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Contents

Danijela STRLE, Matej OGRIN <i>Latent cooling of atmosphere as an indicator of lowered snow line: Case study from Planica and Vrata valleys</i>	7
Vera GRAOVAC MATASSI, Ana TALAN <i>Recent marriage and childbearing trends in Croatia and Slovenia: A comparative review</i>	25
Constantin NISTOR, Ionuț SĂVULESCU, Bogdan-Andrei MIHAI, Liliana ZAHARIA, Marina VÎRGHILEANU, Sorin CARABLAISĂ <i>The impact of large dams on fluvial sedimentation: The Iron Gates Reservoir on the Danube River</i>	41
Jolanta JÓŹWIK, Dorota DYMEK <i>Spatial diversity of ecological stability in different types of spatial units: Case study of Poland</i>	57
Danijel IVAJNŠIČ, David PINTARIČ, Veno JAŠA GRUJIČ, Igor ŽIBERNA <i>A spatial decision support system for traffic accident prevention in different weather conditions</i>	75
Special issue: Gastronomy, territory and tourism	
Nika RAZPOTNIK VISKOVIČ, Blaž KOMAC <i>Gastronomy tourism: A brief introduction</i>	95
Maja TOPOLE, Primož PIPAN, Primož GAŠPERIČ, Matjaž GERŠIČ, Peter KUMER <i>Culinary events in the Slovenian countryside: Visitors' motives, satisfaction, and views on sustainability</i>	107
Mateja ŠMID HRIBAR, Nika RAZPOTNIK VISKOVIČ, David BOLE <i>Models of stakeholder collaboration in food tourism experiences</i>	127
Carlos FERNANDES, Greg RICHARDS <i>Developing gastronomic practices in the Minho region of Portugal</i>	141
Špela LEDINEK LOZEJ <i>Labelling, certification and branding of cheeses in the southeastern Alps (Italy, Slovenia): Montasio, Bovec, Tolminc and Mohant cheese</i>	153
Saša POLJAK ISTENIČ, Jasna FAKIN BAJEC <i>Luxury food tour: Perspectives and dilemmas on the »luxurification« of local culture in tourism product</i>	169
Nika RAZPOTNIK VISKOVIČ <i>Gastronomy as a social catalyst in the creative place-making process</i>	185

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GASTRONOMY AS A SOCIAL CATALYST IN THE CREATIVE PLACE-MAKING PROCESS

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JOŠT GANTAR

Gastronomy event as a center of urban life.

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Nika Razpotnik Visković¹

Gastronomy as a social catalyst in the creative place-making process

ABSTRACT: This paper examines the integration of gastronomy in the creative place-making process. The study is based on the interviews with the organizers of five gastronomy events: a cooking workshop, a gastronomy festival, a series of gastronomy events at museums, a gastronomy theatre performance and an intimate dinner event. The contextual analysis shows that gastronomy events can contribute to five important features defining quality of place: diversity, liveliness, innovativeness, creativity and openness/tolerance. The final phase of our study brings comparison with findings in art-based place-making studies and discusses on diversity, integration in development policies and replicability potential of analyzed gastronomy events.

KEY WORDS: creative place-making, food, events, art, community building, quality of place, urban geography

Gastronomija kot družbeni katalizator v procesu ustvarjanja prostora

POVZETEK: Članek preučuje vključevanje gastronomije v procese ustvarjanja prostora (*place-making*). Študija temelji na intervjujih z organizatorji petih gastronomskih dogodkov: kuharske delavnice, gastronomskega festivala, niza gastronomskih dogodkov v muzejih, predstave gastronomskega gledališča in intimne večerje. Analiza konteksta kaže, da lahko gastronomski dogodki prispevajo k petim pomembnim značilnostim, ki opredeljujejo kakovost prostora: raznolikost, živahnost, inovativnost, ustvarjalnost in odprtost/strpnost. Zadnja faza naše študije prinaša primerjavo z ugotovitvami v umetnostno naravnanih študijah in razpravlja o raznolikosti, vključevanju v razvojne politike in možnosti ponovljivosti analiziranih gastronomskih dogodkov.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: ustvarjanje prostora, hrana, dogodki, umetnost, razvoj skupnosti, kakovost prostora, urbana geografija

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1 Introduction

Gastronomy is not a new topic in place-based theory. It has been widely studied before, but mostly in the context of tourism: as event tourism (Everett 2012; Lew 2017), experience tourism (Richards 2002; Richards 2012; Andersson, Mossberg and Therkelsen 2017; Williams, Yuan and Williams 2018) and heritage tourism (Bessiere 2013; Rinaldi 2017; Topole in Pipan 2020). As local and authentic, or imported and »transplanted« (Lau and Li 2019), gastronomy was recognized for its place-branding potential rather than its place-making implications. In their analyses, scholars were focused mainly on the reactions of the visitors, their satisfaction with culinary experiences and the feeling of authenticity (Wijaya et al. 2013, Bryce et al. 2015; Kumer et al. 2019; Topole et al. 2021). It was also important to understand how the local communities identify with the current culinary tourism offer (Tsai and Wang 2017) and how this affects the experiential value of the place and the success of the place-branding policies, which integrate gastronomy as one of the unique cultural assets each area has to offer.

The overview of research dedicated to creative place-making reveals the dominating focus on art and its different manifestations (performances, events and centers), which are recognized as one of the most evident economic and social catalysts in the community (Rota and Salone 2014; Rembeza 2016). However, can gastronomy, food and cooking play this role as well? Answering this question requires a deeper understanding of gastronomy and food as vectors of social inclusion and participation of community members, which exceeds the scope of direct economic benefits such as through tourism. The goal of this paper is to start filling this gap.

2 Theoretical grounds for the study

2.1 Creative place-making

Creative place-making is a contemporary form of place-making, increasingly focusing on decentralized actions and initiatives, which substitute for or at least complement more traditional approaches, such as establishing cultural and art centers in neighborhoods (Markusen and Gadwa 2010; Boichot 2014). In creative place-making the social character of the neighborhood becomes as important as its physical character, the process of engaging the community is as crucial as the final outcome – for example, art performances, exhibitions or murals (Rembeza 2016).

Creative place-making can be strategic, planned and formalized (Markusen and Gadwa 2010) or it can be unconventional, bottom-up and even coincidental (Rota and Salone 2014). It is the »creativity« that is at the heart of its definition, but views on this also differ. Some authors argue that the creative process can only be artist-driven, or at least that local arts and culture should be activated, whereas for others everything involving humans is creative in its essence (Salzman and Yerace 2018). However, who are the »humans involved« and who represents community when talking about creative place-making?

Schneekloth and Shibley (2000) explain that place-making is not just about the relationship of people to their places; it also creates relationships among people in the place. These relationships are the backbone of the social capital that can emerge in communities and among them. Townley et al. (2011) distinguish two types of social capital that develop as a product of the creative place-making process. The first one is bonding capital, which is manifested in social and emotional ties within a homogeneous group, creating a sense of identity and belonging. The second one is bridging capital, allowing the creation of links between groups, which is crucial for the creation of open societies such as those that welcome tourists, migrants, refugees, exchange student, pilgrims and others among themselves. Following these findings, it can be concluded that a place-making community cannot be limited only to the people that have grown up, lived and worked in a neighborhood, despite the fact that they are often proclaimed as being the first rightful beneficiaries (Thomas, Pate and Ranson 2015). Kullberg et al. (2010) agree that places are defined by both residents and outsiders. The potential of creative place-making to augment social capital is even more evident in urban neighborhoods, where it can replace the bonding role of disappearing traditional associations (Dumont 2005), which are more typical and enduring in rural areas (Salzman and Yerace 2018).

2.2 Role of art in creative place-making

Unarguably, the most recognized and the most studied medium of creative place-making is art, which has different functions in forming places (Kwon 2002): art in a public space, art as a public space and art in the public interest. It is the third function that is in our focus because it accentuates the engagement of art in social issues rather than in the built environment: its ability to empower individuals, to induce change in areas in crisis (Puleo 2014), to influence the true vitality of a place and to create dialog with marginalized social groups (Thomas, Pate and Ranson 2015; Rembeza 2016). In this process, art is becoming an economic catalyst, encouraging innovation and collective actions (Thomas, Pate and Ranson 2015), and also a social catalyst (Markusen and Gadwa 2010; Kaplan 2015; Pavluković, Stankov and Arsenović 2020), creating not only a feeling of connection across diversity (Kim and Miyamoto 2013) but also affecting the quality of life in communities and improving public health, the (sense of) safety and the liveability of a place (Thomas, Pate and Ranson 2015). For Jorgensen (2015), an artist can be an »interlocutor for social change,« and for Markusen and Gadwa (2010) also a substantial contributor to the ascent of the cultural industry. It is due to its catalytic potential that art is often integrated in urban revitalization programs through initiatives on various scales – from flagship, prestige and internationally renowned projects to smaller communal revitalization initiatives (Hall and Robertson 2001; Dragičević et al. 2015; Rembeza 2016). Gastronomy and food have been recognized as catalysts as well: catalysts for improved cultural understanding (Santich 2007) and economic development, especially tourism (van Westering 1999), the food industry (Richards 2002) and the creative industry (Hurtado Justiniano et al. 2018). Therefore, research approaches used to understand the role of art in creative place-making can make a significant contribution to expanding the study also on the food and gastronomy.

2.3 Formal vs. informal initiatives

An institutional framework and support are not prerequisites for creative place-making (Salzman and Yerace 2018). Studies of unconventional, bottom-up and unplanned initiatives (events, street parties, etc.) show that they too can be linked to a large spectrum of place-based implications: economic, social, cultural, political and ethical (Rota and Salone 2014). They exhibit a higher level of commitment, identification and participation of community members and an inclination toward experimentation, including replicating and readapting practices from elsewhere (Stevenson 2020). They offer not only aesthetic enjoyment (linked to art), but also entertainment in encountering other people, conviviality, and enjoying food and drinks (Crozat and Fournier 2005; Stevenson 2019), all of them being important drivers of sensing the community and sensing the place (McCunn and Gifford 2018).

2.4 Gastronomy in human geography studies

The first studies addressing the role of gastronomy in urban space date back in 1950s. Since then, we can follow constant development of this research field, formulated around four groups of approaches: spatially oriented theories, behavioral theories, non-spatially oriented theories and theories concerning urban governance (Figure 1; for details see Kowalczyk 2020).

Contemporary gastronomy research is focusing mainly on its non-spatial dimension, especially the economic value. Gastronomy has gained importance with the rise of experience economy, which »suggests that businesses must create memorable events for their customers, and that memory itself becomes the product i.e., the experience« (Pine and Gilmore 1998, 102). The model is based on four components that induce the experience: entertainment, education, aesthetics and escapism (Richards 2014). Creating experiences has become main development orientation in gastronomy tourism. We are witnessing the *foodification* process – drastic transformation of functions, mainly in urban spaces, in order to increase the sale and consumption of food for the purpose of tourism (Bell and Binnie 2005; Loda, Bonati and Puttilli 2020). *Foodification* can lead not only to regeneration of place, but even further – in gentrification of neighborhoods and overtourism (Zukin 2008; Loda, Bonati and Puttilli 2020).

Due to its strong economic potential and cultural significance for the community, gastronomy has important role in planning and governance projects. These can include place-making activities, which reflect

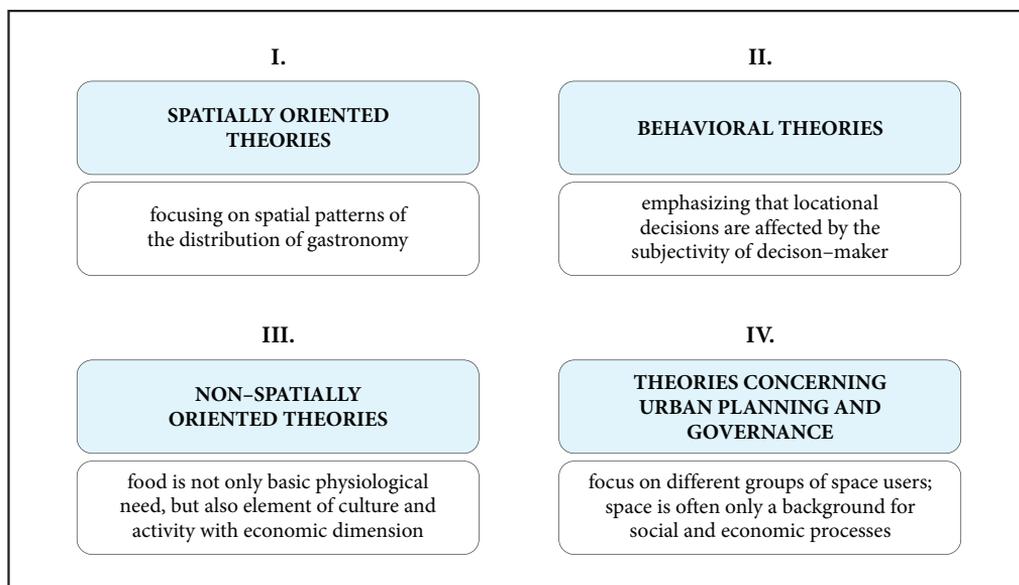


Figure 1: Development of gastronomy related concepts in urban studies (adapted by Kowalczyk 2020).

the physical and social character of a neighborhood (Lugosi and Lugosi 2008); cultural mapping, which serves the purpose of the conservation/protection of cultural diversity (du Randa et al. 2016); or *festivalisation*, which aims to increase the attractiveness of the city, for both the residents and visitors (Cudny 2016). All mentioned activities are leaning on the creativity potential of the gastronomy (Kowalczyk 2020).

Florida (2005), the author of the creative city concept, recognises the gastronomy as an important amenity, that attracts the members of creative class to become either inhabitants or visitors in the city and represents important part of their lifestyle. Dimitrovski and Crespi Vallbona (2018) call this process a cultural consumption, which makes cities attractive according to the perceived quality of life and lifestyle led in them.

Florida's concept is criticised for being too narrow since it considers only creative, even elite social class, while it underestimates the innovative businesses (Moretti 2012), doesn't acknowledge the class of deprived, poor, and »non-creative« ones and promotes instrumentalization of the culture (d'Ovidio and Rodríguez Morató 2017). However, the role of gastronomy in cities remain unquestionable: through eating establishments and culinary events it creates places of social concentration, affects the city's economy and is important feature of the quality of place (Kowalczyk 2020).

The quality of place consists of those characteristics of a community or territory that make it different from other places and attractive as an area to live in, work in, and/or visit. Reilly and Renski (2008, 14) define it as »community's environment, civic traditions, cultural amenities, and recreational opportunities«. In order to measure the quality of place, some authors combine indicators of several factors of quality of place into a single index e.g creativity index (Florida 2005) or investigate different aspects of quality of place individually and comparatively (Reilly and Renski 2008; Bahar Durmaz 2012). The concept of quality of place served as a framework for identifying and exploring the place-making implication of gastronomy events presented in this paper.

3 Methods

This study is based on in-depth semi-structured interviews with organizers of five different gastronomy events: a cooking workshop, a gastronomy festival, a series of gastronomy events at museums, a gastronomy theatre performance and an intimate dinner. While the results from a small sample may not fully relate to a wider population of gastronomy events it was deemed that they would provide valuable insight to the

explored issues. In order to ensure variance, events were selected considering the territorial level (neighborhood, city, network of locations, etc.), who the initiator is, link to public programs, the complexity of the organization and the actors involved. Three interviews were carried out in Paris, one in Angoulême and one via a video call. However, the locations of the interviews do not indicate the locations of the events themselves (see Table 1, Figure 2). Information about the frequency, status and location of the events corresponds to their status at the time of the interviews – April 2019.

Interview topics were organized in a way which would enable us to firstly, gather facts about the content and development of the event, people engaged in organization and the participating public and, secondly, collect the information indicating the role of food and gastronomy in the event, its place-making potential and the challenges organizers faced. Interviewees allowed us to audio record the conversation and provided also the supporting materials for the analyses: reports, photographs and collections of press clippings. The languages of the interviews were English or French, depending on the preference of the respondent.

In solving the methodological dilemma how to explore the place-making implication, we leaned on key elements and features of quality of place identified in place-making literature, which we adapted for the analyses of the gastronomy events (Table 2). They served as contextual framework for content analysis.

Table 1: Selected gastronomy events for the study.

Event name	Launch year	Type of event	Frequency (at interview time)	Status (at interview time)	Event location	Territorial level
Rhythm & Cook	2018	Cooking workshop	Monthly	Ongoing	Paris, France	Neighborhood
Les Gastronomades	1995	Gastronomy festival	Yearly	Ongoing	Angoulême, France	City
A Place at the Royal Table	2018	Series of gastronomy events in the museums	Series of events in 2018	Finished	22 royal residences across Europe	Network of locations
Sonomaton	2016	Gastronomy theater	On program	Ongoing	Rennes (France); Tanger (Maroco); Sibiu (Romania)	Network of locations
Ecosistema	2017	Intimate dinner	Occasional in 2017 and 2018	In quiescence	Paris (France); Bari, Taranto, Lecce (all Italy)	Neighborhood

Table 2: Selected elements and indicators of quality of place.

Element	Indicators described in place-making studies (Florida 2002; Gertler 2004; Trip 2007; Bahar Durmaz 2012; Evans 2009)	Indicators adapted to gastronomy events
Diversity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Functional diversity • Distinctive neighbourhoods • Sufficient density 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diversity of uses of space • Diversity of the content and themes, engaged actors
Liveliness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural and musical events • Live performance venues per capita 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revitalisation and inclusion of local community • Communication • Interactivity • Voluntarism
Innovativeness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Patents per capita • Relative percentage of high-tech output 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction of innovative gastronomy events • Combination of different activities
Creativity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percentage of artistically creative people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inclusion of different activities • Introduction of new themes
Tolerance, openness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relative percentage of foreign-born people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inclusion of different social groups • Cultural exchange • Behavioural change

The findings were structured around these themes with detailed descriptions of examples from each study case. At the end of the result chapter we made a synthesis and presented it in Table 3.

4 Study cases

4.1 Rhythm & Cook

This monthly workshop in the 14th arrondissement in Paris was launched in 2018 by six students of Cultural mediation studies. The initiative started as a student project with one common objective: to work on integration of refugees in their hosting community. They wanted to create an event where people of the neighborhood (local residents and refugees) could engage spontaneously in cooking and making music.

4.2 Les Gastronomades

This yearly event dedicated to gastronomy takes place in Angoulême every last weekend in November. At the beginning, in 1995, it was intended mainly to support gastronomy publishing, but eventually it started to promote agricultural products and addressed the public more directly with show-cooking and cooking workshops. Over 25 years, the event expanded spatially by engaging the entire city of Angoulême.

4.3 A Place at the Royal Table

This series of events focusing on food culture and culinary traditions took place in several locations across Europe: at 22 royal residences, which are members of the Network of European Royal Residences (Figure 2). The project was initiated to celebrate the European Year of Cultural Heritage in 2018 with an inventive and flexible concept. Each participating residence was free to design its own events in line with the financial and human resources available.

4.4 Sonomaton

Compagnie Mirelaridaine is a culinary theatre from Rennes and Sonomaton was one of the theatre's projects (the organizers called it a »tool«), launched in 2016. It took place in two phases. The first phase (the survey) consisted of interviewing the residents of cities of Tangier (Marocco) and Sibiu (Romania) about their culinary heritage, stories and memories. The second phase (the staging) was creating a show in a theatre with a native artist from the country of the interviews and active inclusion of spectators.

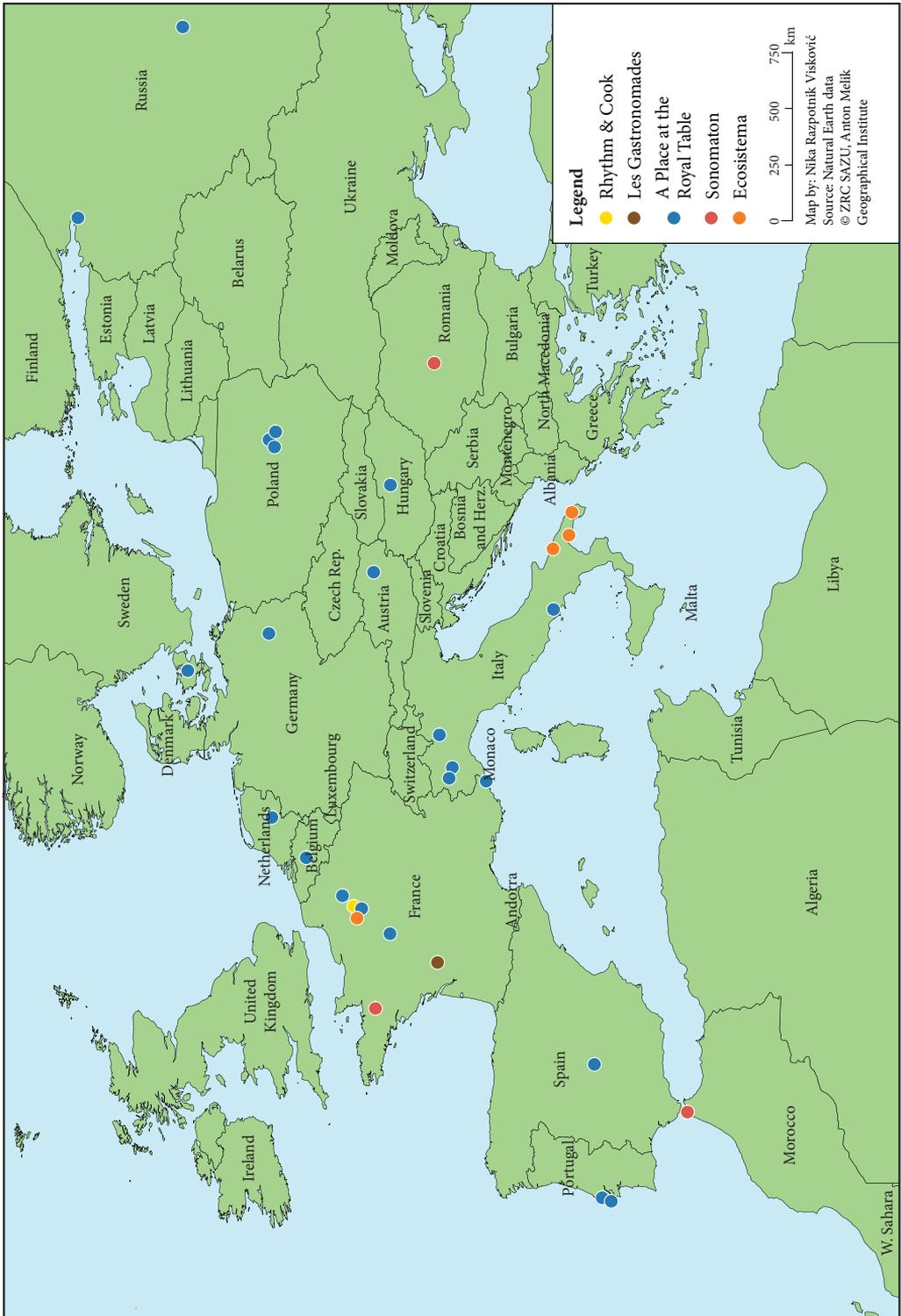
4.5 Ecosistema

Ecosistema was a series of four events (i.e., dinners), where participants were engaged in exchanging food among themselves, and where they fed each other. Two of the events, the first in Bari and the last in Paris, were held in a private space with invited guests, and the other two dinners in Taranto and Lecce were held in an open space and were accessible to the public.

5 Results

Exploratory analysis of the interviews revealed how selected gastronomy events addressed five different place-making elements (diversity, liveliness, innovativeness, creativity and tolerance/openness). In the description of the results we use initials of the events: Rhythm & Cook = R&C, Les Gastronomades = G, A Place at the Royal Table = PRT, Sonomaton = S, Ecosistema = E.

Figure 2: Locations of selected gastronomy events. ► p. 192



5.1 Diversity

In case of two events (R&C, G) we observed the multi-purpose use of the public spaces where events are taking place. R&C was organized in a collective café, which plays an important role in the community. The café is located on a small square surrounded by residential-commercial buildings, which serves also as a meeting point for local inhabitants and playground for children. It's especially busy on Sundays (the usual time of the workshops). Café building is made of glass, so it is possible to see inside, observe the activities and decide to enter. R&C workshop were thus attracting attention of people living in the neighborhood and passers-by. The main venue of G is the exposition area L'espace Carat in the northeast part of the city Angoulême, but there are many other secondary locations, mostly markets scattered around the city and municipal halls in the mainly disadvantaged neighborhoods.

Diversity in the content of the event was accentuated in two cases (R&C, PRT). During the R&C workshops, participants from Sudan, Afghanistan, Maghreb and the neighborhood created a variety of simple dishes mainly with the use of different spices or condiments. The process of engaging in the workshop was open and creative; it was possible to make traditional dishes or experiment with new recipes, but in a heterogeneous group of people that wanted to take part. In case of PRT developing a program linked to food was an opportunity for network members to work on the history of each residence and common European history, but from different perspectives which resulted in more than 100 unique sub-events and activities.

5.2 Liveliness

Contribution to liveliness, vitality and dynamism is one of the strongest place-making implications of our selected cases. Two interviewees (R&C, S) pointed out the universal value of cooking as means of communication – cooking allows exchanges among people without them having to speak the same language, and it thus creates sense of equality.

Additional dimension of liveliness that we've identified is inclusion of local inhabitants. R&C mobilized people from neighborhood, who started to volunteer and became engaged in preparing the workshops themselves. We also shouldn't overlook the contribution of local grocery and market vendors, who supported the project by donating their unsold products in generous quantities. Among our selected events, G and PRT attracted mostly tourists, but they dedicated part of the program explicitly to local community. Royal residences are cultural, aesthetic, historic and consequently tourist hotspots, often located in prestigious districts. However, one of the PRT objectives was to offer something new to the local community, especially local visitors with annual passes, already familiar with permanent museum collections. To this end, the Palace of Versailles, for example, held thematic visits in the gardens dedicated to pineapples for local people with an interest in botany and vegetable gardening. In case of G, part of activities too is targeted exclusively at local inhabitants. One of them are cooking workshops taking place in disadvantaged neighborhoods, which are dedicated to raising awareness about the benefits of home cooking with local products. Another such initiative is joint local endorsement of annual *menu gastronomad* which is cooked and served in all city schools, retirement homes, hospitals and at businesses with their own cafeterias. The festival activities are not limited to the formal three-day weekend program in dedicated locations; they extend beyond it in the temporal and spatial sense.

Creative place-making initiatives are often integrated in urban revitalization programs and this aspect was mentioned in the interview with the organizer of E. In Paris edition, event took place in a former industrial (coal) area in the southern suburbs that nowadays host music and other artistic events as part of urban revitalization strategy. In Lecce the dinner was held as the first in a series of events at the opening of the local cultural center. The location of the event was a former parking lot that was planned to become a garden – the asphalt had already been torn up, there was no light or electricity and the scenery was very modest and rough. Urban transformation was in progress, so the location of the event gave a strong signal to the community about the change happening in the place.

5.3 Innovativeness

Analysis of the interviews show that combining traditional and innovative gastronomy elements emerged in all selected events, either through experimenting with new recipes, introducing unconventional practices,

combining different technologies or engagement through social media. In this section we're pointing out the elements of innovativeness which were perceived and characterized as such by organizers of the events themselves.

The S was designed as a project which would join the tradition, heritage, habits and social norms with novelty and innovation. Our interviewee explained that they started with collecting the testimonies about culinary heritage and based on that proposed an *»unexpected spectacle with innovative engagement of the spectators«*.

In the case of PRT organizer accentuated that food, cuisine and gastronomy were rarely presented in the museum collections. For some members of the network, this was uncharted territory and an additional reason to participate. What was also innovative was encouraging active participation of the public in traditionally more *»watch and listen«* environment of historical museums (e.g., a competition for collecting recipes as memories of a childhood in Prussian Palaces and Gardens Foundation Berlin-Brandenburg, Germany or virtual photo competitions held at the network level).

In 25 years, G festival has been always following latest trends in gastronomy and looking for innovative approaches to present them to public. To this end they have placed chefs in front of an audience, on the cooking stage, promoted the unconventional uses of traditional products, and diversified the program by introducing new accompanying activities, mainly artistic performances and projects with community (*menu gastronomad*; cooking competition of grandparent-grandchild pairs; workshops in disadvantaged communities).

5.4 Creativity

In our study cases, creativity is primarily exhibited through the inclusion of artistic activities on the program. S, for example, is in its core also an artistic project (*»the art of five senses«*), creating theatre pieces based on field exploration in different countries. Music is important feature of R&C workshops, where in addition to cooking participants also perform together in improvised jam sessions. Organisers of the G festival are mixing the art of cooking with other genres of art such as music, comics, photography or plastic arts. Event is rooted in wider cultural movement of the city of Angoulême, which is known for its lively festival activities. It hosts several prominent festivals throughout the year: International Comics Festival in January, the Musiques Métisses festival in May, the Francophone Film Festival in August, the Piano en Valoi festival in October and Les Gastronomades in November. Accompanying artistic program was stated to be important feature also in E and numerous PRT events.

5.5 Tolerance and openness

In observed gastronomy events, contribution to the tolerance and openness of the place is threefold: inclusion of different social groups, intergenerational exchange and personal enrichment.

In R&C workshops the main target audience were local residents in 14th arrondissement in Paris and the refugees living there. Main objective of the organizers was helping refugees to integrate in their hosting community and diminishing stigmatization they are subjected to. The event was advertised on the social media platforms of three organizations involved with refugees and migrants: SINGA Paris, the InFLÉchir Association and the Bureau d'Accueil et d'Accompagnement des Migrants. Working with unprivileged social groups was pointed out also in case of G and S.

Enhancing intergenerational solidarity and exchange is one of the horizontal objectives of G, carried out through different activities for elder people and children e.g., a cooking competition of grandparent-grandchild pairs, and schoolchildren serving meals to the elderly in retirement homes in Angoulême.

Beside learning about other cultures and understanding the generational differences, our studied events put into test also attachment to the personal habits and behavioral patterns. The important component of the E project was thus to challenge existing habits that people have developed around food and feeding. At each event, the participants needed to follow three rules: they had to feed one another, part of the food needed to be fed with the hands and, in order to be able to do this, the participants needed to wash each other's hands before. An interlocutor shared his observations about the participants' reactions: *»There is something ritualistic in washing someone else's hands. The participants started to reflect on what it means*

to give food to other people. You become like a child, or like an older person; you need care and you do it with care.»

5.6 Summary of the analysis of place-making features of gastronomy events and its limitations

After detailed analysis of different place-making implications that gastronomy events can have in their respective communities, we prepared the overview table, showing also whether event is a top-down or bottom-up initiative and which type of social capital it activates.

Adaptation of quality place indicators and their use for the purpose of our analysis turned out to be challenging when making distinction between diversity, creativity and liveliness, and distinction between innovativeness and creativity (the need to be creative in order to innovate; Edwards-Schachter et al. 2015), but despite this we managed to show that gastronomy events exceed their economic potential (when included in tourism offer of the territory), and carry strong potential also for development of local community and make place attractive to live and work in.

Table 3: Overview of place-making implications in analyzed gastronomy events.

	Rhythm & Cook	Les Gastronomades	A Place at the Royal Table	Sonomaton	Ecosistema
Type of event according to Markusen and Gadwa (2010); Rota and Salone (2014)	• Unconventional, bottom-up	• Conventional, top-down	• Conventional, top-down	• Unconventional, bottom-up	• Unconventional, bottom-up
Activation of social capital according to Townley et al. (2011)	• Bonding • Bridging	• Bonding	• Bonding	• Bonding • Bridging	• Bonding
Diversity	• Multi-purpose use of the public spaces • Variety in the content	• Multi-purpose use of the public spaces	• Variety in the content	/	/
Liveliness	• Universal value of cooking as means of communication • Inclusion of entire neighbourhood • Voluntarism	• Part of program dedicated to local community	• Part of program dedicated to local community	• Universal value of cooking as means of communication	• Urban revitalization
Innovativeness	• Combining traditional and innovative gastronomy elements	• Combining traditional and innovative gastronomy elements • Placing chefs in front of an audience • Combining cooking with other activities	• Combining traditional and innovative gastronomy elements • Selection of topics rarely presented in museums	• Combining traditional and innovative gastronomy elements	• Combining traditional and innovative gastronomy elements
Creativity	• Inclusion of artistic activities	• Inclusion of artistic activities	• Inclusion of artistic activities	• Inclusion of artistic activities	• Inclusion of artistic activities
Tolerance, openness	• Inclusion of different social groups	• Inclusion of different social groups • Intergenerational exchange	/	• Inclusion of different social groups	• Personal enrichment

The analysis of events confirms the complicity between art and gastronomy, both being identified as the important creative fields by UNESCO Creative city network initiative for promotion of creativity as a strategic factor for sustainable urban development (Duconseille and Saner 2020).

6 Discussion

In this chapter, we address three aspects emerging from comparison of the gastronomy-based and art-based place-making implications: diversity of initiatives, integration in development policies and the question of replicability.

In parallel with art studies (Rota and Salone 2014; Rembeza 2016), gastronomy initiatives with a place-making impact can be diverse as well. In the five study cases the different spatial levels of the actions were observed: from one neighborhood or one city to the group of locations (either random pop-up locations or already established network of sites). Knowing more about the organizers reveals additional aspect of diversity: in the cases at hand, the initiators are a group of students, a journalist, an interest professional network and artists. They initiated the food events with either completely volunteer or completely financially compensated engagement. Different research findings in previous place-making studies showed that there is no single definition of the community (Thomas, Pate and Ranson 2015; Kullberg et al. 2010), which our study can confirm as well. Similarly to the findings of Salzman and Yerace (2018), we also observed that in more intimate and small-scale events the connection between participants and their reactions to the event are stronger (Rhythm & Cook, Ecosistema and Sonomaton).

Part of our gastronomy events show compliance with the existing public policies and institutional framework in several forms (Šmid Hribar, Razpotnik Visković in Bole 2021): through inclusion in event programming and direct public financial support (Les Gastronomades, Sonomaton) or financing through projects/programs (A Place at the Royal Table). The other two (Rhythm & Cook and Ecosistema) on the other hand indicate that institutional framework and support are not prerequisites for creative place-making (Salzman and Yerace 2018). Both events were spontaneous, based on volunteer engagement of the organizers and with cost-free entrance for participants. Interestingly, both events were recognized also as potentially sellable products, i.e., for team-building activities. This leads us to the next aspect of our cross-cutting analysis: the question of replicability and transferability of different gastronomy event concepts.

Salzman and Yerace (2018) argue that creative place-making must be authentic for the community, and therefore the transfer of successful projects from the original place to another one is paradoxical. In contrast, some of our study cases demonstrate that replicability of the events in different locations (and different communities) is possible, with proper adaptation to changed circumstances (the audience, cooperating partners, expectations and needs of the community, level of openness). For example, the Rhythm & Cook workshops were initially held in the 14th arrondissement in Paris. After the success in their community, the cultural center in the commune of Saint-Ouen-sur-Seine (in the northern suburbs of Paris) sought to organize the same format of the event for their neighborhood, with the same purpose. Ecosistema was also presented in several locations, and each addition demanded adaptation to the physical conditions of the place (a closed space, port or former parking lot under reconstruction), the guests (either invited or coincidental passers-by) or adapting the menu to the selection of local producers. However, the replicability of the royal palaces' project A Place at the Royal Table in other locations would be more challenging: first, because of the context given by the European Year of Cultural Heritage and, second, because of the crucial role played by the management of the network in establishing the framework for defining the content of the activity and coordinating the entire process from the beginning to the end. Our examples thus indicate that some types of gastronomy events (in our cases those are the unconventional events) are more transferable than others (conventional one), and that integration in a broader context, namely policy or public financing, can weaken their replicability potential.

7 Conclusion

The analyzed study cases in this paper demonstrate that gastronomy events can improve the quality of place and can play a significant role of the social catalyst in the community. They also indicate that places are

not only »sceneries« of social interaction and community-building efforts, but also an integral element of these processes. The limited number of studied gastronomy events don't allow us to draw generalized conclusions. Despite that, our analysis can provide valuable insight in place-making potential of gastronomy events beyond the scope of the tourism for urban planning and governance. The most important is the recognition of the place-making potential of unconventional bottom-up initiatives, characterized by the absence of formality which tend to have stronger capacity for activating the bridging social capital, since they evoke multiple communities interacting in ways that are not superficial, but meaningful and purposeful. It is thus our recommendation that city authorities support also these types of initiatives, while researchers dedicate more attention to better understand the replicability of these type of initiatives and investigate the effect of different financial mechanisms on them.

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