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研究課題名(和文) Digital Ethnographic Mapping of Neighborhood Foodscapes in Shanghai and Tokyo

研究課題名(英文) Digital Ethnographic Mapping of Neighborhood Foodscapes in Shanghai and Tokyo

研究代表者

Farrer James (Farrer, James)

上智大学・国際教養学部・教授

研究者番号：40317508

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研究成果の概要(和文)：本研究は、質的研究手法により、東京と上海の地域食文化を研究し、公開研究ウェブサイトを作成することを目的としています。コロナ禍のため、上海のプロジェクトは中途打ち切りとなりましたが、上海の中心部にある一つの地域(大沽路)に関する調査は終了しました。東京の研究においては、一つの地域(西荻窪)で調査を行い、バイリンガルのウェブページを通じてその結果を共有しています。調査を基に、持続可能な地域のガストロノミーの概念を構築しました。そして、都市の地域における料理文化を持続させるための重要な四つの要素を特定しました：人間的スケールの建築環境、個人経営の店、職人技術の伝統、および移民の起業精神です。

研究成果の学術的意義や社会的意義

The project has scientific significance in developing the concept of sustainable neighborhood foodways, extending the idea of social sustainability to the study of urban gastronomy. Socially the project made results available to the public in a bilingual English-Japanese website nishiogiology.org.

研究成果の概要(英文)：This project aims to develop a digital ethnographic data base on neighborhood foodways in Tokyo and Shanghai using qualitative research methods. Because of the COVID pandemic, the Shanghai project was cut short. However, an ethnography of one culinary neighborhood in central Shanghai (Dagu Road area) was produced. The Tokyo research developed a public ethnography project of one culinary neighborhood (Nishi-Ogikubo area). A bilingual webpage (nishiogiology.org) shares the results with the public. Based on the fieldwork, a concept of sustainable neighborhood gastronomy was developed. The project identified four factors important in sustaining of urban culinary neighborhoods: (1) human-scale built environment, (2) independent ownership, (3) traditions of artisanal work, and (4) migrant entrepreneurship. Threats to sustainable neighborhood foodways include: (1) state-led redevelopment schemes, (2) ongoing urbanization and gentrification, (3) rising rents and (4) societal aging.

研究分野：Sociology

キーワード：foodways food studies urban studies comparative sociology community research social sustainability

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1. 研究開始当初の背景 Research Background

This project aimed to develop an accessible ethnographic mapping of neighborhood restaurant scenes in Tokyo and Shanghai based on qualitative research methods, using digital tools to share research results with both scholars and a broader public. This public data set would then form the basis for comparative research on urban foodways in the two cities. Two culinary neighborhoods were identified during previous fieldwork in these cities. The Shanghai fieldwork focused on a busy restaurant street in central Shanghai (Dagu Road 大沽路). The Tokyo research on a busy culinary neighborhood surrounding a commuter train station (Nishi-Ogikubo 西荻窪). The Tokyo research produced a public digital ethnography website (www.nishiogiology.org) as well as scholarly articles (Farrer 2020a, 2020b, 2021b, 2022). The Shanghai fieldwork was cut short by the COVID pandemic and travel restrictions to China. Scholarly research articles based on the Shanghai data were produced (Farrer 2019a, 2019b, 2019c, 2019d, 2020c, 2021a). However, a public digital ethnography website was not feasible for Shanghai.

The empirical focus of both the Shanghai and Tokyo research was neighborhood gastronomy, an inclusive term for all commercial eateries in a small walkable area. These include restaurants, smaller eateries and drinking spots. Neighborhood gastronomy is central to forming urban foodscapes (local geographies of food consumption and production) and sustaining urban foodways (cultural practices surrounding food). Beyond providing nutrition, gastronomy can be thought of as a cultural industry that satisfy multiple cultural and social needs (Farrer 2017; Clark et al. 2002; Visković 2021; Warde et al 2020). At the same time, these scenes may themselves be vulnerable to multiple stressors and crises, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, societal aging, rapidly rising rents, and urban redevelopment plans (Farrer 2020a, 2020b, 2022). This report reviews these research studies to describe how restaurants sustain urban foodways and urban communities. It briefly compares the findings from the Tokyo and Shanghai research.

2. 研究の目的 Research Goals

The questions of the project are threefold. The first concerns the contributions of neighborhood eateries to urban life. In short, what can we learn about the social organization of urban foodways by studying neighborhood restaurants? The second question concerns the stressors and crises that impact these local scenes. That is, what is endangering neighborhood gastronomy? The third concerns the resources community stakeholders for coping with these challenges. That, how do these scenes survive? What sustains them?

3. 研究の方法 Research Methods

The study was planned as a comparative neighborhood ethnography of a single culinary neighborhood in urban Tokyo (Nishi-Ogikubo) and another in urban Shanghai (Dagu Road). Both neighborhoods were chosen both for their reputations as culinary destinations with numerous independent restaurants while also retaining strong connection to the surrounding residential community. Both are upper income (Dagu Road) or upper middle-income (Nishi-Ogikubo). Both were studied using ethnographic fieldwork. Ethnographic fieldwork is a methodology to elucidate the complex relationships among multiple factors, including individual agency, community-based activities, and local ecological forces. It allows for contextual analysis, while not ignoring broader social forces. It thus identifies processes relevant to understanding urban life and politics beyond this case.

Fieldwork included in-depth interviewing and participant observation. In Shanghai the data was collected by the PI, based on existing networks in the restaurant business; over 30 interviews were conducted before the research was halted due to COVID. In Tokyo, fieldwork was conducted by the researcher together with research assistants. In-depth case studies with over 70 stakeholders in the community were generated. Data was analyzed according to the inductive method of grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1997). Themes were developed with reference to the broader literature in urban studies.

The ethnographic data from the Tokyo project was shared with community stakeholders on a bilingual community webpage (www.nishiogiology.org). This sharing has also resulted in further insights based on feedback from community stakeholders (restaurant owners, customers, activists, etc.). From the standpoint of social sustainability, the sharing of knowledge with the neighborhood is also a type of action ethnography that contributes to urban placemaking and raising awareness of the issues discussed in this research (Cole 2005).

4. 研究成果 Research Outcomes

The Tokyo-based project had two faces: (1) One was public bilingual English Japanese website aimed at the local community called Nishiogiology.org. This website has become a significant community resource and was recognized March 2023 by the Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs as an "exemplar of utilizing knowledge of Japanese food culture" (食文化「知の活用」振興事例). (2) The second face of the project was scholarly and includes articles published in international journals in urban studies, food studies and sociology. The Shanghai project developed several scholarly journal articles, but because of COVID and other factors, a public website was not feasible. The discussion in this report compares the findings from the Tokyo and Shanghai research by reviewing the findings of various published articles.

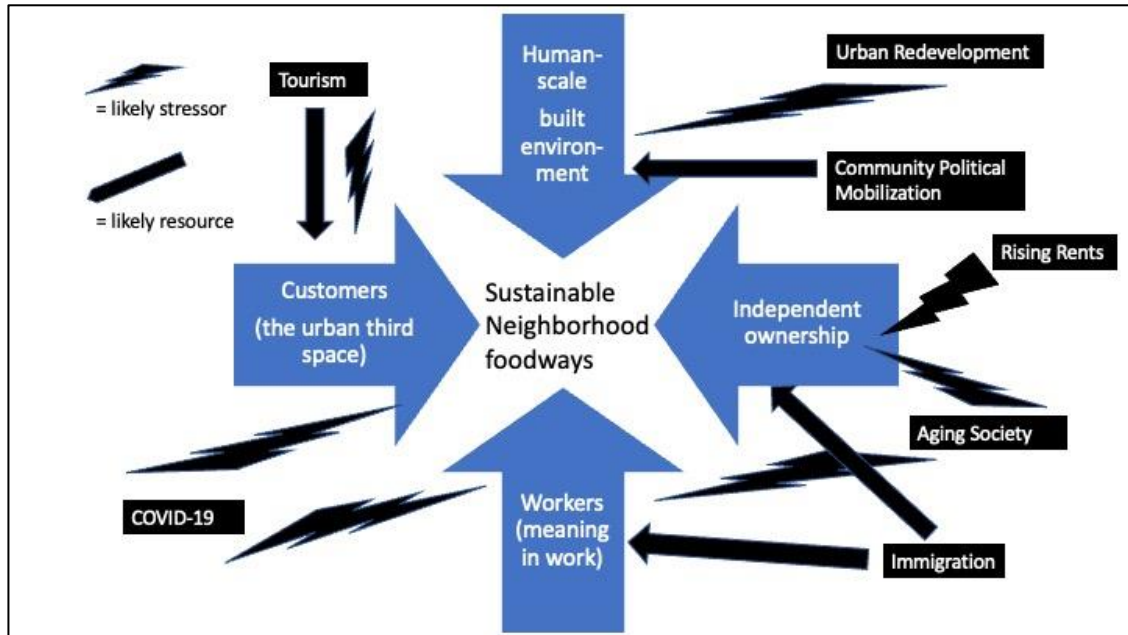


Figure 1: Factors positively and negatively impacting sustainable neighborhood foodways.

Sustainable urban gastronomy: The research identified and explored four dimensions of sustainable neighborhood gastronomy in both cities (Farrer 2022) (See Figure 1):

(1) *The importance of independent ownership and entrepreneurship*. Restaurants represent relatively accessible opportunities for entrepreneurship and business ownership. Both Shanghai and Tokyo neighborhoods feature high levels of independent ownership and entrepreneurship, but both areas face challenges. Turnover of ownership and a tendency towards increasing corporate ownership were higher in Shanghai due to pressure from rising real estate prices. In Tokyo, the aging population means that many smaller independent eateries close with no successors, also increasing a tendency towards corporate ownership in the neighborhood (Futamura and Sugiyama 2018; Farrer 2022).

(2) *The importance of meaningful and creative work*. Gastronomic enterprises provide workers not only with income but also meaningful work that engages creative impulses and fosters motivation through a socially recognized sense of culinary artisanship or “craft” (Ocejo 2017). A pride in culinary work remains a characteristic of Tokyo gastronomy (Fazzari 2020). Chef-operator-owners described pride and satisfaction in sharing their products with consumers. In Shanghai gastronomic work still suffered from a stigma as a low-grade migrant occupation. Cooks were more likely to be employees rather than owner-chefs, and there was less recognition of the cook as artisanal worker (Farrer 2021a).

(3) *The provision of spaces of sociability and conviviality*. For customers, urban food scenes serve as “third places” that people visit between work and home, fostering social relations among customers and workers (Oldenburg 1989). This was evident in both cities. However, in Tokyo the smaller scale of restaurant spaces, a greater number of chef-owner-operated businesses, and the greater longevity of businesses produced denser social connections among customers and between customers and staff. Small Tokyo restaurants fostered interactions among strangers who visited alone or in pairs (Farrer 2021b). Shanghai eateries were more likely to foster relationships only among customers who entered the restaurant together in groups. Sociability among strangers in Shanghai eateries was comparatively rare, and the social capital associated

with these spaces correspondingly weaker (Farrer 2019b).

(4) *The importance of “human scale” built environments.* Sociologists have long emphasized the importance of small scale, organically evolving, and locally owned urban commercial districts (Farrer 2019b; Jacobs 2012; Zukin 2009). In the past three decades, Shanghai has experienced a much faster pace of urban redevelopment than Tokyo leading to a very fast erosion of the human-scale built environment (Farrer 2019b). The Dagu Road restaurant street represented a new attempt to create an attractive restaurant street with small scale rental properties. However, even here, venues were much larger than in Nishi-Ogikubo.

Stressors: Based on the fieldwork in both Shanghai and Tokyo, threats to sustainable neighborhood foodways in both cities included: (1) state-led redevelopment schemes, ongoing urbanization and gentrification, (2) rising rents, (3) societal aging, (4) COVID. The cities showed similarities and differences regarding these stressors:

(1) In Shanghai, state-led redevelopment plans were disrupting neighborhood gastronomy in every part of the city, reducing spaces for small independent restaurants and leading to high turnover in tenancy. The rebuilt era around Dagu Road, once a low-rise residential community, was rebuilt in the late 1990s and early 2000s as a high-rise, high-priced residential zone. It thus retained few legacy structures. Redevelopment was happening at a much slower pace in Tokyo. Nonetheless, redevelopment plans were represented as a top threat to independent restaurants in Nishi-Ogikubo (Farrer 2019a, 2019b).

(2) As a result of redevelopment, rents rose steadily in Shanghai, leading to frequent turnover of restaurant tenants. High rents throughout the city also raised costs for labor and created shortages, as workers moved to other more affordable markets.

(4) In Tokyo, societal aging was an endemic problem, meaning that many older eateries closed without a successor (Farrer 2022).

(5) COVID accelerated hastened the closure of struggling venues in both cities. However, neighborhood gastronomy proved surprisingly resistant to the social distancing measures imposed during the pandemic (Farrer 2020a, 2020b, 2020c).

Sources of resilience: In both cities, neighborhood gastronomy survived these stressors to varying degrees (Farrer 2022; 2019a, 2019b). Factors supporting the sustenance of neighborhood gastronomy are: (1) social movements to maintain the human-scale built environment, (2) ongoing independent ownership, (3) an increase in migrant entrepreneurship from abroad (Kharel 2016), and (4) modest levels of tourism. The cities showed marked differences and some similarities regarding these resources for sustainability:

(1) Social movements are much more visible and important in Tokyo, where they often opposed state-led redevelopment schemes. In China, political associations are strictly controlled, and anti-development movements had little space to develop in Shanghai (Farrer 2019b).

(2) In both neighborhoods independent ownership remained strong, so that they retained their reputations as diverse culinary neighborhoods, despite ongoing corporatization.

(3) Migrants were important instigators of entrepreneurship, opening new urban gastronomy businesses in both cities. Migrants, both from other regions and other countries, form a large portion of owners and workers in gastronomy in both cities. In Shanghai most gastronomic workers are migrants from other parts of China, but Shanghai also has many culinary migrants from other countries (Farrer 2019c, 2019d, 2021a). In Tokyo inbound international migrants play an increasingly important role in sustaining urban foodways (Wessendorf and Farrer 2021; Farrer 2022). However, national restrictions on migration in Japan and China dampen the positive impact migration might have in both cities. Both cities face a long-term crisis of population aging and low levels of international migration.

(4) On the consumer side, tourism plays a role in sustaining business. In the Dagu Road and Nishi-Ogikubo areas, tourism is modest and the impact on restaurants largely positive. In other areas of both cities, however, over tourism threatens the pro-social features of urban gastronomy, such as conviviality among regular customers (Farrer 2019b, 2021b).

Overall commercial neighborhood gastronomy plays the key role in shaping contemporary urban foodways. Shanghai and Tokyo both have many famous culinary neighborhoods, including Dagu Road and Nishi-Ogikubo. They also face some similar stressors. This project revealed some common problems they face and some sharable solutions as well as differences. Digital ethnography, including the Nishiology website provides a vehicle for sharing discussions with a broader public, both locally and globally. In the future, this digital ethnography project should be extended to other cities and culinary neighborhoods.

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Appendix: Awards Related to the Project

2023

James Farrer. 2021. "From Cooks to Chefs: Skilled Migrants in a Globalizing Culinary Field" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 47, Issue 10, pp. 2359-2375. (Awarded **2023 Belasco Prize for Scholarly Excellence from the Association for the Study of Food and Society**)

Nishiogiology website. 2016-23. (Recognized **March 2023 by the Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs as an "exemplar of utilizing knowledge of Japanese food culture"** (食文化「知の活用」振興事例。))

5. 主な発表論文等

〔雑誌論文〕 計21件（うち査読付論文 15件 / うち国際共著 3件 / うちオープンアクセス 7件）

1. 著者名 Farrer James	4. 巻 23
2. 論文標題 An Academic Diptych	5. 発行年 2023年
3. 雑誌名 Gastronomica	6. 最初と最後の頁 iv ~ ix
掲載論文のDOI (デジタルオブジェクト識別子) 10.1525/gfc.2023.23.1.iv	査読の有無 無
オープンアクセス オープンアクセスではない、又はオープンアクセスが困難	国際共著 -
1. 著者名 Farrer James	4. 巻 22
2. 論文標題 Seeing the Kanda River	5. 発行年 2022年
3. 雑誌名 Gastronomica	6. 最初と最後の頁 49 ~ 53
掲載論文のDOI (デジタルオブジェクト識別子) 10.1525/gfc.2022.22.4.49	査読の有無 有
オープンアクセス オープンアクセスではない、又はオープンアクセスが困難	国際共著 -
1. 著者名 Farrer James	4. 巻 63
2. 論文標題 Sustainable neighbourhood gastronomy: Tokyo independent restaurants facing crises	5. 発行年 2022年
3. 雑誌名 Asia Pacific Viewpoint	6. 最初と最後の頁 396 ~ 410
掲載論文のDOI (デジタルオブジェクト識別子) 10.1111/apv.12339	査読の有無 無
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1. 著者名 Farrer James	4. 巻 49
2. 論文標題 Oishii: The History of Sushi by Eric C. Rath	5. 発行年 2023年
3. 雑誌名 The Journal of Japanese Studies	6. 最初と最後の頁 217 ~ 221
掲載論文のDOI (デジタルオブジェクト識別子) 10.1353/jjs.2023.0024	査読の有無 無
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1. 著者名 Farrer James	4. 巻 1
2. 論文標題 Sustainable neighbourhood gastronomy: Tokyo independent restaurants facing crises	5. 発行年 2022年
3. 雑誌名 Asia Pacific Viewpoint	6. 最初と最後の頁 1-17
掲載論文のDOI (デジタルオブジェクト識別子) 10.1111/apv.12339	査読の有無 有
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2. 論文標題 Commonplace and out-of-place diversities in London and Tokyo: migrant-run eateries as intercultural third places	5. 発行年 2021年
3. 雑誌名 Comparative Migration Studies	6. 最初と最後の頁 1-7
掲載論文のDOI (デジタルオブジェクト識別子) 10.1186/s40878-021-00235-3	査読の有無 有
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1. 著者名 Farrer James	4. 巻 24
2. 論文標題 The space-time compression of Tokyo street drinking	5. 発行年 2021年
3. 雑誌名 Food, Culture & Society	6. 最初と最後の頁 49 ~ 65
掲載論文のDOI (デジタルオブジェクト識別子) 10.1080/15528014.2020.1859902	査読の有無 有
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1. 著者名 Farrer James	4. 巻 47
2. 論文標題 From cooks to chefs: skilled migrants in a globalising culinary field	5. 発行年 2020年
3. 雑誌名 Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies	6. 最初と最後の頁 1 ~ 17
掲載論文のDOI (デジタルオブジェクト識別子) 10.1080/1369183X.2020.1731990	査読の有無 有
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1. 著者名 James Farrer	4. 巻 2
2. 論文標題 A Tokyo Restaurant Community Faces COVID-19	5. 発行年 2020年
3. 雑誌名 Etnografia e Ricerca Qualitativa	6. 最初と最後の頁 245-254
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1. 著者名 Farrer James	4. 巻 20
2. 論文標題 On the Other Side of the Curve: China's Restaurateurs Face an Uphill Battle	5. 発行年 2020年
3. 雑誌名 Gastronomica	6. 最初と最後の頁 24 ~ 25
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1. 著者名 James Farrer	4. 巻 18
2. 論文標題 How are Tokyo's Independent Restaurateurs Surviving the COVID Crisis	5. 発行年 2020年
3. 雑誌名 Asia Pacific Journal: Japan Focus	6. 最初と最後の頁 1-15
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1. 著者名 Chan Yuk Wah, Farrer James	4. 巻 20
2. 論文標題 Asian food and culinary politics: food governance, constructed heritage and contested boundaries	5. 発行年 2020年
3. 雑誌名 Asian Anthropology	6. 最初と最後の頁 1 ~ 11
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1. 著者名 Farrer James、Wang Chuanfei	4. 巻 20
2. 論文標題 Who owns a cuisine? The grassroots politics of Japanese food in Europe	5. 発行年 2020年
3. 雑誌名 Asian Anthropology	6. 最初と最後の頁 12～29
掲載論文のDOI (デジタルオブジェクト識別子) 10.1080/1683478X.2020.1774960	査読の有無 有
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2. 論文標題 The space-time compression of Tokyo street drinking	5. 発行年 2021年
3. 雑誌名 Food, Culture & Society	6. 最初と最後の頁 49～65
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1. 著者名 Susanne Wessendorf and James Farrer	4. 巻 9
2. 論文標題 Commonplace and out-of-place diversities in London and Tokyo: migrant-run eateries as intercultural third places	5. 発行年 2021年
3. 雑誌名 Comparative Migration Studies	6. 最初と最後の頁 1-18
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1. 著者名 James Farrer	4. 巻 3(3)
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〔産業財産権〕

〔その他〕

Nishiogiology: Tokyo Urban Foodways Research https://www.nishiogiology.org/

6. 研究組織		
氏名 (ローマ字氏名) (研究者番号)	所属研究機関・部局・職 (機関番号)	備考

7. 科研費を使用して開催した国際研究集会

〔国際研究集会〕 計0件

8. 本研究に関連して実施した国際共同研究の実施状況

共同研究相手国	相手方研究機関
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