

Tłumaczenia

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From *Street Food to Food Districts* – Gastronomy Services and Culinary Tourism in an Urban Space

Key words: culinary tourism, gastronomic attractiveness of cities, food district concept

Summary

In the last decades the importance of tourist trips concerning dining has grown. Gastronomy tourism, culinary tourism, or food tourism are varieties of tourism which stem from the culinary attractiveness of a country, region, or town. Culinary tourism does not merely involve beverage and food tasting on the part of the tourists, but also everything which is food-related and might be of interest to them; starting with ingredients, through the process of preparing and serving food, up to familiarising with the customs connected with food. Accordingly, it comprises a branch of cultural tourism.

Furthermore, among various places visited by tourists interested in cuisine and food preparation are the large cities. The most attractive cities are those with long culinary traditions (predominantly due to the local cuisine), but also the new centres of culinary tourism. The subject-matter of the present article involves describing the process of urban space transformation from the most basic gastronomy service (street food), to the most developed form of gastronomy services in cities – the emergence of the so-called food districts.

Introduction

Eating stems from physiological needs. Nevertheless, what is eaten – and particularly in what amounts and where – is culturally determined. Hence, the type of tourism which is connected with eating and drinking, in other words – culinary tourism (gastronomy tourism) – is considered as a part of cultural tourism.

The problem tackled in the text below is the question of role which gastronomy services play in contemporary cities – with special attention paid to their significance in the context of culinary tourism.

The characteristic feature of gastronomy services is that they are used by both the inhabitants of a particular area as well as the visitors, including the tourists. In the case of urban areas (less frequently small towns) this means that it is often difficult to define the user of the services offered by restaurants, cafés, or bars. Very often both categories of gastronomy users are mingled to such an extent that they are hardly separable. Therefore, in the considerations presented, it has been agreed that the facilities offering food services mentioned in the described cities – provided they are commonly available – are a part of tourist facilities development while being simultaneously the facilities which are strictly tourist and paratourist.

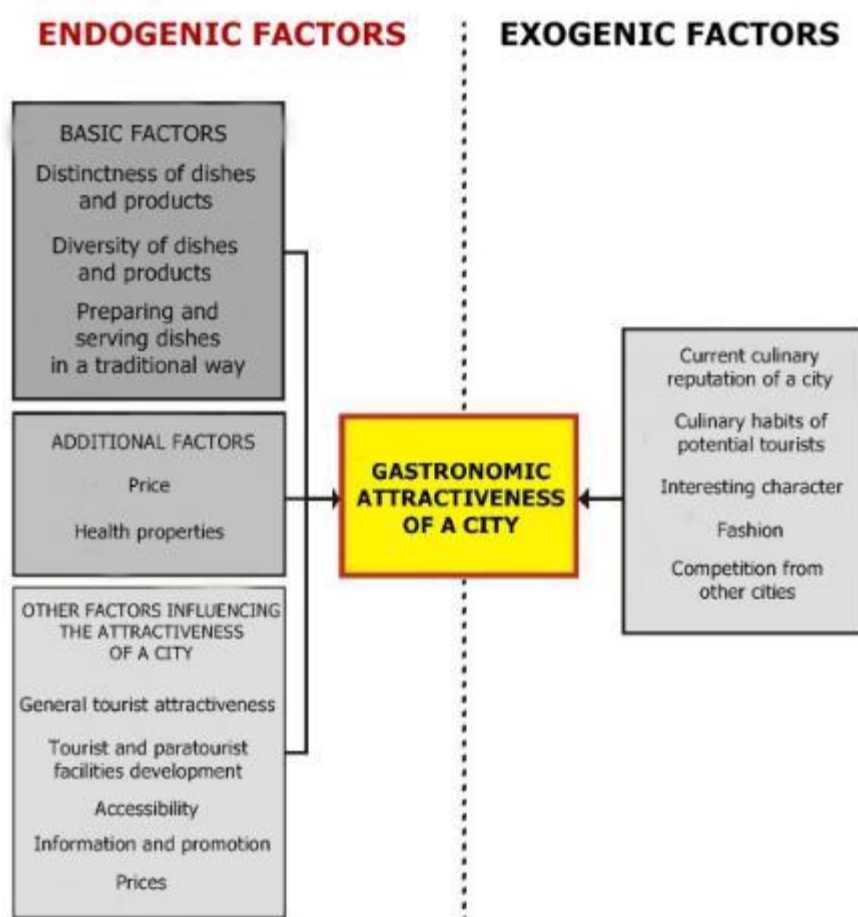
Nevertheless, the subject-matter of the article at hand does not involve the economic and socio-cultural issues connected with food services offered in cities (e.g. the level of employment, turnover and return on gastronomy facilities, as well as satisfying the nutritional needs of tourists and inhabitants), but mostly their spatial aspect.

Factors Influencing the Attractiveness of Cities' Gastronomy Offers

An element which is particularly crucial in the context of culinary tourism is the gastronomy offer which increases the attractiveness of cities. The underlying element of culinary tourism is the geographical differentiation of gastronomic traditions. The key factors which influence the culinary attractiveness of a country, region or city include: the distinctness of a specific cuisine in relation to other cuisines, its diversity, as well as following the traditional recipes [Kowalczyk 2005: 170]. For those who are engaged in culinary tourism distinctness and diversity are of particular value:

- the taste of a dish,
- the ingredients of a basic dish,
- the accompaniments of a dish,
- the way in which a dish is prepared (e.g. frying, boiling, baking),
- the form of serving a dish,
- the commonly accepted way in which a meal is consumed (Kowalczyk 2011: 15).

Fig. 1. Factors Influencing the Gastronomy Offer of a City



Source: Based on: Kowalczyk 2011: 15, Fig. 1.

The culinary attractiveness of a particular region or city is determined by the co-existence of numerous factors (Fig. 1.). Apart from the basic factors, the high or low reputation of gastronomy offers established by tourists is determined by numerous additional factors such as the prices of food and ready-to-eat products, their health properties, etc. Other external factors unrelated to culinary art also contribute to the perception of a place

as gastronomically attractive, though they arise out of general attractiveness of a region or a city, successful development of tourist facilities as well as high accessibility.

Furthermore, the treatment of an area as attractive in terms of its cuisine on the part of tourists is also determined by various external factors – and in particular that what might be considered as the current “culinary reputation” as well as fashion. However, the culinary habits of tourists are of utmost importance as well.

The growing interest of tourists in gastronomy results in higher culinary attractiveness of cities, which is often utilised in marketing activities (Fig. 2.). The values stemming from culinary traditions (real or presumed) are highlighted across cities from different parts of the world and of various sizes, as well as the districts of larger cities. The examples of the latter situation might be Berlin's Neukölln district and Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg district, located in its vicinity – and in particular its Kreuzberg part in which the tours are organised not only to familiarise the tourists with Berlin's cuisine, but also with the cuisine of the immigrants living in that city [Kosowska, 2014].

Fig.2. Folders Promoting Culinary Attractiveness of Cities.

A – in the First Row, Folders Promoting Guangzhou, Łódź, Pisen and Oaxaca Consecutively; in the Second Row, Folders Promoting Vienna, Macau, Nowy Targ and Neukölln District in Berlin. B – Polička in the Czech Republic (Serves as an Example of a Town which in its Tourist Development Strategy Highlights the Well-developed Gastronomy Services).



Source: Materials collected by the author

The tourist attractiveness of cities might arise out of long-standing culinary traditions, or might be a result of culinary trends. As emphasised by C. H. Hall et al. [2003: 331-332], the traditions of Oktoberfest held in Munich reach back to 1810 (the contemporary form dates back to 1818), which makes it one of the most willingly visited events in the world (gathers up to 6 million people annually). There is a clear interest in Christmas markets (*Weihnachtsmärkte*) organised in the cities of Germany, Austria and Trentino-Alto Adige (Italy), the traditions of which reach back even to the 15th century in several cities. Apart from Christmas ornaments and other articles traditionally related to Christmas, various food products, as well as dishes and beverages are served. The German cities in which Christmas markets are organised are e.g. Nuremberg (the Christmas markets organised there are called *Nürnberger Christkindlesmarkt*), Dortmund, Hamburg, Erfurt, Frankfurt am Main, Augsburg, Lipsk, Aachen, Munich, Dresden, Stuttgart, Berlin, and in particular Cologne, where the Christmas market gathered 4 million people (the second largest market insofar

as the number of people is concerned – in Dortmund – was visited by 3.6 million people)¹. The examples provided above are gastronomy events of specifically seasonal character and – although they are usually organised in the same city regions, they slightly contribute to the permanent transformation of a city space, which is similar to events which are organised in Polish cities such as St. Dominic's Fair in Gdańsk, St. Martin's Fair in Poznań, Tumski Fair in Płock, as well as St. John's Fairs organised in many cities.

The increasing role of Singapore as a city significant for tourists interested in tourist has begun rather recently and results from acknowledging this city as the birthplace of what is referred to as *New Asian Cuisine* (NAC) [Scarpato, Daniele 2003: 310-312], which became famous not only in Asia, but also in Northern America and Europe. Similarly, the city of Ayutthaya located nearby Bangkok, which has long-standing and acclaimed in Thailand traditions that are linked with the regional cuisine; it has recently transformed into a centre of culinary tourism [Ladapha, Chiranut 2013].

Since numerous authors stress that the culinary offer plays an important role in the general perception of a city or a region as attractive (not merely in terms of tourism), many publishing houses and web portals related to gastronomy willingly organise the rankings of – either on the basis of large-scale surveys or experts' opinions. As these rankings are established according to different criteria and are usually characterised by weak methodological grounds should not be treated as unbiased classifications of cities in terms of their culinary attractiveness. Nevertheless, they should not be omitted as they might have strong influence on the demeanour of potential and real tourists, who – by relying on the results of the rankings – visit the indicated cities which thus become cultural tourism centres.

Table 1. World's Most Highly Rated Cities in Terms of Their Gastronomy Offers in 2014.

"Top 15 best food cities in the world" ranking (1)	"Top 10 best food cities in the world" (2)	"Top 10 world food cities" (3)
New York	New York	San Francisco
Paris	Tokyo	Montreal
San Francisco	Lyon	New York
Rome	Barcelona	Melbourne
New Orleans	San Sebastian	Oaxaca
Tokyo	Paris	Singapore
Oaxaca	London	Lyon
Buenos Aires	Copenhagen	Cape Town
Mumbai	Bangkok	Bologna
London	São Paulo	Guangzhou

Source: Based on:

(1) <http://www.citiesjournal.com/top-15-best-food-cities-in-the-world> (02/07./2014)

(2) <http://www.ucityguides.com/cities/top-10-best-food-cities.html> (02/07/2014)

(3) http://uk.askmen.com/fine_living/wine_dine_archive_60/87_wine_dine.html (02/07/2014)

The information contained in Table 1 indicates that regardless of the authors of the rankings which were established in the past few years, the high position of several cities does not change. It pertains mostly to New York, Paris, London, Tokyo, and – to a slightly lesser degree – San Francisco and the city of Oaxaca located in Mexico.

In the ranking designated in the table as (1), the restaurants which were taken into account were mostly those which enjoy an excellent reputation for many years. However, in the case of New York, it has been assumed that these are not the specific restaurants

¹ Weihnachtsmärkte: Köln ist Publikumsmagnet, <http://www.topnews.de/weihnachtsmaerkte-koeln-ist-publikumsmagnet-325655> (20/08/2014).

and bars that should won it the first place, but the wide range of gastronomy offer which reflects the cosmopolitan character of the city along with its diversified cultural and ethnic structure. A similar factor gained New Orleans its fifth place. In the case of Tokyo, in turn, its sixth place stemmed not only from the presence of the restaurants famous for their magnificent cuisine, but also due to Tsukiji Fish Market which is acclaimed to be one of the most important tourist attractions in Tokyo. By the same token, Mumbai gained the ninth place since – among the people who enjoy culinary tourism – it is known for its fish market – Sasoon Docks. The food markets also gained Oaxaca its seventh place, since – among tourists interested in gastronomy – it is known also for its confectionery, as well as fried grasshoppers (*chapulines*). Moreover, when discussing Table (1), it needs to be mentioned that among the urban agglomerations considered as particularly attractive in terms of gastronomy were also Hong Kong (11th position on the list), Istanbul (12th position), Brussels (13th position), Bangkok (14th position), and Sydney (15th position).

With regard to the ranking designated in the Table as (2), its authors took into account not only the strictly gastronomic services (restaurants, bars, etc.), but also shops offering food. According to them, this is what won New York the first place and Tokyo the second one (due to abovementioned Tsukiji Fish Market). Regarding the fourth position of Barcelona, it was gained by the innovations employed in the contemporary cuisine of Catalonia, as well as the food markets – Boqueria and Mercat de Santa Caterina. In other cases, the authors of the ranking rated the cities highly by taking into account several restaurants or even one restaurant (as was the case with Copenhagen which owes its high position to “Noma” restaurant) or the fame of chefs (whom, in the case of London, were television celebrities – Gordon Ramsay and Jamie Oliver). Slightly different factors won Bangkok and São Paulo their high position, which were listed due to their unique spices which are used to season Thailand’s dishes (Bangkok) as well as due to the emergence of a new cuisine connected with the inflow of immigrants from different continents to São Paulo and the combination of the culinary traditions of e.g. Italy, Japan, and Lebanon.

From the rankings rating the culinary attractiveness of cities contained in Table 1, the most effectively established one – insofar as the employed method is concerned – has been designated in the Table as (3). Its authors took into account four factors: food history, food variety, food price, and food soul – that is the atmosphere in which the meals are prepared and served. Listing San Francisco as first and New York as third resulted from the cultural specificity of each city, which was reflected in the character of the offered meals and the way they were served. According of the authors of the ranking, the high position of San Francisco is determined by the closely located main grape-growing and wine-producing region in the United States (and thus in the world). Similarly, the criteria related to the location of famous wine-producing regions gained Lyon its seventh position and Cape Town its eight position (in the case of this ranking, the authors took into consideration also the diversification of the culinary offer stemming from the multicultural structure of the city). Montreal, listed as the second one, gained its place thanks to the high number of restaurants and bars per an inhabitant, as well as merging in its gastronomy offer traditions from European cuisines (not only French, but also Russian, Greek, and Portuguese), as well as the Japanese and American ones; its high (4th rank) was reached thanks to the factors similar to the aforementioned ones as well as the annually organized *Melbourne Food & Wine Festival*. Similarly, in the case of Oaxaca city, which was ranked as fifth, the culinary festivals and food markets which had been organised in the city played an important role. Moreover, listing Singapore as sixth is linked with the fact – as has already been mentioned – that its gastronomy offer is a combination of culinary traditions from various parts of not only Asia (predominantly East Asia, Southeast Asia and Indian Peninsula), but also Europe. In comparison to the abovementioned examples, the eighth place of Bologna seems to be rather coincidental. Admittedly, the authors reckon that in that city one can try the traditional

Italian cuisine, but they also point to the location of that city – the way from Venice to Florence visited by foreign tourists. The tenth place in the ranking at hand belongs to Guangzhou. The authors assumed that the city successfully alludes to the history of trade and cultural interrelations between China back in the days and the rest of the world (so called “Silk Road”), which is reflected in its highly diversified local culinary offer which comprises not only what is referred to as Cantonese cuisine, but also the dishes deriving from other parts of China. Moreover, the authors of the ranking note that the good reputation of Guangzhou is considerably due to the wide range of snacks and meals sold in streets in the form of *street food*. Finally, it is worth mentioning that the authors of the ranking above considered other world’s cities as worth-visiting due to their culinary specificity: New Orleans (the United States), Vancouver and Québec (Canada), Marrakesh (Morocco), Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia), and Seoul (Korea).

An interesting analysis of the agglomerations which are considered as the most attractive huge cities in the world in terms of their culinary values was conducted by J. O. Cury [2009]. According to his study, the readers of American magazines (websites) “Food & Wine”, USA Today” and “MSNBC” consider New York and Tokyo as particularly interesting cities – just before London, Paris, and Barcelona regarded as interesting as well. J. O. Cury added to the list (Table 2) also Sydney, Toronto, Los Angeles, and Brussels – all of which, according to him, also belong to the most attractive cities in the world in terms of gastronomy. It is necessary to mention at this point that in this type of rankings, the position obtained by a specific city is not so important. It is more crucial, however, that a particular agglomeration is enlisted in a group of cities which are considered as interesting for culinary reasons. That the places taken by cities in such classifications do change might be confirmed on the example of Food & Wine Magazine which in 2009 classified Tokyo, Paris, New York, London and Barcelona as five best food cities, and in one of the subsequent rankings mentioned consecutively: Tokyo, Barcelona, Copenhagen, London, and New York².

The rankings concerning the attractiveness of cities’ gastronomy offer became especially popular in the United States.

According to an opinion-forming web portal “Travel+Leisure” which has been organising annually during the summertime surveys known as *America’s favourite cities*, in the category related to the tourist rating of gastronomy attractiveness, from among 35 American agglomerations involved in the study, the leading positions are taken by Providence (Rhode Island), New Orleans (Louisiana), New York (New York), San Francisco (California), Chicago (Illinois), Houston (Texas), as well as Nashville (Tennessee)³. During the surveys in question, the respondents assessed not only the general attractiveness of a particular agglomeration’s gastronomy offer (Table 3), but also the attractiveness with regard to various categories. The study conducted in 2010 involved four such categories (reputable restaurants and bars, local restaurants and bars, ethnic food restaurants and farmers’ food markets), and the study from 2012 distinguished even 10 such categories (reputable restaurants, barbecue, pizza, hamburgers, cafés, ethnic food, street food & food trucks, beer from small breweries, coffee, ice cream).

² <http://www.foodandwine.com/slideshows/worlds-5-best-food-cities> (02/07/2014)

³ The surveys are conducted separately among tourists and the inhabitants of a particular city.

Table 2. World's Most Highly Evaluated Cities in Terms of Their Culinary Attractiveness.

Magazine/website			J. O. Cury
"Food & Wine"	"USA Today"	"MSNBC"	
Tokyo	New York	Barcelona	New York
Paris	Paris	Brussels	Paris
New York	London	Hanoi	Barcelona
London	Tokyo	Las Vegas	Vancouver
Barcelona	Rome	Lyon	San Francisco
Sydney	Hong Kong	New York	Chicago
Madrid	San Francisco	San Francisco	Tokyo
Chicago	New Orleans	Rome	Hong Kong
Stockholm	Barcelona	Tokyo	Rome
Vancouver	Brussels	Vancouver	London

Source: Based on: Cury 2009

Table 3. The Urban Agglomerations of the United States which – on the Basis of Surveys Conducted by "Travel+Leisure" Website – are Considered as the Most Attractive ones in Terms of Their Gastronomy Offer in Years 2010 and 2012.

Ranking conducted in 2010		Ranking conducted in 2012	
Agglomeration	Attractiveness index ⁽¹⁾	Agglomeration	Attractiveness index
New Orleans	4.63	Providence	4.36
San Francisco	4.61	New York	4.33
Providence	4.56	New Orleans	4.31
New York	4.55	San Diego	4.29
Chicago	4.53	Portland (Oregon)	4.29
Portland (Oregon)	4.49	Austin	4.29
Seattle	4.48	Chicago	4.28
Houston	4.48	Nashville	4.28
Charleston	4.44	San Francisco	4.27
Nashville	4.40	Houston	4.24

Source: Based on:

<http://www.travelandleisure.com/americas-favorite-cities/2010/category/food-drink-restaurants> (07/07/2014),

<http://www.travelandleisure.com/americas-favorite-cities/2012/category/food-drink-restaurants> (07/07/2014).

Note: ⁽¹⁾ The respondents assessed the attractiveness from 1 (the lowest attractiveness) to 5 (the highest attractiveness).

On the basis of the analysis of the surveys' results, it might be stated that in general the opinion of tourists on the subject of the culinary attractiveness of a city correlates with the evaluation of its attractiveness on the part of its inhabitants who – however – assess their cities slightly higher than the visitors (Table 4). In relation to the studies from 2010 this correlating evaluation was the highest with regard to the general gastronomy evaluation (Pearson's correlation rate amounted to $r=0.941$), the evaluation of farmers' markets ($r=0.910$), as well as the evaluation of the attractiveness of restaurants and bars remaining at the peripheries of the tourist highlights ($r=0.906$). Nevertheless, the undoubtedly lowest correlation ($r=0.764$)⁴ occurred in the case of evaluating the attractiveness of ethnic cuisine; however, the general tendency on the part of tourists who would give higher (or lower) notes than the inhabitants of the cities involved in the studies has not been observed.

⁴ All provided correlation rates are crucial on level $df=0.001$.

Table 4. Evaluation of the Attractiveness of Gastronomy Services in Selected Urban Agglomerations in the United States According to Tourists (T1 – T5) and Inhabitants (M1 – M5) in 2010 (on a Scale of 1 to 5, Index 5 – the Highest Rate, Index 1 – the Lowest Rate).

Metropolitan areas	Gastronomy services by and large		Reputable restaurants and bars		Local restaurants and bars		Restaurants with ethnic cuisine		Farmers' food markets	
	T1	M1	T1	M1	T1	M1	T1	M1	T1	M1
New Orleans	4.63	4.66	4.63	4.75	4.82	4.91	4.70	4.60	4.28	4.38
San Francisco	4.61	4.69	4.51	4.54	4.70	4.75	4.69	4.83	4.38	4.63
Providence	4.56	4.61	4.35	4.44	4.75	4.85	4.70	4.68	4.24	4.44
New York	4.55	4.63	4.73	4.79	4.73	4.81	4.76	4.86	3.73	4.07
Chicago	4.53	4.59	4.65	4.73	4.67	4.73	4.63	4.76	3.91	4.12
Portland (Oregon)	4.49	4.54	3.92	3.90	4.73	4.85	4.39	4.57	4.68	4.82
Seattle	4.48	4.53	4.15	4.12	4.59	4.67	4.35	4.54	4.64	4.79
Houston	4.48	4.55	4.49	4.71	4.20	4.63	4.47	4.78	3.65	4.08
Charleston	4.44	4.49	4.29	4.33	4.68	4.75	4.22	4.19	4.43	4.68
Nashville	4.40	4.48	4.24	4.39	4.58	4.70	3.97	4.31	4.22	4.52
Los Angeles	4.39	4.45	4.51	4.55	4.18	4.31	4.46	4.65	3.99	4.31
Savannah	4.38	4.30	4.25	4.08	4.76	4.78	4.32	4.33	4.28	4.02
Minneapolis/St. Paul	4.37	4.49	4.10	4.20	4.44	4.68	4.12	4.41	4.28	4.65
Honolulu 2	4.34	4.42	4.19	4.21	4.31	4.45	4.63	4.78	4.06	4.23
Austin	4.32	4.36	4.00	4.04	4.67	4.72	4.25	4.37	4.18	4.30
San Diego	4.29	4.31	4.28	4.23	4.42	4.42	4.39	4.40	3.99	4.19
Philadelphia	4.28	4.39	4.16	4.30	4.43	4.53	4.27	4.41	3.99	4.11
Denver	4.28	4.27	4.31	4.22	4.47	4.52	4.15	4.11	4.18	4.23
Washington	4.27	4.32	4.37	4.27	4.33	4.31	4.48	4.60	3.70	4.07
Kansas City	4.27	4.30	4.24	4.27	4.43	4.43	4.09	4.10	4.21	4.40
San Juan	4.27	4.33	3.99	4.49	4.48	4.45	4.62	4.64	3.79	3.71
San Antonio	4.26	4.20	4.11	4.20	4.42	4.36	4.66	4.51	3.98	3.72
Santa Fe	4.26	4.40	3.50	4.04	4.58	4.52	4.52	4.46	4.18	4.57
Boston	4.23	4.27	4.27	4.32	4.43	4.48	4.29	4.35	3.82	3.91
Atlanta	4.22	4.31	4.25	4.41	4.16	4.39	4.11	4.31	3.72	4.12
Salt Lake City	4.18	4.24	4.07	4.09	4.21	4.32	4.04	4.17	4.18	4.38
Portland (Maine)	4.18	4.46	3.61	3.96	4.43	4.83	3.83	4.42	4.22	4.63
Baltimore	4.18	4.33	3.81	4.10	4.28	4.57	4.02	4.34	3.75	4.30
Phoenix/Scottsdale	4.16	4.21	4.34	4.48	4.12	4.24	4.13	4.31	3.71	3.79
Dallas/Fort Worth	4.08	4.17	4.30	4.56	3.85	4.15	3.86	4.16	3.56	3.78
Miami	4.07	4.07	4.37	4.45	4.15	4.15	4.44	4.46	3.17	3.22
Memphis	3.96	4.01	3.86	3.79	4.29	4.33	3.97	4.02	3.47	3.91
Orlando	3.87	4.03	4.27	4.31	3.67	3.99	3.81	4.10	3.26	3.69
Anchorage	3.82	4.08	3.26	3.45	4.09	4.45	3.00	4.16	3.65	4.23
Las Vegas	3.79	3.82	4.71	4.73	3.51	3.76	4.11	4.18	2.28	2.57

Source: Based on:

T1: <http://www.travelandleisure.com/americas-favorite-cities/2010/category/food-drink-restaurants> (07/07/2014)M1: <http://www.travelandleisure.com/americas-favorite-cities/2010/category/food-drink-restaurants/all/resident> (07/07/2014)T2: <http://www.travelandleisure.com/americas-favorite-cities/2010/category/food-drink-restaurants/big-name-restaurants> (07/07/2014)M2: <http://www.travelandleisure.com/americas-favorite-cities/2010/category/food-drink-restaurants/big-name-restaurants/resident> (07/07/2014)T3: <http://www.travelandleisure.com/americas-favorite-cities/2010/category/food-drink-restaurants/neighborhood-joints-and-cafes> (07/07/2014)M3: <http://www.travelandleisure.com/americas-favorite-cities/2010/category/food-drink-restaurants/neighborhood-joints-and-cafes/resident> (07/07/2014)T4: <http://www.travelandleisure.com/americas-favorite-cities/2010/category/food-drink-restaurants/ethnic-food> (07/07/2014)M4: <http://www.travelandleisure.com/americas-favorite-cities/2010/category/food-drink-restaurants/ethnic-food/resident> (07/07/2014)T5: <http://www.travelandleisure.com/americas-favorite-cities/2010/category/food-drink-restaurants/farmers-markets> (07/07/2014)M5: <http://www.travelandleisure.com/americas-favorite-cities/2010/category/food-drink-restaurants/farmers-markets/resident> (07/07/2014)

As has been mentioned earlier, the high rating of cities' gastronomy offers established by tourists and experts – which mostly refers to large urban agglomerations – often derives from the diversification of their culinary offers, prices, food quality, restaurants and bars' location, as well as diversified dishes representing various cuisines. Large urban agglomerations, not only in Europe and Northern America, are inhabited by various nationalities and ethnic groups – and accordingly – have in their offer gastronomy services deriving from different culinary traditions. Since tourists also come from various continents and countries, representing different cultures, their culinary preferences do not have to be limited to dishes confined to the traditional cuisine of a visited country or region. Admittedly, according to the studies conducted by P. Tse and J. C. Crofts [2005], the majority of tourists from Europe or Northern America visiting Hong Kong were interested in Chinese cuisine – however, tourists from continental China were rather interested in traditional dishes from Europe [Tse, Crofts 2005: 968]. This means that the global character of contemporary tourism generates room for restaurants and bars offering dishes inspired by other culinary traditions, which might pique tourists' interest⁵ as well, even in cities and regions which are traditionally associated with well-defined culinary traditions (e.g. China, India, and Italy).

Gastronomy Services in an Urban Space

One of the first researchers who dwelled on the spatial aspects of gastronomy services in a city was S. Gazillo [1981], who described the transformations in the arrangement of restaurants and bars in the old part of the city of Québec (Canada) between 1900 and 1979. His studies show that – admittedly – in the studied years, the vast number of restaurants were located in the same streets (Rue Saint-Jean and Rue Saint-Louis), but – in the course of time – more and more restaurants and bars appeared in the city space between those streets, which gave its way to the emergence of some kind of a “food district”. The phenomenon observed by Gazillo might attest to the fact that – with time – single food streets might be replaced by the emergence of food districts (usually in the central city regions).

Another author, who in the 1980s handled gastronomy services' arrangement within a city, was S. L. J. Smith, who first analysed spatially the Canadian food sector [Smith 1983], and a few years later conducted studies in eight cities in Ontario predicated on the comprehensive analysis of factors which determine the arrangement of restaurants [Smith 1985]. According to his studies, the arrangement of pizzerias was tightly connected with the arrangement of residential areas, whereas the arrangement of confectioneries and ice cream parlours correlated with the arrangement of shopping malls [Smith 1985: 597-598].

In the next few years, the problem with arranging the gastronomy infrastructure within a city space became the subject of studies by a growing number of authors. A considerable part of these studies pertained to the relations between tourism and gastronomy. As has been shown in 1988 by D. Getz and W. Frisby, a key motivation behind tourist trips – in particular with regard to domestic tourism – is the willingness to participate in culinary festivals [Getz, Frisby 1988]. On the other hand, the authors who showed that the sector of gastronomy-related services might exert a great influence on the economy of a city are N. Au and R. Law [2002]. According to their studies conducted in Hong Kong, amongst the expenditures of tourists visiting this urban complex, the total expenses on food had the highest increase in 1984-1997 [Au, Law 2002: 820-822]. This attests to the thesis which has been made much earlier by S. Pyo et al. [1991: 450-451], who claimed that – in comparison to other expenses

⁵ To be a man of his word, the author did not try Portuguese meals when visiting Lisbon in 2014, but instead availed himself of the meals offered in a bar managed by an immigrant from the Democratic Republic of São Tomé and Príncipe (due to his willingness to try new tastes) and Pakistani restaurant offering food from Punjab (due to sentimental attachment to Punjab cuisine).

on the part of tourists – the tourists are prone to cut down on their expenses connected with food as last.

Among the researchers interested in the location of food services within a city space are geographers. The main subject of their studies has been the issue of food services' arrangement, factors determining their location, as well as spatial behaviour of inhabitants and tourists linked to food services' sector.

According to V. Dökmeci et al. [1997], the location of restaurants as well as other food facilities is determined by the functions which they are meant to perform. The location of food facilities which are addressed to clients visiting them on weekdays – usually during a working day – is different to the location of restaurants which are visited occasionally. The arrangement of the first ones, usually offering dishes at lower prices, refers to W. Christaller's theory of central facilities. Their location is often determined by the size of the service area and related to its accessibility. Their location is linked with the arrangement of residential and working areas. These factors are not of such importance with regard to facilities visited sporadically – often at late evening hours and during weekends – where the offered dishes and beverages are usually more expensive. Such restaurants are usually located in places which are attractive in terms of their location, while their accessibility and the size of service area (usually stretching over decidedly vaster area than in the case of facilities visited on weekdays during the day) are not of utmost importance.

According to the studies conducted in Istanbul by V. Dökmeci et al. [1997], between 1960 and 1996 the arrangement of food services underwent significant transformations, which involved the emergence of a gradually larger number of restaurants beyond the inner centre of a city. While in 1960 there were 48% of facilities offering food services in the centre of Istanbul, and only 10% on its peripheries, in 1996 the centre's share reduced to 26% and peripheries to 28%. The studies conducted in Istanbul showed also that the expansion of restaurants beyond the inner centre was determined not only by changes in population distribution patterns (formation of new residential areas), but also finding themselves within the boundaries of agglomerations attractive from the natural environment point of view, which resulted in the formation of recreational areas accompanied by the development of food services.

Interesting conclusions were drawn by K. Ishizaki [1995], who – when handling the strategies in the context of the distribution of the fast food network in Tokyo – claims that three of the facilities were focused on offering their services to clients visiting them during the day ("McDonald's", "Lotteria", and "Morinaga Love"), and one ("Mos Burger") specialised in offering services to clients visiting it at late evening and night hours (and specifically in relation to this factor its new bars were being opened).

A separate issue within the studies on the distribution of food districts in cities is the location of restaurants and bars offering the so-called ethnic food. This problem was first studied at the end of 1970s by M. A. Weber [Dökmeci et al. 1997], who had been involved in ethnic food in Baltimore (Maryland, the United States). Afterwards, the subject of Mexican restaurants and bars in Tucson (Arizona) was raised by D. D. Arreola [1983], who showed that their popularity and growing number was not only influenced by the influx of immigrants from Mexico, located nearby, but the strong interest of inhabitants and tourists travelling to Arizona from other parts of the United States and from abroad. Similar conclusions were drawn by other researchers [Zielinsky 1985, Cox 1993]. On the other hand, the studies conducted in Omaha (Nebraska) show that restaurants and bars serving Mexican food had appeared relatively quickly also in city areas wherein the percentage of people of Latin-American descent was low [Dillon et al. 2006: 50-51]. The rapid influx of immigrants from Mexico in 1970s and 1980s caused that – in the course of time – other inhabitants of Omaha became interested in Mexican culture, featuring acceptance to dishes offered by the Mexican cuisine – among others – especially that it began to transform into a new cuisine known

as “Tex-Mex” in which e.g. spicy tastes typical for Mexican dishes were substituted with milder ones [Dillon et al. 2006: 59].

The Forms in which Food Services are Offered in an Urban Space

According to what has been written above, the gastronomy attractiveness of a city is determined by highly diversified factors, including the ones which relate to the space. They will be the subject-matter of a more comprehensive analysis below, which has been conducted according to a certain order: from single spots within a city space (*street food*), through linear systems (*food streets*) and nodal (*food courts*), up to the formation of specialised districts in which gastronomy function might be an essential or at least significant complementary function (*food districts*).

Street Food

Street food refers to ready-to-eat food sold in a street or other public place (market, bazaar), often prepared at a temporary food service facility. Most street foods are classified as *fast food* and *finger food*, and are cheaper on average than meals from restaurants, bars, or eateries⁶. Originally, what is considered as street food was offered by vendors traversing a city. Nowadays, more and more popular become portable food carts which are specifically modified bikes, motorbikes, etc., as well as specifically prepared cars known as *food trucks*.

Although the history of the way in which ready-to-eat food is offered in a street – currently referred to as *street food* – reaches back to ancient times, at present it is particularly popular in African, Asian and Latin American cities, where it is the common way of obtaining a warm (on average) meal for a substantial part of their residents. Nevertheless, this does not mean that in Europe and Northern America *street food* does not exist. On the contrary, from at least several dozen years due to the – among others – arrival of immigrants from Middle East, Northern Africa, as well as East Asia, Southeast Asia and South Asia, consuming street food has become more common in the cities of the United States and Europe. It needs to be emphasised at this point, however, that in large North American agglomerations located at the Atlantic Ocean and the Great Lakes the phenomenon of offering food in streets and other public places – even though it was present yet at the turn of the 17th and 18th century – became intensified together with the arrival of immigrants from Central and Southern Europe [Taylor et al. 2000: 26-27].

Fig. 3. The Forms in Which Street Food is Offered in Lahore (Pakistan, Punjab)



Source: Photo. Andrzej Kowalczyk, November 2006.

⁶ http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Street_food (02/07/2014)

Fig. 4. Preparing a Cart Offering Typical Chinese (Cantonese) Snacks and Street Food in Stanley (China, Hong Kong)



Source: Photo. Anna Kowalczyk, April 2008.

Fig. 5. Food Truck with Hot-dogs (Portugal, Lisbon)



Source: Photo. Anna Kowalczyk, June 2014.

The 5 rankings contained in the table below indicate that the most attractive cities insofar as street food is concerned are agglomerations located in Asia. In different rankings, among the agglomerations which are most highly evaluated due to snacks bought from street vendors (and usually eaten in the same place) are often the cities of South-East Asia (particularly Bangkok, Singapore, Ho Chi Minh) and East Asia (Tokyo and Hong Kong). The highly rated agglomerations include also Istanbul, Tel Aviv, and amongst European cities – predominantly Paris. Street food in North American agglomerations is evaluated significantly lower.

Table 5. World's Most Highly Evaluated Cities in the Culinary Context due to Street Food

Ch.A. Heelan [2014]	„Forbes” Magazine [2012]	C. Fisher [2014]	„New York Daily News” Magazine [2013]	S. Bhidé [2013]
Bangkok	Bangkok	Tokyo	Hong Kong	Bangkok
Tel Aviv	Singapore	Tel Aviv	Rio de Janeiro	Istanbul
Istanbul	Penang	Taipei	Paris	New York
Paris	Marrakesh	Singapore	Boston	Marrakesh
Mexico	Palermo	Seoul	Istanbul	Ho Chi Minh
Hong Kong	Ho Chi Minh	San Juan	Mexico	Palermo
Kuala Lumpur	Istanbul	San Francisco	Ottawa	Rio de Janeiro
Mumbai	Mexico	Rio de Janeiro	Marrakesh	Paris
Tokyo	Brussels	Portland	Berlin	Hong Kong
Singapore	Ambergris Caye	Penang	Fukuoka	London

Source: Based on: Heelan [2014], Fisher [2014], and Bhidé [2013].

The high popularity of typical snacks or meals classed as street food is usually determined by their low price and fast way of satisfying hunger. These two factors are crucial to the inhabitants of a particular city, who eat street food, but are even more crucial to tourists – especially when they do not have much time to sightsee a visited city and spend their time in a gastronomic establishment. Part of food offered as street food is typical for the cuisine of a particular city, or even a specific city. However, many types of snacks and meals of this kind has become popular in many world regions and ceased to be treated as a tourist attraction. This pertains to hot-dogs, hamburgers, pizzas, chips, kebabs, spring rolls, sushi and a number of other snacks which, initially, were symbols of specific culinary traditions. Furthermore, some of these meals developed into their regional varieties – e.g. in Turkey or Iran there is a pizza which is prepared according to local the preferences of local clients (in Turkey called *Turkish-pizza*), whereas in Poland for similar reasons the Chinese (as well as Vietnamese) and Indian meals are often less spicy than in their original countries (this pertains to Sichuan cuisine's meals which are very hot by definition).

Though theoretically *street food* might be offered in each city street, in practice it is usually offered in the places which are more often visited by the inhabitants of a city as well as the tourists who visit it – in the major streets, at the main squares (frequently nearby railway and bus stations or ports), as well as in the city areas with highly developed trade functions (e.g. in Arab bazaars).

Fig. 6. A Tourist Buying Deep-fried in Sesame Oil Octopus Arms (Seasoned with Sichuan Pepper) – Mong Kok District in Kowloon (China, Hong Kong)



Source: Photo. Andrzej Kowalczyk, March 2008.

As has been mentioned earlier, *street food* stands for a number of snacks and ready-to-eat meals and beverages. Though most of them are linked with local culinary traditions, some might be encountered in the world regions which are distant to each other. Nevertheless, from the point of view of tourists interested in discovering other cultures, and mostly people enjoying culinary tourism, it is crucial to eat – as part of street food – the meals from the local cuisine.

For instance, one of the most commonly offered snacks in the streets of southern China and within Hong Kong's territory, and especially in the past Portuguese colony Macau, is fried meat known as *bak kwa*⁷. In Macau, it comprises one of the most popular – next to almond biscuits – *street food* snacks, and the largest number of tourists might be found in "Heong Kei Iok Kon" (of the floor area of only 50 square metres) which is located in Rua de Cinco de Outubro and was founded in 1969 as the first shop offering *bak kwa* in this city (Fig. 7)⁸.

⁷ *Bak kwa* (in spoken at the coast of South China Sea *hokkien* dialect, or *rou gan* in Mandarin) is a fried, flat, and usually square portion of pork popular in Hong Kong, Macau, and the southern regions of China located nearby. Along with emigration from Fujian and Guangdong provinces to Southeast Asia, they have become one of the most popular snacks in – among others – Malaysia and Singapore (especially during the celebration of Chinese New Year). The shop offering *bak kwa* in Singapore which is considered as the oldest one is "Kim Hock Guan" at Rochor Road which has been open since 1905. The shops such as: "Bee Cheng Hiang", "Lim Chee Guan", "Fragrance Foodstuff" and "Kim Joo Guan" are also known for *bak kwa* [http://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/infopedia/articles/SIP_1746_2010-12-30.html, 02/07/2014].

⁸ <http://www.heongkei.com/en/content/about-carnes-secas-heong-kei-iok-kon-jerky> (02/07/2014)

Fig. 7. Food Service Facility Offering *bak kwa* – Typical Street Food for Macau (China)

Source: Photo. Anna Kowalczyk, March 2008.

Food Streets and Food Courts

The emergence of *food streets* and *food courts* (also known as *food parks*) should be considered as a higher form of offering meals within an urban space than selling snacks and meals in the form of traditional *street food*. The concept of *street food* should be considered as a street or its fragment in the vicinity of which at least several bars or restaurants have been opened. In general, the streets acknowledged as *food streets* are not very long, though there are exceptions to that and sometimes they might stretch over a few hundred metres or even more. Often, these are the parts of longer streets, closely to which there is a concentration of gastronomic establishments, which are considered as *food streets*. On the other hand, food courts stand for a court (yard) in areas of a compact development, wherein restaurants and bars are located. Sometimes the name food court is used in reference to a square⁹. Moreover, *food courts* might stand for “food zones” in *business parks* (known also as *office parks*), as well as large shopping centres, and particularly shopping and entertainment centres. A good example of that might be one of the largest multifunctional centres in Hong Kong (Victoria) – Swire Island East (the total number of employed and inhabitants – 120 000) which contained 19 restaurants and bars in 2008 in TaiKoo Place complex, 20 in TaiKoo Shing, and 25 in Cityplaza¹⁰. Although it should be assumed that such places are relatively visited by tourists looking for gastronomic discoveries relatively rarely – and thus are hardly applicable to cultural tourism, sometimes they fulfil an important role in satisfying the gastronomy needs of the so-called business tourists. It is worth mentioning, however,

⁹ The concept of *food court* is also used in relation to large shopping and entertainment centres, wherein there is usually one or several separate parts designed for gastronomy purposes.

¹⁰ *Entertainment guide. Swire Island East*, Swire Properties, Hong Kong, 2008.

that especially large shopping and entertainment centres of *mall* type are often the destination of tourists who does not only visit them for shopping purposes, but also spending their leisure time through visiting some restaurants and bars – among others. This phenomenon was noted in the foreign literature on the subject by such scholars as R. W. Butler [1991], or J. Goss [1999], and in Polish literature by W. Wilk [2013].

Fig. 8. Restaurants in a Main Street (*Food Street*) in the Suburbs of Darband in Tehran (Iran)



Source: Photo. Andrzej Kowalczyk, November 2010.

In general, *food streets* and *food courts* emerge spontaneously, without formerly prepared spatial development planning. However, in some cases, their formation might be the result of a deliberate city development strategy.

A country in which *food streets* have gained an official status and are treated as an element of city development is Pakistan. In that country *food streets*, which are designed only for pedestrians, are formerly planned and specifically designed. The first food street was founded in Lahore, the centre of Gawalmandi district (located in the oldest city part and acknowledged as its cultural centre). The street stretched over a few hundred meters and was surrounded by historical buildings (often from 18th-19th c.) designed in a style which is characteristic for northern Pakistan and is referred to as Persian-Kashmiri. In 2009 it contained over 100 gastronomic establishments and shops with food, wherein over 2000 people were employed [Raza 2009]. In the course of time, another *food street* appeared in Lahore (in Anarkali district, in 2002). Food streets appeared in Islamabad (Melody Food Street and in Blue Area, in 2002 and 2005), Karachi (Burns Road, in 2005), and in Peshawar (Ghantar Ghar, also in 2005). Though the idea to establish food streets (which are visited mainly by tourists and Pakistani higher and middle class) faced resistance on the part of small-scale merchants, current restaurateurs, as well as clergy – it is gradually leveraged, which can be confirmed by the aforementioned Lahore.

Fig. 9. Gawalmandi Food Street in Lahore (Pakistan, Punjab)

Source: Photo. Andrzej Kowalczyk, November 2006.

The idea of opening new *food streets* in this city appeared in 2009 (in the same year, a decision was made to demolish parts of houses at Gawalmandi Food Street, which led to its closure¹¹) and was a part of a plan undertaken by Punjab authorities to open in Lahore metropolitan area even nine new *food streets*. They were supposed to be located in the districts of: Gulberg (a relatively modern trade and services' city centre, a counterpart of Central Business District, CBD), Shalimar Town, Nishtar Town, Samnabad, Allama Iqbal Town, Wahga (nearby the border crossing with India), Aziz Bhatti Town, Ravi Town and Data Gunj Baksh Town [Habib 2011]. Nevertheless, these plans were not realised – with one exception. In January 2012, at the initiative of Lahore's authorities, in the neighbourhood of a historical Badashahi mosque and the 17th c. fortress, a new food street started to operate – Fort Road Food Street¹². Its location is not coincidental, since it has been assumed that due to its location it will draw tourists visiting the most important city's attractions. Moreover, it is worthy of note that Fort Road lies on the road connecting a significant bus stop with busy streets of Lower Mall and Data Darbar Road. The restaurants located at a 1.4 kilometres long street were opened in rebuilt and renovated 25 buildings thanks to the support of City District Government Lahore [Tahir 2012]. In the summer of 2012, within the framework of Fort Road Food Street project, there were 27 operating restaurants, which made Fort Road one of the key regions offering food services in Lahore¹³. The second region of such kind is the region of M. M. Alam Road, which was thoroughly modernised in 2011 and was meant to be the thoroughfare of the new part of Lahore. In the spring of 2014, M. M. Alam Road embraced 12 cafés and bars as well as 20 restaurants, including the foreign chains of "McDonald's", "Pizza Hut", "Kentucky Fried Chicken", "Subway", "Domino's Pizza", "Hardee's", and "Nando's"¹⁴. It also is worth mentioning that in the spring of 2013 Gawalmandi Food Street was reopened, which was well approved of by the enthusiasts of Lahore culinary traditions¹⁵.

Nevertheless, Fort Road Street – located in the visited by tourists part of Lahore – is not the only example of this type of investments. Slightly earlier, in the spring of 2011 in Karachi, Port Grand Food and Entertainment Complex was established, the integral part of which is a footpath with 11 restaurants and bars (offering even the dishes from Thailand's cuisine) located partly along the old port waterfront – Native Jetty Bridge (19th c.). The investment was created in relation to the commonly utilised worldwide concept of cities' waterfront development and apart from the aforementioned restaurants comprises 30 other shopping,

¹¹ Raza 2009.

¹² *New food street opens today*, The News, January 21st, 2012; <http://www.thenews.com.pk/TodaysPrintDetail.aspx?ID=88664&Cat=5> (02/07/2014).

¹³ *Ramazan offerings: low turnout of customers at Fort Road Food Street*, The Express Tribune, July 24th, 2012, <http://tribune.com.pk/story/412234/ramazan-offerings-low-turnout-of-customers-at-fort-road-food-street> (02/07/2014).

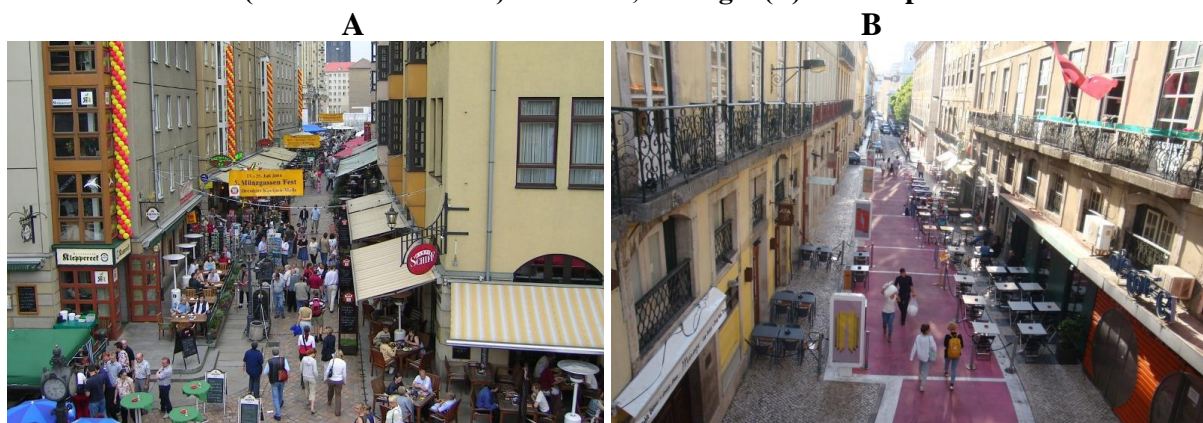
¹⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/M._M._Alam_Road (02/07/2014).

¹⁵ *Gawalmandi Food Street reopens*, May 4th, 2013, <http://www.dawn.com/news/811972/gawalmandi-food-street-reopens> (02/07/2014).

service and cultural facilities, which can daily accommodate 4,000-5,000 visitors [Aqueel 2011, Ebrahim 2011].

Though the idea of *food street* plays an important role in the urban planning of Pakistan, its elements might be detected in the planning practice of other countries as well. This refers not only to Asian countries, since the signs of the same way of thinking might be observed in the American concept of *festival market place* (FMP). Having analysed the thoroughly-studied examples of Baltimore, or Boston in the United States, Barcelona, Lisbon and Genoa in Europe, Cape Town and Durban in Africa, or Victoria, Kowloon and Singapore in Asia, as well as Sydney and Melbourne in Australia – one can conclude that the creation of footpaths with many restaurants and bars in their coastal districts – usually established according to the concepts of *waterfront* or *festival market place* – in fact goes in congruence with the idea of *food street* or *food court* – is more and more often acclaimed by urban planning experts as well as becomes a crucial element of urban policy (including tourist urban policy).

Fig. 10. Münzgasse Street in Dresden (Germany, Saxony) During a Culinary Festival (A), Rua Nova do Carvalho (“Rua Cor de Rosa”) in Lisbon, Portugal (B) – Examples of Food Streets



Source: Photo. Anna Kowalczyk, July 2004, June 2014.

Food Districts

While *food streets* and *food courts* might be considered as a more advanced stage of south and spatial city transformations in comparison to *street food* – predominantly due to their relatively permanent presence in a city space – *food districts* are on an unquestionably higher hierarchical level than *food streets* and *food courts*. Though the author of these words could not find in the source literature a well-defined concept of *food district*¹⁶, it might be assumed that the term defines the part of a city which is different to its other parts by a high concentration of dining facilities which are willingly visited not only by the inhabitants, but also the visiting tourists. Having examined the websites, one might observe that the term “food district” is used in reference to many cities. In particular to large agglomerations such as Paris, Los Angeles, Tokyo, New York, New Orleans, Singapore, Jakarta, Kuala Lumpur, or Victoria and Kowloon in Hong Kong, but also in reference to slightly smaller cities. Often, *food districts* are treated as one of the vital tourist highlights and are often described in promotional materials. The following cities – popular among tourists – might serve as examples of such cities: the aforementioned New Orleans in the United States, or Victoria and Kowloon in Hong Kong, wherein over a dozen of brochures is published annually (sometimes in the form of folders consisting of a number of pages) with the aim of promoting “food districts” scattered over various parts of a city.

¹⁶ In general, this term is used in a specific context, not always connected with a city.

Fig. 11. SoHo Food District in Victoria (China, Hong Kong). On the Left – a Typical Food Court, On the Right – One of Food Streets with Restaurants and Bars Offering Chinese and International Meals



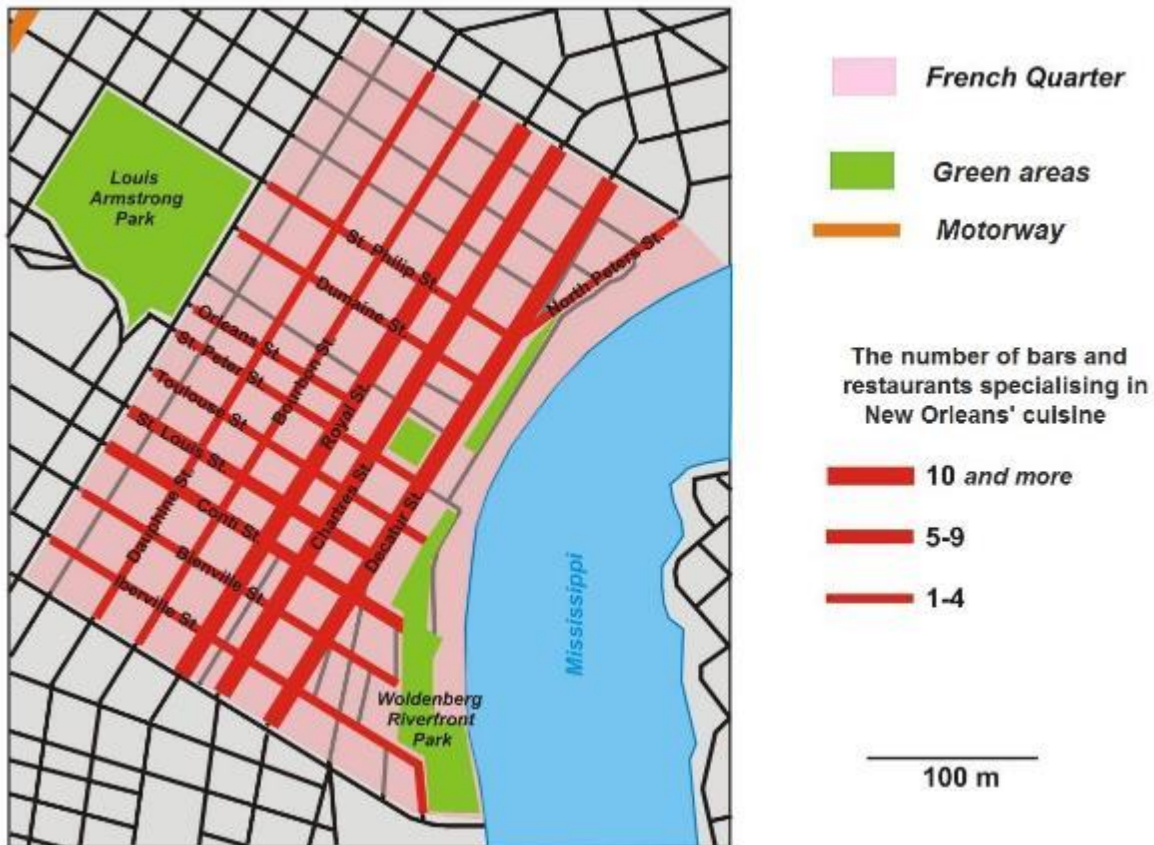
Source: Photo. Andrzej Kowalczyk, March 2008.

In Hong Kong's urban complex, encompassing not only Victoria and Kowloon, but also a few larger cities (the largest of which is Tsun Wan and Sha Tin of the population of over half a million) and with the total population of over 7 million, at least a few districts might be distinguished as focused on gastronomic establishments in terms of services offered.

The *food districts* of utmost importance and popularity among tourists in Victoria are Lan Kwai Fong (Central district), SoHo (at the border crossing between Central and Sheung Wan), some regions of Causeway Bay and Wan Chai districts (in both cases these are particularly the areas between Hennesy Road and Gloucester Road), and Tsin Sha Tsui district in Kowloon. The abovementioned districts simultaneously comprise the financial and shopping centre of Hong Kong, as well as contain numerous hotels and a substantial part of historical buildings (few in Hong Kong), such as Tin Hau Temple (18th c.), Old Supreme Court Building (1912), or a complex of buildings comprising Central Police Station (the oldest building from 1984, the youngest from 1925), which lie between Lang Kwai Fong food district (on the East) and SoHo (on the West), and is located around 100-200 metres further.

Another city with much developed "culinary district" is New Orleans in the United States. It has enjoyed the reputation of one of the most attractive cities in terms of gastronomy not only in the United States, but also globally – mainly thanks to characteristic *Louisiana Creole* as well as *Cajun* cuisine, where one may sense the influence of European cuisine (French and Italian), as well as African and Latino American (mainly Mexican). Most gastronomic establishments offering the dishes from *Creole* and *Cajun* cuisines are located in the old part of New Orleans – the eagerly visited by tourists French Quarter (known also as Vieux Carré). The neighbourhood owes its attractiveness not only to the characteristic building structures (usually 2-3 storey houses with arcades and balconies) from the 18th c., but also numerous night clubs (past brothels), souvenir shops as well as restaurants and bars. The vast majority of gastronomic establishments – predominantly those which offer dishes of the local cuisine – are located in Bourbon Street, Charters Street, Decatur Street and Royal Street, which comprise the centre of French Quarter (Fig. 12).

Fig. 12. French Quarter District in New Orleans (the United States, Louisiana). An Example of the City Area with a High Concentration of Gastronomy Services (2004)



Source: Kowalczyk, Derek 2010, fig. 49, modified, p. 230.

The phenomenon of *food districts* has become visible in Poland as well (the streets which might be considered as examples of *food streets* appeared earlier, especially in Warsaw, Cracow, Gdańsk, Poznań, Wrocław, Łódź, and Toruń). According to M. Derek's studies, in *Śródmieście* (meaning "city centre") borough of Warsaw, *food districts* start resembling the Old Town, though – similarly to the case of New Orleans – their gastronomy function is predominantly linked with numerous restaurants serving primarily the traditional dishes from Polish cuisine [Derek 2014, fig. 2., p. 95].

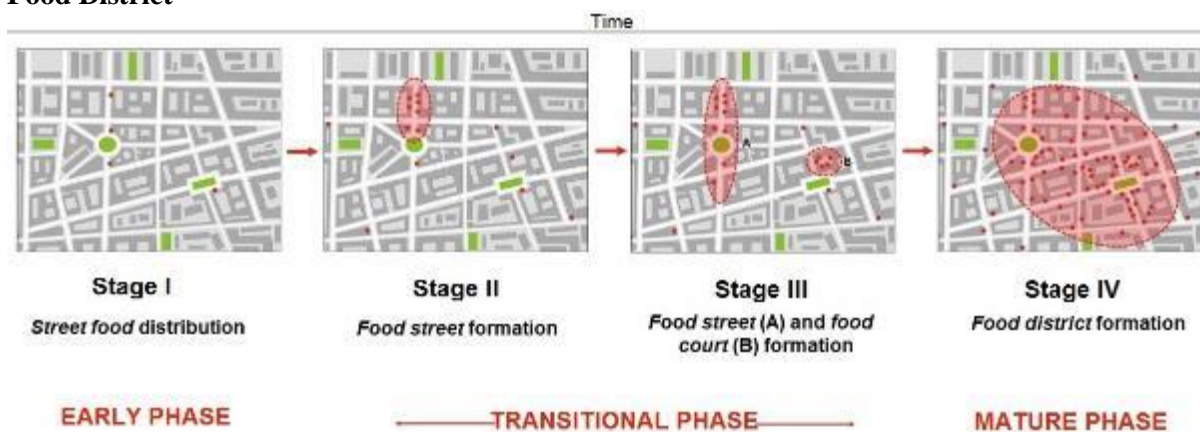
The Concept of a Food District in a City

Taking into consideration what has been stated above, it might be concluded that the shift from *street food* (*food trucks*), through *food streets* (*food courts*), to *food districts* might be described as a process which consists in a progressing concentration of gastronomy services in an urban space. This process – unquestionably of temporal and spatial character – might be treated as a diffusion of innovation process, whereby "innovation" refers to outdoor dining. It should be explicitly stressed at this point that the vital element of the mechanism consisting in the growing popularity of outdoor dining – which leads to the emergence of *food streets* and *food districts* – are both clients' nutritional needs as well as inhabitants' culinary preferences. From the operational point of view, the client's profile is not of such importance in the context *food streets*, *food courts*, and *food districts* – but rather the broader scope of phenomenon consisting in eating out (it might be a hotel in the case of tourists), which results in the formation of functional and spatial changes within a city space. Sometimes, these are temporal changes (particularly in reference to food streets since business premises often

change their purpose), but in some cases they are much more stable (e.g. the gastronomic function of the Old Town in Warsaw, French Quarter in New Orleans, or Lan Kwai Fong in Victoria).

The full process of transition from *street food* to *food district* consists of four stages (Fig. 13). In general, the process takes at least a few dozen years – rarely only over one dozen. Though the reality indicates that the occurrence of the process is an objective phenomenon, its quantification might breed many difficulties. First, a major problem is deciding when the concentration of *street food* vendors is high enough for the formation of a *food street*. Second, many difficulties might result from the delimitation of an area which aspires to be considered as a *food district*. Admittedly, by means of the nearest neighbour method, cluster analysis, and above all standard deviational ellipse, the sites of gastronomy services concentration in a city space might be pinpointed, but the decision whether one handles a few *food streets* or *food courts* or is it yet a *food district* will always be arbitrary, and thus subjective.

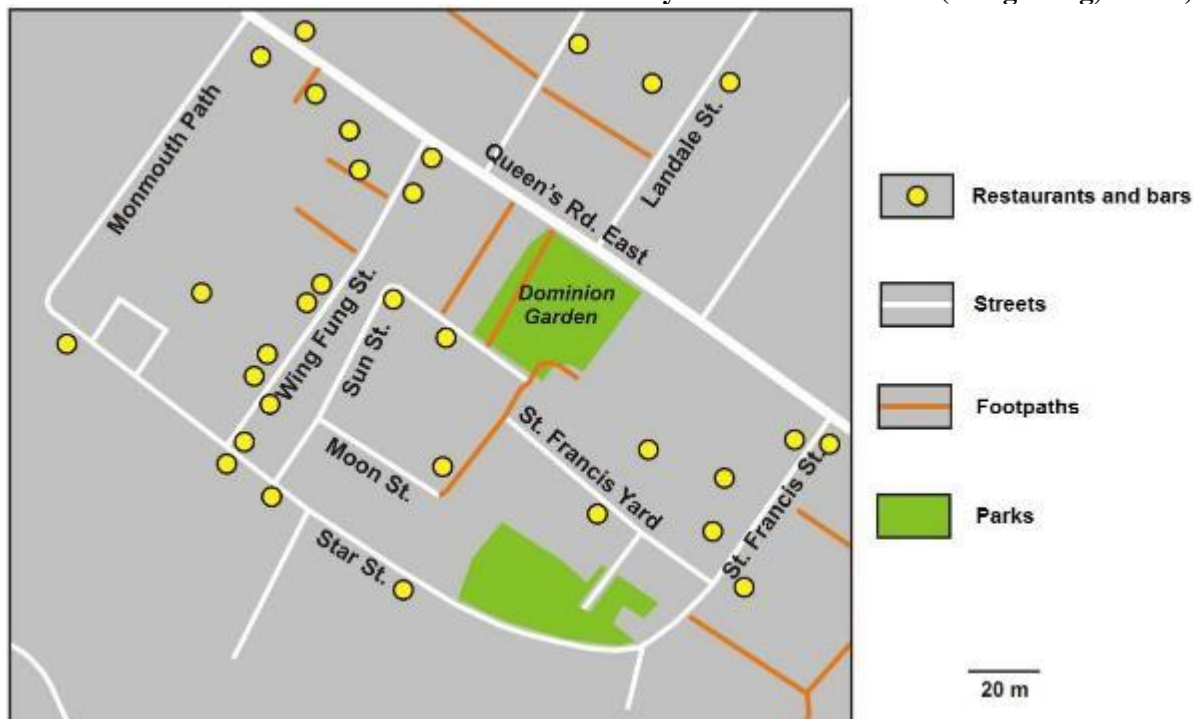
Fig. 13. The Concept of a Food District in a City. The Model of Transition from Street Food to Food District



Source: Author's own elaboration.

The problem presented above might be examined on the example of an oftentimes mentioned Victoria (Hong Kong). It appears that the example of emerging *food district* in Victoria might be the area between Queen's Road East (in the north) and Star Street (in the south) as well as Saint Francis Street (in the east) and Monmouth Path (in the west), the central part of which is Wing Fung Street. Regarding the aforementioned *food districts* in Hong Kong, the region at hand might be considered as a transitional phase between *food street* (Wing Fung Street) and *food court* (the intersecting area of Saint Francis Street and Saint Francis Yard) – and a fully developed *food district*. The location of this area – though it is a few hundred metres distant from the aforementioned culinary districts of Lai Kwai Fong and SoHo – does not seem to be coincidental. Apart from numerous office buildings, in a direct neighbourhood of an area referred to as Star Street Precinct, there are 5-star hotels: "JW Marriott Hotel Hong Kong", "Conrad Hong Kong", and "Island Shangri-La Hong Kong" (westwards from the *food district* in question), behind which unfolds the main park (and the most often visited by tourists) of Victoria – Hong Kong Park. It is worthy of note at this point that – in its northern part – there is a Museum of Tea Ware, which is situated in the old Flagstaff House – one of the oldest buildings in Victoria (1844). Another sign justifying the theory that Star Street Precinct areas might transform into *food district* might be the fact that they are located at the border crossing of two financial and shopping Victoria districts (Wan Chai and Admiralty), and – at the same time – are distant from other *food districts*, which is linked with reduced competition.

Fig. 14. Star Street Precinct – an Emerging Food District Between Queen’s Road East and Star Street on the Borderland of Wan Chai and Admiralty Districts in Victoria (Hong Kong, China)



Source: Own elaboration based on a field research conducted in 2008.

Conclusions

Culinary tourism is becoming more and more important as a phenomenon which is not only socio-cultural, but also socio-economic in nature. Travelling with the aim of tasting new dishes, familiarising with other forms of their preparation, visiting the sites which are famous for their culinary traditions, or as well seeing the food-related places such as cultivation, farming and fishing areas, as well as the places of production – becomes, more frequently, a crucial theme for tourist trips.

Among the places perceived as attractive in terms of their gastronomic specificity are both rural and urban areas. During their tours, the tourists interested in gastronomy do not only visit smaller towns, but also large urban agglomerations, wherein the districts – in which offering culinary services plays a vital economic role – can be found. Though in some parts of the world “street food”, “food streets”, and “food districts” have been present since time immemorial (presumably since the ancient times), at the end of the 20th c. the phenomenon of gastronomy services’ concentration in some parts of urban agglomerations became considered as a serious problem in terms of both urban planning and tourist attractiveness of a city.

The continuous – and in many countries even growing – popularity of outdoor dining, as well as the development of culinary tourism led to the emergence of streets with many bars and restaurants due to which they have become *food streets*. In the course of time, those *food streets* – or similar to them *food courts* – initially distributed in different parts of a city (predominantly in its central part) – start to connect and create larger areas which might be considered as *food districts*. The formation of *food districts*, usually comprising an integral part of the areas described in the literature as *tourist business districts* and recreational business districts, start to be visible in many cities – not only those highly developed in terms of inbound tourism. It is related with more popular *outdoor dining* among the inhabitants of larger agglomerations, which might be partly considered as a fashion and partly as a result of the socio-economic processes taking place in urbanised areas, e.g. high female economic

activity, changes in family models (one-person or two-people households), flexitime (and practically prolonged), working in many professions, living in suburban zones, as well as many other factors.

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Od *street food* do *food districts* – usługi gastronomiczne i turystyka kulinarna w przestrzeni miasta

Słowa kluczowe: turystyka kulinarna, atrakcyjność gastronomiczna miast, koncepcja dzielnic gastronomicznej

Streszczenie

W ostatnich dekadach coraz większego znaczenia nabierają wyjazdy turystów związane z jedzeniem. Turystyka gastronomiczna, czy też turystyka kulinarna wynika z atrakcyjności kulinarnej danego kraju, regionu czy miasta. Turystyka kulinarna polega nie tylko na spożywaniu przez turystów potraw i napojów, ale jest związana z ich zainteresowaniem wszystkim, co dotyczy jedzenia; poczynając od używanych produktów, przez proces przygotowywania i podawania potraw, po poznawanie związanych z jedzeniem obyczajów. Tym samym jest ona rodzajem turystyki kulturowej.

Wśród różnych miejsc odwiedzanych przez turystów interesujących się jedzeniem i przygotowywaniem potraw, są także duże miasta. Najbardziej atrakcyjne dla ludzi interesujących się jedzeniem są zazwyczaj miasta o długich tradycjach kulinarnych (głównie ze względu na lokalną kuchnię), ale też nowe centra turystyki kulinarnej. Tematem artykułu jest przedstawienie procesu przekształceń przestrzeni miejskiej od najprostszej usługi gastronomicznej (oferowania jedzenia na ulicy), po najbardziej rozwiniętą formę rozwoju usług gastronomicznych w miastach – powstawania tzw. dzielnic kulinarnych.