

## **The Foods of the Worlds: Mapping and Comparing Contemporary Gastrodiplomacy Campaigns**

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From the perspective of strategic communication planning, this research maps and compares the gastrodiplomacy campaigns by Japan, Malaysia, Peru, South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand. Analysis reveals that message appeals of the campaigns include mysticism, exoticism, naturalness, and healthiness. Campaign strategies range from membership relations in marketing products to the use of opinion leaders and coalition building. The research also documents several innovative campaign tactics.

*Keywords: cuisine, gastrodiplomacy, nation branding, food, diplomacy, Japan, Malaysia, Peru, South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand*

### **Global Frenzy for Gastrodiplomacy**

Food and its symbolic representation can be used to communicate ideas, values, identities, and attitudes. Different social standings are expressed not only through differences in quantities and varieties of food served at the tables of different social strata but more subtly through styles of serving and cooking (Mennell, 1996). This is why cuisines have been an essential part of traditional diplomacy since ancient times, when imperial courts provided lavish feasts for diplomats (De Vooght, 2011). Formal state banquets for foreign dignitaries have been used as symbols to represent the importance of relations between countries. For example, in 2003, the UK government treated Russian president Vladimir Putin with a pompous royal banquet to signify the importance of the first state visit made by a Russian leader in more than 125 years ("UK State Banquet," 2003). Informal meals served by a head of state also may be used to further diplomatic intimacy. For example, former U.S. president George W. Bush invited Putin to his ranch in Crawford, Texas, and treated the guest to Texas barbecue and pecan pie ("Bush and Putin Summit," 2001). President Bush also treated visiting Chinese president Jiang Zemin with Southern-fried catfish, barbecued brisket, and pecan pie at the same ranch a year later (Eckholm, 2002).

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In contrast to the use of cuisine for improving formal state relations, the recent frenzy for gastrodiploamacy has broader dimensions. The term *gastrodiploamacy* was first used in an *Economist* article on Thailand's public diploamacy campaign to promote its food and culinary art to the world ("Food as Ambassador," 2002). Since then, gastrodiploamacy's popularity has spread rapidly (Chapple-Sokol, 2013). In gastrodiploamacy, nations use food as a part of their efforts to promote their cultures, build their images, globalize their food industries, attract foreign tourists, and build relations with foreign publics (Pham, 2013). The actors are no longer limited to state politicians and their chefs but include food corporations, celebrity chefs, tourist agencies, public relations firms, public diploamacy practitioners, TV cooking shows, and social media.

In the past few years, several countries have followed the example of Thailand's successful gastrodiploamacy campaign and have started programs to promote their national cuisines and culinary cultures ("Food as Ambassador," 2002). Japan has launched a global sushi campaign (Sakamoto & Allen, 2011) and has successfully added its traditional cuisine, *washoku*, to UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage list. South Korea promoted kimchi to the world and also successfully added the fermented vegetable to UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage list (Pham, 2013). Taiwan developed a Gourmet Taiwan plan and has since heavily invested in cuisine diploamacy (Booth, 2010). Peru launched a *Cocina peruana* campaign and created the largest food event in South America (Wilson, 2013). The Israeli government invited popular Chinese bloggers to the country to taste its cuisines (WowoEast, 2013). The Indonesian embassy to Washington, DC, established a Restaurant Task Force to identify ways of bringing Indonesian food to the United States (Embassy of Indonesia, n.d.). The Malaysian government launched the Malaysia Kitchen for the World campaign to "bring Malaysia to everyone" (Malaysiakitchen, 2014). The Mexican government proudly announced that the nation's cuisine was added to UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage list (Peralta, 2010), following the path of Greece, Italy, Turkey, and France. The Singapore government created Singapore Encore, a culture event, to showcase its finest arts, culture, and cuisine around the world ("Singapore Encore," 2009). The U.S. government has established the Diplomatic Culinary Partnership Initiative to encourage cross-cultural exchange through food (Pavgi, 2012). China kicked off a Chinese food festival at UN headquarters to promote its cuisines ("Chinese Food Festival," 2013). Russia's embassy to India showcased Russian pies, *pirozhki*, and Russian-style shish kebabs at the Delhi International Bazaar (Sanjiev, 2013). Even North Korea opened a restaurant in Amsterdam to "let the Westerners better know Korea," although it was shut down soon after ("North Korea Eatery," 2012).

Scholars have approached food from perspectives of anthropology (Appadurai, 1981), sociology (Mennell, 1996; Ray, 2004), globalization (Hall & Mitchell, 2002), cultural and culinary tourism (Long, 1998), postcolonialism (Ian & Michelle, 2003), philosophy (Heldke, 1992), and history (Gabaccia, 1998; Pilcher, 2008). Studies on gastrodiploamacy are growing but are still limited. Relevant studies have either made passing references to food as a nation-branding tool or used a case analysis approach to depict an individual nation's efforts in this regard. As more nations have shown strong interest in gastrodiploamacy, it is time to systematically catalog, synthesize, compare, and evaluate ongoing gastrodiploamacy campaigns.

The current research seeks to partially fulfill this goal through mapping and comparing several major gastrodiploamacy campaigns to identify a pattern in their brandings, messages, strategies, and tactics. This study will not only contribute to conceptual and empirical exploration of gastrodiploamacy but

have practical value for campaign planners. This study will also examine some key issues related to gastrodiploacy, such as food safety, food and environmental protection, and trade in food-related products. This article is structured as follows: The next section reviews scholarly studies on nation branding and gastrodiploacy. A description of the research methods is followed by a section that maps and compares the branding themes, message appeals, strategies, and action repertoires of six nations' gastrodiploacy campaigns. Finally, the implications of the findings and related issues are discussed.

### **Food as a Nation-Branding Tool**

In the literature of nation branding, foods and drinks are occasionally cited to illustrate the relationship between nation images and consumer behavior. For example, Kotler and Gertner (2002) argued that a country's image can lend a positive reputation to a whole category of products, "such as French wine or perfumes, or even brand it—Cafe de Colombia" (p. 258). In the Cafe de Colombia campaign, the country was promoted as a brand of coffee. It successfully convinced many U.S. consumers to perceive Cafe de Colombia as a top-quality coffee. Zaharna and Villalobos (2000) reported that the Argentine embassy to Washington, DC, created a Smiling Beef Club that met every week at the ambassador's residence. U.S. journalists, members of Congress, and government officials were invited along with foreign diplomats to enjoy beef and wine from Argentina. The embassy even sent beef to the White House in a hope that the U.S. president would "think of Argentina" while enjoying the country's beef. Nuttavuthisit (2006) observed that in the effort to change Thailand's negative image as a destination of sex tourism, the country attempted to position itself as the "kitchen to the world" by promoting the fine quality of Thai food. Food is also used as an example in studies examining political rhetoric of foreign nations. Mehrens (2011) observed that a campaign for Swedish seal featured a comparison between Swedish "good food" and foreign "bad food." In an advertisement with the "Home Made" theme, a healthy Swedish cow was displayed in contrast to an unhealthy Belgian cow that supposedly had undergone cruel genetic manipulation in the breeding process. Food, however, is only briefly mentioned as a nation-branding tool in these studies.

### **Food and Public Diplomacy**

Studies that extensively examine the use of food for public diplomacy have been growing. Sakamoto and Allen (2011) reported that the Japanese government incorporated food, represented by sushi, into its global soft power campaign. Disseminating Japanese food culture abroad has been Japan's state strategy since 2005. The Japanese government created a nonprofit Organization to Promote Japanese Restaurants Abroad with the aim of recommending traditional Japanese restaurants overseas as well as use of Japanese ingredients and Japanese cooking skills. Sakamoto and Allen (2011) also noted that the governments of Thailand and Italy have implemented certification schemes to promote their national cuisine overseas and that the Korean government launched a Hansic Globalization Project. Kim (2012) reported that South Korea's food industry and national tourism organization partnered with the Seoul outpost of the French culinary school Le Cordon Bleu to publish a cookbook of Korean-French fusion dishes, which featured recipes such as Camembert kimchi fritters and light kimchi-infused pastry cream mille-feuille. Pham (2013) reported that the Korean government established the Hansic Development Globalization Agency and budgeted \$77 million for the campaign. The country aimed at quadrupling the

number of Korean restaurants in the world, making Korean food into one of the top five favorite ethnic cuisines, expanding the Korean food industry worldwide, and establishing Korean culinary courses in the world's top culinary schools.

Rockower (2011) observed that the Taiwanese government invested \$34.2 million to promote Taiwanese cuisine through programs such as international gourmet festivals, sending local chefs to international contests, establishing Taiwanese restaurants abroad, setting up sampling stations at international airports, and establishing a culinary think tank. He noted that the Malaysian government set up Malaysian night markets in London, New York City, and Los Angeles. In a separate study, Rockower (2012) observed that many middle powers have invested resources in "culinary diplomacy" to increase global awareness of their cultures as a means to project soft power.

Lertputtarak (2012) examined the effects of tourists' perceptions toward destination image and Thai food image upon their intentions to revisit. The study found that respondents perceived Thai food as a good cultural experience, including its unique serving style and exotic cooking methods. In addition, destination image and image of Thai food had a positive relationship with tourists' intentions to revisit. Wilson (2013) examined the government of Peru's *Cocina peruana para el mundo* (Peruvian Cuisine for the World) campaign. The campaign strategies include having Peruvian cuisine designated by UNESCO as part of the intangible cultural heritage of humanity, building a website dedicated to Peruvian cuisine, and using social media, documentary film, and celebrity endorsement.

Clearly, gastrodiploamcy has drawn significant scholarly interest. However, the studies invariably have taken a case analysis approach that is based on an individual nation's experience. There is a lack of across-the-board mapping and comparison of the campaigns in a time when gastrodiploamcy has become increasingly popular. In addition, few studies have analyzed the campaigns from the perspective of strategic communication, which is supposedly the conceptual and empirical foundation of gastrodiploamcy. Some key questions remain to be answered: Overall, how do nations differentiate their cuisines from those of competitors? What appeals are often used in their message appeals? What communication strategies and tactics are used in the campaigns? And, finally, what are some of the external factors that should be taken into account in planning such a campaign? Answering these questions will contribute to research and planning of gastrodiploamcy campaigns. It will also bring important insights to the literature of strategic communication.

### **Research Design and Data**

Public diplomacy and public relations converge in their goals, communication functions, and methodologies (Signitzer & Coombs, 1992; Yun, 2006). They both fall into the broad paradigm of strategic communication, which involves organizations communicating purposefully to advance their missions (Hallahan, Holtzhausen, Ruler, Vercic, & Sriramesh, 2007). As a subfield of public diplomacy practice, gastrodiploamcy campaigns require the basic elements of strategic communication planning. These elements include conducting research, defining campaign goals and objectives, positioning and branding products, identifying message appeals, formulating strategies and tactics, budgeting, scheduling, and evaluating campaign effectiveness (Robbitt & Sullivan, 2009; Ronald, 2008; Theaker & Yaxley, 2013). This

research is primarily concerned with the elements that bear particular importance for a strategic communication campaign: branding themes, message appeals, strategies, and tactics. Other elements, such as research and evaluation, are not analyzed due to lack of data.

### ***Branding Themes***

Branding themes are the “overarching ideas that apply to all of the audience” (Robbitt & Sullivan, 2009, p. 77). Such themes are a result of positioning, which is essentially about how one is differentiated from competitors (Aaker, 1991). Branding themes should be consistent through all forms of communication used. The best branding themes are in the form of short slogans (Hendrix & Hayes, 2010). Pike (2004) proposed that slogans for destination branding should be evaluated in terms of (1) value proposition, which includes functional destination attributes, affective qualities, travel motivation benefits, market segmentation, symbols of self-expression, countering risk, brand leadership, focus, unfocus, and combinations of these; (2) meaningfulness to the target audience; (3) ability to differentiate the destination from those in the competitive set; (4) memorability, which is about whether brand associations in memory are strong, favorable, and unique; (5) whether the positioning theme is consistent over the longer term; and (6) whether the proposition promise is deliverable by the destination community. For the current research, gastrodiploamacy campaign slogans are evaluated primarily in terms of their value proposition, the ability to differentiate, and memorability.

### ***Messages***

Messages are the basic ideas that one wants “members of audiences to remember” (Robbitt & Sullivan, 2009, p. 77). A campaign may have a list of key messages, which are generally evaluated by looking at whether they appeal to ethos, logos, or pathos (Ronald, 2008). Appeals to ethos may include credibility, charisma, and control. Appeals to logos may include factual proposition, conjecture proposition, value position, and policy proposition. Appeals to pathos may include fear, guilt, love, virtue, justice, altruism, loyalty, bravery, piety, improvement, esteem, humor, and sex.

### ***Strategies and Tactics***

Strategies are the overall game plan, or “the overarching idea, concept or approach that explains how the objective will be achieved” (Theaker &Yaxley, 2013, p. 105). A campaign strategy should clearly define the course of action, scope of action, resources to be tapped, and the expected impacts. Tactics are specific tools employed to fulfill campaign strategies. They are typically categorized into events, controlled media, and uncontrolled media.

Data for this study were obtained from two sources. First, I examined the home pages of the gastrodiploamacy programs of six nations: Japan, Malaysia, Peru, South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand. These nations are known for their investment in gastrodiploamacy. All the programs were initiated and funded by the national governments, which served as leading actors in building and promoting consistent images of their culinary cultures. Thus, in this research, each nation is treated as a single cultural group. For South Korea, the home page of Bibigo, a food company of CJ Group (<http://www.bibigo.com/index>), is

used. The corporation received a loan from the government of South Korea to participate in the country's Hansik campaign (Pham, 2013). It has been "at the spearhead of promoting Korean food culture around the world" (Bibigo, 2014). Other home pages include the Organization to Promote Japanese Restaurants Abroad ([http://jronet.org/eng\\_index.html](http://jronet.org/eng_index.html)); Malaysia's Malaysia Kitchen (<http://www.malaysiakitchen.my>); Taiwan's Food Culture (<http://taiwanfoodculture.net>); Peru's Mistura <http://mistura.pe>); and Thailand's Kitchen of the World (<http://thailand.prd.go.th/ebook/kitchen>). The second source of data was the LexisNexis database and Google search engine. The keywords "food," "cuisine," "diplomacy," and respective nations' names were used to search for news stories about gastrodiplomacy campaigns.

The research first identified and evaluated the branding themes of the campaigns. Next, message appeals were identified through thematic analysis of mission statements, speeches, and informational subsidies retrieved from the campaign home pages. Third, tactics were documented and categorized in terms of their functions and purposes. Strategies were then identified through synthesizing the tactics.

### **Mapping and Comparing the Gastrodiplomacy Campaigns**

#### ***Branding: Slogans and Logos***

Most of the campaigns have slogans and logos (see Table 1). Thailand's slogan is "Kitchen of the world," with a logo that consists of a unique Thai symbol, three white blossoms, the English word *Thailand*, and the phrase "Kitchen of the world." The country positioned itself as "the food basket of Asia." Taiwan's slogan is "Food Culture in Taiwan." In some cases, it used "Gourmet Taiwan." It positioned its capital city Taipei as "one of the ten best food destinations in the world." Its campaign logo consists of the English phrase "Food Culture in Taiwan," the Chinese characters 臺灣, and a red silhouette of the Taiwan Island. Four Chinese characters representing "culinary culture" are embedded in the silhouette.

Malaysia's slogan is "Malaysia kitchen for the world," which is also incorporated into its logo design. The logo consists of the English word *Malaysia* in cursive calligraphy and graphics representing a mortar and pestle. Malaysia's campaign program is entitled Malaysia Kitchen Programme, with a mission to "brand Malaysia as a multicultural, dynamic and vibrant country through the varieties of its cuisine."

Japan does not have a formal slogan, but the Organization to Promote Japanese Restaurants Abroad positioned its mission as "Striving for Japanese restaurants that are loved around the world." Thus, "loved around the world" appears to be the positioning of Japanese cuisine. The logo consists of four elements: a white circle inside a red circle, respectively representing a plate and Japan's national flag; a pair of chopsticks; and a cherry blossom in the middle of the plate.

South Korea's CJ Group employed a unique Korean food, *bibimbap*, to create its slogan "Bibigo," with a tagline "Taste of Korea." The name Bibigo is a combination of the Korean word *bibida* ("mix it") and "to go." The campaign logo is the English word *Bibigo*, with the first *i* upside down, likely representing chopsticks and food, and the second *i* in the form of a spoon. The letter *o* represents the stoneware that is used to cook *bibimbap*, with the English phrase "hot stone" around it. Korean food is often referred to as

Hansik or K-food in English in an attempt to create a unique brand. In some campaign materials, the phrase "Psygo Bibigo" was used to highlight the campaign's spokesperson, the popular musician Psy.

**Table 1. Gastrodiplomacy Campaign Slogans and Logos.**

Country	Slogan/Theme	Campaign Logo
Japan	"Loved around the world "	
Malaysia	"Malaysian kitchen for the world"	
Peru	"Cocina peruana para el mundo: todos reunidos" [The largest food fair in Latin America]	
South Korea	"Bibigo: Hot stone"; "Taste of Korea"	
Taiwan	"Gourmet Taiwan"; "One of the 10 best food destinations in the world"; "Food culture in Taiwan"	
Thailand	"Kitchen to the world"; "The food basket of Asia"	

The Peruvian campaign used a slogan "*Cocina peruana para el mundo*," with a tagline "*todos reunidos*," but there are inconsistencies in its logo use. An early campaign poster carried a logo of a yellow chili pepper and a red bell pepper, which is the logo of the sponsoring organization Apega (Asociación peruana de gastronomía) (Apega, 2014). However, the campaign's English Facebook account does not feature a logo. The campaign's major event, Feira Gastronômica Internacional de Lima (International Gastronomic Fair of Lima), uses a different logo, which appears to be more recognizable. The logo consists of the Spanish word *Mistura* across the top of a curve, probably representing the earth, the words *Apega*, and *todos reunidos*, all in a pink circle. Sometimes the tagline "the largest food fair in Latin America" appeared at the bottom of the circle.

### **Messages and Appeals**

Adaptation and appeal are the two major concerns in formulating campaign messages. In their gastrodiploacy campaigns, the nations tailored their messages to target publics. For example, South Korea's Bibigo launched menus tailored to British people. It translated *soondae*, a Korean-style blood sausage, into "Korean black pudding" to offer British people a sense of familiarity. It turned Korean *bungeobbang* (baked carp-shaped bread with bean paste) into a dessert, "Bibigo goldfish." These efforts maintained the characteristics of Korean food while making them more appealing to British people. Bibigo stated that it was listed on the main pages of the Michelin Guide partially due to the localization of its messages. In an effort to localize its messages, Taiwan's campaign home page used nine languages: Chinese, English, Spanish, Italian, Russian, Korean, German, French, and Japanese. Thematic analysis of the campaign home pages identified the following message appeals.

**Healthiness** emphasizes that the nation's cuisine is good for one's health. South Korea's campaign claims that its food "can bear its pride, 'healthy'." Its home page uses titles such as "healthy and fresh Korean food" and "balance and harmony" to implicitly suggest that Korean food is a solution to the problems brought about by unhealthy junk food. Japan's campaign states that the "healthiness and great taste [of Japanese food] have triggered a surge in its popularity worldwide" and that Japanese food is "attracting attention on a global scale as a healthy alternative and ideal dietary lifestyle."

**Diversity** highlights the rich variety and diverse origins of a nation's cuisine. Peru states that it is a "biocultural country, home to 84 life zones of the 104 that exist in the world, and a diversity of more than 40 first nation ethnic groups." Japan, a nation not known for its ethnic diversity, states that it is "blessed with a wide variety of seasonal foods year-round" and that "by skillfully assimilating aspects of different food cultures around the world throughout the course of the country's long history and traditions, the Japanese have cultivated a rich, diverse food culture." Malaysia's campaign claims that the nation is "a melting-pot of races and religions" and that its "multiculturalism has made Malaysia a food paradise and home to hundreds of colourful festivals." Similarly, Taiwan's campaign states that the island "is a melting pot of diverse ethnic cultures" and "is home to an ethnic and cultural diversity that affects its dietary culture." It states that Taiwanese cuisine has "continued to incorporate the essence of dishes introduced from abroad and to absorb the influences and flavors of Western dishes."



**Mysticism and exoticism** appeals emphasize that a nation's native cuisine is imbued with a certain mystery and is thus exotic. For example, the Mistura campaign states that Peru is "a magic country, with an ancient history dating back to several centuries before the Inca Empire. All have played their part in the flavors, colors and aromas of the great Peruvian cuisine." Korean food is said to reflect the "five elements and order of the universe" and "five-thousand-year Korean tradition." Malaysia is portrayed as a "tropical paradise" with "Breathtaking beauty. Exotic cultures. Friendly people." Taiwanese cuisine is a "crystallization of culinary wisdom and experience accumulated over several millennia."

**Essential part of national culture** is an appeal that maintains that cuisines are a fundamental part of a nation's culture and thus are inseparable from other cultural heritage. Japan's campaign states that "Japan's food culture encompasses not only its ingredients and cooking techniques but also its tableware and furnishings, its architecture, and the spirituality and aesthetic sense epitomized by the art of flower arrangement and the tea ceremony. As such, the food culture reflects Japan's overall culture." Thailand's campaign explains in great detail how Thai people cook in traditional wooden Thai houses. Korea's *bibimbap* is said to reflect the "Korean value of collective lifestyle," which features "sharing, intermingling, bonding" and "creating balance." Taiwanese cuisine also reflects "the indigenous way of life and their respect for nature." The island "values gift giving" and "offers a plethora of gift choices" that constitute a "must-buy for visitors before departing Taiwan." The Peruvian Mistura campaign states its objective as "to promote Peruvian cuisine as a basis for cultural identity and as a factor in the economic development, progress and wellbeing of all Peruvians." Placing food as part of a nation's cultural heritage serves the additional purpose of marketing food-related products and services such as tableware and restaurant design.

**Naturalness and environmentalism** appeals emphasize that a nation's food materials are from nature and thus are clean and healthy. South Korea's campaign states that its food is "a reflection of nature." Peru highlights the natural origin of its food as "the most typical produce from our Amazon, Andes and Pacific Coast." The country has "seasoned products that were unique in nature's larder, such as native potatoes, *ají* peppers, different types of maize, with ducks, fruit, fish and shellfish." The Taiwan campaign states that the nation "is surrounded by the sea, and ocean currents flow past and converge just off the island's coast, creating good fishing grounds and enriching Taiwan's marine resources." A related appeal is environmentalism, which is used only in the Peruvian case. The Mistura campaign boasts of its awareness of the limitedness of natural resources; its efforts to recycle waste; its concern for biodiversity and "sustainable Peruvian cuisine"; its promotion of whale watching to hinder hunting; and its policy prohibiting harvesting river shrimps and black shells.

**Beauty in food presentation** is another important appeal. The Thailand campaign notes that neatness, delicacy, and exquisiteness of the presentation is an essential characteristic of Thai cuisine. The Peruvian campaign has a section entitled "The importance of aesthetics in contemporary cuisine." Japanese embassies designed programs to demonstrate the "tremendous culinary and aesthetic appeal" of traditional Japanese cuisine.

### ***Strategies and Action Repertoires***

Campaign strategies are summarized based on systematic documentation and categorization of action repertoires that are employed to fulfill the strategies. Action repertoires are grouped by nation for comparison.

***A product marketing strategy*** markets cuisine brands and food images in the world through establishing restaurant chains, developing franchisees, and promoting export in food-related products and services (see Table 2). This strategy fulfills a key objective of gastrodiplomacy: to promote export of food-related products. The Thai government made efforts to expand Thai restaurants in the world to use them as a channel to export Thai food and products. It inspects and selects Thai restaurants and awards them a Thailand's Brand logo and conducts periodic checks.

Taiwan uses corporations such as the Din Tai Fung Restaurant Inc. and the 85°C Bakery Café to globalize its food industry. The Organization to Promote Japanese Restaurants Abroad states that its goals include "promotion of exports of Japanese foodstuffs." It seeks to establish local branches, promote interactions between members, and provide general and public relations support for restaurants that actively use Japanese ingredients.

Bibigo's parent company in South Korea, CJ Group, markets Bibigo's processed food products such as traditional fermented condiments and frozen dumplings under the brand Bibigo to the United States, the United Kingdom, China, Japan, and Singapore. It states that "The Bibigo restaurants are being used as the test beds for the Bibigo products" (Kim, 2013).

***A food events strategy*** involves staging events or participating in existing international events to promote food to foreign elites and the general public. This is perhaps the strategy use most by the campaigns. South Korea tends to take advantage of major international events, such as the Davos Forum in Switzerland and film festivals. Peru created its own large-scale event, the annual fiesta Mistura. The Malaysian campaign sponsored several small-scale events. The action repertoire for the food events strategy includes hosting cook-offs, awards, and sweepstakes (see Table 3).

**Table 2. Gastrodiplomacy Strategies and Action Repertoires: Product Marketing.**

**Product Marketing Strategy:** Market cuisine brands in the world through establishing restaurant chains, developing franchisees, and promoting trade in food-related products and services.

<b>Japan</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Developed corporate members and individual members overseas to manage quarantine and cost issues in food materials</li> <li>• Conducted research on overseas restaurants and submitted proposals to the government</li> </ul>
<b>Malaysia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Opened online application of franchise membership and provided consultation, network, and guidance on promotion</li> <li>• Provided consultancy to franchisees on site selection, outlet design, construction, menu and recipes, purchasing, kitchen, toast and beverage training as well as new production development</li> </ul>
<b>South Korea</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Opened chain stores around the world</li> <li>• Put processed foods on restaurant menus and store shelves; staged a Taste of Korea Exhibition in England's Tesco stores</li> </ul>
<b>Taiwan</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Planned to create 3,500 stores, 50 food brands, and 10,000 jobs across the world</li> <li>• Promoted the chain store Din Tai Fung Restaurant Inc. and 85°C Bakery Café</li> </ul>
<b>Thailand</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Promoted export of seafood and produce (\$191 billion in 2010)</li> <li>• Certified overseas restaurants based on inspection and certain criteria. The criteria require that the restaurants must run for at least one year; be open at least five days each week; be certified by credit card companies; employ Thai chefs with Thai cooking training; use raw materials and equipment from Thailand in certain proportion; and have at least six Thai dishes on the menu.</li> </ul>

**Table 3. Gastrodiplomacy Strategies and Action Repertoires: Use of Events.**

**Food Events Strategy:** Participate in and stage major international events to promote food to elites and the general public.

<b>Malaysia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Launched a Malaysia Kitchen New York campaign, including a night market; grand feast; talk and taste; Malaysian restaurant week in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut; chefs' trip; noodle festival; Asian supermarket promotion ("a taste of Malaysia at Asian food market"); a rendang cook-off; retail buyers' trip; and a Malaysian master class</li> <li>• Sponsored "The Story of Malaysia" event in Sydney</li> <li>• Was a partner of the Taste of Melbourne festival</li> <li>• Sponsored the month-long "May-laysia" event to celebrate Malaysian cuisine</li> <li>• Conducted a sale of the "world's smelliest fruit," durian, in Britain</li> </ul>
<b>Peru</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gastronomic publications won Gourmand World Cookbook Awards</li> <li>• Participated in Madrid Fusion, the most important food fair in Spain</li> <li>• Recognized as the Best Culinary Destination of the World at the World Travel Awards</li> <li>• Published research on regional cuisines</li> <li>• Highlighted distinctiveness of Peruvian cocoa</li> <li>• Celebrated World Food Day</li> <li>• Restaurants received Michelin star</li> <li>• Professionals of Good Handling Practices evaluated kitchens and staff of food fair</li> <li>• Held cook-offs</li> <li>• Presented an award to women chefs</li> <li>• Declared <i>picanterías</i> as part of the cultural heritage of Peru</li> <li>• Promoted a book on quinoa</li> <li>• Presented a Gold Award to flagship Peruvian food productions</li> <li>• Held a Hydrobiological Resources Forum</li> </ul>
<b>South Korea</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Participated in K-Wave Cultural Festival</li> <li>• Presented cuisine at "All Eyes on Korea" exhibition in London</li> <li>• Hosted a "100-year Dinner" at Davos that featured soy paste fermented for 20 years and soy sauce for 30 years</li> <li>• Provided cuisine to entertainment industry personnel at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City</li> <li>• Catered cuisine during M.net Asian Music Awards in Singapore and Hong Kong</li> <li>• Introduced Korean cuisine at K-wave convention KCON</li> <li>• Bibigo food truck travels around Los Angeles to serve traditional Korean food</li> <li>• Booth at the Korea Brand and Entertainment Expo London</li> <li>• Celebrated Bibigo's birthday</li> <li>• Surveyed food tasters</li> <li>• Celebrated "Support K-pop Stars With Bibigo" in Los Angeles using Bibigo</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>headbands, clutch bags, towels, and masks</li> <li>• Received Louis Roederer Wine List of the Year awards</li> <li>• Staged event Psy's Bibigo Search for a Chef</li> <li>• Held a lucky draw to win a trip to South Korea</li> </ul>
<b>Taiwan</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Staged a culinary art show in Paris and London</li> <li>• Held a huge Taiwanese beef noodle party at Lee Ang's movie <i>Eat Drink Man Woman</i> in Washington, DC</li> <li>• Highlighted stinky tofu and oyster omelet</li> <li>• Held Taipei International Beef Noodle Festival</li> <li>• Participated in Helsinki Restaurant Day</li> <li>• Held Taiwan Gourmet Night in Miami</li> </ul>

**The coalition-building strategy** involves building partnerships with organizations that share similar interests to expand message channels and networks. The culinary campaigns sought partners in the hotel and tourism industries because they share common interests and possess resources that have great clout over the campaigns' target audiences. Other partners include diplomatic organizations, such as embassies and cultural centers, and foreign grocery stores (see Table 4).

**Table 4. Gastrodiplomacy Strategies and Action Repertoires: Coalition Building.**

**Coalition-Building Strategy:** Build coalitions with organizations that share similar interests to expand message channels and networks.

<b>Malaysia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Partnership with hotels to run a Facebook competition</li> <li>• Guests who join the Starwood Preferred Guest program gain access to VIP culinary experiences</li> <li>• Partnership with Malaysian embassies to include international hotels in the Malaysian Kitchen Programme</li> <li>• Partnership with Australian <i>MasterChef</i> series</li> </ul>
<b>South Korea</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Partnership with Korean Culture Center in Los Angeles</li> <li>• Partnership with the French culinary school Le Cordon Bleu to publish a cookbook of Korean-French fusion dishes</li> </ul>
<b>Japan</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Developed human resources through ties with culinary organizations abroad</li> <li>• Researched overseas needs related to Japanese food, provided information to corporate members in Japan, and partnered with local media to conduct public relations regarding foodstuffs produced in Japan</li> </ul>

<b>Peru</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Worked with gastronomes, nutritionists, cooking information centers, restaurant owners, cooks, researchers, enologists, and journalists</li> <li>• Worked with universities, farmers, artisanal fishermen, market merchants, and public and private enterprise</li> </ul>
<b>Thailand</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Overseas Thai restaurants must be certified by Visa or American Express</li> </ul>

***The use of opinion leaders strategy*** employs opinion leaders, including important geographic locales and celebrities, to enhance awareness and credibility of food brands.

Opinion leaders are not limited to celebrities; they include strategically important geographic locales and important international organizations such as UNESCO (see Table 5). This strategy is explicit in Taiwan's and South Korea's campaigns. Both nations first extensively targeted London and Paris, two metropolitan areas known for their high tastes.

South Korea focused on Britain because "world prominent restaurants first open in London and then spread worldwide," as one of its executives put it. The restaurant chain Bibigo admits that the United Kingdom is a "very important strategic area in spreading Korean food globally." In London, it selected the Soho area because that is where many high-class restaurants are clustered. In addition, it hired the pop sensation Psy as its food ambassador. South Korea also sought to add Korean kimchi to UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage list.

The Malaysian campaign hired Caroline MiLi Artiss, one of the first TV chefs to be discovered on YouTube in the United Kingdom and a global representative of Internet cooking channels. The action repertoire for this strategy includes seeking endorsement by UNESCO, hosting dinner parties for celebrities, and being listed in the Michelin Guide.

**Table 5. Gastrodiplomacy Strategies and Action Repertoires: Use of Opinion Leaders.**

**Use of Opinion Leaders Strategy:** Use opinion leaders, including important geographic locales and celebrities, to enhance awareness and credibility of food brands.

<b>Malaysia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>MasterChef</i> finalist and blogger extraordinaire took eight “eager eaters” on an eight-day culinary tour of the country.</li> <li>• Australian <i>MasterChef</i> winner live-cooked at the New Zealand Auckland Food Show for the Malaysia Kitchen Programme.</li> </ul>
<b>Peru</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• World-famous chef Alain Ducasse participated in the Mistura</li> <li>• French chef residing in Peru, Hervé Galidie, gave a lecture and a culinary display at Mistura.</li> <li>• World renowned chefs such as René Redzepi and Ferran Adriá were invited to the Mistura fiesta.</li> </ul>
<b>Japan</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Washoku</i> (traditional Japanese cuisine) was added to UNESCO’s Intangible Cultural Heritage list.</li> <li>• Japanese restaurants were listed in the Michelin Guide.</li> </ul>
<b>South Korea</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Restaurants were listed in the Michelin Guide for fine dining.</li> <li>• Provided menu “Bibimbap” at Psy’s lecture at Harvard University</li> <li>• Introduced Psy Menu for Lunch</li> <li>• International event served meals for 800 guests from 78 countries, including 35 Nobel Prize winners</li> <li>• Hosted Korea Night at the World Economic Forum in Switzerland</li> <li>• Invited Baron Sebastian Coe, chief of the 2012 Olympic Games Organizing Committee, and other 300 VIPs to Bibigo dinner at the world-renowned Victoria &amp; Albert Museum in London</li> <li>• The winner of <i>Master Chef Korea Celebrity</i> volunteered to be Psy’s chef.</li> <li>• Opened an outlet and a coffee shop in Beijing’s landmark, the World Trade Center</li> <li>• Hosted release celebration of a new cookbook with a book-signing party at Bibigo Beverly Hills, where guests received Bibigo products</li> <li>• Hosted a Korean banquet at the Saatchi Gallery in London and invited opinion leaders such as Viscount Rothermere’s Lady and former prime minister’s wife Shane Blair</li> <li>• Korean kimchi was added to UNESCO’s Intangible Cultural Heritage list.</li> </ul>

**The media relations strategy** uses traditional media, half-controlled media (social media), and fully controlled media to publicize campaign messages, enhance interactions, and build long-term relationship with target publics.

Media relations are essential for gastrodiploacy campaigns. Social media, such as YouTube and Twitter, play a particularly important role. For example, South Korea's campaign took full advantage of the global sensation created by Psy's YouTube popularity. The action repertoire for this strategy includes a wide range of options of controlled and uncontrolled media. (See Table 6.)

**Table 6. Gastrodiploacy Strategies and Action Repertoires: Media Relations.**

**Media Relations Strategy:** Use traditional media and social media to publicize campaign messages, enhance interactions, and build long-term relationship with target publics.

<b>South Korea</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Used Psy's Twitter and Facebook accounts for the staged event Psy Wants a Chef</li> <li>• Bibigo published "Bibigo Brand Book" introducing interesting tales of Korean cuisine and recipes</li> <li>• Placed advertisement featuring Psy</li> <li>• Produced videos of cooking challenge finalists, and fans voted at <a href="http://www.psygobibigo.com">www.psygobibigo.com</a></li> <li>• Psy held an interview with the BBC.</li> <li>• Psy's chef was featured in Korean news.</li> <li>• Placed green food truck at various food festivals</li> <li>• YouTube</li> <li>• Food booths</li> <li>• Mask of Psy</li> <li>• Psygo Bibigo Menu</li> <li>• "Share your favorite BIBIGO video on Facebook!" Mystery Scratch Card to win a prize</li> <li>• Give away Bibigo red chicken to Facebook fans</li> <li>• Bibimbap coupon</li> <li>• Placement in <i>Los Angeles Times</i> and <i>Advertising Age</i></li> </ul>
<b>Japan</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Published a culinary magazine in Japanese and English</li> <li>• Published educational materials</li> </ul>
<b>Malaysia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Used campaign home page, Twitter, YouTube, MalaysianrestaurantNYC.com, brochures, Chinese language newspaper, local English newspaper, poster, live TV broadcasting, phone app featuring recipe, map of restaurant, and Malaysia tourism</li> <li>• Sponsored a Facebook competition to win a culinary trip to Malaysia</li> <li>• Famous cuisine food editors and columnists toured Malaysia</li> </ul>
<b>Peru</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Used campaign home page</li> <li>• Created phone app of Mistura</li> <li>• Made documentary film of Peruvian cuisine</li> </ul>
<b>Taiwan</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Created multilingual campaign home page</li> <li>• Created extensive list of restaurants and recipes</li> <li>• Targeted Chinese language and English language news media</li> </ul>



<b>Thailand</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Published special report by the Office of Agricultural Affairs, Embassy to the United States</li> <li>• Created campaign home page</li> <li>• Used Thai media, English news media, and social media</li> </ul>
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**The education strategy** involves engaging in culinary education through teaching programs and participatory events to ensure consistency of the food image and long-term relationships with food lovers.

This strategy has two aspects. First, the sponsoring nations trained and certified cooks before they work overseas to ensure consistent quality of the cuisine. Second, teaching programs for foreign publics were created to enhance their hands-on experience and subsequent identification with a nation's cuisine (see Table 7).

**Table 7. Gastrodiplomacy Strategies and Action Repertoires: Education.**

**Education Strategy:** Educate audiences through teaching and participation programs to enhance food branding.

<b>Japan</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Developed human resources with regard to Japanese food preparation by interacting with culinary organizations and cooking schools in various countries and dispatching instructors to conduct workshops</li> <li>• Launched Sozai, Britain's first Japanese cooking school</li> <li>• Held series of sake seminars in London and Paris</li> </ul>
<b>Malaysia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Held Malaysian cooking classes with media celebrities</li> </ul>
<b>Peru</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Culinary school Le Cordon Bleu Peru attracted students from more than 20 countries.</li> </ul>
<b>South Korea</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ran a cooking class titled "Easy to Prepare a Korean Thanksgiving Feast Parties"</li> <li>• Catered families of ambassadors in South Korea with Korean cuisine</li> <li>• "Bibimbap Backpackers" traveled the world and spread the messages of Korean food</li> <li>• Bibigo visited universities in Los Angeles and offered food samples to students</li> </ul>
<b>Taiwan</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hosted a cooking show by diplomats</li> <li>• Celebrity chef published cooking books in France</li> </ul>

<b>Thailand</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Ministry of Labor set up guidelines to train Thai cooks and teach them how to purchase store raw materials.</li> <li>• Provided theoretical and practical cooking courses</li> <li>• The Oriental Hotel Apprenticeship Program offered Oriental Professional Thai Chef Program and the Oriental Thai Cooking School to train those who want to work as chefs in overseas restaurants</li> <li>• Dusit Thani College, Suan Dusit International Culinary School, and Rajamangala Institute of Technology provided professional Thai cooking programs</li> </ul>
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### Discussion and Conclusion

This research maps and compares the gastrodiplomacy campaigns of six nations in terms of their branding themes, message appeals, and strategies and action repertoires. Findings identified dynamic yet unique approaches to promote the nations' culinary cultures to the world. South Korea's Bibigo has a creative logo design and memorable name. The logo integrates chopsticks and a spoon, respectively representing the East and the West. The effect is reinforced by the brand's spokesperson Psy's oversized round dark spectacles, which look like the two *bs* in the logo. They make the brand particularly memorable and distinctive. Both Thailand ("Kitchen of the world") and Malaysia ("Malaysia kitchen for the world") use the words *kitchen* and *world* in their slogans, which may make them indistinctive. Given that Thai food has wider influence in the world than Malaysian food, it is possible that the Malaysia campaign purposefully made this choice to associate Malaysian cuisine with Thai food's influence. Peru's campaign has a distinct name, *Mistura*, but its meaning may not be easily understood by non-Spanish speakers. The logo of the Organization to Promote Japanese Restaurants Abroad combines a cherry blossom, chopsticks, and a red sun, which are generally easily identified as being Japanese elements. However, it does not have a clear slogan, which might remind people of the ambivalence in Japanese culture. Taiwan has distinctive elements in its logo design, including traditional Chinese characters and the silhouette of the island, but its campaign lacks a differentiating slogan.

Campaign messages featured healthiness, diversity, naturalness, exoticism, mysticism, and beautiful presentation. Among these, healthiness is the most used appeal, probably because it suits the worldwide trend to pursue a healthy diet. Diversity is another important appeal, emphasizing a nation's rich culinary resources. The diversity appeal is reinforced by the appeals of exoticism and mysticism. Finally, through highlighting the naturalness of food materials, the campaigns have attempted to project a sense of cleanness and freshness of their cuisines.

Analysis of the strategies employed by various countries reveals that the gastrodiplomacy campaigns are characterized by integrated marketing communications, which combine marketing, advertising, public relations, and public affairs to seek synergistic effects. The marketing component focused on developing franchisees, expanding memberships, and marketing processed food products. Public relations is used to raise awareness, build food brands, and develop long-term relationships with

international audiences. Advertising maintains and reinforces the food brands and images established through public relations. Public affairs facilitates the marketing of food products through negotiations over international trade of foodstuffs. Thailand, for example, stated that its government insists that all farmed produce exported to the United States meets the stringent standards of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration.

Action repertoires reflect differences among the nations in their investment and innovation. South Korea's Bibigo is one of the most dynamic players. It has wielded a full range of innovative tactics through commercialized corporations. Taiwan and Malaysia took the same approach, using corporatized memberships and franchisees. In contrast, Japan uses an incorporated not-for-profit organization. The home page of the Organization to Promote Japanese Restaurants Abroad does not reveal much information about its specific tactics. This may have to do with Japan's overall low-profile diplomatic style. A case in point is the Japanese government's scrapping of a scheme to police sushi restaurants around the world for fear of a backlash ("Japan's Cuisines," 2014).

Overall, nations have become increasingly innovative in promoting their food. At the same time, food-related issues are emerging at the global level, which pose challenges to gastrodiploacy. Issues include food safety, food adulteration, food and environmental protection, food and trade protectionism, and competition over cultural heritages. Relations between countries may be marred by disputes over food safety issues. For example, tampered dumplings exported from China to Japan made a dozen Japanese fall ill, and the two nations disputed over where the contamination occurred ("China-Japan Poisoned Dumplings," 2014). Taiwan's gastrodiploacy was seriously undercut by the DEHP (di(2-ethylhexyl) phthalate, a plasticizer with possible health risks) scandal in 2011 ("Plastic Unfantastic," 2011). The year 2013 saw widespread scandal in Europe when horse meat was being passed off as beef, prompting the European Union to create a network to ensure cross-border cooperation on violations of food law requirements (European Commission, 2014). Overexploitation of natural resources has caused significant damage to the environment (United Nations, 2014). Some seafood-related disputes have gained worldwide attention. For example, the International Court of Justice ordered a halt to Japan's annual slaughter of whales in the Southern Ocean after concluding that Tokyo was abusing a scientific exemption set out in the 1986 moratorium on whaling (McCurry, 2014). In this sense, the Peruvian gastrodiploacy stands out for being environmentally conscious. The roundtable discussion entitled "Andean Terraces, Sustainability and Gastronomy" by the Peruvian society of gastronomy (Apega) showed its concern for food security and climate change (Apega, 2013). Finally, culinary culture as intangible cultural heritage has been recognized under the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (Maffei, 2012). Nations may compete and dispute over rights to food-related intangible cultural heritage. For example, China and South Korea disputed over the origin of a festival and the rice dumpling featured at the festival ("Foreign Countries Dispute," 2010). Disputes may also arise over import and export of food-related products. For example, rice imports have long been a source of dispute between the United States and Japan (Carter, 1999). Beef import has been an issue affecting relations between the United States and South Korea (Kirk, 2008). In short, in an era when cuisine has become a strategic instrument for nation branding and public diplomacy, research is needed to examine how these issues may affect the effectiveness of gastrodiploacy.

This research explores emerging patterns in an increasingly important subfield of public diplomacy. Existing public diplomacy theories primarily focus on conventional media relations and political relations.<sup>2</sup> This research shows that public diplomacy by corporatized actors in a commercialized environment, driven by social media, appears to be more dynamic and innovative. Research on such new trends will certainly expand the theory building of public diplomacy. In addition, future research may use surveys and experiments to examine the effects of gastrodiploamcy on audiences' attitudes and behaviors. Grassroots gastrodiploamcy by actors that are not related to government, such as the member associations of the World Association of Chefs' Societies, may also become a topic of interest for future gastrodiploamcy research.

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<sup>2</sup> For example, Gilboa (2001) identified three models of uses of media in public diplomacy: public diplomacy, media diplomacy, and media-broker diplomacy. In another study, Gilboa (2008) identified three public diplomacy models: the basic Cold War model, a nonstate transnational model, and a domestic public relations model. All the models are media- and political-oriented.

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