



Australian
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Reconsidering Individualisation of Eating:
A cross-cultural analysis on determinants of
commensality and solo-eating

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April 2016

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy at the Australian National University

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and effort except where otherwise stated.



Wakako Takeda
Bangkok, April 2016

Acknowledgements

My four-year study is not a journey alone. The journey has succeeded based on collaborations and dialogues with great individuals. With these thoughts in mind, I express my sincere gratitude to those who share the thesis's significant contributions with me.

First and foremost, I am indebted to my supervisory panel –Cathy Banwell, Jane Dixon, Melissa Melby, and Lauren Williams– for their continuous support, patience, and encouragement. Their experiences and knowledge of population health and food studies are incredible. Cathy and Jane accepted me to ANU and made this complex cross-cultural project feasible. Countless hours of discussions with these two great scholars help deepen my thoughts, observations, and analyses. Despite the distance from Canberra, Melissa and Lauren provided me helpful reviews, advices and encouragements.

Secondly, I would like to thank those who kindly provided me an assistance for data collection in Australia and Japan: Naomi Aiba, James Banwell, Martin Banwell, David Harley, Libby Hattersley, Helen Keane, Yumi Ohmori, Garry Palecek, and Haruka Yokota. I also thank Glenda Roberts and Megumi Tsubota-Utsugi for their advice during my fieldwork. More importantly, I thank all participants in Australia and Japan for kindly providing their time and sharing experiences with me.

My time in Canberra was remarkable thank to wonderful friends and colleagues who shared time with me. ANU was a great place to develop interdisciplinary dialogue and friendship. At NCEPH, besides Cathy and Jane, I am grateful to Adrian Sleigh, Vasoontara Yiengprugsawan, Sam-ang Seubsman, and Matthew Kelly for inviting me to work with the Thai Cohort project to explore my research topic. I enjoyed countless hours of discussions and social activities with my friends at NCEPH: Erlidia (Lee) Clark, Savitri Gurung, Ruth Kharis, Su Mon Kyaw-Myint, Dintle Molosiwa, Syarifah Liza Munira, Wimalin Rimpeekool, Sarunya Sujaritpong, Sifat Sharmin, Yanni Sun, Benjawan Tawatsupa, Katie Thurber, and Mami Wakabayashi. I also would like to acknowledge friends and staff members at the University House-Graduate House leadership team: Kimlong Chheng, Channa Razaque,

Belinda Vangchhia, Zhisong Qu, Anna Tsalapatani, Alireza Khosravian, Eleonora Quijada Cervoni, Kaori Oikawa, Gina Denman, Tony Karrays, and Peter Kanowski.

I have received generous financial support from NCEPH, ANU (Japan Alumni PhD Scholarship, Residential Scholarship and Vice Chancellor's travel grant), and Matsushita Kohnosuke Memorial foundation. I was fortunate to receive the financial support to study in Australia and conduct a cross-cultural study in two countries.

Lastly, but not least, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my families in Japan and Thailand for their selfless supports. In particular, I thank my parents who always encourage me to pursue what I want and sent me overseas to pursue my academic career, my parents-in-laws (papa and mum) who assisted me to start a new life in Bangkok, and my hero and my husband, Taweetham, who taught me that PhD is a life lesson for enhancing my skills to be intelligent, confident, and patient.

Wakako Takeda
Bangkok, April 2016

Abstract

Sharing meals (commensality) is a common everyday practice and a symbol of sociality in many human societies. Growing industrialisation, urbanisation, and modernisation of lifestyles, however, has drawn public and academic attention to speculation that traditional and collective ways of eating such as family meals are being replaced by individual dining, and this shift may contribute to global prevalence of nutrition insecurity and mental health issues. Based on multi-method, qualitative, cross-cultural analysis of young adults in urban Australia and Japan, this thesis explores the socio-cultural dynamics lying behind everyday eating, working, and family practices in two urban societies, and examines which aspects of eating are individualised. Both Australian and Japanese groups viewed commensality as an ideal eating practice and shared nostalgia for the middle-class domesticity. Nevertheless, differences between the two cultural groups were identified in timings of solo-eating, perceptions on solo-eating in public, gender conflicts associated with food provision for commensality, and notions of individual autonomy. Additionally, differences between gender groups were identified. These cross-cultural findings demonstrate that the development of solo-eating is not as homogeneous as the individualisation theory has stressed. Instead, the growth of solo-eating is shaped by daily negotiation with the following socio-cultural determinants (times, spaces, gender dynamics, and social relations) and their interactions with global trends (e.g. female participation to labour force). This thesis asserts that the absence of critical understanding of cultural variations within and across societies in current public health research and policies may expand rather than reduce the gulf between ideal behaviours promoted by public health and everyday practices across the globe. This gulf is particularly significant for less powerful groups (e.g. women and young single adults). Japanese participants, in comparison to Australians, experienced difficulty conforming the global ideal because they often had to apply translated knowledge and practices from outside of their cultural context.

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Abbreviation

In this thesis, I have used the following abbreviation.

ABS	<u>A</u> ustralian <u>B</u> ureau of <u>S</u> tatistics
BMI	<u>B</u> ody <u>M</u> ass <u>I</u> ndex
BED	<u>B</u> inge <u>E</u> ating <u>D</u> isorder
CASA	National <u>C</u> entre on <u>A</u> ddiction and <u>S</u> ubstance <u>A</u> buse
CCA	<u>C</u> ultural <u>C</u> onsensus <u>A</u> nalysis
DSM	<u>D</u> iagnostic and <u>S</u> tatistical <u>M</u> anual
FAO	The <u>F</u> ood <u>A</u> griculture <u>O</u> rganization of the United Nations
GDP	<u>G</u> ross <u>D</u> omestic <u>P</u> roduct
ICD	<u>I</u> nternational <u>C</u> lassification of <u>D</u> iseases
LDP	The <u>L</u> iberal <u>D</u> emocratic <u>P</u> arty of Japan
MAFF	<u>M</u> inistry of <u>A</u> griculture, <u>F</u> orestry and <u>F</u> isheries (JAPAN)
MEXT	<u>M</u> inistry of <u>E</u> ducation, <u>C</u> ulture, <u>S</u> ports, <u>S</u> cience and <u>T</u> echnology (JAPAN) = MECSST*
MHLW	<u>M</u> inistry of <u>H</u> ealth, <u>L</u> abor and <u>W</u> elfare (JAPAN)
NCD	<u>N</u> on- <u>C</u> ommunicable <u>D</u> isease
NHK	<i>Nippon Housou Kyoukai</i> (Japan's public broadcasting station)
OECD	The <u>O</u> rganisation for <u>E</u> conomic <u>C</u> ooperation and <u>D</u> evelopment

*MEXT is the acronym of MECSST and is used as the official name in English (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 2013).

TV	<u>T</u> e <u>l</u> e <u>v</u> ision
WHO	The <u>W</u> orld <u>H</u> ealth <u>O</u> rganization
WLB	<u>W</u> ork <u>L</u> ife <u>B</u> alance

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Individualisation of eating

Since the late twentieth century, the scholarship on food and eating has been increasingly rich in both public health and social science. It has been accepted that eating is not just about physiological but also social functions, and it is important to consider both practical and symbolic aspects of eating (Warde and Martens, 2000). One of the reasons for these interdisciplinary interests in food consumption was the evidence that a large number of people were either under or over nourished and that the cause of nutrition insecurity was social failure driven by rapid social changes such as modernisation, urbanisation, and industrialisation. The Ottawa Charter, an international agreement to determine guiding principles for health promotion, was an influential event which fosters the goals of health promotion from health education models focusing on individual behaviours to socio-ecological models addressing structural determinants of health (Porter, 2007, 73).

Particularly, discussions over individualisation of eating developed from post-modernist and post-structuralist literature, which emphasised the breakdown of traditional systems and normative regulations fosters individual choices and diversity in lifestyle (Germov, 1997). For example, Rotenberg (1981) noted that the reorganisation of industrial lifestyle and time allocations increased likelihood of solo-eating. Sobal and Nelson (2003) maintained that “the rootlessness and alienation of post-industrial societies” loosen social meanings of commensality. According to Fischler (2011), a number of elements of everyday life fall into the private sphere, highlighting personal and individual choices. This tendency to individualisation of food overrides social dimensions of eating particularly the practice of commensality, which he referred to as “an essential dimension of the common meal and ... its most salient expression in that particular, daily social occurrence” (Fischler, 2011,

4). Fischler also noted that the negligence of social eating and emphasis on individual food intake in most public health campaigns elevated anxieties over food rather than reducing the prevalence of obesity and other diet-related diseases (Fischler, 2011, 17). In reverse, some societies with strong cultural attachments to collective commensal-eating showed lower prevalence of obesity (Fischler, 2011, 17).

Fischler's theory as well as his other contributions to food studies benchmark the bringing of culture and sociality into potential determinants of health, which are predominantly limited to biomedical views of eating behaviours. His theory on impacts of cultural values on the prevalence of obesity may apply to certain age groups, social classes, and societies. As he argued, the impact of modelling phenomenon and social norms in the commensal context may regulate individual food intake and encourage people to have a positive relationship with food. Some empirical studies showed that the frequent commensality with family members contributed to some healthy eating behaviours (Gillman et al., 2000; Neumark-Sztainer et al., 2003) and psychosocial well-being of children and adolescents (Eisenberg et al., 2004). Not surprisingly, this is because more participants enjoy mealtimes taken in the company of family than when eating alone. Parents tend to assist their children's healthy food intake in a commensal setting.

Having said that, I wish to offer a further investigation on individualisation of eating from a post-colonial and cross-cultural perspective which centres on cultural processes associated with consumption. Firstly, I question the cross-cultural transferability of Fischler's idea of "strong cultural attachments to commensality" in non-western contexts. Fischler made his argument based on the result of a cross-national comparison of six countries (France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, United Kingdom, and United States), highlighting explicit differences between the French who viewed eating as a social and collective affair, and the Americans who viewed eating as an individual one (Fischler and Masson, 2008; Fischler, 2011). If he suggests that stronger collectivist values on eating help sustain the culture of commensality and the culture will prevent the worldwide prevalence of obesity, what about the situation in so-called "collectivist" cultures like Asia? Would there be more frequent commensality and lower prevalence of obesity and diet-related diseases among collectivist Japanese than individualist Australians? If not, what kinds of theoretical and methodological issues are associated with the discrepancy?

A major issue with most of literature about modernisation and individualisation of eating is to postulate a clear break between traditional collective eating and modern individualised eating. However, there is no clear-cut dividing line shared across societies, and the idea of a single pathway to modernisation and individu-

alisation masks diverse processes of socio-cultural changes which have embedded and accumulated in each society. Arjun Appadurai (1996, 72) argued for the need to examine both histories and genealogies of consumption, because the rise of consumerism in non-western societies is not always accompanied with particular temporal sequences (e.g. mass merchandising and class conflicts) and specific historical sequences and conjunctures (e.g. literacy) which England, France, and the United States went through in the past three centuries. In globalisation, the development of electronic media (e.g. television) accelerates compression of time and space, and renders the logic of consumption widely spread around the globe (Appadurai, 1996, 85). Appadurai (1996, 74) distinguishes history as an outward perspective to link changes with larger universes and genealogy as an inward one to describe cultural dispositions and styles embedded in local institutions and histories of local habitus.

Applying Appadurai's view on periodicities of consumption, I argue that individualisation of eating, including solo-eating and individual choice, is intertwined with various sequences and conjunctures of socio-cultural determinants embedded in histories and genealogies of societies and people. The previous individualisation thesis indicates a break between collectivism and individualism. The notion of dichotomous break between individualism and collectivism is problematic, especially when it is used to describe characteristics of culture as if the whole culture is either individualistic or collectivist. Individualism refers to value orientations emphasising individuality over group identity, and collectivism refers to value orientations emphasising group identities over individuality (Ting-Toomey, 2012, 67). The framework of Individualism-Collectivism (I-C) often treated the characteristics of individualism (i.e. autonomy and separateness) and of collectivism (i.e. heteronomy, actions influenced by others, and relatedness) as opposite and conflicting, and these characteristics as mutually exclusive (Kagitcibasi, 2005). It assumed that autonomy is not valued in collectivist cultures, and relatedness is not valued in individualist cultures. Fischler also noted that "eating retains fundamental dimension of *heteronomy*... and a social, public dimension (*Italics added*)" (Fischler, 2011, 15). This indicates that French eating culture falls into the domain of collectivism and American culture does not.

The dichotomy of individualism and collectivism is widely used to describe distinct differences between cultures particularly those between the West and non-West, or the East. However, uncritical utilisations of the dichotomy for cross-cultural comparisons ignore actual processes of how similarities and differences are constructed (Cangia, 2010). In so doing, a collection of phenomena in the West and the East stays polarised, and this polarisation leads to misunderstandings of similar and dif-

ferent attributes across cultures as well as continuity and discontinuity of these. Furthermore, focusing on differences between cultures of societies may mask potential variations and bias by other cultural variables like gender (Kato and Sleebloom-Faulkner, 2011). Characteristics of culture are not always dichotomous but dynamic, and they can be observed differently in different levels of culture like self, self-other relations and social behaviours.

Secondly, I question the moral biases associated with promoting commensality and demoting solo-eating, and their impacts on different groups of people. Public health research and campaigns have not always neglected the social importance of eating. Indeed, promoting family meals is increasingly common in many developed countries (Victoria Health Promotion Foundation, 2012; Forthun, 2012; National Centre on Addiction and Substance Abuse, 2012). However, such promotion does not necessarily address fundamental problems of everyday eating, and results in imposing certain ideas and needs of specific groups to people of diverse backgrounds. Wilk (2010, 434) noted that the campaigns in the United States represent “white, heterosexual, middle-class, middle-age, and able-bodied European Americans, and mask painful and difficult parts of family meals. In Japan, discourses of family meals are extended to imposing national identities. In 2011, the Japanese *Shokuwiku* policy started to introduce promoting family meals to its population. Its policy discourses linked the individualisation of eating and decline of family togetherness with westernisation (*oubei-ka*) of Japanese society and lifestyle and stimulated the people’s ethos, even though the idea of the family meal was recently introduced from the West (Omote, 2010). Rather than reforming all domains of individualisation at the structural level, the policy rhetoric focused on the responsibility of individuals and family, similar to most recent public health policies in developed societies (Mah, 2010, 403).

Such a moral view of sharing meals has generated different types of social stigma among different groups of people. Eating alone at an individual toilet stall among some university students in Japan, called *benjo-meshi* (toilet meal), drew the attention of the Japanese media in the 2000s. The term *benjo-meshi* was introduced by sociologist Daisuke Tsuji in the Asahi Newspaper (Tsuji, August 30, 2008): he asserted that these students eat alone at the toilet stall, because they do not want to give the impressions to their peers that they do not have anyone to have a meal with. The Japanese media and some experts immediately pathologised the practice and claimed communication and mental health problems of these students (Ninomiya, 2011). In response to growing concern for ‘the issue’, some universities began to provide a comfortable eating space for solo-eaters at their cafeteria (Sato, 2013).

Although there is no direct relationship between the *Shokuiku* policy and the *benjo-meshi*, this phenomenon indicates that these students stigmatise eating alone as representing being isolated from their peer groups, so they wish to eat unwatched by their peers when they need to eat alone. This stigmatised view of eating alone was developed in response to social expectations for commensality. Australian writer Rebecca Huntley (2008a) noted that many Australian singles work hard to overcome social stigma of eating alone in public. Thus, some groups of people often need to eat alone and struggle to overcome its social stigma. There is a substantial gap between ideals and realities of eating.

More importantly, commensality is not always a convivial moment but it indicates the exclusion of others. It has been pointed out that commensality plays as the cultural mechanism to distinguish the intimate from the distance (Douglas, 1972). The dominant discourses and practices of eating “help define, exclude, and do violence to marginalised groups” who are not included in the circle of commensality (Goldstein, 2012, 37). At the same time, the inclusion of commensality ethical obligations to be included (Goldstein, 2012).

The discussions on the individualisation of eating tend to focus on issues of individual choice and the rise of consumerism, and ignore the meaning of commensality and its social implications (Goldstein, 2013, 5). Therefore, promotion of certain aspects of social eating without holistic, in-depth understanding of the issues would result in expanding the gap between ideal and realities that many people struggle to eat together, and developing fragmented landscapes of eating as well as social stigma among certain groups.

1.1.1 Research aim and objectives

Based on discussions over cross-cultural understanding of the individualisation theory, I developed the following research aim and objectives of my thesis. The aim of my thesis is to explore the socio-cultural dynamics lying behind everyday eating, working, and family practices in urban societies, and examines which aspects of eating are individualised including the prevalence of solo-eating and individual choices among different cultural groups. Three objectives are set to reach the aim:

1. What kinds of social and cultural factors determine the everyday practice of commensality and solo-eating in urban Australia and Japan?
2. What constitutes similarities and differences of Australian and Japanese experiences of eating?

3. What are the relationships between determinants of commensality and solo-eating and healthy eating?

I examine these three questions through cross-cultural analyses of young adults in urban Australia and Japan.

1.2 Cross-cultural perspectives and settings

I conceive of the practice of commensality and solo-eating as the venue where various global cultural processes are intertwined. I employ Appadurai's concept of culture which defines culture as contextual, heuristic, and comparative dimensions of human lives rather than substances. Appadurai (1996, 12) suggested that comparison is "a useful heuristic that can highlight points of similarity and contrast" between all kinds of categories including age, gender, lifestyle, and nation-states. This view not only prevents us from framing culture as the discursive realm of race, but also encompasses facts of inequality and differences in lifestyle and beliefs.

All sorts of comparative studies have risks to consign asymmetric dichotomies between groups. In fact, there is a history of comparative studies deploying an asymmetric view of culture such as reinforcing civilisational superiority and cultural exceptionalism (Stam and Shohat, 2009, 495). In cultural anthropology, there have been intensive debates about the relationships between observers and subjects: validity of ethnography by observers from outside and native observers and legacy of colonialism (p'Bitek, 1970; Trask, 1991; Kuwayama, 2004). Jones noted:

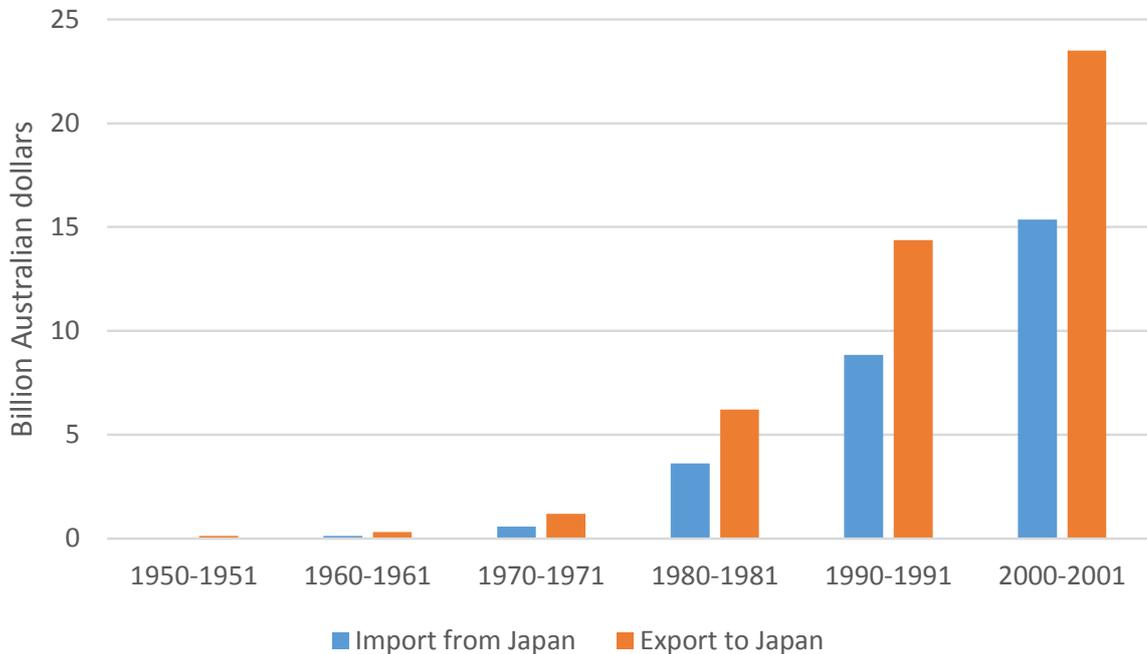
There is no escape from the idea that outsiders and insiders view social reality from different points of view and that no matter how hard each tries, neither can completely discard his preconceptions of what that social reality is or should be (Jones, 1970, 257).

Thus, the most important thing is whether findings are beneficial for subjects and able to add new knowledge to the topic than which perspective is better than the other. In this view, a comparison of cases in different societies can reduce ideological biases embedded by single-culture analysis, such as framing a phenomenon as unique to a society and culture (Ochiai, 2000). Moreover, cross-cultural analyses can contribute to critically examine existing social theories (Liamputtong, 2010) by performing analytical dislocation through construction and deconstruction of global systems of power (Stam and Shohat, 2009). Thus, cross-cultural analyses can also provide a useful framework to incorporate culture into public health research across societies.

1.2.1 A comparison between Australia and Japan

Comparison of Australian and Japanese societies provides an interesting insight into the transformation of eating and social environments in the era of globalisation. Australia and Japan are not geographically close to each other and do not share cultural traditions or the history of intense diplomatic and trade relations until the end of the Second World War. In other words, the post-war relationships between Australia and Japan are not the same as Australia's relationships with the United Kingdom and New Zealand, and Japan's relationships with East Asian countries and the United States which are salient in the foundation of each nation's ethos. The relationship between Australia and Japan has rather rapidly developed along with post-war economic globalisation. For example, the post-war strategic regime in the Asia-Pacific region, driven by the United States has drastically changed Australia-Japan relations to predominantly focus on security alliance and trade agreements (Jain, 2006). Figure 1.1 shows the transformation of Australia-Japan trades in Australian dollars. Total values of exports and imports between Australia and Japan has rapidly increased from the 1950s to the early 2000s.

Figure 1.1: Transformation of total values of Australian imports from and exports to Japan



Source:(Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2002)

These political and economic relations between two nation-states in Asia-Pacific has also impacted on socio-cultural change in each society. At the macro-level, Australia and Japan share core features of socio-economic structures including dominance of service industries, rise of female labour force participation, liberal welfare states, and egalitarian ideals of middle-class society. However, some aspects of cul-

tural traditions and accumulation of historical events remain in people's ethos and reflect in their everyday eating practices, and such differences play important roles of shaping in-depth contexts of a range of socio-cultural transformations within two societies.

1.2.2 A cross-cultural observer

Cross-cultural analyses and ethnography are closely related with subjectivity of observers. Personal history of an observer and his/her interactions with subjects influence the way in which writing of culture is constructed and draw the line between true and imaginary (Nazaruk, 2011). Sherry Ortner noted subjectivity as "cultural and historical consciousness", because observer's representation of subjects in texts is associated with some degree of reflexivity of observers, their state of mind, and the power that saturate everyday life (Ortner, 2005).

This thesis is the product of my four year PhD journey as an international student from Japan in an Australian university, as well as my own cross-cultural experiences and dialogues with individuals. My childhood memories of family meals in Japan are New year's feasts with my extended families or everyday dinners with my mother and two brothers. What many in English and Japanese literature described as family meals rarely happened because my father came back home at the time when my brothers and I had gone to bed. In contrast to the daily routines of my childhood, Japanese television dramas like *sazae-san* and advertisements in the 1990s have shown a range of images that all family members were eating together at the same table and having a lively conversation. I believed that the images on television were "the average" representation of the Japanese family, and therefore that my family was extremely unusual.

From 2010 to 2011, I interviewed about 100 Japanese men and women between 20 and 80 years of age as a research assistant, and learned that their experiences of family meals are diverse and far from the common image presented in mass media, literature, and *Shokuiku* policy documents. Many participants struggled to find a time to eat with family but they tried their best to find the time with family dining. Some expressed their disappointment and guilt with the situation. One participant asked me, "Is it wrong if family members do not eat together regularly?" This question made me think where the image of happy family meals came from and how did it develop as a norm of 'proper' ways of eating across societies, even though it conflicts with contemporary lifestyles and emerging notions like gender equality.

My relationships with Australia and Japan are not symmetrical. I am a native anthropologist to Japan, even though my native status is not fully legitimate. I

have spent seven years outside of Japan, in the United States and Australia, as an international student, and I now reside in Thailand. For Japanese participants, I was not the person who lived through the same time and space as them. As a native, I was not able to fully obtain non-native and cross-cultural perspective on Japan which many anthropologists have cultivated to describe the life of others. Native anthropologists tend to be in favour of the insider's own social group (Jones, 1970; Dresch, 2000). Instead of relying on the ethnography of Japan, I explored a conventional anthropological perspective through studying about Australia in comparison to Japan. I worked with two supervisors who are native to Australia and have studied about Australian culinary cultures for many years. For Australian participants, I am an international student from Japan who is interested in culinary culture of Australia. They shared their vivid experiences of everyday life so far as I was able to grasp complex bits and pieces of their living experiences.

1.3 Structure of this thesis

This thesis divides into three parts and comprises of 11 Chapters.

Part I provides backgrounds on the topic and methodology. In Chapter 2, I present an overview of quantitative and qualitative studies about commensality and solo-eating from various academic fields. Throughout the review, I examine characteristics of these eating practices as well as methodological issues of current food studies. In Chapter 3, I discuss strengths and challenges of qualitative cross-cultural research, and explain how cross-cultural analyses are conducted through four research methods: literature review, free-listing survey, time diaries, and in-depth interviews.

Part II presents findings from a range of cross-cultural analyses from the macro and the micro level. In Chapter 4, based on the literature, I present macro-level comparisons of economies, social system, and environments around food and eating in contemporary Australia and Japan, and examine socio-economic structures and cultural systems shaping young adult's lifestyles and perceptions on food and eating. In Chapter 5, employing free-listing, I explore cultural domains of commensality and solo-eating among participants, and examine cross-cultural variations and similarities of the domains within and across cultural groups. From Chapters 6 through 9, I explore socio-cultural interactions and determinants of commensality and solo-eating among young adults in urban Australia and Japan. In Chapter 6, I combine time-use diaries and in-depth interviews, and examines the experience of time-pressure and time constraints to commensal eating. In Chapter 7, I focus on the diverse de-

velopment of eating out in Australia and Japan, and explore the cultural economy of eating spaces in two societies. In Chapter 8, I examine gender dynamics particularly gendered division of household labours, and discuss how commensality becomes a site of gender conflict. In Chapter 9, I focus on the impacts of social relations on subjective meanings of commensality and solo-eating, and explore how cross-cultural differences are constructed through individual reflexivity of social relations.

Part III brings all cross-cultural findings together and discusses implications to studies about modernisation and consumption in social science and public health. Chapter 10 returns to the three research questions/objectives and discusses implications of cross-cultural findings in Part II in global cultural economy. The final Chapter (Chapter 11) summarises cross-cultural findings and discusses implications to socio-cultural determinants of consumption as well as healthy eating campaigns. In this Chapter, I also discuss limitations of the current study and implications for future cross-cultural investigations.

Part I

Background

Chapter 2

Literature review

2.1 Reconsideration of human food sharing practices and sociality

We should look for someone to eat and drink with before looking for something to eat and drink, for dining alone is leading the life of lion or wolf (Epicurus).

As Epicurus, a Greek philosopher who lived from 341–270 BC, indicated, eating together with others is a symbol of human ways of living in contrast to other animals. However, non-human primates share food with their family and peers. But, throughout their evolution, humans have developed unique food sharing systems which are different from other animals. Japanese primatologist* Juichi Yamagiwa (1994) noted that human food sharing practices are different from other primates for three reasons. First, human transport food away from where they are obtained to share with others. Secondly, they distribute food based on their social rules. Thirdly, food sharing plays an important role for sociality and negotiations (Yamagiwa, 1994, 38–39). Kaplan et al. (2005) also remarked that human food sharing is built upon a division of labour by age and gender primarily enforced by marriage leading man and woman share food throughout their life (Kaplan et al., 2005, 75). Although some primates practice food sharing, they practice less frequently and actively than humans (Jaeggi and Van Schaik, 2011; Jaeggi et al., 2010). Therefore,

*Japanese primatology developed its own academic discipline with a long history of separation from western primatology. Compared western primatology, Japanese primatology has focused on the society and culture of primates rather than individuals and the evolution as species (Asquith, 1991). This feature of Japanese primatology may be related to its cultural history of the relationship between humans and monkey in Japanese society. According to anthropologist, Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, the Japanese used macaques, a monkey native to Japan, as a metaphor to deliberate their behaviours and minds rather than separate animals from human cosmology (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1990, 90–91).

human food practices are shaped by social norms rather than by only physiological needs such as hunger.

For many years, the familiarity with food sharing practices among humans has normalised the practice of eating together rather than eating alone. Until recently, the practice of eating together has rarely been investigated from a critical perspective, but rather taken for granted in many academic disciplines including history (Kirkby et al., 2007, 3), anthropology (Kaplan et al., 2005, 75) and sociology (Germov, 1997, 35). Both definitions and word usage of food sharing practices varied: some studies focused on sharing the same meal with family at home, and other studies encompassed broader meanings of food sharing including eating together regardless of sharing the same food or not, or sharing the same food regardless of sharing the same space or not. The term commensality literally means eating together at the same table, derived from the Latin *mensa* (Fischler, 2011, 529). However, some scholars did not embrace this original meaning when they used the term, and applied this term to refer to sharing the same food in different timing and place, with no physical share of a table. Because a number of questions about eating together remain unclear for many years, it is significant to investigate the literature about related topics from various academic disciplines. At the same time, a plenty of literature have published in the late twentieth century and explore the topics from various perspectives.

Why are there many concerns about eating together and eating alone today? What are implications of these eating practices? Laments and anxieties over the decline of eating with others are expressed throughout mass media, popular writing, and policy documents in many industrialised societies (Cabinet Office, 2011; Huntley, 2008a; Ferrazzi and Raz, 2014). Similarly, some sociologists and anthropologists also assume that eating alone have taken over eating together with others. For example, Claude Fischler (1988, 1979) suggested that sociality of meals has been replaced by *gastro-anomie* where social and cultural norms of eating no longer exist. Based on their reviews on literature about the reorganisation of eating behaviours, on the one hand, Mennell et al. (1992) remarked that “the importance of taking meals together waxes and wanes” (Mennell et al., 1992, 116) along with individualisation and industrialisation. On the other hand, they also noted that there was neither strong evidence that more people ate together in the past nor more people ate alone than before (Mennell et al., 1992, 116). Is the presumption of the decline of eating with others based on empirical facts or social imagination?

In this Chapter, I review literature of both quantitative and qualitative studies available in English and Japanese, and explores several discussions over the prac-

tice of eating together and eating alone in contemporary human societies. Firstly, I review studies and reports about the prevalence of eating together and eating alone in contemporary post-industrial societies, and consider a popular discussion on the decline of eating together. Secondly, I examine studies about impacts of these eating practices on food intake, choices, and some health outcomes, and elucidate motivations behind these studies. However, the majority of quantitative studies tend to frame eating alone as “a contrast or counterpoint or control for the more usual social eating” (Pliner and Bell, 2009, 169). Its reductionist approach overlooks various potentials of eating together and eating alone. Therefore, in Section 2.4, apart from quantitative studies, I draw attention to qualitative studies exploring the variations and transformation of eating together and eating alone from cross-cultural perspectives. At the end, I outline a conceptual framework of this dissertation which fills the gap of what has been missing from current literature.

2.2 Prevalence and transformation of commensality and solo-eating

One of the major questions is whether the practice of eating alone overtakes eating with others. In order to explore this question, I examine empirical studies and reports available in English and Japanese languages. Most of these studies and reports were conducted in so-called post-industrialised societies such as U.S. Europe, Australia, and Japan, and published in the late 1990s and 2000s. Based on available literature, I discuss following topics:

1. The prevalence rate of these eating practices reported in late 1990s and 2000s
2. The change of the prevalence rate of these eating practices from mid and late twentieth century to the present
3. Potential social factors associated with the change.

2.2.1 The prevalence of commensality and solo-eating in the late 1990s and 2000s

There have been many attempts to measure and quantify the prevalence of eating with others and eating alone in many societies since the late 1990s. The majority of studies focused on frequency of eating alone in comparison to eating together with others, and discovered the frequency varies depending on meal occasions. A survey study of American adults by Sobal and Nelson (2003) examined how often the

participants ate alone and ate with others such as family, friends, work colleagues, and neighbours. 58% of the participants reported they ate alone “more often” for breakfast, 45% for lunch, 19% for dinner, and 14% for all three meals. Mestdag studied a group of Flemish respondents for two years, 1988 and 1999, reported that 27.8% ate alone for the first meal on Tuesday, the rate was 25.8%, 12.1%, 10.5% on Thursday, Saturday, and Sunday respectively (Mestdag, 2005). For the second meal, the rate was 14.8% on Tuesday, 13.1% on Thursday, 8.9% on Saturday, and 3.1% on Sunday. For the third meal, the rate was 10.1% on Tuesday, 9.7% on Thursday, 3.3% on Saturday, and 3.5% on Sunday. This study found that people ate alone more on the first and second meals on weekdays due to their working schedule.

Some studies in two Asian societies reported characteristics of people who frequently ate alone. Tsubota-Utsugi et al. (2013)’s study of a group of Japanese university students living in urban area reported that 40.7% ate alone more than twice a day. Attributes associated with frequent eating alone was living alone, scholarship recipients, higher income as a student, and waking up early. Yiengprugsawan et al. (2015)’s study about nationwide cohort of Thai adults reported that 11.1% of the Thai participants ate alone more than half of the main meals per week. Attributes associated with frequent eating alone was being male, older age, divorced, separated, widowed, having lower income, working as office assistants or skilled manual workers, and residing in urban areas.

The prevalence of eating alone has also reported by studies of family meal which is the archetype of eating with others (Sobal et al., 2002). Most of family meal studies, including impacts of family meal discuss in Section 2.3, focus on young children and adolescents, and the most common alternative to family meals for this population is eating alone (Pliner and Bell, 2009, 171). National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University (CASA) in the United States has surveyed about the prevalence of family dinners every year from 1999. According to their reports, over the last 10 years, about 50–60% of teens consistently reported having dinners with their family members five or more times per week (National Centre on Addiction and Substance Abuse, 2011, 2012). Zaborskis et al. (2007)’s study reported that about 80% of male and female children of 13 and 15 years old in six European countries ate with family every day of most days, though type of meals were not specified.

Since the late 2000s, there are some reports looking at adults, but they focused on the prevalence of family meals among those who lived with family members and exclude those who lived alone. The nationwide survey of 1,000 Australian parents reported that 77% of them aged 18–64 ate with family members more than five

times per week (Huntley, 2008b). Stated differently, almost a quarter of Australian families did not regularly eat together (Sydney Morning Herald, 2008). The Japanese government started to survey the prevalence of family meals nationwide every year from 2010. According to the survey, the rate of those who lived with a family and had breakfast almost every day (6–7 times per week) was 50.7% in 2010 and 53.5% in 2013. The rate of dinner consumed in this manner was 56.8% in 2010 and 60.1% in 2013. The national average did not change drastically over four years. Not surprisingly, the survey indicated that the rate was higher among those in their 60s and 70s and lowest among people in their 20s (Cabinet Office, 2013a).

Since the late 1990s, there have been a variety of surveys about the prevalence of eating together and eating alone from government and non-government reports to peer-reviewed scientific articles. The prevalence rates reported by these studies are different depending on questions and targeted populations (i.e. children vs. adults, living alone vs. living with family, Americans vs. Europeans). However, these prevalence rates are not comparable for two reasons. One is that definitions of frequent eating alone and eating with others were varied across the studies, and most of them focused on main meals particularly dinners only. Another is how the prevalence rate was calculated were also varied. For example, some studies calculated the prevalence rate by dividing self-report prevalence of eating with others or eating alone by the number of total participants. Others such as family meal studies calculated the prevalence after they excluded participants who lived alone. Therefore, the prevalence rate of most family meal studies was higher than that of studies which included those who lived alone. Nevertheless, one of the important contributions of these studies is that the practice of eating alone prevailed across societies to some extent particularly for weekday breakfasts among adults.

2.2.2 The prevalence of commensality and solo-eating over time

Despite the public discourse over the rise of eating alone, there is handful of empirical evidence to prove the decline of eating together with others and rise of eating alone over time. These reports were published in the late 1990s and 2000s. Miyuki Adachi and a Japanese public broadcaster (NHK) surveyed 1,067 school children aged 10 and 11 in 1981 and 2,067 students 1999 in seven regions of Japan, and reported that those who ate breakfast alone on the day of the survey have increased 17.8% in 1981 to 26.4% in 1999, though there was a slight increase of those who ate dinner alone. Instead, those who ate breakfast with all family members have decreased from 22.4% in 1981 to 12.6% in 1999. Those who ate dinner with all family members

decreased from 40.5% to 33.3% (Adachi, 2008, 2014). In contrast to other studies about eating alone and eating together which focus on frequency per day or week, this study focused on the prevalence of these eating behaviours on the day and the preceding day of the survey.

Mestdag and Glorieux (2009) compared and contrasted Belgian time-budget data between 1966 and 1999, and found a statistically significant increase of eating alone on the average of all meals among Belgian adults participants over three decades. The increase was more evident in meals on the weekdays from 14.3% in 1966 and to 25.8% in 1999 than weekends (Mestdag and Glorieux, 2009, 709–710). Breakfast was the meal which showed the highest increase of eating alone and decrease of eating with others (Mestdag and Glorieux, 2009, 713). Unlike lunch and dinner which showed some increase of eating with non-family members, they observed that breakfast was eaten either alone or with family members (Mestdag and Glorieux, 2009, 713). Although there is little empirical evidence about the evolution of eating alone over time, the practice of eating alone has evolved particularly in weekday breakfasts, and the practice of eating together persists more in lunch and dinner on the weekends.

2.2.3 Potential factors associated with the rise of solo-eating in post-industrial societies

Using Flemish time-use surveys in 2004, Mestdag and Glorieux (2009) also quantitatively investigated factors associated with this increase, and identified that the increase of people living alone was the most important factor rather than the development of self-catering and the number of working hours (Mestdag and Glorieux, 2009, 723). Indeed the increasing numbers of people living alone was reported in many societies (US Census Bureau, 2011; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011; Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, 2012b). Associations between living alone and eating alone were widely studied among the elderly (Torres et al., 1992), because they were more vulnerable to social isolation and adverse health conditions than the younger generation. However, living alone is not a single and absolute factor influencing eating alone. There are some reports in Japan that the elderly who lived with someone ate alone frequently and had poor dietary intake (Kimura et al., 2012), and the relation was more evident among those who live with family members other than their spouse than those who live with spouse (Tsubota-Utsugi et al., 2015). Thus, these studies about the elderly suggested that there are several factors leading eating alone other than living alone.

There are plausible explanations about factors associated with the develop-

ment of eating alone other than living alone. One alternative explanation is “de-routinisation of everyday life” (Warde et al., 1999). Transformation of time-use in everyday life changes the experience of time. Castells (2011) argued that the experience of time and space in an information era is deviant from clock-time and the rhythms of nature, and reconstructs the new form of time and space called “timeless time”, “the space of flows” (Castells, 2011, 12). This change also influence on individual’s eating practices. Based on their interview study of three generations of Australian families, Dixon et al. (2014) observed that the development of variability of individual employment and time schedules generates de-synchronisation of social lives which restrict opportunities to eat with others.

Furthermore, there was an empirical report that people spent less time for meals than before. Warde et al. (2007) investigated time use surveys in France, United Kingdom, United States, Norway and Netherlands, and found that time spending on eating at home has decreased over three decades (the 1970s to late 1990s–early 2000s) in all nations except France. Although international variations were reported, they noted that time use for eating showed “a more internationally similar pattern” than other daily activities, and was subject to global forces and trends such as increasing female labour participation and flexible employment (Warde et al., 2007, 380).

2.3 Impact of commensality and solo-eating

More than discussions over the rise of eating alone, more researchers had investigated consequences of eating together with others and eating alone since the mid-twentieth century. Most of studies were derived from social psychology, clinical psychology, nutrition, and public health, and focused on statistical associations with three areas: meal intake, food choices, and psychosocial well-being. Some studies expanded their discussions to social and health implications such as social isolation, obesity and eating disorders including anorexia and binge eating. However, they did not share the common roots, nor did they reach common conceptual frameworks and research questions. This section introduces this various studies in an attempt to examine impacts of eating with others and eating alone, and discuss things we know and we want to know.

2.3.1 Impacts on meal intake

Since the late 1970s, there have been a great deal of research examining the impacts of social circumstance on meal intake and eating behaviours. Most of studies were

conducted in laboratory setting (Clendenen et al., 1994; Hetherington et al., 2006; Baker et al., 2003; Salvy et al., 2007) and some were based on observation (Bell and Pliner, 2003; Klesges et al., 1984) and food diaries (de Castro and de Castro, 1989; de Castro, 1990; Redd and De Castro, 1992). Psychologist John de Castro (2000), who conducted a number of studies about this topic by food diaries, pointed out that laboratory setting may unintentionally remove “real-world constraints” on eating. Despite the limitation of laboratory studies about social impacts on eating, both laboratory studies and non-laboratory studies constantly showed that the presence of others encouraged more meal intake than their absence (Bell and Pliner, 2003, 215). The impact so-called “social facilitation effect” was more robust than eating less when eating with others compare with “social inhibition effect” (Pliner and Bell, 2009, 177). Pliner and Bell (2009, 178) also suggested re-framing this effect as “solitary inhibition effect”, because aversive images of eating alone make a greater impact on individual behaviours than the influence of others. Regardless of whether “social facilitation” or “social inhibition” is stronger, one of contributions of these studies is to demonstrate that social context in which food is consumed has a greater influence on human behaviours and decision-making than the basic physiological functions of hunger and satiety on diet (Herman et al., 2003). In other words, individual meal intake (i.e. quantities and choices) were influenced by a wide range of social factors from whom to eat with to where to eat. What kinds of social factors influencing meal intake was a central discussion of the topic.

When people eat more in commensal settings

The relationship between the presence of others and eating more was not straight forward. Possible mediators of the effect were reported by several studies. The most studied explanation was that people ate more because they tended to spend more time for eating when they ate with others than they ate alone (Klesges et al., 1984; Edelman et al., 1986; de Castro and de Castro, 1989; de Castro, 1990; Redd and De Castro, 1992; Pliner et al., 2006). Another explanation was the number of people present. On one hand, de Castro and de Castro (1989) reported that the more people presented, the more food was eaten by individuals. On the other hand, Pliner et al. (2006) reported that there was no significant effect of group size on meal intake. Bell and Pliner (2003) reported that meal intake was mediated not only by meal duration and group size but also by eating venues. Klesges et al. (1984)’s observation study reported that participants consumed more calories at fast-food restaurants, and they ate more calories when in a group than alone. Thus, group size may be a potential mediator, but there is no strong evidence to identify strong

associations with eating more.

Other than meal duration and group size, menu and kinds of commensal partners were also reported as mediators to encourage more meal intake. Redd and De Castro (1992) reported alcohol consumption and Clendenen et al. (1994) reported having desserts as mediators to eat more. In terms of commensal partners, some studies reported that people were more likely to eat more when they eat with intimate others such as family and friends (Clendenen et al., 1994; Hetherington et al., 2006; Salvy et al., 2008; Conger et al., 1980). In short, the relationships between the presence of others and more meal intake were reported by several studies but the relationship was conditional.

When people eat less in commensal settings

There were some social circumstances of eating with others which encouraged eating less than when they ate alone. One common case of the effect was that individuals ate less when there was the presence or company of others who ate less or did not eat. There were three accepted explanations about the effect to eat less (Herman et al., 2003; Pliner and Bell, 2009; Fischler, 2011). One was that people tended to imitate their company's behaviours (modelling). The second was that people intended to manage their good impressions to others if there were other people around (impression management). The third was the influences of strong social and cultural norms on eating.

The modelling effect demonstrated that meal intake and eating behaviours were more likely to be influenced by other people's behaviours. Therefore, some people may eat more when they eat with others who eat a large quantity. Pliner and Mann (2004)'s experimental study reported that participants ate more food when they were told that other participants ate a great amount than when they were told that other participants ate a small amount or when no information was provided. Pliner et al. (2006)'s experimental study found that participants eating in two-person group ate more similar amounts than those who ate alone or in four-person groups. Salvy et al. (2008) conducted observation study on children, and found that meal intake were alike when children ate with strangers than when they ate with their siblings.

The impression management effect was observed when individual's behaviours are influenced by his/her desire to manage their impressions to others. The effect was reported when individuals ate with those who were not close: strangers (Clendenen et al., 1994; Hetherington et al., 2006; Salvy et al., 2008), opposite sex individuals (Mori et al., 1987; Pliner and Chaiken, 1990; Hetherington et al., 2006), and non-eating observers (Conger et al., 1980; Roth et al., 2001). In these circumstances,

individuals tended to eat less because they become more self-conscious about their impressions on others.

In addition to the circumstances to be self-conscious, there were some reports about tendency to become more self-conscious about their eating behaviours and meal intake in front of others. A number of studies reported that more overweight and obese individuals (Maykovich, 1978; Zdrodowski, 1996; Salvy et al., 2007) and the patients of binge eating disorders (BED) (Johnson and Larson, 1982; Nasser et al., 2004) inhibited eating in front of others more than normal individuals. Most of these studies about obesity originated from Schachter's externality hypothesis of obesity (Schachter et al., 1968; Schachter, 1971). This theory argued that obese individuals were more responsive to external cues and less sensitive to physiological reactions such as hunger and satiety than normal weight individuals. Although earlier studies tested the hypothesis by external sensory stimuli in the laboratory, some later studies demonstrated that social identities to be obese, social stigma for obesity, and gender identities may be another external factor to encourage obese individuals to eat less in front of others (Maykovich, 1978; Salvy et al., 2007). Similar to obese individuals, sensitivity to social evaluations and public scrutiny were also reported in binge eating literature (Heatherton and Baumeister, 1991).

Associations between the habit of eating alone and abnormal binge eating are more complex. The habit of eating alone is one of behavioural characteristics of binge eating disorders (Fairburn et al., 1993) and one of diagnostic criteria introduced from Diagnostic and Statistical Manuals of Mental Disorders Fifth Edition (DSM-5) (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). In fact, some studies supported that binge eating occurred when the patients were alone and had negative affects (Polivy and Herman, 1993; Grilo et al., 1994). However, Grilo et al. (1994)'s study showed that binge eating also occurred in social settings. Thus, it is problematic to draw the line between normal and abnormal eating based on behavioural characteristics only, and attitudinal variables are also necessary to be considered in order to confirm the relationships between eating alone and binge eating (Connors and Johnson, 1987).

The last explanation was strong social and cultural norms govern individual's eating behaviours and meal intake. Similar to the modelling effect, norms may encourage eating more or less depending on the contents of norms. Baker et al. (2003)'s two-week longitudinal study of adolescent participants reported that social norms shared with peers and parents play an important role in participant's attitudes to eating behaviours and food choices. Fischler (2011) focused on social and cultural norms shared within the society and suggested that social norms may prevent from overeating when they valued moderate eating. Based on his cross-cultural study

of American and European adults, Fischler (2011, 16-17) asserted that “strict social norms” in commensal-setting contributed to prevent from excessive meal intake in France, whereas in the US, individual will predominant individual choices and behaviours. However, another cross-cultural study of 1,649 Korean and Japanese university students, which I worked with researchers in Korea, showed a different result from Fischler’s study: more Korean students than Japanese students expressed stronger attachment to commensally and reported that they tend to eat more when they eat commensally than when they eat alone (Cho et al., 2015). These different results in two cross-cultural studies suggest that social norms about commensality are different in society and culture and encourage different eating behaviours in different society.

2.3.2 Impacts on food choice

This Section focuses on what kinds of food are more likely to be chosen in the context of eating with others and eating alone. John De Castro and his colleagues’ studies about university students and adults reported that eating with others encouraged eating more calories, with intake consisting of more carbohydrate, fat, and protein intake (de Castro and de Castro, 1989) and alcohol intake (Redd and De Castro, 1992). They also assessed the degree of satiety and deprivation, and demonstrated that eating with others were associated with lower deprivation ratio and higher satiety ratios than eating alone (de Castro and de Castro, 1989, 245). Furthermore, “unhealthy food choices” such as fast-food when eaten with friends were also reported in studies about adolescents (Baker et al., 2003; Voorend et al., 2013). Voorend et al. (2013) observed that food sharing among friends is not only a representation of friendship but also a transmission of healthy and unhealthy behaviours. Like peer pressure in narcotic consumption, the environment with unhealthy foods available and affordable for adolescents encouraged more unhealthy food choices among adolescents (Voorend et al., 2013, 565).

Food choices may be different when adolescents and young children ate with their parents. Family meals are often considered as “the preeminent space for the cultural training of children in manners, social skills and nutrition” (Chrzan, 2009, 252), where parents’ food preferences can overtake children’s ones most of time. Some studies reported that more frequent family meals were associated with higher intake of vegetables, fruits, important nutrients (e.g. fibre, calcium, iron, and vitamins), and low intakes of soft drink and saturated fat (Gillman et al., 2000; Videon and Manning, 2003; Neumark-Sztainer et al., 2003). Kusano-Tsunoh and her colleagues’ study about Japanese school children reported that more frequent family meals were

associated with higher intake of rice and fishes (Kusano-Tsunoh et al., 2001). Larson and her colleagues' longitudinal study indicated having more frequent family meals during adolescence is associated with better nutrition intake during young adulthood (Larson et al., 2007; Burgess-Champoux et al., 2009). However, higher frequency of watching TV during family meals was associated with lower vegetables and fruit intake as well as higher fat intake (Boutelle et al., 2003). Furthermore, higher frequency of having fast-food for family meals was associated not only with higher availability of soft drink and chips at home, but also with higher intake of fast-food and salty snack food for both parents and adolescents (Boutelle et al., 2007). These family meal studies indicated that parents' food choices influence their children's food intake and nutrition status through the frequent family meals. However, these studies did not indicate that family meals solve all kinds of nutrition and health problems.

Associations between inadequate food and nutrition intake and frequent eating alone were also reported among the elderly (Davis et al., 2000; Donkin et al., 1998; Kimura et al., 2012; Tsubota-Utsugi et al., 2015). Unlike younger generation, low energy intake and inadequate nutrition intake among the elderly are caused by either social or physiological factors due to ageing, or a combination of both (Donini et al., 2003). However, according to Bofill (2004), eating alone was viewed as a strong experience of loneliness and social isolation among her elderly participants. The aversive views of eating alone may discourage them to choose adequate food items.

2.3.3 Impacts on physical health and psychosocial well-being

Some researchers started to expand the discussion to implications to some health outcomes particularly obesity. Yuasa et al. (2008)'s cross-sectional study reported that eating main meals with family members everyday was associated with lower rate of obesity as well as eating balanced meals and having enough sleep among school children in Japan. They anticipated that parents' involvement through family meals is important to develop health-promoting eating and lifestyle habits and prevent the development of obesity (Yuasa et al., 2008, 75-76). Derived from the fact that Italy and France maintained relatively lower obesity rates among European countries (De Saint Pol, 2010) and his own cross-cultural study, Claude Fischler argued that strong cultural norms valuing commensality, eating together at the same table, rather than individual choices contributed to maintain a lower level of obesity in these societies (Fischler, 2011, 542-545). However, there are three reasons to refute their arguments. First, both arguments retained profound structuralist bias: overlooking variations within the societies and changes over time. Secondly, they

demonstrated associations, but causal pathways and detail mechanisms between obesity and eating alone were not confirmed by their finding. These studies relied on self-report data about dietary intake only. In order to identify causal pathways to physical health outcomes, it is necessary to access physiological reactions and dysfunctions caused by eating with others and eating alone. Lastly, as discussed in the Section 2.3.1, eating with others could associate with both extensive eating and inhibited eating depending on the contexts of eating. Therefore, there are probabilities that eating with others and eating alone are associated with other weight issues like underweight.

On the contrary, reports about implications to psychosocial well-being were more directional than physical health outcomes. The notion of psychosocial well-being does not refer to specific consequences, but rather encompass broader meanings of the influences of various social factors on individual's beliefs and behaviours (Martikainen et al., 2002). Eisenberg et al. (2004) reported that frequent family meals were associated with various kinds of psychosocial well-being among adolescents: lower tobacco, alcohol, and marijuana use, higher grade point average, lower depressive symptoms, and lower suicide attempt. Similarly, CASA's short briefing report indicated strong associations between frequent family dinners and lower rate of alcohol drinking, smoking, and illicit drug uses among teens (National Centre on Addiction and Substance Abuse, 2007). A study about Chinese and Japanese junior high school students showed positive associations between frequent family meals and self-report mental health conditions (Konishi and Kurokawa, 2001). Other than studies about adolescents and elderly (Kimura et al., 2012), there was a study about associations with well-being among working populations too. Yiengprugsawan et al. (2015) reported that those who reported the majority of main meals alone were more likely to report being unhappy, and frequent eating main meals alone were also strongly associated with being unhappy in four years later. However, similar to studies about obesity, relationships between eating with others, especially with family, and positive psycho-social well-being are not confirmatory, but statistical probability. Table 2.1 summaries impacts of commensality in comparison to eating alone discussed in existing literature.

Table 2.1: Summary of findings from existing literature on impacts of commensality in comparison to eating alone

Impact	Study	Method	Subjects	Conditions/Results
Eating more quantity (Social facilitation effect)	Klesges et al. (1984)	Observation in town	539 adults (USA)	N/A
	Edelman et al. (1986)	Experiment	50 normal and overweight adult men (USA)	N/A
	de Castro and de Castro (1989)	Food diaries	63 adults (USA)	Influenced by group size
	de Castro (1990)	Food diaries	82 adults (USA)	Influenced by meal duration, group size, & individual conditions (i.e. hunger)
	Redd and De Castro (1992)	Food diaries	30 university students (USA)	N/A
	Clendenen et al. (1994)	Experiment	120 female students (Canada)	When eaten in large group
	Bell and Pliner (2003)	Observation in town	1,124 customers (USA)	Influenced by meal duration and venues
	Pliner et al. (2006)	Experiment	132 adults (USA)	When eaten in four-person group
Eating less quantity (Social inhibition effect among normal individuals)	Salvy et al. (2008)	Observation in lab	44 children (USA)	When eaten with siblings
	Cho et al. (2015)	Questionnaire	1,649 university students (Korea & Japan)	Korean participants only
	Conger et al. (1980)	Experiment	114 university students (USA)	With non-eating peers
	Clendenen et al. (1994)	Experiment	120 female students (Canada)	When eaten with strangers
	Pliner et al. (2006)	Experiment	132 adults (USA)	When eaten in two-person group
	Hetherington et al. (2006)	Experiment	37 students and staff (UK)	When eaten with strangers
Eating less quantity (Social inhibition effect among obese individuals)	Salvy et al. (2008)	Observation in lab	44 children (USA)	When eaten with strangers
	Fischler (2011)	Theory*	About 6,000 participants in six countries	French participants
Nutrient intake (adults)	Maykovich (1978)	Observation in town	553 adults (USA)	When eaten with normal individuals
	Salvy et al. (2007)	Experiment	32 children (USA)	When eaten in group
Nutrient intake in family meals (children & adolescents)	de Castro and de Castro (1989)	Food diaries	63 adults (USA)	More calories, fat, & protein intake
	Redd and De Castro (1992)	Food diaries	30 University students (USA)	More food, water, sodium & alcohol intake
	Gillman et al. (2000)	Questionnaire	16,202 children & adolescents (USA)	Lower saturated and trans fat intake Higher intake of several important nutrients (i.e. fibre)

Continued on next page

Table 2.1 – Continued from previous page

Impact	Study	Method	Subjects	Conditions/Results
Nutrient intake in family meals (children & adolescents)	Kusano-Tsunoh et al. (2001)	Questionnaire	6,199 school children (Japan)	Higher rice & fish intake
	Videon and Manning (2003)	Structured interviews	18,177 adolescents (USA)	Higher vegetable, fruit & dairy intake
	Neumark-Sztainer et al. (2003)	Questionnaire	4,746 adolescents	Higher vegetable, fruit, grain & calcium-rich food intake Lower soft drink intake
Nutrient intake (the elderly)	Donkin et al. (1998)	Structured interviews	369 elderly (UK)	Lower vegetable & fruit intake among men living alone
	Davis et al. (2000)	Structured interviews	6,525 adults over 50 (USA)	Lower nutrient intakes The effect varied by race groups
	Kimura et al. (2012)	Questionnaire	853 elderly (Japan)	Lower diversity of food items among those living alone
	Tsubota-Utsugi et al. (2015)	Questionnaire	1,542 adults over 60 (Japan)	Lower vegetable & fruit intake among men living alone
Psycho-social well-being	Konishi and Kurokawa (2001)	Questionnaire	676 adolescents (Japan)	Better mental health conditions
	Eisenberg et al. (2004)	Questionnaire	4,746 adolescents (USA)	Lower depressive symptom
	CASA2007	Structured interviews	1,063 teens (USA)	Lower alcohol drinking, smoking, and illicit drug uses
	Kimura et al. (2012)	Questionnaire	853 elderly (Japan)	Lower depressive symptom Higher level of quality of life
	Yiengprugsawan et al. (2015)	Questionnaire	39,820 adults (Thailand)	Higher level of happiness

* Fischler (2011) argued the potential social inhibition effect based on the finding from his cross-cultural project in six countries which indicated the presence of strong social norms in France in comparison to the United States.

However, empirical data on food intake in commensal and solo-eating settings was not reported in his literature.

This Section (Section 2.3) provides an overview of various literature discussing impacts of eating with others and eating alone. The review reveals that not only methodologies but also backgrounds of these reports and studies varied across academic disciplines. Social psychologists investigated the impacts of social factors on food intake and food choices. Some clinical psychologists looked at how being self-conscious due to the presence of others influenced eating behaviours among patients of binge eating disorders and obesity. Public health nutritionists viewed family meal as a preventive factor for unhealthy behaviours as well as unsocial behaviours. Sociologists and anthropologists focused on social functions of eating behaviours (functionalism) as well as the influence of social and cultural structures on behaviours (structuralism). The diversity of research backgrounds and methodology may influence the result of studies. Furthermore, relationships between eating with others and eating alone with social, cultural, health, and psychological variables are associations and do not necessarily explain direct causal relationships. Mechanisms of impacts to physical and mental health are little studied. Although there are many things we do not know about the impacts of eating with others and eating alone, the over-representation of certain studies may reconstruct and embed normative views of these eating behaviours (Morimoto, 2009).

2.4 Qualitative understanding of commensality and solo-eating: Cultural diversity and transformation

The literature discussed in the previous Sections presented narrow views of the practice of eating together and eating alone for two reasons. Firstly, most literature focuses on the measured reality of eating with others and eating alone such as frequency of these behaviours. Meanings of eating with others and eating alone were defined by researchers to be measurable, and variations of these behaviours were minimised. Secondly, this literature discussed the practice of eating with others and eating alone in the late twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century in developed societies such as Europe, United States, Australia, and Japan. It is in line with the time that eating practices gained ardent attentions from various academic fields.

Cultural and social anthropology have studied about the topics from the nineteenth century (Mintz and Du Bois, 2002). Anthropologists try to explore the relationships between food and other dimensions of cultures (Yan, 2005). Anthro-

pology's strong inclusivist ethics such as cultural relativism encourage to consider cross-cultural and historical variations in food and eating (Mintz and Du Bois, 2002). However, structuralist approach, which had been dominant in mid-twentieth century, focused on historical, cultural, and exotic aspects of food and eating practices (Germov, 1997), and tended to undermine the transformation of these eating habits over time Mennell (1991). Furthermore, intangible aspects of sociability like hospitality were often entangled with gift-giving practices and absent from the recent discussions over sociability including hospitable commensality (Candea and Da Col, 2012).

Rather than relying on anthropological literature alone, I also reviewed recent social science literature to examine transformation of commensality and solo-eating. The Section is divided into two parts. The first part of the Section focuses on theoretical development of reciprocity and hospitality closely related to eating with others, and examines qualitative insights about the practices of eating together in various societies. Then the second part of this Section examines how these eating practices have changed and been influenced by social changes like modernisation, urbanisation, and globalisation.

2.4.1 Qualitative insights on the practices of commensality from a cross-cultural perspective

Social reciprocity and solidarity

Anthropology has been interested in systems and motivations associated with social reciprocity and the exchange of materials including food to establish human sociality. The importance of food sharing and social reciprocity associated with food has also studied in anthropology throughout the twentieth century. Although economic and psychological analysis of reciprocity focused on universal practices and decision-making processes of exchanging things for mutual benefits, anthropologists viewed reciprocity as a foundation of human sociality and looked at cultural variations (Hann, 2006). Through his dedicated participant observation, Malinowski (2002) documented social construction of two separate exchange system called *kula* and *gimwali* in the Trobriand society. *Kula* was a ceremonial exchange of materials consisting of complicated rules and hierarchy, and the possession of *kula* items indicated high status of people. In contrast, *gimwali* was a utilitarian exchange system which provided the very different sphere from *kula*. Malinowski (2002, 173) argued that the *kula* exchange was motivated by social and psychological stabilities rather than economic considerations which had often emphasised by economists. Drawing on the

work of Malinowski, Mauss (1970) examined reciprocal gift-exchange practices. In contrast to Malinowski who emphasised exchange system among individuals, Mauss (1970) suggested the exchange system for social solidarity and stability rather than driven by individuals' motivations to benefit from others.

Food is a substantial and material mediator of social reciprocity and hospitable human relationships in many societies. Based on her fieldwork in the Sherpa community in Nepal, Ortner (1978) showed how the whole process of the rituals of eating together including seating order, eating manners, and the process of preparing food, not only encouraged the people to cooperate with each other, but also force them to normalise these reciprocal practices. Similarly, Heatherington (2001) found that reciprocal practices through eating together, and its positive image as a cultural tradition, encouraged economic cooperation and political solidarity among residents in late 1990s in Sardinia, Italy. Traditional local foods played a symbolic role to promote positive local identity and conceal criminality and the experience of tragic violence (Heatherington, 2001, 334).

Value making and social differentiation

Not only modifying and reinforcing social order through social reciprocity, the practice of eating together facilitates social construction of group identity as well as inclusion or exclusion of others. Lee (2011) described unique characteristics of the love feast, or agape, of the Brethren church in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in the United States. Due to rapid urbanisation during the late nineteenth century, along with a dramatic increase of international immigration and emigration of rural population, many others churches struggled to maintain moral and social engagement with their communities. They served to educate the poor to adopt table manners, hygienic behaviours, and spiritual beliefs. Although the Brethren church maintained certain connections with the mainstream American culture by embracing hygiene and temperance, they developed its own love feast practices which sustained the spirit of unity, harmony, and peace.

Appadurai (1981) showed how the practice of eating together in public served to demonstrate social relations in Hindu South Asia, based on his observation of three areas: household, marriage feast, and temple. In all three areas, food transaction by manipulating food itself or the practice of eating together reinforced and generated ranks, roles, and privileges, but also emphasised contrasts between host and guest, givers, and receiver, and insiders and outsiders (Appadurai, 1981, 508). Along with South Asian cosmology that food encoded a complex set of social and moral proposition, he also argued that food transactions can either homogenise individuals

in the form of equality, intimacy, and solidarity or heterogenise them in the form of rank, distance, and segmentation (Appadurai, 1981, 507–8).

Places to eat together also represent spaces for social differences. Cashmere (2007) showed that taverns and cabarets functioned to teach and negotiate complex rules and expectations to young men of rural villages in the seventeenth century France. Sharing food was rather a fraught experience than a representation of hospitality, and caused some conflicts among those who shared or did not share foods (Cashmere, 2007, 115–6). Although women involved in taverns and cabarets for certain extent, women did not allow behaving as freely as men at these public drinking spaces. Therefore, taverns and cabarets produced greater impacts on men's sociability than women's in the seventeenth century rural France.

Specific food items are selected for the practice of eating together rather than eating alone due to its symbolic and religious meanings associated with items. In Christianity, bread and wine represent the body and blood of Christ, and are served at the Eucharist or Holy Communion to remember Christ's sacrifice. In many societies, meat is a symbol of gender (Sobal, 2005) as well as class identity (Mennell, 1985; Tapper and Tapper, 1986). However, Ohnuki-Tierney (1993) argued that rice and millets were also capable to be food for commensality due to its spiritual relations with gods and the nature in rice-eating societies. Ohnuki-Tierney (1993, 119) also pointed out that many of anthropological works on food pay more attention to meats than plant foods, because of its higher socio-cultural value in western societies where many anthropologists came from. Thus, sharing specific food items indicates cultural and religious identities and values, and how the values are different from others.

Communions with spirits and deities

In some cultures, eating together does not only refer to the communions with other people but also refer to the communions with deities, the nature, or spirits of people who are apart. Kunio Yanagita, a founder of Japanese ethnology, recorded commensal and gift-giving practices in various rural societies before the Second World War.[†] In *Meiji Taisho shi seso hen* (Social history of Meiji and Taisho era), he recorded sharing the same meal through *bento*, a boxed home-cooked meal, represented virtual commensality with family members who were apart from home (Yanagita, 1993). In *Shokumotsu to shinzo* (Food and heart), he showed the Japanese believed the

[†]Anthropologist Harumi Befu pointed out a methodological issue of Yanagita and his school of folklore study. Yanagita and his students collected similar practices in many different regions of rural Japan. It is hard to examine how these practice have changed from the past to the present from their analyses (Befu, 1968, 446).

contagion of supernatural powers, such as connections with deities and the nature, through the practice of eating together as well as through gifts of food (Yanagita, 1940).

Connections to supernatural powers were also reported by Lawrence Babb's study of *Chhattisgarhi* rituals. He emphasised "commensality in ritual is not merely a matter of the group or community *sui generis* but, rather, of the definition of the group in relation to something else" (Babb, 1970, 298). In other words, relationships with supernatural powers provide additional values on the groups. For example, sharing *jutha*, leftovers, of the deity masked differences within groups, and obtained the most profound honour to the god. As examples from two Asian societies show, local cosmologies also shape meanings of food and commensal practices.

The literature mostly from anthropology and history asserted how social relations and belief systems determined distributions and exchanges of food. They demonstrated that food is a mediator of social solidarity, stability, inequality, conflicts, and connections with nature and supernatural powers. The practice of eating together provides and enforces spaces for embedding cultural meanings of food and social relations. This approach is in contrast to biomedical studies which rather elaborated how individual's behaviours and choices determine distributions and exchanges of food. The next part presents how two different approaches are not mutually exclusive.

2.4.2 Social changes and transformation of commensality and solo-eating

In the second half of Section 2.4, I examine discussions over how the practices of eating together and eating alone have evolved and transformed in response to social and cultural changes together with social changes. Eating together is practised in any societies and any time periods and has never been extinct unless humans give up sociality over meals. However, the environments around the practices have been changed over time. Therefore, the second part focuses on the discussions of how social relations and meaning associated with the practices have been transformed in response to these social changes, and how the practices represent the changes as mediators. Firstly, I provide an overview of the evolution of middle-class family dinners in western societies. Secondly, I examine how the standardised notions of family dinners or family meals have been introduced and embedded in non-western societies like Japan and India, and discuss the discourse around the changes. Then, I examine literature about transformation of the practices of commensality and solo-eating in contemporary societies.

Transformation of family meals in western societies

The image of happy family meals has been a widely shared notion in many western societies. However, there is a huge discrepancy between people's beliefs and their everyday realities: few people actually have achieved this ideal every day yet the idea has endured as a powerful mythology (Wilk, 2010, 434). Murcott (1997, 38) asserted that the idea of family meals is an idea, and "potentially redolent of ideology, social prescription and ideals", which were not always accorded with realities.

Historian Abigail Carroll (2013, 6) remarked that what most Americans believed "America's meals" was not invented until the mid-nineteenth century. Dinner was not a meal for family gathering, but a midday activity in the colonial era. Dinner became a regular family event when it moved to the evening. She argued that the shift occurred due to two social changes during industrialisation: work schedules encouraging family to have evening meal together, and the rise of public awareness to consider family meal as a space for social training (Carroll, 2013, 58). Also in the early twentieth century Australia, family dinner was regimented and structured by gender and age, but social and class differences were not explicitly presented through family dinners (Banwell et al., 2012). Banwell et al. (2012, 36) asserted that food choices and preference become varied among individuals over time rather than class-based differences, and food imposed an ethic of egalitarianism among the Australian Lucky generations, those who were born in the 1920s, grew up in the time of Great Depression and the second world war, and enjoy economic prosperity of Australia later in life (Mackay, 1997).

Discourses of food changed from utilitarian necessity to pleasure during the adult years of the Baby boomers, children of the Lucky generation, in the 1960s and 1970s in Australia (Banwell et al., 2010). During the economic prosperity, many Australians enjoyed the introduction of supermarkets, the ownership of private automobiles, and the practice of dining out. Rise of pleasure in food was a great transition from the childhood and adulthood of the Lucky generation, because they were taught food for utilitarian necessity which was influenced by hardships during Depression as well as early Christian's thought of stigmatising pleasure in food (Coveney, 2006). However, cross-cultural studies of the western population showed that pleasure in food was more expressed by French and Italian participants than English-speaking populations such as American and British (Rozin, 2005; Fischler, 2011).

Globalisation and localisation of middle-class commensality

The notion of middle-class family meals has been introduced to some non-western societies along with other western ideas and commodities, and unlocked local people's imaginations. In Japan, both the idea of happy family meals and the practice of sharing a dining table is newly adopted ideas and practices. Although they were introduced to Japan earlier times separately, it took a century or more to naturalise both the idea and practices, and become a cultural icon in modern Japanese society. The idea and practice of commensality were realised in Japan during the post-war economic development along with the emergence of post-war democracy, modern nuclear family with full-time housewives, and household technology including cooking devices and Television. Ishige (2005) argued that the development of household technologies contributed the dynamic shift of family meals from patriarchal to housewife-centred (Ishige, 2005, 175). I will discuss detailed evolution of the ideology and practice of family meals in Japan in comparison to Australia's cases in Chapter 4.

Compared with the Japanese case driven by collective social ideology of egalitarian commensality, contemporary middle-class commensality in Madras, India involves more complex considerations of choices of menu and manner of serving (Caplan, 2008). Caplan (2008, 129) observed that the complexity is shared not only by caste, gender, age, but also by religious preferences including vegetarian or non-vegetarian and spatial distinctions between inside and outside the household. Domestic commensality focused on hygienic, health, and religious implications of food rather than enhancing emotional ties among family members. For example, his food diaries and questionnaire showed that many families ate together only in the evening, and wife/mother ate alone at midday. More than family togetherness, who cooked and served food was emphasised, and preparing proper food is an important responsibility of women and mothers. Caplan (2008, 140) also added that the household division between vegetarians and non-vegetarians influenced how to handle commensality and sociality. Being vegetarian or not is no longer a trait of family, caste, gender, and ethnic groups, but personal choices (Donner, 2008, 176). Thus, middle-class Indian families developed various kinds of commensal practices either by sharing the same food or by sharing time together. For example, some family members shared the same food with family members by bring food from home, and enjoy sociality at work or school by sharing mealtimes together with their peers (Caplan, 2008, 140). Interestingly, overeating and unhealthy food consumption by outside commensality in contrast to inside commensality was pointed out by Wilson (Wilson, 2010, 268-270). How to manage between the culture of eating and health

risks would be potential additional discussions at middle-class Indian households.

Cases from Japan and India illustrated how domestic commensality became a particular space for accommodating global *ideoscapes* of middle-class domesticity like sharing tables and domestic surveillance of food and health. At the same time, domestic commensality is also shaped by other flows of globalisation such as household technology and notions of personal choices, as well as religious and cultural traditions and gender roles.

Transformation of the practice of commensality and solo-eating

There are some studies about the transformation and modification of the practices of commensality and solo-eating. An ethnographic study of French and German young adults demonstrated that the structure of commensality among young adults became more egalitarian and democratic, and this allows them to choose what to eat and whom to eat with (Danesi, 2011). Furthermore, she also reported that some young adults' perceptions of commensality can be negative when they were judged by others and when there were obligations to stimulate conversation, rigid norms and manners (Danesi, 2012, 9). Although the discourses of comfort and informality centred on contemporary sociability, people use the occasion to draw boundaries between intimate and distance relationships as well as social distinctions by gender, class, and race (Julier, 2013)

The practice of dining out provides special spaces for self-representation and the mediation for social relations (Finkelstein, 1999, 3) which are different from meals at home or mainstream spaces for eating. Yan (2005) studied about McDonald in Beijing showed that female customers enjoyed choosing their own meals, talking with their female friends, or eating alone. These practices are often considered as unusual or abnormal at formal Chinese restaurants. Similarly, dining out alone may transgress social and cultural boundaries around single women on periphery in familiarist societies like East Asia. A popular term from late 1990s Japan, *ohitorisama*, a single person, presented various lifestyle means to overcome taboos of being a single woman and to diminish discomfort feelings associated with solo activities including combating the stigma of eating alone in public (Dales, 2014, 229). However, Dales (2014, 234) argues that the model of *ohitorisama* may challenge the notion of marriage as a universal goal of women, but it was not anti-marriage ideology and created "other exclusivities" of womanhood. The exclusivities may be produced by the practice and space of dining out, because dining out provides existing manners and customs which allow customers "to act in imitation of others, in accord with images, in response to fashions, out of habit, without need for thought or self-scrutiny"

(Finkelstein, 1999, 5).

Lastly, there was an argument that today's solitary eating was not always being alone or lonely. Juliette Rogers noted that a person eating alone tended to be "engaging in constructing her (globalized) social world as much as if she were eating with family or neighbours" (Rogers, 2008, 103). A tele-communication technology like mobile phones is available to create a sense of connectedness around a meal and to alleviate the loneliness of solitary eating. This technology did create not only a space for people to share their time together in distance but also a new form of commensality (Grevet et al., 2012, 103). Therefore, boundaries between social eating and eating alone became blurred and contested, and were no longer explained by the difference of eating practices between humans and non-humans.

2.5 Gaps in the present literature

This Chapter overviews various literature of both quantitative and qualitative studies available in English and Japanese, and examines a range of discussions and concerns about the practice of eating together and eating alone in contemporary human societies. The review reveals that although all studies appears to deal with the same practice of eating together and eating alone, these do not necessarily examine the same practices nor share the same conceptual framework to understand them. For example, the majority of studies in psychology and public health focused on narrow aspects of eating together and eating alone. First, they focus on direct associations between the presence of others and food intake or specific health outcomes (i.e. obesity and eating disorders), without elaborating pathways of the associations. Secondly they tend to study about the population considered as vulnerable to social isolation and health risks: young children, adolescents, university students, the elderly, and patients of obesity and eating disorders. These approaches tend to frame eating alone as abnormal and anti-social behaviours or health risk rather than one of everyday human eating practices. At the same time, many studies in anthropology and history focused on cultural structures and functions of the practices for many years. However, there were few studies investigating transformation and cross-cultural variations of these practices.

Without having common definitions and comprehensive frameworks about eating together and eating alone, it is impossible to argue the universality of these practices from both quantitative and qualitative findings. From quantitative points of view, definitions of eating togetheric and eating alone varied in studies and academic fields, and it is hard to verify transferability of each finding worldwide. From qualitative

points of views, the majority of studies attempted to capture these eating behaviours without elaborating cross-cultural variations and in-depth pathways between eating behaviours and health outcomes.

Lack of elaboration on what consists of eating together and eating alone was also discussed in some recent studies. Modern historian Elliot Shore (2011) questioned whether or to what extent the practice of dividing the bill up but sharing meals together at a restaurant often observed in Germany retains meanings of commensality. Skafida (2013, 907) indicated that most studies about family meals did not elaborate what it is about eating together and what aspects of family meals contributed healthy eating.

Furthermore, although most literature acknowledged that eating is a symbol of human sociality as well as religious and cultural identities, few studies about commensality examined the interplay between various social and cultural factors. Outside of commensality studies, there are some studies examining the interplay between various social and cultural factors around eating practices in contemporary societies. For example, according to Reitzig (2014), a group of German researchers examined the interactions of culture, economy, physiology, locations, and time in household management of the meal supply (Leonhuser et al., 2009, 40). Research findings from Melby and Takeda (2014) illustrated the interplay between lifestyle constraints and the tensions between global and local values. The study found that time constraints were a major reason among urban Japanese for choosing a western style breakfast over Japanese style, even though they viewed Japanese cuisine as healthy and ideal. I therefore employ holistic cross-cultural approaches with multiple research methods to explore the complexity of commensality and solo-eating in this thesis. The next Chapter (Chapter 3) describes theoretical background and characteristics of cross-cultural analysis as well as research design.

Chapter 3

Research methods and design

On the surface, everyday eating practices appear to be similar across cultures. Yet, as the previous Chapter shows, the practices of commensality and solo-eating are varied by socio-cultural and historical contexts, and what constitutes these practices are not well studied. In order to understand the complexity of these eating practices, I employ cross-cultural analysis of everyday lives of young adults living in urban Australia and Japan as the primary method of the dissertation. This Chapter presents the theoretical backgrounds of cross-cultural analysis and research methods. The first half of the Chapter elucidates epistemology and theoretical perspectives underlying cross-cultural analyses. The second half of the Chapter shows research designs, data collection procedure, and participant's profiles.

3.1 Theoretical framework

3.1.1 Cross-cultural perspectives in cultural anthropology

Cross-cultural comparison is the centre of anthropological understanding of human lives. Cultural anthropology is distinct among sciences for “its perspective” consisting of holism, cultural relativism, and cross-cultural and comparative views (Eller, 2009, 12). The first two elements are ultimate goals to understand cultures inclusively. Holism is the understanding of society and culture as a whole rather than a collection of parts. This represents anthropology's commitment for studying the whole of human conditions in the past, present, and future. Ethnography, written accounts and descriptions about ways of life in a particular culture, embodies the holism by encompassing a wide range of issues like political and economic systems, kinships, and religious beliefs (Eller, 2009, 14). Cultural relativism is the proposition that each culture has own ways of living, meaning, and judging, and there is no superiority and inferiority among cultures. However, having cross-cultural and

comparative views is rather a research technique to achieve holism and cultural relativism. Cross-cultural comparison helps researchers to discover what is similar and what is not among studied cultures. Besides this, researchers can discover universalities and variations of cultures by exposing themselves to “the plethora of human cultures” (Eller, 2009, 13).

3.1.2 Differences between cross-cultural and cross-national comparisons

Cross-cultural comparison is different from cross-national comparison for two reasons (Ember et al., 2014, 566).

One is that cross-national comparison tends to focus on limited variables observed only within specific nation-states. The data often used for cross-national study is not ethnographic but secondary data like national census and other nationally collected surveys. Although cross-cultural psychologists collect their own data, their analysis on cross-cultural comparison is limited.

Another reason is transferability of comparison. Ember et al. (2014) argued that cross-national comparison can explain “only to a limited range of cross-cultural comparison” such as a society or country having higher levels of cultural homogeneity. In contrast, cross-cultural comparison can apply to all types of cultures and societies regardless of specific time periods and structures (i.e. hunter-gathering and post-industrial societies). Because of these reasons, cross-cultural comparison provides a broader range of comparison than cross-national comparison.

I do not deny influences of unique structures and borders of nation-states. Nation’s political legitimacies, geographical territories, both human and natural resources play an important role in shaping everyday life of the people. This thesis considers macro-level structural factors in Chapter 4. However, the scope of cross-national comparison are limited to discuss cultural variations and transformations outside the border of nation-states.

3.1.3 Strengths of cross-cultural study design

Other than maximising anthropological “perspectives”, there are other methodological strengths particularly compared with single-culture analyses. Three major kinds of strengths were also discussed by cross-cultural psychologists and political scientists (Whiting, 1968; Berry, 2002; Ember, 2009; Ilesanmi, 2009; Ross, 2011).

Firstly, cross-cultural study provides rich resources of data to test hypothesis across the populations, and enhance transferability of theories as well as reliability

of observation. Kleinman (1987, 453) argued that critical understanding of languages, categories, taxonomies, and different hierarchies of relevance involved with cross-cultural study can contribute to examine not only existing theories to describe observations of a phenomenon, but also meanings of observations in particular societies and research settings (i.e. laboratory or naturalistic observations).

Secondly, it maximises the amount and range of variations within studied variables. Variations of data not only show if there are an implication for tendency or not, but also prevent from misleading conclusion often generated by single-culture analysis (Ember, 2009, 19). For example, when we focus on examining the transformation between agrarian to industrial only, we tend to assume that the economic development will reduce socio-economic disparity by social class and gender. However, expanding comparison with hunter-gathering societies rejects this hypothesis, because socio-economic disparity in the societies was lower than agrarian and industrial societies (Ember, 2009). Therefore, it is significant to examine wide range of variations about a phenomenon, in order to prevent misleading conclusion.

Lastly, valid cross-cultural comparison minimises ethnocentrism. We tend to uncritically accept our own way of life and value system, and assume our cultures are better than others without knowing about them. The ethnocentric view limits our understanding of the world. Kluckhohn (1953, 521) contended that careful cross-cultural comparison “can escape from the bias of any distinct culture by taking as its frame of reference natural limits, conditions, clues, and pressures”. Therefore, combating ethnocentrism helps develop more comprehensive understanding of human ways of life and value system.

3.1.4 Challenges of cross-cultural study design

There are three types of challenges which cross-cultural studies may encounter.

The first challenge is the conflict between individual differences and cultural differences. The confusion between individual differences and cultural differences occurs when researchers are not familiar with individuals in the studied populations (Ember, 2009, 21). However, based on his observation and empirical studies, Rozin (2003, 274–276) argued that the differences between cultures tend to be bigger than individual differences within cultures, because most of times, cultural values are more powerful to shape individual behaviours and beliefs than individual preferences.

The second challenge is the linkage of theories and data across different levels of analyses. More specifically, Ross (2011) addressed four types of cross-level tensions that cross-cultural researchers should be aware. The first is the definition of the units

of analysis in cultures which have different cultural and linguistic constructions of meanings. The second is the selection of the unit of analysis. Unlike laboratory studies, real world studies may violate critical features of comparability such as random sampling, independence of cases, and discrete independent variables. The selection of cases and time for comparison has to be carefully conducted to avoid comparing incomparable variables. The third is that macro-level and micro-level evidence constitute different constructions of theories. In practice, many cross-national and cross-cultural studies treat society or country as a unit, and focus on macro-level interpretation of similarities and differences of cultures. Micro-level data are often neglected from theories. Therefore, careful attentions to existing theories, codes, and measurements are necessary. The fourth is theoretical conflicts between structuralism and constructivism. Similar to the second one, macro-level of comparison tended to focus on structural differences between cultures which often conflict with constructivist view often employed in micro-level of analysis.

However, the first two types of challenges were discussed in non-anthropological studies which did not have a tradition of ethnography from small-scale societies for worldwide comparison. These cross-cultural studies have relied on macro-level comparison conducted by research teams consisting of individuals who may have different understandings of problems. Ross (2011, 92-93) argued that the integration of different levels of data requires shared frameworks and definitions of problems. Thus, holistic approaches by ethnography or multiple method approaches can mediate boundaries between macro- and micro level of data as well as structuralist and constructivist views.

The third challenge is that cross-cultural comparison always has a risk to reinforce asymmetric descriptions of culture shaped by researcher's subjectivities. Although all social studies cannot stay away from this issue, comparative perspectives particularly render asymmetric relations between groups stand out. Historically, cross-national and cross-cultural comparisons deployed asymmetric view of culture like reinforcing civilisational superiority and cultural exceptionalism (Stam and Shohat, 2009, 495). For example, historical and political circumstances before and after the second world war foster the development of psychological cross-cultural studies between the United States and Japan (Burman, 2007). However, the asymmetric views can be unified under trans-cultural aims for enhancing the whole theories of modern culture. In this sense, cross-cultural comparison can also serve to critically examine existing social theories (Liamputtong, 2010) by performing analytical dislocation through construction and deconstruction of global system of power (Stam and Shohat, 2009).

3.2 Units of analysis

3.2.1 Studying cultures from subjectivist and objectivist perspectives

Unlike other academic disciplines, anthropology has a unique background influenced by two very different intellectual traditions: science and humanity. Both of them have contributed anthropological understanding of human diversity and cultures without having major conflicts with each other (Bernard, 1988, 11). The coexistence of science and humanity also influenced to establish various definitions of culture within anthropology. Some viewed culture as shared knowledge and values, something in individual's heads and mind, and others understood as collections of real facts, or social facts, including observable behaviours, rules, and institutions (Eller, 2009, 25).

Cognitive anthropology inherited objectivist perspectives from psychology and has explored fundamental principles around specific behaviours observed from ethnography. This objectivist inquiry is distinct from mainstream anthropology which has focused on how ethnographic data is "to be interpreted" and to have historical evidence (Blount, 2011). Although the objectivist and subjectivist inquiries may conflict with each other due to different epistemology, cognitive anthropologists view culture as shared knowledge and values which are in line with traditional definitions of cultures in cultural anthropology, and demonstrate the shared knowledge and values utilising quantitative methods.

Cultural Consensus Analysis (CCA) is a major research approach to explore cultural domains of topic. A cultural domain refers to "an organized set of words, concepts or sentences" shared among a group of people (Weller and Romney, 1988). Originated from their idea of culture as shared knowledge or consensus, it focuses on examining the amount and distribution of cultural knowledge among a group of informants in an objectivist point of view (Romney et al., 1986). Unlike data collection by interviews and questionnaires, the researcher does not need to be knowledgeable in the domain (Quinlan, 2005). In CCA, the distribution of cultural knowledge within a group is estimated on the extent of agreements between individuals and individual's knowledge about specific topics (Weller, 2007). Free-listing is one of major research techniques of CCA, and provides more flexibility to respondents than close ended questionnaire and prevent from enforcing researchers' preconceptions which often identified in constructivist research (Brubaker et al., 2004). Therefore, free-listing is appropriate for exploring *emic* data (views of insiders) rather than *etic* data (views of outsiders) (Schrauf and Sanchez, 2008). Other than cognitive

anthropology, CCA is widely used to examine issues in ethnobotany (Quinlan, 2005), resource management (Stone-Jovicich et al., 2011), clinical psychology (Fiks et al., 2011), public health (Chavez et al., 1995; Smith et al., 2004).

However, relying on free-listing data only may mislead conclusion. Weller and Romney (1988, 15) noted that some participants may report the same concepts by different phrasing, and it was desirable to identify the variations of phases and terms that represent the same concept before coding. Furthermore, one *emic* term represents more than one *etic* entity and vice versa (Quinlan, 2005, 12). To avoid these misunderstanding of data, Quinlan (2005, 11) suggested cross-checking between free-listing data and ethnographic interviews or obtaining free-listing data from a larger sample. The combination of multiple research methods and the integration of both objective and subjective approaches are important to establish more holistic and in-depth understanding of cultures. In this research project, I employed in-depth interviews to explore detailed meanings of free-list responses.

3.2.2 Selection of cases for cross-cultural comparison

Selection of appropriate cases is crucial for a valid comparison of a range of local and *emic* observations. To establish comparability, “there must be some common baselines upon which the local variation takes place” (Berry, 1978, 98). Researchers need to consider both similarities and variations of cultures which they want to compare. In particular, cross-cultural comparison of a behaviour can be done only when the behaviour has developed in the different cultures in response to similar problems (Berry, 1969, 1978; Sekaran, 1983). If similar behaviours have different functions in different cultures, the comparison may lead misleading the problems and, therefore, the parameter cannot be compared. At the same time, the variations of samples do not necessarily exist by cultural differences of samples. Some variations can exist due to gender, race, education, political orientations. Unlike laboratory experiments, non-laboratory research tend to violate independence of studied cases. To ensure the independence of sample units, many cross-cultural studies have chosen the societies which did not have high levels of interactions with each other in the past (Ross, 2011).

Individualisation of eating are considered to be affected by the process of modernisation, urbanisation, industrialisation, and globalisation. To explore cultural complexity of these social change, I choose Australia and Japan which share a similar stage of modernisation and industrialisation, but have different cultural traditions. In terms of eating circumstances in both societies, commensality is a symbol of sociality, and the rise of eating alone is one of major public concerns regarding

food and family. At the same time, these two cultures have very different history and development of national food system and local culinary cultures as well as social relations around food practices. Thus, the comparison between Australia and Japan urban societies is adequate for comparing the impacts of local culinary cultures and social relations on everyday eating practices. I will present more extensive comparison of Australian and Japanese societies at the macro-level in the next Chapter (Chapter 4).

3.2.3 Studying about young adults

Another major characteristic of this thesis is the focus on young adulthood. This was done for two reasons. One reason is that young adults are the most affected population of globalisation in every day basis (Bourn, 2008). Exposure to global technology and information from their childhood urged them to be aware of alternative lifestyles, and their culture is more homogeneous than older generations (Rozin, 2003). These global impacts become distinct young adults' lifestyles and culinary cultures from older generations who viewed eating as cultural habits or sometimes religious rituals. So, their everyday food-related experiences are more likely to be influenced by social changes driven by globalisation than their parents, grandparents, and their ancestors. Another reason is that young adulthood is a transition period to develop their identities and lifestyles. Danesi (2011) indicated that commensality functions as "rite of passage into adulthood" as well as sharing common identity as the same generation. The definition of young adulthood is contested, because transition to adulthood has been delayed or extended in post-industrial societies (Arnett, 2004; Irwin, 2013). Young adults in a similar age group take different forms of life course transitions from older generations including transition from school to work, the changes of living arrangements and marital status, and the timing of child rearing. In this thesis, I consider the impact of various life course transitions on their food related practices as well as how young adults negotiate traditional cultural values with individual choices and global values.

3.3 Research design and analysis

3.3.1 Study design

Cross-cultural analyses between Australian and Japanese young adults are drawn on four methods. These methods are literature review, free-listing survey, two-day time diaries, and in-depth interviews. Firstly, macro-level comparison of Australia and

Japan was conducted by examining exiting literature including reports from national governments and international organisations. Secondly, free-listing survey was employed to access a range of images and meanings associated with commensality and solo-eating among participants, and identify what kinds of views are either more common within and across groups or more unique to individuals. Thirdly, two-day time diaries were employed to understand everyday time-use of participants including their everyday work and food-related activities. Eight multiple-choices questions about the experience of time were employed from time use survey in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008), and translated into Japanese for Japanese participants (see Appendix C & Appendix D). Lastly, in-depth interviews were employed to obtain detailed descriptions of participant's responses to other two data as well as their subjective experiences about their everyday food-related activities and work-life balance.

3.3.2 Data collection

Data collection was divided into two phases.

The first phase which I call, Study I, was a free-listing survey of university students in urban Australia and Japan. Study I was conducted as a part of research collaboration chaired by Professor Naomi Aiba at Kanagawa Institute of Technology, and designed to understand a range of images and meanings of commensality and solo-eating among young adults in two societies from homogeneous samples. CCA shows higher validity with socially homogeneous group like students (Romney et al., 1986). The recruitment relied on convenient sampling at university classrooms. The data collection of Study I in Australia was conducted by myself, but the one in Japan was conducted by Professor Aiba and her research team at the Kanagawa Institute of Technology. The result of Study I was used to develop interview questions for the second phase. All data collection of Study II in Australia and Japan was conducted by myself.

The second phase, Study II, entailed 30-120 hours of face-to face interviews with 40 Australians and 31 Japanese young adults consisting of a time-use questionnaire before the interview, five free-listing questions, and open-ended questions about their lifestyles and everyday eating. Interviews were conducted at participant's house and workplace, and public cafe where were assigned by participants. I employed both snowballing and quota sampling to recruit young adults from diverse backgrounds to Study II. I set minimum quotas for gender, age, and occupation groups, and enables me to recruit participants of diverse backgrounds from small sample size. Therefore, contrary to Study I, participants in Study II consisted of young adults who

had a wider range of lifestyle, marital status, occupations and employment status. Non-probability sampling including convenience, quota, and snowball sampling is often considered to have lower external validity, compared to probability sampling. However, non-probability sampling can also represent voices from the population by maximising quality of data. Bernard (1988, 95) asserted that supplemental information by ethnographic data like in-depth interviews and observations can improve credibility of these non-probability sampling.

Study I was conducted in 2011 at the Australian National University, University of Canberra, and Kanagawa Institute of Technology in Japan. A total of 64 Australian students and 135 Japanese students who studied different majors agreed to take part in this study. All data collections were conducted in group at several university classrooms during and right after the lecture. The subject of each lecture were general chemistry, gender studies, education, population health, and nutrition science. Those who did not wish to participate were allowed to leave the classroom early without any penalty. After brief explanation about the study and written informed consent, a questionnaire (Appendix A & Appendix B) was distributed to each participant. All participants were asked to list words related to question I (eating with others), II (eating with family), III (eating with friends), and IV (eating alone) in one minute per question. After the 60 seconds have passed, participants were asked to stop listing words and move on the next question. At the end of the survey, participated were asked to fill out a half page questionnaire about their demographic information.

As noted earlier, data collection of Study I was conducted by two sets of researchers, because Kanagawa Institute of Technology only allowed their employees to access the classroom and their students. I supervised the whole process of data collection and data entry conducted at the university, in order to make the process consistent to the one in Australia. However, I would like to note a issue which may affect the data collection conducted by two sets of researchers. Although the participation to the study is voluntary and anonymous, some participants in Japan may feel obligated to participate in the study due to their ongoing relationship with investigators who were a professor and staff members of their university. In contrast, there was not a prior contact between Australian participants and me. In fact, more numbers of Japanese students than Australian students agreed to participate in Study I. However, Wilson et al. (2008) noted that the presumption that participants feel obligated to participate in research is not necessarily justifiable, and some of them feel comfortable to participate in the study if they know and trust the investigator.

In Study II, 71 young adults aged from 20 to 40 were recruited from Canberra, Australian Capital Territory and Sydney, New South Wales of Australia and the Kanto (eastern) area of Japan including Tokyo, Saitama, Chiba, and Kanagawa prefectures. Recruitment for interviews was conducted through online advertisement and introduction from participants and my acquaintance in Japan and Australia. The face-to-face interview was conducted in Japan from September to December 2012, and the one in Australia was from June to August 2013.

All participants of Study II were asked to fill out the questionnaire about two-days time diaries (Appendix C & Appendix D) before they met me for an interview. The questionnaire was sent by email or post to participants at least a week before the interview, which provides enough time for participants to record one of their work-day's and work-off day's schedules. Similar to Study I, all participants were asked to listed words associated with question I-IV in addition to the question V (eating with work colleagues) in one minute per question. The question V was assigned only to participants who were working at the time of interview. The interview questions (Appendix E & Appendix F) were a range from participant's detailed views and actual practices of commensality and solo-eating to their everyday life practices (i.e. work-life balance and food-related practices). All interviews were recorded by an audio recorder and field notes with consent of participants. All data collection of Study I and II in Japan was conducted in Japanese and the one in Australia were conducted in English. All Australian participants were Australian citizens and all Japanese participants were Japanese citizens. Table 3.1 summarises differences between Study I and II.

Table 3.1: Methods in Study I and II

Method	Study I (Student group)	Study II (Young adult group)
Free-list survey	Yes (Question I-IV)	Yes (Question I-V)
Time-diary	No	Yes
In-depth interview	No	Yes

3.3.3 Data analyses

Qualitative analyses

All free-listing data collected from Study I and II were coded by similarities in meanings of responses. First, all Japanese responses were translated to English. Phrases and words which represent similar concepts in English were identified. The seman-

tic similarities in English were determined by English thesaurus (Oxford University Press, 2015). For example, all similar words to pleasure such as enjoyment and fun were categorised as pleasure. All words related to alcohol such as wine and beer were categorised as drinking. The collection of English codes was reviewed by my PhD supervisors. All coding processes followed the grounded theory, and each response was coded in as specific terms and topics as possible (Charmaz, 2008). Coding was conducted manually three time after data collection of Study I and II in order to identify semantic variations and similarities of responses within and across different linguistic and cultural groups (i.e. Australian and Japanese).

All interview data were transcribed in the language used for the interviews (English and Japanese), and coded by thematic categories in English. Most of thematic categories were applied from the codes of the free-list survey. In addition to the codes from free-list survey which focused on eating, work stress, work-life balance, intergenerational conflicts, gender inequality, and lifestyle changes were emerged as new codes to in-depth interviews. Data management and coding of qualitative data was conducted using nVivo 10.

Quantitative analyses

The distribution of data from free-list survey and time-diaries is presented by numbers and proportion to the total samples, especially because sample sizes of each cultural group and gender subgroup are different. χ^2 test with Yate continuity correction and Fisher's exact test were used to assess differences in distribution of demographic backgrounds and responses between cultural groups and subgroups like gender. For the data which contains a cell less than ten, I employed Fisher's exact test because it is considered as more accurate than χ^2 test (McDonald, 2014). For comparison of multiple responses, I correct p -value from Fisher's exact test by Bonferroni test. Two-sample t-test was used for comparing means between two groups. ANOVA and Turkey multiple comparison were used for comparing means between more than three groups. P -value less than 0.05 considers as significant difference. All employed tests are noted at the bottom of tables.

For examining consensus within each cultural group, I employed principal component analysis in SPSS. Before the analysis in SPSS, dataset was transposed from the usual structure so that respondents were the columns and the responses were the rows (Weller, 2007, 355). The formal consensus analysis is available in ANTHROPAC and UCINET without transposing dataset. The ratio of the first to the second largest eigenvalues from the principal component analysis indicate whether there is a single coherence of responses. The ratio >3.00 considers as consensus.

3.3.4 Participant demographics

The major demographic characteristics of 270 young adult participants in Study I ($N=199$) and II ($N=71$) by numbers and percentages are shown in Table 3.2 and Table 3.3 respectively. Missing data are excluded from these tables.

Table 3.2: Demographics of participants in Study I

		Australian (N=64)			Japanese (N=135)			Differences between groups (p-value)			
Sample by gender		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Study I Gender ^a			
		63 (98.4%)	25 (39.1%)	38 (59.4%)	135 (100.0%)	37 (27.4%)	98 (73.6%)	0.083*			
								A1 Gender ^a	J1 Gender ^a	Study I M ^b	Study I F ^b
Age	Mean (SD)	23.2 (3.5)	23.4 (3.5)	23.0 (3.5)	19.0 (1.3)	19.4 (1.8)	18.8 (1.0)	0.664**	0.061**	<0.05**	<0.05**
Living arrangements	Alone	12 (18.8%)	7 (28.0%)	5 (13.2%)	57 (42.2%)	15 (40.5%)	42 (42.9%)	0.620	0.510	<0.05	<0.05
	Family	27 (42.2%)	9 (36.0%)	18 (47.4%)	70 (51.9%)	20 (54.1%)	50 (51.0%)				
	Partner	2 (3.1%)	1 (4.0%)	1 (2.6%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)				
	Share house	17 (27.0%)	6 (24.0%)	11 (28.9%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)				
	Dormitory	5 (7.8%)	2 (8.0%)	3 (7.9%)	4 (3.0%)	2 (5.4%)	2 (2.0%)				
	Others	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (3.0%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (4.0%)				
	Total	63 (100.0%)	25 (100.0%)	38 (100.0%)	135 (100.0%)	37 (100.0%)	98 (100.0%)				
Age group	18-25	51 (79.7%)	19 (76.0%)	32 (84.2%)	134 (99.3%)	36 (97.3%)	98 (100.0%)	0.682	0.274	<0.05	<0.05
	26-30	9 (14.1%)	5 (20.0%)	4 (10.5%)	1 (0.7%)	1 (2.7%)	0 (0.0%)				
	31-35	3 (4.7%)	1 (4.0%)	2 (5.3%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)				
	36-40	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)				
	Total	63 (100.0%)	25 (100.0%)	38 (100.0%)	135 (100.0%)	37 (100.0%)	98 (100.0%)				
Body Mass Index	<18.5	2 (3.1%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (5.3%)	17 (12.7%)	4 (10.8%)	13 (13.3%)	0.384	0.968	<0.05	0.351
	18.5-24.9	47 (73.4%)	17 (68.0%)	30 (78.9%)	105 (77.8%)	30 (81.1%)	75 (76.5%)				
	25.0-29.9	10 (15.6%)	6 (24.0%)	4 (10.5%)	10 (6.7%)	3 (8.1%)	7 (7.1%)				
	>30.0	4 (6.3%)	2 (8.0%)	2 (5.3%)	2 (1.5%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (2.0%)				
	Total	63 (100.0%)	25 (100.0%)	38 (100.0%)	134 (100.0%)	37 (100.0%)	97 (100.0%)				
Main occupation	Students	64 (100.0%)	25 (100.0%)	38 (100.0%)	135 (100.0%)	37 (100.0%)	98 (100.0%)	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
	Non-students	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)				
	Total	63 (100.0%)	25 (100.0%)	38 (100.0%)	135 (100.0%)	37 (100.0%)	98 (100.0%)				

Differences among categorical variables frequencies were assessed by Fisher's exact test unless otherwise stated. *Yate's χ^2 test. **Two sample independent t-test^a Men vs. Women; ^b Australian and Japanese

Table 3.3: Demographics of participants in Study II

		Australian (N=40)			Japanese (N=31)			Differences between groups (<i>p</i> -value)			
Sample by gender		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Study II Gender ^a			
		40 (100.0%)	16 (40.0%)	24 (60.0%)	31 (100.0%)	15 (48.4%)	16 (51.6%)	0.480*	A2 Gender ^a	J2 Gender ^a	Study II M ^b
Age	Mean (SD)	30.0 (5.3)	30.3 (5.7)	29.8 (5.1)	32.1 (4.3)	33.0 (5.2)	31.3 (3.3)	0.061**	0.274**	0.178**	0.293**
Living arrangements	Alone	4 (10.0%)	1 (6.7%)	3 (12.0%)	8 (25.8%)	5 (33.3%)	3 (18.8%)	0.261	0.554	<0.05	0.364
	Family	22 (55.0%)	7 (46.7%)	15 (60.0%)	22 (71.0%)	10 (66.7%)	12 (75.0%)				
	Partner	5 (12.5%)	1 (6.7%)	4 (16.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)				
	Share house	9 (22.5%)	6 (40.0%)	3 (12.0%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (6.3%)				
	Dormitory	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)				
	Others	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)				
	Total	40 (100.0%)	15 (100.0%)	25 (100.0%)	31 (100.0%)	15 (100.0%)	16 (100.0%)				
Age group	18-25	11 (27.5%)	6 (40.0%)	5 (20.0%)	1 (3.2%)	1 (6.7%)	0 (0.0%)	0.105	0.068	<0.05	0.300
	26-30	7 (17.5%)	0 (0.0%)	7 (28.0%)	12 (38.7%)	5 (33.3%)	7 (43.8%)				
	31-35	17 (42.5%)	7 (46.7%)	10 (40.0%)	9 (29.0%)	2 (13.3%)	7 (43.8%)				
	36-	5 (12.5%)	2 (13.3%)	3 (12.0%)	9 (29.0%)	7 (46.7%)	2 (12.5%)				
	Total	40 (100.0%)	15 (100.0%)	25 (100.0%)	31 (100.0%)	15 (100.0%)	16 (100.0%)				
Body Mass Index	<18.5	2 (5.2%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (8.6%)	3 (9.6%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (18.8%)	0.830	<0.05	<0.05	0.6818
	18.5-24.9	26 (68.4%)	11 (73.3%)	15 (65.2%)	24 (77.4%)	13 (86.7%)	11 (68.8%)				
	25.0-29.9	9 (23.7%)	4 (26.7%)	5 (20.0%)	2 (6.2%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (12.5%)				
	>30.0	1 (2.6%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (4.3%)	2 (6.5%)	2 (13.3%)	0 (0.0%)				
	Total	38 (100.0%)	15 (100.0%)	23 (100.0%)	31 (100.0%)	15 (100.0%)	16 (100.0%)				
Main occupations	Students	6 (15.0%)	2 (13.3%)	4(16.0%)	1 (3.2%)	1 (6.7%)	0 (0.0%)	1.000	0.484	1.000	0.143
	Non-students	34 (85.0%)	13 (86.7%)	21 (84.0%)	30 (96.8%)	14 (93.3%)	16 (100.0%)				
	Total	40 (100.0%)	15 (100.0%)	25 (100.0%)	31 (100.0%)	15 (100.0%)	16 (100.0%)				

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		Australian (N=40)			Japanese (N=31)			Differences between groups (p-value)			
Sample by gender		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Study II Gender ^a			
		40 (100.0%)	16 (40.0%)	24 (60.0%)	31 (100.0%)	15 (48.4%)	16 (51.6%)	0.480*			
						A2 Gender ^a	J2 Gender ^a	Study II M ^b	Study II F ^b		
Marital status	Single	17 (42.5%)	8 (50.0%)	9 (37.5%)	18 (58.0%)	9 (60.0%)	9 (56.3%)	0.484	1.000	0.317	0.182
	De facto	8 (20.0%)	3 (18.8%)	5 (20.8%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)				
	Married	15 (37.5%)	4 (25.0%)	11 (45.8%)	13 (42.0%)	6 (40.0%)	7 (43.8%)				
	Total	40 (100.0%)	15 (100.0%)	25 (100.0%)	31 (100.0%)	15 (100.0%)	16 (100.0%)				
Employment	Full-time (Permanent)	16 (40.0%)	7 (43.8%)	9 (37.5%)	16 (51.6%)	8 (53.3%)	8 (50.0%)	0.088	0.075	0.841	0.071
	Full-time (Contract)	5 (12.5%)	2 (12.5%)	3 (12.5%)	4 (12.9%)	2 (13.3%)	2 (12.5%)				
	Part-time work & Parenting	6 (15.0%)	0 (0.0%)	6 (25.0%)	1 (3.2%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (6.3%)				
	Self-employed	2 (5.0%)	2 (12.5%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (9.7%)	3 (20.0%)	0 (0.0%)				
	Self-employed & Part-time student	1 (2.5%)	1 (6.3%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)				
	Self-employed & Part-time work	1 (2.5%)	1 (6.3%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (3.2%)	1 (3.2%)	0 (0.0%)				
	Full-time student & Not working	4 (10.0%)	2 (12.5%)	2 (8.3%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)				
	Full-time student & Part-time work	2 (5.0%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (8.3%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)				
	Seek employment	1 (2.5%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (4.2%)	1 (3.2%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (6.7%)				
	Full-time housewife	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (12.9%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (25.0%)				
	On leave	2 (5.0%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (8.3%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)				
	Total	40 (100.0%)	15 (100.0%)	25 (100.0%)	31 (100.0%)	15 (100.0%)	16 (100.0%)				

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Table 3.3 – continued from previous page

Sample by gender		Australian (N=40)			Japanese (N=31)			Differences between groups (p-value)			
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Study II Gender ^a			
		40 (100.0%)	16 (40.0%)	24 (60.0%)	31 (100.0%)	15 (48.4%)	16 (51.6%)	0.480*			
								A2 Gender ^a	J2 Gender ^a	Study II M ^b	Study II F ^b
Education	Secondary	3 (7.5%)	1 (6.3%)	2 (8.6%)	3 (9.7%)	1 (6.7%)	2 (12.5%)	0.973	0.236	0.634	0.646
	College	5 (12.5%)	2 (12.5%)	3 (13.0%)	3 (9.7%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (18.8%)				
	Bachelor	21 (52.5%)	9 (56.3%)	12 (52.2%)	19 (61.3%)	9 (60.0%)	10 (62.5%)				
	Master	8 (20.0%)	3 (18.8%)	5 (21.7%)	4 (12.9%)	3 (20.0%)	1 (6.3%)				
	Doctorate	2 (5.0%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (8.7%)	2 (6.5%)	2 (13.3%)	0 (0.0%)				
	Total	40 (100.0%)	15 (100.0%)	25 (100.0%)	31 (100.0%)	15 (100.0%)	16 (100.0%)				
Annual income (AUD)	<20,000	4(10.3%)	1 (6.7%)	3(12.5%)	3 (9.7%)	2 (13.3%)	1 (6.3%)	0.055	0.165	0.467	0.271
	20,000-30,000	5 (12.8%)	2 (5.1%)	2 (12.0%)	6 (19.4%)	1 (6.7%)	5 (31.3%)				
	30,000-40,000	1 (2.6%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (4.2%)	2 (6.5%)	1 (6.7%)	1 (6.3%)				
	40,000-50,000	6 (15.4%)	0 (0.0%)	6 (25.0%)	7 (22.6%)	2 (13.3%)	5 (31.3%)				
	50,000-60,000	3 (7.7%)	2 (5.1%)	1 (4.2%)	5 (16.1%)	2 (13.3%)	3 (18.8%)				
	60,000-70,000	7 (17.5%)	2 (5.1%)	5 (20.8%)	4 (12.9%)	4 (26.7%)	0 (0.0%)				
	70,000-80,000	3 (7.7%)	1 (6.7%)	2 (8.3%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)				
	80,000-90,000	2 (5.2%)	1 (6.7%)	1 (4.2%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)				
	90,000-100,000	3 (7.7%)	1 (6.7%)	2 (8.3%)	3 (9.7%)	2 (13.3%)	1 (6.3%)				
	<100,000	5 (12.8%)	5 (12.8%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (3.2%)	1 (6.7%)	0 (0.0%)				
	Total	40 (100.0%)	15 (100.0%)	25 (100.0%)	31 (100.0%)	15 (100.0%)	16 (100.0%)				

Differences among categorical variables frequencies were assessed by Fisher's exact test unless otherwise stated.*Yate's χ^2 test **Two sample independent t-test

^a Men vs. Women; ^b Australian and Japanese

Comparison between Study I and Study II

Major differences between Study I and II are the proportion of students to non-students: all participants of Study I were students, but the majority of participants of Study II are non-students. Those in Study II are older than those in Study I and majority of them engaged with paid employment. In terms of the proportion of male and female participants, more women participated in Study I and II than men. The gender imbalance is larger in the Study I with convenience sampling ($p=0.083$) than the Study II with quota sampling ($p=0.480$). The majority of Australian and Japanese participants reported that they lived with someone, and most of cohabitants were family members. More Australian participants lived with non-family members like friends, partners, and sharing a house with someone: 38.1% in the study I and 35.0% in the Study II. In contrast, more Japanese participants lived alone: 42.2% in the Study I and 25.8% in the Study II. Differences are significant between male and female groups in Study I and male groups in Study II ($p<0.05$).

The student cohort of Study I is younger than the young adult cohort from Study II. Among the student cohorts of Study I, Japanese cohort is younger and had smaller age variations than the Australian cohort. The distribution of body mass index (BMI) is calculated based on self-report height and weight. The distribution is relatively similar across four groups: about 70% of participants in each group are fallen into the range of $18.5 \leq \text{BMI} \leq 25.0$. However, comparison of gender groups shows significant differences between Australian and Japanese male group in Study I and Japanese male and female groups in Study II ($p<0.05$). In Study I, more Japanese men (81.1%) are the range of $18.5 \leq \text{BMI} \leq 25.0$ than Australian men (68.0%), and 10.8% of Japanese men were BMI less than 18.5 but no Australian man belongs to the category. In Study II, more Japanese men (86.7%) belong to the range of $18.5 \leq \text{BMI} \leq 25.0$ than Japanese women (68.8%).

Comparison between Australian and Japanese groups in Study II

The Japanese group in Study II is older than the Australian: mean of Japanese group is 32.1 years and that of Australian group was 30.0 years old. In particular, the distribution of age group of Japanese group was significantly different from Australian male group ($p<0.05$). As stated earlier, more Japanese participants (25.8%) live alone than Australian participants (10.0%). More Japanese (71.0%) live with family members than Australians (55.0%).

Comparison of Australian and Japanese groups indicates more diverse lifestyle backgrounds among Australian than Japanese participants. Among Japanese participants, being married or single is a stronger indicator of living arrangements as

well as employment status than Australian participants who have more alternative lifestyles such as having *de facto* relationship, living in shared house, and taking more than one occupation. More Japanese participants (64.5%) were engaged with one full-time permanent or contract employment, or being a full-time housewife (12.9%) than Australian participants (52.5%). In contrast, more Australians (40.0%) engaged with part-time employment than Japanese (6.5%) and reported more than one occupations or roles including being a student and a parent. Majority of them were women.

Majority of Australian and Japanese participants hold a bachelor degree or higher education attainment. Mode of annual income among Australian participants are between 60,000 and 70,000 Australian dollars and mode range among Japanese participants were between 40,000-50,000 Australian dollars (approximately 4,000,000-5,000,000 Japanese yen). The mode range is higher among Australians than Japanese. Although it was not significant difference, there was a different distribution of annual income between male and female subgroups in both Australian ($p=0.055$) and Japanese ($p=0.165$) groups. Most of Australian and Japanese participants engaged with professional, managerial, and administrative work in sedentary working environments.

Comparison with general populations in Australia and Japan

Compared to the general populations in Australia and Japan, both Australian and Japanese groups have much higher education attainment and relatively high income. In total, 87.5% of Australian and 80.6% of Japanese participants hold a Bachelor degree or higher degrees such as Master and Doctorate. In Australia, 24.1% of the total Australian population held Bachelor degree or higher in 2014, and the rate was higher in New South Wales (25.6%) and Australian Capital Territory (40.4%) where Sydney and Canberra belong to (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2014a). In Japan, 19.9% of Japanese population held Bachelor degree or higher in 2010, and the rate was higher in Tokyo (23.1%)(Statistics Bureau of Japan, 2010). Thus, both Australian and Japanese participants are highly educated groups compared to general populations of Australia and Japan.

Although income level is difficult to compare due to different currencies, costs of living, and reporting systems, most of Australian and Japanese participants earn more than the national average. In Australia, the average weekly total earnings of all Australian employees were 1128.70 excluding overwork and bonus in November 2014, and it is equivalent to 58,692 per year (52 weeks) (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2014e). In Japan, the average annual earnings (*kyu-yo*) of all Japanese employees

were 4,136,000 yen (approximately 40,000 dollars) including bonus (*sho-yo*) but overtime was excluded (National Tax Agency, 2013).

In terms of cultural diversity within groups, 20.0% of Australian participants were born outside of Australia, and 92.5% of them were European descents. According to census (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011), 26% of Australia's population was born overseas, and eight out of ten leading ancestries, which consists a cumulative sum of 94.6% including multiple ethnicity, were either Australian or European descents. All Japanese participants were born in Japan and identified themselves as Japanese ethnicity and citizens. Unlike Australian, statistics on the distribution of ethnicity in Japan are not available. Instead, participant's hometown and regional diversity play a significant role to shape the diversity within the Japanese group as well as the development of culinary culture in Japan (see Chapter 4 for detail). A total of 58.1% Japanese participants were brought up in Tokyo and its neighbouring prefectures (Saitama, Chiba, Kanagawa), and 41.9% of them (72.2% of those were born outside of the Tokyo area) migrated from outside of the areas for their education or jobs.

3.3.5 Ethical considerations

The two fieldwork research studies were approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Australian National University. Study I with university students was approved on the 11th November 2011 (Protocol 2011/574), and Study II was approved on the 25th June 2012 (Protocol 2012/127). Participation in both studies was completely voluntary, non-coercive, and confidential. Information sheets (Appendix G & Appendix H for Study I and Appendix I & Appendix J for Study II) and a written consent form (Appendix K & Appendix L for Study I and Appendix M & Appendix N) were provided to all participants before they participated in each study. All participants were allowed to stop or withdraw from studies at any time during their participation.

An overview of theoretical perspectives underlying cross-cultural analyses and methods, and the design and procedure of multiple-method data collections conducted in urban Australia and Japan are discussed in this Chapter. Applying anthropological perspectives on holism and cultural relativism, the current project is designed to examine multivariate aspects of commensality and solo-eating based on literature and field research from a cross-cultural perspective.

Part II

Contextual and comparative dimensions of culture

Chapter 4

Macro-level comparison of two post-industrial societies

It was demonstrated in Chapter 2 that eating is crucial for physiological homeostasis as well as human sociability. It is also heavily shaped by the transformation of societies including their politics, economy, and demographic changes as well as a range of individual and cultural contacts within and across the nation-states. In particular, contemporary employment and public health policies reflect a number of socio-economic and political structures and moral values in global as well as local contexts, and have a great impact on everyday eating practices in two societies.

In this Chapter, I examine the context of societal transformations in contemporary Australian and Japanese societies at the macro-level, and investigate social and cultural construction of everyday eating among people in these societies. In particular, I focus on the transformation within Australian and Japanese societies in four dimensions: economic system, welfare states, public health concerns, and culinary cultures. Rather than just treating them as discrete variables, I also investigate intersections of these four dimensions of society such as food system, work-life balance, and gender. The discussion starts from cross-national comparison of transformation to “post-industrial societies” where service industries produce more wealth than manufacturing and agricultural industries (Bell, 1973) with selected OECD countries, and moves onto how these socio-economic changes affects everyday eating in contemporary Australian and Japanese societies.

4.1 Economic System and globalisation

4.1.1 Dominance of service industries

Australia and Japan are two of the largest capitalist economies in the Asia-Pacific region dominated by service industries. Service industries contributed 69.4% of Australia's and 72.7% of Japan's gross domestic products (GDP) in 2012 (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2014b; Cabinet Office, 2013b; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013a). 69.9% of Japanese in 2013 and 77.2% Australian in 2014 worked in service industries (Statistics Bureau of Japan, 2013; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013b). The largest share of GDP within service industries were the finance and insurance services in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013a). In Japan, whole sales and retail trades occupied the largest share of GDP* (Cabinet Office, 2013b). The service industries employing the largest number of people are whole sales and retail trade in Japan, and healthcare and social assistance in Australia. Outside of the service industries, manufacturing in Japan and mining in Australia contribute to the nation's economic growth. Similar to other OECD nations, the economic share of agricultural industries has shrunk in each nation (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2014h).

4.1.2 The evolution of service industries in Australia and Japan

Although service industries occupy about 70% of economy in most OECD nations, the evolution of service industries displays different trajectories between Australia and Japan. Table 4.1 shows the percentage of economic contribution by service sectors in Australia, Japan, and other OECD nations over two decades.

The Australian service industry reached nearly 70% shares of GDP and total employment in the early 1990s like United Kingdom and France. In contrast, Japan, Germany, and Italy reached the same rates in the early 2000s. Among these three nations, in particular Japan encountered the most rapid transition over two decades in both service industry contribution to gross value added and the share of the labour force employed in the service industries.

Differences between Australian and Japanese economies cannot only be explained by different stages of industrialisation: industrialising, industrial, and post-industrial.

*According to the national accounts of economics (*kokumin keizai keisan*) in 2013, the private service business service (*saabisu-gyou*) was the highest share of GDP. However, this category includes major service business such as education, entertainment, accommodation, restaurants, and professional business, which Australia has own categories for these businesses.

Table 4.1: Service industry's contribution to gross value added and total employment in Australia and Japan from 1992 to 2012 in comparison with some European countries

Country	Service industry's contribution to gross value added (%)			Employment share of service industry(%)		
	1992	2002	2012	1992	2002	2012
Australia	68.3	71.2	69.4	71.3	74.1	76.3
Japan	59.9	68.0	72.7	58.4	65.6	68.5(2009)
Italy	64.1	69.0	73.7	61.7	66.2	67.3(2010)
Germany	62.0	69.0	68.7	61.2	69.7	68.4(2009)
France	67.5	72.1	79.2	68.4	73.9	75.7(2010)
United Kingdom	66.3	72.1	78.7	75.0	79.0	78.7

Source: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (2004, 2014d,b)

A closer look at the development of service activities within and the transformation of labour markets within each society reveals the complex structures of post-industrial economies in the two different societies.

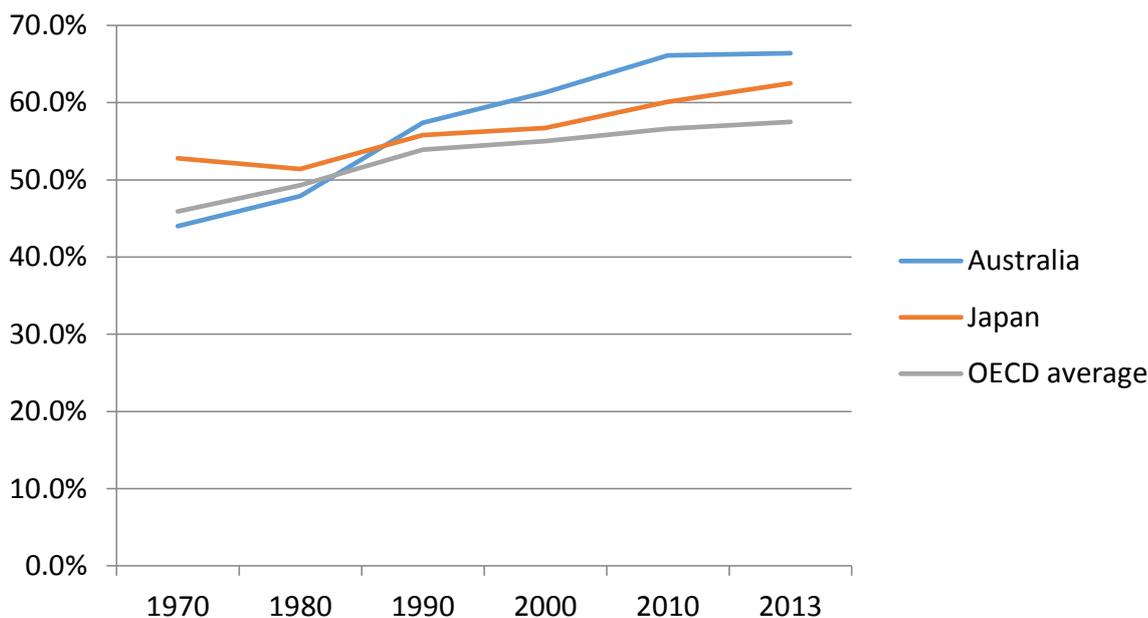
4.1.3 Inter-industries development of service works

Classifying service work based on industries underestimates service-related work or occupations in other industries like agriculture and manufacturing. For example, a sales and marketing manager in manufacturing industry is considered as the employee of manufacturing industry rather than service. Thus, employment share of service industries rise when business outsourced more of their service activities such as manufacturing firms in the United States (Schettkat and Yocarini, 2006). The structure of service business is similar in United Kingdom, Canada, and France which are dominated by information-processing services such as communication, finance, real estate, and public services (Castells, 2011). The Australian economy follows this trend as it has strong finance and insurance industries. In contrast, both German and Japanese manufacturing industries internalise service activities rather than outsourcing to different firms, and it influences their apparent lower share of service industries among OECD countries Castells (2011). More specifically, Strom (2005) suggested that the internalisation of service activities among Japanese manufacturing firms results from different ways of management and business models such as Japanese *keiretsu* (interlocking business relationships).

4.1.4 Female labour participation

The demographics of labour forces have been closely associated with the transformation of nations' economic structures. In the mid to late twentieth century, similar to other OECD countries, women's participation in paid labour force increased in both Australia and Japan. Figure 4.1 shows the transformation of employment among women aged 15 and 64 over four decades.

Figure 4.1: Employment rate among women aged 15 and 64 in Australia, Japan, and the average of all OECD countries from 1970 to 2013



Source: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (2014e)

Over four decades, both countries showed a rapid increase in female employment. Female employment in Australia in the first two decades was lower than Japan, but from the 1990s Australia's rate exceeded Japan for the next two decades. Australia experienced a more rapid increase of female employment rate from 44.0% in 1970 to 66.4% in 2013, compared to Japan (52.8% in 1970 and 62.5% in 2013).

Although both Australia and Japan showed similar trends in an increasing presence of female workers in their economy, female labour participation by industries and occupations varied between two societies. Sociologist Mary Brinton asserted that the labour market structure developed in post second world war underlined the Japanese economy (Brinton and Ngo, 1993; Brinton, 1993). Her cross-national comparison with the United States based on national surveys in the 1980s demonstrated that larger age segregations and lower gender segregations were identified from the overall labour market of Japan than the United States. More specifically, the lower gender segregation in Japan was due to more female blue-collar workers in agriculture and manufacturing industries. The majority of women's work in post-war Japan was concentrated in family business rather than paid employment (Brinton,

1993; Gottfried, 2008). This may be one factor explaining the higher female participation rate in Japan than Australia in the 1970s and 1980s. In contrast, many service workers especially those in managerial, professional, and technical occupations were dominated by full-time older men in post-war Japan (Brinton and Ngo, 1993).

The transformation from industrialising society to post-industrial society has not changed the gendered labour market in post-war Japan, but repeated the segregation in different kinds of employment and industries. Rather the development of service industries in the 1990s has gradually replaced self-employed or family-employed female workers in agriculture and manufacturing industries with paid part-time or temporary employment of sales and clerk works in service industries (Gottfried, 2008). The development of part-time employment is evident in other OECD nations including Australia. However, part-time work in Japan is overly dominated by middle-age and older female workers, and influenced by women's life course transition to balance work and family responsibilities (Broadbent, 2003; Gottfried, 2008). Table 4.2 shows the proportion of all non-standard employment including part-time and dispatched workers in Japan over a decade.

Table 4.2: Non-standard employment in Japan by gender and age group in 2003 and 2013

Year	Non-standard employment among men				Non-standard employment among women			
	2003		2013		2003		2013	
Age group	All	Non-students	All	Non-students	All	Non-students	All	Non-students
Total	15.6%		21.2%		50.6%		55.8%	
15-24	41.8%	(27.2%)	45.7%	(27.6%)	48.4%	(37.2%)	52.3%	(37.1%)
25-34	10.2%		16.4%		37.8%		41.4%	
35-44	5.7%		8.2%		54.1%		54.8%	
45-54	7.3%		9.0%		56.3%		59.2%	
55-64	24.1%		32.5%		59.2%		67.5%	

Source: Statistics Bureau of Japan (2014)

The proportion of non-standard employment has increased in all age groups of men and women from 2003 to 2013. However, gender gaps were evident in all age groups except the youngest age groups (aged between 15 and 24) both in 2003 and 2013. In 2013, more than half of women except the group of aged between 25 and 34 were in non-standard employment.

In contrast to Japan's transformation, at least at the macro level, Australia has leaned toward diminishing gender segregation not only within its overall labour mar-

ket, but also within some industries. According to Watts's analysis on occupational segregation in Australia, female shares of part-time employment have declined from the late 1980s to 2000s regardless of job categories (Watts, 2003). Instead male share of part-time employment and female shares of full-time employment of managerial and professional occupations have increased. However, blue-collar skilled jobs maintained low female participation in full-time employment over two decades. The comparison of different birth cohorts of Australian women showed that younger cohorts were less affected by life course transitions like child rearing than older cohorts (Austen and Seymour, 2006).

4.1.5 Impacts of international trade on agriculture and food security

The development of international trade is a crucial component of post-industrial economies as well as their food systems. International trades allow governments to outsource local agricultural production to overseas or agri-business and focus on manufacturing and service business (McMichael, 2004). This model encourages the expansion of urban and industrial economies and Foreign Direct Investment to agricultural business as well as generating a full range of food-related issues: food insecurity, over-nutrition, and ontological insecurity (Dixon et al., 2007).

Food self-sufficiency refers to whether a nation can be self-sufficient to meet all the food needs of its population through domestic supplies, and used to be a national strategy for food security (Food and Agriculture Organization, 2002). It is also important to ensure food available for the local population. However, the development of international trade changed the notion of food security from self-sufficiency to physical and economic access to food and nutrition (Food and Agriculture Organization, 1996). Furthermore, climate change is interrelated to food production and consumption, and it results in increasing nutrition insecurity and chronic diseases (Friel, 2010). Table 4.3 shows the transformation of a country's food self-sufficiency rate in Australia and Japan based on calories and cereals.

The comparison shows the opposite trends of country's food self-sufficiency based on total calories and cereals. Japan's agricultural self-sufficiency has gradually decreased based on calories and cereals since the 1960s, and instead relied on imports and generated profits of exporting manufactured goods like automobiles. In contrast, over four decades Australia has maintained more than twice the rate of food productions which require to feed its population. However, having high self-sufficiency based on calorie and cereal productions does not necessarily mean the country can ensure food and nutrition available for their people.

Table 4.3: Self-sufficiency rate by total calories and cereals in Australia and Japan(%)

Measurement	Year	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Calorie	Australia	204%	211%	256%	209%	265%	205%
	Japan	78%	58%	52%	46%	40%	39%
Cereal	Australia	299%	262%	367%	246%	273%	291%
	Japan	75%	46%	33%	29%	28%	28%

Source:Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishries (2014b)(Estimated based on FAO Food Balance Sheets)

Japanese agriculture

Despite increasing pressures from globalisation, Japanese agriculture is heavily influenced by domestic politics, rural nostalgia, and consumer's demands. Particularly, protection of rice has been considered as an obstacle to liberalisation of Japanese market from overseas (Mulgan, 2013). The Japanese government has imposed high tariffs on imported rice and protected the domestic rice market. The vote from the rural farming communities is vital for long term rule of Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) in post-war Japan (George, 1981). Despite the decline of rural farming communities along with social changes, electoral reform in 1994 from a single-member district system to a multi-member district system helped strengthen the power of farmer's votes despite the recent decline of agricultural industries (Horiuchi and Saito, 2010).

Post-war modernisation seems to be contradictory to agriculture and the rural interest and, both elements do not coexist. However, people's attachment to the rural is much stronger than physical connections. (Kelly, 1986, 604) argued that "rationalisation and nostalgia embody ambivalences fundamental to Japan's Middle Class Lifeway". People adopt the language of rationalisation like efficiency and democracy without denying the past. At the same time, they express nostalgia for certain traditions like regional culture and hometown (*fukusato*) without considering inefficiency and non-democratic aspects of the past life. Furthermore, the development of rural tourisms induced nostalgia to imaginary hometown among urban Japanese (Creighton, 1997).

The domestic demand for rice has rapidly decreased and been replaced by wheat and meat, despite government's efforts on protectionism and people's nostalgia to rural agriculture. The Japanese government and agricultural cooperative (*Zen-noh*) utilised nostalgic views on rice production, and argued that westernisation (*oubeika*) of Japanese people's food preference has attributed to the decline of Japan's food self-sufficiency, and they support the promotion of "Japanese style cuisine"

to improve self-sufficiency (National Federation of Agircultureal Co-operative Associations, 2013; Cabinet Office, 2006a). There is an alternative argument that the higher price of domestic rice has encouraged Japanese consumers to buy and eat more wheat products (Yamashita, 2009). However, such an argument is masked by nostalgic sentiments perpetuated by media and the government.

Increasing dependence on food imports increases uncertainty and psychological insecurity among Japanese consumers. A number of scandals regarding imported food products, especially a food poisoning incident from frozen dumpling from China in 2008, have been widely broadcast to the Japanese public. The media's presentation of imported food has not only increased the feelings of vulnerabilities of individual consumers in the global market, but also portrayed women and education for young people as the final defenders of Japanese food security (Rosenberger, 2009).

Despite being hidden behind the popular discussion on self-sufficiency, vegetable and fruit production has increased its presence in Japanese agriculture. The share of vegetable and fruit production have increased. The share of vegetables increased from 7.2% in 1955 to 25.7% in 2012. The share of fruit increased from 4.0% in 1955 to 8.8% in 2012 (Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishries, 2014a). In contrast, the share of rice production has dropped from 52.0% share in 1955 to 23.8% in 2012 (Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishries, 2014a). More new young farmers choose vegetables and fruit production (Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishries, 2013). Furthermore, public health incentives will increase more demands for vegetable and fruit farmers.

Australian agriculture

In contrast to Japanese agriculture, Australian agriculture became an active player in global food economy. Historically, Australia focused on exporting its products overseas (Henzell, 2007). Australia translated global trends like neo-liberal agenda more quickly than other commonwealth countries (Coleman and Skogstad, 1995). Today, Australia is a major producer and exporter of agricultural products including meats, wheat, and dairy products (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2015d) which increase export capacity for value added foods in the international market.

One of reasons for Australia's adaptation to global market compared to Japan is the absence of resistance from peasant agricultures. More specifically, Australia is the only continent which does not have a history of peasant agriculture which is built on the interplay between people's ways of life and soils (Symons, 2007, 7). Australian agriculture is modern and industrial-based (Dixon et al., 2007). British

settlers brought modern technology from home and established industrial agriculture which enabled them to feed growing urban population and produce a variety of food regardless of geographic and seasonal variations. Furthermore, migrants from various regions have brought their culinary cultures and enhanced diversification of food supply and eating practices.

The modern and efficient agriculture and food systems, however, generate some social and health problems. The current Australian food system is vulnerable to the impact of climate change as well as nutrition insecurity (Friel, 2010). Prolonged drought and extreme weather events affect availability and price of food and the price rise greatly impacts on socially and economically disadvantaged populations. According to an empirical study by Kettings et al. (2009), the cost of nutritiously balanced foods occupy about 40% of the disposable income of welfare-dependent families, compared to 20% of average income families. Furthermore, socio-economic disparities and nutrition insecurity is more severe in rural areas, and the urban-rural disparity is rather exacerbated by the current food policies (Dixon et al., 2007).

The economic shift from industrial to post-industrial societies has impacts on a nation's economic structures, labour market, and food system. Both Australia and Japan have followed similar trajectories toward post-industrial economics dominated by service industries and departing from peasant agricultural practices. However, their experiences of economic transformation were very different due to different structures of labour markets, industries including agriculture, and national responses to globalisation. The next Section draws attention to social welfare systems in the two countries, and their responses to new social risks including socio-economic disparity in post-industrial societies.

4.2 Social system and inequality

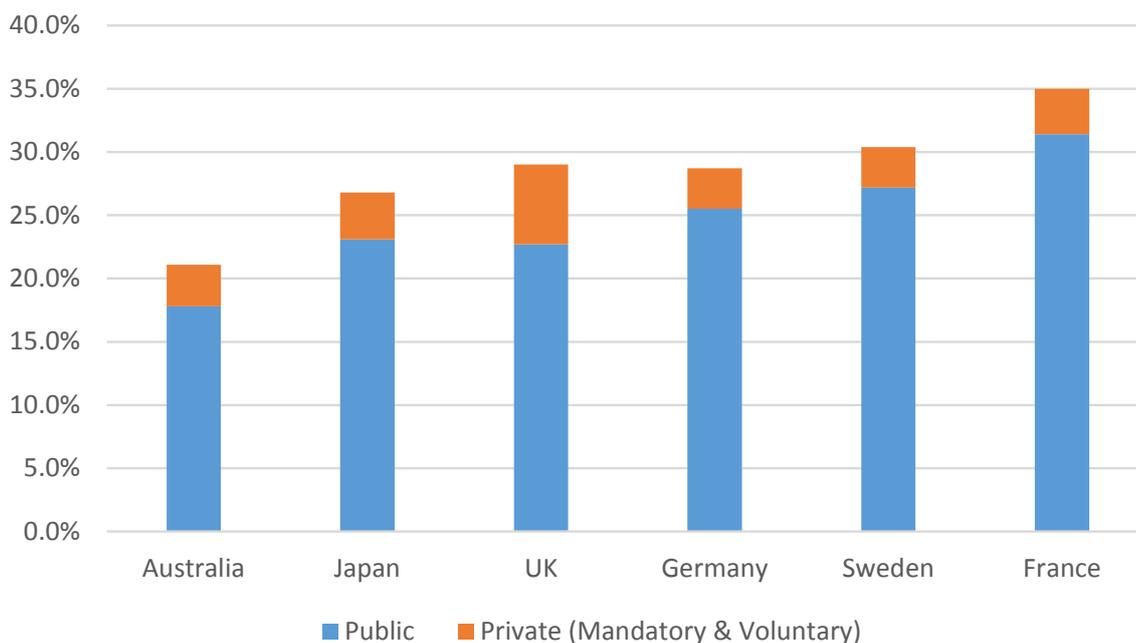
The transformation of the social system is another important aspect of post-industrial societies, because social demands are shaped by economic and social changes. Like many European countries, Australia and Japan have faced similar social changes: liberalisation of employment, population ageing, and globalisation. At the same time, these two countries focused on labour market and economic policies to enhance people's welfare. In particular, both have maintained relatively lower public expenditures and lower government's intervention to working conditions and benefits for new types of employments compared to European countries. Due to little regulation to labour market, Australian and Japanese labour markets are more likely to be influenced by market economy than European countries. This Section examines the

transformation of welfare states and social construction of inequality in Australian and Japanese societies.

4.2.1 Low-cost welfare states

According to Esping-Anderson's well-known classification of the three world welfare regimes in the 1990s, both Australia and Japan were classified as liberal regime which maintained low public expenditure on social welfare and were open to market economy and private provisions, compared to social democratic and catholic conservative welfare states (Esping-Andersen, 1990). However, data in the 2000s shows some shifts in Australian and Japanese welfare. Figure 4.2 shows the proportion of public and private social expenditures in GDP in Australia, Japan, and selected OECD countries in 2011. Figure 4.3 shows the transformation of public social expenditure in Australia and Japan from 1980 to 2010.

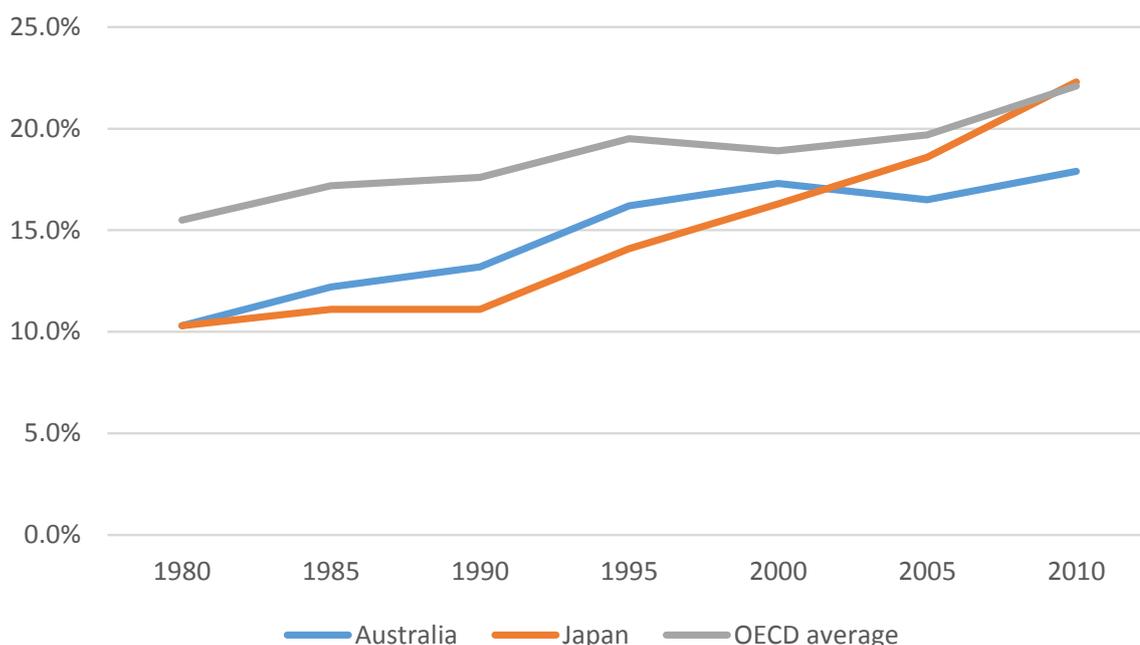
Figure 4.2: Public and private expenditure as percentage of GDP in 2011



Source: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (2014a)

Compared with European countries, both Australia and Japan had lower total and public expenditure for social welfare in GDP in 2011. However, similar to other OECD countries, the total public social expenditure in Australia and Japan has gradually increased from 1980 to 2010, and the increase was larger in the 1990s in both countries. Compared with Australia, the public expenditure of Japan has more rapidly increased from the 1990s and maintained the momentum in the twenty-first century.

Figure 4.3: Transformation of public social expenditure in Australia, Japan, and OECD countries from 1980 to 2010



Source: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (2014a)

Impacts of population ageing to welfare state

One of the major reasons for the rapid increase of Japan's public expenditure in the 1990s is an increase of expenditure for elderly care. Table 4.4 shows the proportion of types of public social expenditure in GDP in Australia and Japan in 2011.

Table 4.4: Type of public social expenditure in GDP in Australia and Japan in 2011(%)

	Australia	Japan
Total	17.8%	22.2%
Old age	4.9%	10.4%
Survivors	0.2%	1.4%
Incapacity related	2.3%	1.0%
Health	6.2%	7.2%
Family	2.8%	1.0%
Labour market	0.3%	0.4%
Unemployment	0.5%	0.4%
Housing	0.3%	0.2%
Others	0.2%	0.3%

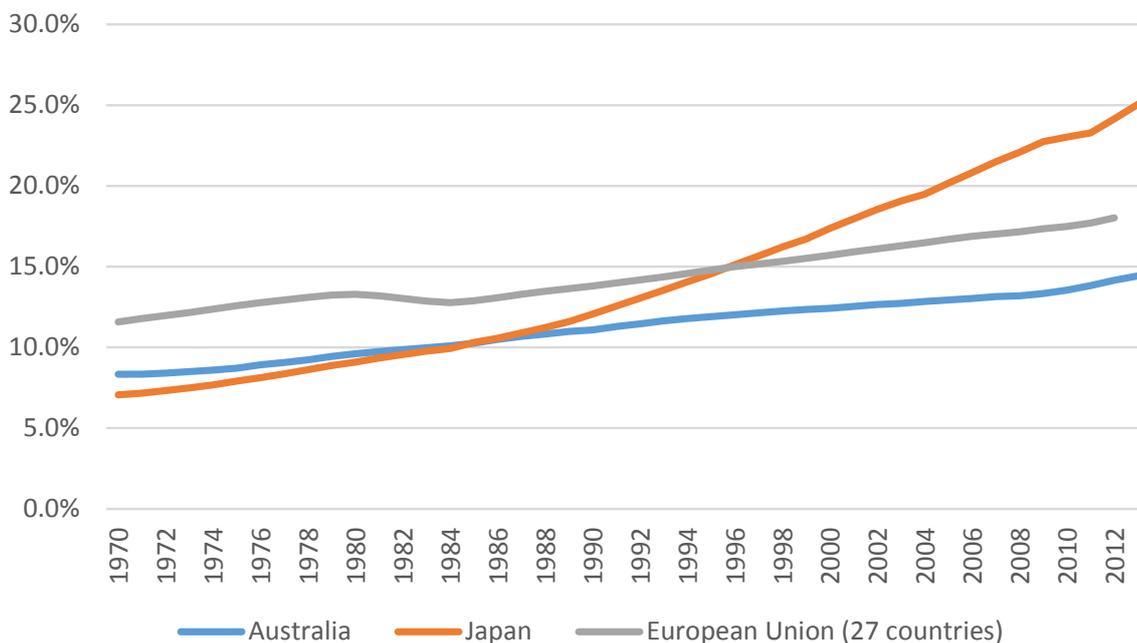
Source: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (2014a)

In 2011, Japan's public expenditure for elderly support was more than double Australia's, and occupied almost half of the total public expenditure. The proportion of elderly support in Japan's public social expenditure increased more than

three times from 3% in 1980. Australia had shown a small increase from 3.1% in 1980 to 4.9% in 2011. In contrast, Japan's public expenditure for family support (1.0% in 2009) was much lower than Australia, and the rate is one of lowest among OECD countries (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2014a). Australia's public expenditure for family support had increased from 0.9% in 1980 to 2.8% in 2011. In Australia, social spending via family payment system to some disadvantaged groups has increased during the Howard government 1996–2007 (Mendes, 2009). The comparison suggests that the increase of social expenditure in Japan is due to the increase in elderly support and it did not necessarily mean the expansion of welfare to working populations.

The shift of social expenditure is closely related to demographic changes. Figure 4.4 shows the transformation of elderly population aged over 65 from 1970 to 2013 in Australia, Japan, and the averages of European Union countries.

Figure 4.4: Proportions of elderly population aged over 65 from 1970 to 2013 in Australia, Japan, and the averages of European Union countries



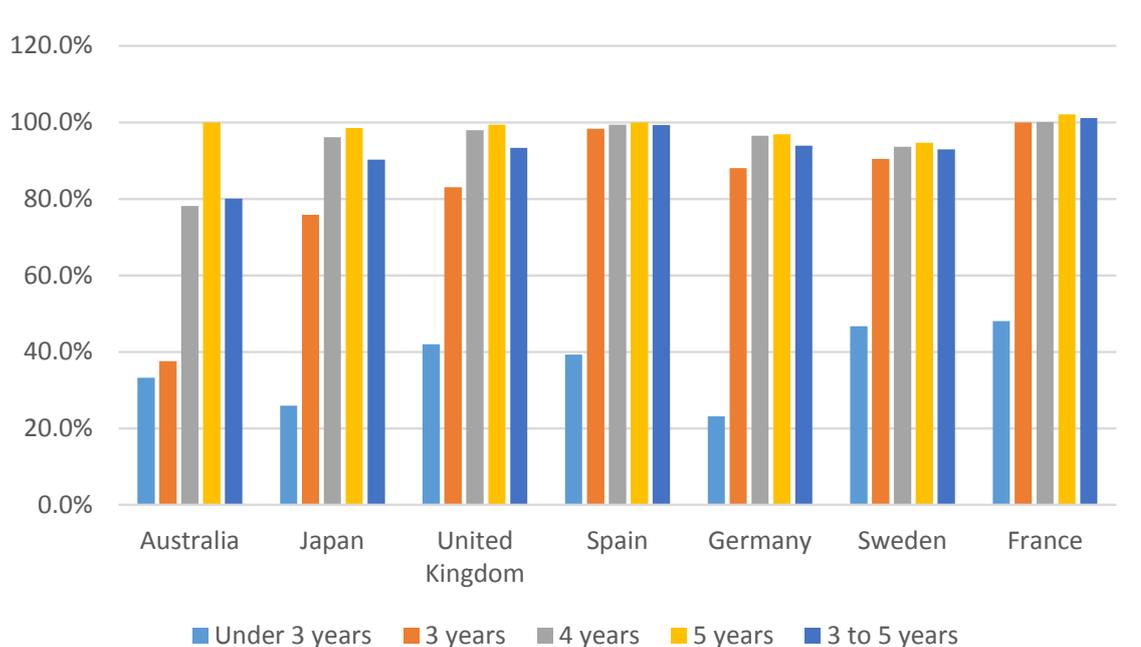
Source: (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2015a)

Japan is world's most ageing society where one fourth of the population (26.5%) is over 65 years old and one eighth of them (12.8%) is over 75 years old in 2015 (Statistics Bureau of Japan, 2015). Australian population is ageing, but the current population in 2015 is relatively young compared to other OECD countries (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2015a).

Public expenditure on childcare

In addition to population ageing, public expenditure on childcare support is significantly important for Australian and Japanese societies where more women start to enter paid labour force and wish to send their children to childcare and pre-school. International comparison of proportion of enrolment to childcare and pre-school of children under six years old is shown in Figure 4.5.

Figure 4.5: Proportion of enrolment to childcare and pre-school of children under six years old in 2010 in Australia, Japan, and selected OECD countries



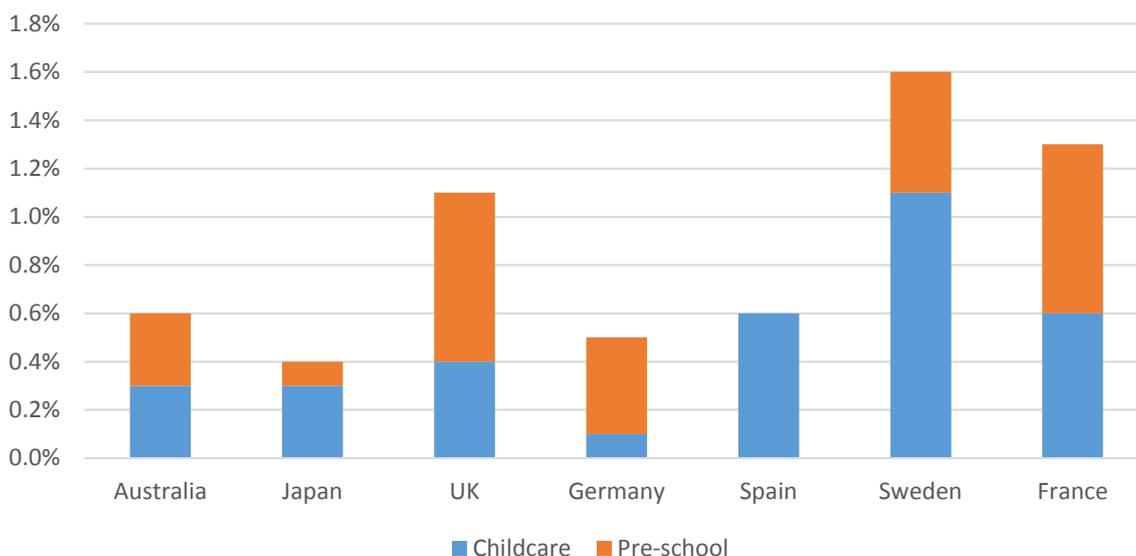
Source: (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2015b)

In many OECD countries, almost all children of five years old enrolled in either childcare or pre-school in 2010. However, there are cross-national variations in participation rate of children younger than five years old. Participation rate of children under three years were in the lowest in Germany (23.1%) followed by Japan (25.9%) and Australia (33.2%). In the participation rate of three and four years, Australia was the lowest (37.6% and 78.1% respectively) followed by Japan (75.8% and 96.1% respectively). Overall participation rate of children under five years old in Australia and Japan are relatively low compared with other OECD countries.

One of the factors of low participation to childcare and pre-school of young children is low public expenditure and support on the areas. Figure 4.6 shows proportion of public expenditure on childcare and pre-school to GDP.

Similar to the cross-national variations in participation to childcare and pre-school, Germany, Japan and Australia had lowest public expenditure on childcare and pre-school (Spain's expenditure on pre-school was not reported in OECD report). Although Germany's expenditure on childcare (0.1%) was the lowest, its ex-

Figure 4.6: Public expenditure on childcare as percentages of GDP in 2011 in Australia, Japan, and selected OECD countries



Source: (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2014a)
Spain's public expenditure on pre-school was not available in 2011.

penditure on pre-school (0.4%) was higher than Australia (0.3%) and Japan (0.1%), and more children in Germany older than two years old participate in either pre-school or childcare. This comparison suggests that more Australian and Japanese families with young children younger than five years old rely on private support such as support from their partners and extended families.

Comparison with European countries demonstrates that both Australia and Japan have maintained public social expenditure low in proportion to nations' expenditure as proportion of GDP. However, the public expenditure gradually increased from 1980 to 2010 in two countries. Especially in Japan, an increase of public expenditure on elderly support was in response to a rapid increase of total public expenditure in the 1990s along with rapid demographic changes. Despite these changes and increasing female participation in the labour force, public expenditure on childcare is low among OECD and the increase of total public expenditure does not have direct impacts on young adult's lifestyle.

4.2.2 Changes in Labour market without government's regulations

Deregulation of labour market

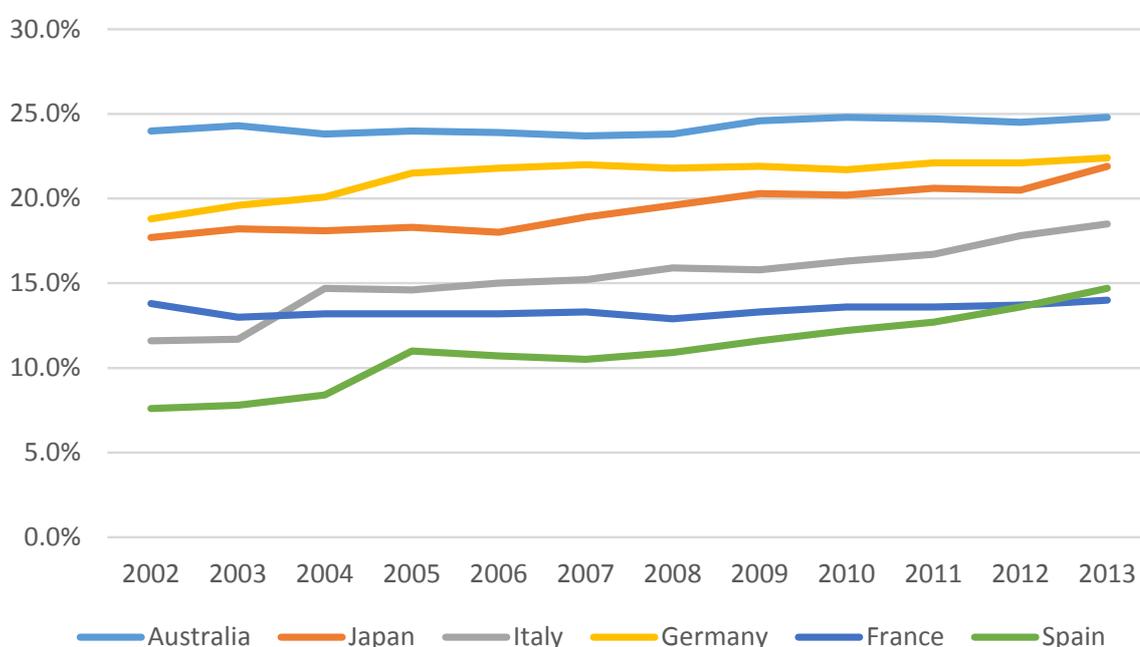
Another characteristic of Australian and Japanese liberal welfare states is the absence of government's intervention to regulate working hours in response to labour market changes. Globally, social transition from the post-second world war system

and globalisation accelerated deregulation and diversification of labour market. The diversification of employment in Australia and Japan has led to two opposite trends in more extreme ways than European countries (Campbell, 2007; Morioka, 2011).

Rise of part-time employment

First is the decline in the share of full-time permanent employment and the rise of part-time, fixed terms, temporary, contracted or agency based employment. Figure 4.7 shows the proportion of part-time employment in Australia and Japan, in comparison to four European countries (France, Germany, Italy, and Spain) which had comparable data between 2002 to 2013 with Australia and Japan.

Figure 4.7: Percentage of part-time employment (less than 30 hours per week) from 2002 and 2013



Source: (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2014g)

The proportion of part-time employment to total employment has risen in all six countries from 2002 to 2013, and predominantly concentrated among women. The increase was small in Australia and France, but larger in Japan (from 17.7% to 21.9%), Germany (from 18.8% to 22.4%), Italy (from 11.6% to 18.5%), and Spain (from 7.6% to 14.7%). Australia has maintained higher share of part-time employment among all OECD countries for more than a decade.

OECD's definition of part-time employment is based on weekly working hours and the presence and absence of worker's benefits and entitlements are not taken into consideration for international comparison. According to Hancock (2002), casual employees in Australia do not have similar rights, benefits, entitlements, and job security to temporary employees in Europe. The Australian labour force survey

uses 35 hours cut off to discriminate part-time employment from full-time employment (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2014d). In Japan, definitions of part-time employment are varied among employers and are not necessarily based on working hours (Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, 2012a). There are some “part-timers” who work hours as long as full-time employees, and those workers are called as “*giji-paato* (quasi part-timers)”. Therefore, there are more workers who are considered as part-time employees in Australia and Japan than the OECD definition.

Excessive working hours

Another trend is that a minority of workers continues to engage in excessive working hours. Long working hours, or overtime, are more commonly identified from individual workers in one full-time employment than part-time workers who have more than one job (Campbell, 2007). Table 4.5 presents percentages of total employees who worked very long hours (more than 49 or 50 hours per week) in Australia, Japan, and two European countries (France and Spain) in 1995 and 2012, and maximum weekly hours limit each country.

Table 4.5: Percentages of male and female employees who worked very long hours and maximum weekly hour limits in 1995 and 2012 in Australia, Japan, France, and Spain

Country	Gender	1995	2012	Maximum weekly hours limit
Australia	Total	22.0%	14.2%	Unspecified
	Men	29.3%	21.2%	
	Women	9.4%	6.2%	
Japan	Total	28.8%	22.6%	No universal limit
	Men	37.6%	29.6%	
	Women	15.8%	13.4%	
France	Total	11.9%	8.7%	39 hours
	Men	16.7%	12.1%	
	Women	6.4%	5.3%	
Spain	Total	13.0%	6.0%	42 hours
	Men	15.3%	8.4%	
	Women	8.4%	3.3%	

Source: Lee et al. (2007); International Labour Organization (2011); Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (2014f)

Note: Data of Japan, France, Spain in 1995 shows percentages of employees who worked more than 49 hours per week. Others show those who worked more than 50 hours per week.

Although the rate declined from 1995 to 2012, more workers in Australia and Japan, especially male workers, worked very long hours compared to workers in

France and Spain. The 2012 rates of Japan and Australia are highest among OECD countries after Turkey, Mexico, and Republic of Korea (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2014f). When these two countries are compared, more Japanese male and female workers worked very long hours than Australians, but the gender differences were larger among Australians.

Furthermore, many of the overtime hours are not paid in Australia and Japan. Those who work long hours in Australia and Japan, predominantly male workers, tend to see long working hours as gendered choices rather than social problems which required regulations (van Wanrooy and Wilson, 2006; Nemoto, 2013). One of the structural factors for long working hours among some Australians and Japanese in comparison to European countries is the absence of working-time regulation by governments (Campbell, 2007; Gornick and Heron, 2006). The absence of working-time regulations enforces socio-cultural discourses (i.e. masculinity associated with long working hours), and normalise excessive working hours at the workplace. It results in poor work-life balance of workers and their family members which undermines everyday meal practices. The following Sections discuss structures of liberal welfare states and transformation of labour market in Australia and Japan independently.

4.2.3 Welfare state and its transformation in Australia

Although the Australian welfare regime is often framed as being the same as other English-speaking countries, research revealed that Australia had accommodated an open market economy into its social policies more systematically than any other countries. From post-Federation in 1901 to the end of the 1960s, Australia had employed a highly centralised wage-fixing system and occupational benefits to enable a breadwinner, predominantly male workers, to support all family members (Harris and McDonald, 2000). Additionally, tariff protection and the restriction of non-white migration have protected domestic economy and labour market (Castles, 1985). At the same time, this system had excluded the population outside of mainstream employment such as the elderly, lone mothers, the long-term sick, recently arrived migrants, and Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders (Hancock, 2002).

From the mid to late twentieth century, the post-war working styles and household system have gradually been replaced by diversification of employment in terms of populations (i.e. more female, non-white migrant workers, and older workers), working hours (i.e. full-time and part-time), and employee's entitlements (i.e. paid leave). The structural shifts impacted the capacity of households to handle new type of social risks (Hancock, 2002). As discussed at Section 4.1.4, gender segregation of employment has been diminished in most industries, along with continuous de-

cline of male labour force participation and growth of part-time employment among men. Male participation rate was 76.3% in September 1984 and has declined to 70.7% in September 2014 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2014c). Part-time employment among men has increased from 11.7% in financial year 2004–2005 to 14.4% in 2013–2014 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2014b, 2015b). The decline of gendered labour market has increased worker’s voices for caring responsibilities beyond gender boundaries. Furthermore, due to long histories of non-state involvement and the nature of federated political system, Australia has refined personal or community services provided an array of government, non-profit and for-profit agencies (Harris and McDonald, 2000). However, the Australian work-life system remains adverse to those who have care-giving responsibilities and imposes significant costs to Australian families to fulfil work and caring responsibilities (Pocock, 2005).

4.2.4 Welfare state and its transformation in Japan

Inside and outside of Japan, there have been debates about whether a welfare state exists in Japan. One of the reasons that the structure of social welfare in Japan is different from the welfare state that evolved in Europe is that there was a great division of liberal, social democratic, and conservative traditions. Esping-Andersen (1997) later considered the Japanese welfare state as hybrid of liberal and conservative models with occupational segmentation and familialism. He also evaluated that the development of welfare state is still immature compared to other developed nations. Japanese economist Toshiaki Tachibanaki (2000) argued that Japan was not welfare state (*fukushi-kokka*), because social expenditure from the government had been too low in proportion to nation’s GDP (Tachibanaki, 2000, 222).

Nakahara (2007) suggested six reasons behind lower social expenditure in the post-war Japanese society. First, the development of social welfare in Japan did not take place along with economic growth and population ageing that happened in many European countries. Secondly, post-war Japan has experienced longer term economic growth and lower unemployment than other developed countries. The oil shock in 1970s did not severely impact on Japanese labour market. Therefore, there was no strong demand to invest in social welfare. Thirdly, rather than the government, Japanese employers offer lifetime employment as well as welfare benefits to their employees. Fourth, collective bargaining by enterprise unions led to constant pay increase among employees. Fifth, the post-war system resulted in a gendered division of labour based on the male-breadwinner and female care giver model. Lastly, the development of population ageing was lower during the post-war economic growth. Thus, multiple socio-economic and demographic factors were

intertwined and resulted in lower public expenditure on social welfare in post-war Japan.

More than any other factors, many scholars agreed that the post-war social care system was realised and sustained by systematic gendered division of labour based on male breadwinner and female care givers within the society (Osawa, 2003; Shirahase, 2003; Ochiai et al., 2010). Household gender division of labour was observed in many OECD countries regardless of any kinds of welfare state regime, but the division was more distinct in Japan in terms of women's power over household financial management and greater share of housework, child-rearing, and nursing care (Shirahase, 2003). Moreover, the gendered division were also extended to social insurance system as well as labour market. From 1961 to 1986, housewives were excluded from the national pension system. Although the reform in 1986 allowed housewives to have their own pensions, the majority of them are still insured by their husband's employers. This insurance system encouraged more married women to be full-time housewives or work part-time below the tax exemption limit of 1.03 million yen per year (Ochiai et al., 2010).

The world's rapid population ageing encouraged the government to increase public expenditure on social welfare. In 2000, Japan introduced long-term care insurance (*choki kaigo hoken*) to increase social responsibility by co-payment for nursing care rather than relying on family and individuals (Campbell and Ikegami, 2003). This system reduced burdens of older family members who needed intensive care. However, the co-payment system burdened people in low social economic status and did not improve gender imbalance of care work within households (Ochiai et al., 2010). The majority of family care givers are still women. Women's income is lower than men in general, and many of them cannot afford to hire full-time care workers nor send their family members to nursing home. Thus, even though social insurance was introduced, the Japanese welfare system heavily relies on female family members. At the same time, the Japanese welfare system is very different from other liberal welfare states as far as maintaining strict immigration policies which discourage hiring migrant care workers which are observed in other Asian post-industrial societies like Singapore and Hong Kong (Ochiai, 2009).

Australia and Japan have shared liberal welfare regimes which utilised their labour market and open economy. At the same time, the transformation of gender balance in labour market and immigration policies shaped different experiences of social changes with the two societies. By welcoming more women and migrants, Australia established a greater diversity within the labour market and gradually diminished gender imbalance at the workplace. In contrast, Japan maintained a rigid

gendered division of work and caring responsibilities at the households, workplaces, and labour market. Long working hours among full-time workers remains a major obstacle to realise work-life balance and a better quality of life among these workers and their families in these two societies.

4.3 Health transition and public health policies

The health status of a population is considered to be one of the key indicators of economic and social changes. Globally, there has been an epidemiological transition from infectious disease to chronic non-communicable diseases, and the resulting demographic transition of age-specific mortality (Omran, 1971). Popkin (1993, 138) added a large shift of diets – high in saturated fat, sugar, and refined foods and low in fibre– are associated with higher incidences of chronic diseases. The change in cause of death is associated with social changes as well as some eco-biological and environmental changes (Caldwell, 2001). These global transformations have drastically changed the needs of public health policies as well as welfare systems in many societies. At the same time, the initiatives from public health and governments also perpetuate new types of social anxieties and political regimes to the public. This Section examines three common health-related issues in contemporary Australia and Japan: health transition, obesity, and social determinants of health. The end of the Section discusses how these issues affect contemporary public health nutrition policies in two societies.

4.3.1 Health transition in Australia and Japan

At the macro level, the epidemiological and demographic trend is not exception for Australia and Japan. In the mid-and late-twentieth century, mortality of non-communicable diseases (NCDs) has replaced infectious diseases, and occupied major causes of death in two countries. Life expectancy rate was one of highest among OECD countries. Table 4.6 shows life expectancy and major causes of death in Australia and Japan based on reports from World Health Organization (WHO).

The comparison of two countries shows that Australia had higher rate of NCD mortality (91%) than Japan (79%), and lower proportion of mortality of infectious diseases (3%) than Japan (13%). Mortality of cardiovascular diseases and cancers occupied more than a half of total incidences of mortality.

Although Australian and Japanese reports use the International Classification of Diseases and related health problems Tenth version (ICD-10) to identify causes of death, the two countries use different methods of ranking leading causes of death

Table 4.6: Life expectancy and major causes of death in Australia and Japan in 2012

		Australia		Japan	
Life expectancy	Gender	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Years old)	79.9	84.3	79.9	86.4
Proportion of NCDs		91%		79%	
Cause of death	Cardiovascular diseases	31%		29%	
	Cancer	29%		30%	
	Respiratory diseases	7%		7%	
	Diabetes	3%		1%	
	Other NCDs	21%		12%	
	Communicable diseases	3%		13%	
	Injuries	6%		8%	

Source: World Health Organization (2014a)

in the public domain. At the same time, there is no standard tabulation lists of mortality shared across countries (Becker et al., 2006). Comparison of reports from each country shows different lists of diseases in contrast to the comparison based on WHO classification. Table 4.7 shows top 6 major causes of death reported by Australian and Japanese governments in 2012.

Table 4.7: Major causes of death in Australia and Japan in 2012 based on country's report

	Rank	Australia	Japan
Causes of death	1	Ischaemic heart diseases	All cancers
	2	Cerebrovascular diseases	Cardiovascular diseases
	3	Dementia & Alzheimer diseases	Pneumonia
	4	Trachea, bronchus & lung cancers	Cerebrovascular diseases
	5	Chronic lower respiratory diseases	Senility
	6	Diabetes	Accidents

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics (2012); Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare (2012b)

As suggested by Becker et al. (2006), the Australian government used the ranking method based on major causes of diseases (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012). In contrast, the Japanese report classified based on kinds of diseases (i.e. cancer). The Australian government adopts more biomedical approaches to classify causes of death than the Japanese government.

Opposite to the decline of infectious diseases in many post-industrial societies, mortality by pneumonia has gradually increased in Japan, and ranked the third

cause of death among Japanese population in 2012 (Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, 2012b). Increasing incidences of death by pneumonia and the consistent presence of death by senility reflected rapid population ageing in Japanese society. There are some plausible explanation of a number of deaths from pneumonia and senility among elderly in Japan. Major causes of death of pneumonia patients in Japan were Pneumonitis and influenza (Morimoto et al., 2014). Compared with young patients, older patients with pneumonia showed fewer observable symptoms, and it is harder to identify mortality risks of older patients (Hamaguchi et al., 2014). In terms of senility death, accessibility to hospitals and both doctor's and patient's perceptions on the end-life care influence regional differences in the number of senility death incidence in Japan (Imanaga et al., 2012).

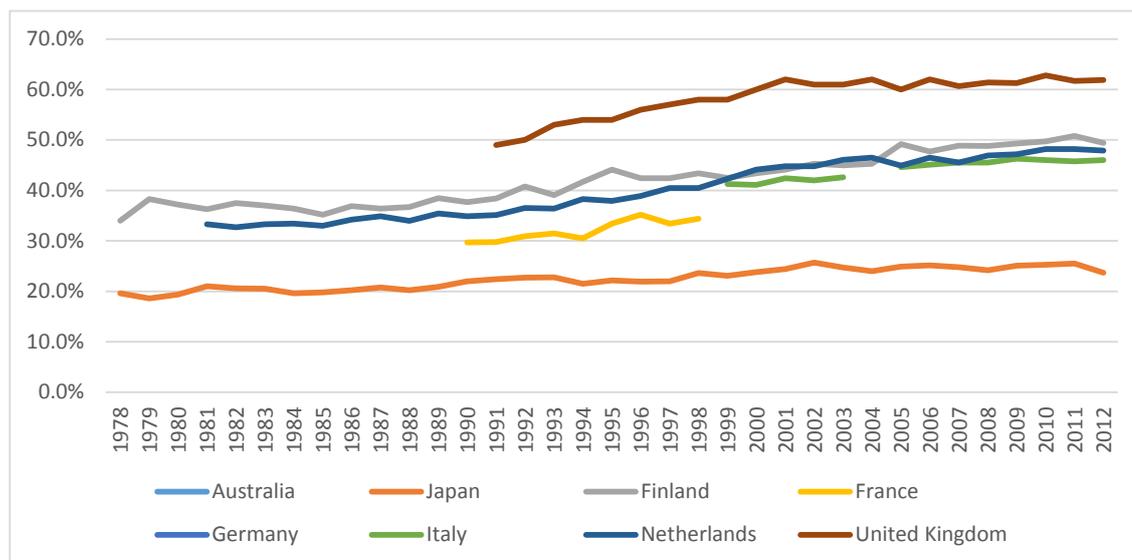
4.3.2 Social construction of obesity in Australia and Japan

Along with the rise of chronic NCDs, weight became a key determinant of healthy bodies of citizens globally (World Health Organization, 2014b). Increasing prevalence of overweight and obesity is considered a social issue by Australian and Japanese governments (Australian government, 2010; Cabinet Office, 2007). In fact, the obesity rate of Australian and Japanese population is not comparable, because of different Body Mass Index (BMI) cut-off points for obesity assigned for different populations. WHO recommended that a BMI greater than 25 for Asian populations and 30 for non-Asian populations (World Health Organization Expert Consultation, 2004). At the same time, both societies as well as other OECD countries have experienced a rapid increase of obesity in last three decades. Figure 4.8 shows the proportion of overweight and obese populations ($BMI \geq 25$) in Australia and Japan from 1978 to 2012.

The figure demonstrated that all countries have more overweight and obese populations than 30 years ago. Australia and United Kingdom showed larger increases in the 1990s and 2000s compared to other countries. The rate had increased from about 45% in early 1990s to more than 60% in the 2000s. The rate of Japan is the lowest among 8 countries in the list, but there was an increase from 19.6% in 1978 and to 23.7% in 2012.

Healthy weight is a more dominant socio-economic, political, and health-related issue in Australia than Japan. It is not only because Australia has one of highest obesity prevalence rates in the world. It is also because issues around obesity reflect various social and political concerns within contemporary Australian society. Davis (2011) suggested that the healthy citizenship norm imposes individual choice and responsibility for maintaining healthy weight as well as healthy self among the

Figure 4.8: Proportion of overweight and obese population



Source: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (2014c)

Note: Data from Australia and Japan are measured and others are self-report.

three generations of Australians. Her in-depth interviews demonstrated that her participants considered diets and exercises as tools for realising their ideal body and weight. In other words, having a healthy body shape and weight are cultural symbols of healthy and responsible citizens. The health concerns among Australians also affect their perceptions on diets. Lea and Worsley (2001) showed that Australian people's perceptions on meat consumption have changed over generations. According to their finding, young people reported they eat meats to supplement the lack of iron and protein. In contrast, older people eat meat because it is necessary in the diet.

At the political level, the Australian government has considered obesity as an individual issue until labour government in the late 2000s (Davis, 2011). The Rudd-Gillard government (2007–2013) of the labour party acknowledged social responsibilities for preventive health including obesity (Australian government, 2010). However, these initiatives of social responsibilities were difficult to transfer into social marketing campaigns as well as people's understanding of obesity (Davis, 2011, 37, 54). Furthermore, the current liberal-National Coalition overturned the Labour government in September 2013, and it abolished the Australian National Preventive Health Agency in 2014 (Parliament of Australia, 2014). Thus, political climates greatly affect government's approaches to preventive health in Australia.

On the contrary, in Japan, obesity is an invisible risk constructed by top-down government and biomedical measures rather than socio-cultural symbol of unhealthy citizens. The most prevalence type of obesity among the Japanese is abdominal obesity and metabolic syndrome which are not necessarily associated with excessive

body weight (Kanazawa et al., 2002). At the same time, the Japanese government, mass media, and the public health community were keen to control potential health risks associated with obesity through top-down approaches. In April 2008, the Japanese government introduced the special health check-up examination (*Tokutei Kenkou shinsa*) program, to identify risks of metabolic syndrome among the middle to old age Japanese.[†] However, the medical threshold of metabolic syndrome is still questionable among health experts, not only because the program was established without carefully examining counter-evidence about metabolic syndrome, but also because there are ethical concerns about biased research and evidence of influence pharmaceutical corporations (Manzenreiter, 2012, 77). Manzenreiter (2012) asserted that obesity in Japan is a socially constructed health risk rather than based on an objective evidence, and a political strategy to widely promote neo-liberal agenda which encourage people to engage in self-regulation (Manzenreiter, 2012, 55).

There is a substantial gap between these public health intentions and Japanese people's understanding of obesity and metabolic syndrome. The term 'metabolic syndrome' was widely known among Japanese people in the 2000s. According to the nationwide survey (Cabinet office, 2011), 77.3% of respondents knew the term and meanings of metabolic syndrome in 2007, and the rate increased to 89.4% in 2011. However, in the 2011 survey, 21.2% reported that they did not consider any lifestyle changes including diets and physical activities to prevent metabolic syndrome.

4.3.3 Social determinants of health in Australia and Japan

Social determinants of health have been increasingly considered as an important determinant of health inequality. The Rio Political Declaration on social determinants of health in 2011 led by WHO announced a global commitment to enhance social determinants of health approaches to tackle health disparities (World Health Organization, 2011). The relationship between socio-economic disparity and health outcomes has been widely examined (Wilkinson, 1992; Drewnowski and Specter, 2004). Some research asserted that a country's welfare regime impacts on health inequality (Bambra, 2006; Chung and Muntaner, 2007; Offer et al., 2010). However, cross-national evidence have shown that these propositions were not always supported by the studies which examined societies with small scale of social stratification and hierarchy (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2006). The majority of studies which supported social determinants of health were conducted in the United States which has had a large socio-economic disparity (Shibuya et al., 2002). In terms of the impact of wel-

[†]All people aged 40 to 74 years old who are insured by public health insurances in Japan are eligible for the examination, and most of costs are covered by health insurance or eligible for tax deduction (Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, 2008a,b).

fare regime, Clare Bambra (2011) pointed out that the Scandinavian states did not have the smallest health inequality. She argued that the notion of health inequality used by comparative social epidemiologists overlooks differences between enhancing overall health profiles of total population and improving the situations of those who are vulnerable. Therefore, the relationship between socio-economic disparity and health outcomes is not straightforward, and varies in societies.

Socio-economic disparity matters in Australian and Japanese societies. Both countries have one of highest Gini coefficient, an indicator of unequal income distribution, in OECD countries[‡] (Tachibanaki, 2006). As discussed in the Section 4.2.1, public social expenditure is lower than European states. In contrast, two societies have relatively good population health profile including longest life expectancy and lower childhood mortality at the nation level. Statistical information about household income distribution for international comparison standardises only the most obvious elements (i.e. adjustment of differences of household sizes), and data may be affected by other aspects of poverty research (i.e. different contexts and contents of nation's household surveys) which are not standardised (d'Ercole, 2006). Thus, relying on a limit number of indicators overlooks different structures of poverty across societies.

I argue that the structure of poverty and welfare systems affects how social and economic factors generate health outcomes. A comparison of socio-economic disparities in Australian and Japanese societies shows different structures and determinants of poverty and inequality. In Australia, socio-economic and health disparities between indigenous and non-indigenous populations as well as between urban and rural populations are bigger.

In Japan, determinants of socio-economic disparity are invisible, due to historical legacy of dependence on family resources including hierarchical relationships between parents and children and husband and wife (Aoki and Aoki, 2005). In other words, socio-economic disparity is affected by the transfer of family resources rather than differences between regions and ethnicity. Epidemiological studies showed socio-economic and health disparities in different locations and conditions. Health disparity was most evident in income disparity within regions rather than between regions (Oshio and Kobayashi, 2009). A cross-national study showed that economic dependence on agriculture, forestry, and fishery was an indicator of poverty in the rural areas of the United States, but it was not of Japan (Fisher, 2001). Socio-economic disparity was lower during economic development, and became larger during the eco-

[‡]Tachibanaki (2006) showed Gini coefficient of 20 OECD countries based on OECDs report (Forster and d'Ercole, 2005). He applied equivalent-income approach to adjust the effect of household sizes. Australia and Japans rates were 0.305 and 0.314 accordingly.

conomic recessions in the 1990s (Tachibanaki, 2006). Despite the health status of all socio-economic groups having improved after the recession compared to pre-recession time, relative health disparity has expanded among some male workers: more male middle-class non-manual workers (clerical/sales/service workers) were more likely to report poor health than male high class workers (managers) (Kondo et al., 2008).

4.3.4 Public health policies and campaigns for preventive medicine in Australia and Japan

Public health policies are designed not only to improve health status of population, but also to reflect social concerns and political regimes. Transformation of issues around the health transition, obesity, and social determinants of health particularly shapes recent public health nutrition policies in two societies. It results in developing different focuses and structures of public health nutrition campaigns in two countries. At the same time, core messages to the public are similar and concentrated on responsibilities of individuals and households.

Australian public health policies for chronic diseases

In response to the rise of chronic NCDs and obesity, the Australian government launched several initiatives during the Labour government. In April 2008, the Rudd government established the National Preventive Health Taskforce led by a group of health experts to develop nationwide strategies for preventive medicine including tobacco, alcohol, obesity, and illicit drugs (Australian government, 2009a).

The national government's initiatives centred on social marketing campaigns such as "Measure Up", "Swap it and Don't stop it" and "Shape Up Australia". The government announced that it would spend about 300 million dollars for social marketing campaigns for preventive medicine (Australian government, 2010, i). The government also looked for co-branding partnerships with local organisations (Australian National Preventive Health Agency, 2014). Through social marketing campaigns, the Australian government tried to promote latest knowledge about obesity and healthy practices and enhance the population's knowledge for preventive medicine.

Another kind of government initiative for tacking obesity is the revision of the dietary guidelines. Australian Dietary Guidelines (2013) are the collection of dietary guidelines for all Australians issued in 2013. The guidelines are the accumulation of knowledge and experiences from previous editions of dietary guidelines developed in 1982, 1992, and 2003, and they build upon the latest scientific evidence related to

risks of chronic diseases (Australian government, 2003, 2013). There are two major changes from the 2003 version. First, the 2013 version focused on whole foods rather than nutrition components to transfer clear messages to consumers. Secondly, the 2013 version provides broader considerations for social determinants of health. It does not only target the indigenous population which was introduced in the 2003 version, but also considers the very young, the very old, those living in remote areas and people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds (Australian government, 2013).

The Australian government's approach to preventive medicine focused on delivering the latest scientific knowledge in the public. The government led expert committees like National Preventive Health Taskforce and the National Health and Medical Research Council to develop strategies, and deliver through social marketing campaigns that users could understand easily. However, technocratic knowledge and information are not necessarily transferable to the public. Despite expert recommendations for structural reforms, public messages through social marketing campaigns have concentrated on changes at the individual and family level.

Japanese public health policies for chronic diseases

In contrast to Australia which has several campaigns about healthy eating and lifestyles, the Japanese government introduced two comprehensive programs in the 2000s: *Kenkou Nippon 21* (Health Japan 21) and *Shokuiku* (Food and nutrition education). *Kenkou Nippon 21* is the first nationwide preventive health program in Japan led by Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare (MHLW). *Shokuiku* is a nationwide initiative to tackle all kinds of food-related issues including food security, food safety, food sovereignty, weight-related issue, food-related prevention for NCDs, and revitalisation of traditional culinary cultures. *Shokuiku* started as a civil activism in the 1990s, and was legalised as the Basic Law of *Shokuiku* by the Japanese parliament in June 2005. Unlike *Kenkou Nippon 21*, *Shokuiku* is the whole government initiative led by the Cabinet office. Rather than regulating market economy, the Japanese government encouraged private corporations to participate in the nationwide campaigns.

Japanese policy makers and health experts took pride in establishing comprehensive policies for preventive medicine and food. However, social determinant of health including inequality by gender, age, regions and occupations has not been considered in the agenda. In particular, the romanticising of “traditional Japanese cuisine” and cultures led by *Shokuiku* is criticised because it overlooks socio-cultural burdens of women for preparing healthy meals (Kojima, 2011; Kimura, 2011) as well

as socially and economically disadvantaged groups which have little access to various responses for healthy eating.

Neo-liberal public health approaches

Health promotion campaigns by Australian and Japanese governments appear to be very different approaches to tackle obesity and NCDs: Australian campaigns incorporate latest scientific evidence and theories, and Japanese campaigns promote traditional diets and domestic agriculture. However, I argue that the core messages to the public are similar and heavily affected by neo-liberal welfare regime, domestic politics, and behaviourist public health approaches. Although both governments recognise multiple factors associated with NCDs and obesity, their messages focus on the responsibilities of individuals and household rather than structural reforms of health and welfare systems. For example, despite the Taskforce's recommendation for environmental intervention, the Australian Labour government avoided interventions which are perceived to be 'nanny state' (Davis, 2011) or socialist (Manne, 2008). The Japanese government frames both *Kenkou Nippon 21* and *Shokuiku* as 'movements by all Japanese citizens (*kokumin undou*)', and escapes from being blamed from post-war policies by admitting structural issues of Japanese agriculture (Kojima, 2011). Furthermore, both governments welcome partnerships with private corporations rather than regulating market economy.

The health transition has had a substantial impact on Australian and Japanese societies, and people's perceptions on health. The Australian government has adopted knowledge and a framework in accordance with international best practices for preventing NCDs and obesity. The Japanese government introduced comprehensive public health programs to handle the world's most ageing population and NCDs. Despite very different structures of public health programs, both governments actively incorporate neo-liberal agenda. The next Section discusses transformation of culinary cultures and eating practices in contemporary Australian and Japanese societies.

4.4 Transformation of culinary cultures and practices

It has been argued that the development of trans-national food and beverage corporations like McDonalds, Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC) and Starbucks after the Second World War fosters homogenisation of food production and consumption

around the globe (Ritzer, 1996). The adoption of “western diets”, high in saturated fat, sugar, and refined foods and that are low in fibre, is considered as a key determinant of a large-scale transition of health and nutrition (Popkin, 1993). It has contributed to the destruction of “traditional” culinary cultures (Pingali, 2007; Cabinet Office, 2006b) and led to individualised eating practices, including eating alone. At the same time, specific cuisine and eating practices are framed as “traditions”. This Section explores transformations of diets and eating practices in Australia and Japan beyond the modernisation and individualisation debates focusing on the post-second World War time and onwards. I argue that transformation of diets and eating practices are the reflection of the long term history of cultural contacts and social changes. This Section is divided into two parts. First, I introduce how cultural contacts shape Australian and Japanese culinary cultures. Secondly, I examine the historical transformation of family dining in two societies, and discuss how the Victorian middle-class domesticity has evolved as an icon of “traditional” eating practice.

4.4.1 Transformation of Australian and Japanese culinary cultures: how cultural contacts shape culinary cultures

Australia and Japan are geographically isolated island countries. Before the era of globalisation, cross-national cultural contacts of island countries were limited to migration and international trades compared with countries belonging to large continents. At the same times, the demographical structures of two countries are different. In Australia, about 23 million people including less than half a million indigenous population lived in 7.6 million square kilometres of island continent. About 90% of population live in urban and cost-dwelling cities, 24.6% of Australians were born overseas, and 43.1% has at least overseas-born parent (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011). In contrast, Japan is a highly populated country: 126 million people live in 0.3 million square kilometres. Japan’s population density has been higher than most European countries since the beginning of eighteenth century (Saito, 1983). Unlike Australia, Japan has never had an official immigration policy (Roberts, 2013), but it is not homogeneous society: there are ethnic minorities and diversity across regions (Sugimoto, 2014).

Movements of people and food underpin trajectories of the transformation of culinary cultures in Australia and Japan. Over three centuries, Australia has had a more intense history of cultural contacts via international migration and trade than

Japan. Before arrival of the first fleet in 1788 that marked the era of European settlement, there was a series of trades between Indigenous Australians and South-east Asia and China (Wahlqvist, 2002). During the colonial settlement, people settled in towns and relied on massive imports from Britain rather than their own peasant agriculture (Symons, 2007). British traditions were not just imported to Australia but rather modified to suit a new environment without being constrained by “the weight of imported tradition” (Santich, 2012). After the Second World War, migrants and their culinary culture have increased their presence in Australia, not only because the Australia government promoted mass migration programs with the slogan “populate or perish”, but also because of the rise of restaurant industry (Symons, 2007). British and continental European migration to Australia grew during the White Australian policy and peaked in the 1960s, and the arrangement was extended to immigrants from Turkey in 1968 and Yugoslavia in 1970 (Jupp, 2002, 23). The gradual abolition of White Australia Policy after the second world war to the Vietnam war meant that Australians were exposed to Asian cuisines through accepting more migrants from Asia and encouraging Australians to travel to Asia (Symons, 2007).

The foundation of culinary culture in Japan drew inspiration from East Asian civilisations including China and the Korean peninsula. The earliest relations between Japan and East Asia were documented in a Chinese historical text *Gishiwa-jinden* (The history of the Wei) written around 280–297. In 600, the Prince Shotoku started to send the first envoys to the Sui dynasty China, following the opening relations with Silla and Baekje, two countries on Korean peninsula. The diplomatic relations continued after the Tang dynasty was replaced by the Sui in 618 to the abolishment in 894. The second oldest book of Japanese history completed in 720, *Nihon Shoki*, recorded that there were a series of convivial meals with envoys of Sui, Tang, Silla, Baekje, and the *Emishi*, the residents of north-eastern Japan (Ehara and Higashiyotsuyanagi, 2011).[§] Through envoys to the Tang dynasty, Buddhism was introduced to Japan, and resulted in the ban of meat consumption and hunting made by the Emperor Tenmu in 675. In the eighth century, chopsticks were gradually adopted and became essential for everyday use. However, eating at table with chairs were not adopted across all social classes until twentieth century (Ishige, 2005). Historian Isao Kumakura argued that eating with tables and chairs were considered as “Tang style (*tou-shiki*)” or foreign, and was gradually replaced

[§]There have been a long term disputes of if the *Emishi* is the descendants of Ainu or non-Ainu Japanese. The study showed that the word *Emishi* was used to refer to the population who lived in north-east of Japan before the distinction between Ainu and non-Ainu populations were made in modern Japan (Hanihara, 1990).

by individual tables (*meimei-zen*) (Figure 4.9), along with the rise of “Japanese-style culture (*kokufu-bunka*)” during the Heian period (794–1185) (Kumakura 2007, 25–26).

Figure 4.9: Meimei zen (Photo by courtesy of the Ueda City Museum in Nagano prefecture)



From the late twelfth to late nineteenth century, Japan was an isolated feudal society ruled by the *samurai* warrior, but started to be influenced by Europe through European missionaries and traders at the regional level, particularly in south-west of Japan. The first official record of Japanese encounters’ with Europeans were when Portugal sailors arrived by accident to the Tanegashima island in 1543. On 22nd July 1549, the Spanish Catholic missionary Francis Xavier came to spread Christianity, followed by a group of Spanish and Portugal missionaries. The Japanese who converted to Christianity started to eat meat as liberation from the Buddhist and Shinto taboo. Consumption of beef, chicken, and chicken eggs started to be popular in the western part of Japan between late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Ishige, 2007). In addition, potato, corn, and pumpkin were introduced to Nagasaki in the sixteenth century (Ehara and Higashiyotsuyanagi, 2011). However, in 1639, the Edo government banned the entry of Portugal, and limited its diplomatic relations to Holland and North-east Asia (China, Korea, *Emishi*, and *Ryukyu*). The central government (*Bakufu*) was not involved with administration of diplomacy, and allowed specific regional governments (*han*) to be agents (Kazui and Videen, 1982). This diplomatic relations continued until 1854 when a Commodore of the United States, Matthew C. Perry arrived and asked for diplomatic relations with the West.

Although the intensity and length of cultural contacts are very different, movement of people and food have great impacts on culinary cultures in Australia and Japan. Australia over its short colonial history has embraced a variety of culinary culture brought by migrants from all over the world. The foundation of Japanese cuisine has been built on various degrees of cultural contacts from national to regional

levels with East Asia over two thousand years. Later formal and informal diplomatic relations with European countries during colonialism brought another form of cultural contact to Japan. At the beginning, relations with the West was limited to south-west of Japan, but became formalised relations between nation-states in the mid-nineteenth century.

4.4.2 Development of family dining

As discussed in Chapter 2, there are pessimistic views of the decline of family dining in many societies including Australia and Japan. However, such claims are not necessarily supported by long histories of happy family meals in each society. Like the use of chopsticks in Japan and Sunday roast in Australia, the notion of family meals is a production of a range of cultural contacts. The ideology of home and family meals is not native to both Australian and Japanese societies. The structure and ideology of family dining in Australia and Japan originated from Victorian domesticity emerged in the nineteenth century in the Great Britain. It was introduced to two societies in the nineteenth century, spread through literature and television, and became a nostalgia for good old days in the late twentieth century. At the same time, different historical events and conjunctures were intertwined with these adoptions of family dining in each society.

Victorian middle-class domesticity and family dining

The ideology and structure of modern family mealtimes emerged and was widely accepted in nineteenth century's Victorian England, followed by socio-economic changes driving the separation of public workplaces and private home and deep commitments to the idea of home (Tosh, 2007). The impacts of domestic reform discourses were extended to everyday activities including gendered eating practices, table manners, and children's education (Fitts, 1999; Gray, 2013). The development of domesticity among Victorian middle-class was driven by the need of male labours (Tosh, 1996) and the rise of competitive individualism along with rapid industrialisation and urbanisation (Gillis, 1989). The idea of domesticity was also introduced to British colonies like Australia and New Zealand (Wagner, 2011) and India (Blunt, 1999) as well as to former colonies the United States through European and American bourgeois (Cinotto, 2006).

Development of family dining in Australia

Unlike Britain and Ireland where the development of public and private spheres were fostered by the process of industrialisation, the settlement in Australia started as public and a private sphere was carefully constructed (Russell, 1993). During settlement, settlers tried to replicate their own traditional taste and practices in the new land (Symons, 2007). Building domesticity was symbol of civilisation in the context of rural settlement (Russell, 1993). Family meal practices followed English dining. Valuing plain food as wholesome and virtuous, Australian experiences of family dining in early twentieth century centred on utilitarian aspects of food rather than eating for pleasure (Banwell et al., 2012, 25). The British roast dinner on Sunday was maintained (Walker and Roberts, 1988). The ideology of gendered domesticity reflected on structure of family meal: the timing of meals, the menu, the order of serving, and sometimes conversation were determined by male breadwinners, and women and children had little influence (Banwell et al., 2012, 25-26).

The post-second world war economic prosperity in the 1950s and 1960s fostered the expansion of the population of middle-class that embraced the domesticity as a cultural icon. The development of television cooking shows also served to maintain British and English heritages in the post-war Australian society. After the second world war, many middle-class Australian women shifted out of the wartime labour force and became housewives to fulfil new duty to the nation (de Solier, 2005, 469). When television was introduced to Australia in the 1950s, many Australian households set television either in the kitchen or the dining room (Groves, 2004). Television cooking shows during the time such as the programs by Bill Kerr, Margaret Fulton, and Bernard King influenced to generate Anglo-Celtic notion of Australian identity and idea of family meals (de Solier, 2005).

Narratives of Australian culinary history from the 1960s onwards are greatly different from those in the 1950s and early 1960s, and they increased attention to gender and cultural diversity (Duruz, 1999). Television became a site for negotiating multiculturalism within Australia: in the 1970s, Anglo-Australian chefs introduced exotic foods to the audiences, and in the 1990s, migrant Australian chefs appeared on television programs (de Solier, 2005, 469–470). Additionally, increasing availability and accessibility of food encouraged more urban Australians to develop an omnivorous taste, while family dining also started to accommodate individual preferences and taste (Banwell et al., 2012). Despite these dynamic changes of Australian society between this time period, changes did not occur in all populations. An interview study in the late 1990s showed that the expansion of exotic food did not reach rural communities which lacked access to new food items and taste (Lupton,

2000). Older Australians of European descents, who were born in the 1920s and 1930s, retained eating habits and practices from their childhood in the 1930s and 1940s, and concerned for negative health effects of eating convenience or pre-cooked meals (Banwell et al., 2010).

Development of family dining in Japan

The idea of family dining has been introduced as antithesis of traditional patriarchy at households by Christians and socialist scholars in late nineteenth century (Omote, 2010). One of advocates Yoshiharu Iwamoto was a founder of the first women's magazine in Japan (*Jogaku-zasshi*), and set up a column called *Nihon no kazoku* (the Japanese family) to assert the notion of home and family in comparison between western and Japanese households which he observed from migrant families living in Japan. However, the new idea was accepted only among wealthy and educated people in urban areas (Omote, 2010, 44–45). For many centuries, the majority of Japanese people ate together but rarely shared the same table together. People had meals either on the floor or on personal tray boxes, as discussed in Section 4.4.1, and each dish was served in individual plates and bowls. This way of eating reflects various rituals associated with the traditional family structure called *Ie* which are the household consisting of extended family members. It was common that household members did not eat at the same time. *Kagezen* is a practice to set up a meal for absent family members to wish their health and well-being, and it indicates that sharing the same food signifies symbol of household rather than sharing mealtime together (Ishige, 2005). During this time, eating was an everyday ritual associated with cultural and religious rules that regulated individual behaviours and food intake. Conversation was not allowed and the way to eat was highly restricted by cultural rules (Omote, 2010).

“Eating around the table” has widely spread in early to mid-twentieth century during the Taisho and the early Showa periods, when the Japanese households started to use a short-legged table called *chabudai*. Before and during the Second World War, the national government promoted commensality to enhance national cohesion. The government's intervention in school lunches was aimed at not only improving children's health but also at disciplining their behaviour, to train children to become productive labourers and soldiers for the nation (Iwasaki, 2008, 40). By this time, the use of *chabudai* was widely spread to working class families. However, there were few changes in eating practices (Ishige, 2005).

The idea and practice of family dining were realised in Japan during the post-war economic development between the 1950s and the 1980s (Omote, 2010). The

realisation was associated with the emergence of the modern nuclear family with full-time housewives. As discussed in Section 4.1.4, by the 1970s, many Japanese women were not housewives and engaged with family business and agriculture, and female labour force participation was higher than Australia. The emergence of full-time housewives among middle-class families promoted rigid gendered division of labours not only at the household but also within the contemporary Japanese society (Ochiai, 2005, 45). House architecture and meal practices such as sharing a big plate were adopted for housewives' convenience. Ishige (2005) suggested that the shift from the patriarchy to the housewife-centred family was symbol of the democratisation of households which was a part of post-war dominant ideology (Ishige, 2005, 175). Thus, family dining became a part of an important social practice associated with the structural shift from the traditional patriarch system to the post-war democracy.

Additionally, the image of American middle-class family and their lifestyles was introduced through television series such as "I Love Lucy" and "Father Knows Best" and became the utopian goal of many Japanese in the 1950s (Ivy, 1993). Both radio and television stations promoted radio and television as symbols of family gathering (Komuro, 2009). Family dinners in front of television was also a popular practice in western societies like Australia (Groves, 2004) and the United States (Spigel, 2013). However, the development of the middle-class family meals and the introduction of television to the middle-class households occurred at different time in the western societies. What is unique about the experience in Japan in comparison to the West is that the development of democratic family and television occurred during a similar period of time.

Despite only be established in Japanese society for a short time, public debates around the decline of family dining encompass anxieties over social changes and globalisation of Japanese societies from the 1980s onwards. In 2011, the Japanese government launched a new agenda to promote family dining through the *Shokuiku* Basic Law. The new plan stated that eating together (*Kyou-shoku*) was a core of *Shokuiku* (food and nutrition education) (Cabinet Office, 2011, 5). The new agenda employs the family as an education agent for children and young people, and frames family meals as a multi-functional practice to fulfil a wide range of goals of *Shokuiku* from public health to preservation of Japanese culinary culture and food system.

4.4.3 Evolutions of family dining in Australia and Japan

A comparison of evolutions of family dining in Australia and Japan has demonstrated that both societies accommodate the ideologies and structures of the Victorian domesticity and family dining over different time periods and trajectories, while

the idea was introduced to both societies in the nineteenth century. Australia and other western societies had established family dining in the nineteenth century when gendered division of public and private spheres was established. The structure of family dining has gradually been transformed along with multiculturalism, female participation to labour force, and development of food and restaurant industries. In contrast, Japan took about a century to adapt both structure and ideology of the Victorian domesticity and family dining: eating at the same table and symbolic linkage between family and meals. They were realised in Japan between the 1950s and the 1980s, along with the post-war economic prosperity as well as the second wave of democratisation of the society, more specifically the dissolution of the *Ie* system and the development of consumer society including the introduction of television to households. The juxtaposition of economic growth and transformation from *Ie* to modern nuclear family encouraged more married women to become housewives or stay at part-time employment which played an important role in establishing the post-war Japanese familialist welfare discussed in Section 4.2.4. Thus, the transformation to the modern dining styles in Japan was more compressed than western societies, and mostly happened after the Second World War. The cross-cultural comparison of evolutions of family dining suggests that realisation of domesticity and family dining requires certain socio-economic and family circumstances.

The structure of family dining reflects socio-economic structures of the society on the one hand, on the other, the ideology of family dining developed in the nineteenth century's Britain remains as a cultural icon in Australia and Japan in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. A cross-cultural study showed that the pressure of globalisation, which is multiculturalism in Australia and internationalisation in Japan, has fostered reassertion of specific cultural traditions as well as conservative representations of gender roles in both Australian and Japanese societies (Hogan, 1999). In Australia, narratives of the 1950s serves to symbolise a celebration of conservative relations of gender and ethnicity (Duruz, 1999, 250). Likewise in Japan, narratives of rural agriculture and lifestyle developed in the 1970s construct the imaginary of traditional Japanese culture and identity (Creighton, 1997). The development of technology like television plays crucial roles in shaping imaginaries of good old days in each society. Table 4.8 summaries evolutions of family dining in Australia and Japan.

Table 4.8: Comparison of evolutions of family dining in Australia and Japan

Event	Australia	Japan
Introduction	The 19th century Introduced via settlers	The late 19th century (1887-1896) Introduced via Christian and socialist scholars
Development	From the 1850s: Emergence of class distinction by domesticity Gendered division of public and private spheres	1897-1912: Spread among the wealthy and educated 1926-1940: Wartime propaganda from the government
Normalisation	The 19th century to the 1950s <i>Events fostered the introduction of television</i> 1956: The Melbourne Olympic	The 1950s-the 1980s <i>Events fostered the introduction of television</i> 1959: The wedding ceremony of the Prince Hirohito 1964: The Tokyo Olympic
Nostalgia	From the 1960s onwards	From the 1980s onwards

Source: (Russell, 1993; Omote, 2010)

I have examined the literature of transformations of Australian and Japanese societies across four dimensions: economic structures, social welfares, public health policies, and culinary cultures including the development of family dining. Australia and Japan shared similar socio-economic structures as a post-industrial society including the development of service-dominant economy and social welfare as well as public health interests to NCD preventions. However, a close look at the comparison demonstrated different trajectories of developing a service industry, a liberal welfare state, female labour participation, a socio-economic disparity, and an ideal of family dining. These similar and different aspects of structures and culinary cultures play significant roles in shaping everyday determinants of commensality and solo-eating. The next Chapters will draw attention to fieldwork data of young adults in urban Australia and Japan, and examine everyday determinants of commensality and solo-eating among young adults. In the next Chapter (Chapter 5), I examine perceptions of commensality and solo-eating among young adults.

Chapter 5

Cultural domains of commensality and solo-eating

The previous Chapter shows *etic*, outsider's, accounts of contemporary Australian and Japanese societies comparing and contrasting the histories of their culinary cultures. This Chapter shifts the focus to *emic*, an insider's perspective for use in this cross-cultural comparison. A free-list technique was used to identify "cultural domains" of commensality and solo-eating among young adult participants, and to explore cultural variations among different cultural groups and individuals. A cultural domain is a collection of items (words, images, and sentences) that a group of people consider as the same type. Borgatti (1999) noted that a cultural domain is a shared perception rather than an individual preference, and items in a domain are linked by semantic relations. In other words, there are some connections between items in the same domain. Comparison of cultural domains shows similar and different items between different cultural groups in an *emic* perspective. As noted in Chapter 3, free-list data was collected from a group of university students (Study I) and young adults (Study II) in Australia and Japan. A cross-cultural comparison was conducted based on the comparison between four cultural groups: Australian students (A1) and young adults (A2) and Japanese students (J1) and young adults (J2).

This Chapter is divided into three Sections. Section 5.1 examines the distribution of the free-list responses to five topics related to eating with others, eating alone, eating with family, eating with friends, and eating with work colleagues. Section 5.2 employs principal component analysis and examines consensus among cultural groups. Section 5.3 focuses on the words which are most salient or representative among each cultural group, and examines similarities and differences of these salient words among four cultural groups as well as among gender subgroups.

5.1 Distribution of free-list responses

Combining Study I and II, 270 Australian and Japanese young adults participated in the free-list survey, with 6,859 responses to five free-list questions. These responses expressed emotions (i.e. a range from positive and negative) and descriptions of eating (i.e. time, places, occasions, menu etc.). After coding by semantic similarities of listed words, 20 categories and 1,091 codes were generated from the total free-list responses. Table 5.1 shows total numbers of responses, mean average and standard deviations of individual responses to five free-list questions by topic.

Table 5.1: Total numbers and mean average of responses to five free-list questions among four cultural groups

Question	Group	Sample size	Numbers of responses	Mean (SD)	Similar group pairs*
Eating with others	Total	269	1698	6.3 (3.1)	A1 & A2
	A1	63	500	7.9 (3.6)	
	J1	135	652	4.8 (1.7)	
	A2	40	351	8.8 (3.8)	
	J2	31	196	6.3 (1.6)	
Eating alone	Total	270	1545	5.7 (2.0)	A1 & J1
	A1	64	362	5.7 (2.1)	A1 & J2
	J1	135	719	5.3 (1.6)	J1 & J2
	A2	40	287	7.2 (2.2)	
	J2	31	180	5.8 (2.0)	
Eating with family	Total	270	1553	5.8 (2.5)	A1 & A2
	A1	64	416	6.5 (3.0)	J1 & J2
	J1	135	674	5.0 (2.0)	A1 & J2
	A2	40	292	7.3 (2.7)	
	J2	31	171	5.5 (2.0)	
Eating with friends	Total	269	1697	6.3 (2.6)	A1 & A2
	A1	64	454	7.1 (3.1)	J1 & J2
	J1	135	742	5.4 (1.9)	A1 & J2
	A2	40	317	8.1 (2.9)	
	J2	31	184	5.9 (1.8)	
Eating with work colleagues	Total	60	366	6.2 (2.6)	
	A1	No data collection			
	J1	No data collection			
	A2	33	208	6.3 (2.9)	
	J2	27	161	5.9 (2.0)	

*Similarities of means were assessed by ANOVA+Tukey multiple comparison at $p < 0.05$

The total number of responses and the mean average per participant (pp) demon-

strate that questions of eating with others (6.3 words pp), friends (6.3 words pp), and work colleagues (6.2 word pp) produced more responses than that of eating alone (5.7 words pp) and eating with family (5.8 words pp). Australian groups (both A1 and A2) listed more words in response to most of questions except the question of eating alone where the Japanese young adult group (J2) listed more words than the Australian student group (A1). The Australian young adult group (A2) listed the most and the Japanese student group (J2) listed the least. Means of Australian student group (A1) and Japanese young adult group (J2) were similar in all questions except eating with others ($p < 0.05$).

Table 5.2 presents the distribution of responses to five free-list questions among four groups by category. The list of words in the first column are 20 categories of codes developed from free-list responses of four groups (See Appendix O) for definitions of each category).

Most of free-list responses were concentrated on positive and negative emotions and behaviours associated with commensality and solo-eating. In terms of emotions, most of participants associated commensality with positive emotions and eating alone with negative emotions. The trend was more explicit among student groups (A1 and J1) than young adult groups (A2 and J2), and about 80–90% of Japanese student group (J1) listed positive emotions associated with commensality and negative emotions associated with solo-eating. However, more than 60% of Australian young adult participants (A2) and more than 40% of other three groups (A1, J1 and J2) also associated eating alone with positive emotions. About 30% of Australian and Japanese young adult participants (A2 and J2) associated eating with work colleagues with both positive and negative emotions. It suggests that young adult groups expressed more mix feelings to commensality and solo-eating than student groups.

Compared to Japanese groups (J1 and J2), Australian groups listed more variety of topics associated with commensality and solo-eating such as purposes, places, occasions, structures, foods and drinks, and sharing. In contrast, more Japanese participants, especially student groups, listed words related to emotions and the experience taste than Australian participants. The difference suggests that Australian and Japanese groups pay attention to different aspects of commensality and solo-eating. Compared to student groups (A1 and J1), more young adults participants associated eating alone with the words related to time. Compared to other three groups, Japanese young adult group (J2) associated eating alone with the words related to choices.

5.2 Cultural consensus between and within groups

A principal component analysis of respondents or consensus analysis assesses whether free-list data has one or more patterns of agreements among respondents (Weller, 2007). If more participants in the same cultural group agreed with each other, the first eigenvalue extracted from principal component analysis or factor analysis is three times larger than the second eigenvalue generated by principal component analysis or factor analysis depending on the statistical software used for analyses (Weller, 2007). I employed principal component analysis using SPSS. Table 5.3 presents the first and second eigenvalues and variations generated by principal component analysis.

Responses from a group of Japanese university students (J1) showed stronger consensus on their responses to all questions, followed by A1, J2 and A2. The result

Table 5.3: Principal component analysis of responses to five free-list questions among four cultural groups

Group	Component 1		Component 2		Ratio	Consensus
	Eigenvalue	Variation	Eigenvalue	Variation		
Eating with others						
All ($N=269$)	64.33	25.23	21.61	8.47	2.98	
A1 ($N=63$)	15.93	25.29	4.22	6.70	3.78	*
J1 ($N=135$)	47.23	39.03	10.35	8.55	4.56	*
A2 ($N=40$)	7.27	18.17	3.14	7.85	2.31	
J2 ($N=31$)	6.90	22.26	3.56	11.47	1.94	
Eating alone						
All ($N=270$)	45.43	16.83	13.27	4.92	3.42	*
A1 ($N=64$)	9.46	14.78	4.53	7.08	2.09	
J1 ($N=135$)	34.65	25.67	7.94	5.88	4.36	*
A2 ($N=40$)	4.69	11.72	3.30	8.26	1.42	
J2 ($N=31$)	4.36	14.08	2.61	8.41	1.67	
Eating with family						
All ($N=270$)	47.88	17.74	15.79	5.85	3.03	*
A1 ($N=64$)	8.14	12.71	3.85	6.01	2.11	
J1 ($N=135$)	36.79	27.25	10.90	8.08	3.37	*
A2 ($N=40$)	4.27	10.68	2.60	6.50	1.64	
J2 ($N=31$)	4.69	15.14	2.61	8.41	1.80	
Eating with friends						
All ($N=269$)	63.66	23.58	14.25	5.28	4.47	*
A1 ($N=64$)	12.29	19.20	4.69	7.33	2.62	
J1 ($N=135$)	47.19	34.70	7.81	5.74	6.04	*
A2 ($N=40$)	8.19	21.00	2.80	7.17	2.93	
J2 ($N=31$)	6.18	19.93	2.74	8.85	2.25	
Eating with work colleagues						
All ($N=60$)	4.56	7.60	3.68	6.13	1.24	
A1	-	-	-	-	-	
J1	-	-	-	-	-	
A2 ($N=33$)	3.92	11.88	3.11	9.43	1.26	
J2 ($N=27$)	2.96	10.95	2.24	8.29	1.32	

*Ratio>3.00 considered as consensus.

suggests that there was no strong convergence of perceptions about eating together and eating alone across and within cultural groups except for group J1, but rather there were variations across and within cultural groups. Although the response to eating with family and friends and eating alone showed consensus among all cultural groups, it may be affected by larger sample size of J1. Weaker coherences of free-list data (ratios less than 3.00) are also identified between subgroups (gender and living

arrangements) of each cultural group.

5.3 Culturally salient responses

In CCA, frequency and orders of responses in each participant's list are considered as indicators of "how important or prominent an item is" (Schrauf and Sanchez, 2008, s388). The salient scores, also known as Smith's S (Smith, 1993; Smith and Borgatti, 1998), are determined by frequency of responses among all participants which are weighted by the order in each participant's list (Quinlan, 2005). In other words, the more participants listed an item higher up in the lists, the salient score of the item. The items which were listed later by many participants have a lower salient score. The score range is from 1.0 (the highest salience) to 0.0 (the lowest salience) (Schrauf and Sanchez, 2008). For the calculation of the salience score, I followed the instruction by (Quinlan, 2005, 226)*. In this Section, I focus on the top ten words in each participant's life to determine the highest salient scores among each cultural group and each gender subgroup, and examine similarities and variations across groups.

5.3.1 Comparison between cultural groups

The first part of the Section focuses on similarities and differences between four cultural groups. Table 5.4 presents ten most salient words of each topic among four cultural groups in Study I and II.

*First, I ranked items on individual's list in the inverse of order participants listed, and divided the rank by the number of items individual participants listed. Then, I added all scores which one item received and divided by the number of participants.

Table 5.4: Ten responses with the highest salient scores in each cultural group in Study I and II

Study I Australian (A1)		Study I Japanese (J1)		Study II Australian (A2)		Study II Japanese (J2)	
Eating with others							
Pleasure	0.609	Pleasure	0.772	Family	0.503	Pleasure	0.590
Family	0.392	Delicious	0.373	Pleasure	0.433	Family	0.383
Social	0.315	Conversation	0.324	Social	0.274	Conversation	0.247
Friends	0.294	Family	0.145	Friends	0.264	Delicious	0.234
Sociability	0.207	Happy	0.123	Conversation	0.217	Eating out	0.157
Conversation	0.195	Friends	0.094	Eating out	0.167	Work colleagues	0.151
Eating out	0.187	Sociability	0.076	Sociability	0.153	Sociability	0.133
Sharing	0.180	Eating out	0.074	Dinner	0.147	Dinner	0.102
Dinner	0.141	Communication	0.068	Delicious	0.140	Friends	0.095
Relaxed	0.110	Lively	0.065	Exploring new	0.138	Communication	0.074
Eating alone							
Lonely	0.328	Lonely	0.782	Silence	0.274	Lonely	0.281
Boring	0.202	Boring	0.234	Boring	0.204	Eating out	0.192
Quick	0.180	Carefree	0.172	Reading	0.203	Quick	0.179
Sad	0.175	Silence	0.140	Quick	0.185	Carefree	0.159
TV	0.142	Not delicious	0.124	Lonely	0.152	Choosing what I want	0.158
Choosing what I want	0.118	No interaction	0.110	Healthy	0.135	TV	0.146
Home	0.106	Choosing what I want	0.090	Relaxed	0.130	Routine	0.121
Hunger	0.103	Quick	0.082	TV	0.123	Whenever I want	0.101
Busy	0.100	TV	0.080	Thinking	0.117	Relaxed	0.094
Cooking	0.098	Concentrating on eating	0.078	Unhealthy	0.109	Freedom	0.086
Eating with family							
Pleasure	0.293	Conversation	0.489	Pleasure	0.418	Pleasure	0.418

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Table 5.4 – *Continued from previous page*

Study I Australian (A1)		Study I Japanese (J1)		Study II Australian (A2)		Study II Japanese (J2)	
Conversation	0.244	Pleasure	0.455	Catching up	0.272	Conversation	0.272
Family	0.210	Delicious	0.217	Conversation	0.131	Daily	0.131
Sociability	0.167	Sociability	0.159	Discussion	0.131	Delicious	0.131
Catching up	0.095	Lively	0.152	Family	0.128	Catching up	0.128
Celebration	0.087	Relaxed	0.111	Cooking	0.117	Sociability	0.117
Home	0.071	Home cooked	0.083	Stressful	0.094	Communication	0.094
Family time	0.067	Happiness	0.064	Large portion	0.083	TV	0.083
Happiness	0.066	TV	0.052	Loud	0.081	Warm	0.081
Dinner	0.064	Laughter	0.052	Home	0.078	Cheerful	0.078
Eating with friends							
Pleasure	0.554	Conversation	0.526	Pleasure	0.554	Pleasure	0.535
Eating out	0.300	Pleasure	0.409	Eating out	0.481	Drinking	0.281
Social	0.285	Delicious	0.186	Drinking	0.262	Conversation	0.270
Conversation	0.189	Sociability	0.134	Exploring new	0.211	To refresh	0.214
Laughter	0.128	Laughter	0.112	Sociability	0.200	Catching up	0.130
Catching up	0.106	Eating out	0.106	Conversation	0.200	Eating out	0.121
Happiness	0.105	Relaxed	0.097	Laughter	0.146	Sharing information	0.089
Relaxed	0.092	Happiness	0.090	Social	0.121	Talking about work	0.083
Friends	0.092	Eating more	0.071	Home	0.084	Friends	0.080
Expensive	0.082	Lively	0.067	Cooking	0.082	Long	0.076
Eating with work colleagues							
				Pleasure	0.250	Being attentive to others	0.276
				Lunch	0.219	Talking about work	0.234
				Conversation	0.194	Stressful	0.176
				A part of work	0.150	Workplace	0.142

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Table 5.4 – *Continued from previous page*

Study I Australian (A1)	Study I Japanese (J1)	Study II Australian (A2)	Study II Japanese (J2)
		Controlled behaviours 0.139	Obligation 0.118
		Eating out 0.124	Sociability 0.109
		Joking 0.098	Lunch 0.106
		Catching up 0.083	Pleasure 0.105
		Quick 0.075	Drinking 0.099
		Talking about work 0.067	Eating out 0.083

Eating together

Overall, most of participants in all cultural groups associated eating together with sociability and positive emotions, and eating alone with negative emotions and practicality. However, a closer look of salient scores showed some variations between different cultural groups. More Japanese participants linked the experience of taste with the practice of eating together and eating alone than a group of Australian. The word “delicious” obtained high salient scores among a group of Japanese participants (both J1 and J2) when they associated with eating with others and family. The word “not delicious” obtained high salient score for eating alone among a group of Japanese students (J1).

In the association with eating with family, “TV” had higher salience scores only among Japanese participants (both J1 and J2). It indicates TV plays an important in family meals among Japanese young adult participants, unlike western societies which recently became conscious on negative implications on TV dinners (Groves, 2004; Spigel, 2013). In terms of the content of family meals, “large portion” of meals and “cooking” were salient only among Australian young adults (A2). For eating with friends, “drinking” had high salient scores only among a group of young adults (A2 and J2). “Exploring new restaurants and food” among Australian young adults (A2) and “talking about work” among Japanese young adults (J2) also showed high salient scores.

Workplace commensality in Australia and Japan

Responses to eating with work colleagues indicated different workplace cultures in Australia and Japan. “Lunch” has a higher salient score among Australian than Japanese, but “drinking” is salient only among Japanese young adults. Furthermore, Australians and Japanese focus on different aspects of behaviours associated with workplace meals. Australians focus on behaviours (i.e. controlled behaviours) and conversation topics (i.e. joking, sharing ideas, and talking about work). In contrast, Japanese focused on attitudes and feelings. “Attentiveness to other people” were the most salient words for Japanese participants, and another salient word “stressful” is related to being attentive to others. Consideration for others is closely related to the demonstration of politeness in Japanese society (Ohashi, 2008; Fukushima, 2011), and the free-list response suggests that attentiveness is an important aspect of workplace sociability among Japanese participants.

Eating alone

For eating alone, the word “lonely or *sabishii* or *kodoku* in Japanese is one of the most salient words across cultural groups, and the score is especially high among Japanese students (0.78), followed by Australian students (0.33), Japanese young adults (0.28), and Australian young adults (0.15). Higher scores among a group of students may be because many people adapt to the practice of eating alone when they enter universities and it becomes normalised when they start to work. There is also a strong gender difference about the association between eating alone and loneliness. Women from all groups had a higher salient score than that of men. “Eating out” was salient only among Japanese young adults (J2), and it may be associated with the environment in urban Japan where there are more restaurants for solo-eaters. I will discuss this topic in Chapter 7. Words related to health (i.e. healthy and unhealthy) associated with eating alone were salient only among Australian young adults (A2).

5.3.2 Comparison between gender subgroups

As well as a participant’s nationality and occupation, gender plays significant roles in shaping individual views on commensality and solo-eating. Tables 5.5 to 5.9 present the comparison of ten most salient words associated with five free-list questions between male and female subgroups of each cultural group.

Table 5.5: Comparison of ten most salient words associated with “Eating with others” between male and female subgroups

Study I Australian (A1)				Study I Japanese (J1)			
Male		Female		Male		Female	
Word	Score	Word	Score	Word	Score	Word	Score
Pleasure	0.59	Pleasure	0.62	Pleasure	0.75	Pleasure	0.78
Social	0.37	Family	0.48	Delicious	0.41	Delicious	0.36
Friends	0.28	Friends	0.31	Conversation	0.28	Conversation	0.34
Family	0.27	Social	0.29	Friends	0.14	Family	0.15
Conversation	0.24	Sociability	0.23	Family	0.14	Happiness	0.14
Sharing	0.22	Eating out	0.22	Eating out	0.10	Communication	0.08
Dinner	0.21	Conversation	0.17	Sociability	0.09	Friends	0.08
Sociability	0.18	Sharing	0.14	Happy	0.08	Sociability	0.07
Food	0.15	Celebration	0.11	Eating more	0.07	Eating out	0.07
Eating out	0.15	Cooking	0.10	Laughter	0.07	Lively	0.07
Study II Australian (A2)				Study II Japanese (J2)			
Male		Female		Male		Female	
Word	Score	Word	Score	Word	Score	Word	Score
Pleasure	0.39	Family	0.58	Family	0.44	Pleasure	0.79
Conversation	0.39	Pleasure	0.46	Pleasure	0.38	Conversation	0.39
Family	0.33	Friends	0.37	Eating out	0.32	Delicious	0.29
Social	0.24	Social	0.30	Colleagues	0.31	Family	0.23
Exploring new food	0.15	Delicious	0.18	Delicious	0.18	Getting to know each other	0.13
Relaxed	0.19	Sociability	0.16	Lunch	0.13	Time constraints	0.09
Discussion	0.13	Sharing	0.13	Sociability	0.12	Being attentive to others	0.08
Friends	0.10	Dinner	0.11	Yearly	0.11	Uncomfortable	0.08

Table 5.6: Comparison of ten most salient words associated with “Eating alone” between male and female subgroups

Study I Australian (A1)				Study I Japanese (J1)			
Male		Female		Male		Female	
Word	Score	Word	Score	Word	Score	Word	Score
Lonely	0.37	Lonely	0.31	Lonely	0.71	Lonely	0.81
Sad	0.24	Boring	0.27	Boring	0.34	Boring	0.20
Home	0.23	Quick	0.18	Carefree	0.26	Silence	0.16
Quick	0.19	Choosing what I want	0.15	Not delicious	0.13	Carefree	0.14
TV	0.15	Sad	0.14	TV	0.12	No interaction	0.13
Boring	0.11	TV	0.14	Freedom	0.11	Not delicious	0.12
Necessary	0.11	Busy	0.14	Eating out	0.10	Choosing what I want	0.11
Energy intake	0.10	Cooking	0.11	Relaxed	0.10	Quick	0.09
Hunger	0.10	Hunger	0.11	Living alone	0.10	Concentrating on eating	0.09
Relaxed	0.09	Studying	0.10	Silence	0.09	Emptiness	0.09
Study II Australian (A2)				Study II Japanese (J2)			
Male		Female		Male		Female	
Word	Score	Word	Score	Word	Score	Word	Score
Reading	0.26	Boring	0.30	Eating out	0.20	Lonely	0.38
Silence	0.22	Silence	0.28	Quick	0.19	Carefree	0.25
Thinking	0.20	Lonely	0.19	Routine	0.18	TV	0.22
Quick	0.20	TV	0.18	Daily	0.16	Relaxed	0.18
Healthy	0.19	Quick	0.18	Lonely	0.16	Choosing what I want	0.17
Hunger	0.19	Reading	0.16	Choosing what I want	0.14	Quick	0.17
Relaxed	0.18	Busy	0.11	Whenever I want	0.14	Concentrating on eating	0.11
Unhealthy	0.16	To refresh	0.12	Lunch	0.14	Freedom	0.10
Self-control	0.13	Healthy	0.10	Dinner	0.12	Not delicious	0.09
Self-preparation	0.13	Relaxed	0.09	Thinking	0.11	Experimental	0.09

Table 5.7: Comparison of ten most salient words associated with “Eating with family” between male and female subgroup

Study I Australian (A1)				Study I Japanese (J1)			
Male		Female		Male		Female	
Word	Score	Word	Score	Word	Score	Word	Score
Sociability	0.31	Pleasure	0.32	Conversation	0.40	Conversation	0.52
Pleasure	0.27	Family	0.28	Pleasure	0.33	Pleasure	0.50
Conversation	0.22	Conversation	0.25	Delicious	0.21	Delicious	0.22
Less frequent	0.12	Dinner	0.11	Relaxed	0.18	Sociability	0.16
Family	0.11	Home	0.11	Sociability	0.15	Lively	0.16
Catching up	0.10	Celebration	0.10	Lively	0.12	Home-cooked	0.09
Cooking	0.10	Home-cooked	0.09	Warm	0.11	Relaxed	0.08
Happy	0.09	Catching up	0.08	Noisy	0.08	Communication	0.08
Memories	0.07	Comfortable	0.08	Happy	0.08	A variety of food	0.07
Hometown	0.07	Sociability	0.08	Laughter	0.07	Happy	0.06
Study II Australian (A2)				Study II Japanese (J2)			
Male		Female		Male		Female	
Word	Score	Word	Score	Word	Score	Word	Score
Catching up	0.33	Pleasure	0.33	Pleasure	0.37	Pleasure	0.47
Pleasure	0.26	Cooking	0.19	Sociability	0.23	Conversation	0.27
Discussion	0.22	Stressful	0.18	Conversation	0.23	Daily	0.25
Conversation	0.21	Conversation	0.16	Delicious	0.20	Communication	0.14
Family	0.14	Large portion	0.15	Dinner	0.12	TV	0.14
Delicious	0.10	Family time	0.13	A variety of food	0.12	Cooking	0.12
Sharing food	0.10	Loud	0.13	Large portion	0.11	Being looked after	0.11
Good food	0.08	Table	0.13	Symbol of family	0.10	Lively	0.11
Home-cooked	0.07	Discussion	0.11	Catching up	0.10	Catching up	0.10
Memories	0.06	Family	0.11	Little conversation	0.10	Stressful	0.09

Table 5.8: Comparison of ten most salient words associated with “Eating with friends” between male and female subgroup

Study I Australian (A1)				Study I Japanese (J1)			
Male		Female		Male		Female	
Word	Score	Word	Score	Word	Score	Word	Score
Pleasure	0.52	Pleasure	0.59	Pleasure	0.70	Pleasure	0.81
Social	0.32	Eating out	0.45	Conversation	0.42	Conversation	0.60
Conversation	0.21	Social	0.27	Eating out	0.16	Delicious	0.18
Happy	0.18	Conversation	0.16	Sociability	0.16	Eating out	0.13
Laughter	0.17	Drinking	0.12	Relaxed	0.13	Sociability	0.10
Catching up	0.13	Laughter	0.10	Delicious	0.12	Laughter	0.09
Friends	0.13	Catching up	0.09	At school	0.11	Happy	0.08
Relaxed	0.09	Exploring new food	0.09	Laughter	0.09	Lunch	0.07
Good times	0.09	Expensive	0.08	Interesting	0.08	Lively	0.07
Eating out	0.09	Special	0.08	Noodles	0.07	Eating more	0.07
Study II Australian (A2)				Study II Japanese (J2)			
Male		Female		Male		Female	
Word	Score	Word	Score	Word	Score	Word	Score
Pleasure	0.48	Eating out	0.54	Drinking	0.46	Pleasure	0.69
Exploring new food	0.41	Pleasure	0.52	Pleasure	0.31	Conversation	0.38
Drinking	0.29	Drinking	0.25	Talking about work	0.17	To refresh	0.23
Sociability	0.21	Conversation	0.23	To refresh	0.17	Sharing information	0.14
Eating out	0.18	Sociability	0.16	Conversation	0.16	Catching up	0.13
Conversation	0.15	Laughter	0.15	After work	0.13	Talking about problems	0.12
Laughter	0.15	Social	0.13	Less frequent	0.13	Drinking	0.11
Social	0.10	Home	0.11	Catching up	0.13	Relaxed	0.10
Cooking	0.10	Dinner	0.11	Long	0.12	Friends	0.09
Large portion	0.08	Stressful	0.09	To refresh	0.12	Exploring new food	0.09

Table 5.9: Comparison of ten most salient words associated with “Eating with work colleagues” between male and female subgroup

Study II Australian (A2)				Study II Japanese (J2)			
Male		Female		Male		Female	
Word	Score	Word	Score	Word	Score	Word	Score
Pleasure	0.26	Lunch	0.25	Being attentive to others	0.08	Being attentive to others	0.39
Lunch	0.18	Conversation	0.23	Lunch	0.16	Workplace	0.32
Joking	0.18	Pleasure	0.20	Drinking	0.16	Stressful	0.31
Controlled behaviours	0.15	A part of work	0.17	Talking about problems	0.12	Talking about work	0.22
Conversation	0.14	Controlled behaviours	0.13	Junior colleagues	0.11	Sociability	0.19
Eating out	0.13	Eating out	0.12	Talking about work	0.10	Pleasure	0.15
A part of work	0.13	Morning tea	0.11	Obligation	0.09	Obligation	0.15
Informal	0.11	To refresh	0.11	Meeting	0.09	Sharing information	0.15
Catching up	0.11	Workplace	0.11	Expensive	0.09	Learning	0.12
Drinking	0.07	Boss	0.10	Eating out	0.07	To refresh	0.11

Eating together

Comparison between male and female participants shows different lists of salient words from the comparison between four cultural groups which combined gender. Gender differences were more explicit in the responses to “Eating with family” among all questions about eating together. The word “home-cooked” gained high salience scores among female groups of Australian and Japanese students (A1 and J1). The word “cooking” and “stressful” gains high salience scores among female groups of Australian and Japanese young adults (A2 and J2). This suggests more female participants than male participants associated family meals with gender expectations on home-cooking as well as stresses associated with gender roles. Chapter 8 provides in-depth analysis of the relationships between family commensality and gender roles among Australian and Japanese young adults.

Interestingly, “little conversation” was ranked in the list of salient words among Japanese male young adults group (J2), whereas “conversation” were one of most salient words in all groups. As discussed in Chapter 4, conversation during mealtime is a recently adopted idea of family meals in Japan. Coexistence of these two words in the free-list responses suggests that the family meal is the site for the negotiation of old patriarchal and new democratic ideas of family meal within contemporary Japan.

Workplace commensality

Another explicit difference between male and female groups was identified in occasions of eating with work colleagues. The word “drinking” gains high salience scores only among Australian (0.07) and Japanese (0.16) male groups. In contrast, the word “workplace” gains high salience scores only among Australian (0.11) and Japanese (0.32) female group. The word “lunch” and “morning tea” gained higher salience scores among the Australian female group than Australian male group. Chapter 9 examines variations of workplace commensality across cultural groups and gender subgroups.

Eating alone

The word “lonely” was the highest salient word across all gender subgroups in the student cohorts (Study I). However, the word was not in the list of male group in Australian young adults (A1), and gained lower salient scores among other groups of Study II compared to Study I. The words related to health were salient only among Australian male and female groups of young adults (A1). “Eating out” was

a salient word only among Japanese male groups (J1 and J2). “Dinner” was only salient among Japanese male group of young adults (J2). Cross-cultural variations in the notions of eating out alone are discussed in Chapter 7.

Comparisons of the content of free-list responses reveals that young people in urban Australia and Japan share sociability through eating together while loneliness is associated with eating alone, although there were variations across different cultural groups in terms of what determines mealtime sociability. Between-variation was identified not only among Australian or Japanese participants, but also among different age and occupation groups (i.e. student and non-student groups) and gender subgroups (i.e. male and female groups).

In this Chapter, I examine cultural domains of commensality and solo-eating obtained with the use of a free-list survey. The majority of participants, regardless of cultural background, agreed that commensality is a symbol of sociality and positive emotions, and eating alone is the opposite. At the same time, they reported diverse experiences of commensality and solo-eating including some negative aspects of eating together and some positive aspects of eating alone. Differences between Australian and Japanese groups were identified in contexts of commensality and solo-eating such as different relationships with television and different behaviours associated with workplace commensality, rather than positive and negative emotions with commensality and solo-eating. Comparisons between student and non-student groups and gender sub-groups revealed that both the degree of shared common views and the content of responses varied by a nationality as well as status as a student (Study I) or not (Study II) groups. However, these free-list responses do not provide enough information to deepen our understanding of the reasons behind each response. The second half of part II (Chapter 7–Chapter 9) reports on in-depth interviews with the young adult participants in Study II and examines in-depth the structures of cultural domains of commensality and solo-eating.

Chapter 6

Time for commensality

From this Chapter through Chapter 9, I explore socio-cultural determinants of commensality and solo-eating, based on in-depth interviews and time diaries of 71 young adults in urban Australia and Japan. The first determinant of commensality and solo-eating is time. Time schedule of individuals matters because commensality is a collective activity which requires the synchronisation of individual time schedules and life spaces with other people.

Greater numbers of people are finding it difficult to eat commensally. Time-use surveys demonstrated that time spending on eating and food preparation has decreased in many modern societies: more people now spend their meal times alone (Mestdag and Glorieux, 2009) or outside of the home (Warde et al., 2007). Other studies reported that more people feel time pressure but that this is not reflected in the actual time spent on each activity: the experience of time pressure depended on the allocation of discretionary time (Goodin et al., 2005) and varied by gender because more women commit their time to both work and family responsibilities (Bittman and Rice, 2002). No matter if the changes are objective or subjective, it is evident that the time required for eating favours individualised eating rather than collective one.

The structural shift to individualisation is a major consequence of late modernity (Bauman, 2000). Employment styles and working conditions have been deregulated for the greater flexibility, so that individual working conditions, such as working hours and job security, have diverged. These modern ways of living and working expand the realm of both biological time and clock time which emerged in the industrial age (Castells, 1997). Individual experiences of time and spaces have become more fragmented into multiple and unpredictable ways (Bauman, 2000). The new form of time and space makes finding shared time together more challenging for many people, but not everyone (Woodman, 2012). Thus, time constraints for

commensality can vary by working styles of individuals and their family and friends.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Australia and Japan share several characteristics of the liberal welfare state including lower social expenditure on childcare and deregulation of their labour markets. Similar to other developed countries, more Australian and Japanese women engage with paid work, and a significant number of men and women engage with non-standard employment. However, the transformation of the labour market and household structure varies in two societies. The proportion of single full-time earner families with young children in Japan is almost a double that of Australia (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2012). In the current interview study, 62.0% of Japanese married participants belong to single-earner household unlike the Australian participants who all belonged to multiple-earner households. In this Chapter, I explore how time constraints on commensality are experienced and embodied among young adults in different working and household arrangements.

This Chapter consists of three Sections. Based on time diary data, the first Section (Section 6.1) examines time spent on everyday meals among participants, and explores similarities and differences of lifestyles structures between different cultural groups. The second Section (Section 6.2) examines time constraints and individual narratives about the synchronisation of multiple times and spaces for commensality. The last Section (Section 6.3) expands the discussion to cross-cultural differences in balancing work and private time, and discusses different structures of household management in terms of work-life balance (WLB) and how they shape individual experiences of time pressure to eat commensally.

6.1 Everyday meal structures

6.1.1 Time to eat commensally or alone

This Section examines time taken for everyday meals and work among young adult participants in urban Australia and Japan, based on 70 time diaries (Australian $N=39$ and Japanese $N=31$). Although the data do not represent the whole population of urban Australia and Japan due to non-probability sampling and a small sample size, they indicate common lifestyle structures of young adults in similar socio-economic status in these two countries. Table 6.1 shows the proportion of participants who reported that they eat commensally, alone, or did not eat anything over six occasions (breakfast, lunch, dinner, between breakfast and lunch, between lunch and dinner, and after dinner) on their workday and work-off day.

Table 6.1: Proportions of participants who ate commensally, alone, and skipped in six eating occasions

		Australian ($N=39$)		Japanese ($N=31$)		Differences between groups (p -value)			
		Workday	Work-off	Workday	Work-off	Australian ^a	Japanese ^a	Workday ^b	Work-off ^b
Breakfast	Commensal	13 (33.3%)	20 (51.3%)	8 (25.8%)	13 (41.9%)	0.293	0.362	0.533	0.359
	Solo	22 (56.4%)	17 (43.6%)	17 (54.8%)	12 (30.8%)				
	Skipped	4 (10.3%)	3 (7.7%)	6 (19.4%)	6 (19.4%)				
Lunch	Commensal	15 (38.5%)	21 (53.8%)	16 (51.6%)	19 (61.3%)	0.126	<0.05	0.241	0.795
	Solo	21 (53.8%)	13 (33.3%)	15 (48.4%)	8 (25.8%)				
	Skipped	3 (7.7%)	6 (15.4%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (12.9%)				
Dinner	Commensal	26 (66.7%)	25 (64.1%)	13 (41.9%)	22 (71.0%)	0.350	<0.05	0.053	0.354
	Solo	13 (33.3%)	12 (30.8%)	18 (58.1%)	9 (29.0%)				
	Skipped	0 (0.0%)	3 (7.7%)	0 (0.0%)	(0.0%)				
Between breakfast and lunch	Commensal	7 (17.9%)	8 (20.5%)	3 (9.7%)	3 (9.7%)	<0.05	1.000	<0.05	0.204
	Solo	17 (43.6%)	8 (20.5%)	3 (9.7%)	3 (9.7%)				
	Skipped	16 (41.0%)	24 (61.5%)	25 (80.6%)	25 (80.6%)				
Between lunch and dinner	Commensal	8 (20.5%)	8 (20.5%)	6 (19.4%)	6 (19.4%)	<0.05	1.000	<0.05	0.770
	Solo	26 (66.7%)	10 (25.6%)	8 (25.8%)	8 (25.8%)				
	Skipped	6 (15.4%)	22 (56.4%)	17 (54.8%)	17 (54.8%)				
After dinner	Commensal	13 (33.3%)	15 (38.5%)	4 (12.9%)	6 (19.4%)	0.136	0.210	0.136	0.174
	Solo	12 (30.8%)	7 (17.9%)	10 (32.3%)	4 (12.9%)				
	Skipped	15 (38.5%)	18 (46.2%)	17 (54.8%)	21 (67.7%)				

^a Workday vs. Work-off day; ^b Australian vs. Japanese

Differences among categorical variables frequencies were assessed by Fisher's exact test (two-tail) unless otherwise stated.

$p < 0.05$ considered a significant difference. $p < 0.1$ considered a potential difference.

There were variations between Australian and Japanese groups in which meal were eaten commensally, alone, or skipped. Breakfast is the most commonly eaten alone. The majority of Australian and Japanese participants ate breakfast alone on their workday, while fewer Australians (43.6%) and Japanese (30.8%) ate breakfast alone on their work-off day. Lunch is another common occasion for eating alone among Australian and Japanese, but more Japanese ate lunch commensally than Australians on their workday and work-off day. Compared to breakfast and lunch, dinner is a common occasion for commensality on their workday and their work-off day in both Australian and Japanese groups. However, about 60% of Japanese ate dinner alone on their workday. The difference between work-day and work-off dinner of Japanese was significant ($p < 0.05$).

Differences between Australian and Japanese groups were also identified in the meals between main meals (breakfast, lunch, dinner). About half of Australian ate something alone between breakfast and lunch as well as between lunch and dinner on their workday, while majority of Japanese did not eat anything between meals. However, differences between Australian and Japanese groups on their work-off day were smaller than their workday. These cross-cultural differences in which meal are eaten commensally or alone suggest differences in working cultures between two groups.

6.1.2 Regular lunch break

The workday lunch practice is seemingly varied by workplaces or country's regulation. According to a report by the Australia Institute (Cameron and Denniss, 2013), more than 20% of respondent, equivalent to about 3.8 million Australian workers, did not usually take a lunch break. Among those who took a break, 72% of respondents cut, worked through or postponed their lunch break. In the current study, no Japanese participants skipped lunch on their workday, while 7.7% of Australian participants skipped their lunch. As noted earlier, more Australian participants reported they ate outside of main meals (i.e. breakfast, lunch and dinner) than Japanese participants.

Compared to Japanese workplaces, the lunch break in Australia is more likely to deviate from the three-main meal culture and becomes flexible to work demands and individual lifestyle. The Japanese labour standard law enforces employers to allocate a certain length of break by working hours in a day and all breaks are required to be taken in the middle of working hours (Japanese government, 1947)*, so

*According to the Japanese labour standard law, those who work more than six hours in a day are required to take 45-minute break, and those who work more than 8 hours in a day are required

most of Japanese employees are not given the choice to skip lunch break. In contrast, the Australian law promotes flexible working hour arrangements (Australian government, 2009b), and the implementation of lunch break depends on individual circumstances. More often than not, the lunch break is shortened, postponed, and skipped, in order to secure time for extra working hours or for family responsibility.

6.2 Synchronisation for commensality

6.2.1 Time-use for the transition from work to home

Synchronisation of time schedules with significant others is a central topic of this Section. The comparison of workday dinner demonstrates the most explicit lifestyle differences between Australian and Japanese groups. Table 6.2 presents time to leave from work, time to arrive home, and time to start dinner on their workday of Australian and Japanese participants.

More Australian participants reported leaving work, arriving home, and starting dinner much earlier than Japanese participants. Most of Australians reported that they left work before 6:00pm, but only 32.2% Japanese left work by then while 97.1% of Australian participants reported they arrived home by 8:00pm and started dinner before 9.00pm, but only 37.0% of Japanese arrived home and 58.1% Japanese ate dinner by then. Therefore, more Japanese participants stayed longer at their workplace and come back home later than Australians. This time schedule resulted in delaying dinner time for many Japanese participants as well as in eating dinner alone on their workday.

The commute between workplace and home is another common issues encountered by those who lived and worked in urban metropolitan cities. In particular, urban landscapes in most modern societies are highly localised and expanded by increasing mobility and improved access to labour market driven by globalisation (Andersen et al., 2011). In other words, employment opportunities for specific industries and improvement of commuting system impacted on lifestyles including time spent on commuting by urban residents and workers. Table 6.3 presents the distribution and means of a one-way commute time for Australian and Japanese participants.

Although the difference was not significant ($p=0.226$), more Japanese reported they spent more time on the one-way commute than Australians. A quarter of them spent more than 60 minutes for one-way commute, and 14.3% of them spend more than 75 minutes. These Japanese participants resided outside of Tokyo and to take 60-minute break.

Table 6.2: Distribution of times to leave work, arrive home, and have dinner on their workdays of Australian and Japanese participants

Time to leave work	Australian	Japanese	<i>p</i> -value
Before 5:00pm	7 (21.2%)	1 (3.6%)	<0.05
5:00pm-5:59pm	21 (63.6%)	8 (28.6%)	
6:00pm-6:59pm	4 (12.1%)	4 (14.3%)	
7:00pm-7:59pm	1 (3.0%)	4 (14.3%)	
8:00pm-8:59pm	0 (0.0%)	4 (14.3%)	
9:00pm-9:59pm	0 (0.0%)	4 (14.3%)	
After 10:00pm	0 (0.0%)	3 (10.7%)	
Time to arrive home	Australian	Japanese	
Before 5:00pm	3 (8.8%)	1 (3.7%)	<0.05
5:00pm-5:59pm	12 (35.3%)	2 (7.4%)	
6:00pm-6:59pm	13 (38.2%)	1 (3.7%)	
7:00pm-7:59pm	5 (14.7%)	6 (22.2%)	
8:00pm-8:59pm	1 (2.9%)	3 (11.1%)	
9:00pm-9:59pm	0 (0.0%)	4 (14.8%)	
10:00pm-10:59pm	0 (0.0%)	3 (11.1%)	
After 11:00pm	0 (0.0%)	7 (25.9%)	
Time to eat dinner	Australian	Japanese	<i>p</i> -value
Before 6:00pm	5 (13.2%)	1 (3.2%)	<0.05
6:00pm-6:59pm	9 (23.7%)	2 (6.5%)	
7:00pm-7:59pm	14 (36.8%)	9 (29.0%)	
8:00pm-8:59pm	9 (23.7%)	6 (19.4%)	
9:00pm-9:59pm	0 (0.0%)	4 (12.9%)	
After 10:00pm	1 (2.6%)	9 (29.0%)	

commuted to Tokyo for work. However, the cross-cultural differences was not as explicit as differences in time schedule, and there were small numbers of Australian participants (5.6%), who resided in the suburbs of Sydney, who reported spending more than 60 minutes for commuting one way. In terms of the means of commuting, a significant difference between Australian and Japanese groups was identified ($p < 0.05$). Three fourth of Japanese participants used public transport like trains and buses for commuting while more than half of Australian participants reported using private cars for commute. The difference is more likely to be related to density or compactness of the urban system (Hensher, 1998). Tokyo and its neighbouring areas have a higher density of population including dense public transportation than the Sydney and Canberra regions.

Table 6.3: Distribution of one-way commute time and means of Australian and Japanese participants

Commute time (one way)	Australian	Japanese	<i>p</i> -value
Less than 15 min	8 (22.2%)	2 (7.1%)	0.226
15 min-29 min.	15 (41.7%)	10 (35.7%)	
30 min-44 min	6 (16.7%)	4 (14.3%)	
45 min-59 min	5 (13.9%)	5 (17.9%)	
60 min-74 min	0 (0.0%)	3 (10.7%)	
75 min-89 min	1 (2.8%)	3 (10.7%)	
More than 90 min	1 (2.8%)	1 (3.6%)	
Commute means	Australian	Japanese	<i>p</i> -value
Walk	3 (8.3%)	6 (21.4%)	<0.05
Bike	4 (11.1%)	1 (3.6%)	
Train & walk	3 (8.3%)	20 (71.4%)	
Bus & walk	6 (16.7%)	0 (0.0%)	
Train & bus & walk	1 (2.8%)	1 (3.6%)	
Car	14 (38.9%)	0 (0.0%)	
Car & bike	1 (2.8%)	0 (0.0%)	
Car & walk	3 (8.3%)	0 (0.0%)	
Car & bus	1 (2.8%)	0 (0.0%)	

6.2.2 From individual time to social time

Timing and structures of individual meal practices among young adult participants are influenced not only by their time schedules but also by that of their commensal partners like family and friends. Synchronisation of time schedules among commensal members determines the timing of commensal meals. The timing of meals can be delayed or made unpredictable depending on variations of time schedules among commensal members. At the same time, synchronising different rhythms of individual time and life spaces for collective social eating requires individual effort and willingness to be flexible. The tension between individual autonomy and sociality is more evident in dinner than other meal occasions, because it is believed to be an ideal occasion for sharing mealtime together among both Australian and Japanese participants. It is often women who manage the multiple timetables of family members and sustain the work of synchronisation for family commensality. The following narratives by Australian and Japanese mothers demonstrate how women in different working culture achieve family dinners.

A 21 year-old Australian woman lived with her son, her partner, and her partner's parents. She said, "We eat dinner together every day but timing of dinner depends on when my partner's parents come back." Her usual dinner time was about 8:00pm

but sometimes became 9:00pm or later if other family members returned home late. Both parents often come back home late because they worked for 40 hours a week and had some social activities like book clubs and playing in a band. She said, “I was astonished by it (eating dinner late evening),” because she has not eaten dinner late evening before she joined the family. In order to accommodate herself to her new family’s commensality routine, she decided to adjust her own schedule and manage food preparation with her family.

A 27 year-old Japanese woman lived with her husband and her son. She said, “We try to spend time together with family as much as we can.” On the weekdays, however, she found it difficult to eat dinner together with all family members: her husband came back home around 10:00pm-11:00pm, and she had her own dinner while she was feeding her two-year-old son around 6:00pm. She compensated by being present when her husband ate dinner alone as well as by eating meals together with her family members on their weekend. She sometimes invited her parents and parents-in-laws for meals. A reason she put her efforts for everyday commensality is: “Eating together with family is an ideal image of family of myself and my husband.”, she said. More than the practical and economic reasons for eating together (i.e. saving costs and being efficient), synchronisation of multiple tables is fostered by cultural ideals of family meals.

Commensality with friends who live apart requires more consideration for synchronising individual time schedules and life spaces. In metropolitan cities like Sydney and Tokyo, people live further away and travel long times to meet and eat together. A 33 year-old Australian woman in Sydney reported that meeting with friends was along with “time pressure to get to the meeting spot” while a 28 year-old Japanese man in Tokyo said, “meeting with friends for meals needs to consider a lot of things like where the most convenient time and place to meet and whether everyone can go back home before the last train.” Although people experience various constraints on arranging commensality outside of household, the urban transport system mediates the distance in time and space and brings people together and encourages them to invest their time for a range of sociality.

6.3 Time pressure and work-life balance

6.3.1 Conceptualisation and measurements of WLB

In the last Section, I extend the discussion to lifestyle constraints and working cultures influencing individual time spent on everyday eating practices. In many modern societies, balancing work and life responsibilities including meals, called work-life

balance (WLB), is a central feature of government, workplace, and academic discussions. However, the definitions and practices of WLB are elusive (Kalliath and Brough, 2008), and have not yet been examined cross-culturally. This Section explores individual perceptions and the realisation of WLB involved in everyday meal practices, among young adult participants in urban Australia and Japan.

6.3.2 Participant's evaluations on their WLB

Before I look into individual experiences, I present how Australian and Japanese participants perceive the current balance of their work and their private life. The questions about time originated from the time-use questionnaire in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008). Table 6.4 shows participants' attitudes to current 'balance' of their time spent on themselves and their social relationships. Participants were allowed to select more than one answer.

Table 6.4: Distribution of responses to "which of following descriptions the best describe your attitudes to balance (Multiple responses)

	Australian	Japanese	<i>p</i> -value (Fisher)	<i>p</i> -value (Bonferroni)
Want to have more time alone	6 (14.6%)	8 (21.6%)	0.370	1.000
Right balance	25 (61.0%)	8 (21.6%)	<0.05	<0.05
Want to have more time with family	4 (9.8%)	7 (18.9%)	0.196	0.786
Want to have more time with friends	6 (14.6%)	14 (37.8%)	<0.05	<0.05

A comparison between Australian and Japanese groups using Fisher's exact test with Bonferroni correction showed that significantly more Australian participants are satisfied with their current lifestyle and use of time than Japanese, and more Japanese wish to spend more time with their friends. More than 60% of Australians reported that their balance is right compared with 21.6% of Japanese. More Japanese participants (78.4%) wished to change their current 'balance' of time-use than Australian participants (39.0%) ($p < 0.05$). In particular, more Japanese participants (37.8%) wished to spend more time with their friends than Australians (14.6%) ($p < 0.05$). However, there was no significant difference identified in the responses to "want to have more time alone" and "want to have more time with family".

However, satisfaction with 'balance' does not necessarily mean the absence of time pressure. The feeling of time-pressure is grounded in unequal distribution of paid work and unpaid work among the household (Bittman, 2004). Individuals tend to feel pressured and overworked, when they have too much responsibility in either

paid or unpaid work or both. Table 6.5 and 6.6 show participants' perceptions of time pressure. Table 6.5 shows participants' responses to the five-scale question, "How often do you feel rushed?" Table 6.6 shows reasons for feeling rushed. Participants were allowed to select more than one answers for this question.

Table 6.5: Distribution of responses to "How often do you feel rushed?"

	Australian	Japanese	<i>p</i> -value
Always	1 (2.6%)	6 (19.4%)	<0.05
Often	26 (66.7%)	11 (35.5%)	
Sometimes	11 (28.2%)	2 (12.9%)	
Rarely	1 (2.6%)	6 (19.4%)	
Never	0 (0.0%)	4 (12.9%)	

Table 6.6: Distribution of reasons to feel rushed (Multiple responses)

	Australian	Japanese	<i>p</i> -value (Fisher)	<i>p</i> -value (Bonferroni)
Trying to balance work or study and social responsibilities	27 (41.5%)	7 (14.9%)	<0.05	<0.05
Pressure of work/study	9 (13.8%)	14 (29.8%)	0.073	0.585
Demand of social activities	6 (9.2%)	4 (8.5%)	1.000	1.000
Take too much on	7 (10.8%)	6 (12.8%)	1.000	1.000
Too many demand place on you	4 (6.2%)	7 (14.9%)	0.196	1.000
Unpredictable time schedule	3 (4.6%)	1 (2.1%)	0.320	1.000
Transport difficulties	3 (4.6%)	1 (2.1%)	0.624	1.000
Others (Child rearing)	5 (7.7%)	2 (4.3%)	0.451	1.000

The distribution of responses to the experience of time pressure between the Australian and Japanese groups was significantly different ($p < 0.05$). Australian's responses were concentrated in the middles ("Often" and "Sometimes", but Japanese one was distributed to all five answers ("Always", "Often", "Sometimes", "Rarely", and "Never"), and more polarised than Australians. About 67% of Australian participants reported feeling rushed "often", and 28% of them "sometimes". In contrast, 19% of Japanese "always" felt rushed, and 13% of them "never" felt rushed. Those who reported "never" feeling rushed were predominantly full-time housewives a group which did not exist among Australian participants. Comparison of reasons for time pressures between Australian and Japanese groups reveals significant differences in the responses to "Trying to balance work or study and social responsibilities". In contrast, more Japanese (29.8%) felt rushed because they had pressure of work or study compared to Australians (13.8%), while it was not significantly different with Bonferroni correction ($p = 0.585$).

Most of ongoing WLB debates focus on long working hours as the problem which undermines the impacts of work and workplace experience as well as 'life'

experiences, such as non-paid care responsibilities which are often affected by gender expectations in society (Eikhof et al., 2007). These social expectations may underpin a participant's perceptions on WLB. Although the majority of both Australian and Japanese participants experience time pressure, more Japanese participants reported lower satisfactions with their WLB than Australians, and most of them came home very late. In contrast, many Australian participants reported higher satisfaction with their WLB, but they also reported that they feel pressured to balance their work and life responsibilities. WLB is a well-known concept in both Australian and Japanese societies, and is now becoming a globally shared norm. However, individual perceptions and experiences of work and life is more diverse than the concept suggests. Australian and Japanese participants encounter different time pressures and lifestyle constraints.

6.3.3 Individual experiences of WLB in the culture of flexible work and the culture of long working hours

Although the struggle to synchronise times and spaces is a common issue among Australian and Japanese participants, a closer look at individual narratives reveals variations in perceptions and experiences of time pressures among working mothers with young children between cultural groups. Previous literature identified that time-use among working parents with young children varied by intensity of maternal employment (full-time or part-time), the presence of father, and the number of siblings (Bianchi and Robinson, 1997). However, cross-cultural variations cannot be fully explained by these indicators, because different social expectations and working environments also play a significant role in shaping individual experiences. These different social environments encourage individuals to pay attention to different issues of society.

A 35 year-old Australian woman who was a mother of a two and a five years old and a part-time public servant described about her experience of mealtime with her children.

On the normal workdays, we wake up and are quite rushed to get children to childcare. We sometimes need to eat breakfast in the car. Eating dinner takes me 15 minutes, but it takes children longer. I do not feed them. They eat slower. I still sit at the table helping them. Preparing food is another thing (which needs some times), and then we sit down...

This participant describes that when she was with her children, she felt she spent more time than what she actually spent time for her own meal. Working time is

rewarding for her: “it gives a break from the kids.” However, she noticed that her commitments to child rearing and housework was different from her husband’s: “I am jealous of my husband who can go surfing and do his stuff. I want more time for myself, more time for exercise.” Working part-time provides her an opportunity to engage with professional work and spend time with her children, however, it does not necessarily increase her time for herself and equalise the distribution of household work between the couple.

A 28 year-old Japanese mother of five years old worked full-time as a system engineer (SE)[†].

Without supports from my family, it is impossible to be a mother and a full-time employee. My mother and two sisters come to my home to prepare dinner for us few times per week. My husband prepared dinner when he returns home earlier.

As a full-time employee, she was expected to work long hours as well as her husband who was also a full-time system engineer. Most of her work colleagues were singles or married who did not have children, and she felt pressured to stay at work like her colleagues: It is always stressful to leave work earlier than others who do not understand (her situation). For her, thus, obtaining supports from several family members (her husband, her sisters and her mother) was necessary to keep working as a full-time employee.

Like her, most Japanese female participants including housewives who had young children regularly obtained supports for child rearing from their own parents, siblings, and in-laws. This is because their spouses were not available to assist them during weekdays due to long working hour commitments. Support from extended family was not only common among Japanese participants; some Australian participants obtained supports from their parents who lived with them. However, it is particularly crucial for Japanese mothers who engage with long working hours to have support from their extended family.

A comparison of two working mothers in Australia and Japan indicate different lifestyle constraints in society. The Australian mother felt pressured to manage multiple roles by herself which reduced her time for herself. She was happy with her working condition. In contrast, the Japanese mother felt stressed by her working hours and colleagues who were not sympathetic to her situation. She was happy with her family support.

[†]A type of occupation, developed in Japan in the 1980s, which deals with a range of work related to information processing from developing software to research and consulting (Ido and Fukuma, 1988, 1989). Job description varies widely from workplace to workplace

The variation in experience of time pressure may be closely related to how much free-time individuals have. Previous literature in Australia illustrated that people's experiences of time pressure are varied by whether time pressure is "a matter of choice or of necessity" (Goodin et al., 2005). In their study, lone parents and working mothers showed the lowest uncommitted free time and experienced higher degree of time pressures (Goodin et al., 2005). However, the feeling of time pressure and stress can be mediated by the support from partners and extended families.

The feeling of time pressure and stress related to paid work is different from pressure related to playing multiple roles or shifts. Similar to general population in Japan discussed in Chapter 4, most Japanese participants who engaged with full-time employment worked very long hours, like 40-50 hours per week or more. Most of them recognised they worked long hours and their lifestyle lacks good time allocations for work and life responsibilities. However, the realisation of a good balance of individual work and private life is elusive among Japanese participants.

A 36 year-old Japanese man who is a father of two boys described that his company, a large real estate firm, has introduced "family-friendly" policies to reduce overtime work once a month called "no-overtime-day (*no zangyou dei*)." He perceived this as a positive initiative to create the environment or atmosphere (*funiki*) by encouraging employees to leave their workplace earlier than usual. In reality, however, he cannot go back home before dinner time, because work demands and pressures are the same as usual days, and many employees, including himself, spend long hours to go back to their home. He described, "I believe a father should also watch over children (as well as a mother), but (at the workplace) I cannot say such a word." It illustrates discrepancies between the idea of good 'balance' of work and life and the reality of workplace environment.

Roberts (2005, 27) asserted that at the root of the issue is strong cultural norms that career jobs need long working hours and dedicated commitments. Decreasing time for work is contradictory to the cultural norms of good workers. A 28 year-old Japanese man described his previous job in full-time "regular (*seiki*)" employment, "the job requires hard work and long working hour commitments, but I was fulfilled." During the interview, he has a contract "irregular (*hi-seiki*)" employment which gave him more free time but less payment. He resigned from the previous work two years ago because of the long working hours. He compared and contrasted between the previous and the current working conditions, and he said,

I should get a decent job for my age (*toshi souou no shigoto*) which give me some responsibilities. I do not want to work crazily like before, but I need to work harder than the current job. I cannot stay in the easy job

after 30.

His narrative indicates that working with easy tasks and short working hours mean less responsibilities and less social credibility. He was also concerned that by staying in “irregular” employment he would be socially discredited for not being a ‘proper’ man. He said, “I cannot get married to my girlfriend until I get a regular position”. Nemoto (2013) remarked that the notion of long working hours in Japan was closely associated with workplace masculinity, and draw gender boundaries and encouraged masculine behaviours. In other words, individual experiences of time is closely related to gender system embedded in the society, which I will discuss in Chapter 8.

The comparison of time diaries and narratives among Australian and Japanese participants reveals different time-use structures which influence the timing of commensality and solo-eating. Although both groups reported that they ate commensally on their work-off day dinner, a significant number of Japanese ate dinner alone while Australians ate something between main meals alone. These characteristics reflect the dominant household structures and work cultures in Australian and Japanese societies. In Australia, more men and women engage with flexible work arrangement and share to some extent work and family responsibilities. In Japan, the male-breadwinner household is still dominant, and full-time employment requires long working hours and prevents working individuals from engaging with household responsibilities. To compensate for the absence of full-time workers, Japanese families obtained household support from their extended families.

Despite the dynamic shift of eating environments, many people were willing to invest their time and efforts in eating together with significant others. The urban system and technology like mobile phone allow people who live different life spaces and time to maintain their relationships. As a result, people need to negotiate lifestyle choices among a wide range of options available to them.

The current debates over WLB concentrates on long working hours as the problem, and successfully reduced actual working hours in many countries. Although Japan has a reputation for overworked, its total working hours has significantly decreased since the late 1980s (Ministry of Health Labor and Welfare, 2015). However, the debate overlooks various lifestyle constraints associated with diverse experiences of work-and life-related activities across societies. Thus, it is important to consider social structures and lifestyle constraints affecting individual’s time-use for everyday meals.

Chapter 7

Cultural economy of eating spaces

7.1 Eating space as a site of cultural economy

The second socio-cultural determinant is eating space. Eating space, which I am discussing here, is not just physical environments, but also is juxtaposed to cultural systems and social structures. Gusfield (1992, 81) noted that food and spaces should be considered as “possessing levels of meanings”. In other words, the experience of eating spaces consists of multiple meanings including both substantive and symbolic aspects of meanings.

There is an increasing necessity to consider eating spaces as “a site where global process are transformed into action or are constituted by practice” (Kokot, 2007, 20). Like other post-industrial societies, an increasing number of meals are consumed outside of the home in Australian and Japanese societies (Huntley, 2008a; Miyoshi et al., 2008). One of the major reasons for the increase is the democratisation of eating out, along with the shift of everyday food provision from home to marketplaces. According to historian Elliot Shore (2007, 329), the chain restaurants in the late twentieth century grew out of rules associated with social class, gender, and specific culinary traditions, and accommodated “all-encompassing notion of eating out”. At these restaurants, the food may not necessarily be served in certain manners for specific customers. Some of them may not always be seated to eat alone or in group. The relaxation of eating out expands boundaries of the practice, and enables more people to eat out regardless of their social backgrounds.

The adoption of fast food and chain restaurants, however, varies in society. In many western societies, fast food chains such as McDonald and KFC are considered as the industrial venue which provides cheap and efficient food. In contrast, customers in Beijing uses these spaces for relaxing, chatting, celebrating birthday parties (Yan, 2005). An ethnographic study in Japan in the early 2000s (Traphagan

and Brown, 2002) showed that many Japanese families go to McDonald to share the same food (e.g. hamburger and french fries), because they are easier to share than traditional fast food in Japan (e.g. *ramen* and *soba* noodles).

Due to such complex relationships between economic processes and cultural changes, it becomes harder to separate ‘culture’ from economic processes and activities. Cultural economy theories assert that like economy, culture determines production, distribution, and accumulation of resources in societies (Du Gay and Pryke, 2002). For examples, what sorts of restaurants, or eating venues outside of the home, are available in the society depends on the cultural demand, acceptance and adoption of certain goods, services and practices. In reverse, accumulation of the practices increases availability of specific types of restaurants. The culture can be a part of global process or a locally specific one. In the sense, the relations between places and eating practices are constructed on the adoption of global and local economic activities.

In this Chapter, I explore cultural economy of commensality and solo-eating inside and outside of the home from a cross-cultural perspective. Previous literature noted globally the prevalence of eating out not only fostered the shift of meal provision labours from home to marketplace, but also transforms social relations, particularly gender, associated with food-related work (Warde, 2000; Finkelstein, 1989; Dixon, 1999). However, cross-cultural variations of the development of eating out are not yet examined. I explore how eating spaces are shaped by global and local discourses and how the discourses are accommodated by young adults in different urban middle-class societies.

7.2 Locations for everyday eating

Before I start to discuss cultural construction of eating places, I show how young adult participants in urban Australia and Japan had their main meals (breakfast, lunch, and dinner): where they ate and whether they ate commensally or alone. I draw this on participant’s time diary of one of their work-days and one of their work-off days before the interviews. Although the diary data does not always show the average lifestyle of participants, it rather presents common patterns of everyday meal practices among participants. Table 7.1 shows locations of main meals among Australian and Japanese participants on their workday and work-off day.

Table 7.1: Locations where participants had their main meals on their workday and work-off day

		Australian		Japanese		Differences between groups (<i>p</i> -value)			
		Workday	Work-off	Workday	Work-off	Australian ^a	Japanese ^a	Workday ^b	Work-off ^b
Breakfast	Home	27 (67.5%)	26 (70.3%)	23 (74.2%)	23 (76.7%)	<0.05	1.000	0.380	<0.05
	Workplace	5 (12.8%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (3.2%)	0 (0.0%)				
	Eating out	3 (7.7%)	9 (24.3%)	1 (3.2%)	1 (3.3%)				
	Skipped	4 (10.3%)	2 (5.4%)	6 (19.4%)	6 (20.0%)				
Lunch	Home	5 (12.8%)	19 (55.9%)	6 (19.4%)	11 (42.3%)	<0.05	<0.05	0.401	0.562
	Workplace	25 (64.1%)	0 (0.0%)	18 (58.1%)	0 (0.0%)				
	Eating out	6 (15.4%)	10 (29.4%)	7 (22.6%)	11 (42.3%)				
	Skipped	3 (7.7%)	5 (14.7%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (15.4%)				
Dinner	Home	36 (92.3%)	33 (84.6%)	23 (74.0%)	25 (89.3%)	0.404	0.311	0.846	0.617
	Workplace	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (6.5%)	0 (0.0%)				
	Eating out	3 (7.7%)	4 (10.3%)	6 (19.4%)	3 (10.7%)				
	Skipped	0 (0.0%)	2 (5.1%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)				

^a Workday vs. Work-off day; ^b Australian vs. Japanese

Differences among categorical variables frequencies were assessed by Fisher's exact test (two-tail) unless otherwise stated.

$p < 0.05$ considered a significant difference. $p < 0.1$ considered a potential difference.

The diary data reveals that most of meals of Australian and Japanese participants were consumed at home, and eating out was not as common as eating at home among Australian and Japanese young adults. More than 70% of Australian and Japanese participants had their breakfast and dinner at home on their workday and work-off day, and majority of them ate their lunch at workplace on their workday. More than 70% of Australian and Japanese participants ate dinner at home on their workday and work-off day. Eating out are more common on their work-off day: 24.3% of Australian ate out for their breakfast, and 29.4% of Australian and 42.3% of Japanese ate out for their lunch. Thus, for many Australian and Japanese participants, eating out is a weekly or less frequent practice rather than daily one. However, a significant number of Japanese participants ate their dinner outside of the home on their workday.

In addition to eating locations, Table 7.2 presents the breakdown of participants who ate commensally or alone by location on their workday and work-off day.

Table 7.2: Distribution of Commensality and solo-eating of main meals on their workday and work-off day by locations among Australian and Japanese participants

			Australian		Japanese		Differences between groups (<i>p</i> -value)			
			Workday	Work-off	Workday	Work-off	Australian ^a	Japanese ^a	Workday ^b	Work-off ^b
Breakfast	Home	Com	10 (25.6%)	11 (30.6%)	7 (22.6%)	12 (38.7%)	0.116	<0.05	0.413	0.062
		Solo	17 (43.6%)	15 (41.7%)	16 (51.6%)	11 (35.5%)				
	Workplace	Com	1 (2.6%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (3.2%)	0 (0.0%)				
		Solo	4 (10.3%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)				
Eating out	Com	2 (5.1%)	8 (22.2%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (3.2%)					
	Solo	1 (2.6%)	1 (2.8%)	1 (3.2%)	0 (0.0%)					
Skipped		4 (10.3%)	2 (5.4%)	6 (19.4%)	6 (20.0%)					
Lunch	Home	Com	0 (0.0%)	10 (30.3%)	3 (9.7%)	7 (26.9%)	<0.05	<0.05	0.339	0.792
		Solo	5 (13.2%)	9 (27.3%)	3 (9.7%)	4 (15.4%)				
	Workplace	Com	12 (31.6%)	0 (0.0%)	11 (35.5%)	0 (0.0%)				
		Solo	13 (34.2%)	0 (0.0%)	7 (22.6%)	0 (0.0%)				
Eating out	Com	3 (7.9%)	8 (24.2%)	2 (6.5%)	9 (34.6%)					
	Solo	3 (7.9%)	2 (6.1%)	5 (16.1%)	2 (7.7%)					
Skipped		2 (5.3%)	5 (14.7%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (15.4%)					
Dinner	Home	Com	23 (59.0%)	21 (53.8%)	9 (29.0%)	16 (57.1%)	0.656	0.124	<0.05	0.814
		Solo	13 (33.3%)	12 (30.8%)	4 (45.2%)	9 (32.1%)				
	Workplace	Com	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)				
		Solo	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (6.5%)	0 (0.0%)				
Eating out	Com	3 (7.7%)	4 (10.3%)	4 (12.9%)	3 (10.7%)					
	Solo	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (6.5%)	0 (0.0%)					
Skipped		0 (0.0%)	2 (5.1%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)					

^a Work-day vs. Work-off day; ^b Australian vs. Japanese

Differences among categorical variables frequencies were assessed by Fisher's exact test (two-tail) unless otherwise stated.

$p < 0.05$ considered a significant difference. $p < 0.1$ considered a potential difference.

On the workday, most of breakfasts of Australian and Japanese were eaten alone than eaten commensally. About a half of Australian and Japanese participants ate breakfast alone at home. Differences between Australian and Japanese groups were more explicit in lunch and dinner. More Australians ate lunch alone at home (13.2%) and workplace (34.2%) than Japanese. More Japanese (16.1%) ate lunch alone outside than Australian (7.9%). Many Japanese ate dinner alone at home (45.2%), workplace (6.5%), and outside (6.5%), compared with 59% of Australian ate commensally at home. The difference between Australian and Japanese groups on workday's dinner was significant ($p < 0.05$).

On the work-off day, more Australians and Japanese participants ate commensally at home than their workday. More Australians (22.2%) ate breakfast out commensally. The difference of breakfast patterns between workday and work-off day was significantly different among Japanese group. A significant number of Australians (24.2%) and Japanese (34.6%) ate lunch commensally outside of the home. Majority of Australian and Japanese ate dinner commensally at home.

A comparison of workday and work-off day shows different patterns of eating locations and commensality. On the workday, most of meals were consumed at home and workplace, and more people ate alone. On the work-off day, more people ate commensally either at home or outside. The difference in eating locations between workday and work-off day was larger among Japanese than Australians.

Except some cases on workday, eating out was a more common practice on work-off day than workday among Australian and Japanese participants. In addition, more people ate commensally rather than alone on their work-off day. These patterns of these eating practices are key determinants of participant's views on which practice is ordinary and extraordinary for them. In the next Section, I explore more in-depth contexts and participant's views on their eating practices, based on in-depth interviews.

7.3 Social distinction and morality: cultural meanings of eating out and eating at home

First, I look into meanings of eating out and eating at home among participants. Restaurants and cafe produces alternative social spaces to eating at home by accommodating social demands which can be institutionalised and marketable. Finkelstein (1989) also examined phenomenological accounts of eating out, and revealed that ambivalent aspects of sociality associated with eating out. She remarked that the restaurant provides a space for "self-presentation and the mediation of social re-

lations through what is currently valued, accepted and fashionable” (Finkelstein, 1989, 3). Through the creation of the images of pleasure, convenience, wealth, and luxury which stimulate individual desires, the restaurant provides variety of social spaces which accommodate individual needs and mediate all kinds of issues related to eating at home. At the same time, Finkelstein also emphasised anti-social aspects of eating out. She argued that “dining out allows us to act imitation of others, in accordance with images, in response to fashions, out of habit, without need for thought or self-scrutiny” (Finkelstein, 1989, 5). Therefore, the practice of eating out offers opportunities for self-representation, but it also engineers individual thoughts and behaviours into cultural codes of the social structure.

Individual narratives of young adults embody these ambivalent aspects of eating out: maximising a variety of choices and increasing homogenisation and commercialisation of eating. Many described eating outside of their home provides the variety of choices such as restaurants, food, and atmosphere as well as new cultural experiences.

It is an entertainment. I want to try every restaurant in town. (A 34 year-old Australian man in Canberra)

I choose the menu which I would never make it or I would not have the time to make it. (A 29 year-old Australian woman in Canberra)

I love trying new food. No matter where it is from. No matter where I travel to. (A 34 year-old Australian woman in Sydney)

When I eat out with my friends, I try to pick the restaurants which look interesting. We tried African restaurant last time. (A 28 year-old Japanese man in Tokyo)

It is fun to choose from the variety. (A 38 year-old Japanese man and a 33-year-old Japanese woman in Tokyo)

These narratives illustrated the disposition of ‘openness’ to new food, restaurants, and cultures. Some participants associated the practice of eating out with their travel experiences to overseas. Warde et al. (1999); Warde (2000) suggested that seeking variety of food-related knowledge and experiences was to display social distinction, and this practice was common among the educated, metropolitan middle-classes in England. Like British cities and other urban metropolitan cities, Tokyo and Sydney have increasingly more numbers of restaurants providing exotic foods

and cultural experiences. Compared to other capital cities, Canberra is a rather small capital city, but has the most educated population in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2014)*. Furthermore, majority of Australian participants had exposed to multi-cultural experiences through their family, travels, and study abroad experiences (See Chapter 3). The experience of variety of food as an expression of self-refinement and their middle-class cosmopolitan identities is also common among some young adults in urban Australia and Japan.

In contrast, some participants described that eating at the commercial venues limits the capacity of humanity and morality, which are not yet institutionalised and commercialised. They compare and contrast the impersonal aspects of marketplace with the comfort at home. A 39 year-old Australian woman said,

At home, there is no one pushing you to get the table back. If it is your place, that's fine you do not have to worry.

She also stressed that the home provides a more comfortable space for social interactions than outside:

You can relax and stay as long as you like. You can interact with people and it breaks down the barrier. It also shares a bond.

Some participants viewed that commercialised services were not flexible enough to accommodate personal needs. A 40 year-old Australian man whose meals always centred on fishes and vegetables said, "When you order salad at restaurants, they never get it right for me." Similarly, a 26 year-old Japanese woman said, "The restaurant food has few variations of ingredients and less quantities." She compared with her mother's meal, and said, "My mother would put more vegetables and meats in *Okonomiyaki* (Japanese pancake) to make the dish perfect for me." Ingredients and quantities of individual dishes are controlled at most restaurants in a collective form, and these dishes do not necessarily meet personal needs unlike her mother who know what she wants.

Although restaurant industries started to accommodate demands for some dietary restrictions, the integrity of the restricted diets prepared by anonymous chefs are still questionable. A 33 year-old Australian woman who had celiac said, "I feel that people do not understand allergy very well. They may use the same knife on the bread so it is not safe anymore."

*According to the ABS report in 2014, 40% of people in the Australian Capital Territory, where Canberra belongs to, had a Bachelor Degree or above as their highest level of education attainment. This was the highest proportion among all states and territories in Australia.

There was a view to associate eating out with unhealthy eating. A 28 year-old Japanese man said, “My (body) condition is even much better to eat my simple dishes like the bean-sprouts-only stir-fry than the food from outside.” During the first two year to be a physician at a university hospital, he did not have much time to cook for himself, and he often ate out or bought cooked food from outside. Although the habit did not directly link with specific health outcomes like weight change, he experienced a subtle change of his body, and described, “Eating the food from outside too often made me feel sick.”

Although eating out is a widely accepted practice and provides variety of choices and new knowledge, it is also viewed as the one which threatens moral values, and dehumanises everyday practice of eating. Julier (2013) pointed out that the increasing commodification of hospitality by service industries creates the distinction between hospitality as impersonal service and hospitality as comfort or caring others. The distinction is originated from social relations associated with domesticity and marketplace. Knowing about individual needs can be “a function of intimacy, of shared tastes and social capital, or routine interaction” (Julier, 2013, 27). The knowledge and skills are regarded as the ones cannot be replaced by commercialised service by anonymous low-wage workers.

7.4 Commensality and solo-eating inside and outside of the home

In this Section, I explore commensality and solo-eating inside and outside of the home based on interviews. Like the experience of eating spaces, whether eating commensally or alone, inside or outside the home is also shaped by cultural codes and social structures. When people eat together, they tend to follow “cultural templates” which reflect social significance and social relations (Warde, 2000, 57). Labour and economic burdens associated with eating together are distributed based on the “cultural templates”. In contrast, eating alone negates the impacts of “cultural templates”, and centres on self-control. The discussion of eating out and eating at home focuses on the shifting power relations from food producers to consumers as well as the change of gender relations. However, this scholarship on eating has developed in modern western contexts, which dominates dichotomous views of public/formal and private/informal spheres. In addition to the public/private divide of eating spaces, social spaces in commensality and solo-eating inside and outside of the home are shaped by existing social organisations and infrastructures of eating out. Cross-cultural comparison explores variations of the social organisations and

their impacts on commensality and solo-eating.

7.4.1 Commensality inside and outside of the home

Eating together at home is a decisive cultural symbol of family in most modern societies. A 31 year-old Australian woman described, “Eating alone misses opportunity of sharing. In most cultures, people share food, sit down, and talk about the day”, and emphasised the universality of the practice. The practice has been sustained by gendered division of household labour and “differential consumption” (Delphy, 2001). The development of eating out is especially important for women: it not only reduces labour burdens for food provision but also changes social relations at the home.

A 29 year-old Japanese woman described that eating out provided her break from being a housewife and mother who was in charge of all the family meals at home: “There are someone cooking for me. I do not need to worry about planning and preparing for meals.” She also emphasised that eating outside of the home allowed her to focus on her individuality: “I can be self-centred (*jibun honi*) and I can eat what I want.” Eating out mediates existing power relations between those who feed and who are fed, and promotes egalitarian relations among those who eat together. Thus, eating out not only takes over the household labours for food provision but also shifts social relations to the egalitarian one which emphasise individual choices. Similarly, a 34 year-old Australian woman described eating out provided pleasurable times for being outside of the home, but she also described the difficulty to eat at the restaurant with young children: “In Sydney, there are not many restaurants which are child-friendly”. Thus, eating out does not fully help reducing housework burdens of women.

7.4.2 Solo-eating at home and in public

Eating alone is an individual activity. It allows individual and personal choices, because there is no pressure from interpersonal interactions. The narratives about eating alone at home centred on individual autonomy, or managing their eating based on their own will without being distracted by others. A 35 year-old Australian mother said, “I quite like to eat alone because I do not have a chance to do it any more.” Being a mother of two young children limited her time for herself: “I get a bit sick to eat with the kids all the time.” The practice of eating alone reminded her singlehood: “It is me, me, me, if I am alone.” A 23 year-old Australian man said, “I like eating alone to concentrate on what I think of at the time.” He lived in

Sydney with his parents who shared the meals every evening: “I want to eat alone every now and then.” Some participants talked about other people’s judgements on their food when they are with others. A 37 year-old Australian woman said, “I get comments a lot on what I eat. It seems like they feel guilty when I order something healthy like salad.” A 36 year-old Japanese woman said, “I do not need to worry about how others judge me and my food.”

Eating alone at home allows individuals to decide everything from food provision to consumption based on individual choices. Some Australian and Japanese participants associated eating alone with healthy eating. A 36 year-old Australian man said, “Eating alone represents more purely eating” than social aspects. He described eating alone allows individuals to control both portion size and food intake: “When someone cook for me, I feel obligated to eat. I become like a garbage bin. When I am alone, I can crave sugar or something bad for my health.” A 27 year-old Japanese woman also described, “When I am with others, I tend to drink alcohol and eat more meats or other proteins than vegetables.” She perceived that eating alone provides her an opportunity to eat more vegetables and supplement missing nutrition which she missed out from commensal eating.

In contrast to eating alone at home, narratives on eating alone in public were explicitly different between Australian and Japanese participants. Most of narratives among Australian participants were negative, compared to their narratives on eating alone at home. A 32 year-old Australian single man said, “It is weird to go out to a restaurant by myself”, because for him, eating out is “social things”. For him, restaurants are regarded as a space for sociality rather than fulfilling his stomach. Some indicated they would eat out of necessity and they would not chose to eat alone in public. A 40 year-old Australian single man said, “If I eat out alone, I will get something quick and read something while eating”. A 22 year-old Australian single woman said, “I feel okay to eat alone at a food court.” Thus, public space was closely linked with sociality rather than everyday food consumption.

In contrast, some Japanese participants, not all of them, described positive images of eating alone in public. Some of them focused on practical aspects of eating out in public. A 35 year-old Japanese single man often had breakfast outside on the way to go to work: “I often have breakfast at a noodle stand at train station.” For him, eating out is not an entertainment or social distinction but daily rituals to eat in a busy lifestyle. He emphasised efficiency to eat alone at the noodle stand: “I save my time by eating out on my way to go to work.” Others emphasised autonomy achieved through eating alone outside of the home. Particularly for those who live with family, it is hard to find a time and space to be alone at home. A 36 year-old

Japanese woman who lived with her husband said, “I want to eat out by myself from time to time.” She described that eating out alone is “an adventure (*bouken*)”, because she can explore new food and restaurants without concerning about other people’s opinions: “When I am with others, I pay more attentions to what others think than what I want”.

A 33 year-old Japanese single woman also emphasised public eating allowed her to stay away from her everyday sociality. She lived with her parents and worked as sales representative at a department store, and said “I do not have much time to be alone.” For her, eating alone at cafe provided her a temporary space which she could stay away from everyday sociality.

I often go to cafe to make time for myself. I am more relaxed than eating with other people. I do not need to think what to talk and I do not need to listen to others. At the same time, I can think what I want to think.

White (2015) suggested that consumption is not just a representation of identity or social distinction but also a therapy to reduce everyday stress and anxieties. Likewise, this female participant chose to eat out alone to change her mood and refresh herself from everyday social interactions rather than presenting her identity in public.

7.5 Individualisation? another social space?: cultural economy of eating alone in public

I argue that this cross-cultural variations in participants’ perceptions on eating alone in public are originated from different “cultural economy” of public eating underlying in contemporary urban Australia and Japan. Rather than impacts of single factor, the combination of social and demographic structure and symbolic and substantial meanings are involved with the adoption of public eating.

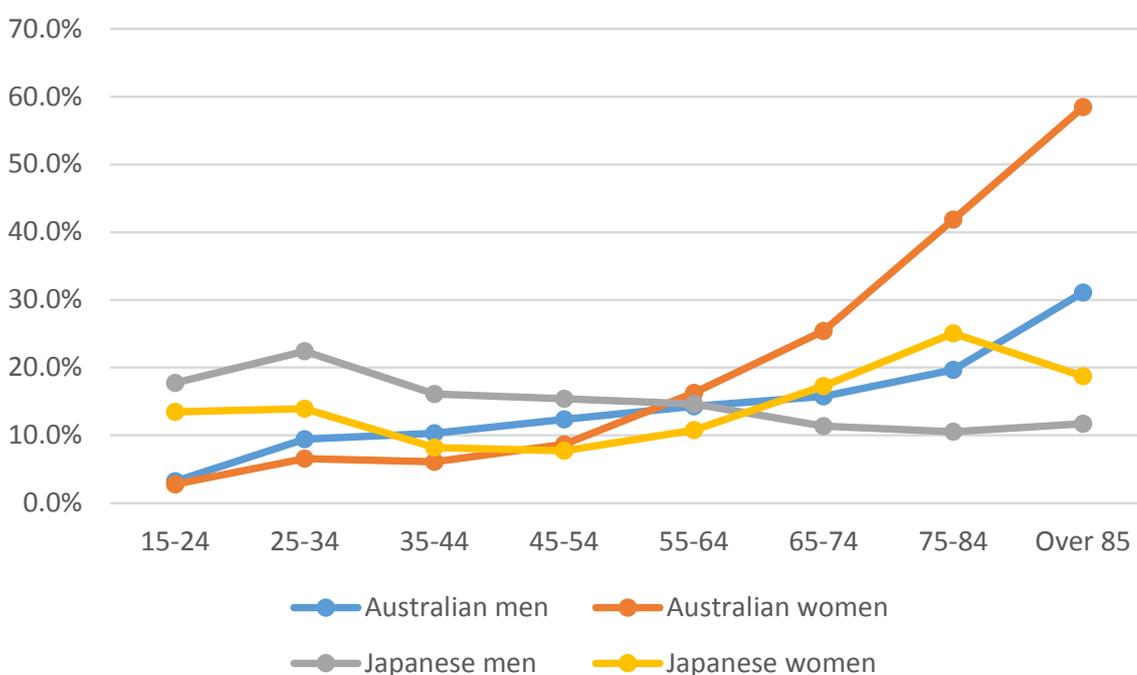
7.5.1 Demographic changes and eating practices

Firstly, higher socio-economic demands for public eating increases availability of public spaces for solo-eaters. Restaurants and cafe are commercialised and institutionalised venues which are largely affected by socio-economic demands and business opportunities. Globally, more number of people live and eat alone. Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (2011) estimated by 2025–30 around 40% or more of all households becomes single-person households in many OECD

countries due to demographic changes, social trends, and the development of new technologies.[†]

As discussed in Chapter 4, Japan is a world's most ageing society for a decade (Cabinet office, 2015), and more than one third of the population live alone (Statistics Bureau of Japan, 2010). The proportions of single-person households (*tandoku-setai*) in Australia and Japan were 24.3% and 32.4% respectively in 2010–11 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011; Statistics Bureau of Japan, 2010). Figure 7.1 shows distribution of single-person households among men and women in Australia and Japan in 2010–2011. The statistics include only those who live in private dwellings and those who lived alone in nursing homes, dormitories, and hospitals are excluded from census of both countries.

Figure 7.1: Distribution of single-person households among men and women of different age groups in Australia and Japan



Source: (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011; Statistics Bureau of Japan, 2010)

In Australia and Japan, single-households are prevailed among older populations: the highest proportion of single-households was the aged 75–84 among Japanese women and the aged over 85 among Australian men and women. The proportion among Australian men and women increased with ages, and the increase was sharper among women than men. One of reasons for lower rate among Japanese men and women aged over 85 years old is that 12.8% of men and 25.1% of women live in hospitals or nursing homes (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2011).

[†]In cross-national comparison by the OECD report, Australia showed more increase in numbers of single-person households from mid-2000s to mid-2020s than Japan. The increase was 48% in Australia (the estimate increase from 2006 to 2026). The increase was 26% in Japan (the estimate increase from 2005 to 2030) (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2011).

However, the proportion of single-households among younger cohorts aged 15–34 was relatively high among Japanese men and women compared to Australians. The peak of single-person household among Japanese men was aged 25–34 (22.4%). There are some plausible explanations for the higher rates of single-person households among Japanese young adults than Australians. First, more numbers of Japanese young men and women leave home for education or work and never be married. Secondly, de facto relationships are not recognised and not reported in the national census of Japan. Lastly, fewer young adults in Japan live in group household like share houses compared to Australians. In Australia, about 7–10% of men and women in 15–34 lived in group housing like share house (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011). Similar demographic characteristics are also identified among Australian and Japanese young adult participants in the current study (see Chapter 3).

The demographic change has greatly affected the country's policy and economic structures in urban Japan. By 2011, the total expense of elderly household aged over 60 years exceeded 100 trillion yen per year and 44% of total expense of the Japanese population (Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, 2012). Miura (2013) noted that more numbers of Japanese men and women over 50 years old will live alone and eat alone by 2035, and the increase is more evident in the urban areas.[‡] He argued that in such a society, there will be increasing demands for the commodification of all aspects of life activities which involve care processes done by others (Miura, 2013, 148). Compared to the temporary singlehood among young adults, the singlehood in their later stage of life needs long-term supports for the daily care-related activities which is traditionally done by household members. Eating alone in public spaces may not be as lonely as eating alone at home without having any interactions with others, and it can replace commensality with family and friends. In fact, some restaurant and drinking pub chains which provide “*kateino-aji* (taste of home)” meals and eating spaces for solo-eaters are growing.[§]

As most of narratives and free-list survey of Australian and Japanese young adults demonstrated, general images of eating alone in public are negative particularly among women. Many western literature showed that more women than men find this practice as a challenge, and seek for the alternative or challenge sexual

[‡]Miura's argument is based on the nationwide survey data on the report (National Institute of Population and Social Security Research 2013). According to the report, the proportion of single-person household to all household in 1980 was 19.8% and increased to 32.4% in 2010. The report estimates the rate will increase to 37.1% in 2035. The increase is more rapid among those are above 50 years old who will dominant 66% of total single-person household in Japan in 2035.

[§]Ootoya, a restaurant chain of Japanese set meal (*tei-shoku*) reported 70% revenue increase from 2010 to 2014. (increased from 1.7 million yen in March 2010 to 2.3 million yen in March 2014) (Ootoya Holdings, 2014).

stereotypes associated with eating alone in public (Shiple, 2012; Derry; Cooke, 2014). Gender power relations in eating spaces are not only manifested by women's thoughts, emotions, and actions, but also enforced by others people in heterosexual social gazes (Heimtun, 2010). Similar to western societies, female singlehood is a contested space of cultural ideals and practices in "familialist" Japan which had a long history of patriarchal social systems (Dales, 2014). However, more than women's resistance to the sexual stereotypes, the demographic, economic, and socio-cultural shift to ageing society fosters the development of markets and the availability of public spaces for male and female lone-diners

7.5.2 Cultural meanings of public spaces

Secondly, the embodiment of social and individual spaces in physical spaces of public and private domains influences acceptability of solo-eating in public spaces. Most Australian participants viewed eating out as a social activity no matter if they eat with others or alone, and eating at home as a private and individual activity. Similar views of public eating was also identified in an interview study in UK by Dawn Zdrodowski: eating outside of their home was considered as 'public eating' which individuals were subjected to social gazes no matter if they are in front of others they know (Zdrodowski, 1996). In contrast, for most Japanese participants, eating in public does not necessarily means a social and collective activity. For them, the social boundaries of collective and individual activities is determined by relationships between self and others rather than physical domains of spaces.

Public spaces outside of daily social network is another social spaces without worrying about daily social relations. In other words, public spaces can be both social and individual spaces. Lebra (1984) argued that the interpretation of social situations and associated behaviours is not fixed but varied by one's relationships with others (insider or outsider) and whether one is exposed to the public gaze. According to her theory (Lebra, 1984, 122–123), there are three situational domains: intimate, ritual, and anomie. In the intimate situation, one see others as insiders (*uchi*) and his behaviours toward them are no longer constrained by public gaze. In this condition, he see himself in the intimate mode, regardless of physical spaces which one is situated. In opposite to this, in the ritual situation, one see others as outsiders (*soto*) and his behaviours toward them are in front of third-person audience. In the anomic situation, one see others as outsiders and he is free from the audience.

I argue that the narrative of solo-eating in public among Japanese young adults is fallen into the ritual situation: being outside of insider's relations reduces peer

pressures, and at the same time, they are exposed to the public gaze. Such a multiple functionality of public spaces were also identified in cross-cultural studies of western and eastern cultures (Mateo-Babiano and Ieda, 2005; Yasmeeen, 1996). The practices of eating out and eating alone are products of urbanisation and industrialisation in both Australian and Japanese societies, but at the same time these practices produce different social relations at the local level.

7.5.3 Expanding domains of eating spaces

Eating space is a site of global and local processes of shifting eating practices as well as forms of sociality. Both eating out and eating alone accommodate different levels of individual and personal choices among Australian and Japanese young adults. Eating out allows individuals to reduce their labour burdens of food provision and to be explored to variety of food and cultural experiences regardless of class and gender. Eating alone embodies self-control of eating process from production to consumption. At the same time, collective, commensality at home is sustained by the heterosexual, socialised, and familial, ideals of eating, and the notion is even extended to healthy eating. Eating alone in public is at the opposite pole of the ideal construction of eating. Nevertheless, along with increasing socio-economic demands due to demographic changes, the practice was emerged as another social space outside of their daily social network in Japanese urban economy. Therefore, eating alone in public is no longer an anomic situation where there is no social contacts with other people. The development of public eating results in constructing four domains of eating spaces in urban landscape. Table 7.3 summaries four domains of eating spaces.

Table 7.3: Four domains of eating spaces

	Commensality	Solo-eating
Home	Labour required Traditional relationships	Labour required Individual autonomy
Outside	No labour required Egalitarian relationships	No labour required Sociality outside of daily social network

The discussion is extended to everyday gender relations and how gender roles and identities shape everyday commensality and solo-eating in the next Chapter (Chapter 8).

Chapter 8

Gendered dynamics and commensality

8.1 Gender as a mediator of eating experiences

The third determinant is gender. Gender is a powerful mediator of all aspects of eating experiences. As discussed in previous two Chapters, gender plays a central role in the experience of eating spaces and time. The rise of flexible working schedule and the commercialised food provision services encouraged more women to engage with paid employment and promote egalitarianism for the equal access to the public sphere. Yet, at the same time, these new lifestyle lacks moral meanings (Giddens, 1991), and both men and women encounter moral hazard and feel their masculinity and femininity are threaten. In fact, gender relations in commensality are not just about who provides food, but also involve with who leads conversations and who disciplines children. However, most of narratives from both Australian and Japanese participants were concentrated on food provision. This may be because moral debates on the decline of family meals and commensalism are concentrated on who provides food (Julier, 2013, 19). This Chapter focuses on gender relations and dynamics in light of gendered division of household labour and cooking and caring responsibilities associated with commensality.

Recent studies of gender consider gender not only as static properties as identity and social status but also as a more dynamic process constructed by social relations through interaction. Martin (2003, 343) suggested that gender dynamics are socially constructed by means of “two-sided dynamic of gendering practices and practicing of gender”. According to her, “gendering practices” are available to be done and practised in social contexts “in accord with (or in violation of) the gender institution” (Martin, 2003, 534). The second gender dynamic, “practicing of gender”, is the

literal activities of gender, which are what individuals are actually doing and saying in every day interactions, but not yet institutionalised. It is practising masculinities and femininities “in embodied interactions that are emergent and fluid, grounded in practical knowledge and skills, and informed by liminal awareness and reflexivity” (Martin, 2003, 359). The process of riding a bicycle is an example of “practicing gender”. People learn how to ride a bicycle through repetition practising, but most of people are not aware or be reflexive on the whole process of riding a bicycle. This is because their goal is to be able to ride a bicycle rather than narratively describing the whole process of bicycle riding. However, the accumulation of practising gender becomes “gendered practices” and sustain inequality. Martin asserted that the understanding of these two layers of dynamics will provide insights of how gender inequality and conflicts are constructed (Martin, 2003, 343).

In this Chapter, I examine these two layers of gender dynamics: gendered practices and practising gender. Firstly, I show the narrative about domestic responsibilities, and discuss how different social institutions, particularly shaped by household structures, makes “static gendering practices” available to Australian and Japanese participants. Then, I draw attention to family commensality as a site in which gender relations are experienced and contested. By examining the subjectivities of commensality, I explore saying and doing of gender which are not explicit as “gendering practices” and can be embedded in practical knowledge and skills.

8.2 Gendered division of labours in single-and multiple-earner households

Gendered division of labour in the society determines the tasks which men and women should perform. The division is often shaped by socio-economic structures, particularly associated with the distribution of paid employment, and embedded and sustained by socio-cultural norms including gender expectations. As discussed in Chapter 6, a household structure is a major social institution which shapes different lifestyle structures between Australian and Japanese participants. Whether single-earner or multiple-earner household influences to what extent division of household labour are gendered. Single-earner households, which were dominant among Japanese participants, tend to maintain clear-cut gendered division of household labour and the division is often taken for granted among members of household. In contrast, multiple-earner households which were dominant among Australian participants, tend to negotiate the division among household members. Differences in gendered division of household labour were clearly observed between Australian and

Japanese participants.

Not surprisingly, division of paid work and non-paid domestic work among the Japanese single-earner household was gendered. The division was culturally available for the people to do gender or to determine as “gendered practices”. The gendered division was taken for granted, and both male and female married participants viewed that home was the site where wife took a dominant role. Few male participants expressed their thoughts about household activities, and described:

My wife takes care of all household work. (*Ie no koto ha okusan ga subete yattekureteiru.*) (A 36 year-old married Japanese man)

All one left to my wife’s own choice. (*Subete tsuma ni makaseteiru.*) (A 36-year old Japanese married man).

The public image of housewives in Japan has changed along with socio-economic and political climates. In the 1970s, the household with a male breadwinner and a full-time housewife was considered as the average Japanese family. At the same time, the normalisation of housewives was criticised by women’s liberation movement. In the late 1980s, being housewives became a symbol of affluent family which have enough economic powers to feed non-working wife and children (Ueno, 1994). According the recent nationwide survey of young people aged between 15 and 39 (Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, 2013), more number of women (34.2%) than men (19.3%) hoped for the household with a full-time housewife. Being housewives became an ideal which not everyone can choose to become.

A 27 year-old Japanese woman who was a mother of two children did most of housework and child rearing by herself.

It is impossible to ask my husband to help housework and child rearing on his workday, because he comes back home late. He does not do any housework except cleaning and playing with children on the weekend. He is good at cleaning and I like cooking. Looking after children on the weekend is helpful enough.

She viewed the current division of labours as a decent lifestyle of married woman with young children. She reflected her singlehood that she tried to do all she wanted to do (i.e. work and hobbies), and said to me, “Such a lifestyle uses up all energies for myself, but not for others.” She emphasised her life at the household level rather than individual one, and described her role as an engine of the household.

Now I wake up early in the morning, and I do not oversleep any more. If I am late, everyone will be late. I got a sense of responsibility (to

support other family members). I believe I need to stay healthy and energetic to be able to support family. Compared to the past, I have a much healthier lifestyle.

She compared this with her lifestyle before her marriage which she played multiple roles, and she understood that the current lifestyle is beneficial for both well-being and physical health of her family and herself, and expressed her joy to invest her body and mind into her family.

On the contrary, the domestic work is not always 'a static gendering practice' among those who are in the dual or multiple-earner household. It is rather a dynamic practice which are performed by those who have less time commitments to paid work. A 37 year-old Australian woman was a full-time preschool teacher and recently reduced her working hours to part-time (four days per week) to help with her eight year-old daughter's school work.

My housework and my husband's work is getting busier. I spend more time for cooking and other housework. I make jelly and cakes as treats for my daughter. From Tuesday to Friday, she goes to aftercare. They have crafts and homework clubs. She does swimming and gymnastics. On Monday afternoon, she does Kumon tutoring. It started easy and getting harder....

Time commitments for children are varied by ages of children. In her case, she experienced more time constraints when her daughter became older and started to participant in a range of activities. In addition, her husband worked long hour at a medical company: leaving home at 7:00am and coming back home around 7:00-8:00pm. So, she decided to reduce her working hours to manage all housework, supports for her daughter, and her paid work.

A 34 year-old Australian man was a postgraduate student and father of two children. He rotated housework with his wife depending on their work loads and working hours.

We do not have to negotiate (who do which housework). Now she has a demanding job and works quite long hours. I tend to do most of housework and look after the children. In the past, I worked more and she looked after the children.

He reported that he did most of housework in the morning while he was having breakfast, because his work schedule as a postgraduate student was more flexible than his wife who was working as a high-rank public servant. He said, "This is the most common reason I have breakfast alone." He ate breakfast in the kitchen while cleaning and making lunch for his children.

Due to the growing political, legal and social emphasis on gender equality, few narratives explicitly talked about gender segregation within society and individual household. Like the previous literature (Bianchi et al., 2000), most of narratives of both Australian and Japanese participants emphasised that time-availability is rather an explicit reason for determining who spend more time for housework than gender norms. Although the language of time-availability is gender-neutral for most of people, it is rather determined by work demands and working hours of paid workers in the household as well as availability and adoption of flexible working schedule at workplace. Generally, more men spend longer time with their paid work than women. The gender gap in Japan is much larger than Australia. In this sense, gendered division of household labour was a more culturally available practice among Japanese participants than Australians.

8.3 Practising gender in commensality

Gender relations are more dynamic and contested in the commensal context. In particular, family commensality can be “a site of domestic conflict” of masculine and feminine subjectivities (Meah and Jackson, 2013). Unlike other household activities, the practice of commensality is a shared activity. In the commensal context, the labour division of the shared activity is not always clear-cut like who cook and who does not, and some share housework associated with commensality (i.e. shopping, cooking, and cleaning). Even though men and women share work, the distribution of labour is not proportional and grounded in unspoken assumptions of gender subjectivities.

Individual narratives show how individuals negotiate their gender identities in the commensal context. A 21 year-old Australian woman reported she and her family members take turn cooking. However, she found herself ended up cook more often than her partner. She said,

My partner is a very concise cook, but I veto a lot. He settle for less tasty food for easier. He does not mind to eat leftovers, but I want to eat freshly cooked food.

She acknowledged that her partner can cook, but his ways of cooking did not satisfy her expectations on what are proper meals for family. Similarly, a 36 year-old Japanese woman started to do more cooking since she got married, whereas she worked as long hours as her husband.

My husband can cook. But I have taken over cooking since we married.

Recently he got a higher cholesterol record from his annual health check. I started to cook healthier foods containing less oils like stewed or boiled food.

Both Australian and Japanese female participants acknowledged their partners are capable and available to participate in food provision. However, both of them emphasised their skills and knowledge which cannot be replaced by their male partners.

In contrast to female ones, men's narratives about labour associated with commensality was rather secondary. A 37 year-old Japanese man who was a father of two children reported that he sometimes cooked at home:

I cook at home but it is not so often and when I have a time on holidays. Last weekend, I made dumpling with my wife and children. My wife and I prepared the fillings, and wrapped them with children. I like cooking and often cooked when I was single.

A 34 year-old Australian men, who was single and lived with his housemates, said he liked cooking, but he did not want to make it an everyday practice:

I try to cook 3, 4 times per week. It is mostly for myself. I like cooking but cooking more than 3, 4 times per week is a chore. I find it is perfect to split the cooking responsibility. If I have a wife that would be perfect.

Unlike female participants who were taking primary responsibilities for feeding family, their narratives focused on cooking for themselves or for their own lifestyle choices. For the heterosexual commensality, they emphasised their roles as a secondary to the female primary chefs as well as their discretionary participation to domestic activities.

Although many men engage with housework and facilitated more diverse range of masculinities, many women still took a primary role in cooking and caring responsibilities greater than men. Men's involvement to these responsibilities was secondary and special or at least not an everyday practice. The dynamic was more explicit within the narratives on family commensality. This is mainly because for many women cooking represents not just a provision of nutritional substances, but a provision of care. Similarly, many studies demonstrated how cooking as caring are closely connected with femininity (DeVault, 1994; Sidenvall et al., 2000; Cairns et al., 2010). Although individual narratives did not explicitly emphasise the relationship between food-related activities and gendered care-work, they employed the knowledge and skills to provide more "tasty" or "healthy" foods than men. For men, cooking as caring for others is not their primary role but playing the role in special occasions on behalf of women.

In this Chapter, I compare and contrast narratives of commensality among Australian and Japanese participants in two different gender perspectives: static “gendering practices” and dynamic “practicing of gender”. The cross-cultural comparison supported the finding that gender conflicts were more evident in the narratives of family commensality rather than gendered division of paid and non-paid work, which the second-wave feminists paid attention to (Meah and Jackson, 2013). Socio-economic boundaries between men and women are diminishing: more numbers of women participate in paid employment and politics and more men are involved with domestic work. At the same time, gender discrepancies resist in discursive practices and interactions like family commensality. Cross-cultural variations of gender conflicts was rather minimal: both Australian and Japanese women took primary responsibilities for feeding and caring family, and both Australian and Japanese men participated in domestic work in their own ways. Thus, the attention to social interactions provides insights on how gender determine eating experiences. The next Chapter (Chapter 9) explores how social hierarchies, such as family, friends, and work colleagues, affect eating experiences.

Chapter 9

Social relations: hierarchies and everyday interactions

9.1 Social relations in reflexive modernity

The last socio-cultural determinant of commensality and solo-eating is social relations which refer to social hierarchies and everyday interactions. The discussion of “gendering practices” and “practicing of gender” in the previous Chapter (Chapter 8) suggests that the subtle form of gender in everyday interactions was as powerful as institutionalised gendering practices like division of domestic work to shape individual experiences of commensality. Like these gender relations, social hierarchies and everyday interactions influence a range of experience of commensality as well as solo-eating.

In modern societies, social and individual lives are no longer directly governed by traditions but by individual’s subjectivity to their circumstance (Giddens, 1991). The subjectivity, however, is not just a production of rational choices made by a individual, but also “an emotional, embodied and cognitive process” in relation to his/her social environments and everyday interactions (Holmes, 2010, 140). Likewise, individual lifestyles and values are constructed through the cultivation of subjectivities at the embodied intersection of individual and social worlds (Mellor and Shilling, 2014, 275). Thus, subjectivities relate to, and follow from, social hierarchies and everyday interactions.

Emotion is an important component shaping experiences of both commensality and solo-eating. As discussed in Chapter 5, most of Australian and Japanese participants associated positive emotions with commensality (i.e. pleasure) and negative emotions with solo-eating (i.e. loneliness). Danesi (2012, 12) asserted that these emotions generate positive and negative evaluations of these eating practices as well

as social arrangements (i.e. food choices) and social organisations (i.e. cooking together) associated with these practices. At the same time, these emotions also influence individual motivations on eating and behaviours (Macht, 2008).

Furthermore, Danesi (2012) also pointed out that emotional experiences of commensality and solo-eating can be reversed or mixed when people encountered conflicts between sociality and individual autonomy. For example, commensality can be stressful when one felt his autonomy was compromised. Solo-eating can be pleasurable when one wished for individual autonomy. In other words, pleasure and stress of these eating practices are pleasure and stress of social hierarchies, everyday social interactions or social isolations. In this regard, social relations have a great impact on a range of experiences of commensality including meanings of commensality, associated behaviours, and emotions. These experiences with commensality also shape experiences of solo-eating.

In this Chapter, I explore how social hierarchies and everyday interactions determine the experience of commensality and solo-eating among Australian and Japanese participants. First, I examine participant's narratives about pleasure and stress of commensality with family, friends, and work colleagues, and explore meanings of commensality and solo-eating among young adults. Then, I pay attention to differences between Australian and Japanese groups, and discuss how the interplay between individuality and sociality are embodied in commensality and solo-eating through different communication styles and cultural construction of commensality.

9.2 Meanings of commensality and solo-eating

9.2.1 Meanings of family commensality

Among various kinds of commensality, eating with family is considered as an archetype of commensality in many societies. Modern family has been functioned as a fundamental institution of everyday consumption (Delphy, 2001). In particular, entering cohabitation and marriage encourages more commensal eating, not only because of convenience to eat together but also because of socio-cultural expectations of middle-class marriage life (Sobal et al., 2002). As discussed in Chapter 5, both Australian and Japanese participants associated commensality or eating together with family meals: they listed similar words when they responded to the question of eating with others and that of eating with family. The narratives about eating with family signify various aspects of pleasure and stress observed in other commensality in a more explicit way.

Pleasure of family commensality

Three participants below described pleasure associated with eating with family in comparison to their experiences of eating alone or the absence of family time together. A 21 year-old Australian man described that a meal with his family is the time that he finds pleasure of eating. He has opened his own business several months before the interview, and spent most of time alone at his workplace. When he was at work, he tends to eat something quick so that he could go back to work quickly. He described,

I like cooking and like to have time to enjoy the meal but that is only possible when I am with my family. When I work, I grab something quick so that I can get back to work.

Australian and Japanese mothers described how they work hard to create pleasurable family commensality. A 34 year-old Australian woman described pleasure of family commensality should come along with hard work for family gathering. She recalled that her family often ate separately, because everyone works different shifts. For example, her father did night shift. Sometimes her mother prepared dinner for her brother and her. Since she had her own family, she had tried to cook every day. She said, "If I've gone to an effort to make something, we should enjoy it." From her childhood experiences, she was aware having family commensality was not easy and required efforts for preparing food and managing different people's schedules.

A 27 year-old Japanese woman also reflected her childhood experiences that her family did not eat together often. She said, "I brought up with a large family which everyone had meal when they needed." After the marriage, she became a full-time housewife and started to spend more time for family commensality. She described sharing time together with family over meal generated pleasure in eating, unlike her childhood. She explained the mechanism of pleasurable commensality with family by saying:

When we eat together, we tend to resonate the feelings of pleasure to eat delicious food, and this stimulates communications among family. We talk about which food is delicious, and what kinds of food we want to eat the next. I feel good and I never feel lonely. Moreover, food tastes better no matter what I ate!

Her interview explicitly described that pleasurable experiences of commensality was not only associated with the pleasure of family togetherness but also the experiences of good taste no matter what she ate. In other words, she believed that pleasurable

commensality enhanced the pleasure in other aspects of eating like the experience of taste.

Other than these two female participants, there were several participants reported similar experiences, and tried to make up what have been missing from their childhood experiences of family commensality. Having more time with family together than the previous generations appears to be an opposite phenomenon to the popular presumption of the decline of family commensality over time. However, their narratives do not necessarily illustrate the number of family commensality is either increasing or decreasing in contemporary Australian and Japanese societies. Rather than the change in frequency of family commensality, these cross-cultural narratives demonstrated that many young adults associated pleasure of eating with family commensality, although there were some stresses and difficulties associated with it. Similarly, Banwell et al. (2012)'s intergenerational generation study remarked that family commensality resists with some relaxation, and a discourse of pleasure in eating became more valued than previous generations which considered pleasurable eating as problematic.

Stress of family commensality

Family commensality can also be stressful, because of various socio-cultural expectations and rules associated with it. In particular, family is a group of people in different age group, gender, food preferences, and time schedules. Different views and expectations for 'proper' commensality sometimes create conflicts and stresses among family members. A 39 year-old Australian woman described gendered practices during her holiday meals with her family.

Women cook, clean, and gossip in the kitchen. My parents judged the food quite harshly. We eat conservative food, typical Australian dishes with roasted vegetable and potatoes. My father and two brothers in law will sit outside. Unless we specifically say, we women do all cooking and cleaning, and men will not do it. It is just a natural thing always happens and annoys me.

She expressed her frustrations at the situation in which men and women perform different things without any questions. This was an extraordinary moment for her who lived alone far from her hometown and enjoyed cooking a wide range of foreign cuisine for her friends and workmates.

A 33 year-old Japanese man described a tensed commensal moment with his grandmother in his childhood.

My grandma is from a fish village. She eats the whole fish without messing fish bones around. I was often nagged by my grandma about how I ate the fish. Because of this, I was quiet and concentrate on my behaviour particularly when I ate fish in front of my grandma.

His narrative signifies so-called “the cultural trainings for children in manners, social skills, and nutrition education” (Chrzan, 2009). For him, the memory of commensality with his grandmother was lessons to acquire skills and knowledge of how to eat fish without distracting people in front of him.

Family hospitality can be conflicted with individual thoughts on healthy eating as well as commitments outside of the home. A 31 year-old Australian woman living with her retired parents in their 60s found her mother’s meals was not as unhealthy as she wished. She said, “There is always desserts from shop, too much meats, and bigger portion size.” Outside the home or when she cooked for herself, she practised what she thought to be healthy eating: she tried to avoid red meats and choose fish, chicken, and vegetables. A 38 year-old Japanese man described the difficulty to balance work and family commitments, and he said, “It is a dilemma to eat all what I have been offered.” As a part of his business, he often drunk and ate something with his clients or work colleagues before his went back home, and ate a proper dinner at home prepared by his wife every night. Then, he ended up overeating. He gained about 10 kg after his marriage and was advised by his doctor to reduce the weight. He said, “I know I have should have told my wife whenever I needed to eat out, but it is hard to predict my schedule.”

9.2.2 Meanings of friend commensality

Sharing the meal with friends is an important time for cultivating sociability and self-identities outside of their family traditions. In contrast to family and workplace relationships, sharing the meal with friends is less likely to be constrained by formality which many people feel stressful. There are more democratic ways of sharing of labours and decision-making regardless of social hierarchy (Danesi, 2011). Therefore, commensality with friends is constituted with various elements which make people feel pleasurable and comfortable. For this reason, for most of my participants, eating with friends was a pleasurable occasion which allow them some flexibilities. Few participants talked about stress of commensality with friends.

Solidarity with friends

Drinking together often signifies pleasurable and socially embodied practice (Niland et al., 2013). A 21 year-old Australian man described eating with friends in

comparison with eating with family:

It is just an excuse to catch up and have a good time. We become a bit more adventurous. We have something we have not had before. Some finger food to share instead of everyone get a plate, and a lot of drinking.

He emphasised sociability with friends and the relaxation of the meal in comparison to structured meals with his parents in the past and everyday commensality with his partner and daughter. He paid more attention on how to entertain others as well as how to enjoy himself. He viewed drinking alcohol as “a social lubricant” which enhanced sociability and solidarity among friends even more than eating together (Heath, 1999).

A 35 year-old Japanese man described differences between the relationship with his friends and that with work colleagues.

For me, friends mean those who talk about both work and private stuff like hobbies. Being with workmates can be as informal as “friends”, but we talk more about work. I like riding a motorcycle and often hang out with the motorcycle friends on the weekend. We share the same hobby but our occupations and ages are different. I get to know some of them at the service stations.

Sharing a common interest signifies solidarities among his ‘friends’ as well as among his ‘workmates’. Although Danesi (2011) suggested solidarity among similar age group, age similarity was not always crucial for solidarity among young adults: this narrative emphasised that sharing common hobby of motorcycle rather than age similarities developed solidarity among his friends.

Although many previous studies focused on negative health impacts of friends (Voorend et al., 2013; Babor et al., 2010), friend commensality can be the time for sharing healthy eating habits and strengthen common identities as healthy eaters. A 40 year-old Australian man said, “Most of my friends look after what they eat, and we often discuss which food has less fat or a better alternative.” For him and his friends, sharing the meal together was the time for exchanging knowledge and skills about healthy eating and lifestyle, and attempting to ensure uncertain notions of healthy eating.

Freedom of choice

The sense of freedom of choices is an important aspect of egalitarian form of commensality (Danesi, 2011). A 20 year-old Australian woman described different eating practices between when she ate with her family and her friends. She has been a vegetarian by choice for eight months. Most of her friends know she was a vegetarian,

and some of them were also vegetarians. When she ate with her friends, she can choose what she wants. When she was with her family, she picked what she can eat. She said “I become more mindful of my portion size and food choices when I am with friends (than with family)”, because being with friends provided her more freedom to choose to what to buy and what to eat, and fulfil her identity as a vegetarian.

Despite of the egalitarian atmosphere, some felt pressured from their friends. A 37 year-old Australian woman described her frustration at her friend’s comments on what she ate.

I get comments a lot on what I eat. I never comment on anyone else food. It seems like they feel guilty when I order something healthy like salad. I do not care what they eat... It is really annoying.

Eating in front of others is always subject to other people’s eyes and judgements. Even though individual choices are valued, it is indeed hard to avoid other people’s influences. At the end, this participant felt pressured of her own choice from her friends.

On the contrary, most of Japanese participants did not as explicitly talk much about their own choices as Australian participants. Rather, their narratives were concentrated on the pursuit for a consensus or mediation of all member’s preferences. A 29 year-old Japanese woman said,

(When I share the meal with friends), I think of a balance of the preference between myself and others. I try to avoid the food which any of other members do not like. Also, (to share more variety), I choose different food which others do not order.

She emphasised that freedom of choice can be achieved through paying attention to everyone’s preferences and sharing various dishes to disperse mutual compromises.

However, the mutual compromises can be stressful for some Japanese participants. A 34 year-old Japanese woman said,

I often ended up letting others to decide everything. I eat what I want when I am alone.

She felt intimidated to voice her opinion in the commensal occasion which most of people drink alcohol. She was not a drinker. As long as drinking is a norm of social eating and the majority support this, it is difficult to overturn the consensus because one person does not want to drink.

9.2.3 Meanings of commensality with work colleagues

Workplace commensality signifies two aspects of social relations at the workplace. On one hand, similar to eating with friends, eating with work colleagues is an occasion to enhance group solidarity and good communications among work colleagues or sometimes clients and bosses. On the other hand, some workplace relationships are far different from intimate relationships like family and friends and involved with workplace hierarchy and professional identities. However, the narratives were very different between Australian and Japanese participants for commensality with family and friends, because two groups associated commensality with work colleagues with different eating occasions. Australian participants' narratives were concentrated on short-time gatherings during working hours like morning tea and lunch or after-hour casual drinks. In contrast, Japanese participants focused on commensality over lunch and dinner outside of working hours which is a significantly longer period of time. The difference is closely connected with different working cultures in Australia and Japan.

Informal channel for building relationships

For young adults at earlier stage of their careers, workplace commensality is an informal channel to build a relationship with their superiors and work colleagues. It is particularly important for young adults to absorb information and knowledge from their work colleagues. A 26 year-old Japanese woman said,

It is easier to ask questions during a meal break than while working. My *senpai* (senior colleagues) often share their own experiences. It is really encouraging that they try to help me learning.

Similarly, a 25 year-old Australian man said,

I think morning and afternoon tea practice is good. I get a sense of people working around me. It is good to find out what people are doing. That is a good aspect of it.

At the same time, he also indicated the difficulty to manage social gathering during working hours.

It is quite nice but quite rush. People have real work to do during working hours. We stand up and have very light thing like biscuit. Also from the management point's view, it might be inefficient. Limiting the amount of time is not a bad idea, because it sometimes carries on until lunch. You need to strike the balance.

Another 25 year-old Australian man talked about the common practice during lunch break at his workplace.

It is unique to my workplace. We always do puzzles. Someone will have like a word search and you pass it along. It is in the newspaper. Sudoku and whatever. My colleagues are a lot older. Sometimes I might find it difficult to find a conversation with, and maybe that is why we do more puzzle. It is much better than watching TV (during the break).

In front of others, many people feel obligated to find topics to talk, and it resulted in associating commensality and negative emotions (Danesi, 2012, 9). It is especially difficult to find the common topic with someone are in different age groups. Sharing some activities together reduces a psychological burden to be pressured to find a conversation and transform workplace to be comfortable eating places for many.

Meaning of workplace relations and associated behaviours in Australia and Japan

Cross-cultural variations were also observed in the narratives about what participants thought socially appropriate behaviours associated with workplace sociality. In other words, the associated social behaviours represent what sorts of social relations are expected in organisational settings in contemporary Australian and Japanese societies.

Australian participants, especially those who are engaged with professional occupations, emphasised self-control over their behaviours and languages to balance a relaxed sociality with their professional identities. A 34 year-old Australian man said that there was a formality at workplace activities.

We are relaxed to certain degree but it has some degree of formality. Let our guard a little bit. It is all controlled. We need to make sure we present the department properly. We are a team of mature people.

Similarly, a 31 year-old Australian woman emphasised 'self-control' over her behaviours and language at the workplace.

I feel awkward to eating out with my senior colleagues. It is quite hard to have a free flowing conversation. I am afraid that I will talk too much. Sometimes I am very quiet.

Pleasure and sociality at the public workplace need to be rationalised and disciplined. Coveney and Bunton (2003) remarked that the separation of emotional display of pleasure from rationalised and disciplined pleasure originated from protestant ethics.

In contrast to the sociality with intimate others, workplace relationships emphasised moderation and restraints of sociality and pleasure during working hours.

On the contrary, Japanese participants' narratives were centred on sociability through drinking and eating together. Historically, Japan has never had an extensive temperament movement like many western societies, and drinking has never been seen as a social problem (Partanen, 2006). Drinking together is the lifetime 'habitus' to build all kinds of social relations, and the knowledge of alcohol, drinking manners, and sociality is 'a form of symbolic capital' acquiring through repetitive practices (McDonald and Sylvester, 2014, 342). Several Japanese young adult participants reported they wished to master the drinking 'habitus' and to provide good impressions to their work colleagues especially senior colleagues outside of their working environments. A 28 year-old Japanese man said, "It is always challenging for me to be smart on entertaining my boss and senior colleagues when we eat and drink together, like finding an empty glass and pouring drinks in the timing they wish. More difficult thing is to find a topic which they may be interested in. It is much easier just to listen to them". Some people are really good at entertaining others. I want to learn from them.

A 38 year-old Japanese man who was an experienced sale representative talked about the signification to master the drinking 'habitus'.

(In the drinking occasions) I can ask questions and talk about my opinions in an informal way. For example, I can ask my president about his thoughts on new projects, and plans. During daytime (working hours), it is too formal and too hard to know what he really thinks. There are some constraints and company's policies which I need to follow. (Through drinking together), I plan how I can circumvent constraints and find opportunities for my work.

For him, the informal communication through drinking together outside of working hours is an asset to strengthen his work performance during working hours. Drinking together is one of a few accepted strategies to 'unwrap' formal social relations and establish a more direct form of communication (Partanen, 2006, 186).

I do not intend to describe that Australians prefer formal workplace relationships and Japanese do not. Rather I argue that the cross-cultural difference in workplace commensality is identified in combination with different working styles which I discussed in Chapter 6. Japanese spend longer time at their workplace and invest more time for work-related sociality than Australians who spend more time for family and friends.

9.2.4 Meanings of solo-eating

Pleasure and stress of solo-eating has been already discussed in Chapter 7. To sum up, solo-eating is an individual activity, and embodies the tensions between the loneliness to be isolated from everyday interactions and the pleasure to be free from social pressures. In parallel, the experience of solo-eating was also sensitive to eating places and social meanings associated with public spaces. The narratives about solo-eating in public varied between Australian and Japanese participants. Many Australian participants viewed eating out as a social activity no matter if they eat with others or alone, and eating home at home as a private and individual activity. In contrast, for most Japanese participants, eating in public does not necessarily means a social and collective activity. For them, the social boundaries of collective and individual activities is determined by relationships between self and others rather than physical domains of spaces. Public spaces outside of daily social network is another social spaces without worrying about everyday interactions. In other words, public spaces can be both social and individual spaces. Further discussions over different value orientations in the following Section.

9.3 Boundaries of individuality and sociality in Australian and Japanese culinary cultures

The previous Section shows that pleasure and stress of commensality and solo-eating are influenced by tensions between individuality and sociality. Cross-cultural comparison demonstrates that the interplay between individuality and sociality varies between Australian and Japanese groups. I argue that boundaries between individuality and sociality are closely related to cultural, religious and linguistic constructions of social hierarchies and everyday interactions as well as that of the practices of commensality and solo-eating. In this Section, I present two key attributes to the observed cross-cultural differences between Australian and Japanese: communication styles and cultural construction of commensality. Then, I explore boundaries of individuality and sociality between different cultural groups and how the boundaries contribute to develop different form of individualisation of eating.

9.3.1 Individualism and social relativism

The first key attribute to cross-cultural differences is different value orientations underlying communication styles and consequent behaviours in Australian and Japanese participants. In particular, decision-making processes including food choices in com-

mensal contexts explicitly varied between two cultural groups. Before I discuss communication styles, I introduce cross-cultural frameworks to describe different value orientations between Australian and Japanese groups.

Individualism-collectivism (I-C) framework is used to describe how value orientations underline certain social behaviours and interpersonal communication styles in different cultural groups. As noted in Chapter 1, applying this framework to describe whole culture risks to overlook individualistic aspects in collectivist culture and vice versa. Meta-analysis of various cross-cultural comparisons based on the I-C framework showed heterogeneity of definitions and measurements (Oyserman et al., 2002). In particular, collectivism has been questioned for the absence of what constitutes collectives in theorising and measuring collectivism as well as out-group bias of researchers from individualist cultures (Brewer and Chen, 2007). In other words, collectivism was constructed as a counterpart of individualism for cross-cultural comparison, and undermines multidimensionality of attitudes, values, and practices which constitute collectivism. To explore the multidimensionality, I employ an *emic* conception of Japanese self and behaviours, social relativism (Lebra, 1984, 2004). In contrast to collectivism, individualism has stronger historical constructs of western philosophy including history of ideas, politics, economics, religion, and psychology (Kagitcibasi, 2005). Although it is also a collection of various characteristics, most of characteristics of individualism showed much higher validity for cross-cultural comparison (Schimmack et al., 2005).

Social relativism focuses on temporal and situational preoccupations of social hierarchies and everyday interactions over the individuality. According to Lebra (1984, 158), in social relativist views, individual autonomy is achieved only in social isolation, when one is outside of his everyday interactions. In other words, individuals in social relativism seek for their autonomy only when they are outside of their social hierarchies like when they eat alone. The compromise of individual preferences and choices is not explicitly questioned but rather taken for granted for the sake of sociality.

Some characteristics of individualism were identified in the narratives of food choice among Australian participants. Compared to Japanese, more Australian participants emphasised their individual autonomy for food choices when they ate with others as well as when they ate alone. Consequently, like the finding of Danesi (2011)'s study about French and German young adults, more Australian participants looked for more flexible and egalitarian forms of commensality which allowed individual members to choose by their own will. The conflict between individuality and sociality was more explicit when individuals viewed their autonomy was

compromised by other people's influences. In contrast, Japanese participants emphasised group consensus and social hierarchies when they eat commensally, and freedom of choice can be achieved through sharing a variety of dishes and seeking mutual compromises. Some try to achieve their autonomy when they eat alone.

9.3.2 Cultural construction of commensality: sharing the table or sharing the food

The second attribute is cultural, religious and linguistic constructions of commensality and solo-eating. The practice of commensality is a universally shared practice which creates the sense of community as well as the boundaries between the collective self and others. Globalisation of food environments negate cultural diversity in world's culinary cultures. Notwithstanding, what physically and symbolically constitutes commensality is shaped by cultural and linguistic constructions of the practice.

The English term commensality literally means sharing the same table (*mensa* is a table in Latin) (Weichart, 2008; Fischler, 2011). The table laid for a meal sits on the centre of Christian tradition of eating like the Eucharist. In contrast to other regions, Christianity as a whole did not set up any prohibition of specific food items, but it has promoted various attitudes toward how to consume food around the table (Albala, 2011). In early Christianity, love feast or agape was designed to promote social harmony and brotherhood, and the site to exercise charity (Albala, 2011). In Australia, the commensality has extended to outdoor meals like picnic and barbeque. The extension inherited egalitarian sprits of commensality, and at the same time accommodated multicultural culinary traditions within modern Australian societies. At outdoor, tablecloth instead of table played symbolic roles "to delimit the eating space and to serve as a civilising device" (Santich, 2012, 83). Despite the variations of setting in time and space, commensality has been sociability taken place around the table.

On the contrary, in Japanese language, a strong sense of fellowship associated with eating together is often expressed as "eating from the same rice-cooking pan (*onaji kamano meshi wo kuu*)". The metaphoric linkage between rice and social hierarchies is not limited to the relations among those who consume together, but it is extended to a larger network of rice production including rice paddies and their lands (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1993, 97). The cosmology would also shape symbolic boundaries of intimacy and distance. For the Japanese, both sharing food and drinks cannot be separate from social interactions, and is a more prominent symbol of fellowship than having a good conversation over the meals (Lebra, 1984, 3-4). In fact,

several Japanese participants reported that they rarely have conversations especially when they ate with family members. In reverse, drinking sake alone and pouring sake for oneself (*hitori-zake*) is one of the expression of loneliness (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1993). This conception is also divergent from Mary Douglas (1972)'s dichotomy of meals and drinks: "Drinks are for strangers, acquaintances, workmen, and family. Meals are for family, close friends, honoured guests" (Douglas, 1972, 66). Both sharing foods and sharing drinks have equivalent symbolic powers to foster the fellowships. Commensality is a cultural symbol of social network around the food and drinks.

Cultural and linguistic construction of commensality has little been examined in a cross-cultural perspective. As discussed in Chapter 2, most of previous literature on commensality treated the practice as a universally standardised one. Christine Delphy (2001) compared French and Tunisian commensality, and concluded that only gender roles rather than different modalities of commensality "could give an account of the variability of content of differential consumption" (Delphy, 2001, 280). However, in addition to everyday consumption of food, commensality denotes metaphorical and spiritual acts of eating. Despite the loosening the direct connection with traditions, local habitus and cosmology are reflexively reconstructed through individual subjectivities and interactions with others. In particular, the local boundaries determine to what extent of sharing is desirable for pleasurable commensality.

Boundaries between individuality and sociality embodied in commensality and solo-eating varied between Australian and Japanese cultures. I examined how different communication styles and constructions of commensality shaped different local boundaries. Consequently, the directions and trajectories of the development of individualisation of eating vary between these cultural groups. Although solo-eating is a common practice among both groups, more Japanese have positive images of solo-eating in public than Australians. In contrast, the arrangement of commensality was more individualised among Australians, and allows more flexibility and egalitarianism.

In this Chapter, I focus on the most micro determinants of commensality, social hierarchies and everyday interactions. I explore how meanings of commensality and solo-eating are constructed through the cultivation of individual reflexivity to social hierarchies and everyday interactions. Individual emotions and thoughts are powerful agents to determine social and individual lives. Both commensality and solo-eating embody individual's knowledge about his/her circumstances as well as collective religious and utilitarian purposes. Emotions become a crucial component to alter individual and social lives. The authority of tradition appears to be re-

placed by emotions and rational choices. However, cross-cultural differences are constructed through the cultivation of individual reflexivity. In the next Chapter, I bring all socio-cultural determinants, and discusses how cross-cultural similarities and differences shape practices of commensality and solo-eating and explores how the interplay of global cultural flows impacts on individual lifestyle choices.

Part III

Implications and final remarks

Chapter 10

Commensality and solo-eating in changing societies

In the era of globalisation, everyday practices of commensality and solo-eating become sites of various socio-cultural dynamics within global cultural economy. It is increasingly important to understand the relationships among globalisation, eating practices, and consumption. Cross-cultural analyses of two cultural groups with different culinary traditions demonstrated a range of cases and issues which have not yet been addressed from single-culture analyses and cross-national comparisons. In this Chapter, I return to three research objectives noted in Chapter 1, and discuss how cross-cultural findings from Australian and Japanese young adults can be situated in global cultural economy.

10.1 Socio-cultural determinants of commensality and solo-eating

The first objective of the thesis is to identify what determines everyday commensality and solo-eating. As discussed in Chapter 2, what constitutes the practices of commensality and solo-eating was little examined. Majority of studies concentrated on comparisons between the presence and absence of others, and paid attention to dichotomy of collective commensality and individualistic solo-eating. In particular, popular debates over the decline of family meals and commensalism centre on social fragmentation of collective practices and development of urban anomie in post-modern societies. These debates tended to focus on dichotomous ideas of proper family meals and evil solitary eating, and some literature associated this dichotomy with healthy and unhealthy eating. Particularly, these discourses become popular because they highlighted social anxieties over shifting gender roles or other

associated social changes like globalisation. The discussion has even extended to undervalue food-related workers who are more likely to be minorities of the society such as women, people of colour, immigrants, and working class individuals in contemporary societies (Julier, 2013, 21).

In this thesis, I paid attention to both commensality and solo-eating as well as continuity and discontinuity between the two practices, because the dichotomous moral debates over happy commensality and evil solitary eating mask complexities of human sociality and food consumption in globalisation. Part II (Chapters 4 through 9) examined a range of socio-cultural dynamics associated with commensality and solo-eating, with each Chapter focusing on how particular socio-cultural dynamics influence life chances and life choices of individuals in urban Australia and Japan.

10.1.1 Overview of cross-cultural findings

In this Section, I briefly summarise cross-cultural findings, particularly similarities and differences between Australian and Japanese experiences discussed in each Chapter.

In Chapter 4, based on literature review, I examined macro-level socio-economic structures as well as histories and genealogies of commensality in Australia and Japan. The comparison showed that Australia and Japan shared similar socio-economic structures as a service-dominant economy and a liberal welfare state. However, a close look at the comparison demonstrated different trajectories or genealogies of the development of a service-dominant economy and food system, a liberal welfare state, female labour participation, a socio-economic disparity, and an ideology of domesticity and family dining. In particular, the cross-cultural comparison of evolutions of family dining suggested that realisation of domesticity and family dining requires specific socio-economic and family circumstances.

Based on Cultural Consensus Analysis, Chapter 5 examined images and meanings of commensality and solo-eating shared among Australian and Japanese young adults. Both Australian and Japanese young adults viewed commensality as symbol of everyday sociality and pleasurable events. However, cross-cultural comparisons showed greater variations in contexts of commensality and solo-eating practices such as different relationships with television and different attitudes and behaviours associated with workplace commensality. Comparison between gender subgroups of Australian and Japanese groups showed more female participants associated family commensality with gender expectations of food provision and frustrations associated with the expectations.

Based on time-use diaries and in-depth interview, Chapters 6 through 9 explored

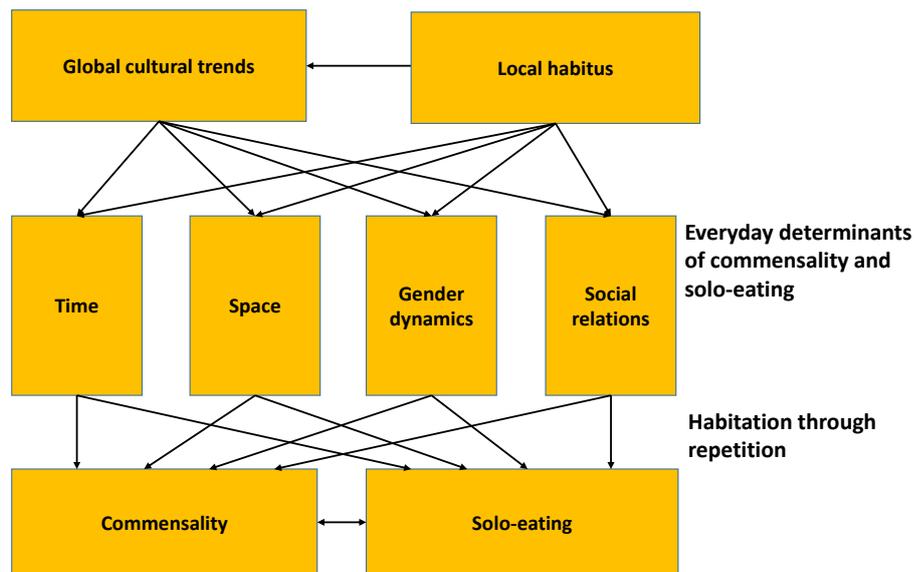
four sets of socio-cultural factors. Chapter 6 showed timing of everyday commensality was significantly influenced by time schedules of participants and their household members. Comparisons between Australian and Japanese groups demonstrated different patterns of commensality and solo-eating and different kinds of time constraints associated with eating. These differences were closely related to women's participation to paid employment, adoption of work-life balance, and working cultures perpetuated in their societies. Chapter 7 investigated meanings of eating inside and outside of the household among participants. This Chapter suggested that the democratisation of public eating not only reduced labour burdens on food provision but also diminished gendered divisions between the public and private spheres. However, cross-cultural comparisons showed different meanings of public eating between Australian and Japanese groups. The difference indicated different cultural economy of eating alone within societies. Chapter 8 focused on gender relations associated with divisions of household labour and cooking responsibilities, and suggested that gender conflicts were more evident in gendered division of labours within family commensality than the division of paid and non-paid work among household members. Chapter 9 showed that social hierarchies and everyday interactions were powerful components to determine subjective experiences of commensality and solo-eating. Although post-modern literature insisted that social norms and traditions have been replaced by individual choices, social and cultural influences were reproduced through individual reflexivity to embedded social hierarchies and everyday social interactions.

The findings from Part II suggested that both commensality and solo-eating are dynamic practices shaped by a cluster of four everyday determinants (eating places, time, gender dynamics, and social relations) rather than homogeneous ones built on the distinction between the presence and the absence of sociality. Comparisons between Australian and Japanese groups showed that these determinants play differently in Australian and Japanese societies. Explicit differences between Australian and Japanese groups were identified in timings of solo-eating, perceptions on solo-eating in public, gender conflicts associated with food provision for commensality, and notions of individual autonomy. Drawn on Mauss (1973)'s "technique of the body" describing body as the site for inscribing social disciplines, Appadurai (1996, 67) asserted that consumption is centred on habitation through periodical repetition rather than imitation of social superiors. In this regard, cross-cultural differences in the practices of commensality and solo-eating are developed through repetitions and habitations of these practices in response to the tension between histories and genealogies of these practices in each society.

10.1.2 Interactions with global cultural trends

The development of four socio-cultural determinants and cross-cultural differences of commensality and solo-eating are intertwined with the tension between global cultural dynamics and habitus or disposition embedded in local communities. Figure 10.1 presents the relationships among global cultural trends, local habitus, everyday determinants, and the practices of commensality and solo-eating. Below

Figure 10.1: Interactions among global cultural trends, local habitus, everyday determinants, and the practices of commensality and solo-eating



I show how these four everyday determinants interact with three kinds of global cultural trends in contemporary Australian and Japanese societies.

Shifting gender roles and conflicts

Women's participation to paid employment is often portrayed as a major factor affecting the global shift of gendered division of labour at the household as well as individualisation of lifestyle. The decline of home-cooking and family meals are an opportunity to complain shifting gender roles (Julier, 2013). Comparison of cases in urban Australia and Japan, however, provides a new perspective on the debate. Originated from country's labour market structure and working cultures developed from the post-war period (see Chapter 4 for detail), women's participation to paid employment varied between Australia and Japan. Australia is dominated by double-income households and Japan is dominated by single-income households, and this trend was reflected among young adult married participants. Experiences of Australian and Japanese young adults present a good comparison of time-use and eating

practices between male breadwinner's single-income households and double-income households. Weekday dinner was most common commensal occasions among Australian participants, and most of working participants came back home for family dinners. In contrast, it was most common occasion for solo-eating among Japanese participants because most of male and female full-time workers stay at workplace late while their family members had dinner. Most of them ate dinner alone at home, workplace, or outside. This comparison reveals that synchronisation of family members' time schedules is more important to eat with family than male breadwinner household structure.

Despite global shift of gendered division of labour, the majority of food-related work are still done by women, and both Australian and Japanese young adults still cling to the notion of family meals based on gendered division of labour. Their views of gender equality and family meals described as conflicted. On the one hand, more women enjoyed pursuing their careers outside of the household and obtain economic independence. On the other hand, many women felt guilty to neglect their household responsibilities. Cross-cultural comparison showed that the conflicted views are more explicit in narratives of family meals than that of gendered division of paid and non-paid work. Furthermore, these discrepancies between ideals and realities makes family meals more difficult and stressful experiences.

Demographic changes, living alone and eating spaces

One of structural factors driving prevalence of solo-eating is the fact that more people live alone or live with smaller numbers of family members (Mestdag and Glorieux, 2009). Cohabitation and shared household relationships promote everyday commensal eating (Sobal et al., 2002). The fact that more people live alone inevitably suggests that more people eat alone. As discussed in Chapter 7, population ageing fosters the nationwide prevalence of single-person households and generates socio-economic demands for single customers in urban Japan. Food processing and restaurant industries respond to the demands and serve to provide a range of choices for single customers.

The higher prevalence of living alone and eating alone among Japanese young adults, however, does not necessarily means that eating becomes a more anomic practice than Australians. In urban Japan which showed higher prevalence of single-person households than urban Australia, eating alone in public is emerged as an alternative social spaces for both men and women. Originated from gendered ideologies of public and private spheres, eating alone in public is a stigmatised practice especially for women in western societies as well as women in Japan. However,

the transformation of urban public spaces along with nation's rapid demographic changes foster the shift of cultural meanings of eating alone in public in urban Japan. Although I did not identify a similar trend from the narratives of Australian young adults, both Australian and Japanese participants were aware of pleasure and stress of commensality and solo-eating, and eating out is very common among two cultural groups. Some Australian participants from Sydney showed some acceptance of the practice of eating alone in public spaces. It is estimated that single-person household in Australia is expected to increase between 61% and 65% from 2011 to 2036 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2015c), whereas the expected increase in Japan is 14.8% between 2010 to 2030 (National Institute of Population and Social Security Research, 2013). Therefore, the transformation of urban public spaces may changes cultural attachments to public eating among young adults in urban Australia.

Another explanation for the cross-cultural variations is an evolutionary perspective of human food-ways, particularly the impact of different cultural history underlying the idea of public and private spaces. Public eating is not an emerging practice in many Asian societies. In urban Japan, street stalls and carts were emerged in the mid-seventeenth century during the mid-Edo period (Harada, 2006). Although the street vendors has disappeared due to nation's modernisation policies, the image of public eating was sustained as Japanese imaginary of pre-Western merchant culture (Solt, 2012). After the second world war, stand-up noodle stand emerged to provide quick meals for male workers (Ashkenazi, 1991). It can be said that the familiarity with public eating reduce negative images associated with eating alone and accelerate the adoption of eating alone in public among middle-class Japanese young adults living a rapid ageing society. In contrast, Australian young adults considered eating alone in public as inappropriate and continue to see public spaces as social one. In this regard, as Fischler (2011) suggested, strong cultural and religious attachments to middle-class commensalism and home-cooking may override the development of solo-eating industries and the adoption of solo-eating in public.

Reflexivity and individualisation of eating

Rise of individualism and reflexivity is a common explanation for individualisation in post-modern literature (Giddens, 1991; Bauman, 2000; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). However, this view is inclined to overly emphasise individual agencies, self-identities and choices in parallel with the discourses of economic liberalism and sovereign consumer (Germov, 1997). It is the discourses of consumerism and neo-liberalism that have constructed the ideology of autonomous decision makers. Additionally, these discourses developed based on research and debates in western

societies, which have long histories and academic sophistications of individualism (Kagitcibasi, 1997, 2005). Therefore, the individualisation thesis does not fully capture dynamic experiences of commensality and solo-eating (e.g. emotions and food choices) particularly in non-western contexts.

Cross-cultural analyses showed that experiences of commensality and solo-eating were shaped by social hierarchies and everyday interactions. Relationships and interactions with commensal partners (e.g. family, friends and work colleagues) construct different meanings of commensality and associated behaviours. Meanings of solo-eating are reflections of their commensality with different people rather than being constructed by itself. Thus, social norms and everyday interactions still play important roles to shape experiences of commensality as well as solo-eating. As discussed in Chapter 9, a comparison between Australian and Japanese narratives showed variations in notions of individual autonomy and decision-making processes when they eat commensally. More Australian participants emphasised their individual autonomy for food choices and behaviours when they ate with others as well as when they ate alone. In contrast, Japanese participants emphasised group consensus and social hierarchies when they eat commensally, and some claimed that freedom of choice can be achieved through sharing a variety of dishes and seeking mutual compromises. Some Japanese participants tried to achieve their autonomy (i.e. eating what they want to eat) when they eat alone. Thus, communication styles and hierarchies within societies influence food choices and eating behaviours of individuals when they eat commensally and alone.

10.2 Construction of culture and cultural differences

The second objective is to understand what determines cross-cultural similarities and differences between Australian and Japanese experiences of eating and consumption. In contemporary public health, culture is a popular concept to explain differences between different cultural groups. Despite the popularity of culture in the field, most of public health studies claimed the influence of culture without careful examinations of cultural pathways and determinants (Hruschka, 2009). Similarly, the previous literature on commensality and solo-eating in public health were concentrated on examining the impacts of commensality and solo-eating, particularly the presence and absence of socio-cultural forces, on individual behaviours and health outcomes (Pliner and Bell, 2009). Few studies focused on social and cultural construction of eating and consumption. Thus, in most of public health studies dominated by

positivist postures, culture is treated as the same property as physical categories such as age, sex, and race, and presumed that a specific belief, attitude, or behaviours directly contributes to health outcomes.

The current cross-cultural study, however, demonstrated that differences between Australian and Japanese groups are the product of contextual, heuristic, and comparative descriptions highlighting similar and different dimensions of individual ways of life. Thus, the property of culture is different from physical categories and requires careful investigations of its construction. Furthermore, as discussed in the previous section, socio-cultural determinants of commensality and solo-eating are not simply shaped by local habitus alone but the interaction with global cultural trends. In other words, a range of tendencies to individualisation were identified at the different aspects of eating rather than culture as a whole (i.e. individualist and collective cultures), and the representations of individualisation of eating varies across cultures and societies due to different process of habitation of commensality and solo-eating. Therefore, differences and similarities between Australian and Japanese experiences of eating are the construction of the interactions rather than differences between individualist and collectivist cultures. There is no clear-cut difference to describe which cultural group is more individualised than the another by single measurement of individualism.

This constructivist understanding of everyday eating practices is necessary to examine holistic and dynamic natures of socio-cultural determinants in different cultures and societies. Although some specific beliefs and behaviours can have a profound effect on consumption and health outcome, the construction of the beliefs and behaviours can vary across cultures and societies. Misinterpretation of social and cultural constructs leads mislead the relationship between a cultural exposure and an outcome.

10.2.1 Discordance between cultural ideals and reality

The image of happy family meals and commensality is a powerful representation of cultural ideals in many societies. In current study, I found that the idea of happy commensality are shared among Australian and Japanese participants as symbols of modern family and lifestyle. However, the hegemony of certain images of commensality and solo-eating is problematic because it discourages a critical attention to the image as a cultural ideal and the contradiction between the ideal and reality may generate dissatisfaction and disillusionment with life. Daly (2001) noted that her participants expressed dissatisfaction and disillusionment about their family life rather than questioning about the feasibility of the cultural ideal, when they

experienced contradictions between the cultural ideal and reality of their family life. Not only lay participants stick to the ideal, but many academics started their studies on the topic from the presumption that family meals and commensality are socially, morally, and physically positive and explored positive impacts of commensality (Wilk, 2010). Thus, most of debates on the discordance between the cultural ideal and reality focus on how to change the reality like workload and childcare which are beyond their control. So far, no public policy and research successfully identifies a solution to reduce the discordance.

The gulf between the cultural ideal and reality is much deeper in non-western societies which recently adopted the cultural ideal. As noted in Chapter 4, the idea of happy family meals were realised among Japanese families during the post-war economic development in the 1950s and 1980s, along with the development of a nuclear family with a full-time housewife (Omote, 2010). The image of happy family meals was introduced and reproduced by school education and mass media. In spite of the popularity of the image, it is hard to state that the idea of happy family meal is implemented in contemporary Japan in everyday basis. Many full-time workers stay at work late and cannot join dinner with family members. My empirical data also showed that fewer Japanese participants than Australian participants reported that they do not eat main meals, particularly dinners, with their family members on their work days. The idea of happy family meals becomes a social imaginary which is hardly realised in everyday life in Japan.

In the era of globalisation, it is increasingly necessary to understand the dynamics constituting social practices and cross-cultural differences. Deeper understanding of the dynamics of social life and cross-cultural differences helps not only reducing the structural contradiction between cultural ideals and realities but also improving people's satisfaction in life.

10.3 Relationships with healthy eating

The last objective is to understand the relationship between commensality, solo-eating and population health. Indeed it appears to be harder to associate healthy eating with commensality. There is a substantial gap between commensalism and public health notions of healthy eating (Poulain, 2002). Many Australian and Japanese young adult participants viewed healthy eating based on self-control over food intake and quantities. Some of them viewed that they ate healthier when they ate alone, because they could control their intake and food choice without interrupting by others. This idea of healthy eating is strong among young adults and

sometimes conflicts with older generations like their parents and grandparents, because they have been exposed to nutrition guidelines and obesity preventions which focus on healthy food intakes and behaviours at the individual level.

The gap between commensality and healthy eating has been expanded due to the epidemiological shift from under-nutrition to over-nutrition. According to an evolutionary study, the development of food sharing with non-family members contributes to longevity among humans, because the practice fosters distribution of food to wider range of people (Lee, 2008). As discussed Chapter 2, it is a robust evidence that commensality tend to encourage eating more quantities among general populations, and it may contribute reducing hunger and under-nutrition. However, the drastic shift to over-nutrition and rise of obesity and non-communicable diseases (NCDs) changes socio-cultural circumstances of commensality. Some young adult participants concerned about overeating or excessive fat intake when they eat commensally, and this view generates some conflicts with older generations who encourage them to eat more quantities.

However, self-reflection on what is good to eat are not only from nutritional notions but also from moral constructions of food and eating (Coveney et al., 2012). Commensality is still a vital part of human sociality and the obverse, solo-eating, is often an experience of social isolation and loneliness. There are possibilities that the moral views may affect individual well-being. On the one hand, an epidemiological research showed that frequent consumption of main meals commensally was associated with overall well-being (Yiengprugsawan et al., 2015). Other literature suggested that chronic experiences of social exclusion has serious impacts on attention, cognition, affect, and behaviour (Hawkey and Cacioppo, 2010). On the other hand, commensality can be stressful when individuals need to compromise their own preferences or when they are constrained by social norms and hierarchy (Danesi, 2012). The impacts of social norms and relations vary by communication styles which influence individual eating behaviours and food choices. Busy modern lifestyles make commensality difficult. Many Japanese full-time workers come back home late and have dinner alone in the late evening. Many Australian workers struggled to synchronise multiple schedules to spend meals time together with their family, friends, and work colleagues. Commensality became a practice which requires individual's efforts and determinations in order to achieve every day. Thus, solo-eating, while sometimes lonely, can be less stressful.

Chapter 11

Conclusion

11.1 Consumption and culture

Commensality is a common everyday practice and a symbol of sociality in many societies. Growing industrialisation, urbanisation, and modernisation of lifestyles develop discussions that traditional, collective ways of eating are being replaced by individual eating including eating alone and individual choices of food. However, these post-modern discussions of individualisation of eating increases its attention to behaviours directed by individualism and consumerism and ignores the fact that these discourses are developed within social contexts (Germov, 1997, 42). Although some literature discusses cultural variations across societies, they emphasised impacts of dominant cultural values to eating behaviours alone: strong materialism and individualism in western societies undermines social significances of lifestyle (Eckersley, 2006), and strong attachments to these values foster cultural variations within western societies (Fischler, 2011). Few literature examined dynamic aspects of culture and its influence on everyday life.

This cross-cultural study reveals that the development of solo-eating is not a homogeneous phenomenon driven by consumerism and urban anomie alone. It is intertwined with the tension between histories and genealogies of these practices in each society. More specifically, cultural variations in the adoption and prevalence of commensality and solo-eating are not driven by strong individualist values alone, but it is fostered by a range of socio-cultural dynamics lying behind every eating, working, and family practices. Drawn on cross-cultural analysis of young adults in urban Australia and Japan, I identified four everyday determinants of commensality and solo-eating: time, places, gender, and social relations. These determinants play differently depending on habitations of these practices within societies.

This study contributes to the literature on socio-cultural determinants of every-

day practices and consumption, and their implications to population health. The study demonstrates that everyday consumption and practices are constructed in the interactions between socio-cultural cultural dynamics (e.g. development of technology and demographic changes) and everyday social interactions (e.g. communication styles and habitation of practices). This supports the idea that cross-cultural differences are not the differences of substantial properties such as the presence or absence of strong individualism or collectivism, but heuristic constructs of a range of socio-cultural dynamics shaping individualisation of eating.

I also stress that cross-cultural analyses contribute to provide critical perspectives on existing concepts and theories. Most of studies on consumptions are conducted in western societies which share relatively similar cultural, religious, and linguistic backgrounds. Many researchers in public health still apply the privileged knowledge to non-western contexts without critically investigating existing concepts and theories. For example, a study showed that discourses involved with the development of the popular Ottawa Charter centred on western or coloniser's views of health promotion and social justice and marginalised voices of minorities (McPhail-Bell et al., 2013). Thus, critical views on the development of concepts and theories through cross-cultural analyses are significant to understand diverse adoptions of consumer practices in different societies. The more diverse a society in culture and history, the more complex interactions of socio-cultural dynamics, the most diverse adoption of consumer practices are likely to be. Thus, the development of cross-cultural studies would help improve research and policies targeting populations from diverse backgrounds.

11.2 Consumption in other non-western societies

This project is an exploratory study to understand socio-cultural determinants of commensality and solo-eating, based on one-time fieldwork in Australia and Japan. The study examined contextual and comparative dimensions of commensality and solo-eating through cross-cultural comparison of young adults in two societies which share similar socio-economic background, occupations, education attainment, and sense of middle-class identities. Inter-group differences were concentrating on the distribution of single-income households, communication styles and historical foundations of family dining and commensality. However, the transformation of everyday eating practices is not limited to Australia, Japan, and other western countries. For example, southeast Asian societies have experienced more rapid socio-economic changes in one generation than Australia and Japan. Poulain et al. (2014, 2015)

reported that in Malaysia, norms and practices of everyday eating, including collective eating and individual eating, varied by socio-economic class, ethnic groups, religion, and urban-rural disparities. Investigating global cultural flows in these rising economies would reveal a wider range of impacts of global cultural flows on everyday practices. The current study could constitute a foundation of qualitative cross-cultural studies in other parts of the world.

11.3 Implications for healthy eating campaigns

Lastly, I conclude my PhD thesis by proposing a new approach to healthy eating campaigns. As discussed in Chapter 2, previous literature focused on health implications of the presence and absence of others during meals. However, the evidence was not consistent to claim a direct causal relationship between positive health outcomes and either commensality or solo-eating. Additionally, both commensality and solo-eating are everyday practices for most of adult population. It is neither reasonable nor ethical to promote one of these eating practices and demote another.

Because of different social meanings and behaviours associated with these practices, rather than focusing on direct health impacts of these eating practices, I propose that both commensality and solo-eating are potential sites for promoting healthy eating. Today, most of public health messages on healthy eating (e.g. nutrition guideline) concentrate on food intake at the individual level, and encourage individual responsibilities to control food intake. This approach is difficult to apply in commensal contexts which many people perceive that they lose their control over food choice and intake. As a result, it expands a gap between notion of healthy eating and everyday commensality: it generates anxieties for unhealthy intake and masks opportunities for well-being. Separate healthy promotion messages for commensal and solo-eating contexts would be more effective to promote healthy eating practices in appropriate eating contexts. This change will reduce anxieties driven by the gap between healthy eating and commensality.

Appendix A

ID _____

Free-listing survey

Q1: Please list words or sentences you think relate to “Eating with others (i.e. family, friends, and colleagues)”

Eating with others	_____

Q2: Please list words or sentences you think relate to “Eating alone”

Eating alone	_____

Q3: Please list words or sentences you think relate to “Eating with family”

Eating with family	_____

ID_____

Q4: Please list words or sentences you think relate to “Eating with friends”

Eating with friends	_____

Please provide your information below

ID_____

Age: _____ years old

Gender: Male/Female/Others

Residential status:

1. Living alone
2. Living with family/a partner
3. Living with friends
4. Shared house
5. Dormitory
6. Others_____

Are you a local or oversea student?

1. Local
2. Oversea Country_____
3. Local but born in overseas Country_____

Thank you very much for your cooperation!

Appendix B

ID_____

以下の問について思いつく単語、文章を一分以内書き出してください。

問1：「誰かと一緒に食事をする事」について思いつくことを書き出してください。

誰かと一緒に食事をする事 _____

ID _____

問2：「一人で食事をする事」について思いつくことを書き出してください。

一人で一緒に食事をする事 _____

問3：「家族と一緒に食事をする事」について思いつくことを書き出してください。

家族と一緒に食事をする事 _____

ID _____

問4：「友人と一緒に食事をする事」について思いつくことを書き出してください。

友人と一緒に食事をする事 _____

Appendix C

Please complete this questionnaire and bring this with you to the interview.

Q1: Please record your schedule of the last work day and off-work day.

(ID)

			Work day	Off-work day
Date	1	Data you recorded	Day 1 (, , 2013)	Day 2 (, , 2013)
Wake-up	2	What time did you wake up?	(:) hrs	(:) hrs
Leave-home	3	What time did you leave home?	(:) hrs	(:) hrs
Health Condition	4	How were you? (How did you feel?)	1. Excellent 2. Good 3. OK 4. Not good 5. Bad (i.e. I got a sick)	1. Excellent 2. Good 3. OK 4. Not good 5. Bad (i.e. I got a sick)
Breakfast	5	Did you eat breakfast? If so, what time did you eat?	0. No 1. Yes What time? (:)hrs	0. No 1. Yes What time? (:)hrs
	6	How long did you spend for breakfast?	About () min.	About () min.
	7	Where did you eat breakfast?	1. Home 2. Work 3. Others ()	1. Home 2. Work 3. Others ()
	8	What did you do while having breakfast?	1. Watched TV 2. Read news/books 3. Listened the radio 4. Talked with someone 5. Concentrated on eating 6. Others ()	1. Watched TV 2. Read news/books 3. Listened the radio 4. Talked with someone 5. Concentrate on eating 6. Others ()
	9	What kinds of food did you eat for breakfast?	1. Homemade meals 2. Meals which does not require preparation (i.e. banana & bread) 3. Cooked meals (takeaway) 4. Meals at restaurants/cafe (eating out)	1. Homemade meals 2. Meals which does not require preparation (i.e. banana& bread) 3. Cooked meals (takeaway) 4. Meals at restaurants/cafes (eating out)
	10	What did you eat for breakfast?	Menu:	Menu:
Meals/snacks between breakfast & lunch	11	Did you eat breakfast with another person?	0. No (Ate alone) 1. Yes (With whom?)	0. (Ate alone) 1. Yes (With whom?)
	12	Did you eat something between breakfast & lunch (i.e. morning tea)? If so, what did you eat?	0. No 1. Yes What did you eat? ()	0. No 1. Yes What did you eat? ()
	13	If you ate something between breakfast & lunch, who did you eat with?	0. No 1. Yes (With whom?)	0. No 1. Yes (With whom?)

202APPENDIX C. ENGLISH PRE-INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDY II

Lunch	14	Did you eat lunch? If so, what time did you eat lunch?	0. No 1. Yes What time? (:) hrs	0. No 1. Yes What time? (:) hrs
	15	How long did you spend for lunch?	About () min.	About () min.
	16	Where did you eat for lunch?	1. Home 2. Work 3. Out	1. Home 2. Work 3. Out
	17	What did you do while having lunch?	1. Watched TV 2. Read news/books 3. Listened the radio 4. Talked with someone 5. Concentrated on eating 6. Others ()	1. Watched TV 2. Read news/books 3. Listened the radio 4. Talked with someone 5. Concentrated on eating 6. Others ()
	18	What kinds of food did you eat for lunch?	1. Homemade meals 2. Food which does not require preparation (i.e. banana & bread) 3. Cooked meals (Takeaway) 4. Meals at restaurants/cafes	1. Homemade meals 2. Food which does not require preparation (i.e. banana & bread) 3. Cooked meals (Takeaway) 4. Meals at restaurants/cafes
	19	What did you eat for lunch?	Menu:	Menu:
	20	Did you eat lunch with another person?	0. No 1. Yes (With whom?)	0. No 1. Yes (With whom?)
Meals/snacks between lunch & dinner	21	Did you eat something between lunch and dinner? If so, what did you eat?	0. No 1. Yes What did you eat? ()	0. No 1. Yes What did you eat? ()
	22	Did you eat with another person?	0. No 1. Yes (With whom?)	0. No 1. Yes (With whom?)
Leaving work	23	What time did you leave your workplace today?	(:) hrs	(:) hrs
Commuting	24	How did you commute from work to home? How long did it take?	1. Walk min. 2. Train/subway min. 3. Bus min. 4. Car min.	N/A
Arriving home	25	What time did you arrive home?	(:) hrs	(:) hrs
Dinner	26	Did you have dinner? If so, what time did you start to eat dinner?	0. No 1. Yes (:) hrs	0. No 1. Yes (:) hrs

- C) It was holiday
 - D) I took off, because I was sick or injured
 - E) Others (Please specify _____)
3. How often do you feel rushed or pressed for time?
- A) Always
 - B) Often
 - C) Sometimes
 - D) Rarely
 - E) Never
4. What are the reasons you feel rushed?
- A) Trying to balance work or study and social responsibilities
 - B) Pressure of work/study
 - C) Demand of social activities
 - D) Take too much on
 - E) Too many demand place on you
 - F) Unpredictable time schedule
 - G) Transport difficulties
 - H) Others
5. How often do you feel you have spare time that you do not know what to do with
- A) Always
 - B) Often
 - C) Sometimes
 - D) Rarely
 - E) Never
6. What are all the reasons you have spare time that you do not know what to do with
- A) Don't have enough money
 - B) Sick/Injured/has disability
 - C) No friends and family near me
 - D) Lack of community/university facilities
 - E) Transport difficulties
 - F) No interest and hobbies
 - G) Unpredictable time schedule
7. How often do you feel you did not have enough sleep time
- A) Always
 - B) Often
 - C) Sometimes
 - D) Rarely
 - E) Never
8. Which of the best describe your attitudes to your time schedule.
- A) I would prefer to spend more time alone
 - B) Balance is about right
 - C) I would prefer less time alone, especially I prefer spending more time with my family.
 - D) I would prefer less time alone, especially I prefer spending more time with my friends

Q3: Please tell me about yourself

1. Age () years old

2. Gender Male Female Others

Appendix D

ID ()

今回はインタビュー調査にご協力いただきありがとうございます。お手数ですが、インタビューを受ける前日までに以下のアンケートにご記入ください。

問1：過去2日間（平日と休日）の食事スケジュールについて正確に記入してください。

			A (一日目)	B (二日目)
日付	1	記録した日	一日目(年 月 日)	二日目(年 月 日)
起床	2	今日何時に起きましたか。	時 分	時 分
出勤または外出	3	今日何時に家を出ましたか。	時 分	時 分
体調	4	今日の体調はどうでしたか。	1. 非常に良い 2. 良い 3. まあまあ 4. あまり良くない 5. 悪い(例：風邪をひいた)	1. 非常に良い 2. 良い 3. まあまあ 4. あまり良くない 5. 悪い(例：風邪をひいた)
朝食	5	今日、朝食を食べましたか。何時頃食べましたか。(食べ始めた時間)	0. いいえ 1. はい 時 分	0. いいえ 1. はい 時 分
	6	朝食にかかった時間は?	()分ぐらい	()分ぐらい
	7	どこで朝食を食べましたか?	1. 自宅 2. 勤務先 3. その他 ()	1. 自宅 2. 勤務先 3. その他 ()
	8	朝食を食べながら何かしましたか?	1. テレビを見た 2. 新聞や雑誌を読んだ 3. ラジオを聴いた 4. 会話をした 5. 食事に集中した 6. その他()	1. テレビを見た 2. 新聞や雑誌を読んだ 3. ラジオを聴いた 4. 会話をした 5. 食事に集中した 6. その他()
	9	朝食にはどのようなものを食べましたか。	1. 家で作った料理 2. 調理の必要のない食材(例：バナナ、菓子パンなど) 3. 中食(買ってきた料理済みの惣菜や弁当) 4. 外食	1. 家で作った料理 2. 調理の必要のない食材(例：バナナ、菓子パンなど) 3. 中食(買ってきた惣菜や弁当) 4. 外食
	10	朝食に食べたものを具体的に記入してください。	食べたもの ()	食べたもの ()
	11	誰かと一緒に朝食を食べましたか。	0. いいえ 1. はい(誰と?)	0. いいえ 1. はい(誰と?)
朝食と昼食の間の食事	12	朝食と昼食の間(休憩時間等)に何か食べましたか。誰かと一緒に食べましたか。	0. いいえ 1. はい 食べたもの ()	0. いいえ 1. はい 食べたもの ()

ID ()

	1 3	誰かと一緒に食べましたか。	0. いいえ (一人で) 1. はい (誰と?)	0. いいえ 1. はい (誰と?)
昼食	1 4	今日、昼食を食べましたか。 何時頃食べましたか。(食べ始めた時間)	0. いいえ 1. はい 時 分	0. いいえ 1. はい 時 分
	1 5	昼食にかけた時間は。	()分ぐらい	()分ぐらい
	1 6	どこで昼食を食べましたか。	1. 自宅 2. 職場 3. 外食	1. 自宅 2. 職場 3. 外食
	1 7	昼食を食べながら何かしましたか。	1. テレビを見た 2. 新聞や雑誌を読んだ 3. ラジオを聴いた 4. 会話をした 5. 食事に集中した 6. その他()	1. テレビを見た 2. 新聞や雑誌を読んだ 3. ラジオを聴いた 4. 会話をした 5. 食事に集中した 6. その他()
	1 8	昼食にはどのようなものを食べましたか。	1. 家で作った料理 2. 調理の必要のない食材(例:バナナ、菓子パンなど) 3. 中食(買ってきた惣菜や弁当) 4. 外食	1. 家で作った料理 2. 調理の必要のない食材(例:バナナ、菓子パンなど) 3. 中食(買ってきた惣菜や弁当) 4. 外食
	1 9	昼食に食べたものを具体的に記入してください。	食べたもの ()	食べたもの ()
	2 0	誰かと一緒に昼食を食べましたか。	0. いいえ 1. はい (誰と?)	0. いいえ 1. はい (誰と?)
昼食と夕食の間の食事	2 1	昼食と夕食の間(休憩時間等)に何か食べましたか。	0. いいえ 1. はい 食べたもの ()	0. いいえ 1. はい 食べたもの ()
	2 2	誰かと一緒に食べましたか。	0. いいえ (一人で) 1. はい (誰と?)	0. いいえ (一人で) 1. はい (誰と?)
退勤	2 3	今日は何時に退勤しましたか。	時 分	時 分
通勤	2 4	今日の通勤(通学)手段は何ですか。(複数回答可) 片道にかかる時間はどのくらいですか。	1. 徒歩 分 2. 電車 分 3. バス 分 4. 車 分	1. 徒歩 分 2. 電車 分 3. バス 分 4. 車 分
帰宅	2 5	今日は何時に帰宅しましたか。	時 分	時 分

ID ()

夕食	26	今日夕食を食べましたか。 何時頃食べましたか。(食べ始めた時間)	0. いいえ 1. はい 時 分	0. いいえ 1. はい 時 分
	27	夕食にかけた時間は	()分	()分
	28	どこで夕食を食べましたか。	1. 自宅 2. 職場 3. 外食	1. 自宅 2. 職場 3. 外食
	29	夕食を食べながら何かしましたか。	1. テレビを見た 2. 新聞や雑誌を読んだ 3. ラジオを聴いた 4. 会話をした 5. 食事に集中した 6. その他()	1. テレビを見た 2. 新聞や雑誌を読んだ 3. ラジオを聴いた 4. 会話をした 5. 食事に集中した 6. その他()
	30	夕食にはどのようなものを食べましたか。	1. 家で作った料理 2. 調理の必要のない食材(例:バナナ、菓子パンなど) 3. 中食(買ってきた惣菜や弁当) 4. 外食	1. 家で作った料理 2. 調理の必要のない食材(例:バナナ、菓子パンなど) 3. 中食(買ってきた惣菜や弁当) 4. 外食
	31	夕食に食べたものを具体的に記入してください。	食べたもの ()	食べたもの ()
	32	誰かと一緒に夕食を食べましたか。	0. いいえ(一人で) 1. はい (誰と?)	0. いいえ 1. はい (誰と?)
夕食後	33	夕食後に(デザート等)何か食べましたか。	0. いいえ 1. はい (食べたもの)	0. いいえ 1. はい (食べたもの)
	34	誰かと一緒に食べましたか。	0. いいえ(一人で) 1. はい (誰と?)	0. いいえ(一人で) 1. はい (誰と?)
入浴	35	何時ころ入浴しましたか。 (朝の入浴、シャワーも含む)	時 分	時 分
就寝	36	何時頃就寝しましたか。	時 分	時 分

問2: ご記入いただいた二日間のスケジュールについて、以下の問題に答えてください。

1. 1日目はどのような一日でしたか。
 - (ア) 通常の仕事のスケジュール
 - (イ) 通常通りだか、特に忙しい一日だった
 - (ウ) 休日だった
 - (エ) 病気、またはケガ等で休んだ一日だった
 - (オ) _____の理由で仕事を休んだ

ID ()

2. 2日目はどのような一日でしたか。
- (ア) 通常の仕事のスケジュール
 - (イ) 通常通りだか、特に忙しい一日だった
 - (ウ) 休日だった
 - (エ) 病気、またはケガ等で休んだ一日だった
 - (オ) _____の理由で仕事を休んだ
3. 最近どのくらい時間に追われていると感じますか。
- (ア) いつも
 - (イ) しばしば
 - (ウ) ときどき
 - (エ) あまりない
 - (オ) ほとんどない
4. 最近時間に追われると思う主な理由は何ですか。(複数回答可)
- (ア) 仕事とプライベートのバランスを取ることが難しいから
 - (イ) 仕事のプレッシャー
 - (ウ) プライベート(家族、恋人など)でのプレッシャー
 - (エ) 様々なこと(仕事や社会的義務)を抱え込みすぎている
 - (オ) やらなくてはならないことが多すぎる
 - (カ) 予測のつかない日々のスケジュール
 - (キ) 通勤(通学)に時間を取られすぎている
 - (ク) その他 ()
5. 普段の生活の中で何をやれば良いのかわからず、時間を持て余していると思うことはありますか。
- (ア) いつも
 - (イ) しばしば
 - (ウ) ときどき
 - (エ) あまりない
 - (オ) ほとんどない
6. 時間を持て余してしまう理由は何だと思いますか。
- (ア) 時間を有効に使うためのお金がないから
 - (イ) あまり健康ではない、またはなにか身体的障害があるから
 - (ウ) 家族、友人が近くにいないから
 - (エ) 時間を有効に使うための施設やコミュニティがないから
 - (オ) 交通の便が悪いから
 - (カ) 趣味がないから
 - (キ) 日々のスケジュールの予測がつかないから
 - (ク) その他 ()
7. 普段どのくらい睡眠時間が足りないと感じますか。
- (ア) いつも
 - (イ) しばしば
 - (ウ) ときどき
 - (エ) あまりない
 - (オ) ほとんどない
8. 普段の生活スタイルを振り返ってみて、当てはまる回答を選んでください。(複数回答可)

- (ア)もう少し一人の時間が欲しい
- (イ)今の生活スタイルに満足している
- (ウ)もっと周りとの時間を増やしたい。特に家族との時間を増やしたいと思う。
- (エ)もっと周りとの時間を増やしたい。特に友人、同僚との時間を増やしたいと思う。

問3：以下の問題に答えてください。

1. 現在の年齢は。
満 () 歳
2. 性別は。
男性・女性
3. ご出身地はどちらですか。
都道府県 () 都市部・田舎
4. 現在のご職業は何ですか。
職業 ()
5. 土日祝日を除いた休みは年何日ぐらいありますか。実際に休む日数を記入してください。
() 日ぐらい
6. 現在のお住まいについて当てはまるものに○をつけてください。
(ア)一人暮らし
(イ)家族と同居
(ウ)親戚と同居
(エ)友人と同居
(オ)寮
(カ)その他 _____
7. 現在の体格について当てはまると思うものに○をつけてください。
(ア)痩せていると思う
(イ)普通だと思う
(ウ)普通だが、筋肉質だと思う
(エ)ぽっちゃりしていると思う
(オ)太りすぎだと思う
8. 現在の身長と体重を教えてください。
身長 () cm 体重 () kg
9. 現在の健康状態について当てはまると思うものに○をつけてください。(複数回答可)
(ア)特に問題はなく、健康だと思う
(イ)最近、疲れやすいと感じる
(ウ)慢性的な肩こりや腰痛など、体に痛みを感じることもある。
(エ)理由もなく、急に落ち込んでしまうことがある。
(オ)現在、病院に通院している。

ご協力ありがとうございました。

お手数ですが、ご記入いただいたアンケートをインタビューの際、お持ちください。

Appendix E

ID _____

In-depth interview

Q1: Please list words or sentences you think relate to “Eating with others (i.e. family, friends, and colleagues)”

Eating with others	_____

Q2: Please list words or sentences you think relate to “Eating alone”

Eating alone	_____

Q3: Please list words or sentences you think relate to “Eating with family”

Eating with family	_____

Q4: Please list words or sentences you think relate to “Eating with friends”

Eating with friends	_____

Q5: Please list words or sentences you think relate to “Eating with colleagues”

Eating with colleagues	_____

ID_____

B. Social network: Who do you often eat with?Please list 5-10 people who you frequently have a meal together recently.

	Relationship	Age, gender, occupation	Body shape	Frequencies to eat with	Menu	Place	Bill	Feeling
Ex)	Colleague A	30, Male, administrator	Normal	Once a week	BBQ	BBQ shop	Split the bill	Joyful
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								
9								
10								

C:ACTUAL commensality and solo-eating practices

Please describe about yourself when you are in following situations (last 7 days/30 days)

	Frequencies	Venue	Time (i.e. the speed of eating)	What sorts of food/meals?	Budget
1. Eating alone					
2. Eating with family					
3. Eating with friends					
4. Eating with colleagues					

Discussion questions

5. When you would like to have a meal but there is no one to eat with, what would you do?

6. When you eat alone, do you think you are able to eat mindfully? Please explain why. What kinds of problems you have encountered?

7. When you eat with others, do you think you are able to eat mindfully? Please explain why. What kinds of problems you have encountered?

ID_____

D. LIFE HISTORY & LIFE PLAN (Travel & family backgrounds)

1. Is there any life events (experiences) which might influence your lifestyle and beliefs? Does it reflect your main values?

2. Please tell me about main guiding health principles. Where do you get from?

3. If your life circumstance changes (due to marriage, having children, taking care of your parents, when you get a sick), what would you do? What to you need to give up? How do you think your lifestyle will change?

Questionnaire
Please tell me about yourself

1. What is your highest level of education? Please circulate appropriate qualifications.

Schools Sector Qualifications	Vocational Education and Training Sector Qualifications	Higher Education Sector Qualifications
		Doctoral Degree
		Masters Degree
	Vocational Graduate Diploma	Graduate Diploma
	Vocational Graduate Certificate	Graduate Certificate
		Bachelor Degree
	Advanced Diploma	Associate Degree, Advanced Diploma
	Diploma	Diploma
Senior Secondary Certificate of Education (SSCE)	Certificate IV	
	Certificate III	
	Certificate II	
	Certificate I	

2. Do you have any other certificates or licenses?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

Names of certificates and licenses (example: teacher's license)
()

3. How long have you working for current workplace?

Duration () months/years

ID_____

4. What is your current employment status?

- 1) Full-time employee (Permanent)
- 2) Full-time employee (Contract-base)
- 3) Part-time employee
- 4) Work hourly, not stated
- 5) Self-employed
- 6) Freelance
- 7) Leave of absence
- 8) Looking for a job
- 9) Student
- 10) Housewife
- 11) Others ()

5. Annual income before tax (2012)

- 1) Less than 20000 AUD
- 2) 20000-30000 AUD
- 3) 30000-40000 AUD
- 4) 40000-50000 AUD
- 6) 50000-60000 AUD
- 7) 60000-70000 AUD
- 8) 70000-80000 AUD
- 9) 90000-100000 AUD
- 10) More than 100000 AUD

6. How much do you spend for a meal (grocery shopping and restaurant & café expenses are included) per week?

- 1) Less than 20 AUD
- 2) 20-40 AUD
- 3) 40-60 AUD
- 4) 60-80 AUD
- 5) 80-100 AUD
- 6) 100-120 AUD
- 7) More than 120 AUD

7. What is your social marital status?

- 1) Married
- 2) Registered relationships
- 3) De facto
- 4) Single

8. Who do you live with? (i.e. parents, wife, housemate etc.)

() () () () () ()

Appendix F

ID_____

以下の問について思いつく単語、文章を一分以内書き出してください。

問1：「誰かと一緒に食事をする事」について思いつくことを書き出してください。

- 誰かと一緒に食事をする事 _____

ID _____

問2：「一人で食事をする事」について思いつくことを書き出してください。

一人で一緒に食事をする事 _____

問3：「家族と一緒に食事をする事」について思いつくことを書き出してください。

家族と一緒に食事をする事 _____

ID _____

問4：「友人と一緒に食事をする事」について思いつくことを書き出してください。

友人と一緒に食事をする事 _____

実際の共食と孤食

ID_____

対話式の間

あなたの普段の食生活について教えてください。

1. どんなときに一人でご飯を食べますか。そのときに食べるもの、場所、予算、気持ちなど具体的に教えてください。

2. どんなときに誰かと一緒にご飯を食べますか。そのときに食べるもの、場所、予算、気持ちなど具体的に教えてください。

	頻度	場所	時間	メニュー	予算
一人					
家族との食事					
友人との食事					
職場の人との食事					

最後にあなたプロフィールについて教えてください。

1. 最終学歴は何ですか。
 - a. 高等学校
 - b. 高等専門学校（専門分野： _____）
 - c. 専門学校（専門分野： _____）
 - d. 大学学士過程（専攻： _____）
 - e. 大学院修士課程（専攻： _____）
 - f. 大学院博士課程（専攻： _____）
 - g. その他（ _____）

2. 学位以外の資格はお持ちですか。
 - a. はい
 - b. いいえ資格（ _____）

3. 現在働いている方にうかがいます。現在の職に就いてどのくらいですか。
勤務期間（ _____）ヶ月・年

4. 現在のあなたの雇用形態に当てはまるものに○をつけてください。（複数回答可）
 - a. 正規社員、職員
 - b. 契約社員
 - c. 派遣社員
 - d. パート社員
 - e. アルバイト社員
 - f. 自営業
 - g. フリーランス
 - h. 休職中
 - i. 求職中
 - j. 学生
 - k. その他（ _____）

5. 現在の収入はどのくらいですか。当てはまるものに○をつけてください。
 - a. 100万未満
 - b. 100-200万
 - c. 200-300万
 - d. 300-400万
 - e. 400-500万
 - f. 500-600万
 - g. 600-700万
 - h. 700-800万
 - i. 800-900万
 - j. 900-1000万
 - k. 1000万以上

ID _____

6. 1ヶ月あたりの食費はいくらぐらいですか。

- a. 2万円以下
- b. 2-3万
- c. 3-4万
- d. 4-5万
- e. 5-6万
- f. 6-7万
- g. 7-8万
- h. 8-9万
- i. 9-10万
- j. 10万以上

7. 現在結婚していますか。

- a. はい
- b. いいえ

8. 現在同居している人は誰ですか。

() () () () () () ()

Appendix G

Information sheet

What is this study about?

You are invited to participate in a pilot study looking at people's dietary lives and health associations in Australia. We are investigating *your ideas* about dietary lives and health in Australian society.



If you decide to participate, we will ask you to:

Answer a *survey that will take approximately 15 minutes to complete*. Questions will relate to your ideas about dietary lives in Australia. You will be asked to list words and sentences you think relate to each question.

Information about your involvement:

- The research is confidential.
- Any information you give us will not be associated with your name or phone number.
- Your information will be de-identified and will not be made available outside the study team, except as required by law.
- You have a right not to participate in, or to withdraw from the study at any time. Both during the study and after the study.
-

How will your information be used?

Information from this research will be used for developing further research, and will not be published. As far as possible, I will protect your privacy, and the confidentiality of the information you give me. I will not use your real name in notes. I will audio-record interviews and discussions, only with your consent.

If you have any complaints or questions:

Complaints may be directed to the Human Ethics Officer, Human Research Ethics Committee, Australian National University.

Tel: 6125 3427

Email: Human.Ethics.Officer@anu.edu.au

If you have any questions, please feel free to ask me now, or contact me via email or phone.

Wakako Takeda, Dr. Cathy Banwell
National Centre for Epidemiology and Population Health
Australian National University

[TEL:+61-414-599-972](tel:+61-414-599-972)

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Cathy.banwell@anu.edu.au

Appendix H

若年者の食事についてのフリーリスト調査

本プロジェクトについて

近年の急速な社会変化により、日本人のライフスタイル、食生活が大きく変わってきています。新しいライフスタイルに合った様々な対策が求められています。本プロジェクトでは、「誰かと一緒に食事をする事」と「一人で食事をする事」に着目し、現在の生活習慣や仕事や時間のプレッシャーがどのように食生活、健康状態に影響しているのか把握することを目的としています。



今回の調査では、食生活に関するトピックについて思いつくことを1分間以内に回答用紙に書き出して頂きます。正解は一切ありませんので、自由に思いつくことを書き出してください。調査は説明も含め、15分ほどで終わります。

個人情報の保護について：

頂いた情報は全てID番号で整理され、コード化されます。参加者のお名前や個人情報が公開されることはありません。また、インタビューへの回答は全て参加者の任意に基づいて行いますので、インタビュー中またはその後、いつでも参加を辞退することができます。

連絡先：

武田和歌子（たけだわかこ）

オーストラリア国立大学国立疫学・公衆衛生研究院博士課程（文化人類学）早稲田大学大学院アジア太平洋研究学科交換研究員

携帯：090-5535-2966

メール：wakako.takeda@anu.edu.au

Appendix I

Information sheet on study of commensal- and solo-eating practices among young adults in Australia and Japan

What is this study about?

You are invited to participate in a study looking at young people's dietary practices and health in three modern countries: Australia, and Japan. We are investigating your daily dietary practices and lifestyles and your ideas about these topics.



If you decide to participate, we will ask you:

To do an interview that *takes approximately an hour to complete*. The questions will relate to your daily dietary practices and lifestyles. The interview will be audio recorded for gaining deeper understanding of people's values and culture. The recorded data will be stored securely at the Australian National University and will be erased at the conclusion of the study.

Information about your involvement:

- This survey is anonymous and any information you give us will not be associated with your name.
- The research is confidential.
- Your information will be de-identified and will not be made available outside the study team, except as required by law.
- You have a right not to participate in, or to withdraw from the study at any time. Both during the study and after the study.

How will your information be used?

Information from this research will be used for developing effective health promotion and dietary education which are suitable for people in Australia and Japan. As far as possible, I will protect your privacy, and the confidentiality of the information you give me.

If you have any complaints or questions:

Complaints may be directed to the Human Ethics Officer, Human Research Ethics Committee, Australian National University.

Tel: 6125 3427

Email: Human.Ethics.Officer@anu.edu.au

If you have any questions, please feel free to ask me now, or contact me or my supervisor via email or phone.

Wakako Takeda or Dr. Cathy Banwell
National Centre for Epidemiology and Population Health
Australian National University

TEL: [+61-414-599-972](tel:+61-414-599-972)

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Cathy.banwell@anu.edu.au

Appendix J

若年者の食事習慣とライフスタイルについて のインタビュー調査 —日本と豪州の比較研究—

本プロジェクトについて

近年の急速な社会変化により、日本人のライフスタイル、食生活が大きく変わってきています。新しいライフスタイルに合った様々な対策が求められています。本プロジェクトでは、「誰かと一緒に食事をする事」と「一人で食事をする事」

に着目し、現在の生活習慣や仕事や時間のプレッシャーがどのように食生活、健康状態に影響しているのか把握することを目的としています。



対象者: 18歳から40歳までの日本国籍の男女で関東近郊にお住まいの方30名

インタビューの手順:

1. 参加の意志を調査員までお伝えください。事前アンケートをメールまたは郵送にてお送り致します。
2. インタビューの前日までに2日間のスケジュールをアンケート用紙に記入いただき、インタビュー当日に持参ください。
3. 1時間程度の生活スタイル、食事習慣についてのインタビュー情報を正確に把握するため、インタビューを録音致します。

個人情報の保護について:

いただいた情報は全てID番号で整理され、コード化されます。参加者のお名前や個人情報が公開されることはありません。また、インタビューへの回答は全て参加者の任意に基づいて行いますので、インタビュー中またはその後、いつでも参加を辞退することができます。

謝礼:

ご協力いただいた方には謝礼として、2000円相当のQuoカードを差し上げます。また、ご希望の方には2カ国調査の研究レポートを送付致します。

連絡先:

武田和歌子 (たけだわかこ)
オーストラリア国立大学 国立疫学・公衆衛生研究院 博士課程(文化人類学) 早稲田
大学大学院アジア太平洋研究学科 交換研究員
携帯: 090-5535-2966
メール: wakako.takeda@anu.edu.au

Appendix K

CONSENT FORM

Free-listing survey on communal and solo-eating practice among Australian and Japanese young adults

Researcher: Wakako Takeda, National Centre for Epidemiology and Population Health, Australian National University

1. I(please print) consent to take part in communal and solo-eating practices among Australian and Japanese young adults. I have read the information sheet for this project and understand its contents. I have had the nature and purpose of the research project, so far as it affects me, fully explained to my satisfaction by the research worker. My consent is freely given.

2. I understand that if I agree to participate in the research project I will be asked to participate in a survey. This will take up to 15 minutes and will involve free-listing questions about communal- and solo-eating practices.

3. I understand that my personal information such as my name and work contact details will be kept confidential so far as the law allows. This form and any other identifying materials will be stored separately in a locked office at the Australian National University. Data entered onto a computer will be kept in a computer accessible only by password by a member of the research team.

4. I understand that although any comments I make will not be attributed to me in any report or publication, it is possible that others may guess the source of information, and I should avoid disclosing information to the researchers which is of confidential status within government or which is defamatory of any person.

5. I understand that I may withdraw from the research project at any stage during the interview, without providing any reason and that this will not have any adverse consequences for me. If I withdraw, the information I provide will not be used by the project.

Signed Date

Appendix L

参加同意書

私は下記の項目をよく理解した上で、自らの意志に基づき、オーストラリア国立大学の研究プロジェクト「若年者の食事に関するフリーリスト調査」に参加します。

- ① 当研究の内容は全て研究説明書に記載されている通りです。
- ② 提供した情報は全て ID 番号で処理され、情報漏えいのない安全な場所で保管されます。
- ③ 調査結果は論文として発表される場合、参加者の名前が公表されることは一切ありません。
- ④ 参加にあたって、金銭を授受することは一切ありません。
- ⑤ 参加者は参加期間中特別な理由なしに、いつでも参加を辞退することができます。辞退することで参加者に不利益が発生することはありません。
- ⑥ 当研究について研究メンバーに相談出来ない問題が発生した場合は、オーストラリア国立大学の人に関する研究倫理委員会に連絡します。
(human.ethics.officer@anu.edu.au or T: +61-2-6125-3427)

氏名_____ 署名_____ 日付_____

Appendix M

CONSENT FORM

In-depth interview on communal and solo-eating practice among Australian and Japanese young adults

Researcher: Wakako Takeda, National Centre for Epidemiology and Population Health,
Australian National University

1. I(please print) consent to take part in communal and solo-eating practices among Australian and Japanese young adults. I have read the information sheet for this project and understand its contents. I have had the nature and purpose of the research project, so far as it affects me, fully explained to my satisfaction by the research worker. My consent is freely given.
2. I understand that if I agree to participate in the research project I will be asked to participate in an interview. This will take up to an hour and will involve questions about commensal- and solo-eating practices.
3. I understand that my personal information such as my name and work contact details will be kept confidential so far as the law allows. This form and any other identifying materials will be stored separately in a locked office at the Australian National University.
Data entered onto a computer will be kept in a computer accessible only by password by a member of the research team.
4. I understand that although any comments I make will not be attributed to me in any report or publication, it is possible that others may guess the source of information, and I should avoid disclosing information to the researchers which is of confidential status within government or which is defamatory of any person.
5. I understand that I may withdraw from the research project at any stage during the interview, without providing any reason and that this will not have any adverse consequences for me. If I withdraw, the information I provide will not be used by the project.
6. I consent to have my interview audio taped by the interviewer. I understand the tapes will be stored securely at the Australian National University and will be erased at the conclusion of the study.

Signed Date

Appendix N

参加同意書

私は下記の項目をよく理解した上で、自らの意志に基づき、オーストラリア国立大学の研究プロジェクト「若年者の食事習慣とライフスタイルについてのインタビュー調査」に参加します。

- ① 当研究の内容は全て研究説明書に記載されている通りです。
- ② 分析向上のため、インタビューは IC レコーダーで録音します。
- ③ 提供した情報は全て ID 番号で処理され、情報漏えいのない安全な場所で保管されます。
- ④ 調査結果は論文として発表される場合、参加者の名前が公表されることは一切ありません。
- ⑤ 参加にあたって、金銭を授受することは一切ありません。
- ⑥ 参加者は参加期間中特別な理由なしに、いつでも参加を辞退することができます。辞退することで参加者に不利益が発生することはありません。
- ⑦ 当研究について研究メンバーに相談出来ない問題が発生した場合は、オーストラリア国立大学の人に関する研究倫理委員会に連絡します。
(human.ethics.officer@anu.edu.au or T: +61-2-6125-3427)

氏名 _____ 署名 _____ 日付 _____

Appendix O

		Description
Topic	Positive	Positive feelings and images
	Negative	Negative feelings and imaged
	Purposes	Purposes of eating together or eating alone
	Behaviours	Behaviours other than eating
	Eating behaviours	Description about specific eating behaviours
	Places	Places to eat
	Occasions	Occasions of eating
	Food & drink	What to eat and drink
	Structures	Structures of eating
	Taste	Experience of taste
	Money	Money related responses
	Time	Experience of time
	Frequency	Frequency of eating together or eating alone
	Choice	What to choose
	People	People to eat with
	Sharing	Sharing something with others
	Topics	What to talk while eating
	Influences of others	Any changes due to the influence of others
	Attentiveness	Demonstrating to be attentive to others while eating
	Living alone	Living alone

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