

Roxane Flore Tiphaine Pourchet

**A CRUSTY PROCESS: THE HERITAGISATION OF THE FRENCH
BAGUETTE BREAD**

MA Thesis in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy and Management.

Central European University

Vienna

May 2024

**A CRUSTY PROCESS: THE HERITAGISATION OF THE FRENCH BAGUETTE
BREAD**

by

Roxane Flore Tiphaine Pourchet

(France)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Vienna, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy,
Management.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

Chair, Examination Committee

Thesis Supervisor

Examiner

Examiner

Vienna
May 2024

A CRUSTY PROCESS: THE HERITAGISATION OF THE FRENCH BAGUETTE BREAD

by

Roxane Flore Tiphaine Pourchet

(France)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Vienna, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy,
Management.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

External Reader

Vienna
May 2024

A CRUSTY PROCESS: THE HERITAGISATION OF THE FRENCH BAGUETTE BREAD

by

Roxane Flore Tiphaine Pourchet

(France)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Vienna, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy,
Management.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

External Supervisor

Vienna
May 2024

I, the undersigned, **Roxane Flore Tiphaine Pourchet**, candidate for the MA degree in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy, Management declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Vienna, 24 May 2024

Signature: Roxane Pourchet

Abstract

In November 2022, France successfully nominated the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread* as a form of UNESCO intangible cultural heritage. Although not the first of its kind, this dossier reopened the conversation surrounding the position of food-related heritage in the UNESCO 2003 Convention and attached Representative List, due to the lack of definition surrounding this specific type of intangible cultural heritage. Although a demonstration of how a food-related heritage is made throughout the world is too ambitious, it is yet possible to observe how one specific country has gone through the process of food heritagization. Therefore, this paper questions how France has heritagized its foodstuffs under the 2003 Convention, as materialized by the *artisanal know-how and culture of the French baguette bread*? Following this research question, a gap in between the French and UNESCO heritagization processes has been revealed, creating further endangerment for the community and heritage element at stake, instead of fostering collective safeguarding.

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the constant support of my supervisor, Isabelle Anatole-Gabriel. Her encouragement allowed for this work to be as fun as I would have hoped it to be, while at the same time academically unfolding. Thank you for taking bread as seriously and non-seriously as I did.

I would also like to thank my study cohort, who happily partook in any conversation that involved eating the subject of this thesis.

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Figures	v
Introduction	1
Research Explanation	3
Primary and Secondary Research Questions	4
Research Aims	6
Research Design: Methodology and Research Methods	6
Expected Outcomes, Targeted Audience and Limitations	8
Expected Outcomes and Targeted Audience	8
Limitations	9
Chapter 1: Creation of Foodstuffs in France	10
1.1 A brief history of French cuisine	10
1.2 Commercial making of food in France	13
1.3 Beyond the commercial: Emergence of foodstuffs as French legal objects	15
1.4 From fantasy to popular: Rise of the baguette bread in France	19
1.5 Consolidation of <i>terroir</i> in French law	22
1.6 The culturalization of foodstuffs in France	24
1.7 Emergence of French food heritage through specific food objects	28
1.8 Recognition of tradition in the baguette bread	32
1.9 Reflections on Chapter 1	36
Chapter 2: UNESCO and Food Heritage	38
2.1 What is intangible cultural heritage within UNESCO?	38

2.2	Construction of food heritage within the 2003 Convention.....	42
2.3	Initial efforts to recognize French foods as UNESCO intangible cultural heritage	45
2.4	Construction of the gastronomic meal of the French.....	50
2.5	Food heritage at UNESCO: The gastronomic meal of the French	53
2.6	Reflections on Chapter 2.....	56
Chapter 3: The Baguette Bread, Cultural Heritage?		59
3.1	Construction of the artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread	59
3.2	From a traditional bread to an artisanal know-how	65
3.3	What is the artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread?	67
3.4	Communities inside the artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread	71
3.5	Reception of the element	73
3.6	Reflections on Chapter 3.....	76
Conclusion		78
Bibliography		83

List of Figures

Figure 1: History of French cuisine	12
Figure 2: Timeline of the legal making of wine and bread in France.....	16
Figure 3: INAO Quality Labels in food.....	25
Figure 4: Organizational chart of France Ministry of Culture.....	35
Figure 5: Key dates of intangible cultural heritage at UNESCO.....	39
Figure 6: Creation of the gastronomic meal of the French at the UNESCO.	51
Figure 7: Food heritage creation cycle.....	57
Figure 8: Timeline of the artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread creation.	60
Figure 9: Concluding thoughts on the heritagization process of bread in France.	79

Introduction

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (thereafter, UNESCO) Seventeenth Session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was held in November 2022.¹ This Session debated on a selection of immaterial cultural heritage to be nominated and accepted onto the UNESCO List of Intangible Cultural Heritage (thereafter, the List).² Among one of the Session's intangible cultural accepted elements was the French nomination for the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread*.³ This nomination was widely covered in the French (and international) press, as the baguette remains an emblematic symbol of France, as well as the most preferred bread of the French.⁴

While the baguette's inscription is not the first food-related element to be accepted on the List, it does revive the conversation regarding the position of food-related heritage within intangible cultural heritage. The latter has been defined under the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (thereafter, the 2003 Convention) as “oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts”.⁵ Most importantly, the 2003 Convention addressed the position of communities in the safeguarding and transmission of intangible cultural heritage elements.

¹ ‘UNESCO - Seventeenth Session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage’, accessed 20 January 2023, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/17com>.

² ‘UNESCO - Browse the Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices’, accessed 20 January 2023, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/lists>.

³ ‘UNESCO - Artisanal Know-How and Culture of Baguette Bread’, accessed 20 January 2023, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/artisanal-know-how-and-culture-of-baguette-bread-01883>.

⁴ ‘Etude sur le marché du pain’, Artisans Gourmands, accessed 18 May 2023, <https://www.artisans-gourmands.fr/project/etude-sur-le-marche-du-pain/>.

⁵ ‘What Is Intangible Cultural Heritage?’, accessed 20 January 2023, <https://ich-unesco-org.eur.idm.oclc.org/doc/src/01851-EN.pdf>.

The recognition of the different forms of intangible cultural heritage indicates a process known as heritagization. The latter occurs when institutional agents “identify resources embedded in a given place, attach new values to them, and formally recognize them as part of their collective heritage”⁶. This process is most evident when discussing intangible forms of cultural heritage, as these require to be attached to material structures in order to be safeguarded. Heritagization can be witnessed through the inclusion of these places and elements into heritage institutions, such as museums or devices, such as heritage listing. In this situation, it is immaterial elements of what constitutes a specific culture that are given tangible values, attached to a geographical location, and grounded into a community in order to be inscribed in a heritage institution: UNESCO and the List.

Despite what could first appear as a rather inclusive definition, one aspect of intangible cultural heritage has been crucially missing from UNESCO’s characterization, thus remaining undefined, namely, food-related heritage. The 2003 Convention does contain information on ‘food preparation’ and ‘food security’, but no definition or scope of what constitutes such a type of heritage has been phrased so far. Yet, this missing definition has not stopped UNESCO Member States in submitting their food-related elements, in order to be included in the List, resulting in the heritagization of their foods. As a result, these inclusions without definitional basis bring forward questions on how these food-related nominations are incorporated into the List. It is this inclusion without definition that I investigate in this research, by concentrating on the ‘making into heritage’, or heritagization process of one of France most beloved bread: the baguette bread.

⁶ ‘Food Heritagisation’, accessed 30 May 2023, <https://encyclopedia.pub/entry/13876>.

Research Explanation

It may appear futile to put into the same conversation food and heritage. However, Melitta Weiss Adamson argues that food “defines a group vis-à-vis other groups”⁷, therefore participating in the construction of a social group’s identity. Studying how a group, or a state in the case of this research, positions itself in relation to food, provides indications on how it has constructed itself. In this manner, food studies participate in the long-running investigation regarding nation and state building. It is in this respect that I inscribe this research in the surrounding literature and current body of academia. More specifically, I integrate current research done in both food and heritage studies by analyzing how one state in particular, France, has constructed its food heritage through specific elements.

Before discussing the research questions around which I center this thesis, I need to clarify my positionality towards it, as well as the vocabulary used in it. Through this research, I do not aim at providing a holistic definition, or even explanation of what food heritage consists of. Instead, I aim to demonstrate how France has come to understand what food heritage is on a national level, and how this form of heritage has been transposed on the international level through UNESCO. Another important note regards the vocabulary used through this research: I employ the expressions of ‘food heritage’ or ‘food-related heritage’ to avoid any connotations of hierarchy, or cultural hegemony. For this reason, I do not employ the terms of ‘gastronomy’ or even ‘culinary’, as these terms have the potential of being misunderstood. The aim of this research is not to assert French food as being superior to others.

In addition to this more specific, heritage-related vocabulary, I also interchangeably employ simpler terms such as ‘food items’ or ‘food elements’ and ‘foodstuffs’, to generally

⁷ Melitta Weiss Adamson, ‘Food in Medieval Times’, n.d, p.181.

describe food. When discussing UNESCO, I also interchangeably employ the words ‘file’ and ‘dossier’, relating to the paperwork describing the nominated element itself.

Another term that should be discussed is the one of ‘community’. The 2003 Convention does not actively define the term but aligns it with other terms such as ‘groups’ or ‘individuals’ participating in an intangible cultural heritage element, and that should collaborate with states having ratified the 2003 Convention. This blurry definition of ‘community’ is further complicated in the French context, where the term itself is not recognized under the French constitution. Only one community exists in France, and that is the French community, as described under Article 1 of the French constitution: “France shall be an indivisible, secular, democratic and social Republic”⁸. The term ‘indivisible’ involves the idea that France is only composed of one group of people, and that is the French, without any discerning traits. Therefore, France ratifying the 2003 Convention, therefore de facto recognizing the existence of ‘communities’ appears to contradict, in same capacity, its national constitution. This contradiction becomes ever so more relevant when discussing the UNESCO intangible cultural heritage elements in both Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis.

Primary and Secondary Research Questions

The primary research question around which I center my analysis can be put forward as: How has France heritagized its foodstuffs under the 2003 Convention, as materialized by the *artisanal know-how and culture of the French baguette bread*? To answer this primary research question, I follow the chronological retelling of developments of the heritagization of bread in France and at UNESCO, which have resulted in the nomination of the *artisanal know-how and culture of the French baguette bread*. Additionally, this main research question is based off

⁸ ‘French Constitution of October 4, 1958’, n.d, p.3.

previous research done by, among other authors, Marco Romagnoli⁹, Maria de Miguel Molina et al¹⁰, Julia Csergo¹¹ and Valdimar Tr. Hafstein¹². Through the exploration of this research question, I have worked on the assumption that the state apparatus of France has actively been working for the safeguarding of its foodstuffs as part of national and UNESCO heritage elements. In addition, my initial proposal was accompanied by the belief that historically, the French state has been heritagizing specific foodstuffs, and applying this process of heritagization onto the 2003 Convention and List.

In parallel to the primary research question, I have formulated three additional, secondary research questions. Firstly, how have foodstuffs been heritagized in France, from the beginning of the twentieth century until 2006? I tentatively answer this throughout Chapter 1, by discussing how food, as a general category, has been perceived through different lenses in France. Following this, the next secondary research question investigates what has been the heritagization process of foodstuffs under the UNESCO 2003 Convention, between 2003 and 2010? This is developed through Chapter 2, in which I examine the transposition of the growing French institutionalization of foodstuffs into UNESCO, by focusing on the *gastronomic meal of the French*. Finally, the third secondary research question investigates how has the *artisanal know-how and culture of the French baguette bread* been constructed to be recognized as a form of UNESCO intangible cultural heritage since 2016? This is done in Chapter 3, before I bring my conclusions from all three chapters together, in an attempt to answer the primary research question guiding this thesis.

⁹ Marco Romagnoli, 'Gastronomic Heritage Elements at UNESCO: Problems, Reflections on and Interpretations of a New Heritage Category', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 14 (1 December 2019).

¹⁰ María de Miguel Molina et al., 'Intangible Heritage and Gastronomy: The Impact of UNESCO Gastronomy Elements', *Journal of Culinary Science & Technology* 14, no. 4 (1 October 2016): 293–310, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15428052.2015.1129008>.

¹¹ Julia Csergo, 'Quelques enjeux de l'inscription de patrimoines alimentaires à l'Unesco', *Géoéconomie* 78, no. 1 (2016) : 187–208, <https://doi.org/10.3917/geoec.078.0187>.

¹² Valdimar Tr. Hafstein, *Making Intangible Heritage : El Condor Pasa and Other Stories from UNESCO* (Indiana University Press, 2018), <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv4v3086>.

Research Aims

Through these primary and secondary research questions, I aim to investigate the heritagization process of food items, as perceived by France and internationally perpetuated through the 2003 Convention, by taking the example of the baguette bread. This is done by unmaking the process of food, and in particular, bread heritagization by chronologically retracing the history of how bread has been considered as more than mere sustenance in the French society. By investigating such a process, I aim to unveil how France has transformed some specific food items into heritage objects, and how these transformed food items have in turn participated in the construction of the French project nationally, and internationally through UNESCO.

As a result, this research isolates the discussion of food heritage within intangible cultural heritage on the nomination dossier of the French baguette bread. In other words, and following the research method of Hafstein, this research proposes a socio-anthropological analysis of the heritagization of food items, through a thorough analysis of the baguette bread dossier.¹³

Research Design: Methodology and Research Methods

To fulfill this research, I have followed three distinct research methods. Firstly, a historicization of food heritage in France has been completed. This is done through a close reading and literature review of primary and secondary sources. Primary sources consist of legal texts surrounding the protection of food, legal decrees specifically designed for the production and commercialization of bread in France as well as UNESCO nomination files and related documents.

The second research method is semi-structured interviews of academic experts involved in the making of food heritage in France. Two experts have been interviewed: Steven Kaplan,

¹³ Hafstein.

historian of know-how and technique; and Julia Csergo, specialist in cultural history of the contemporary world. My interview with Kaplan shed light on the history of the production and consumption of bread, and more specifically the baguette bread in France. Therefore, this first interview falls into the research aim of demonstrating how bread has historically been institutionalized in France. At the same time, Kaplan shared his expert insight on the *artisanal know-how and culture of the French baguette bread*. My second interview with Julia Csergo discussed the construction of food-related heritage dossiers at UNESCO. Through our conversation, she provided me with context and insights on the creation of one of the first food-related heritage elements within UNESCO, and how it relates to the *artisanal know-how and culture of the French baguette bread*. Both these interviews were completed online and received the authorization to be cited in this research. It should also be noted that both interviews were held in French, and that all quotes used in this thesis have been translated into English by myself, author of the thesis

Importantly, I have taken the decision not to directly interview bakers or related professionals. This is due to the community itself not being the focus of this thesis, as I instead concentrate on the heritagization process occurring around the community. The community itself is also varied, from learning baking practitioners to long-term bakers and millers. Additionally, although I understand that discussing the community without involving it directly demonstrates a potential lack of ethical concern, it would also not be ethical to only interview a few bakers and summarize these opinions to represent an entire community. Instead, I have decided to take the agglomerate opinion of bakers, represented through their trade union, the National Confederation of French Bakery-Pastry, as a form of community expression on the matter.

Finally, the third research method consists of comparing UNESCO intangible cultural heritage dossiers of similar nature. The first one is the red thread throughout this entire research,

on the *artisanal know-how and culture of the French baguette bread*, and the second dossier being the one on the *gastronomic meal of the French*. The main objective of this comparison is to recreate the evolution of how France has heritagized its food-related elements nationally and within UNESCO, through the List. This comparison in time of dossiers from the same country allows me to establish France has internationally processed the heritagization of its national foods over thirteen years.

Expected Outcomes, Targeted Audience and Limitations

Expected Outcomes and Targeted Audience

The main goal of the proposed research is to fill in gaps in the academic literature on food heritage. Therefore, the main expected outcome for this research is to contribute to existing studies on food heritage in general, more particularly within the 2003 Convention. Although this is done by focusing on one country alone, I intend to participate in the growing body of research cementing down the theoretical framework produced around food heritage. This research thus aims at offering concrete support in a growing research field. Going beyond that, this research could also prove to be useful to researchers discussing other forms of intangible cultural heritage not defined under the 2003 Convention, such as language(s). This contribution to other researchers in the field of intangible cultural heritage is thus not only one of the expected outcomes, but also defines the targeted readers of the research.

In addition to contributing to the larger collection of literature available on food heritage, another expected outcome of this research is linked to the 2003 Convention. As the debate on food heritage is fairly recent and still growing, a recommendation on the 2003 Convention may not be possible yet but could occur at a later stage. Thus, by contributing and adding to the academic literature on culinary heritage, and by taking the recent example of the *artisanal know-how and culture of the French baguette bread* dossier, the proposed research

lays the groundwork for possible future recommendations to the 2003 Convention regarding food-related nominations and dossiers. Non-academic experts in intangible cultural heritage may find an interest in this study of food heritage and the proposed case studies as well as interviews.

Limitations

While the newness of the academic debate on food heritage offers a great possibility to expand and build on, it is also a possible limitation. Thus, the scope of discussion on food heritage remains in progress, if not limited altogether. However, this research touches on domains that are larger than culinary heritage, such as the position of food heritage in France and the 2003 Convention. By connecting the field of food heritage with one country that I suspect to be highly active in the field, and the much-discussed 2003 Convention, I am able to ground this research on a solid academic as well as professional literature corpus.

Another limitation regards the third research method, namely the case study and comparative analysis of two food heritage nomination dossiers. Indeed, twenty-nine food-related elements can be found as being listed on the List.¹⁴ The choice of comparing two European food products and traditions (the *artisanal know-how and culture of the French baguette bread* and the *gastronomic meal of the French*) could also be criticized as perpetuating the reputation of UNESCO listings being biased towards European and North American cultural heritage. This is a fair criticism that should be acknowledged. At the same time, I do not aim to offer a holistic analysis of food heritage, as this research cannot include all twenty-nine as well as future food-related elements. While saying this, it should be acknowledged that France is one of the only countries to possess more than one food-related element on the List, rendering its position unique.

¹⁴ ‘UNESCO - Browse the Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices’.

Chapter 1: Creation of Foodstuffs in France

In this first chapter, I retrace the heritagization process of foodstuffs in France, from a chronological and historical perspective. This scene-setting of French food history, and more specifically of bread and baguette bread, is accompanied by an interview of Steven Kaplan, historian specializing on the topic at hand. To begin with, the commercial making of food items in France is examined, before diving into how some specific food items, namely bread and to a certain extent, wine were turned from a commercial-driven, to a legal then cultural and finally, a heritage object. This is done in order to answer the secondary research question of how have foodstuffs been heritagized in France, from the beginning of the twentieth century until 2006?

Although I do not claim or aim at detailing the history of French cuisine, a summary of it is needed to better understand the growing importance given to French food, both nationally and internationally.

1.1 A brief history of French cuisine

While French cuisine asserts to have roots in the Middle Ages (more specifically in the fifteenth century), the seventeenth century proposed a new perspective on food items and cooking methods.¹⁵ Indeed, the French aristocracy demanded a new cooking style that would distinguish itself from previous times as well as other regions on the European continent. This renewed interest in food, cooking know-how, and eating habits led to the creation of the first gastronomical restaurants in France, before the 1789 French Revolution.¹⁶ Additionally, this expansion was followed by the invention and consumption of certain types of alcohol, such as

¹⁵ Florent Quellier, 'Faire l'histoire de l'alimentation', in *La table des Français : Une histoire culturelle (xve-début xixe siècle)*, Tables des hommes (Tours: Presses universitaires François-Rabelais, 2013), 9–23, <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pufr.22837>.

¹⁶ Quellier.

brandies (*eaux-de-vie*), sweet wines and sparkling champagne as well as great wines in the Bordeaux and Burgundy regions of France.¹⁷

To make a long history shorter, Jean-Pierre Poulain and Edmond Neirinck have offered a comprehensive history of French cuisine, as summarized in the below Figure 1.¹⁸ This historical reviewing allows for the identification of the French cuisine transformation into a commercial-driven item. It should be noted that Poulain and Neirinck's book's positioning, and the date of its publication is discussed in section 1.8 of this chapter.

¹⁷ Quellier.

¹⁸ Jean Pierre Poulain and Neirinck Edmond, *Histoire de La Cuisine et Des Cuisiniers. Techniques Culinaires et Manières de Table En France, Du Moyen Âge à Nos Jours*, 2004.

Middle Ages (from 1000 to 1450)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • French service table is organized in three to six successive tables filled with dishes. • No use of forks, plates or napkins as the food is placed on “slicers” (pieces of bread). • Very important use of spices, in a dual hygienic use (masking the tastes rancid) and social distinction.
Renaissance (from 1450 to 1643)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The fork, earthenware and crystalware appear, coming from Italy. • New products arrive from the Americas: tomatoes, corn, beans, potatoes, coffee, chocolate
Monarchy (from 1643 to 1782)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Under the rule of Louis XIV (1643-1715), the French service was fixed at three services, then, under the rule of Louis XV, extreme refinement was achieved. • Respect for the taste of the basic food is high in principle and the use of spices is done in a more and more discreet manner; great chefs dedicate their creations to their masters or guests of brand: this is the beginning of culinary appellations. • 1674: opening of the first café, <i>Le Procope</i> in Paris.
The Revolution and the “golden age” of gastronomy (from 1782 to 1880)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Haute cuisine</i> takes to the streets with the opening of the first restaurant by Beauvilliers in 1782; these “broths” (<i>bouillons</i> in French) multiplied from the Revolution onwards, opened by cooks and catering officers of aristocratic houses, made unemployed by exile or imprisonment of their masters, when they have not been guillotined. • The number of recipes grows exponentially thanks to the appellations culinary; pastry developed thanks to the method of manufacturing beet sugar.
Modern period (from 1880 to 1970)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Russian-style service is imposed as the norm, with its three variants (English-style service, at the table and French-style). • Birth and development of gastronomic tourism: the first edition of the Guide Michelin appeared in 1900. • Theorization and development of cooking techniques. • Creation of the first hotel schools in Nice, Thonon, Toulouse, Paris, and Strasbourg.
The ‘nouvelle cuisine’ since 1970
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plated service becomes the norm. • The Gault-Millau guide appeared in 1973: Christian Millau and Henri Gault launched “the 10 commandments” of “new cuisine”. • Research and respect for the basic food items are once again prioritised; culinary creativity is established in principle; and “molecular” gastronomy appears. • The past and the <i>terroir</i> once again become sources of inspiration. • Evolution of agri-food combined with technological progress: cooking and vacuum preservation gives rise to “assembly cuisine”.

Figure 1: History of French cuisine

Source: Jean Pierre Poulain and Neirinck Edmond, *Histoire de La Cuisine et Des Cuisiniers. Techniques Culinaires et Manières de Table En France, Du Moyen Âge à Nos Jours*, 2004.

Based on this summary of French cuisine, an intersection can be identified on how the social and cultural behavioral changes of French society have influenced the commercial creation of its foodstuffs. More specifically, and as detailed in Figure 1, this intersection appeared in the so-called Monarchy period (from 1643 to 1782). It is under the reign of Louis XV that dishes started to be individually labelled and the origin of food also started being indicated to consumers.¹⁹ These intersections between cultural behaviors and commerce lead many of the future developments detailed in the below sections.

It is from this approximately historical period, with the very beginning of food items being viewed from a commercial perspective, that I begin my analysis.

1.2 Commercial making of food in France

The naming of dishes and the indication of where the names of specific dishes originated from, are the source of what is now known as the *appellations d'origine* (known in English as designations of origin). This tendency of labelling started by simply differentiating one dish from another, by referring to its regional origin.²⁰ Another distinguishing factor was centered around how food was prepared, with the cooking method being used in dishes' names.²¹ Therefore, between the years 1670 and 1680, a basic system of dish provenance was established in France, reaching an unprecedented extent in regard to foodstuffs.²² I develop the modern understanding of the designations of origin in section 1.6 of this chapter.

¹⁹ Philippe Meyzie, 'À la recherche du produit « véritable ». Les appellations d'origine en France aux xviie et xviii siècles', *Les Cahiers de Framespa. e-STORIA*, no. 35 (30 October 2020), <https://doi.org/10.4000/framespa.9466>.

²⁰ Patrick Rambourg, "'Du Discours à La Créativité : Les Appellations Culinaires Des Chefs' (2017)", in *Le Français à Table* (Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2017), 67–76, <https://hal.science/hal-01638171>.

²¹ Patrick Rambourg, "'L'appellation 'à La Provençale' Dans Les Traités Culinaires Français Du XVIIe Au XXe Siècle'", *Publié Dans "Provence Historique". Alimentation et Cuisine En Provence*, 1 January 2004, https://www.academia.edu/40463857/_Lappellation_%C3%A0_la_proven%C3%A7ale_dans_les_trait%C3%A9s_culinaires_fran%C3%A7ais_du_XVIIe_au_XXe_si%C3%A8cle_p_473_483_.

²² Meyzie, 'À la recherche du produit « véritable ». Les appellations d'origine en France aux xviie et xviii siècles'.

With the expansion of commercial trade on the national and international scene, more and more food products were integrated into this systematic classification of food items in France. As a result of this increasing commercial demand, producers and consumers gradually needed to acknowledge and be informed about the geographical origin of food products. In this manner, a connection between the origin of food products and their quality has been established. Additionally, this categorization and classification tendencies fell in with occurrences in other domains, a typical initiative from the Enlightenment age.²³ Therefore, a centralization of intellectual and food knowledge can be perceived, with commercial actors (mostly in cities) dominating the narrative in the construction of French cuisine.

Through this early system of food differentiation, products within the same foodstuff category were able to be compared. This meant that the ‘best’ foodstuffs of one category could be recognized through their place of origin. Commercial actors could then request a product from a specific geographical location, expecting a specific quality from it, as argued by Tim Unwin.²⁴ Put differently, geographical regions and producers started gaining a reputation and market traction for a specific food product, which was recognized by consumers as the ‘real’, quality product of a designated foodstuff category. The commercial value of some food categories was recognized by both producers and consumers, resulting in a commercial trade-off regarding the product quality based on its origin. An early food construction of French regions can thus be observed, while at the same time being centralized in cities such as Paris.

Looking back into the historical construction, more specifically between the 1700s and 1900s, this commercial recognition of specific foodstuffs led to four separate, yet interlinked outcomes. Firstly, this commercial trade-off resulted in an ever-growing demand for these

²³ Meyzie.

²⁴ ‘The Routledge Handbook of Wine and Culture’, Routledge & CRC Press, accessed 12 January 2024, <https://www.routledge.com/The-Routledge-Handbook-of-Wine-and-Culture/Charters-Demossier-Dutton-Harding-Smith-Maguire-Marks-Unwin/p/book/9780367472900>.

specific products from the various commercial actors involved. Secondly, and as previously mentioned, from this increased consumption of specific products, French regions were thus commercially constructed based on these appreciated foodstuffs. In other words, commercially driven efforts of different regions of France were turned into growing a very specific part of their foodstuffs' market, in order to consolidate their reputation and specific skills.

Thirdly, from the commercial boost and differentiation of similar products, coming with the regional food construction and recognition of different skillsets, emerged the concept of *terroir*. As explained by Unwin, the notion of *terroir* carries the idea that foodstuffs from different regions “can be considered unique to those specific locations and thus that they reflect a particular environment, both ‘natural’ and ‘human’, that shaped their creation”²⁵. Thus, the typicity expressed through the making of specific foodstuffs renders them geographically identifiable. Through the consumption and identification of these products, consumers were offered the possibility of appreciating foodstuffs items and their related skills that could only be found in specific regions of France. Finally, the increasing commercial activity surrounding specific foodstuffs required a legal framework to be developed, in particular around two very specific food productions of France: wine and bread. These are the food items on which I focus in the following sections.

1.3 Beyond the commercial: Emergence of foodstuffs as French legal objects

Why should a specific legal infrastructure be needed surrounding foodstuffs? In his explanation of the French food legislation, Henry François Dupont details that the first reason concerns business procedures, more specifically ensuring that regulations allow for bona-fide practices to be respected in all business transactions.²⁶ On the other hand, the second reason regards the

²⁵ ‘The Routledge Handbook of Wine and Culture’, p.62.

²⁶ Henry François Dupont, ‘French Food Legislation’, *Food, Drug, Cosmetic Law Journal* 15, no. 3 (1960): 165–95.

safety of consumers, “since the adulteration of foods results in endangering [their] health ... [and] it must be prevented”²⁷. I also argue, in light of the above section, that a third reason for the necessity of a dedicated foodstuffs legal framework is the fact that France has witnessed an unprecedented expansion of the commercial aspect of its foodstuff production, through the development of notions such as designations of origin and *terroir*. Concurrently, the early recognition of some products as being distinctive and possessing a specific quality led to the possibility fraud and the vending of foodstuffs under false pretensions.

DATE	LAW AND DECREE
August 1905	Law relating to the suppression of fraud in the sale of goods and falsification of foodstuffs and agricultural products
March 1919	Law relating to the suppression of night work in bakeries
May 1919	Law relating to the protection of designations of origin
July 1927	Law relating to completing the law of May 1919, relating to the protection of designations of origin
July 1935	Decree relating to the defence of the wine market and the economic regime for alcohol
September 1993	Law relating to the application of the law of 1905, in this which concerns certain categories of bread
May 1998	Law relating to determining the legal conditions for exercising the profession artisan baker

Figure 2: Timeline of the legal making of wine and bread in France
Source: Made by author

To prevent frauds and protect regional producers as well as their unique *terroir* and product, the French legal system started developing infrastructures dedicated to foodstuffs, as summarized in Figure 2. The first law of note is from August 1905, on the “suppression of fraud in the sale of goods and falsification of foodstuffs and agricultural products” (thereafter, the 1905 Law).²⁸ This law is still applicable nowadays, though it has since been through various

²⁷ Dupont. P.165

²⁸ ‘Loi Du 1er Août 1905 Sur Les Fraudes et Falsifications En Matière de Produits Ou de Services’ (n.d.), accessed 22 February 2024.

updates, reflecting the changes the French commerce and food production have experienced. One of these updates, the 1993 Decree is of particular significance for bread production and consumption in France and is discussed at the end of this chapter. Furthermore, and before diving into this law's content, it should be noted that it was passed by the Ministry of Agriculture. It is important to note the relevant ministries passing the discussed laws, as it provides additional indications on how the matter at hand is considered legally. Being passed by the Ministry of Agriculture, this law demonstrates that foodstuffs are still considered as part of the French farming industry, and not considered as a potential of culture.

Henri Cheftel highlights two reasons why the 1905 Law remains a powerful legislation tool.²⁹ On the first hand, it establishes the structure in which the law is to operate, as well as the relevant authorities to apply it. In other words, this law creates the institutional environment that is to supervise any fraudulent activity regarding the production and commercialization of foodstuffs on French territories. Secondly, and most importantly, the 1905 Law informs producers and consumers on the different possible types of frauds. Following Cheftel, these kinds of frauds are “on the *nature* of the goods”, “on their *substantial qualities*”, “on their *composition*”, “on their *contents in useful principles*”, “on their *species or origin*”, “on the *quantity*”, and finally, “on the *identity*”.³⁰ I thus understand the 1905 Law as being a first step in the legal protection of foodstuffs in France.

Although it does not specifically use the terms of protecting and safeguarding, by legally condemning different types of frauds from being done in the trading of foodstuffs, it does provide a form of protection for the concerned producers. Put differently, the 1905 Law can be seen as a legal recognition and validation of the regional food construction project

²⁹ Henri Cheftel, ‘Establishment and Functioning of the Food Laws and Regulations in France’, *Food, Drug, Cosmetic Law Journal* 20, no. 8 (1965): 436–45.

³⁰ Cheftel. P.438 (emphasis by quoted author)

(*terroir*). This understanding of the 1905 Law is confirmed by its article 11, paragraph 2. This article appears to lay the foundations for the (not-yet legally determined) designations of origin in France. It reads as follow:

The inscriptions and marks indicating either the composition or the origin of the goods, or the regional designations and particular vintages that buyers may require on invoices, on packaging or on the products themselves, as a guarantee of the on the part of the sellers, as well as the external or apparent indications necessary to ensure the fairness of the sale and the offering for sale³¹

Based on this article, some similarities from the seventeenth century's commercial categorizing system of food items can be observed. An overall continuation in the attitude towards foodstuffs is recognized, while at the same time proposing a position break. By this, I mean that the need to label foodstuffs based on their origin or regional naming is transformed from a commercial trade-off to a legal obligation, with legal penalties attached to it. From being traded commercially as a form of sustenance possessing a recognized quality, food has now become a legal object.

Going back to the 1905 Law, it applies to all food on the French territory, without discernment between the different *corps de métier*³². However, a law passed in March 1919 (thereafter, the March 1919 Law) does target one very specific part of the food producing line: bakers.³³ While it does not define (yet) who the bakers are, it does limit their working hours. The March 1919 Law specifically bans bakers from working night shifts: “it is prohibited to employ workers in the production of bread and pastries between ten in the evening and four in the morning”³⁴. This piece of regulation was passed by the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, which implies that bakers are now a recognized legal community in the French state

³¹ Loi du 1er août 1905 sur les fraudes et falsifications en matière de produits ou de services, p. 4815, translated by author

³² Translated by author to ‘*trade people*’

³³ ‘Loi Du 28 Mars 1919 SUPPRESSION DU TRAVAIL DE NUIT DANS LES BOULANGERIES’ (n.d.), accessed 24 February 2024.

³⁴ Loi du 28 mars 1919 SUPPRESSION DU TRAVAIL DE NUIT DANS LES BOULANGERIES, p.3252, translated by author.

apparatus, rather than simply a commercial entity. Another conclusion I draw from the March 1919 Law is an intersection with a wider process France experienced at the time: changing eating habit.

1.4 From fantasy to popular: Rise of the baguette bread in France

Taking a small pause, the historical and social consumption of bread in France must be explored to better understand further national legal development of foodstuffs and bread. To begin with, the turn of the twentieth century witnessed the (re)birth of the French middle class, particularly in Paris.³⁵ Though having remained present after the 1789 French Revolution, the French middle class regained momentum at the start of the 1900s, as it sought to separate itself from the two main social strata, composed of the aristocracy and working classes.³⁶ One of the ways in which this rejuvenated social middle class delimited itself was through specific food consumption, and more specifically, bread consumption. Of course, the use of food as a form of demarcation between social classes had already been done, in the seventeenth century, as explored in the first section of this chapter. Though the following changing eating habit may appear as a shift, it instead is a mere continuation of an already existing behavior in France of using food as a form of social demarcation.

Historically, in rural France, breads baking was considered as a form of social gathering, where all townspeople would gather and bake together using the collective ovens and public infrastructure.³⁷ The resulting breads were very large loaves, which were then consumed throughout several days. This changed at the beginning of the 1900s, as a combination of the urbanization process and the urban migration felt throughout the entirety of

³⁵ Thierry Pech, 'Deux cents ans de classes moyennes en France (1789-2010)', *L'Économie politique* 49, no. 1 (2011): 69–97, <https://doi.org/10.3917/leco.049.0069>.

³⁶ Pech.

³⁷ Steven L. Kaplan, *Le retour du bon pain: une histoire contemporaine du pain, de ses techniques et de ses hommes* (Perrin, 2002).

Europe, with residents from all over France moving to urban centers such as Paris.³⁸ This urbanization movement favored the (re)birth of the French middle class. This change in the socio-geographical organization of France encouraged new customs, one of them being how bread was produced and consumed. A stark illustration of this change can be found in baguette bread.

The baguette bread was in fact not invented in the twentieth century; it is a much older type of bread. It was previously produced and consumed as a ‘fantasy’ or luxury bread.³⁹ It was not a usually consumed bread, but was reserved for celebrations, and later on in the nineteenth century, restaurants. These breads were less regulated than the usually sold ones (in terms of weight and shape), and thus served as an outlet for bakers to express their creativity.⁴⁰ However, this also meant that these fantasy breads, which included the baguette, were not consumed on a daily basis. The production of such breads changed with the introduction of the “use of steam in ovens”⁴¹, which can be understood as a form of industrialization in the baking industry. This allowed bakers to produce more bread, going hand in hand with the aforementioned changing eating habits of the rising middle class. As a matter of fact, this new social stratum no longer baked, bought, or ate one large bread over a long period of time, and instead preferred to consume fresh bread at every meal.⁴² Therefore, bakers in cities turned away from producing large loafs to instead bake smaller, thinner, and longer types of bread, which also took less time to rise and bake. This new shape of bread was inspired by fantasy breads, and more particularly, the baguette.

³⁸ Vincent Duclert, ‘Histoire de France, 1870-1914’, Folio, 2 September 2021, <https://www.folio-lesite.fr/catalogue/1870-1914/9782072799433>.

³⁹ Berry Farah, ‘L’origine de la baguette française’, n.d.

⁴⁰ Jim Chevallier, ‘A History of the Food of Paris: From Roast Mammoth to Steak Frites’, accessed 25 February 2024, https://www.academia.edu/37199283/A_History_of_the_Food_of_Paris_From_Roast_Mammoth_to_Steak_Frites.

⁴¹ Chevallier, p.55

⁴² Kaplan, *Le retour du bon pain*.

In my interview with historian of know-how and technique, as well as bread expert Steven Kaplan, he confirmed the March 1919 Law and changing eating habits as being determinant factors in the rise of popularity of the baguette bread. He labelled the intersection between the changes in the bakery industry and eating habits as a form of “commercial urban ambition”⁴³. However, Kaplan also added that the changes assumed to have resulted from these two developments were already occurring, and this from after the eighteenth-century Industrial Revolution and the spread of mechanization in the food industry. One of the mentioned changes was the use of yeast instead of sourdough as a rising agent, the former activating far quicker than the latter.

Before the Industrial Revolution, an important step in the baking process, called *pointage* would be done over the course of three to four hours. Kaplan insisted on the importance of *pointage*, as it is at this stage of the baking process that the different ingredients mix and develop the very specific flavor and texture of the desired bread. This changed with the spread of mechanization in bread-making, resulting in the *pointage* being shortened to sometimes a mere thirty minutes. Kaplan continued that the result of this shortened *pointage* was a disappointing bread, which sometimes needed to be thrown away and re-baked. However, because of the 1919 Law, this reworking was not possible, as bakers were now legally obliged to work shorter hours.

Additionally, the *pointage* had to remain in this shorter form, due to what Kaplan called the introduction of the “*travail en direct*”⁴⁴. This new form of work in bakeries lies at the intersection of changing eating habits, as well as the new enforced working hours: bakers could no longer prepare their doughs and breads in advance but instead, baked along the entire working day, depending on daily, immediate demand. Due to the shortened *pointage* and new,

⁴³ Interview with Steven Kaplan, on the 22nd of April 2024

⁴⁴ Live or instant work, interview with Steven Kaplan on the 22nd of April 2024, translated by author

instant working method, Kaplan argued that instead of the blossoming of bread baking that seemed to have occurred in the 1920s, there was instead an erosion of bakers' technical skills. Although Kaplan agreed that the change in working hours, changing eating habits and introduction of new technology allowed for the baguette to become one of the most popular bread in France, he strongly maintained that this baguette was, in his own words, "just not good"⁴⁵, due to the loss of know-how that had started since the Industrial Revolution. From this, I conclude that the presentation of the baguette bread as having blossomed in the twentieth century is a "retrospective idealization"⁴⁶ and fabrication of tradition, done for the purpose of creating a 'special' food object. The acknowledgement of Kaplan, and the conclusion I take away from it, are key in understanding the dichotomy of further developments detailed in the below paragraphs.

1.5 Consolidation of *terroir* in French law

Returning to the legal analysis, 1919 also witnessed another key law regarding foodstuffs, and that is the legal cementing and protection of *appellations d'origine*⁴⁷ in May (thereafter, the May 1919 Law). This is a continuation of the general concept already present in the categorizing and classification tendencies of the French cuisine, as identified in the first section of this chapter. Known in English as designations of origin, François Legouy et Sébastien Dallot define this label as "an assurance of the geographical origin of the product"⁴⁸. These designations are a way to trace the quality of a product pretending to be coming from a certain *terroir*. This notion of designations of origin will be discussed more extensively in the next section of this chapter.

⁴⁵ Interview with Steven Kaplan, on the 22nd of April 2024

⁴⁶ Interview with Steven Kaplan, on the 22nd of April 2024

⁴⁷ Translated by author to '*origin appellations*' or '*designation of origin*'

⁴⁸ François Legouy and Sébastien Dallot, 'Les AOC en France des débuts à nos jours : la complexité d'une construction dans l'espace et dans le temps', *Mappemonde. Revue trimestrielle sur l'image géographique et les formes du territoire*, no. 125 (1 January 2019), <https://doi.org/10.4000/mappemonde.805>, p.1, translated by author.

I will not linger on the May 1919 Law, as it is more relevant in its details to wine. Still, it should be noted that this law is also concerned by the possibility of fraud in foodstuffs, as it put in place legal penalties in cases of any food (including bread) being sold under false pretenses while bearing specific labels. The difference between the 1905 Law and the May 1919 Law is in their range of scope: the first one identifies different types of frauds in foodstuffs or selling one good under false labels and pretenses, while the second law creates the legal instrument of geographical and skill-based labelling.

From these last three laws (1905, March and May 1919), an overall acceleration in the buttressing of the French legal system surrounding foodstuffs can be observed. This continued throughout the rest of the twentieth century, with a special focus on one specific industry: the production of French wine. I must once again take a sidestep in the discussion of bread production and consumption in France, as the wine industry brings back an already discussed concept that becomes very relevant for the baguette at the beginning of the 2000s, and that is the notion of the designations of origin.

The above discussed May 1919 Law is generally conceived as the basis for the whole system of designations of origin in France, which was predominantly used and designed for the protection of French vineyards and wine producers.⁴⁹ Indeed, following the First World War, the French countryside was devastated, allowing for foreign wines to enter the French market and threatened the interests of local wine producers. The result of these growing concerns was materialized through the passing of the July 1927 Law (thereafter, the July 1927 Law).⁵⁰ One of the main points of this law is that it completes the May 1919 Law, which provided a very basic definition of the designations of origin: under the May 1919 Law, wines

⁴⁹ Legouy and Dallot.

⁵⁰ 'Loi Du 22 Juillet 1927 MODIFIE LA LOI DU 6 MAI 1919 - (PROTECTION DES APPELLATIONS D'ORIGINE)' (n.d.), accessed 30 March 2024.

bearing a specific label “can never be considered as having a generic character and falling into the public domain”⁵¹. In comparison, the July 1927 Law strengthened, detailed, and furthered the application of the legal structure surrounding the designations of origin. For instance, the Champagne viticulture is named as well as the territories on which it may exclusively take place.

In addition, the July 1927 Law was continued by a complementing decree, from July 1935 (thereafter, the July 1935 Decree). This decree is also exclusively about the French wine production, modifying and updating some articles of the July 1927 Law. These two legal instruments are fairly complex and have been studied at length by other authors (such as Olivier Jacquet⁵² and Jean Robert Pitte⁵³), and wine is also not the focus at hand. Still, for the purpose of this research, these laws’ relevance lays in the overall tightening of the designations of origin system, but more importantly, in the creation of quality labels.

1.6 The culturalization of foodstuffs in France

A quality label is, in essence, a logo that is printed on product packaging, rendering consumers aware of the type of quality being purchased through this foodstuff. Here, a direct continuation from the 1905 Law, regarding fraud in the commercialization of foodstuffs, can be identified. Indeed, the July 1935 Law stipulated that a centralized institution should be established in order to “define, approve, protect and control these new [quality labels]”⁵⁴, to ensure the quality of products and prevent frauds. This institution is now known under the name of National Institute of Origin and Quality (INAO) and supervises a total of six types of quality labels. Figure 3

⁵¹ Loi du 6 mai 1919 relative à la protection des appellations d’origine, p.4726

⁵² Olivier Jacquet, ‘Un Siècle de Construction Du Vignoble Bourguignon. Les Organisations Vitivinicoles de 1884 Aux AOC’, 1 January 2009.

⁵³ ‘La Bouteille de Vin - Jean-Robert Pitte | Cairn.Info’, accessed 12 May 2024, <https://www.cairn.info/la-bouteille-de-vin--9791021001138.htm>.

⁵⁴ ‘A.O.P: une Histoire et des Traditions Hors Norme’, oriGIn, accessed 30 March 2024, <https://www.originfood.info/histoire-aop/>, translated from French by author

below names and briefly explains each quality label, as well as the type of quality it aims to maintain.⁵⁵

INAO Quality Labels	French Controlled Designation of Origin (AOC) and EU Protected Designation of Origin (AOP): Designation of a product of which all stages of production are conducted according to recognized knowledge in the same geographical area, giving its characteristics to the product.
	Protected Geographical Indication (IGP): Identification of an agricultural product, raw or processed, whose quality, reputation or other characteristics are linked to its geographical origin, while also being based on the notion of know-how.
	Guaranteed Traditional Specialty (STG): Correspondence to a product whose specific qualities are linked to a composition, manufacturing or processing methods based on tradition. The STG aims to define the composition or traditional mode of production of a product, without this necessarily having a link with its geographical origin.
	Organic Farming brand (AB): Makes it possible to identify 100% organic products or, for processed products, composed of 95% organic agricultural products. The AB brand is based on the notion of respect for biodiversity and the preservation of natural resources.
	Red Label: Concerns the notion of superior quality compared to other similar products on the market, and is a label open to all products, regardless of their geographical origin. Products benefiting from the AOC or AOP labels cannot also claim the Red Label.
	Certification of Conformity: Guarantees compliance with certified characteristics based on specifications that must be significant, objective, and measurable and make it possible to distinguish the product from the standard.

Figure 3: INAO Quality Labels in food.

Source: "AOP-AOC, IGP, AB...: quality labels in food" published by the French Ministry of Economy, Finance and Industrial and Digital Sovereignty, 2023.

I am aware that in Figure 3, I have introduced into this analysis the European Union (EU), through its Protected Designation of Origin (AOP) quality label. Since 1952, France has

⁵⁵ 'AOP-AOC, IGP, AB...: les labels de qualité dans l'alimentation', accessed 30 March 2024, <https://www.economie.gouv.fr/particuliers/aop-aoc-igp-stg-labels-certification-alimentation>.

integrated the then-newly created European Coal and Steel Community, renamed the EU in 1992.⁵⁶ In the same year, the EU adopted and modified to the European scale some of the already existing French foodstuffs framework, the Controlled Designation of Origin (AOC) being one of them.⁵⁷ The fact that the AOC system was taken to the European level (and renamed as AOP) indicates to the strength and importance of this quality label.

More importantly for this research, the French quality labels of AOC, Protected Geographical Indication (IGP), Guaranteed Traditional Specialty (STG) and Red Label introduced three key terms in the legal structure surrounding foodstuffs: know-how, tradition and resulting from these two, the concept of collectives. Claude Compagnone mentions that the “designations of controlled origin (AOC) are not imposed ‘from above’ but designed collectively at the local level”⁵⁸. An example of this was mentioned at the beginning of the last section, with French wine makers expressing their concerns to the authorities about foreign wines entering the French market following the First World War. This communal conception and creation of an AOC can also be found in Florian Humbert, who maintains that the common base for the designations of origin is the respect of local communities and their customs.⁵⁹ In other words, the designations of origin’s legal consideration is founded on the communal understanding that customs affiliated with *terroirs* retain a commercial potential that should be capitalized on, and therefore protected.

⁵⁶ Dietmar Petzina, Wolfgang F. Stolper, and Michael Hudson, ‘The Origin of the European Coal and Steel Community: Economic Forces and Political Interests’, *Zeitschrift Für Die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft / Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics* 137, no. 3 (1981): 450–68.

⁵⁷ Legouy and Dallot, ‘Les AOC en France des débuts à nos jours’.

⁵⁸ Claude Compagnone, ‘Les appellations d’origine contrôlée comme ordre négocié’, *Négociations* 18, no. 2 (2012): 63–80, <https://doi.org/10.3917/neg.018.0061>, p.65.

⁵⁹ Florian Humbert, ‘Approche historique du processus de délimitation des AOC vinicoles françaises. Contribution à la compréhension des principes et de l’application d’une expertise’, *Sciences humaines combinées. Revue électronique des écoles doctorales ED LISIT et ED LETS*, no. 5 (1 March 2010), <https://doi.org/10.58335/shc.176>.

The legal recognition of *terroir* through the system of the different quality labels and designations of origin could be said to be a micro-illustration of what Michaela Desoucey coined as ‘gastronationalism’.⁶⁰ According to Desoucey, food has been shown to “demarcate national boundaries and identities”⁶¹. Moreover, the aforementioned notion of foodstuffs’ customs, coupled with the legal assurance of producing and/or consuming a quality product (through the various quality labels) fosters even further the justification for protecting all aspects of a certain food by the collective. Desoucey argues that, in part, this is due to the link between emotions, national (or regional) attachment and foods representing the latter.

To this, Atsuko Ichijo expands the understanding of ‘gastronationalism’ by expressing it through the idea of a defense mechanism.⁶² This mechanism is primarily used by the state apparatus and maintains the defining, unique traits of either a country, or in the case of France and its quality labels, a region. This interpretation of ‘gastronationalism’ has also been understood as a form of expressing banal, or everyday nationalism.⁶³ By putting the abstract notion of *terroir* at the heart of the quality labels and designations of origin, foodstuffs are no longer only recognized as a market-driven good or a legal object, but also as a mean to protect a collective, gathered around their unique understanding of customs and application of a specific know-how.

Therefore, Desoucey’s notion of ‘gastronationalism’ is helpful in this research, as it participates in the understanding of how some specific foodstuffs have been (re)conceptualized as being culturally unique. These specific foodstuffs reflect a collective’s distinctive cultural traits, being used to develop a defense mechanism around a region’s peculiarity. At the same

⁶⁰ Michaela DeSoucey, ‘Gastronationalism: Food Traditions and Authenticity Politics in the European Union’, *American Sociological Review* 75, no. 3 (1 June 2010): 432–55, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122410372226>.

⁶¹ DeSoucey, p.433

⁶² Atsuko Ichijo, ‘Food and Nationalism: Gastronationalism Revisited’, *Nationalities Papers* 48, no. 2 (March 2020): 215–23, <https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2019.104>.

⁶³ Ichijo.

time, this typicity is absorbed by the state (through its legal apparatus) and also used as a defense mechanism to define a broader community, as demonstrated in Chapter 2 and 3 of this thesis.

Through their re-conception as cultural (instead of commercial and/or legal) products, the implication of tradition within them and surrounding customs was able to be institutionalized under schemes such as the quality labels and designations of origin.

1.7 Emergence of French food heritage through specific food objects

From this cultural conceptualization of specific foodstuffs, it is only a small step to turn them into a form of cultural heritage in the wave of the *tout patrimoine* at the turning of the 1980s.

This small step was taken by focusing on tradition in foodstuffs, along with their attached know-how. Here, tradition is understood as a desirable rationale for protecting certain foods at the national level, while the concept of heritage is conceptualized as “a whole process of socialization and self-recognition of the value of communities”⁶⁴ that embody it. By focusing on tradition, the 1980s emerging French ethnographic effort was able to closely study and promote working cultures found in rural France, as well as their specific know-how. In this way, the Ethnological Heritage Mission, founded under the Ministry of Culture in 1980, was to combat growing industrialization, mechanization, and standardization of the food market. The creation of the above Mission was thus a response of the French State apparatus to express a policy on “the notion of ethnology and the notion of heritage”⁶⁵. I observe the creation of the Mission, and efforts surrounding it as a good illustration of Ichijo’s above use of ‘gastronationalism’ as a defense mechanism elaborated by the state apparatus.

⁶⁴ Sylvie Grenet and Christian Hottin, ‘The Ethnology Department of the French Ministry of Culture and the Inventories of Intangible Cultural Heritage in France’, n.d, p.2.

⁶⁵ Grenet and Hottin, p.1.

Therefore, an interest in categorizing and listing of know-how found around France was started. Specifically targeting foodstuffs, the National Council of Culinary Arts (thereafter, the National Council) was established in 1990, as an inter-ministerial research program.⁶⁶ In effect, the National Council was an initiative from the Ministry of Agriculture and aimed at valorizing French cuisine and associated *terroir*. To do so, it established an encyclopedia of food traditions found around French territories. Through this, I understand the efforts of and surrounding the National Council as a form of commodification of French food-related history and tradition. Although the focus of my interview with Julia Csergo was primarily on the *gastronomic meal of the French*, we did discuss the National Council and she insisted that its work was “not heritage in itself”⁶⁷. That would be because the National Council was an initiative from the Ministry of Agriculture, which was interested in listing the “living *terroir*”⁶⁸, rather than the ones no longer practiced. According to Csergo, the notion of *terroir* became an operational notion of governance. Still, it cannot be denied that the National Council participated in the promotion of the uniqueness of specific French foods, and more specifically, bread.

Exploring this return and focus on tradition through my interview with Kaplan, he added that the poor quality of the produced baguette throughout the first half of the twentieth century was finally recognized in the 1980s, by both producers and consumers. This realization came following a continuous drop in bread consumption since the 1960s in France. Kaplan explained to me that this drop was due to two factors: the first one is the structural change brought by increased industrialization and mechanization, resulting in a loss of both tradition know-how and nutrients contained in the bread itself; secondly, consumers realizing the resulting poor quality of the baguette bread. Kaplan described this baguette being a white bread,

⁶⁶ ‘Activités contestées du Conseil national des arts culinaires (CNAC)’, Sénat, 6 August 1998, <https://www.senat.fr/questions/base/1998/qSEQ980810163.html>.

⁶⁷ Interview with Julia Csergo, on the 13th of May 2024

⁶⁸ Interview with Julia Csergo, on the 13th of May 2024

without any taste. This lack of taste resulted in a “sensory disaffection”⁶⁹ and was the result of the abandonment of traditional techniques, such as the *pointage*. Therefore, a need to return to these techniques, to produce good bread again was felt throughout the baker’s community, embodied in the National Confederation of French Bakery-Pastry (thereafter, the National Confederation).

In its intention to create good bread again, the National Confederation negotiated a decree with the Ministry of Economy. This decree was based on the earlier discussed 1905 Law on frauds and was passed in 1993 to specifically discuss ‘some categories of bread’ (thereafter, the 1993 Decree or bread Decree).⁷⁰ This bread Decree supplements the 1905 Law, specifically by introducing some key expressions, creating a direct legal connection between tradition and bread. Some of these expressions are *fait-maison* (homemade), bread of French tradition, traditional French bread, traditional bread of France and any other variations of these terms. The concept of tradition, in the context of French breads, has thus become a legal term, possessing a legal definition.

Discussing the bread Decree with Kaplan, he arrived at the conclusion that this decree was an explicit recognition that the white bread baguette, that had been produced for decades until then, was no longer considered to be good enough. The bread Decree thus represents a hope to rejuvenate traditional bread making and bread consumption: by legally emphasizing the traditional aspect contained in bread, the National Confederation was planning for bakers to return to pre-industrialization bread making, by for instance reconsidering the *pointage* baking step that had been forgotten throughout the twentieth century. At this point of the

⁶⁹ Interview with Steven Kaplan, on the 22nd of April 2024

⁷⁰ ‘Décret N° 93-1074 Du 13 Septembre 1993 Pris Pour l’application de La Loi Du 1er Août 1905 En Ce Qui Concerne Certaines Catégories de Pains’, 93-1074 § (1993).

interview, Kaplan made the important comment that the *pointage* has thus become a “proof of difficulty”⁷¹ in the bread making, along with being “proof of the mastery of the baker”.⁷²

Before my interview with Kaplan, I understood the 1993 Decree as the creation of tradition in bread-making within the French legal system. As such, according to the decree, a bread can only be labelled as ‘traditional’ if it “[has] not undergone any freezing treatment during [its] production, [possessing] no additives and resulting from the cooking of a dough”⁷³. The fabrication of this dough is also dictated by the 1993 Decree, stating the type of flour, fermentation agent and other ingredients’ quantities. Thus, bakers are now instructed by the French legal system what constitutes tradition, instead of gathering this form of knowledge from older generations. This is the same conclusion I have come to, following my interview with Kaplan, except that I now also recognize that the bread Decree was not a need to protect an existing tradition, but instead a legal instrument to rejuvenate a previously lost form of traditional know-how, that was no longer generally practiced by bakers.

Speaking of bakers, these were finally defined as a form of collective in the legal system through the 1998 Law (thereafter, the 1998 Law).⁷⁴ From 1998 onwards, bakers are considered as professionals ensuring the quality of bread, “from select[ing] raw materials, the kneading of the dough, its fermentation, and its shaping as well as the baking of bread at the point of sale to the consumer”⁷⁵. In addition, and mirroring a part of the definition of tradition established by the 1993 Decree, bakers may also not sell breads that at any stage of production or sale were frozen. Altogether, the 1993 Decree and the 1998 Law recognize, as well as materialize, the

⁷¹ Interview with Steven Kaplan, on the 22nd of April 2024

⁷² Interview with Steven Kaplan, on the 22nd of April 2024

⁷³ Décret n° 93-1074 du 13 septembre 1993 pris pour l’application de la loi du 1er août 1905 en ce qui concerne certaines catégories de pains, p.12840 (translation by author).

⁷⁴ ‘LOI N° 98-405 Du 25 Mai 1998 Déterminant Les Conditions Juridiques de l’exercice de La Profession d’artisan Boulanger (1)’, 98-405 § (1998).

⁷⁵ Décret n° 93-1074 du 13 septembre 1993 pris pour l’application de la loi du 1er août 1905 en ce qui concerne certaines catégories de pains, p.7977 (translation by author).

traditional aspect of bread making, and the collective of bakers authorized to produce this type of bread. This is a key step for the future heritage-making of bread, and more specifically, baguette bread.

1.8 Recognition of tradition in the baguette bread

I have previously discussed the AOC (and the EU equivalent, AOP) as they are the contemporary legal understanding of the designations of origin. However, and as seen in Figure 3, these are not the only types of quality surveyed by the INAO. For instance, the Red Label is a quality label recognizing the production or manufacturing environment of some products. This environment is said to have “a set of specific characteristics giving it a level of quality, mainly taste, superior to that of a similar common product”⁷⁶. Collectives applying for the Red Label can do so for both foodstuffs and non-foodstuff agricultural unprocessed products.⁷⁷ The differentiation between a product bearing the Red Label and a similar common product is performed by “regularly carrying out sensory analysis and organoleptic tests”⁷⁸, which concern the taste and odor of the concerned product. Therefore, any products bearing the Red Label display a very specific and higher quality that cannot be found in other similar, but common products.

Interestingly, in 2001, “Club Le Boulanger” applied, on behalf of the bakers’ community and National Confederation, for the quality recognition of the traditional baguette bread through the Red Label.⁷⁹ This is worthy to note in light of my interview with Kaplan. As discussed above, until the 1980s, bread production in France (including the baguette bread)

⁷⁶ ‘Les Signes Officiels de Qualité et d’origine Des Produits Alimentaires’, accessed 31 March 2024, https://www.lecese.fr/sites/default/files/pdf/Avis/2018/2018_18_qualite_origine_produits_alimentaires.pdf, p.16 (translation by author).

⁷⁷ ‘Le Label rouge, signe de qualité supérieure’, Ministère de l’Agriculture et de la Souveraineté alimentaire, accessed 31 March 2024, <https://agriculture.gouv.fr/le-label-rouge-sign-de-qualite-superieure>.

⁷⁸ ‘Le Label rouge, signe de qualité supérieure’ (translation by author).

⁷⁹ ‘INAO Fiche Produit “Baguette de Pain de Tradition Française” Pour Label Rouge’, accessed 1 April 2024, <https://www.inao.gouv.fr/produit/3975>.

was simply not good, leading to a decline in its consumption. Thus, in less than twenty years, through the application of the 1993 Decree and 1998 Law, bakers reintroduced the lost knowledge from before the industrialization of the bread industry: an example of the rejuvenated tradition was the return to elongated *pointage* time. This return and focus on traditional techniques are recognized in the Red Label of the baguette bread, through a specification recognized by INAO.⁸⁰

According to this specification, the traditional baguette bread is “made using an artisanal method, with slow kneading, long resting of the dough in bulk and cooking in a hearth oven”⁸¹. The long resting of the dough is a reference to the *pointage* step of traditional French bread making. Therefore, the attribution of the Red Label and recognition of the *pointage* step as being a crucial part of the baking process is a key step in distinguishing the white baguette bread that had been produced over the twentieth century, and the (re-)traditional one being produced from there on. More specifically, by returning to the elongated *pointage*, bakers are able to redevelop the taste of the baguette bread and turn away from producing quick and tasteless white bread. Kaplan has described to me the return of the *pointage* as a “rediscovery of taste”⁸² in the baguette bread.

This revival of taste is also recognized in another specification of the Red Label attributed by INAO. It states that the traditional baguette bread displays a superior household conservation, compared to other types of baguette bread. Here, a separation between white baguette bread (with a shorter *pointage* and low nutrients) and traditional baguette bread is once again made. This divide between different types of baguettes is key to note for the future

⁸⁰ ‘Arrêté Du 13 Février 2002 Portant Homologation d’un Cahier Des Charges de Label Agricole (Baguette de Pain de Tradition Française)’, accessed 1 April 2024, [https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/download/securePrint?token=FwXgE\\$KJw3QxTr4kbgkA&pagePdf=10](https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/download/securePrint?token=FwXgE$KJw3QxTr4kbgkA&pagePdf=10).

⁸¹ ‘INAO Fiche Produit “Baguette de Pain de Tradition Française” Pour Label Rouge’, p.1 (translation by author).

⁸² Interview with Steven Kaplan, on the 22nd of April 2024

of baguette bread in its heritagization process. Altogether, the rekindling with pre-twentieth century tradition can be classified as a re-traditionalization of the baguette bread, and a moving away from twentieth century industrialized baking practices.

The Red Label attribution to the traditional baguette bread fell into the wider context of France continuing its ethnographic efforts, between the 2000s and 2010s. An example of this ethnographic effort has already been seen in the very beginning of this thesis' first chapter, in Figure 1 summarizing the work of authors Poulain and Edmond with their history of cooking and cooks in France, published in 2004.⁸³ One key achievement of this decade was the creation of a main national inventory of cultural heritage, a process that was started in 2007. This new inventory combined previously established lists into one single system, for both tangible and intangible cultural heritage elements. Indeed, intangible cultural heritage became a recognized and listable type of cultural heritage in 2007, as France had ratified in 2006 the UNESCO 2003 Convention.⁸⁴ The implementation of the UNESCO 2003 Convention in France was entrusted to the aforementioned Ethnological Heritage Mission, within the Ministry of Culture. It is important to note that it is now the Ministry of Culture (and no longer of the Economy or Agriculture) that monitors elements considered as any form of heritage, including foodstuffs

⁸³ Poulain and Edmond, *Histoire de La Cuisine et Des Cuisiniers. Techniques Culinaires et Manières de Table En France, Du Moyen Âge à Nos Jours*.

⁸⁴ 'Le Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel à l'Unesco', accessed 1 April 2024, <https://www.culture.gouv.fr/en/Thematic/Intangible-cultural-heritage/Intangible-Cultural-Heritage2/Le-Patrimoine-culturel-immateriel-a-l-Unesco>.

proven to be of unique quality such as bread. This jump in ministry is an indication of the heritagization process of bread in France.

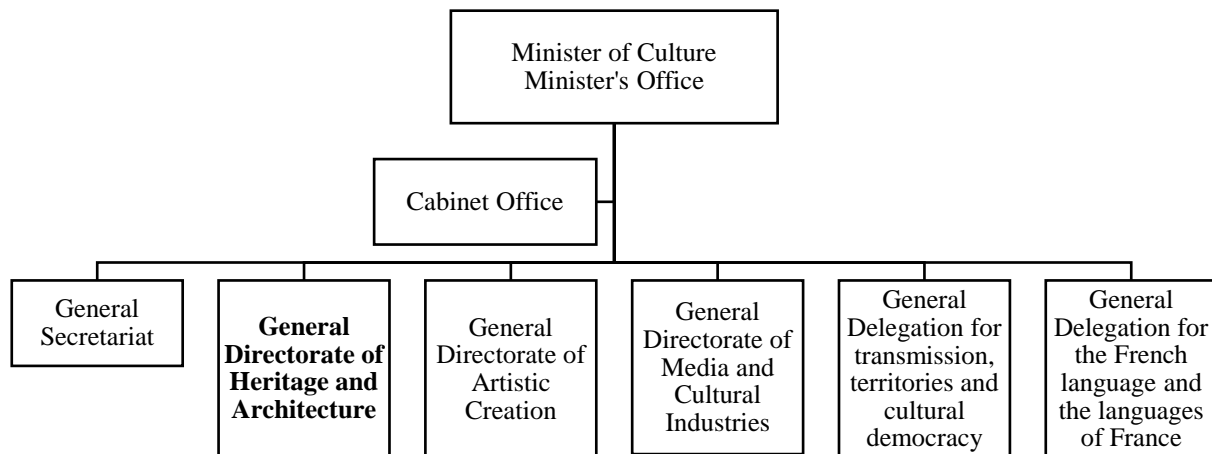


Figure 4: Organizational chart of France Ministry of Culture.

Source: *Organization of the Minister*, published by the French government on its website for culture (bold emphasis by author).

The Ethnological Heritage Mission, under the General Directorate of Heritage, was thus in charge of finding items that could be included on the UNESCO List of Intangible Cultural Heritage, to demonstrate some of France best traditional, collective practices.⁸⁵ The modus apparatus here is worth to be contrasted with how quality labels, including designations of origin have been distributed: while in the latter, it is collectives that apply for the label and have to demonstrate the uniqueness of their product and know-how, it is now the state that searches for collective practices in order to include them in, for instance, the national listing device. This change demonstrates the heritagization process, as defined in the introduction of this thesis: institutional agents “identif[ying] resources embedded in a given place, attach new values to them, and formally recognize them as part of their collective heritage”⁸⁶.

⁸⁵ ‘Organisation Du Ministère’, accessed 30 April 2024, <https://www.culture.gouv.fr/Nous-connaître/Organisation-du-ministère>.

⁸⁶ ‘Food Heritagisation’.

The first attempt at enlisting not only a foodstuff related element, but any type of intangible cultural heritage on the List, was done in 2008 with the *gastronomic Meal of the French*.⁸⁷ This dossier was ultimately rejected by the Intergovernmental Committee of the 2003 Convention, for reasons further developed in Chapter 2 of this thesis. However, one problem of this dossier was that the element of the *gastronomic meal of the French* had not yet been inscribed on the national inventory of cultural heritage, which is a condition to be accepted on the List. This was rectified between 2007 and 2009 and was a major step in foodstuffs being recognized officially as a form of heritage in France, through the key concept of tradition.⁸⁸ The *gastronomic meal of the French* was successfully proposed to be on the List in 2010, becoming one of the first foodstuffs elements on it.

1.9 Reflections on Chapter 1

In this first chapter, I have endeavored to answer the secondary research question of how have foodstuffs been heritagized in France, from the beginning of the twentieth century until 2006.

To demonstrate this heritagization process, and more importantly, the intent behind it, I chronologically reconstructed the commercial concept of *terroir* and its transposition into a newly created legal framework. The latter was in part designed to safeguard against frauds in the selling of foodstuffs, for two specific food production: wine and bread. This legal framework then intersected with the 1980s ethnographic effort, that sought to revive the feeling and know-how of tradition in French food-related industries through the state apparatus. In the case of bread, this materialized through the 1993 Decree, which legally cemented what consists of tradition in bread-making. This reconceptualization of tradition in the baking industry

⁸⁷ ‘UNESCO - Browse the Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices’, accessed 1 April 2024, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/lists>.

⁸⁸ ‘Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel En France, Fiche d’inventaire “Le Repas Gastronomique Des Français”’, accessed 1 April 2024, https://www.pci-lab.fr/index.php?option=com_fichesinventaire&view=fiche&Itemid=389&id=221.

allowed for bread, and more specifically baguette to emerge as an emblematic and unique element, ultimately establishing the ground for it to be turned into a form of heritage. Therefore, my original assumption behind this entire research, which is that the heritagization process of bread being state led, seemed to have, at first, been confirmed.

However, my interview with Kaplan offered a new perspective. Indeed, the conceptualization of the baguette as a cultural object has technically been done twice: once through the 1980s effort of reviving the lost good taste in bread by bakers and the National Confederation, followed by a second time through the passing of the 1993 Decree. Therefore, the white baguette bread produced and consumed throughout the first half of the twentieth century was denied as a baguette of good taste, and was contrasted to the favored former traditional, pre-industrialization baguette production. Thus, a re-invention of an older tradition was put forward. While this second wave of bread and baguette legal reconceptualization was done by the state apparatus, the initial re-invention of tradition was done through a bottom-up process. This follows the beginning of the designations of origin (and other quality labels) as being collective initiatives, which have then been incorporated into the state apparatus through the Ethnological Heritage Mission.

As a result, my initial assumption of the national heritagization process of foodstuffs, and more specifically bread being initiated by the state, is proving to be wrong. Instead, it appears that the need to legally protect foodstuffs, starting with wine and then bread, was initiated by professional groups, local producers, and trade unions before becoming a top-down project. This change from a bottom-up, collective scheme to a state led, top-down program demonstrates the heritagization process of foodstuffs in France and is of key importance in the making of French food heritage elements at UNESCO.

Chapter 2: UNESCO and Food Heritage

Through the first chapter of this thesis, I aimed at setting the scene on how food has come to be understood as forms of intangible cultural heritage in France. However, my analysis has so far been limited to the heritagization process, or heritage-making process in France, while French food have two times made headlines due to their nominations to the UNESCO List.

Therefore, in this second chapter, I investigate the secondary research question of what has been the heritagization process of foodstuffs under the UNESCO 2003 Convention, between 2003 and 2010. To answer this question, I maintain the chronological history of the food heritagization process, this time looking at its recognition as a form of intangible cultural heritage under the UNESCO 2003 Convention. Through this historical retelling, I detail the first food-related UNESCO dossiers, and the effect of one dossier in particular on the future of the baguette bread as a heritage element, namely, the *gastronomic meal of the French*.

2.1 What is intangible cultural heritage within UNESCO?

The need for protecting intangible heritage separately from tangible (both movable and immovable) heritage can be traced back to the 1970s. In 1973, Bolivia expressed through a letter the need to not only recognize, but also protect non-material cultural heritage. This letter urged UNESCO to create an instrument that would protect folkloric elements from exploitation and misappropriation.⁸⁹ So far, the only instrument protecting cultural heritage was the 1972 World Heritage Convention on Natural and Cultural Sites (thereafter, the 1972 World Heritage Convention).⁹⁰ This convention set the terms of what is understood as tangible heritage throughout the world, while also introducing the notion of universal outstanding value. The

⁸⁹ Romagnoli, 'Gastronomic Heritage Elements at UNESCO'.

⁹⁰ UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 'Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage', UNESCO World Heritage Centre, accessed 16 April 2024, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/>.

latter is defined as “cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity”⁹¹. The notion of universal outstanding value, in addition to six other criteria, dictates which cultural or natural site should be included as representative of humanity’s heritage on the UNESCO World Heritage List. In addition, cultural and natural heritage, as understood under this convention, was to be of a material, tangible nature.

DATE	EVENT
1972	Adoption of the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (World Heritage Convention)
1973	Bolivia's letter for the protection of folklore
1982	Mexico’s declaration including intangible works in the definition of cultural heritage
1989	Recommendation of the General Conference on the safeguarding of traditional and popular culture
1994	Launch of the “living human treasures” program at the initiative of the Republic of Korea
1996	“Our creative diversity” report, calling for the creation of instruments more suited to the recognition and safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage
1997	Launch of the program for “the proclamation of masterpieces of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity”
1999	Conference evaluating the 1989 Recommendation, concluding the need for a legally binding instrument for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage
2001	Adoption of the Universal Declaration on cultural diversity and its action plan
2002	Istanbul Declaration on intangible heritage and cultural diversity
2003	Adoption of the Convention for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage

Figure 5: Key dates of intangible cultural heritage at UNESCO.

Source: Committee on Culture, Education and Communication from the French Ministry of Culture.

Figure 5 above outlines the main dates relevant to the making of intangible cultural heritage, following the adoption of the 1972 World Heritage Convention. The latter demonstrated a lack of recognition for other types of cultural heritage, as expressed by the

⁹¹ ‘Outstanding Universal Value’, *World Heritage* (blog), accessed 22 April 2023, <https://worldheritage.gsu.edu/outstanding-universal-value/>.

Bolivia letter. Therefore, the Bolivia letter articulated, in a practical manner, the academic and theoretical broadening of heritage as understood beyond the 1972 World Heritage Convention. This call for folklore protection fell into an overall change of paradigm, from what has been labelled by Laurajane Smith as the authorized heritage discourse.⁹² The latter discourse concentrates its focus “on aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes”⁹³. This paradigm shift was made towards a more holistic approach to heritage, including the perception of its immaterial dimensions. Authors such as Nathalie Heinich support this change and state that everything can be declared as heritage if a production chain can be determined.⁹⁴ This meant that heritage took an adjectival form, rather than a noun, as previously understood.⁹⁵

Following the Bolivia letter, the 1980s comprised of different types of expert committees, such as the 1982 Committee of Experts on the Safeguarding of Folklore.⁹⁶ In addition, the 1994 Nara Document challenged the separation of traditional knowledge from tangible crystallization of heritage, as set under the 1972 World Heritage Convention. This Document maintained that the preservation of tangible heritage is done in countries outside Europe through the passing down and protection of intangible traditions and attached skills.⁹⁷ Altogether, support for a new convention, which would update the 1972 one with a new conception of non-material cultural heritage, was expressed. The result of thirty years of work

⁹² ‘Uses of Heritage’, accessed 10 January 2023, <https://rbb85.files.wordpress.com/2015/11/laurajane-smith-uses-of-heritage.pdf>.

⁹³ ‘Uses of Heritage’, p.29.

⁹⁴ Elsa Vivant, ‘Nathalie Heinich, La fabrique du patrimoine. De la cathédrale à la petite cuillère’, *Lectures*, 5 November 2009, <https://journals.openedition.org/lectures/837>.

⁹⁵ Romagnoli, ‘Gastronomic Heritage Elements at UNESCO’.

⁹⁶ ‘UNESCO - Chronology’, accessed 1 February 2023, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/chronology-00094>.

⁹⁷ ‘The NARA Document on Authenticity (1994) - International Council on Monuments and Sites’, accessed 22 April 2023, <https://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts/179-articles-en-francais/ressources/charters-and-standards/386-the-nara-document-on-authenticity-1994>.

was the writing and adoption of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.⁹⁸

Under this new convention, intangible cultural heritage is defined under five main categories. These have been labelled as “oral traditions and expressions, performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; traditional craftsmanship”⁹⁹. Taking a closer look at the goals of the 2003 Convention, it is made clear that heritage is now understood as going beyond built material, thus completing the paradigm shift introduced by Smith. Additionally, the Convention also places a particular focus in safeguarding communities and their intangible cultural heritage, beyond states. In other words, smaller community voices within a state that used to not be listened to are now put on the forefront and exhibited as part of a cohesive national intangible cultural heritage. This is supported by Valdimar Tr. Hafstein, who maintains that “invoking intangible heritage gives symbolic substance to local, indigenous, or diasporic communities”¹⁰⁰.

Therefore, the focus of the 2003 Convention seems to be threefold: to mend the relationship between different UNESCO Member States by going beyond the protection of material cultural heritage and include safeguarding for immaterial cultural forms. Secondly, and as expressed through the Bolivia letter, that these forms of folklore (now, intangible cultural heritage) can be victims of globalization and exploitation due to the previous lack of recognition. Hence, a third result of the convention is to bring awareness to the keepers of these

⁹⁸ ‘Basic Texts of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2022 Edition)’, accessed 9 January 2023, https://ich-unesco-org.eur.idm.oclc.org/doc/src/2003_Convention_Basic_Texts-_2022_version-EN.pdf, p.5-6.

⁹⁹ ‘Basic Texts of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2022 Edition)’.

¹⁰⁰ ‘Making Intangible Heritage: El Condor Pasa and Other Stories from UNESCO on JSTOR’, accessed 22 April 2023, <https://www-jstor-org.eur.idm.oclc.org/stable/j.ctv4v3086>, p.227.

new forms of cultural knowledge, which are local communities. The inscription of intangible cultural heritage elements thus legitimizes these communities and brings them visible to the rest of the world, compelling states to put in place necessary measures for safeguarding these elements. The latter is of key importance for the conversation on the baguette, done in the third chapter of this research.

2.2 Construction of food heritage within the 2003 Convention

However, the Convention did not at the time (and still does not) textually include food heritage, or any similar terms used to describe this type of heritage. At best, there are mentions of ‘food preparation’ and ‘food security’, with no related definition of what constitutes these terms.¹⁰¹ There is therefore a gap in the Convention and its textual interpretation of intangible cultural heritage, and the place of food-related heritage in it. To make matters more complicated, the Directive Guidelines of the 2003 Convention had not been published before June 2006, meaning that any states having ratified the convention and wishing to inscribe an element on the List before then were essentially going in blind.¹⁰² As stated by Sidonie Naulin, “no ‘jurisprudence’”¹⁰³ was available when these early elements were being drafted in a dossier, and submitted for nomination. The system, as loosely defined under the 2003 Convention was not only new to UNESCO, but also to any states having ratified the convention.¹⁰⁴ As a result, states possessing their own national understanding of cultural heritage applied these interpretations onto the convention.

¹⁰¹ ‘Basic Texts of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2022 Edition)’.

¹⁰² Sidonie Naulin, ‘Le repas gastronomique des Français : génèse d’un nouvel objet culturel’, *Sciences de la société*, no. 87 (1 December 2012): 8–25, <https://doi.org/10.4000/sds.1488>.

¹⁰³ Naulin, p.11.

¹⁰⁴ Jean-Louis Tornatore, ‘Anthropology’s Payback: “The Gastronomic Meal of the French”: The Ethnographic Elements of a Heritage Distinction’, in *Heritage Regimes and the State*, ed. Regina F. Bendix, Aditya Eggert, and Arnika Peselmann, Göttingen Studies in Cultural Property (Göttingen: Göttingen University Press, 2013), 341–65, <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.gup.401>.

Following the 2003 Convention, international discussions surrounding the inclusion of food traditions and know-hows onto the List began. Between 2005 and 2008, three food-related elements were prepared but rejected in their initial phase by UNESCO experts. These rejected elements were the *Mexican cuisine*¹⁰⁵, the *gastronomic meal of the French*¹⁰⁶, and the *Mediterranean diet*¹⁰⁷. Marco Romagnoli explained that these three elements' initial rejection was part of the bigger discourse surrounding "the novelty of the food heritage category and the top-down approach that created the candidature dossiers"¹⁰⁸, the second criticism being of particular significance for the *gastronomic meal of the French*. In the following section, I examine in particular the latter, and its eventual nomination as an element of intangible cultural heritage at UNESCO. It should be noted that though I employ the word 'rejection', these elements were not officially submitted to the UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee until 2010, and it is early preparations of the dossiers that were not deemed to fulfill the requirements set by the 2003 Convention. These early refusals led to the 2008 Mexico "international and scientific meeting [held] to enhance and promote the heritage value of cuisine"¹⁰⁹. The same year, the Peruvian delegation requested for a follow-up Committee of Experts on the topic, with the support of both Mexico and France.

Thus, following the initial rejection of the preparatory documents for the *gastronomic meal of the French*, it appears as if France has strongly lobbied in favor of food-related heritage recognition by UNESCO. In this way, I determine that France, since its ratification of the 2003 Convention in 2006, has become one of the strongest actors in the international heritagization

¹⁰⁵ 'UNESCO - Traditional Mexican Cuisine - Ancestral, Ongoing Community Culture, the Michoacán Paradigm', accessed 1 February 2023, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/traditional-mexican-cuisine-ancestral-ongoing-community-culture-the-michoacn-paradigm-00400>.

¹⁰⁶ 'UNESCO - Gastronomic Meal of the French', accessed 1 February 2023, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/gastronomic-meal-of-the-french-00437>.

¹⁰⁷ 'UNESCO - Mediterranean Diet', accessed 1 February 2023, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/mediterranean-diet-00884>.

¹⁰⁸ Romagnoli, 'Gastronomic Heritage Elements at UNESCO', p.164.

¹⁰⁹ Romagnoli, 'Gastronomic Heritage Elements at UNESCO', p.165.

and conceptualization of food heritage. Specifically targeting the preparations for the *Mediterranean diet* element, the 2009 Barcelona Declaration institutionally strengthened international relationships in the Mediterranean basin (between European Union members and non-members).¹¹⁰ Finally, Romagnoli indicated that in 2009, another expert meeting gathered in France, to “discuss the role of culinary practices in implementing the 2003 Convention”¹¹¹.

I had the privilege of discussing the construction of food-related heritage within UNESCO, through the *gastronomic meal of the French* with Julia Csergo, specialist in cultural history of the contemporary world. Before discussing the actual file in our interview, Csergo discussed the broader context around it. For instance, she added to Romagnoli’s information on the 2009 expert meeting in France that it happened on the double initiative of the French Ministry of Culture and Communication, with the objective of addressing the question of whether food practices are to be understood as a form of intangible cultural heritage.¹¹² The conclusion was that indeed, “food practices are integral parts of cultural systems and intangible cultural heritage”¹¹³, and these findings were passed on to UNESCO. However, the result from this expert meeting was not made available on UNESCO website until 2022, while the French Ministry of Culture has provided these conclusions since 2009!¹¹⁴

Therefore, the conclusions and aftermaths of the 2009 meeting demonstrate two points: firstly, that food-related heritage elements should be included under the 2003 Convention and secondly, that France has strengthened its position as one of the main lobbyists for food-related heritage safeguarding. Yet, Csergo clarified that although UNESCO had to recognize the finding from the 2009 expert meeting, it also did not want to become “a world gastronomy

¹¹⁰ ‘Barcelona Process: Union for the Mediterranean Ministerial Conference’, Text, European Commission - European Commission, accessed 1 February 2023, https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/PRES_08_314.

¹¹¹ Romagnoli, ‘Gastronomic Heritage Elements at UNESCO’, p.165.

¹¹² Csergo, ‘Quelques enjeux de l’inscription de patrimoines alimentaires à l’Unesco’.

¹¹³ Csergo, p.196.

¹¹⁴ Interview with Julia Csergo, on 13th May 2024.

map”¹¹⁵. Similarly, while I originally understood this meeting as a demonstration of the lobbying power of the French state, Csergo explained that it was in fact her who represented the need for food heritage protection on the behalf of France at the 2009 expert meeting. As a result, the conclusion from Chapter 1 about the national heritagization process being bottom-up rather than top-down seems to complicate itself: it is academic experts enlisted by the French state that have led the discussion on the acceptance of food-related heritage in UNESCO and the List. Going further, Csergo asserted that it is these academic and professional experts (including herself) that have imposed a food-related heritage thematic on UNESCO.

Still, the result of these combined efforts of Member States and experts’ committees paved the way for the acceptance of food-related elements nomination and inscription by UNESCO onto the List in 2010.¹¹⁶ Nonetheless, these meetings and decision-making process were executed without an established definition or even categorization of what constitutes food-related heritage.

2.3 Initial efforts to recognize French foods as UNESCO intangible cultural heritage

Due to the persistence of France in its lobbying for UNESCO to recognize and accept food-related heritage elements, I believe it is an excellent opportunity to study how a food-related dossier is constructed, bearing in mind the lack of definition around this type of heritage. France first introduced food-related elements onto the List with the *gastronomic meal of the French*, which was rejected in its early preparations in 2008, to be finally accepted in 2010. Even though I focus on the food heritagization process of the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread* dossier in this research, the latter would not have been possible without the *gastronomic*

¹¹⁵ Interview with Julia Csergo, on 13th May 2024.

¹¹⁶ Romagnoli, ‘Gastronomic Heritage Elements at UNESCO’.

meal of the French. Indeed, the *gastronomic meal of the French* is the first instance where a marker of French food was reconceptualized, and heritagized at the international scale.

But what is even meant by gastronomy? This term is overall understood as “the knowledge of all the rules that condition the art of eating well”¹¹⁷. It gained momentum in the aftermaths of the 1789 French Revolution, as demonstrated in Figure 1. Thus, it is often assumed that “gastronomy is emblematic of French culture”¹¹⁸, and is even indissociable from it. Additionally, such feelings are also reinforced by the view of foreigners, who see the gastronomic meal as a marker of French identity. On this basis, gastronomy seemed an appropriate element to represent French culture in front of others. However, under the appearance of unifying the French people under one food-related practice, the origin of the term is lost. Haruka Ueda and Jean-Pierre Poulain emphasize that at its core, gastronomy was employed as a marker of social and economic differentiation: it is thus an elitist, rather than a popular practice.¹¹⁹ This use of gastronomy has already been witnessed twice in this thesis, as a tool to differentiate different social classes by, for instance, requiring a new type of bread (the baguette). This criticism of French gastronomy will surface again when discussing the making process of the heritage element, in the following paragraphs.

The construction project of what is now the *gastronomic meal of the French* first emerged in 2006 through a proposition made by the European Institute of Food History and Cultures (thereafter, IEHCA).¹²⁰ Naulin explains that the IEHCA was born out of a desire “to further federate European research in the human and social sciences relating to food”¹²¹. In this mission, the IEHCA opens up research to extra-academic domains, while still practicing

¹¹⁷ Haruka Ueda and Jean-Pierre Poulain, ‘What Is Gastronomy for the French? An Empirical Study on the Representation and Eating Model in Contemporary France’, *International Journal of Gastronomy and Food Science* 25 (1 October 2021): 100377, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijgfs.2021.100377>, p.1

¹¹⁸ Naulin, ‘Le repas gastronomique des Français’, p.14.

¹¹⁹ Ueda and Poulain, ‘What Is Gastronomy for the French?’

¹²⁰ Naulin, ‘Le repas gastronomique des Français’.

¹²¹ Naulin, p.12.

academic research. Through the inscription of a food-related element on the List, the IEHCA hoped to incentivize the French state to focus on scientific research surrounding food heritage. This was hoped to be done through the 2003 Convention, which maintains that states listing intangible cultural heritage elements onto the List should put in place safeguarding, promoting, and educating measures to further the concerned element. Thus, France ratifying the 2003 Convention was seen by the IEHCA as a pressure way to obtain “a scientific recognition of the belonging of gastronomy to culture”¹²² and to secure means of promoting and safeguarding such a form of culture.

I discussed the making of this dossier with Csergo, who was in charge of constructing the element to be accepted at UNESCO. She confirmed to me that France ratification of the 2003 Convention was a key moment seized by food experts to press the national government in protecting food-related heritage. Indeed, Csergo maintained to me that “the French State was not interested by gastronomic cultural policies”¹²³, which was instead pursued by academic and professional experts. This adds to my revised conclusion of Chapter 1 and of the last section, that food heritage in France is not a state construction, but rather an academic and professional expert exercise.

In 2006, the initial suggestion by the IEHCA was to include the *French gastronomic meals* (note the plural form, rather than the current singular) onto the List. To bring awareness to this academic undertaking, political support for the nomination of this potential element to the List had materialized in 2008, through a speech by then French President Nicolas Sarkozy. Naulin insists on how important the direct support of the then French President was for the public legitimacy of the element, in order to create institutional support for it.¹²⁴ At the same

¹²² Naulin, p.13.

¹²³ Interview with Julia Csergo, on the 13th of May 2023

¹²⁴ Naulin, ‘Le repas gastronomique des Français’.

time, Jean-Louis Tornatore underlines the political dimension of the heritagization process, in that it “informs the entire process”¹²⁵ of making an intangible cultural heritage element. Tornatore also adds that this affirmed political legitimacy “completely motivates the actions of some of the players within the system”¹²⁶, also maintained by Naulin. More specific to the dossier’s context, Csergo continued that once the possible UNESCO element has caught the attention of the President, the previously hesitant and uninterested state apparatus has to follow.

In his speech at the yearly Agricultural Show, the then-President expressed wanting a food-related element to be inscribed on the List as soon as 2009. More specifically, and very importantly, then President Sarkozy wished for the “best gastronomy in the world”¹²⁷ to be recognized under the 2003 Convention and to be one of the first food-related elements on the List. The latter would serve as one of the main motivations behind the inscription of the *French gastronomy* onto the List, which is to present France as the leader in cultural matters. A first change from the initial project can be denoted: from *gastronomic meals* to *French gastronomy*.

Behind the inscription of such an element laid several intents, the main one being a contribution to the cultural influence of France. In addition, another goal behind this project was to bring awareness to French food heritage to the French community, as it was felt that the French remained unaware of what constitutes intangible cultural heritage at large, as well as the uniqueness of their national cuisine. Finally, and as clearly expressed through the Sarkozy speech, the inscription of the *French gastronomy* would “enable the development of a renewed global market around this gastronomy”¹²⁸. It is interesting to note here, that after having been

¹²⁵ Tornatore, ‘Anthropology’s Payback’, p.343.

¹²⁶ Tornatore, p.343.

¹²⁷ *Le repas gastronomique des Français reconnu par l’Unesco - Lumni / Enseignement*, accessed 30 April 2024, <https://enseignants.lumni.fr/fiche-media/00000004085/le-repas-gastronomique-des-francais-reconnu-par-l-unesco.html>.

¹²⁸ Dominique Pagès, ‘De l’invention du Repas gastronomique des Français aux Cités de la gastronomie : un patrimoine culturel immatériel en devenir (1ère partie)’, *Quaderni. Communication, technologies, pouvoir*, no. 103 (15 June 2021): 119–42, <https://doi.org/10.4000/quaderni.2035>, p.123.

made into a legal, cultural and heritage object, a food element is now returning to its original commercial origin. A revitalization and interest around ‘made in France’ products, and its overall cuisine was indeed hoped. As a result, from the scientific endeavor started by the IEHCA, the motivation to inscribe a food-related element gained political, and even commercial momentum.

An early transformation of the project can thus be seen from the IEHCA’s original proposition of *French gastronomic meals* to then-President Sarkozy arguing for the safeguarding of *French gastronomy*, as it is the best in the world. Without surprise, this latter statement provoked frustration from states which also possess deep-rooted food-related traditions. Additionally, and relating to the early transformation of the project mentioned above, a contradiction also appeared: the IEHCA planned on using the inscription of a food-related element to bring awareness “at the global level, of the interest and richness of the cultures and food heritage of the peoples of the earth”¹²⁹. Additionally, the inscription was also a pressure way for the French state apparatus to recognize foodstuffs as vehicles of heritage. Both these goals conform with the purpose of UNESCO and the 2003 Convention, which is to focus on communities and the forms of intangible culture they embody. On the other hand, the Sarkozy project was criticized by UNESCO as equating gastronomy to *haute cuisine*, and therefore targeting an elitist community.¹³⁰

This specific criticism recalls the origin of the word gastronomy, in which food was used as a social demarcation between social classes: as such, the original project mentioned Michelin-starred chefs, without bearing in mind other more popular contributors to the French cuisine. Csergo argued during our interview that this was one of the obstacles encountered by the initial dossier, which approached the element from a top-down, rather than bottom-up

¹²⁹ Naulin, ‘Le repas gastronomique des Français’, p.12.

¹³⁰ *Le repas gastronomique des Français reconnu par l’Unesco - Lumni / Enseignement.*

approach. This is the dichotomy identified at the end of Chapter 1: due to the heritage elements having been absorbed into the French state apparatus, collectives no longer participate in the recognition process of their know-how.

Furthermore, by proposing that the French cuisine is the best in the world, a hierarchization of cultures is done. Such a ranking goes against the convention's core motivations of listing cultural factors representative of communities across the world. Finally, the 2003 Convention claims that cultural and representation motivations should lie behind nominations. Yet, the Sarkozy speech instead focused on the promotion of French gastronomy, in order to "promote sectors directly linked to gastronomy, including agriculture, agri-food and tourism"¹³¹. A second contradiction can thus be detected, and it becomes apparent that what was of interest to the French political apparatus was not the heritage element itself, but rather what it could bring.

Altogether, three main criticisms emerged from this original project and the Sarkozy speech: that intangible cultural heritage elements are equal, and no ranking should be done between them; that these elements are to possess a cultural and identity dimension; and following the latter, that these elements should also be of a popular nature in their practice. The result of these three criticisms was an early rejection by UNESCO of the preparations for the initial project, in 2008.

2.4 Construction of the gastronomic meal of the French

Due to the need to rework the initial preparations for the new food-related heritage element, work was done to follow as closely as possible the Operational Directives of the 2003 Convention. The second wave of the dossier's construction is detailed in the below Figure 6.

¹³¹ *Le repas gastronomique des Français reconnu par l'Unesco - Lumni / Enseignement.*

DATE	EVENT
2006	European Institute of Food History and Cultures launch of the idea to inscribe a food-related element onto the List: <i>French gastronomic meals</i>
2008	Then-President of France, Nicolas Sarkozy's speech at the Agricultural show, providing political support for the IEHCA's nomination of a food-related element onto the List: <i>French gastronomy</i> .
	Initial preparation and early rejection by UNESCO expert, need to revise the element to better follow the Operational Directives of the 2003 Convention.
	Creation of the French Mission of Heritage and Food Cultures.
2008-10	Reworking of the initial project, organisation of study days and conferences.
2009	<i>Gastronomic meal of the French</i> as a national intangible cultural heritage element.
2010	Submission and acceptance of the reconstructed <i>gastronomic meal of the French</i> by the UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee.

Figure 6: Creation of the gastronomic meal of the French at the UNESCO.

Source: Made by author.

To do so, the French government set up the French Mission of Heritage and Food Cultures (thereafter, the Mission) in 2008, as a collaboration between the Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Culture. The Mission was in effect responsible for organizing and fostering “interest of registration [...] not only in the intellectual revolution”¹³² that inscribing a food-related element would create, but also in the creation of an appropriate management plan. The latter included the creation of gastronomic cities: I do not examine the topic of the gastronomic cities here, as both Naulin and Pagès provide noteworthy analysis of it. As detailed by Pagès, the Mission's main objective was to “act in favor of the recognition of food cultures”¹³³, as such a type of heritage was seen to embody both cultural diversity and creativity. Thus, a parallel between the initial effort of the IEHCA and the Mission can be drawn, with food heritage being understood as an opportunity to create cultural connections

¹³² Naulin, ‘Le repas gastronomique des Français’, p.13.

¹³³ Pagès, ‘De l’invention du Repas gastronomique des Français aux Cités de la gastronomie’, p.124.

and highlight communities possessing this knowledge. Following the IEHCA, the Mission was one of the main actors behind the reconceptualization and heritagization of food heritage, and more precisely in this case, *French gastronomy*.

A reworking of what constitutes *French gastronomy*, as an intangible cultural heritage element, had to be done. The revision of the initial project was put under the supervision of Csergo, although she was present from the start of the project.¹³⁴ Through this revision, the goal was to construct an element that would conform to the demands of the 2003 Convention and its now published Operational Directives. Initially, this reinvention of the gastronomy object was done by removing the commercial and political undertone of the project and focusing on its communal aspect. However, in doing so, the Mission and Csergo met one major obstacle: according to the 2003 Convention, it is communities that should put forward to their respective state a form of their intangible cultural heritage, to be submitted for inscription onto the List. This is one of the key aspects of the 2003 Convention, understood as the agency of tradition-bearers. It is for this reason that gathering the consent of communities, in the nomination process, is key to the construction of a file.

However, due to the political and commercial momentum gained by the *French gastronomy* element following the Sarkozy speech, this communal aspect was missing: the original project does not rely on neither “the community which produces gastronomy (chefs, agri-food companies), nor on the community which consumes gastronomy (general public and gourmet associations)”¹³⁵. Additionally, Csergo explained to me that UNESCO were at first not inclined to accept national communities as a type of community to be safeguarded under the 2003 Convention. Consequently, Csergo had to not only demonstrate the value of food-related heritage elements, but also the applicability of the community project to a nation, to

¹³⁴ Pagès.

¹³⁵ Naulin, ‘Le repas gastronomique des Français’, p.20.

UNESCO. This falls in line with the understanding of the community concept in France, in that there is only one: the national community. The fact that it is Csergo and the IEHCA that have worked toward both recognition (of food heritage and national community) at UNESCO demonstrates once again that the heritagization process was left to the experts, rather than the state apparatus.

In between 2008 and 2010, several events, such as study days and conferences, were organized, as part of founding a new identity for the *French gastronomy* element. In order to attest for the involvement of the greater public into the remaking of this element, consent forms were signed at various levels of the political spectrum. In parallel, two surveys of quantitative and qualitative nature were done, to “demonstrate the support of the entire national community for the project”¹³⁶. The result of these surveys brought forward how the French community conceptualizes gastronomy, and also the extent of its support for the nomination process.

It is in this manner that Pagès argues a new heritage element was created. Finally, in 2010, the revised project was presented to UNESCO under the name of the *gastronomic meal of the French*, which was accepted as one of the first food-related elements on the List.

2.5 Food heritage at UNESCO: The gastronomic meal of the French

Following its revision, the *gastronomic meal of the French* is defined as a social practice consisting of a “festive meal bringing people together for an occasion to enjoy the art of good eating and drinking”¹³⁷. This practice is said to be performed by the entire French community, which is unified through this collective experience. Thus, the new element emphasizes that the *gastronomic meal of the French* touches on the conviviality, humanism of the table and the well-being of guests being assembled around one same table.

¹³⁶ Naulin p.21.

¹³⁷ ‘UNESCO - Gastronomic Meal of the French’.

In addition, there is an insistence on what the *gastronomic meal of the French* is not: it does not include the recognition of recipes or regional specialties, or the recognition of a quality sign specific to a product; it does not propose an attribution of a label for commercial purposes; it is not the celebration of an elite practice of haute cuisine; and finally, it is not the distinction of French gastronomy as a whole.¹³⁸ Instead, the revised dossier offers the *gastronomic meal of the French* as an example of the richness and diversity of the French cuisine. It should also be noted that what the *gastronomic meal of the French* is not, is an element surrounding a specific artefact, as noted by Csergo.¹³⁹ For this reason, she expressed to me that the dossier is “a construction on my part”¹⁴⁰, through an imposition of language and custom work to base the element on an anthropological foundation.

As detailed in the paragraphs above, the *gastronomic meal of the French* necessitated a lot of reconsideration on how such an element could fit in the 2003 Convention, and the overall UNESCO guidelines. Yet, the initial goal behind such an inscription appears to have remained, despite the numerous changes brought to the element. Indeed, the *gastronomic meal of the French* persisted in the goal of creating national interest in the newly conceptualized intangible cultural heritage categories. Similarly, the objective of France being a leader in recognizing food heritage within UNESCO was also achieved, as the *gastronomic meal of the French* states that its nomination onto the List “could inspire other communities, groups or individuals in terms of what foodways and, more broadly, social practices can represent as expressions of a community's identity”¹⁴¹.

Still, despite the acceptance of the revised file onto the List, three main criticisms were again expressed towards the element. Firstly, the initial comment towards the focus on the agri-

¹³⁸ ‘UNESCO - Gastronomic Meal of the French’.

¹³⁹ Csergo, ‘Quelques enjeux de l’inscription de patrimoines alimentaires à l’Unesco’.

¹⁴⁰ Interview with Julia Csergo, on 13th of May 2024.

¹⁴¹ ‘UNESCO - Gastronomic Meal of the French’.

food industry rather than the community remained, despite the best efforts of the Mission and Csergo to strip the commercial layer from the revised file. In addition, the second criticism argued on the singularity of the element, and how such meals can also be found in cultures and traditions of other countries. Finally, the elasticity of the word ‘gastronomy’ and its different declinations, as expressed in the 2008 Catherine Dumas’ report on “Culinary arts: cultural heritage of France”, brought forward the idea of an invented tradition in the context of the *gastronomic meal of the French*.¹⁴²

Introduced by Eric Hobsbawm, an invented tradition is a “set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules [...] creating a continuity with the past”¹⁴³. Hobsbawm identified two manners of formation for these invented traditions: ones where a formal and institutional construction can be traced; and others which emerge in a less easily observable manner, leading to being accepted with great rapidity.¹⁴⁴ In addition, three types of invented tradition were also categorized: the first ones which aim to establish “social cohesion or the membership to groups, real or artificial communities”¹⁴⁵; the second ones pursue the establishment or legitimization of forms of authority (such as institutions); and finally, the third type of invented tradition target the socialization process and rules of behavior.

Reflecting on this, the *gastronomic meal of the French* makes for an interesting study as a potential invented tradition. Despite the best effort of the Mission, the IEHCA and Csergo, the institutional construction of the *gastronomic meal of the French* can easily be traced back (as exemplified through Figure 6). The inscribed element also conforms with Hobsbawm’s explanation of the roles of an invented tradition: by rising awareness to the French national

¹⁴² ‘Rapport d’Information Fait Au Nom de La Commission Des Affaires Culturelles Sur l’inscription de La Gastronomie Au Patrimoine Immatériel de l’UNESCO’, accessed 16 April 2024, <https://www.senat.fr/rap/r20-601/r20-6011.pdf>.

¹⁴³ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, Canto Classics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107295636>, p.1.

¹⁴⁴ Hobsbawm and Ranger.

¹⁴⁵ Hobsbawm and Ranger, p.9.

community about their food heritage, it was hoped to result in further social cohesion as well as consolidation of food heritage institutional support and research.

As a result, despite the reconstruction of the *gastronomic meal of the French* as a UNESCO intangible cultural heritage element, doubt subsides on the coherence of the element. Although the singularity of the invented object constituting the *gastronomic meal of the French* did not convince everyone, the element still succeeded in one of its goals: France being one of the first states with a food-related heritage element on the List. In this way, the *gastronomic meal of the French* paved the way and could be said to have created how future food heritage was to be understood under the 2003 Convention.

2.6 Reflections on Chapter 2

This chapter was dedicated to the analysis of what has been the heritagization process of foodstuffs under the UNESCO 2003 Convention, between 2003 and 2010. To answer this secondary research question, I have continued the chronological retelling done in Chapter 1 and have focused on the making of one specific food-related heritage under UNESCO, the *gastronomic meal of the French*.

In order for this element to be inscribed onto the List, it was first necessary to broaden the issues surrounding food-related heritage, in order to demonstrate that intangible cultural heritage goes beyond oral traditions and performance. With food heritage admitted as a form of cultural expression to be inscribed on the List, the *gastronomic meal of the French* was put forward as one of the first food-related heritage elements. This element was initially started as an academic and research project, with the hope that a food-related element being inscribed on the List would force the French apparatus to protect national food heritage. While the element did gain political support through then French President Nicolas Sarkozy, the initial project aiming for the heritagization of a food-related element within UNESCO was a bottom-up,

academic and scientific initiative. From this bottom-up initiative, the French state apparatus then followed the presidential interest and lent its support to create the heritage element.

In my interview with Csergo, she proposed two reasons for the lack of interest and engagement of the French state towards food-related heritage. An explanation would be that institutional support would require an additional budget and staff, which the state is not ready to put forward. Therefore, it is left to professional and academic experts to create these heritage elements. However, this opposition between state and experts contradicts my findings from Chapter 1, which demonstrated the active involvement of the French state in the commercial, legal, and cultural protection of food elements, eventually annexing the collectively led notions of *terroir* and quality labels. Therefore, rather than an oppositional binary, I argue that research structures and state public policies are instead sustaining each other and reinforced by the collective making of food heritage, as illustrated in Figure 7.



Figure 7: Food heritage creation cycle.
Source: Made by author.

Another rationale behind the lack of political support proposed by Csergo for such type of heritage could be found in the opposition between agriculture and culture: it is much easier to defend the commercial marketing of a living *terroir* than the heritage interests in a general element, appealing to an extremely wide community. This is one of the reasons why it has been

important, throughout this thesis, to note which Ministry is involved in which development surrounding the heritagization process.

All in all, the creation and inscription of the *gastronomic meal of the French* demonstrates that what may have appeared as a state led project at first, was instead a web of initiatives and motivations which ultimately converged to ensure submissions of files at the international level. At the same time, while the heritagization process did occur from the bottom-up, it was then incorporated into the state apparatus to be produced as a top-down project. The latter is however against the 2003 Convention policies, and the dossier thus had to be reworked as a bottom-up, academic endeavor. It is this communal aspect that is a key difference in the conceptualization of the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread*.

Chapter 3: The Baguette Bread, Cultural Heritage?

In this third chapter, I investigate the making of the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread* as a national and UNESCO expression of intangible cultural heritage. To do so, I discuss the parallel creation of both national and UNESCO dossiers, from 2018 to 2022: this concludes the chronological retelling of this research. Finally, I analyze the content of the UNESCO dossier, in light of what I have argued so far throughout the previous chapters.

3.1 Construction of the artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread

It could be said that the baguette bread being made into an expression of intangible heritage is the culmination of the 1980s and 1990s protection and revival efforts, discussed in the first chapter of this thesis. On the one hand, these efforts were made to halt the harmful impacts of the increased industrialization and commercialization of baguette bread. On the other hand, and as described by Kaplan in our interview, this renewal of interest in baguette bread was due to a realization of the bad taste and texture of the bread throughout the twentieth century.¹⁴⁶ From these two reasons, I determine that in general, the interest in protecting baguette bread was to foster interest and furthered protection in not only the bread itself, but the bakers and surrounding industry. Below Figure 8 retraces the developments leading to the creation of what is now known as the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread*.

¹⁴⁶ Interview with Steven Kaplan, on the 22nd of April 2024

DATE	EVENT
2016	Interest expressed by French bakers to inscribe the baguette bread as a form of cultural heritage.
January 2018	Dominique Anract (President of the National Confederation of French Bakery-Pastry) states his support to the bakers' project.
January 2018	Public support of Emmanuel Macron, President of France, following the request of Dominique Anract.
March - October 2018	Construction of the national dossier for the <i>baguette bread</i> as an intangible cultural heritage element.
March 2018	First meeting of experts to discuss both the national and UNESCO dossiers.
July 2018	Finalisation of the national dossier, submission to the National Inventory.
September 2018	Regional political support for the dossier.
November 2018	Nomination of the National Inventory as a form of intangible cultural heritage.
January 2019	French senators express their support, after a meeting organised by Catherine Dumas
March 2021	Submission to UNESCO
November - December 2022	Accepted onto the UNESCO List of Intangible Cultural Heritage

Figure 8: Timeline of the artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread creation.

Source: Made by author.

It is this interest in reviving bakery artisanal knowledge that motivated French bakers in 2016, to initiate the process of inscribing the baguette bread as a form of cultural heritage at UNESCO. This incentive was encouraged by a feeling of “loss of appeal of artisanal bakeries and a deterioration in the quality of baguettes”¹⁴⁷, in addition of the understanding “that the baguette and its artisanal know-how constitute heritage that deserves to be safeguarded”¹⁴⁸. Though the safeguarding sentiment expressed by bakers is very important, it is not new. Indeed,

¹⁴⁷ ‘UNESCO - Artisanal Know-How and Culture of Baguette Bread’, accessed 10 January 2023, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/artisanal-know-how-and-culture-of-baguette-bread-01883>.

¹⁴⁸ ‘UNESCO - Artisanal Know-How and Culture of Baguette Bread’.

as discussed with Kaplan in our interview, the deterioration in the quality of baguettes was already felt in the 1960s and was the departing point for the 1993 Decree and 2001 Red Label. A first confusion surrounding the baguette heritage project thus appears, as the traditional quality of the bread itself as well as the safeguarding of the tradition surrounding it seemed to already be legally and culturally protected in France.

Nevertheless, this idea of inscribing the French baguette as a national and UNESCO item of intangible cultural heritage was picked up by the National Confederation of French Bakery-Pastry, and more specifically, its president Dominique Anract. In January 2018, he posed the question of “What if the French traditional baguette bread was listed as a UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage item?”¹⁴⁹. To do so, the *French traditional baguette bread* project first had to be recognized as a form of national intangible cultural heritage expression. Therefore, the two dossiers were built in parallel to each other, the national one being a key step in accessing the UNESCO listing. Following the interest expressed by Anract, the IEHCA met the challenge and, similarly as for the *gastronomic meal of the French*, became the academic and scientific driving force behind the construction of both the national and UNESCO dossiers.¹⁵⁰ An early transition from a professional to an academic endeavor in the early days of the future dossier can here be witnessed. This recalls the conclusion drawn from Chapter 2, which is summarized in Figure 7.

Still in January 2018, Anract publicly requested the support of President of France Emmanuel Macron, “to advance the candidacy of the French traditional baguette for

¹⁴⁹ adm1c, ‘Et si la Baguette de Tradition Française était inscrite au Patrimoine mondial immatériel de l’Unesco ?’, Confédération Nationale de la Boulangerie-Pâtisserie Française, 12 January 2018, <https://boulangerie.org/blog/2018/01/12/et-si-la-baguette-de-tradition-francaise-etait-inscrite-au-patrimoine-mondial-immateriel-de-lunesco/>.

¹⁵⁰ ‘Les Savoir-Faire Artisanaux et La Culture de La Baguette de Pain - Fiche d’Inventaire Du Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel National’, accessed 7 May 2024, <https://www.pci-lab.fr/fiche-d-inventaire/fiche/444-les-savoir-faire-artisanaux-et-la-culture-de-la-baguette-de-pain>.

UNESCO”¹⁵¹. This is an interesting parallel between the construction of the dossier for the *gastronomic meal of the French* and the one of the baguette bread: both were initially supported by the same research entity, the IEHCA and were then turned into a political project by requesting support from the French presidency. In addition, an overlap between the national and UNESCO construction of the element can be seen: the national dossier was worked on between March and October 2018; yet the call by Anract for political support in regard to the UNESCO dossier was made in January. This is another similarity that can be found with the construction of the *gastronomic meal of the French*: the willingness to have the element on the UNESCO preceded the actual recognition of the element. In other words and recalling a statement made regarding the *gastronomic meal of the French*, it is not so much about the safeguarding of element, but what the element can bring following its recognition. This realization takes more of its importance in part 3.6 of this chapter. As a result, while the expert research was started following a professional collective plea, it is the state that accelerated the heritage element creation process.

In March 2018, the first working group meeting was held to discuss baguette bread becoming an element of intangible cultural heritage both at the national and UNESCO level. The initial name given to the dossier was *baguette of French tradition*, and was discussed among “representatives of the sector, scientists from different disciplines, elected officials”¹⁵². Of note, the Chief Curator of Heritage, Isabelle Chave, supervised the meeting. The file writing and application procedure to become part of the French national inventory of intangible cultural heritage was finalized in July 2018. To do so, the IEHCA held a meeting of the scientific

¹⁵¹ admic, ‘Dominique Anract demande le soutien d’Emmanuel Macron pour faire avancer la candidature de la baguette de tradition française à l’Unesco’, Confédération Nationale de la Boulangerie-Pâtisserie Française, 12 January 2018, <https://boulangerie.org/blog/2018/01/12/dominique-anract-demande-le-soutien-demmanuel-macron-pour-faire-avancer-la-candidature-de-la-baguette-de-tradition-francaise-a-lunesco/>.

¹⁵² admic, ‘Première réunion de travail – Baguette de Tradition Française – Unesco’, Confédération Nationale de la Boulangerie-Pâtisserie Française, 13 March 2018, <https://boulangerie.org/blog/2018/03/13/premiere-reunion-de-travail-baguette-de-tradition-francaise-unesco/>, translated by author.

committee accompanying the candidacy of the French baguette to the UNESCO. In parallel to this meeting, Anract and the National Confederation issued a call to the French public to send an explanation on why members of the public think the baguette bread should be listed as cultural heritage at UNESCO. I develop the importance of this public call further in section 3.4 of this chapter, while discussing the nature of the communities safeguarded through this element.

Returning to the political support for the dossier, this was completed by September 2018, with the region of Ile-de-France's elected officials publicly committing to the *baguette of French tradition*.¹⁵³ This is an important step in the political recognition of the baguette dossier, as the baguette bread had been culturally classified as a food heritage from this region by the National Council of Culinary Arts. Altogether, in November 2018, the *baguette of French tradition* project was officially recognized as a form of national intangible cultural heritage in France, under the new name of *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread*.¹⁵⁴

I analyze the content of the dossier in a latter part of this chapter, but it remains important to acknowledge the actors who put the final dossier together. On the National Inventory, the dossier lists the IEHCA's president as the main file's editor, accompanied by an associated scientific committee composed of professional practitioners, agronomists, anthropologists, and researchers in intangible cultural heritage. One key collaborator is however missing: the bakers, although they are said to be represented through the support and consent of the National Confederation. Due to this institutional representation, I argue that the

¹⁵³ adm1c, 'Les élus franciliens s'engagent pour la baguette!', Confédération Nationale de la Boulangerie-Pâtisserie Française, 4 October 2018, <https://boulangerie.org/blog/2018/10/04/les-elus-franciliens-sengagent-pour-la-baguette/>.

¹⁵⁴ 'Les Savoir-Faire Artisanaux et La Culture de La Baguette de Pain - Fiche d'Inventaire Du Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel National'.

national dossier is therefore more of political and academic exercise, rather than the popular representation it claims to be. The UNESCO dossier lists as the main point of contact the project manager for living heritage and social sciences, within the delegation to inspection, research and innovation inside of General Directorate of Heritage and Architecture, of the French Ministry of Culture.

Following this national recognition, the next step was to prepare the ground for the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread* to be accepted as a UNESCO expression of intangible cultural heritage. In January 2019, one year after the first appeal from Anract, French senators expressed in turn their support for the dossier's candidacy to UNESCO.¹⁵⁵ This was done through a Senate meeting organized by Paris Senator and president of the candidacy support committee, Catherine Dumas. In this meeting, Dumas expressed the willingness of bakers to “raise awareness of the wealth of know-how linked to the preparation of the baguette”¹⁵⁶, as well as the benefit in passing on this knowledge to future generations. The latter statement clearly demonstrates the collective foundation needed for state support. At the same time, Dumas defended the popular nature of the baguette bread culture, through the “values of conviviality and sharing”¹⁵⁷, fostering a social bond between creators (bakers) and consumers. Speaking of the consumers, the National Confederation proposed that the dossier's nomination to UNESCO was also supported by the French people, as a survey revealed “9 out of 10 French people support this candidacy”¹⁵⁸.

The result of this triple support (political, professional, and popular) came through in March 2021, when the file was submitted to UNESCO. Discussed in November 2022, during

¹⁵⁵ admhc, ‘Soutien des sénateurs à la candidature de la baguette à l’Unesco - 30 janvier’, Confédération Nationale de la Boulangerie-Pâtisserie Française, 31 January 2019, <https://boulangerie.org/blog/2019/01/31/soutien-des-senateurs-a-la-candidature-de-la-baguette-a-lunesco-30-janvier/>.

¹⁵⁶ ‘Le patrimoine culturel immatériel : un patrimoine vivant au service de la diversité culturelle, de la cohésion sociale et de la paix’, Sénat, 3 April 2023, <https://www.senat.fr/rap/r20-601/r20-601.html>, p.60.

¹⁵⁷ ‘Le patrimoine culturel immatériel’ p.60.

¹⁵⁸ admhc, ‘Soutien des sénateurs à la candidature de la baguette à l’Unesco - 30 janvier’.

the Seventeenth Session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, it concluded with the acceptance of the dossier.¹⁵⁹ Since then, the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread* officially became a UNESCO intangible cultural heritage.

3.2 From a traditional bread to an artisanal know-how

Before diving into the contents of the dossier, I first must pay attention to its name. As mentioned, the name of the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread* first appeared in 2018, while it was previously known under the tentative name of *baguette of French tradition*.¹⁶⁰ This title, and the switch of vocabulary, is very telling bearing in mind what I have argued through Chapter 1. Indeed, the wording of ‘tradition’, which has been used so far to describe baguette bread, has been dropped: in its stead is the word ‘artisanal’. I propose that one of the reasons for this switch in language is that ‘artisanal’ is not legally defined and binding in the context of bread in France, the same way that ‘traditional’ is, through the 1993 Decree and 2001 Red Label.

As a result, the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread* dossier does not focus on one type of baguette. Instead, the dossier returns to the understanding of baguette as a general category of bread, meaning that all types of baguette breads are grouped together, including the traditional and white-bread ones. This grouping reminds me of the origin of baguette bread before the turn of the twentieth century, when no distinction between different types of baguette bread was made yet. In our interview, Kaplan agreed and added that it is “a complete denial of the work done by bakers to return to what baguettes should truly taste and

¹⁵⁹ ‘Seventeenth Session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage - Intangible Heritage - Culture Sector - UNESCO’, accessed 11 May 2024, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/17com>.

¹⁶⁰ ‘Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel En France, Fiche Inventaire “Les Savoir-Faire Artisanaux et La Culture de La Baguette de Pain”’, accessed 1 April 2024, <https://www.pci-lab.fr/fiche-d-inventaire/fiche/444-les-savoir-faire-artisanaux-et-la-culture-de-la-baguette-de-pain>.

look like”¹⁶¹ through traditional baking techniques. In other words, it is a rejection of the last thirty years of efforts in the rediscovery of what Kaplan defined as good taste in baguette bread. This removal of the divide between tradition and white-bread baguettes, created by the 1993 Decree and 2001 Red Label, appears as a step back rather than the step forward in unifying bakers, as idealized by the UNESCO dossier. Thus, this heritagization of the baguette bread, by listing it as the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread* is actually a de-traditionalization of the element.

Going back to Hobsbawm’s concept of the invention of tradition, the baguette bread dossier offers an interesting case. Indeed, Hobsbawm argues that an invented tradition may appear as having been initiated in a distant past but were in fact created more recently.¹⁶² Moreover, specific heritage actors who may have consciously participated in the creation of this type of practice can be identified in the case of an invented tradition. While I hesitated in the previous chapter to use as an example of an invented tradition the *gastronomic meal of the French*, the case of the baguette bread does not leave me with any doubt. Kaplan explained to me that following the decline of taste and baguette consumption in the 1960s, a real dynamism could be felt in improving the bread and returning to its original rich taste.¹⁶³ To do so, clear historical actors can be identified (including the National Confederation, millers, and bakers), who were actively stopping the erosion of traditional skill in the French bakery industry. Therefore, it is this renewed interest in restoring baguette bread to its traditional baking techniques and taste that I understand as being a (re-)invention of tradition, and not the reinforcing of bread tradition through the 1993 Decree.

¹⁶¹ Interview with Steven Kaplan, on the 22nd of April 2024

¹⁶² Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*.

¹⁶³ Kaplan, *Le retour du bon pain*.

In addition, I argue that through this switch in vocabulary, the baguette bread is going through what has been labelled as the folklorization process. This process is understood as a quest for authenticity, which can lead to a distortion of the authentic heritage element.¹⁶⁴ The distortion, in the case of the baguette bread dossier, is seen through the foregoing of the divide between traditional and other types of baguette bread in the UNESCO dossier, and the denial of the previous dynamism of the industry. Albert Doja adds that folklorization contains a “conscious understanding and premeditated cultivation of culture traditional in the cultural life of society”¹⁶⁵, through an institutional use of the expressions of intangible cultural heritage. The cultivation of the folklorization of the baguette bread dossier is done through the affiliation and confusion surrounding the use of tradition and artisanal in the dossier.

Therefore, by doing what appears to be a simple vocabulary switch from traditional to artisanal, the dossier generates discussions surrounding the authenticity of the concerned element. This questioning of authenticity is furthered by the actual content of the dossier, which I analyze in the following section.

3.3 What is the artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread?

The file opens with the first line stating that “the French baguette is part of the very long tradition of bread in France”¹⁶⁶. I understand that here, the word tradition is used as a synonym for history, yet I also believe this is an intentional use of the word. By employing the word tradition immediately following the title of the element containing the word artisanal, a further connection between the two words is made, and could point to them being interchangeable. By doing so, the dossier creates uncertainty around the significance of tradition in baguette bread.

¹⁶⁴ ‘Proposed Terminology for Intangible Cultural Heritage: Toward Anthropological and Folkloristic Common Sense in a Global Era’, accessed 7 May 2024, <https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/05297-EN.pdf>.

¹⁶⁵ Albert Doja, ‘EVOLUTION ET FOLKLORISATION DES TRADITIONS CULTURELLES’, *EAST EUROPEAN QUARTERLY*, n.d., p.108.

¹⁶⁶ ‘Les Savoir-Faire Artisanaux et La Culture de La Baguette de Pain - Fiche d’Inventaire Du Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel National’.

The brief description continues by stating that the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread* is both “emblematic of the world of baking”¹⁶⁷, acting as a unifying bond between bakers and other related professionals. The national dossier continues by describing the baguette bread as a “popular food at the heart of French consumption practices”¹⁶⁸. I discuss the two identified communities in the next section of this chapter, but the uniqueness of the element is here explicitly stated in both the UNESCO and national dossiers, while also being a widespread social habit.

Following this short description, the national dossier then explains the technical process and social rituals linked to the manufacture of baguette bread. Again, it is worthy to note that the dossier specifies that these technical steps are part of “the traditional baguette manufacturing process”¹⁶⁹, creating further confusion between the terms traditional and artisanal. To note, is the reappearance of the *pointage*, which I discussed in Chapter 1 through my interview with Kaplan.¹⁷⁰ In the national and UNESCO dossiers, this step of the baking process is defined as being an essential stage in the fermentation process, in order to obtain the desired aromas of the baguette bread. This is in line with what Kaplan has argued, regarding both the pre-industrial traditional baguette bread, as well as the revived tradition from the 1980s.¹⁷¹

However, the national dossier continues by stating that the *pointage* can lasts “from a few tens of minutes to several hours”¹⁷². By including such a long timeframe for this step, the dossier groups together the twentieth-century white bread baguette (which required very little

¹⁶⁷ ‘UNESCO - Artisanal Know-How and Culture of Baguette Bread’.

¹⁶⁸ ‘Les Savoir-Faire Artisanaux et La Culture de La Baguette de Pain - Fiche d’Inventaire Du Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel National’.

¹⁶⁹ ‘Les Savoir-Faire Artisanaux et La Culture de La Baguette de Pain - Fiche d’Inventaire Du Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel National’.

¹⁷⁰ Interview with Steven Kaplan, on the 22nd of April 2024

¹⁷¹ Kaplan, *Le retour du bon pain*.

¹⁷² ‘Les Savoir-Faire Artisanaux et La Culture de La Baguette de Pain - Fiche d’Inventaire Du Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel National’.

pointage) with the traditional baguette and its extended '*pointage*'. In addition, in the longer explanation of the baguette-making process, the dossier develops on how "traditional baguette breadmaking relies above all on long fermentation"¹⁷³. This is a clear indication of the *pointage* step, although it does not mention it by name. The *pointage* is indeed a long process, but only in the case of the traditional baguette bread, not for all baguettes (such as the white bread type). Once again, a confusion between the terms of 'artisanal' and 'traditional' is done, in addition to a confusion between the different types of baguettes, through the explanation of the baking process. In addition, the rebuttal of the importance of the long *pointage* denies this critical baking step as a marker of bakers' skills.

Looking more specifically at the national dossier, the historical retelling makes for an interesting read. This section of both national and UNESCO dossiers' focusses heavily on the history of the baguette bread fabrication and consumption in France, from the Middle Ages up until the beginning of the twentieth century. This is a very detailed account of the history of baguette bread making, although it appears as a "retrospective idealization"¹⁷⁴. This idealism of the historical retelling is represented in the lack of mention of either the 1993 Decree or 2001 Red Label. It should be remembered that the 1993 Decree in particular was a negotiation between the state apparatus and the National Confederation. Therefore, by not representing this mediation, as illustrated through the cycle of Figure 7, between the collective, state, and academic inputs into the heritagization process, is broken. The absence of the legal framework surrounding the baguette bread indicates, once more, that both the national and UNESCO dossier intentionally removes any distinction between 'artisanal' and 'traditional', which is a legal term in the context of the French bread industry.

¹⁷³ 'Les Savoir-Faire Artisanaux et La Culture de La Baguette de Pain - Fiche d'Inventaire Du Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel National'.

¹⁷⁴ Interview with Steven Kaplan, on the 22nd of April 2024

Finally, the dossier rapidly references the development of the end of the twentieth century, under the part concerning possible or existing threats to the viability of the intangible cultural heritage element. These threats are the same I have described through the first chapter of this thesis, namely the increased industrialization of the trade leading to an erosion of the baker's skills, as well as a decline in the French bread consumption patterns. However, although these threats are very real in their nature, they are not complete in the dossier's explanation. Namely, the industrialization effect on bread and baguette-making has been recognized since the beginning of the twentieth century, furthered by the March 1919 Law and changing eating behaviors, altogether explaining the revival efforts of the 1980s. I am not denying the industrialization effect and threat to baguette-making today, but it is inadequate to not mention past protection efforts from both the professional community and the state apparatus.

The result is the creation of further confusion surrounding the concerned element. In addition to the misunderstanding between 'artisanal' and 'traditional', which includes a denial of the legal framework surrounding some types of baguette bread, a folkloric invention of the baguette bread can also be taken away from the historical retelling contained in the dossier. The supposed threats were in fact countered, in some respects, in the 1980s by the return to traditional baking practices, yet these efforts are nowhere to be found. Altogether, the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread* dossier leads to a questioning of the genuineness of the element.

Returning to the identified threats to the intangible cultural heritage element, these recall the dangers of the folklorization process. Identified by Hafstein, these dangers include the possibility of intangible cultural heritage element being threatened "with objectification

and [...] commodification”¹⁷⁵. In turn, this possible objectification can transform the practitioners surrounding the intangible heritage element, to the point of alienating them from their practices. This possibility of alienation, or distancing from the intangible practice, is highlighted in the national dossier, through the erosion of artisanal know-how and the cultural change surrounding bread consumption in France. Both of these threats refer to the two communities identified as being concerned about the element of the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread*.

3.4 Communities inside the artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread

As detailed in Chapter 2, one of the main purposes of the 2003 Convention is to emphasize communities throughout the world, as well as the intangible cultural forms expressed by them. This recognition is done in the hopes of fostering cultural dialogue and diversity.¹⁷⁶ However, this recognition is done without a clear definition of what constitutes the type of community which would fall under the 2003 Convention. This is one of the reasons for which Csergo had to argue for the acceptance of a national community as being a UNESCO recognized community.

In the case of the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread*, the community that is being safeguarded by the dossier is two-fold. The first one is labelled as the bakers and professionals associated with artisanal bakery. Other professionals are listed as teachers and trainers, millers and yeasts professionals, equipment manufacturers, baguette experts as well as the community of researchers carrying out work related to the French baguette.¹⁷⁷ The dossier adds that the baguette bread and the expertise linked to its baking act as “a strong bond

¹⁷⁵ Valdimar Tr Hafstein, ‘Intangible Heritage as a Festival; or, Folklorization Revisited’, *Journal of American Folklore* 131, no. 520 (2018): 127, p.134.

¹⁷⁶ ‘UNESCO - Kit of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage’, accessed 8 May 2024, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/kit>.

¹⁷⁷ ‘Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel En France, Fiche Inventaire “Les Savoir-Faire Artisanaux et La Culture de La Baguette de Pain”’.

that unites them to the bakers”¹⁷⁸. It continues by stating that the learning of the baguette-baking process is a key stage in the obtention of any bakery diplomas. These diplomas are in turn issued by the National Confederation. In this way, the National Confederation trains bakers in their practices, and actively participates in the protection of these trainings and in the recognition of the affiliated know-how.

The second community is in fact, the national French community. Indeed, bakers argue (according to the UNESCO dossier) that “this [baguette bread] heritage went beyond itself and also belonged to the wider community”¹⁷⁹. According to the dossier, this national community is said to share the taste for baguette bread and to be attached to it. In other words, all French consume and appreciate the baguette (not specifying which type of baguette) at different points of their day and life, in both French territories and abroad. The French community is identified in the dossier as culturally operating on various levels: families, associations, and corporations, as well as sociability structures such as schools. Another level of the national community concerns “organizations and associations promoting traditional French bread and baguettes, local and international”¹⁸⁰ representing the community of practitioners. One of the most amusing connections between the French community and the baguette done in the dossier is the dossier stating that “a piece of baguette is often one of the first foods given to a young child”¹⁸¹. This statement materializes the retrospective idealization mentioned by Kaplan.¹⁸²

Reflecting on Chapter 1 of this thesis, I note the similarities between the communal focus of the 2003 Convention and the early construction of a regional food map in France. In

¹⁷⁸ ‘Les Savoir-Faire Artisanaux et La Culture de La Baguette de Pain - Fiche d’Inventaire Du Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel National’.

¹⁷⁹ ‘UNESCO - Artisanal Know-How and Culture of Baguette Bread’.

¹⁸⁰ ‘Les Savoir-Faire Artisanaux et La Culture de La Baguette de Pain - Fiche d’Inventaire Du Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel National’.

¹⁸¹ ‘Les Savoir-Faire Artisanaux et La Culture de La Baguette de Pain - Fiche d’Inventaire Du Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel National’.

¹⁸² Interview with Steven Kaplan, on the 22nd of April 2024

both cases, food elements were recognized for their value, but also through the regional know-how embodied in these food practices. Therefore, it is interesting to observe a gap in the transposition from the French heritagization to UNESCO, as the tools and understandings seemed to have already been in place.

3.5 Reception of the element

This constant back-and-forth between the words of ‘artisanal’, used when discussing the know-how and the community of bakers, and ‘traditional’, used to describe the historical background of the category of bread, thus creates and fosters confusion on what is actually being safeguarded. In particular, it is unclear whether it is the community and its artisanal know-how, or the historical tradition represented by the baguette bread that is the focus of this heritagization within UNESCO.

Returning to the accession of the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread* to the List, the decision from the Seventeenth Session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage confirms this confusion.¹⁸³ Comments accompanying the inscription decision echoed the original criticism received by the *gastronomic meal of the French*. For instance, France is reminded to not employ some vocabulary and concepts referring to the flexible notions of authenticity and origin, “as well as any reference to exclusive ownership over intangible cultural heritage”¹⁸⁴. This recommendation on vocabulary could have been issued due to the use of words such as ‘unique’ when discussing baguette bread, which may hint toward a hierarchization of cultures and their food traditions. This is a criticism which echoes one of the original comments directed to the *gastronomic meal of the French*. Additionally, the Intergovernmental Committee made note

¹⁸³ ‘UNESCO - Seventeenth Session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage’, accessed 14 May 2024, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/17com>.

¹⁸⁴ ‘UNESCO - Seventeenth Session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage’, accessed 14 May 2024, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/17com>, p.46.

that, in its nominations, France has focused too much on the physical product rather than the intangible social practices around it. This comment is in line with my above observation of the unclarity surrounding what is being safeguarded. To this, I add the third criticism that the dossier erases past protection efforts of the baguette bread know-how and amplifies the threats that were countered (in some respect) by these earlier initiatives.

Besides the UNESCO reception of the element, the inscription of the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread* was warmly welcomed and celebrated by national and international media.¹⁸⁵ Yet, academics and experts remained sceptic not only on the content of the dossier itself, but what it could achieve. At the end of both of my interviews with Kaplan and Csargo, we discussed what the dossier was attempting to achieve, which for both of them, is nothing. As examined in the beginning of this chapter, the grouping of all different types of baguettes into one same dossier represents a destruction of the dynamic heritage revival bakers were experiencing since the 1980s and 1990s. While pretending to revive and protect an artisanal know-how, the dossier instead appears to create a third-invented and incomplete patrimony, which denies any previous effort of heritage revival in the field.

Coming back to the potential goal of the dossier, Csargo mentioned how it is without any real interest.¹⁸⁶ In particular, she brought my attention to the management plan and related safeguarding measures, which are a requirement to ensure the sustainability and longevity of an inscribed element. The safeguarding measures concerning the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread* are fairly simple: creation of a “Vocational Certificate primarily focused on the artisanal baguette”¹⁸⁷, which would lead to the formalization of existing diplomas and the addition of a cultural module in training courses; research fostering through

¹⁸⁵ ‘Revue de Presse “Inscription de La Baguette” Sur La Liste Du Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel de l’humanité’, accessed 14 May 2024, https://villa-rabelais.fr/sites/default/files/fichiers/revue_de_presse.pdf.

¹⁸⁶ Interview with Julia Csargo, on 13th of May 2024.

¹⁸⁷ ‘UNESCO - Artisanal Know-How and Culture of Baguette Bread’.

the creation of grants, expert inventories and international conference initiatives; finally, creation of an “artisanal baguette day”¹⁸⁸ to incentivize public interest, alongside the development and promotion of bakery competitions.

These may appear as meaningful goals, however, and as maintained by Csgero, these are without substance as no concrete measures are proposed for, for instance, possible timelines of implementations.¹⁸⁹ Additionally, I question some of these measures that are to be implemented following the recognition for the baguette bread safeguarding, as some of these measures are already in place (such as the best traditional baguette competition in France, since 2024).¹⁹⁰ This mixture of already-existing and non-concrete safeguarding measures contribute to the blurriness and lack of achievement of the overall file. In Csgero’s words, the dossier, and the UNESCO heritagization of the baguette bread “has not gone to the end of what it can do”¹⁹¹. It is true that the ultimate goal of the nomination was to have the item accepted onto the List, and therefore has succeeded in this goal, but it does not appear to go further.

Finally, the last criticism received from the Intergovernmental Committee touches on France needing to implement measures to “avoid over-commercialization”¹⁹² of the element. This is an interesting comment, in light of my interview with Csgero. She stated that it is a mistake to fully remove the commercial aspect of intangible cultural heritage elements, as practitioners still need to make a living out of their skills. The commercialization aspect also participates in the passing down of the skill, demonstrating that the skill can ensure monetary survival of the practitioner. Therefore, enlisting an intangible element is an excellent

¹⁸⁸ ‘UNESCO - Artisanal Know-How and Culture of Baguette Bread’.

¹⁸⁹ Interview with Julia Csgero, on 13th of May 2024.

¹⁹⁰ ‘Concours national de la Meilleure Baguette de Tradition Française’, Confédération Nationale de la Boulangerie-Pâtisserie Française, accessed 23 May 2024, <https://boulangerie.org/concoursprofessionnels/concours-baguette/>.

¹⁹¹ Interview with Julia Csgero, on 13th May 2024

¹⁹² ‘UNESCO - Seventeenth Session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage’.

opportunity to protect the commercial interests of the practitioners. This recalls the commercial trade-off created under the appreciation of various *terroirs*, as described in Chapter 1. In the context of the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread*, due to its focus and initiative from bakers, it is shocking to see the total absence of commercial protection for this professional and threatened community. As a result, this dossier emerges as a double missed opportunity. The first one is that it fails to protect what a UNESCO intangible cultural heritage dossier is truly supposed to safeguard, which is the community. Secondly, and maybe most importantly, this dossier also opens the door for possible commercial exploitation, which is the fear expressed in the 1973 Bolivia letter, leading to the adoption of the 2003 Convention protecting the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread*!

3.6 Reflections on Chapter 3

In this final chapter, I brought together in the analysis of the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread*, the historical developments explored in Chapter 1 with the construction of a food-related UNESCO dossier, as examined in Chapter 2. This was done with the prospect of answering the question of how has the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread* been constructed to be recognized as a form of UNESCO intangible cultural heritage since 2016?

The historical retelling of the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread* recalls the one of the *gastronomic meal of the French*, in that it was first launched as a scientific and academic endeavor that was then co-opted by the French state. Therefore, the bottom-up construction that first started the revival and protection of tradition in bread disappeared into a top-down heritage project. A form of disappearance is also displayed in the dossier's explanation of which community is being safeguarded. In particular, the focus on the baker industry in and out of France is lost through the involvement of the French national community,

diluting the dossier's safeguarding potential. At the same time, the work done by bakers from the 1960s to revive the traditional aspect of baguette bread has not been included in the dossier. This absence participates in the weakening of the safeguarding possibilities for bakers through this UNESCO dossier.

This was confirmed through my interviews with Kaplan and Csargo, who both agreed that the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread* dossier represents a setback in the protection of both the bread and the community of bakers. Altogether, I now understand this dossier as a form of de-traditionalization and folklorization of the baguette bread and bakers, as the dossier removes any past endeavors of reviving pre-industrialization baking traditions. At the same time, the dossier provides no tangible plans on how to maintain the sustainability and longevity of the newly designed heritage element and its concerned communities. Started as a professional endeavor to revitalize bakers, the dossier instead opens the door for possible economic exploitation of both the baguette bread and the professional community surrounding it.

Conclusion

This thesis has aimed to investigate how France has heritagized its food elements under the 2003 Convention, as materialized by the *artisanal know-how and culture of the baguette bread*. Here, heritagization has been understood as the process of attaching new values to specific elements in order to incorporate them into a shared heritage, through heritage listings. From the start of this analysis, I have worked on the assumption that the French state apparatus has actively been working for the safeguarding of its food as part of national and UNESCO heritage elements.

Exploration of this heritagization process was done by first investigating the process through which foodstuffs, as a general category and then wine and bread, are considered as commercial goods, then legal, cultural, and finally, heritage objects in France. This seemingly linear process from commercial to heritage appeared to have been led by the state, confirming my initial research assumption. It is this linear state led process which allowed for unique food elements, such as the baguette bread to emerge as an emblematic and unique food element of France.

Yet, interviews with both Steven Kaplan and Julia Csergo demonstrated to me that this initial assumption was in fact not complete. Indeed, I have come to understand that bread heritagization in France was a two-fold performance: one indeed being from the French state and the second one, from the bakery industry itself. Figure 8 below is a visual summary of my conclusions, as having emerged from Chapter 1.

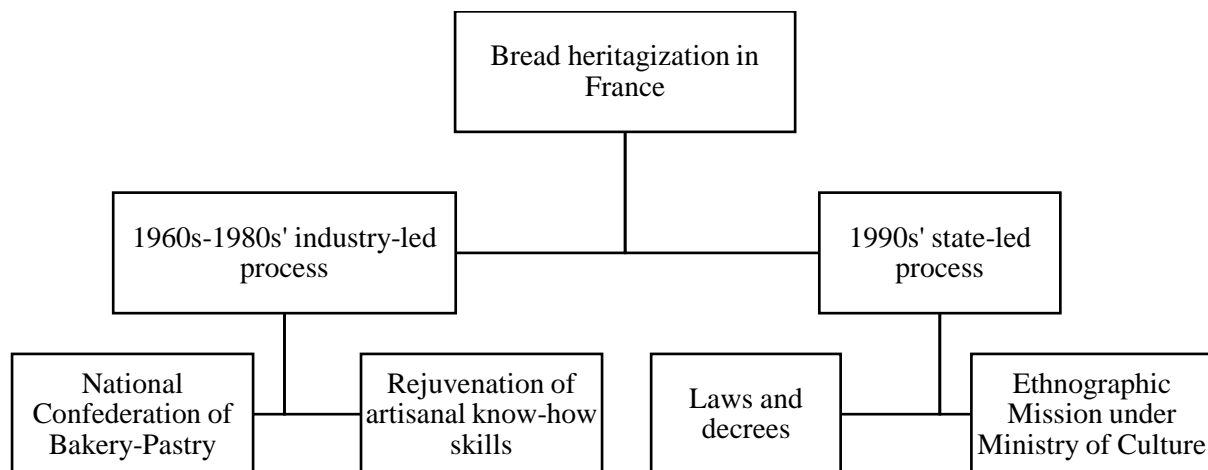


Figure 9: Concluding thoughts on the heritagization process of bread in France.
Source: Made by author.

This two-folded heritagization process was started by French bakers, having realized the erosion of artisanal skills since the 1960s. As a result, the heritage-making of bread in France was a bottom-up initiative, having emerged from a communal need to protect the national production of bread. This first heritagization initiative was then negotiated with the French state apparatus, in order to further it by legally creating the concept of tradition in bread-making. This legal, top-down reconceptualization of tradition created a divide between the favored traditional baguette and the common, tasteless white-bread baguette.

Nationally, I thus understand the heritagization process as a communal, professional initiative which was then solidified, or even legitimized by the state apparatus. To this interpretation was added the conceptualization of French food elements at UNESCO, as started with the *gastronomic meal of the French*. The latter was put forward by France as one of the first food-related heritage elements to be put on the List. Due to the national nature of the community related to the element, a professional initiative to launch the heritagization process of the *gastronomic meal of the French* was not possible. Instead, the element's heritagization was initiated by academic experts, seeking to receive political support for the protection of food heritage in France.

The latter confused me, as I had so far understood that although the state was not the initiator, it remained a strong secondary actor in the process. To therefore hear that this was not the case interrupts the two-steps linear process summarized in Figure 8. Instead, a (first) gap appears when contrasting the national and UNESCO heritagizations, with the state apparatus being unwilling to participate in the process unless the Presidency expresses its support. To bridge this gap, the *artisanal know-how and culture of the baguette bread* was initiated by the bakery industry, as represented by the National Confederation of French Bakery-Pastry. It was then adopted as a scientific and academic endeavor, before being pitched to the French Presidency. There, the desire to make the baguette bread a unique and representative food element of France was negotiated with the 2003 Convention need to focus on communities, which should have been easy due to the early involvement of bakers into the project. However, upon analyzing this dossier, I conclude that the gap between the national and UNESCO heritagizations has, from being reduced, become instead wider.

In fact, the bottom-up construction that first started the revival and protection of tradition in bread disappeared into a top-down heritage project. This can be witnessed in the name of the element, the vocabulary used around it, the explanation of its historical background, the threats to it and finally, the concerned communities. Most importantly, the focus on the baker industry in and out of France is lost through the involvement of the French national community, diluting the dossier's safeguarding potential. An example of this dilution is found through the exclusion of the work done by bakers to revive the traditional aspect of baguette bread, since the 1980s. This absence participates in the weakening of the safeguarding possibilities for bakers through this UNESCO dossier.

Overall, although the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread* had a promising start to mend some of the deficiencies observed in the *gastronomic meal of the*

French, it still felt short on its promises. The *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread* materializes a set-back in the protection of a food-related heritage element and its surrounding community. Even worse, instead of fostering the protection of artisanal, traditional know-how, it instead denies any past attempt of re-traditionalization, leading to de-traditionalizing and folklorizing the baguette bread. At the same, while arguing that the baguette bread culture is vulnerable to industrialization, the dossier does not provide any substantial measures on how to ensure protection of the artisanal bakers, against commercial exploitation.

Altogether, I draw four main conclusions from the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread*, in order to find out how France has heritagized its food elements under the 2003 Convention. Firstly, previous national commercial, legal, and cultural endeavors from across the twentieth century were not brought forward in the construction of the heritage element at UNESCO. Instead, a retrospective idealization and overall confusion surrounding the element was formulated. Secondly, one of the most important developments from the twentieth century construction of foodstuffs in France appears to have been revoked in the UNESCO construction of the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread*: that is, the collective nature of quality labels such as designations of origin.

This therefore leads to the third conclusion, that the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread* has left out the professional community of bakers, even though the heritagization of the baguette bread was started as a collective initiative. One of the consequences of this professional absence is that the dossier does not take into consideration the commercial aspect of the baking industry. Thus, this exclusion causes bakers to be vulnerable to exploitation due to the absence of tangible community safeguarding. Finally, taking the above three points into consideration, the *artisanal know-how and culture of the baguette bread* appears as an *assemblage* made by the state, forgoing past collective,

bureaucratic, and academic successes in protecting traditional know-how and food elements and with no clear future objectives.

In conclusion, France hoped to be the leader in the recognition of food-related heritage through the UNESCO nominations of the *gastronomic meal of the French* and more recently, the *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread*. This goal has been achieved, as more attention has been brought forward to this specific type of intangible cultural heritage, partly due to these dossiers. Nevertheless, the latter dossier's spotlight is shaded by not only an increasingly wider gap between the French and UNESCO heritagization processes, but also a deeper negation of the 2003 Convention objectives. The *artisanal know-how and culture of baguette bread* had the potential to guide the conversation on food-related heritage at UNESCO, if only it had been done better.

Bibliography

Adamson, Melitta Weiss. 'Food in Medieval Times', n.d.

admlc. 'Dominique Anract demande le soutien d'Emmanuel Macron pour faire avancer la candidature de la baguette de tradition française à l'Unesco'. Confédération Nationale de la Boulangerie-Pâtisserie Française, 12 January 2018. <https://boulangerie.org/blog/2018/01/12/dominique-anract-demande-le-soutien-demmanuel-macron-pour-faire-avancer-la-candidature-de-la-baguette-de-tradition-francaise-a-lunesco/>.

———. 'Et si la Baguette de Tradition Française était inscrite au Patrimoine mondial immatériel de l'Unesco?' Confédération Nationale de la Boulangerie-Pâtisserie Française, 12 January 2018. <https://boulangerie.org/blog/2018/01/12/et-si-la-baguette-de-tradition-francaise-etait-inscrite-au-patrimoine-mondial-immateriel-de-lunesco/>.

———. 'Les élus franciliens s'engagent pour la baguette!' Confédération Nationale de la Boulangerie-Pâtisserie Française, 4 October 2018. <https://boulangerie.org/blog/2018/10/04/les-elus-franciliens-sengagent-pour-la-baguette/>.

———. 'Première réunion de travail – Baguette de Tradition Française – Unesco'. Confédération Nationale de la Boulangerie-Pâtisserie Française, 13 March 2018. <https://boulangerie.org/blog/2018/03/13/premiere-reunion-de-travail-baguette-de-tradition-francaise-unesco/>.

———. 'Soutien des sénateurs à la candidature de la baguette à l'Unesco - 30 janvier'. Confédération Nationale de la Boulangerie-Pâtisserie Française, 31 January 2019. <https://boulangerie.org/blog/2019/01/31/soutien-des-senateurs-a-la-candidature-de-la-baguette-a-lunesco-30-janvier/>.

‘AOP-AOC, IGP, AB... : les labels de qualité dans l’alimentation’. Accessed 30 March 2024.

<https://www.economie.gouv.fr/particuliers/aop-aoc-igp-stg-labels-certification-alimentation>.

‘Arrêté Du 13 Février 2002 Portant Homologation d’un Cahier Des Charges de Label Agricole (Baguette de Pain de Tradition Française)’. Accessed 1 April 2024.

[https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/download/securePrint?token=FwXgE\\$KJw3QxTr4kb gkA&pagePdf=10](https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/download/securePrint?token=FwXgE$KJw3QxTr4kb gkA&pagePdf=10).

Artisans Gourmands. ‘Etude sur le marché du pain’. Accessed 18 May 2023.

<https://www.artisans-gourmands.fr/project/etude-sur-le-marche-du-pain/>.

‘Basic Texts of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2022 Edition)’. Accessed 9 January 2023. https://ich-unesco.org/eur.idm.oclc.org/doc/src/2003_Convention_Basic_Texts-_2022_version-EN.pdf.

Centre, UNESCO World Heritage. ‘Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage’. UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed 16 April 2024. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/>.

Cheftel, Henri. ‘Establishment and Functioning of the Food Laws and Regulations in France’.

Food, Drug, Cosmetic Law Journal 20, no. 8 (1965): 436–45.

Chevallier, Jim. ‘A History of the Food of Paris: From Roast Mammoth to Steak Frites’.

Accessed 25 February 2024.

https://www.academia.edu/37199283/A_History_of_the_Food_of_Paris_From_Roast_Mammoth_to_Steak_Frites.

Compagnone, Claude. ‘Les appellations d’origine contrôlée comme ordre négocié’.

Négociations 18, no. 2 (2012): 63–80. <https://doi.org/10.3917/neg.018.0061>.

- Confédération Nationale de la Boulangerie-Pâtisserie Française. ‘Concours national de la Meilleure Baguette de Tradition Française’. Accessed 23 May 2024. <https://boulangerie.org/concoursprofessionnels/concours-baguette/>.
- Csergo, Julia. ‘Quelques enjeux de l’inscription de patrimoines alimentaires à l’Unesco’. *Géoéconomie* 78, no. 1 (2016): 187–208. <https://doi.org/10.3917/geoec.078.0187>.
- Décret n° 93-1074 du 13 septembre 1993 pris pour l’application de la loi du 1er août 1905 en ce qui concerne certaines catégories de pains, 93-1074 § (1993).
- DeSoucey, Michaela. ‘Gastronationalism: Food Traditions and Authenticity Politics in the European Union’. *American Sociological Review* 75, no. 3 (1 June 2010): 432–55. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122410372226>.
- Doja, Albert. ‘Evolution et Folklorisation des Traditions Culturelles’. *EAST EUROPEAN QUARTERLY*, n.d.
- Duclert, Vincent. ‘Histoire de France, 1870-1914’. Folio, 2 September 2021. <https://www.folio-lesite.fr/catalogue/1870-1914/9782072799433>.
- Dupont, Henry Francois. ‘French Food Legislation’. *Food, Drug, Cosmetic Law Journal* 15, no. 3 (1960): 165–95.
- European Commission - European Commission. ‘Barcelona Process: Union for the Mediterranean Ministerial Conference’. Text. Accessed 1 February 2023. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/PRES_08_314.
- Farah, Berry. ‘L’origine de la baguette française’, n.d.
- ‘Food Heritagisation’. Accessed 30 May 2023. <https://encyclopedia.pub/entry/13876>.
- ‘French Constitution of October 4, 1958’, n.d.
- Grenet, Sylvie, and Christian Hottin. ‘The Ethnology Department of the French Ministry of Culture and the Inventories of Intangible Cultural Heritage in France’, n.d.

- Hafstein, Valdimar Tr. 'Intangible Heritage as a Festival; or, Folklorization Revisited'. *Journal of American Folklore* 131, no. 520 (2018): 127.
- Hafstein, Valdimar Tr. *Making Intangible Heritage: El Condor Pasa and Other Stories from UNESCO*. Indiana University Press, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv4v3086>.
- Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. Canto Classics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107295636>.
- Humbert, Florian. 'Approche historique du processus de délimitation des AOC vinicoles françaises. Contribution à la compréhension des principes et de l'application d'une expertise'. *Sciences humaines combinées. Revue électronique des écoles doctorales ED LISIT et ED LETS*, no. 5 (1 March 2010). <https://doi.org/10.58335/shc.176>.
- Ichijo, Atsuko. 'Food and Nationalism: Gastronationalism Revisited'. *Nationalities Papers* 48, no. 2 (March 2020): 215–23. <https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2019.104>.
- 'INAO Fiche Produit "Baguette de Pain de Tradition Française" Pour Label Rouge'. Accessed 1 April 2024. <https://www.inao.gouv.fr/produit/3975>.
- Jacquet, Olivier. 'Un Siècle de Construction Du Vignoble Bourguignon. Les Organisations Vitivinicoles de 1884 Aux AOC', 1 January 2009.
- Kaplan, Steven L. *Le retour du bon pain: une histoire contemporaine du pain, de ses techniques et de ses hommes*. Perrin, 2002.
- 'La Bouteille de Vin - Jean-Robert Pitte | Cairn.Info'. Accessed 12 May 2024. <https://www.cairn.info/la-bouteille-de-vin--9791021001138.htm>.
- 'Le Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel à l'Unesco'. Accessed 1 April 2024. <https://www.culture.gouv.fr/en/Thematic/Intangible-cultural-heritage/Intangible-Cultural-Heritage2/Le-Patrimoine-culturel-immateriel-a-l-Unesco>.

Le repas gastronomique des Français reconnu par l'Unesco - Lumni / Enseignement. Accessed 30 April 2024. <https://enseignants.lumni.fr/fiche-media/00000004085/le-repas-gastronomique-des-francais-reconnu-par-l-unesco.html>.

Legouy, François, and Sébastien Dallot. 'Les AOC en France des débuts à nos jours : la complexité d'une construction dans l'espace et dans le temps'. *Mappemonde. Revue trimestrielle sur l'image géographique et les formes du territoire*, no. 125 (1 January 2019). <https://doi.org/10.4000/mappemonde.805>.

'Les Savoir-Faire Artisanaux et La Culture de La Baguette de Pain - Fiche d'Inventaire Du Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel National'. Accessed 7 May 2024. <https://www.pci-lab.fr/fiche-d-inventaire/fiche/444-les-savoir-faire-artisanaux-et-la-culture-de-la-baguette-de-pain>.

'Les Signes Officiels de Qualité et d'origine Des Produits Alimentaires'. Accessed 31 March 2024. https://www.lecese.fr/sites/default/files/pdf/Avis/2018/2018_18_qualite_origine_produits_alimentaires.pdf.

Loi du 1er août 1905 sur les fraudes et falsifications en matière de produits ou de services (n.d.). Accessed 22 February 2024.

Loi du 6 mai 1919 relative à la protection des appellations d'origine (n.d.). Accessed 25 February 2024.

Loi du 22 juillet 1927 MODIFIE LA LOI DU 6 MAI 1919 - (PROTECTION DES APPELLATIONS D'ORIGINE) (n.d.). Accessed 30 March 2024.

Loi du 28 mars 1919 SUPPRESSION DU TRAVAIL DE NUIT DANS LES BOULANGERIES (n.d.). Accessed 24 February 2024.

LOI n° 98-405 du 25 mai 1998 déterminant les conditions juridiques de l'exercice de la profession d'artisan boulanger (1), 98-405 § (1998).

‘Making Intangible Heritage: El Condor Pasa and Other Stories from UNESCO on JSTOR’.

Accessed 22 April 2023. <https://www-jstor-org.eur.idm.oclc.org/stable/j.ctv4v3086>.

Meyzie, Philippe. ‘À la recherche du produit « véritable ». Les appellations d’origine en France aux xvii^e et xviii^e siècles’. *Les Cahiers de Framespa. e-STORIA*, no. 35 (30 October 2020). <https://doi.org/10.4000/framespa.9466>.

Miguel Molina, María de, Blanca de Miguel Molina, Virginia Santamarina Campos, and María del Val Segarra Oña. ‘Intangible Heritage and Gastronomy: The Impact of UNESCO Gastronomy Elements’. *Journal of Culinary Science & Technology* 14, no. 4 (1 October 2016): 293–310. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15428052.2015.1129008>.

Ministère de l’Agriculture et de la Souveraineté alimentaire. ‘Le Label rouge, signe de qualité supérieure’. Accessed 31 March 2024. <https://agriculture.gouv.fr/le-label-rouge-sign-de-qualite-superieure>.

Naulin, Sidonie. ‘Le repas gastronomique des Français : génèse d’un nouvel objet culturel’. *Sciences de la société*, no. 87 (1 December 2012): 8–25. <https://doi.org/10.4000/sds.1488>.

‘Organisation Du Ministère’. Accessed 30 April 2024. <https://www.culture.gouv.fr/Nous-connaître/Organisation-du-ministere>.

oriGIn. ‘A.O.P : une Histoire et des Traditions Hors Norme’. Accessed 30 March 2024. <https://www.originfood.info/histoire-aop/>.

Pagès, Dominique. ‘De l’invention du Repas gastronomique des Français aux Cités de la gastronomie : un patrimoine culturel immatériel en devenir (1^{ère} partie)’. *Quaderni. Communication, technologies, pouvoir*, no. 103 (15 June 2021): 119–42. <https://doi.org/10.4000/quaderni.2035>.

- ‘Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel En France, Fiche d’inventaire “Le Repas Gastronomique Des Français”’. Accessed 1 April 2024. https://www.pci-lab.fr/index.php?option=com_fichessinventaire&view=fiche&Itemid=389&id=221.
- ‘Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel En France, Fiche Inventaire “Les Savoir-Faire Artisanaux et La Culture de La Baguette de Pain”’. Accessed 1 April 2024. <https://www.pci-lab.fr/fiche-d-inventaire/fiche/444-les-savoir-faire-artisanaux-et-la-culture-de-la-baguette-de-pain>.
- Pech, Thierry. ‘Deux cents ans de classes moyennes en France (1789-2010)’. *L’Économie politique* 49, no. 1 (2011): 69–97. <https://doi.org/10.3917/leco.049.0069>.
- Petzina, Dietmar, Wolfgang F. Stolper, and Michael Hudson. ‘The Origin of the European Coal and Steel Community: Economic Forces and Political Interests’. *Zeitschrift Für Die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft / Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics* 137, no. 3 (1981): 450–68.
- Poulain, Jean Pierre, and Neirinck Edmond. *Histoire de La Cuisine et Des Cuisiniers. Techniques Culinaires et Manières de Table En France, Du Moyen Âge à Nos Jours*, 2004.
- ‘Proposed Terminology for Intangible Cultural Heritage: Toward Anthropological and Folkloristic Common Sense in a Global Era’. Accessed 7 May 2024. <https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/05297-EN.pdf>.
- Quellier, Florent. ‘Faire l’histoire de l’alimentation’. In *La table des Français : Une histoire culturelle (xve-début xixe siècle)*, 9–23. Tables des hommes. Tours: Presses universitaires François-Rabelais, 2013. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pufr.22837>.
- Rambourg, Patrick. “Du Discours à La Créativité : Les Appellations Culinaires Des Chefs” (2017)’. In *Le Français à Table*, 67–76. Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2017. <https://hal.science/hal-01638171>.

- . “‘L’appellation ‘à La Provençale’ Dans Les Traités Culinaires Français Du XVIIe Au XXe Siècle’”. *Publié Dans "Provence Historique";. Alimentation et Cuisine En Provence*, 1 January 2004. https://www.academia.edu/40463857/_Lappellation_%C3%A0_la_proven%C3%A7ale_dans_les_trait%C3%A9s_culinaires_fran%C3%A7ais_du_XVIIe_au_XXe_si%C3%A8cle_p_473_483_.
- ‘Rapport d’Information Fait Au Nom de La Commission Des Affaires Culturelles Sur l’inscription de La Gastronomie Au Patrimoine Immatériel de l’UNESCO’. Accessed 16 April 2024. <https://www.senat.fr/rap/r20-601/r20-6011.pdf>.
- ‘Revue de Presse “Inscription de La Baguette” Sur La Liste Du Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel de l’humanité’. Accessed 14 May 2024. https://villabelais.fr/sites/default/files/fichiers/revue_de_presse.pdf.
- Romagnoli, Marco. ‘Gastronomic Heritage Elements at UNESCO: Problems, Reflections on and Interpretations of a New Heritage Category’. *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 14 (1 December 2019).
- Routledge & CRC Press. ‘The Routledge Handbook of Wine and Culture’. Accessed 12 January 2024. <https://www.routledge.com/The-Routledge-Handbook-of-Wine-and-Culture/Charters-Demossier-Dutton-Harding-Smith-Maguire-Marks-Unwin/p/book/9780367472900>.
- Sénat. ‘Activités contestées du Conseil national des arts culinaires (CNAC)’, 6 August 1998. <https://www.senat.fr/questions/base/1998/qSEQ980810163.html>.
- Sénat. ‘Le patrimoine culturel immatériel : un patrimoine vivant au service de la diversité culturelle, de la cohésion sociale et de la paix’, 3 April 2023. <https://www.senat.fr/rap/r20-601/r20-601.html>.

- ‘Seventeenth Session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage - Intangible Heritage - Culture Sector - UNESCO’. Accessed 11 May 2024. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/17com>.
- ‘The NARA Document on Authenticity (1994) - International Council on Monuments and Sites’. Accessed 22 April 2023. <https://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts/179-articles-en-francais/ressources/charters-and-standards/386-the-nara-document-on-authenticity-1994>.
- Tornatore, Jean-Louis. ‘Anthropology’s Payback: “The Gastronomic Meal of the French” : The Ethnographic Elements of a Heritage Distinction’. In *Heritage Regimes and the State*, edited by Regina F. Bendix, Aditya Eggert, and Arnika Peselmann, 341–65. Göttingen Studies in Cultural Property. Göttingen: Göttingen University Press, 2013. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.gup.401>.
- Ueda, Haruka, and Jean-Pierre Poulain. ‘What Is Gastronomy for the French? An Empirical Study on the Representation and Eating Model in Contemporary France’. *International Journal of Gastronomy and Food Science* 25 (1 October 2021): 100377. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijgfs.2021.100377>.
- ‘UNESCO - Artisanal Know-How and Culture of Baguette Bread’. Accessed 20 January 2023. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/artisanal-know-how-and-culture-of-baguette-bread-01883>.
- ‘UNESCO - Artisanal Know-How and Culture of Baguette Bread’. Accessed 10 January 2023. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/artisanal-know-how-and-culture-of-baguette-bread-01883>.
- ‘UNESCO - Browse the Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices’. Accessed 20 January 2023. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/lists>.

- ‘UNESCO - Browse the Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices’. Accessed 1 April 2024. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/lists>.
- ‘UNESCO - Chronology’. Accessed 1 February 2023. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/chronology-00094>.
- ‘UNESCO - Gastronomic Meal of the French’. Accessed 1 February 2023. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/gastronomic-meal-of-the-french-00437>.
- ‘UNESCO - Kit of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage’. Accessed 8 May 2024. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/kit>.
- ‘UNESCO - Mediterranean Diet’. Accessed 1 February 2023. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/mediterranean-diet-00884>.
- ‘UNESCO - Seventeenth Session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage’. Accessed 20 January 2023. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/17com>.
- ‘UNESCO - Seventeenth Session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage’. Accessed 14 May 2024. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/17com>.
- ‘UNESCO - Traditional Mexican Cuisine - Ancestral, Ongoing Community Culture, the Michoacán Paradigm’. Accessed 1 February 2023. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/traditional-mexican-cuisine-ancestral-ongoing-community-culture-the-michoacn-paradigm-00400>.
- ‘Uses of Heritage’. Accessed 10 January 2023. <https://rbb85.files.wordpress.com/2015/11/laurajane-smith-uses-of-heritage.pdf>.
- Vivant, Elsa. ‘Nathalie Heinich, La fabrique du patrimoine. De la cathédrale à la petite cuillère’. *Lectures*, 5 November 2009. <https://journals.openedition.org/lectures/837>.

‘What Is Intangible Cultural Heritage?’ Accessed 20 January 2023. <https://ich-unesco-org.eur.idm.oclc.org/doc/src/01851-EN.pdf>.

World Heritage. ‘Outstanding Universal Value’. Accessed 22 April 2023. <https://worldheritage.gsu.edu/outstanding-universal-value/>.