75322	65746	-0.127	0.018	0.017
Wakayama	102276	53454	48822	-0.087	0.013	0.013
Tottori	82954	43452	39502	-0.091	0.010	0.010
Shimane	83955	44292	39663	-0.105	0.011	0.010
Okayama	117144	61880	55264	-0.107	0.015	0.014
Hiroshima	200156	99102	101054	0.020	0.024	0.026
Yamaguchi	228465	116634	111831	-0.041	0.028	0.029
Tokushima	83309	43858	39451	-0.100	0.011	0.010
Kagawa	89738	47644	42094	-0.116	0.011	0.011
Ehime	91968	47692	44276	-0.072	0.011	0.012
Kochi	83528	43777	39751	-0.092	0.011	0.010
Fukuoka	325340	171440	153900	-0.102	0.041	0.040
Saga	104988	56789	48199	-0.151	0.014	0.013
Nagasaki	146271	75686	70585	-0.067	0.018	0.018
Kumamoto	152540	70780	81760	0.155	0.017	0.021
Oita	119015	62957	56058	-0.110	0.015	0.015
Miyazaki	144284	77164	67120	-0.130	0.019	0.018
Kagoshima	132073	67825	64248	-0.053	0.016	0.017
Okinawa	108999	55198	53801	-0.025	0.013	0.014
Median	137835	70780	63800	-0.090	0.017	0.017
Total	7996674	4166968	3829706			

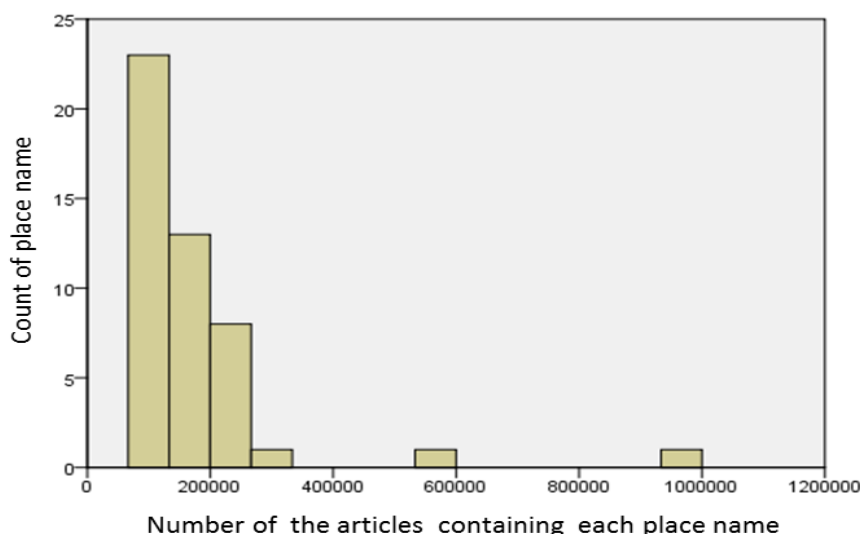


The regional differences in the amount of coverage by nationwide newspapers coincided with a large bias in the amount of coverage of Japanese food in each place. The UNESCO registration did not result in a transformation of regional disparities.

**Figure 1.** Number of Japanese food articles containing each of the 47 place names from December 1, 2008, to November 30, 2016. N=47 place names.



**Figure 2.** Number of articles containing each of the 47 place names from December 1, 2008, to November 30, 2016. N=47 place names



### Change in the proportion of Japanese food articles in the articles containing each of the 47 place names before and after the UNESCO registration

We next examined the proportion of Japanese food articles amongst all articles containing each of the 47 place names. To examine whether the UNESCO registration influenced the proportion of Japanese food articles in each place, a comparative analysis was conducted to evaluate the data before and after the UNESCO registration (Table 3). The place names that showed the highest proportion in the pre-UNESCO registration were, in order of magnitude, Tokyo (0.50%), Kyoto (0.46%), Tokushima (0.38%), Kochi (0.37%), Okinawa (0.37%), and Hokkaido (0.34%). On the other hand, the place names that showed the highest proportion in the post-UNESCO registration were, in order of magnitude, Kyoto (0.90%), Tokyo (0.63%), Niigata (0.49%), Osaka (0.49%), Mie (0.48%), and Nara (0.47%).

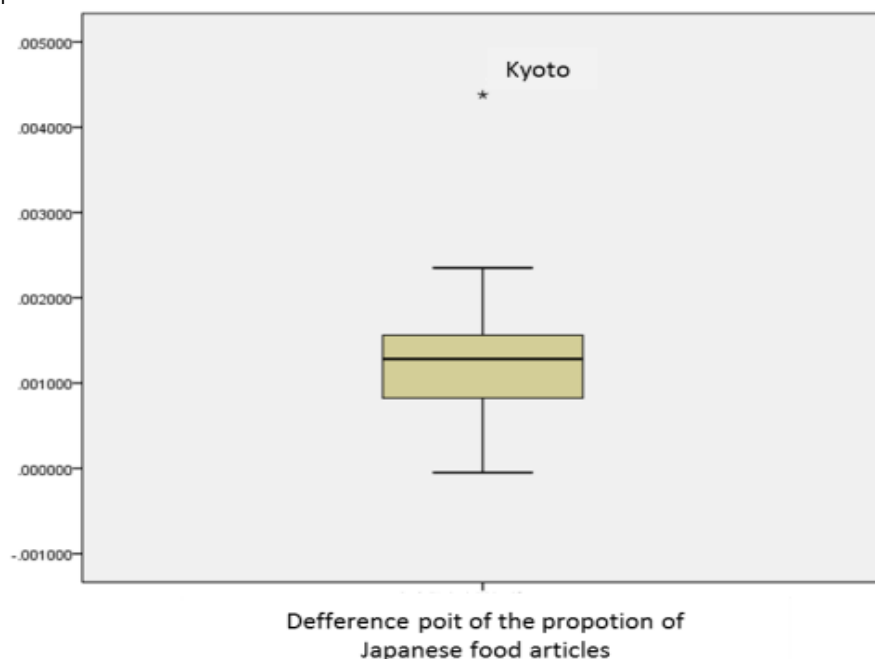
The place name for which there was the highest proportion of Japanese food articles changed from Tokyo to Kyoto between before and after the UNESCO registration.

The proportion of Japanese food articles increased after the UNESCO registration for 46 place articles. Kyoto showed the highest percentage points (0.4 points) between the pre- and post- UNESCO registration period, which far exceeded the points of other places



(Figure 3). This indicates that following the UNESCO registration, newspaper articles combined Japanese food and Kyoto even more than other place names.

**Figure 3.** Difference proportions of Japanese food articles on each of the 47 place articles between the pre- and post- UNESCO registration period



### **Change in appearance frequency of keywords for articles containing the five place names before and after the UNESCO registration**

To further examine the relation between Japanese food and place names as conveyed by news stories, we examined the change appearance frequencies of 50 keywords for articles containing Japanese food and the top five place names conveyed by the articles, which were Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka, Hokkaido, and Fukuoka, respectively. We also examined the change appearance frequencies of 50 keywords for all the articles containing Japanese food (Table 4). The appearance frequency of each keyword according to place name and all the articles was analysed together using cluster analysis.

**Table 3.** Percentage frequency of Japanese food articles in all articles containing each of the 47 place names

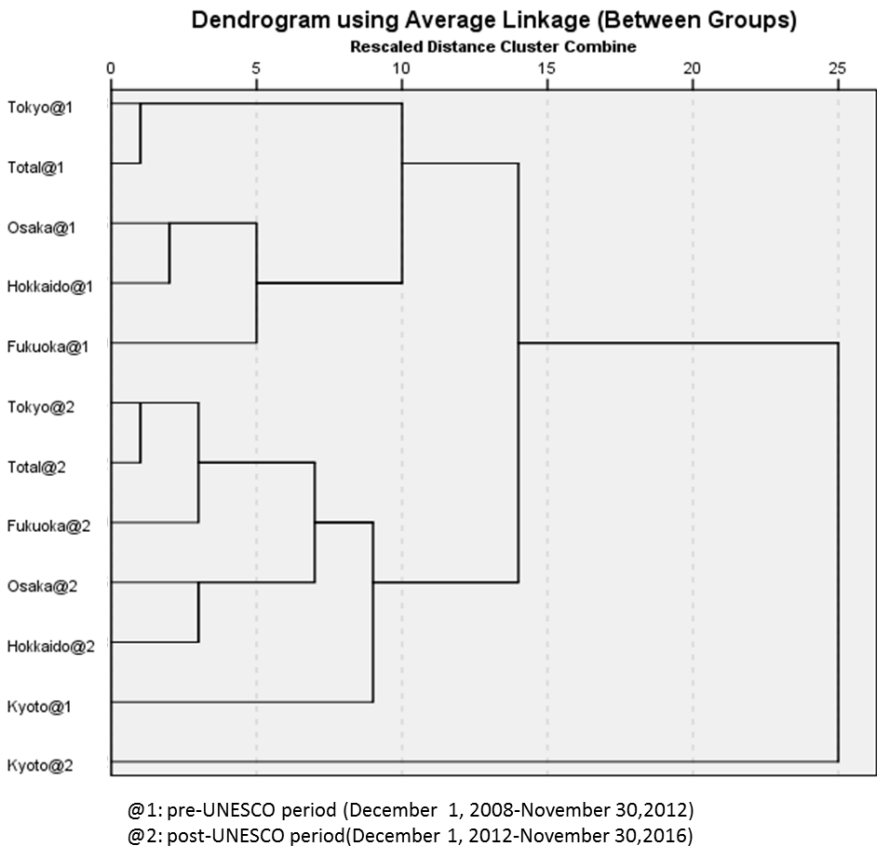
Place name	Time Period			[Change] Percentage-point between pre and post-UNESCO
	2008 Dec. 1- 2016 Nov.30	pre-UNESCO (2008 Dec. 1- 2012 Nov.30)	post-UNESCO (2012 Dec. 1- 2016 Nov. 30)	
Hokkaido	0.39%	0.34%	0.45%	0.11
Aomori	0.28%	0.24%	0.32%	0.08
Iwate	0.24%	0.18%	0.32%	0.14
Miyagi	0.27%	0.20%	0.35%	0.15
Akita	0.30%	0.27%	0.33%	0.06
Yamagata	0.32%	0.26%	0.38%	0.12
Fukushima	0.32%	0.28%	0.36%	0.08
Ibaragi	0.30%	0.26%	0.35%	0.09
Tochigi	0.30%	0.22%	0.38%	0.16
Gunma	0.25%	0.20%	0.30%	0.1
Saitama	0.28%	0.21%	0.35%	0.14
Chiba	0.33%	0.28%	0.38%	0.1
Tokyo	0.57%	0.50%	0.63%	0.13
Kanagawa	0.30%	0.26%	0.34%	0.08
Niigata	0.36%	0.25%	0.49%	0.24
Toyama	0.25%	0.19%	0.32%	0.13
Ishikawa	0.32%	0.24%	0.40%	0.16
Fukui	0.31%	0.23%	0.40%	0.17
Yamanashi	0.31%	0.29%	0.33%	0.04
Nagano	0.32%	0.28%	0.37%	0.09
Gifu	0.33%	0.25%	0.42%	0.17
Shizuoka	0.36%	0.28%	0.44%	0.16
Aichi	0.28%	0.20%	0.36%	0.16
Mie	0.38%	0.29%	0.48%	0.19
Shiga	0.29%	0.21%	0.37%	0.16
Kyoto	0.67%	0.46%	0.90%	0.44
Osaka	0.40%	0.32%	0.49%	0.17
Hyogo	0.32%	0.27%	0.39%	0.12
Nara	0.39%	0.31%	0.47%	0.16
Wakayama	0.33%	0.27%	0.40%	0.13
Tottori	0.24%	0.22%	0.27%	0.05
Shimane	0.30%	0.23%	0.37%	0.14
Okayama	0.26%	0.20%	0.33%	0.13
Hiroshima	0.22%	0.16%	0.28%	0.12
Yamaguchi	0.33%	0.24%	0.43%	0.19
Tokushima	0.39%	0.38%	0.40%	0.02
Kagawa	0.39%	0.34%	0.45%	0.11
Ehime	0.33%	0.32%	0.34%	0.02
Kochi	0.37%	0.37%	0.37%	0
Fukuoka	0.28%	0.22%	0.35%	0.13
Saga	0.32%	0.26%	0.40%	0.14
Nagasaki	0.23%	0.20%	0.27%	0.07
Kumamoto	0.25%	0.23%	0.27%	0.04
Oita	0.27%	0.20%	0.35%	0.15
Miyazaki	0.30%	0.27%	0.34%	0.07
Kagoshima	0.30%	0.23%	0.38%	0.15
Okinawa	0.40%	0.37%	0.43%	0.06
Median	0.31%	0.26%	0.37%	0.13

Figure 4 demonstrates that among the five place names and all Japanese food articles, the clusters were first divided into two groups with the line drawn between Kyoto in the post-period and the other places. The two clusters comprised two branches at a similar



horizontal distance. One cluster comprised Tokyo in the post-period, all Japanese food articles in the post-period, Osaka in the post-period, Fukuoka in the post-period, Hokkaido in the post-period, and Kyoto in the pre-period. The other comprised Tokyo in the pre-period, all Japanese food articles in the pre-period, Osaka in the pre-period, Fukuoka in the pre-period, and Hokkaido in the pre-period. This indicates that, in the post-period, Kyoto was substantially different from all of the others. In addition, Kyoto in the pre-period was more similar to the other place names in the post-period than they were to the other place names in the pre-period.

**Figure 4.** Appearance frequency of 50 keywords on the five places in articles in the pre- and post-UNESCO periods



**Table 4.** Percentage frequency of each keyword in Japanese food articles containing each of the five place names and in all Japanese food articles

Keyword	Time period		Percentage-point between pre and post-UNESCO
	pre-UNESCO (2008 Dec. 1- 2012 Nov.30) n=541	post-UNESCO (2012 Dec. 1- 2016 Nov. 30) n=989	
culture	37.7%	52.9%	15.2
taste	60.3%	52.0%	-8.3
heart	46.4%	48.4%	2.0
world	30.7%	37.5%	6.8
heritage	7.4%	34.4%	27.0
rice	30.1%	27.0%	-3.1
tradition	23.1%	26.4%	3.3
family	18.3%	22.6%	4.3
region	18.9%	22.4%	3.6
daily life	22.2%	20.9%	-1.3
abroad	13.5%	20.9%	7.4
dashi	17.9%	20.2%	2.3
tourism	18.9%	20.0%	1.2
local	23.7%	19.5%	-4.1
fish	22.7%	19.2%	-3.5
history	16.6%	19.2%	2.6
Japanese people	12.8%	18.3%	5.5
economy	10.2%	14.6%	4.4
nature	12.8%	14.6%	1.8
health	11.3%	12.1%	0.9
miso	10.4%	11.4%	1.1
sushi	12.8%	10.2%	-2.5
kaiseki	11.8%	9.6%	-2.2
soy source	9.4%	7.7%	-1.7
pride	8.5%	7.6%	-0.9
umami	7.4%	7.5%	0.1
shokuiku	3.0%	7.5%	4.5
hospitality	6.1%	7.4%	1.3
continuity	3.0%	7.4%	4.4
yoshoku	7.6%	6.3%	-1.3
export	6.5%	5.7%	-0.8
four seasons	4.6%	5.2%	0.5
sashimi	4.6%	4.3%	-0.3
home town	4.8%	3.4%	-1.4
social practice	1.5%	3.4%	2.0
natural features	2.0%	3.3%	1.3
ramen	2.6%	3.2%	0.6
nation states	2.4%	3.1%	0.7
ichijyu-sansai	1.5%	3.0%	1.6
annual event	0.6%	2.7%	2.2
anime	1.1%	2.4%	1.3
bons	1.5%	2.2%	0.7



<b>Kyoto (continued)</b>			
Keyword	Time period		Percentage-point between pre and post-UNESCO
	pre-UNESCO (2008 Dec. 1-2012 Nov.30) n=541	post-UNESCO (2012 Dec. 1-2016 Nov. 30) n=989	
osechi	2.4%	1.9%	-0.5
certification	0.7%	1.8%	1.1
chisan-chisyo	2.6%	1.7%	-0.9
cool Japan	0.4%	1.4%	1.0
self-sufficiency	0.7%	1.3%	0.6
nikujaga	0.6%	1.1%	0.6
cooking technique	0.7%	1.1%	0.4
eating habits	0.2%	1.0%	0.8

<b>Tokyo</b>			
Keyword	Time period		[Change] Percentage-point between pre and post-UNESCO
	pre-UNESCO (2008 Dec. 1-2012 Nov.30) n=2439	post-UNESCO (2012 Dec. 1-2016 Nov. 30) n=2999	
taste	39.5%	45.4%	5.9
heart	36.6%	41.5%	4.9
culture	15.5%	32.6%	17.1
rice	26.3%	31.1%	4.8
world	18.9%	29.5%	10.6
daily life	17.7%	21.4%	3.7
abroad	11.1%	20.4%	9.3
family	16.1%	19.8%	3.7
region	14.3%	19.7%	5.4
economy	19.4%	19.0%	-0.4
local	15.2%	17.9%	2.7
tourism	9.5%	16.0%	6.6
fishi	15.3%	16.0%	0.8
heritage	1.8%	14.1%	12.3
tradition	8.8%	14.0%	5.2
Japanese people	10.5%	13.9%	3.4
dashi	10.0%	13.0%	3.0
history	7.3%	11.9%	4.6
health	8.6%	11.6%	3.0
nature	7.5%	9.9%	2.4
sushi	7.7%	9.8%	2.1
miso	8.2%	9.0%	0.7
soy source	7.4%	8.3%	0.8
export	6.0%	8.2%	2.1
nation states	8.1%	7.9%	-0.2
pride	3.9%	6.4%	2.5
yoshoku	4.7%	6.1%	1.4
umami	4.9%	5.4%	0.6
hospitality	2.1%	5.4%	3.4
ramen	3.4%	4.4%	1.0
home town	4.8%	4.1%	-0.7

<b>Tokyo (Continued)</b>			
Keyword	Time period		[Change] Percentage-point between pre and post-UNESCO
	pre-UNESCO (2008 Dec. 1-2012 Nov.30) n=2439	post-UNESCO (2012 Dec. 1-2016 Nov. 30) n=2999	
kaiseki	3.5%	3.6%	0.1
sashimi	3.4%	3.5%	0.1
anime	1.4%	3.1%	1.7
four seasons	2.4%	3.1%	0.7
continuity	0.9%	2.8%	1.9
shokuiku	2.1%	2.3%	0.2
certification	1.2%	2.2%	1.0
natural features	0.9%	1.7%	0.8
cool Japan	0.3%	1.7%	1.4
ichijyu-sansai	0.3%	1.4%	1.1
chisan-chisyo	1.2%	1.2%	0.0
bons	0.5%	1.2%	0.8
osechi	0.6%	1.1%	0.5
social practice	0.2%	0.9%	0.7
nikujaga	0.3%	0.7%	0.4
cooking technique	0.2%	0.6%	0.4
annual events	0.2%	0.6%	0.4
self-sufficiency	0.7%	0.4%	-0.3
eating habits	0.2%	0.4%	0.2

<b>Osaka</b>			
Keyword	Time period		[Change] Percentage-point between pre and post-UNESCO
	pre-UNESCO (2008 Dec. 1-2012 Nov.30) n=933	post-UNESCO (2012 Dec. 1-2016 Nov. 30) n=1257	
taste	54.0%	52.7%	-1.3
heart	48.2%	49.1%	0.9
culture	24.8%	39.4%	14.6
world	25.7%	32.5%	6.7
rice	26.9%	29.5%	2.6
region	17.9%	23.2%	5.3
family	23.2%	22.9%	-0.2
abroad	13.5%	21.5%	8.0
daily life	23.2%	21.2%	-1.9
tourism	14.0%	20.1%	6.1
heritage	3.3%	20.0%	16.6
fish	19.9%	19.6%	-0.3
local	25.5%	19.2%	-6.3
dashi	15.8%	18.1%	2.4
tradition	14.6%	17.6%	3.0
Japanese people	12.4%	15.8%	3.3
economy	10.7%	14.3%	3.6
history	10.8%	14.2%	3.3
sushi	11.9%	12.2%	0.3
miso	9.0%	11.7%	2.7
health	11.0%	11.1%	0.0
nature	11.7%	10.9%	-0.8



<b>Osaka (Continued)</b>			
Keyword	Time period		[Change] Percentage- point between pre and post- UNESCO
	pre-UNESCO (2008 Dec. 1- 2012 Nov.30) n=933	post-UNESCO (2012 Dec. 1- 2016 Nov. 30) n=1257	
soy source	8.9%	9.5%	0.7
pride	7.0%	8.2%	1.2
umami	7.3%	6.9%	-0.4
export	5.1%	6.5%	1.4
hospitality	4.4%	6.0%	1.7
yoshoku	8.1%	5.9%	-2.3
kaiseki	6.8%	5.8%	-0.9
sashimi	4.3%	4.9%	0.6
four seasons	2.4%	4.7%	2.3
home town	4.7%	4.3%	-0.4
continuity	1.2%	4.2%	3.0
ramen	4.2%	4.1%	-0.1
anime	1.7%	3.1%	1.4
natural features	1.4%	2.6%	1.2
shokuiku	3.0%	2.5%	-0.5
nation states	2.1%	2.2%	0.1
osechi	1.0%	1.7%	0.7
certification	1.2%	1.7%	0.5
cool Japan	0.2%	1.4%	1.1
chisan-chisyo	2.4%	1.2%	-1.2
cooking technique	0.3%	1.2%	0.9
bons	0.9%	1.1%	0.3
ichijyu-sansai	0.8%	1.0%	0.2
social practice	0.3%	1.0%	0.6
self-sufficiency	0.4%	0.9%	0.4
nikujaga	0.5%	0.9%	0.3
eating habits	0.2%	0.4%	0.2
annual events	0.0%	0.3%	0.3

<b>Hokkaido</b>			
Keyword	Time period		[Change] Percentage- point between pre and post- UNESCO
	pre-UNESCO (2008 Dec. 1- 2012 Nov.30) n=389	post-UNESCO (2012 Dec. 1- 2016 Nov. 30) n=486	
taste	57.8%	54.7%	-3.1
heart	49.6%	46.9%	-2.7
culture	19.3%	38.5%	19.2
world	23.4%	35.6%	12.2
rice	25.7%	35.0%	9.3
region	23.4%	30.2%	6.9
abroad	14.4%	24.9%	10.5
tourism	16.5%	23.5%	7.0
daily life	20.3%	22.6%	2.3
dashi	18.8%	22.6%	3.9
family	22.1%	22.2%	0.1
local	23.9%	21.6%	-2.3
heritage	2.8%	20.6%	17.7

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<b>Hokkaido (Continued)</b>			
Keyword	Time period		[Change] Percentage-point between pre and post-UNESCO
	pre-UNESCO (2008 Dec. 1-2012 Nov.30) n=389	post-UNESCO (2012 Dec. 1-2016 Nov. 30) n=486	
fish	23.4%	20.0%	-3.4
economy	18.8%	19.5%	0.8
Japanese people	13.6%	17.5%	3.9
tradition	12.1%	14.6%	2.5
nature	13.4%	14.6%	1.2
history	12.6%	13.6%	1.0
health	11.8%	13.4%	1.5
export	10.8%	13.2%	2.4
sushi	13.6%	13.0%	-0.7
miso	11.1%	13.0%	1.9
soy source	8.2%	12.1%	3.9
umami	5.9%	9.5%	3.6
pride	7.2%	9.5%	2.3
ramen	5.4%	6.8%	1.4
yoshoku	5.4%	6.2%	0.8
sashimi	6.2%	6.0%	-0.2
home town	5.9%	6.0%	0.1
hospitality	2.6%	5.1%	2.6
nation states	2.3%	4.3%	2.0
kaiseki	5.1%	3.9%	-1.2
four seasons	2.1%	3.9%	1.9
shokuiku	2.8%	3.5%	0.7
natural features	1.0%	3.3%	2.3
continuity	0.8%	3.1%	2.3
certification	0.5%	2.7%	2.2
bons	1.3%	2.3%	1.0
anime	1.8%	1.9%	0.1
osechi	1.0%	1.9%	0.8
chisan-chisyo	1.8%	1.6%	-0.2
cool Japan	0.3%	1.6%	1.4
social practice	0.3%	1.2%	1.0
eating habits	0.3%	1.2%	1.0
self-sufficiency	1.5%	1.0%	-0.5
annual events	0.5%	0.8%	0.3
cooking technique	0.5%	0.6%	0.1
nikujaga	0.0%	0.2%	0.2
ichijyu-sansai	0.8%	0.2%	-0.6

<b>Fukuoka</b>			
Keyword	Time period		[Change] Percentage-point between pre and post-UNESCO
	pre-UNESCO (2008 Dec. 1-2012 Nov.30) n=375	post-UNESCO (2012 Dec. 1-2016 Nov. 30) n=544	
taste	45.6%	45.4%	-0.2
heart	48.8%	45.4%	-3.4
rice	30.1%	36.0%	5.9
culture	20.5%	31.6%	11.1



<b>Fukuoka (Continued)</b>			
Keyword	Time period		[Change] Percentage- point between pre and post- UNESCO
	pre-UNESCO (2008 Dec. 1- 2012 Nov.30) n=389	post-UNESCO (2012 Dec. 1- 2016 Nov. 30) n=486	
world	18.7%	27.9%	9.3
abroad	16.0%	25.7%	9.7
region	18.4%	24.6%	6.2
local	21.9%	21.7%	-0.2
daily life	24.0%	21.1%	-2.9
family	17.9%	20.4%	2.5
tourism	15.7%	18.6%	2.8
fish	15.2%	16.9%	1.7
economy	11.5%	15.8%	4.3
heritage	2.7%	15.6%	13.0
Japanese people	10.7%	15.1%	4.4
history	12.0%	13.8%	1.8
export	8.3%	12.9%	4.6
dashi	11.5%	12.5%	1.0
health	15.2%	11.6%	-3.6
tradition	11.2%	11.6%	0.4
sushi	6.9%	10.5%	3.5
nature	10.1%	9.9%	-0.2
miso	10.1%	8.6%	-1.5
soy source	5.6%	7.7%	2.1
ramen	8.8%	7.4%	-1.4
yoshoku	6.9%	5.7%	-1.2
umami	2.7%	5.7%	3.0
sashimi	5.1%	5.1%	0.1
pride	6.9%	4.2%	-2.7
shokuiku	4.8%	4.2%	-0.6
home town	4.0%	3.7%	-0.3
four seasons	1.6%	3.3%	1.7
anime	1.3%	3.1%	1.8
nation states	3.2%	2.9%	-0.3
hospitality	2.4%	2.8%	0.4
kaiseki	4.8%	2.2%	-2.6
continuity	2.1%	2.2%	0.1
certification	0.8%	2.2%	1.4
chisan-chisyo	2.1%	2.0%	-0.1
cool Japan	0.0%	2.0%	2.0
bons	0.3%	1.7%	1.4
social practice	0.0%	1.7%	1.7
osechi	0.5%	1.5%	0.9
ichijyu-sansai	0.5%	1.3%	0.8
annual events	0.3%	1.1%	0.8
natural features	1.1%	0.9%	-0.1
cooking technique	0.8%	0.7%	-0.1
eating habits	0.8%	0.6%	-0.2
self-sufficiency	0.5%	0.2%	-0.3
nikujaga	0.3%	0.2%	-0.1

All Japanese food articles		
Keyword	Time period	
	pre-UNESCO (2008 Dec. 1- 2012 Nov.30) n=6331	post-UNESCO (2012 Dec. 1- 2016 Nov. 30) n=8200
taste	41.5%	44.9%
heart	36.3%	38.7%
culture	15.7%	32.2%
rice	23.8%	27.2%
world	16.7%	26.9%
abroad	11.0%	18.4%
region	14.1%	18.1%
daily life	16.4%	17.8%
local	17.4%	17.4%
family	15.2%	17.1%
fish	15.6%	16.0%
heritage	2.0%	15.5%
tourism	10.8%	14.9%
tradition	9.1%	13.5%
economy	12.9%	13.5%
Japanese people	10.0%	12.9%
dashi	9.5%	12.0%
history	6.7%	10.2%
miso	8.8%	10.2%
health	9.2%	9.8%
export	6.5%	9.4%
sushi	8.5%	9.0%
nature	7.4%	8.3%
soy source	7.4%	8.2%
yoshoku	7.0%	6.3%
pride	4.0%	5.7%
umami	4.4%	5.2%
hospitality	2.3%	4.7%
sashimi	4.5%	4.3%
ramen	3.4%	3.9%
nation states	4.1%	3.9%
kaiseki	4.0%	3.6%
home town	3.7%	3.3%
shokuiku	2.4%	2.9%
continuity	1.1%	2.8%
four seasons	2.1%	2.7%
anime	1.1%	2.4%
certification	0.7%	1.7%
natural features	0.9%	1.5%
chisan-chisyo	1.9%	1.5%
osechi	0.7%	1.3%
ichijyu-sansai	0.4%	1.3%
cool Japan	0.2%	1.3%
bons	0.7%	1.0%
social practice	0.2%	1.0%
cooking technique	0.3%	0.7%
annual events	0.2%	0.7%
nikujaga	0.4%	0.6%
self-sufficiency	0.8%	0.6%
eating habits	0.2%	0.5%



In general, of Japanese food articles containing any of the 47 place names, the percentage frequency of the 43 keywords increased following the UNESCO registration. Of these, the percentage frequency of three keywords surged by 10 per cent or more; these keywords were “culture” (16 points), “heritage” (13 points), and “world” (10 points). On the other hand, the difference in appearance frequencies of all specific food names, which were *sushi*, *sashimi*, *ramen*, *osechi*, *nikujaga*, and *kaiseki*, were below the average of the 50 keywords.

Across the total number of Japanese food articles containing the word Kyoto, the percentage frequency of 35 keywords amongst the total number of Japanese food articles containing Kyoto increased after the UNESCO recognition. Among these, the percentage frequencies of two keywords surged by 10 per cent or more; these were “heritage” (27 points) and “culture” (15 points). In the Kyoto articles, the percentage frequency of articles on “Japanese people” increased more rapidly than in the other place names’ articles.

Over the post-UNESCO period on the Kyoto articles, the keywords that demonstrated the highest ratios were “culture” (52.9%), unlike the others. Furthermore, the percentages of the frequency of “heritage” (34.4%) and “tradition” (26.4%) were high in Kyoto articles compared to the others. The results indicated that the UNESCO registration reinforced the linking between Japanese food and Kyoto and old culture through the newspaper articles.

## Discussion

These results contribute significantly to our understanding of the relationship between UNESCO adding Japanese cuisine and food culture to its Intangible Cultural Heritage list and Japanese newspaper discourses on food and Kyoto. As mentioned above, when Japanese cuisine (*Washoku*) was added to the intangible cultural heritage list, the Japanese nationwide newspapers focused on the activities in Kyoto, not other places. This study has demonstrated that this tendency was not temporary, but took hold and kept increasing.

First, we found regional differences in the number of Japanese food articles according to the regional difference in nationwide newspaper coverage, although the nomination file for UNESCO describes *washoku* (Japanese food) as practised throughout Japan. Of the 47 place names, most articles were localized in Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto. Among these, the number of newspaper articles related to Japanese food in Kyoto increased rapidly following the UNESCO registration in 2013. The above descriptions come from comparison with the other 46 place names, although the difference in the

appearances of the articles will obviously be greater. Therefore, the UNESCO registration led to a link being made between Kyoto and Japanese food.

Second, the change in the proportion of Japanese food articles indicated that Kyoto attained an exceptionally high-frequency linkage with Japanese food in Japanese newspaper discourse following the UNESCO registration. Other than Kyoto, the place names for which there was a high proportion of Japanese food articles following the UNESCO registration were Tokyo, Osaka, Niigata, Mie, and Nara. Of these six places, Tokyo Prefecture, Kyoto Prefecture, Nara prefecture, and Osaka prefecture are home to the four largest National Treasures in Japan (Agency for Cultural Affairs, 2016) and were the capitals at various stages of Japanese history. Mie prefecture is famous for Ise Jingu, which is the most venerated Shinto sanctuary and of great historical significance. Niigata is one of the major rice-producing prefectures and is particularly famous for this. Rice is not only a staple of Japanese food but is also closely associated with Shinto, the symbol of Japanese identity and continuity of the Japanese community (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1995). Triggered by the UNESCO registration, a linkage was made between Japanese food and these five place names, due to the characteristics of these places that abound in historical and cultural heritage. Our study revealed that the UNESCO registration led to a strengthened linkage between Japanese food and some special places in newspaper articles, which served to remind readers of the community cultural identity of Japanese people.

Finally, the trend of appearance frequencies of keywords in Kyoto articles differed from those of Tokyo, Osaka, Fukuoka, and Hokkaido. We confirmed that the trend of appearance frequencies of keywords in the five place articles all changed from the pre-UNESCO period (Dec 2008-Nov 2012) to the post-UNESCO period (Dec 2012-Nov 2016). We also demonstrated that the difference in the appearance frequency of keywords between Kyoto and other places was associated with strong connotations of the words "culture," "heritage," and "traditional," which demonstrated a high appearance frequency ratio in the post-period, unlike other places. The UNESCO registration reinforced something different and special that the readers felt about Japanese food in Kyoto through the newspaper articles. This result is likely to explain the rapid increase in the number of Japanese visitors to Kyoto from 2013 to 2011, whose growth rate was second out of 47 prefectures. Japan Travel Bureau Foundation (2014) noted that the most rapidly increased prefectures gained significant benefit from special historical events or by stating



the regular domestic service of low-cost airlines, but no particular reason was mentioned for the growth in tourism to Kyoto. Meanwhile, the Annual Report on Kyoto tourism survey (2017) reported that the ratio of Japanese travellers to Kyoto for leisure purposes increased annually and reached 34% in 2016.

## Conclusion

The unique characteristics of Kyoto were enhanced through food discourses in Japanese newspapers, which were emphasised by the UNESCO registration of Japanese food (*Washoku*) in 2012. As mentioned in the literature review, there is a strong public image of Kyoto, essentially consisting of an ancient capital. Simultaneously, there is a strong public image of Kyoto food as representing Japanese traditional culture, but Kyoto cuisine does not consist of specific foods. Meanwhile, in the characterisation of Japanese food following the UNESCO registration, time and place, rather than specific foods, were critical elements. Consequently, Kyoto cuisine, which was not associated with specific foods, could be easily linked with the topic of the UNESCO registration of Japanese food (*Washoku*) in newspaper articles. Namely, the factor that contributed to reinforcing the linkage between Japanese food and Kyoto was Kyoto's historical image rather than a specific type of Kyoto food.

In conclusion, the present study has demonstrated that the UNESCO recognition reinforced the linkage between Kyoto and Japanese food in Japanese newspaper articles. The UNESCO registration evoked nostalgia about Japanese food, and ancient Kyoto was the most suitable symbol for sharing that nostalgia by people throughout Japan. As a result, Kyoto created further added value through the combination of its historical image and taste image following the UNESCO registration, and these articles enhanced the brand strength of Kyoto food.

Further studies are warranted to specify the context of the effect of UNESCO's recognition. We expect that further characterisation of the relation between the changing descriptions of Japanese food and place names will yield critical insights that will help facilitate discussions about food discourse in Japanese newspapers.

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