

Contested Access in the Failing Urban Culinary Tourism Planning: A Case of Bogor, Indonesia

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Abstract

This study explores the role of urban tourism planning at the national and regional levels in developing Indonesia's culinary tourism destinations. Culinary destination tourism planning in Indonesia is under-researched. This study aims to fill the gaps. Using the spatial triad analysis, this study explores the interrelatedness between the conceived-perceived-lived government planning activities in shaping culinary tourism destinations. Bogor City case was chosen because it has a higher culinary growth rate than other nearby cities. Bogor City analyzed in regional and national context. Based on the observations and the document studies, including text, promotion, publication, and document analysis, the research found that government culinary tourism planning has failed to develop culinary tourist destinations and attractions. The problem lies in the inconsistency between equivalent policies and the discontinuity between policy and implementation. The research findings indicate the governments lack of understanding of the subject matter and planning mechanisms. The culinary tourism planning activities have also created a classical contest of capital power. This research finding suggests the need for a better understanding of culinary tourism attractions and destinations and better planning mechanisms.

Keywords:

culinary tourism; urban; planning; policy; Indonesia

Introduction

Domestic tourists in Indonesia spend 30% of their total expenditure on food (Lidyana, 2020). Culinary tourism is part of cultural tourism, with the highest product portfolio in Indonesia (Ministry of Tourism, 2015). However, urban culinary tourism planning in Indonesia has not received much attention. The planning in Indonesia mainly focuses on nature and heritage tourism (Ministry of State Secretariat, 2011). The government has no specific strategy to develop urban tourism that does not capitalize on natural resources and heritage values. This view may need to be evaluated because studies have shown that tourism can be developed in cities with no natural resources (Amore & Roy, 2020) by building the urban tourism image (Bustomi & Avianto, 2022; Vázquez Blázquez, 2018). Such development can offer small business actors better opportunities (Purnomo, 2021a).

This study uses the term culinary tourism as stipulated in Indonesia's planning documents. The terms used in food tourism studies are gastronomy and culinary (Hall & Sharples, 2003, p. 11). The United Nations' World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) defines gastronomy tourism as visitors' food experience while traveling, whereas culinary is the type of food that evokes the experience (UNWTO & Basque Culinary Center, 2019, p. 8).

Strategic planning in culinary tourism comprises planning, management, marketing, and performance evaluation (Sotiriadis, 2015). It generates operational planning that elaborates on what the culinary attractions are (culinary assets, food images), who the actors are (culinary business actors, government), where the tourist sites are (site plans), and how the plan meets the tourists' needs (itineraries and packages, promotions, management,

marketing) (Sotiriadis, 2015; Ab Karim & Chi, 2010; Ingrid & du Rand, 2021; Wardani, Wijaya, & Saeroji, 2018; Ellis et al., 2018; Kušen, 2010, 2017; UNWTO & Basque Culinary Center, 2019). The planning results in a tourist site with a well-thought culinary attraction or a culinary tourism destination (Ellis et al., 2018; Kušen, 2010, 2017) and access for small producers (Sotiriadis, 2015).

Nevertheless, planning always has two sides: inclusion and exclusion of urban citizens (Chioldelli, 2013). Urban space is often contested, so planning errors are often amplified with contestation (De Satgé & Watson, 2018, pp. 7-8). The lack of clarity on access arrangements often makes a tourist space contested by various actors (Wardana, 2019, p. 239). The discussion must focus on how mechanisms and planning result in balanced access to small producers.

This study proposes elaboration on culinary tourism planning on the government's side. The government's policies are reflected in their interests as a planner, i.e., the accommodation and exclusion of certain actors (Nkooe, 2018). The policies determine the direction of urban tourism development (Du, 2019; Lopes & Soares, 2017) and regulate the tourism's geographic areas (Dimitrovski & Crespi Vallbona, 2018; Sharifi & Khavarian-Garmsir, 2020). The regional (or local) government takes the lead in harmonizing national-local and private-state actors in developing sustainable gastronomy tourism (Karagiannis & Metaxas, 2017). The national and regional governments are the actors arranging spatial planning and determining the direction of tourism development (Ministry of State Secretariat, 2015). However, previous studies on culinary tourism planning in Indonesia did not explore the planning at the national and regional government levels (Fitriyani, Pratiwi & Suwandi, 2021; Hajjarrahmah & Daniels-Llanos, 2017; Mahfud et al., 2018; Manaf, 2020).

This study uses Lefebvre's spatial triad approach, which guides recent development

planning studies, focusing on each participant's activities, historical context, and ideology in the planning process (Dredge & Jenkins, 2011; Edgell Sr & Swanson, 2013, p. 14), sustainability, and justice (de Jong & Varley, 2018, 2017; Joppe, 2018; Lemy, Teguh & Pramezwaray, 2019; Nunes, 2017). An essential part of a tourist site plan in the spatial triad approach is where and who can access the site (adapted from Leary-Owhin, 2016, 2018; Zieleniec, 2018).

Using the spatial triad approach, the government policies set the dominant activities that determines other activities in tourist sites (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 378). The conceived spaces (activities) are stated in the policy document, spatial planning, master plan, and other development plans (Leary-Owhin, 2016, p. 15-16; Nkooe, 2018). The perceived and lived activities emerge from the access given by the government for a particular actor (Leary-Owhin, 2016, p. 15-16; Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33). The lived spaces also represent the inhabitants' daily activities (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39). They are the responses and reasons for the perceived and conceived spaces (Soja, 2010, p. 102). The three spatial activities must be interconnected to build a culinary tourism space (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 366; Nkooe, 2018), or any tourism space for that matter. The government's conceived activities become the strategic plan (Sotiriadis, 2015). The perceived activities become the operational planning (Sotiriadis, 2015) in the policy implementation. It is called a program or activity in the Indonesian governmental system. The government's lived activities are the actual activities that the government does. It can be related to or different from the conceived and perceived activities. Therefore, the interconnected conceived, perceived, and lived activities shape culinary tourism and who has access to it.

This study explores how urban culinary tourism planning at the national and regional levels develops the culinary tourism destinations in Indonesia. The study

assumes the interrelatedness between planned activities in the national and regional policies, perceived activities reflected in the government policies' implementation, and lived activities as shown in the government's practice of producing culinary tourism destinations. This study focuses on the present policies, government programs, and activities and the implementation of the government's programs and policies, which indicate the government's role in developing culinary tourism.

Methods

The study uses qualitative content analysis of policy documents by considering their context, text, and implications (Cardno, 2018). The policy documents are contextualized by their public policy hierarchy. The document was selected from the highest to the lowest: (1) policies (law) at the national level, (2) the regional regulations at the regional level (Ministry of State Secretariat, 2019), and then (3) the implementer agency's technical guidance documents. Public policies are formal and open-access policies accessible by researchers, minimizing selectivity bias and increasing validity (Cardno, 2018; Mackieson, Shlonsky, & Connolly, 2019). The policy text was the government's culinary tourism planning and program. The implementer agency's technical guide documents were the programs and policies in practice (adapted from Cardno, 2018). The policy implications were the written text, confirmed by observations.

The data were gathered in seven stages. First, the documents were selected using the keyword 'culinary.' The collection stopped when the keyword no longer appeared. Second, the documents with the keyword 'culinary' were analyzed by looking at the word, phrase, or sentence connected with it and the position in the text. This analysis generates textual definitions of 'culinary.' Third, the policy documents of the site plan were analyzed by looking at the text and the maps.

Forth, other keywords were collected, including those related to culinary assets, such as 'foods,' 'local food,' 'beverage,' 'culinary events,' as well as culinary tourism, such as 'restaurant,' 'café,' 'farmer,' 'fisher,' 'local community,' and 'street food vendor.' These keywords were gathered from previous studies. The culinary business actors in this study comprise restaurants (Bristow & Jenkins, 2018; de Albuquerque Meneguel, Mundet & Aulet, 2019), street food vendors (Henderson, 2019; Pilato, Platania & Séraphin, 2021), local community food producers (Privitera, Nedelcu & Nicula, 2018; Scheyvens & Laeis, 2019), factories (Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2016), and communities of farmers or fishers (Alonso, Kok & O'Brien, 2018; Fountain et al., 2021). Fifth, the search continued with 'creative economy' keywords, denoting the government's attention to culinary assets, tourism management, and actors in culinary development. Sixth, other documents were collected, such as tourism publications and promotion, site plan implementation procedures, and culinary spatial arrangements published by the government. These data were collected from the implementer agencies and government websites. The images were interpreted by referring to previous research, images' descriptions, and other available information related to the images to depict the government's actual policies in practice. Seventh, the data collection concludes with observations of the policy implementation. The results should corroborate data found in document studies.

Data collected included phrases, sentences, or paragraphs containing the keywords, which were then grouped based on the policy issue and other document sources (Cardno, 2018). The keywords were interpreted not based on the frequency but on the issue in the document. After that, the results of data categorization were grouped based on the emerging categories (Schreier, 2012). The conceptual data grouping is as

(Ministry of Tourism, 2016). Twenty urban areas in Indonesia were planned as culinary tourism destinations (p. 39) as part of the cultural tourism destination development program (p. 57). Culinary has been planned as a tourism destination in the MTCE's conceived and perceived activities.

The SPTDID 2015-2019 was replaced by the 2018-2019 SPTDID (Ministry of Tourism, 2018). The SPTDID 2018-2019 document listed 'culinary and spa as culture tourism' (p. 118) with the same tourism product portfolio composition as the SPTDID 2015-2019 (p. 40). However, 20 locations of culinary tourism were deleted. Culinary remained a dominant component of the tourism sector, but the government would not develop culinary tourism sites in the MTCE's conceived and perceived activities.

The SPTDID 2020-2024 document revealed a shift in the MTCE's culinary tourism planning, probably due to changes in the ministries' nomenclature. From 2015 to 2019, the ministry governing tourism was the Ministry of Tourism. However, the changes in 2020-2024 were not in line with those of 2012-2014, when the ministry in charge was MTCE. The SPTDID 2012-2014 document (MTCE, 2012) stated that culinary is a different sector to be developed by MTCE considering the richness of creativity and local wisdom and the relevance to the tourism sector (p. 274). Culinary was included in the creative economy sector as an added value to a tourism place (p. 275), defined as tourist destinations' artistic, social, and cultural tourism potential (pp. 372, 442), and unique tourism products (pp. 468, 472). The SPTDID 2012-2014 document listed culinary as a supporting tourism attraction in the MTCE's conceived and perceived activities.

2012-2014 to 2020-2024 SPTDID documents analysis indicates a shift from culinary as a supporting sector to a leading player and then as a product with no relationship with tourism destination development. This renders the discussion about culinary tourism

requirements, site plans, and public space irrelevant.

A content analysis of the publication and promotion of culinary tourism shows a relationship between the plan and the implementation activities (conceived, perceived, and lived activities). The publication title was 'Twenty Culinary Tourism Destinations in Indonesia' (MTCE, 2021, March 8). These twenty locations resemble twenty culinary tourism and spa destinations proposed in the SPTDID 2015-2019 document. The difference was that the SPTDID 2015-2019 mentions the cities while the website publication mentions the specific locations and the names of the local foods. The publication on the official MTCE website considers culinary a tourist destination.

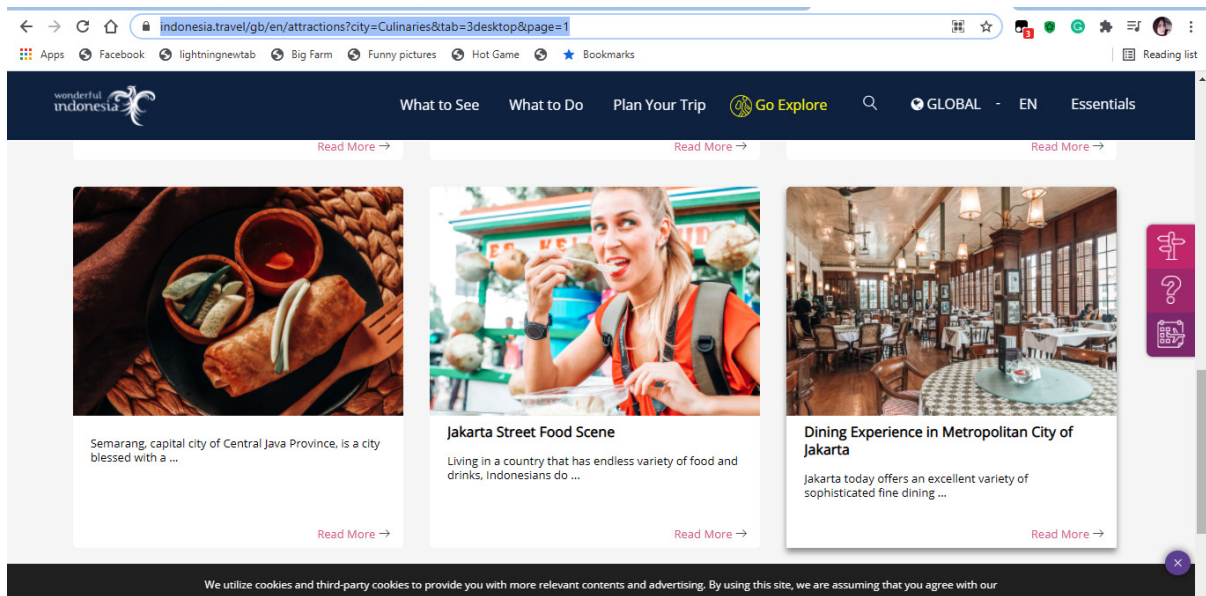
The observations of the official promotion website www.kemenparekraf.go.id show that culinary was in the tourism attraction link. The 'culinary' link has photos of the food, the local culinary signatures, the names of the restaurants, the street food locations, brief explanations of the food/place/restaurant, and how to reach the locations.

The local food information was consistent with the Minister of MTCE's, Sandiaga Uno, statement about developing culinary tourism in Indonesia at the Second NHI Tourism Forum 2021.

"Culinary tourism is going to be primary... Local cuisine is always being sought after. In Bandung you will have *lalapan*, in Bali you will have *lilit* satay... So this is what we will focus on culinary tourism, and hopefully, we will have a few events scheduled to launch this culinary tourism."

The implementation (lived activities) indicates 20 urban sites as culinary tourism destinations, local foods as tourism attractions, and restaurant and street food vendors (SFVs) as culinary business actors. However, these were not in the SPTDID documents.

Figure 1.
Culinary Tourism Information Displayed on the Website



Source: <https://www.indonesia.travel>, taken in July 2021

The MTCE's recognition of street food clashes with the tourism business regulations (Ministry of State Secretariat, 2009, point 14). In addition, the business must have a tourism business registration certificate (Ministry of Cultural and Tourism, 2010). SFVs were informal business actors, so they found it challenging to meet these requirements.

In conclusion, the MTCE's lived activities were disconnected from the conceived and perceived activities. The existence of 20 tourism destinations, local food, and SFVs in MTCE's lived activities supports Lefebvre's opinion, stating that conceived activities affect the perceived and lived activities, and some may not occur (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 117; Nkooe, 2018). Moreover, since culinary tourism destination was not planned at the national level, the spatial triad approach made creating culinary tourism destinations at the city level impossible.

Culinary Tourism Planning at the City Level

The culinary tourism plan documents in Bogor City were Regional Tourism Development Master Plan (RTDMP) 2016-2025 (Bogor City Regional Secretary, 2016),

Regional Medium Term Plan (RMTP) 2019-2024 (Bogor City Regional Secretary, 2019), and Regional Spatial Plan (RSP) 2011-2031 (Bogor City Regional Secretary, 2011). In addition, the RTDMP document has two attachments, i.e., Regional Tourism Destinations Map and Regional Tourism Development Program Detailed Indication, as technical guidelines for implementing the RTDMP. All documents referred to the national regulations except the national tourism regulations. The absence of culinary tourism in Indonesia's laws and regulations disconnects the relationship between national and regional regulations.

Unlike planning at the national level, culinary tourism was the focus of development by the Bogor City government. RMTP 2019-2024 listed culinary as one of the prime programs in 2018-2023. Culinary development was focused on 'culinary center development in each district' (p. V.34). RTDMP, as a specific policy for urban tourism development, stipulates culinary tourism as a distinctive focus of the regional tourism development, different from the creative industry tourism (article 17 point 1). RSP

Year 2011-2031 considers culinary as the city's primary tourism function (pp. 2-4).

These three documents do not explain the culinary tourism programs. The RMTP 2019-2024 was listed as 'culinary tourism' in the indicator of the achievement of tourism area programs, written as 'structuring culinary tourism and shopping.' However, there was no explanation for developing a culinary tourism program. The word 'culinary' was mentioned in article 19 (Tourism Industry Development Strategy), point (e), stated as 'improving the Meeting, Incentive, Conference and Exhibition/MICE, culinary and supporting industry quality' in the RTDMP document. The Regional Tourism Development Program, Detailed Indication as RTDMP attachment document put culinary in the tourism destination development program, listed as 'improving the Meeting, Incentive, Conference and Exhibition/MICE, culinary and supporting industries quality.' However, the word culinary was missing from the indicator of programs and activities. The RSP document does not explain the implementation of culinary tourism planning.

As a tourism implementer agency, the Department of Tourism and Culture (DTC) did not have a technical document to develop culinary tourism practices. Culinary was listed as part of the creative economy sector (p. 22, 33), tourism potential/products (p. 32, 34, 58), and tourism areas (p. 35, 49, 65) (DTC Bogor City, 2019). Culinary is not the main focus, written as 'the development of Bogor as a city with educational tourism, culinary tourism, scientific tourism, retail tourism, pilgrimage tourism, and historic city, need a planning improvement' (p. 41). Therefore, a specific program to develop culinary tourism was not found (DTC Bogor City, 2020).

The city government has planned sites for the culinary tourism destination in Bogor City. First, the Regional Tourism Destinations Map document shows that the tourism destinations were in Regional Tourism Destination (RTD) Central Bogor, East Bogor, and North Bogor.

Second, the RMTP and RSP explanation documents state that the culinary tourism site was the Service Area (SA) D, a part of the North Bogor District area (Bogor City Regional Secretary, 2019, p. II.17; Regional Planning Agency, 2020, p. 3-15). However, the culinary tourism and shopping program was structured in the old Bogor area, SA D and SA E. These two culinary tourism sites indicate different areas. RTD refers to the district area. SA refers to a service area that consists of several districts.

The culinary tourism destination site plan does not determine the site plan implementation procedure. The agency that determines the business location access permit is the One-Stop Investment and Service Office. DTC and sub-district governments are not involved in granting a culinary business permit. Empirical observations show that when a culinary business applied for a permit in Bogor City in May 2019, what was being determined were the business site, the trade, and the service area, which can be anywhere along the city streets.

The granting of a business permit in the site plan implementation procedure benefitted restaurants in developing their culinary tourism businesses. The number of restaurants grew from 818 units in 2018 to 1287 units in 2020 (Regional Revenue Agency of Bogor City, 2020). The restaurant tax was the most prominent tourism contributor (52,15%). Moreover, 43,43% of restaurants were located in the city's most expensive and developed area, around Pajajaran Street (Regional Revenue Agency of Bogor City, 2020). Pajajaran Street was not planned as a culinary tourism center. The SFV concentration has a contrast pattern compared to the restaurants' concentration. The city's main roads were SFV-free zones (Bogor City Regional Secretary, 2016). The observation also found that Pajajaran Street was the cleanest area of SFV compared to other roads in Bogor City.

Meanwhile, the culinary publication and promotion indicate that culinary business actors were restaurants and SFVs, and the culinary

tourism attractions were the restaurants' service and local food sold on the SFVs. Bogor City Tourism Data 2020 and Bogor City Book in Figures 2020 (BPS-Statistics of Bogor Municipality, 2020) presented restaurant data as part of the city's tourism data. The formal website of the City of Bogor, www.kotabogor.go.id, managed by the Department of Communication and Information, provided the names of local foods, SFVs, and a brief review of the restaurants. The Culinary Guide Book of DTC provided two street food locations and Bogor's local food as the text and cover. The city government also arranged some local food festivals. DTC held the 2018 Bogor Breakfast Festival and the 2019 Bogor Heritage Food Festival. Both of these festivals served local food sold by SFVs.

SFVs were excluded from the city space because the recognition of SFVs and local foods as culinary tourism attractions confronted the business permit and SFV control—the business permit arrangement allowed only restaurants to legally accessed the city space. SFVs were considered an informal sector. Meanwhile, SFVs are controlled based on SFV zoning (Bogor City Regional Secretary, 2019, p. VI.57). SFVs cannot access locations outside the SFV zoning area (Bogor City Regional Secretary, 2016). The two street food locations in the Culinary Guide Book were not in the SFV zoning sites. In other words, SFVs and local food were not recognized in the formal spatial arrangement.

The highest regional regulation considers culinary tourism destinations as tourism development focus and tour sites (conceived). The problem was that the city government did not deliver effective programs to realize the plans (perceived). Furthermore, implementing the program was irrelevant to the policies and programs (lived).

Discussion

The actual technical policy document at the national level (SPTDID 2020-2024) denoted that culinary was planned as part of the creative

industry. The indicator of the program's success was the standardized number of culinary products, not the culinary tourism destinations or attractions. The plan was not about a portfolio of culinary assets (Sotiriadis, 2015). The national government did not consider the contribution of culinary tourism to the national tourism product portfolio.

The promotion and the ministry statement cover only the culinary assets and culinary business actors. The activity did not adequately influence planning at the national and regional levels. However, the tourism sector was a concurrent governmental affair of the city/regency governments (Ministry of State Secretariat, 2014). The absence of a culinary destination plan at the national level caused a disconnection between national and regional planning. As such, the tourism destination development depended on the regional plan.

The city government planned culinary as a tourist destination. The culinary position as the creative culinary industry at the national level puts culinary as part of the creative economy sector in the DTC's strategic plan and operational plan. Culinary as a tourism resource includes food and culinary business actors (Ellis et al., 2018; Kušen, 2010, 2017). The problem was not in the creative culinary economy as the product or actors but in the framework of tourism development. The regional tourism development plans (RTDMP, RMTP, and RSP) put the creative culinary economy as part of culinary tourism development, which differed from the MTCE.

The city government's planning failed due to unsound policies and ineffective programs. The equal policies denoted different subjects. The equivalent policies defined different programs (Table 1). The government activities clashed with other policies (see the case of SFV as culinary business actors). The disconnection between conceived, perceived, and lived activities was called discontinuous spatial practice-daily activities (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 366).

With such a discontinuous city government plan, it was challenging to build a tourist place (Lefebvre, 1991: p. 84; Thurnell-Read, 2012).

The culinary tourism’s actual planning was found only in the city government’s lived activities. The city government produced spaces

for local foods, SFVs, restaurants, and other types of food services. Such accommodation of local foods and SFVs aimed to empower the urban people with the lowest incomes so that they could create a solid culinary tour identity (Henderson, 2019; Mnguni & Giampiccoli, 2019;

Table 1.
Interrelatedness between Conceived, Perceived, and Lived Activities

Planning Document/ Level	Activities			
	Conceived	Perceived	Lived	Impact
National No document	-	-	-	Culinary tourism was not in the regional policy consideration
Ministry SPTDID 2020-2024	Culinary was planned as a creative economy product.	The number of standardized culinary product programs will increase.	Promotions, publications, and the Minister of MTCE stated that local food and festivals were culinary assets, and restaurants and SFVs were the actors.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The culinary tourism program was not arranged systematically. • The programs and activities were incidental • There was no basis for regional culinary tourism planning.
City RMTP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Culinary was a prime program in 2018-2023. • Culinary Center development was prioritized in each district. 	Structuring culinary tourism and shopping in the old Bogor area, SA D and SA E	No adequate explanation	Culinary tourism should be a prime program of DTC (the regional primary implementer agency).
RTDMP and Detailed Development Program	Culinary tourism was planned as a regional tourism development (distinctive from the creative industry)	No adequate explanation	No adequate explanation	Culinary tourism did not have a practical implementation guideline.
Regional Tourism Destinations Map	The map of culinary regional tourism destinations	Culinary tours in Central, East, and North Bogor	The granting of a business permit	Restaurants were blooming in terms of trade and service areas
RSP	Culinary as the city's prime tourism asset	Culinary tourism center in North Bogor	The granting of a business permit activity	Restaurants were blooming in terms of trade and service areas
DTC’s strategic and working plan	Culinary was developed as part of the creative economy, tourism products, and tourism areas	No adequate explanation.	No adequate explanation.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The culinary tourism program was not arranged. • The programs/activities were incidental.
DTC, CBS, Department of Communication and Information	-	-	Tourism promotions and publications stated that local food and festivals were culinary assets, and restaurants and SFVs were the actors.	The government’s lived activities clashed with the granting of business permits and SFV control.

Source: Primary data from the policy text analysis

Pilato, Platania, & Séraphin, 2021; Scheyvens & Laeis, 2019). However, local foods and SFVs were disadvantaged because they were considered part of tourism attractions, culinary tour sites, and culinary business actors without being planned strategically. In other words, culinary tourism planning was surrendered to the market mechanism.

The culinary site arrangement depends on business permits that dictate which and how business actors access the sites. The granting of a business permit for 'proper' businesses and the tightening control over SFVs indicate the marginalization of the urban poor and the facilitation of the large capital owners (Gottdiener & Hutchison, 2019, p. 358; Lefebvre, 1991; Thurnell-Read, 2012). This has resulted in the domination of the culinary sites by significant capital actors. As shown in Table 1, the impact of the planning was the flourishing of restaurants in terms of trade and service area. Access to the unplanned sites (Pajajaran Street) was obtained by capital contests among the culinary business actors. This was a classical result that recent development planning studies have attempted to oppose (de Jong & Varley, 2018, 2017; Joppe, 2018; Lemy, Teguh & Pramezwar, 2019; Nunes, 2017).

Urban culinary tourism planning in Indonesia needs to be revolutionized from the foundation, namely the governments' understanding of the subject matter (Joppe, 2018). Unfortunately, the strategic planning in culinary tourism (Sotiriadis, 2015; Ab Karim & Chi, 2010; Ingrid & du Rand, 2021; Wardani, Wijaya, & Saeroji, 2018; Ellis et al., 2018; Kušen, 2010, 2017; UNWTO & Basque Culinary Center, 2019) have not yet reached this stage. There was an insufficient source for strategic planning to facilitate strategic culinary assets, actors, and site access.

Conclusion

This study has found that the government's culinary tourism planning activities failed to

develop the culinary tourism destinations in Bogor City. The national government's plan did not address the development of culinary tourism destinations. The city government failed to design the culinary tourism locations, the city's culinary tourism character, and the actors in the city's culinary tourism plan. The problem was rooted in the inconsistency between equal policies and the discontinuity between policies and implementation practices. The equal policies that should be aligned denoted different subjects and outlined different programs. The culinary tourism policy document did not provide sufficient policy implementation programs. As a result, the city's culinary development activities had no adequate policy basis and clashed with the other policies. The failure of the government's culinary tourism planning has resulted in granting business permits for capital owners and excessive SFV control in the actual planning activities. As a consequence, access to tourism sites was contested among business actors using their capital ownership. The design became baseless as free-market culinary tourism emerged. The findings of this study suggest focusing on the fundamental planning issues, i.e., the government's understanding of what attractions and culinary tourism destinations are and the improvement of the government's planning mechanisms skills.

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