

NAJS 2007 – The Fourth NAJS Conference on the Study of
Contemporary Japanese Society, 26–27 April 2007,
Lund, Sweden

www.najs.jp

Dear participants,

You are all very welcome to the Fourth NAJS Conference. The Conference will take place at Centre for East- and Southeast Asian Studies (ACE), Lund University. Coffee breaks and lunches will be provided at ACE. On Thursday evening there will be a welcome dinner at Café Finn (Address: Mårtensstorget 3).

There is no conference fee, and thanks to our sponsors we are happy to announce that coffee breaks, lunches, dinner and accommodation are all free of charge.

In this booklet you will find a schedule, list of participants and abstracts.

We are looking forward to two intensive days in Lund!

NAJS 2007 Organizing Committee
Riikka Länsisalmi, Pia Moberg, Lars Martin Sørensen
Martin Nordeborg & Staffan Appelgren

Sponsors:

Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS)
Centre for East- and Southeast Asian Studies (ACE)

PRACTICAL INFORMATION

Conference venue

Centre for East- and Southeast Asian Studies, Lund University
Scheelevägen 15D
220 07 Lund

If you have problems to find us on Thursday, please call Pia's mobile phone 0708-256711. Note: the mobile phone will be switched on only during 11-13 on Thursday 26th, so if you are late or have any questions the days before the conference, please e-mail to pia.moberg@ace.lu.se.

From Copenhagen Airport

From the airport there are trains departing for Malmö/Lund in the same building, downstairs. The trains depart every 20 minutes. Please note that some trains go directly to Lund while others stop in Malmö where you must then take another train to Lund. Changing trains in Malmö is very easy as the platforms are not far from each other. Your train ticket Kastrup - Lund is also valid if you have to change trains in Malmö. You can also look at the monitors on the train platform in Kastrup Airport and await a train that goes directly to Lund. The train journey takes about 45 minutes.

If you want to travel by taxi in Lund we suggest that you use a taxi company called **TAXI SKÅNE** with the phone number 330 330 written on the side (unfortunately we have had some bad experiences with some of the smaller companies).

Ask for Lund University, Centre for East and Southeast Asian Studies, Scheelevägen 15D. If the driver don't know where this is, you can also mention "In front of IDEON, Kuvösen"

Bus in Lund to ACE

If you take a bus from the station, take number 1 towards "Östra Torn" or number 6 towards "Mårtens Fälad" and go off at Bus stop "Sparta". Then walk from there. For a map, please go to www.eniro.se, choose "kartor" (maps) and write "Scheelevägen, Lund". Then print out the map. It might a little bit tricky to find if you haven't been here before.

Accommodation

Single and double rooms are booked at Ideon gästbostäder and Hotel Sparta, both located five minutes walk from the conference venue.

Dinner

On Thursday evening we will have a welcome dinner at Café Finn, Mårtensstorget 3 in central Lund. <http://www.cafefinn.se/>

SCHEDULE

Thursday 26 April

12.00-13.15 *Registration*

13.15-13.20 *Opening of the conference: A word from the NAJS Steering Committee*

13.20-14.40 *Session 1*

Chair: Bart Gaens

Paper 1: Juha Saunavaara

Discussants: Lars-Martin Sorensen, Carl Cassegård

Paper 2: Bert Edström

Discussants: Pekka Korhonen, Susanne Kreitz-Sandberg

14.40-15.10 *Coffee break*

15.10-17.10 *Group discussion 1* (parallel sessions with short breaks)

Chair: Riikka Länsisalmi

Chair: Annamari Konttinen

Papers: Staffan Appelgren

Papers: Martin Nordeborg

K. Fridh & T. Laurien

Karl Gustafsson

Lars-M. Sorensen

Bart Gaens

17.10-17.15 *Short break*

17.15-18.15 *Keynote* Dr. Katarzyna J. Cwiertka, Leiden University: "The Aftertaste of Empire: A New Approach to the Study of Japanese Society"

19.30 *Dinner at Café Finn*

Friday 27 April

09.00-11.00 *Group discussion 2*

Chair: Staffan Appelgren

Chair: Juha Saunavaara

Papers: Saori Matsuda

Papers: Paul Midford

Carl Cassegard

Elzbieta K.-Watanabe

Pia Moberg

11.00-11.30 *Coffee break*

11.30-12.50 *Session 2*

Chair: Pia Moberg

Paper 1: Pekka Korhonen

Discussants: Karl Gustafsson, Paul Midford

Paper 2: Susanne Kreitz-Sandberg

Discussants: Martin Nordeborg, Pekka Korhonen

12.50-14.00 *Lunch & NAJS in the future: Closing of the conference*

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS:

Staffan Appelgren
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Leiden University

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ABSTRACTS:

Staffan Appelgren

Titel: Global City Tokyo: Simulation Heritage

Key words: Global cities, identity, cultural heritage, nation state, globalization

Aim: This paper is a draft of a research proposal within the field of politicization and commercialization of culture. The aim of the project is to investigate the uses of cultural heritage in crafting a cultural identity for Tokyo in an age of increasingly crisscrossing transnational connections. The focus is on the strategies of cultural distinction and identification for global cities to become attractive and the role played by cultural history and heritage, especially in reconstructed and simulated forms, as an asset in carving out that identity.

Carl Cassegård

Title of paper: Japan's lost decade and its two recoveries: On Sawaragi Noi, Japanese Neo-pop and anti-war activism

Aim: This is a work in progress which I hope to publish in an anthology or academic journal. The aim of the paper is to throw light on two traumatically junctures (the defeat of radical protest in the 70s and the end of the bubble economy in the 90s and their influence on political activism.

Keywords: Sawaragi, Korosu na, Neo-pop, anti-war activism, trauma

Abstract: The art critic Sawaragi Noi is one of Japan's most astute intellectuals, well-known not only for works like the celebrated *Nihon Gendai Bijutsu* (1998) and his recent *Sensô to banpaku* (2005) but also for taking the initiative to the anti-war movement *Korosu na!* in 2003. The paper focuses on the image of Japan as a "closed circle" (*tojirareta enkan*) and "bad place" (*warui basho*) articulated in his writings, and discusses it with the help of Freud's concepts of trauma, repetition and recovery. Whereas this image may superficially appear to reflect the sense of claustrophobic closure (*heisokukan*) which became widespread in Japan during the "lost decade" of the 90's, I will argue that it has far more in common with earlier portrayals of Japan stemming from the period following the defeat of the radical protest movements of the 60s. Tracing the lineage of this image will help us understand how the present discursive space in Japan is shaped through a conflict between two quite different and competing ideas of "recovery", one nursed by the recession in the 90s and another by the defeat of the protest movements of the 60's. I follow the approach of James Berger and others who have also applied Freud's concepts of trauma in cultural analysis in relation to the decades following the defeat of radical protest movements in the late 60s and 70s.

Bert Edström

Title: Success in Disguise: Japan and the Pursuit of Human Security

Aim: To analyze the strategy used by the Japanese government to further international collaboration in the pursuit of human security.

Key words: Japan, foreign policy, human security, Obuchi Keizo

Abstract: In the aftermath of the end of the Cold War the international discourse of security proliferated. In 1994 a new approach how to handle the security problematique of countries

was presented by the UNDP. Its idea of human security presented an alternative way of tackling the perennial problems of countries, security. While the so far predominant national security concept is a top-down concept with security commensurate with national survival, dealing with protection of the state and not those living there, human security is a bottom-up concept addressing threats to people and ways to overcome them. Already the year after the new security concept had been launched, Japan's Prime Minister Murayama Tomiichi endorsed it in a speech in the UN, and in 1998 Prime Minister Obuchi Keizō declared that the new security concept constituted an important perspective of Japan's foreign policy. From 1999 the Japanese government initiated a campaign for promoting the new security idea internationally. Two key measures in Japan's pursuit of human security were Obuchi's initiative in 1998 to create a trust fund for human security and his successor Mori Yoshirō's proposal of an international commission on human security entrusted with the task to present proposals for actions to be taken by international community. Considering the fact that Japan has been reluctant throughout the postwar period to activate itself in international security affairs for historical, political and psychological reasons, Obuchi's initiation of a Japanese campaign for human security constitutes a case of Japan trying to influence international rule-making. This attempt at having a say in global affairs has international collaboration as one of its fundament. This paper deals with success and failure of the strategy for international collaboration used by Japan in its pursuit of human security.

Kristina Fridh & Thomas Laurien

Title of paper: The Materiality of The Surface

Aim: Presentation of the research project "The Materiality of the Surface", which is financed by the Swedish Research Council 2006-2008. The project is part of so called Artistic Research, a research field that is developing in Sweden.

Keywords: Architecture, conceptions of space, material and materiality.

Abstract: The aim of the project, "The Materiality of the Surface", is to examine if and in that case how the way of using different materials while forming space is connected to different cultures' conceptions of space. The study is a continuation of the thesis "Japanska rum/Japanese rooms", by Kristina Fridh, where Japanese conceptions of space are being discussed in relation to characteristics of emptiness and changeability in traditional and contemporary Japanese architecture. In the project "The Materiality of the Surface" the questions are deepened in examinations and studies of the way of using different building materials when forming space according to different cultures' conceptions of space and different architects' relations to this. The project is including both Swedish and Japanese architecture. What has to be comprised in the study is that architects today are influenced by worlds of ideas and architecture from all over the world. In the theoretical part three Swedish and three Japanese architects'/architectural offices' works are examined and compared from the relations to materials and spatial conceptions. The other part of the project includes empirical studies and examinations by design and laboratory work and will mainly be focused on the building material glass.

Bart Gaens

Title: "A Business Spirit Still Alive and Well After 400 years"
Exhibiting Corporate Legacy in Japan

Aim: To examine how a large corporate group displays its legacy and which ideas, values, or philosophies are communicated through the objects on display at the different company-related sites.

Keywords: Japanese corporate culture, company museums

Abstract: The aim of my paper is to explore how a number of (both public and private) corporate sites related to the Sumitomo Group visualise and display the company's business spirit and four-century legacy. The sites under examination include a historical exhibition hall, a family temple, an industrial museum, a memorial hall, an ecology theme park, and an art museum. In addition I will use the corporate group's website as a tool for analysis. My paper will examine how the different sites and objects on display aim to communicate the company's emphasis on perpetuity, integrity, environmental awareness, and social responsibility. I will argue that, while partially re-inventing and "cleansing" the past, the exhibition of Sumitomo's corporate legacy also attests to the continued importance of "ie"-consciousness in contemporary Japanese corporate culture.

Karl Gustafsson

Title of paper: Self and Other in Sino-Japanese Relations: A Clash of Historiographies in Peace and War Museums

Aim: The paper is an early draft of my dissertation proposal which i need to finish by October. The purpose of presenting the paper is to receive comments that may lead to its improvement.

Keywords: Sino-Japanese relations, Historiography, Peace and war museums,

Abstract: For quite some time Sino-Japanese relations have been perturbed by history-related problems. Many academics have done research on these problems. Few, however, have approached the issues in a comparative manner, taking into account the interaction between the countries instead of seeking the roots of the problems within one state. Arguing from the theoretical view advocated here, it could be claimed that most scholars have given too much attention to the 'self' while more or less ignoring the 'other'. Consequently, applying the self/other nexus and comparing Chinese and Japanese representations could yield considerable insights. Embracing this approach entails analysing how China is 'othering' Japan as well as how Japan is 'othering' China. The empirical material will consist of exhibits presented at peace and war museums in Japan and China. Such museums may have a considerable bearing on identity formation since school children are often brought there on school excursions. Furthermore, the kind of exhibits on display at peace and war museums may very well have the potential to evoke strong emotions that may linger for a long time within the minds of those subjected to them. Consequently, it could convincingly be argued that museums play such a significant role that they cannot be ignored.

Pekka Korhonen

Title of paper: Common Culture. Pan-Asian Rhetoric in the Beginning of the 19th Century

Aim: Today discussion on Asian cooperation is overwhelmingly based on the trope of economics, and secondarily on the trope of security. I study the implications of the main trope used a century ago, namely culture.

Keywords: Culture, Asia, Tenshin, Tagore, Sun

Abstract: This paper deals with the pan-Asian rhetoric of Japanese Okakura Tenshin (1862-1913), Indian Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), and Chinese Sun Yatsen (1866-1925). They are even nowadays, and have been throughout the past century, the most quoted representatives of the genre. Their texts not only embody important characteristics of their own time, but they have been influential in shaping also later discussions. Tenshin, Tagore and Sun tried to form a geopolitical understanding of the Eurasian continent, which would have enabled liberation from colonial and power political domination by Euro-American powers, but at the same time they had to argue in a situation where common commercial interests did not yet exist within Asia. The whole contemporary discussion built on the basis of regional economic integration is conceptually in a much easier situation, because examples of economic interdependence always can be referred to as a material proof of the existence of Asian cooperation. This conceptual help did not exist a century ago; the forerunners had to try to find some other conceptual tools with which to argue about Asia, and they all settled on culture as a common denomination for Asians, and on binary argumentation as a way of painting Europe into a common enemy for Asians. This led into interesting geopolitical constructions, first because the authors were innovative thinkers, and second, because they run into conceptual problems and had to try to solve them in one way or another. As we now try to create a new understanding of the concept of Eurasia, knowing something of earlier innovative Asian attempts may not necessarily be harmful for us, especially because we still use some of the geopolitical frameworks created by them.

Elzbieta Kostowska-Watanabe

Title of paper: Social costs of Meiji state transformation

Aim: The process of Meiji state transformation can be seen as an experiment in state-controlled socio-economic management. I try to analyze the costs of transformation process in terms of social destabilization and lability of attitudes and expectations towards the state.

Keywords: Meiji, transformation, social costs

Abstract: The process of changes beginning in Meiji Japan can be seen in terms of modernization, transformation or globalization. For the purpose of this study I try to analyze the changes in Meiji Japan in the framework of the social transformation concept. "Transformation" implies changes with a predefined vector and purpose. Transformation in Japan was a state-managed social change with the aim to create a "modern", "civilised" state out of a self-isolated, feudal country. The purpose thus defined implied that the social costs of reforms are taken into account, as well as the groups which will carry the inevitable burdens are chosen. What was not anticipated was political instability and social unrests, accompanying the processes of change.

Susanne Kreitz-Sandberg

Title: Gender Dynamics and Globalisation. Comparative Perspectives on Japan within Asia. Results.

Aim: My aim with this paper is to synthesise results of ten articles in a book, which I am editing together with Claudia Derichs. She wrote the introduction and I am standing for the "results".

Key words: gender, intersectionality, Asia, Japan, masculinity

Abstract: In this paper I summarize results of ten articles in an edited volume on “Gender and Globalization - Perspectives on Japan within Asia”. The articles are written by researchers and graduate students in the social sciences and cultural studies, who have been engaged in Japan related gender studies for over a decade. The articles focus on topics like the role of gender in Japanese modernisation, education and sports, “comfort women” issues, masculinity research and media studies. In my summary I describe gender as a unifying perspective for interdisciplinary research. Gender played a central role in Japan’s modernisation process. In the context of globalisation, Japan needs to be addressed as a nation with close ties to its neighbouring countries. My intention is to integrate results from these Japan-related discussions into an international context, for example concerning gender mainstreaming and men’s studies. It has been claimed that gender studies should open up to intersectionality approaches and I discuss where and how research in this volume analyses the influence of a variety of social conditions on the life in and around Japan.

Saori Matsuda

Title of paper: An Ethnographic Study of the Work and Learning of the ‘Community of Practice’ at Japanese Hostess Clubs

Aim: The aim of this presentation to examine the activities of hostesses' communities and work practices by applying community of practice and situated learning framework.

Keywords: Community of practice, Situated learning, Work Practice, Practical Knowledge, Corporate Masculinity

Abstract: The aim of this paper is to study communities of colleagues at Japanese hostess clubs, where hostesses acquire knowledge and organise practices for working and living. A hostess club is a type of nightclub or bar. These clubs operate by a set of values that are seemingly inexplicable to those not involved in this unique world. Hostesses entertain their customers with their services, albeit at an exorbitant fee. The services provided by the hostesses, although they often allude to sex, rarely lead to sexual relationships, and the associations mainly remain on the conversational level. I applied situated learning and Jane Lave and Etienne Wenger’s concept of ‘community of practice’ to examine the informal groups and work practices of hostesses. These are conceptual frameworks involving learning and organising social practices through participation. The case study of hostesses revealed that hostess communities offer members opportunities to learn work practices, acquire necessary skills and imbibe the values of a hostess. These communities also lead to the formation of the identity of the ‘ideal’ hostess; further, they help to dispel the poor image of hostess clubs as ‘shady businesses’ and to cope with the overwhelming male presence in the corporate setup.

Paul Midford

Title of paper: Balance of Power, Balance of Threat, and the Third-Party Reassurance Effects of an Alliance: Asian Reactions to an Expanding US-Japan Alliance

Aim: Use competing IR theories to test Asian nations' reactions to the expansion of the US-Japan alliance

Keywords: reputation, reassurance, balance-of-threat, balance-of-power, alliances

Abstract: The revised US-Japan Defense Guidelines of 1997, the subsequent War on Terrorism and other recent developments have significantly expanded the scope of the

bilateral alliance and increased the role of Japan's military beyond its own shores. This expansion directly affects the security of other Asian states. Deriving predictions from balance of power theory and a modified version of balance of threat theory, this paper tests both theories and attempts to explain Asian reactions. It tests two variables: the presence (or absence) of a military alignment relationship with the US, and wartime experience with the Japanese Empire. Asian reactions are evaluated according to whether they focus on the implications for power aggregation (i.e., the potential for changes to strengthen the aggregated military capabilities of the alliance) versus the implications for the containment function of the alliance (i.e., degrading the constraints on Japan's reemergence as an independent military power). This paper finds that alignment with the US is less important than wartime experience. Regarding states with a brutal wartime experience, even US allies worry about the potential for expansion to degrade the alliance's containment function rather than welcoming the power aggregation benefits of an expanded alliance. On the other hand, states that did not have a brutal wartime experience did not express concern about the degrading of the containment function regardless of alignment, and were likely to welcome the power aggregation benefits of the expanded alliance if they were allies or at least loosely aligned with the US. These reactions suggest that an alliance can have an important third-party reassurance effect by appearing to contain the military independence of an apparently threatening power. Finally, this paper assesses the implications of these findings for balance of power and balance of threat theories, and for East Asian regional security.

Pia Moberg

Title of paper: Questionnaires collected at a Japanese leadership institute: An analysis based on Bourdieu's concept of capital

Aim: This is a first attempt to reflect upon and analyze answers in questionnaires collected from students at a Japanese leadership institute during 2006, using Bourdieu's concept of capital as my main tool. Since this is the first time I use Bourdieu's theories, my main aim is to find out if this approach is suitable for my present project.

Keywords: Bourdieu's concept of Capital; Japanese leadership training; rhetoric

Abstract: My project focus on transference of knowledge and learning processes at the elite leadership institute Matsushita Institute of Government and Management (MIGM) in Japan. For data collection I will rely on questionnaires, in-depth interviews, participant observation and textual analysis of written documents. This paper is a first attempt to analyze the questionnaires from MIGM alumni and associates gathered during 2006. The methodological framework I will use is Bourdieu's concept of capital (and maybe other concepts such as doxa, habitus and field). Since Bourdieu's research to a great extent focused on education of the elites, my hypothesis is that his theories might successfully be applied on my material. The design of the questionnaire is a combination of multiple choice questions and open-ended questions. Apart from the 'personal' questions such as the respondents' occupation before becoming a student, year of birth etcetera the questions are focused on leadership, rhetoric and communication.

Martin Nordeborg

Title of paper: No future? Implications of images of adulthood digested by Japanese youth for the identity formation of future citizens

Aim: The process of becoming adult has become a key social arena for political disputes. Departing from debates surrounding recent educational reforms the objective of this project is to investigate the crucial transition to adulthood- the road to becoming a Japanese citizen.

Keywords: education, adulthood, citizen, identity

Abstract: The new Courses of Study were seen as to “remedy the harmful effects of Japanese society's preoccupation with academic credentials”. Children were to be given “room to grow” and the school environment should be imbued with a “zest for living so that students can learn, think, and act for themselves”. Promotion of individuality and flexibility was to counter the hitherto “overemphasis on egalitarianism and uniformity of school education”. Thus, rather fundamental changes to a system that has been labeled “examination hell” (Frost 1991), and claimed to have led to the “death of childhood”(Field 1995). Among the objectives to proposed changes of the Education Law in March 2003 were; to cultivate independent-minded people and foster “people to become creative leaders of a Century of Knowledge”. Seen as delivering a thorough program of social control, even in extracurricular activities (Cave 2004), and a gradual move from the cozy world of elementary school to the harsh realities of high school (Fukuzawa 1996), junior high schools are deemed the most apt location for the study of the path to adulthood . Firstly the overall education ideology will be investigated by identifying the discourses concerning ‘adulthood’ in school texts, especially those used in moral education. Secondly the more implicit expressions of what it is to grow up will be studied by looking at the fictional reading material that are part of the curriculum, which of course also are political (Gerbert 1993). Therefore, lastly, the latter will be contrasted with the images of adulthood existing in texts consumed by the students in their leisure time. In order to illuminate reading habits students at a junior high school in Tsukuba city will be interviewed. Even if manga and other texts popular among young teenagers also are restricted by discursive demarcations they can be assumed to be more independent of political consideration than school texts. The highly popular manga have been seen as a symbol of menacing individualism (Kinsella 1998). Popular culture being a global phenomena challenges the aspirations of identities being framed by the nation-state.

Juha Saunavaara

Title of paper: Japanese Conservative Parties and Planning of the Occupation

Aim: I am trying to introduce the different views concerning the pre-war and wartime conservative parties and politicians among the planners of the Occupation. And most of all, I am trying to find out, what kinds of effects these wartime plans and recommendations had into the actual post-war occupation policy.

Keywords: History, Japan, Occupation period, Planning

Abstract: Planning of the Allied Occupation of Japan can be seen as a competition between different blocks sharing different views of the pre-war history and post-war status of Japan. However, no matter whether one belonged to the so-called China Hand supporting hard, punitive peace and profound reforms, or to the Japan Hand endorsing soft peace and minor reforms, two opinions seemed to be common. First, party politics was an inseparable part of Democratic governance and thus belonged to the post-defeat Japan. Second, when considering possible contributors to the post-war democratic party movement, there were almost no positive or constructive elements to be found from the dominating pre-war Seiyukai and Minseitō. This did not mean that all conservative elements were looked down on. On the contrary, for example pre-1932 leaders with affiliation to the Court circles, 1920s

internationalism, or old zaibatsu were often considered as the most prominent moderate leaders of post-war Japan. These views had a major influence on the policy adopted by the GHQ/SCAP at the beginning of the occupation.

Lars-Martin Sørensen

Title: Animated Animism – The Uses of Shinto in Japanese Pop Culture and Politics

Abstract: It is an acknowledged fact that Japanese *anime* draw heavily on both the myths and characters of the indigenous religion, Shinto. To some western fans, the quasi-religious input adds a touch of exoticism or even spiritualism. In the Japanese context, however, Shinto is tainted by both its historical track record as a vehicle for the militarists who led Japan to war, and by its present role as a lever for prominent Japanese politicians aspiring to boost Japanese nationalism by for instance paying their respects to Japan's war dead at the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo. This paper aims to explore where and how the political and the pop cultural uses of Shinto merge, another focal point is how/if the religious content is understood by western viewers, and finally to offer a tentative explanation as to why Japanese *anime* has proved to be so eminently marketable worldwide.

KEYNOTE: Katarzyna J. Cwiertka

Title: The Aftertaste of Empire: A New Approach to the Study of Japanese Society

The publication in 1982 of Charlmers Johnson's acclaimed book *MITI and the Japanese Miracle* brought about a paradigm shift in the study of modern Japan. Motivated by the quest for the explanation of Japan's rise as global economic power, Johnson identified strong continuities in the Japanese industrial policy between 1925 and 1975. His study broke the dominant historical narrative that had obscured any possible connection between the 'authoritarian' and 'expansionist' wartime period and the 'progressive' era of 'peace and democracy' that followed after 1945. A new approach that emerged under the inspiration of Johnston's work was best encapsulated in John Dower's 1993 article 'The Useful War' in which he expanded Johnson's thesis beyond the field of economic history.

Another turning point in the historiography of modern Japan took place around the turn of the millennium, with the publication of studies such as John Lee's *Multiethnic Japan*, which questioned the myth of Japan's racial homogeneity and pleaded for the recognition of the legacy of Japan's imperialist past clearly recognizable in contemporary Japanese society and culture. In this lecture, I will introduce my own research project that rests upon the foundations of these two approaches, but investigates the effects of the Asia-Pacific War (1931-1945) and Japanese imperialism through the focus of food