











POP-UP FOOD & THE CITY

SUPERVISED RESEARCH PROJECT
BY EMMA CHOW
SCHOOL OF URBAN PLANNING
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ABSTRACT

With the emergence of the modern planning profession in the 19th century, food-related temporary uses have been increasingly left to the wayside in favour of broad strokes, strict control, order and predictability. Yet, recent years have seen an increasing demand for pop-up food in the city as more people are becoming aware of the potential social and economic benefits. Many cities across the developed world are finding themselves in the midst of a debate as to how they should move forward. This research project assembles a body of knowledge that will offer insight into the effectiveness of pop-up food in the city, as per common themes found in a literature review of pop-up urbanism: public accessibility, adaptability of use, reactivation of underutilized sites, reappropriation of urban space, and economic viability. A post-occupancy evaluation was used to establish a research framework for measuring effectiveness. Datamining the blogosphere - the main research tool - proved to be effective for collecting rich and diverse qualitative data. Thirty different food pop-ups were examined, about half of which were food trucks or carts, with the remainder being mostly pop-up restaurants and food festivals. Overall, food trucks and carts performed significantly better than the other types of pop-ups as they appear to be particularly well-suited to meet the general objectives outlined in pop-up urbanism literature. Of the least successful pop-ups, overregulation seemed to be the main barrier, especially with respect to location, operating hours and fee structures. The findings indicate that the role of the state in successful food pop-ups is that of facilitator - to lower activation thresholds by reducing financial and legal risks for producers. This research will help to supplement the current debate and support policy recommendations for ‘what to do’ and ‘what not to do’ in terms of facilitating successful food pop-ups in the city.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRO-DUCTION

What is pop-up food? It is a subset of an emerging field of study - which started in earnest about a decade ago in the dynamic drosscapes of post-reunification Berlin - centred around novel temporary uses of urban space (Haydn & Temel, 2006). "Pop-up urbanism" is a colloquial term commonly applied to these types of uses. Pop-up food - ranging from street kiosks and food trucks to renegade picnics and covert restaurants - is an important subset of pop-up urbanism, both in social and economic terms. In general, food has always played a valuable role in different cultures and societies; a role that goes beyond that of basic sustenance (Klanten et al., 2011). It is embedded in a rich history of cultural traditions, celebrations, and social interactions (Bruegel, 2012). Public spaces that allow and encourage the enjoyment of food help to break class, gender, and cultural barriers (Valentine,1998; Oldenburg, 2001; Scholliers, 2012). Food is also a source of employment and business opportunity for all strata of society. Pop-up food brings together these qualities in a highly adaptable manner that fosters creativity and connects new uses with underutilized urban spaces (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, 2007).

Cities have accommodated food-related temporary uses since ancient times, from marketplaces to street food vendors (Valentine, 1998). Such uses help make up the many layers of functionality found in successful urban spaces; layers that are necessary to accommodate a variety of users and help facilitate urban vibrancy. Yet, with the emergence of the modern planning profession in the 19th century, these nuanced layers have been increasingly left to the wayside in favour of broad strokes, strict control, order and predictability (Haydn & Temel, 2006). It appears that the concerted efforts of urban planning and design have overlooked that which is not fixed - the temporary, the ephemeral, the liminal (Zukin, 1991). The impact on food-related temporary uses has been particularly deleterious with the simultaneous pressures of the Hygienist Movement, which swept through the developed world in the mid-19th century (Bruegel, 2012).

Pop-up food still thrives in developing countries in forms such as the ubiquitous hawker, versatile street kiosk and lively night market (Yatmo, 2008). However, in developed countries, it has been relegated to occasional special events within highly regulated spaces. European cities have been able to keep a number of their food markets, but North American counterparts have seen a virtual extinction of such markets (Morales, 2011). Similarly, across all developed countries, street food vendors have been regulated to near obsolescence. Some cities, such as Montreal and Helsinki, outright ban all forms of street food vending. Yet, recent years have seen an increasing public demand for pop-up food in the city (Whyte, 1988; Cameron Hawkins & Associates Inc, 2011) as more people are becoming aware of its potential social and economic benefits. Pop-up food can offer greater accessibility to a wider variety of affordable food options, as well as create viable entre-

preneurial opportunities and help activate urban spaces. In particular, food trucks, pop-up restaurants and food festivals have become highly popular as evidenced by their high rate of growth and frequency of appearance in social media (Gall & Kurcab, 2012).

As food pop-ups gain in popularity, most cities find themselves in the midst of a debate as to how they should move forward. Some cities, such as Portland and Los Angeles, have recognized the importance of pop-up food and have helped its emergence with the development of new policies and regulations. However, many cities still maintain and enforce antiquated laws that create a hostile environment for such pop-ups. Even New York City, which has maintained a long history of street food vending, has recently uncovered an old by-law from the 1960's that is forcing many new, innovative food trucks to the city periphery. Indeed, pop-up food in the city is an emerging urban trend - but is it a trend worth pursuing in terms of urban planning and design? Should food-related temporary uses be explicitly condoned in planning policies? Should the design of streets and plazas be more accommodating to pop-up food uses?

This research project aims to assemble a body of knowledge that will offer insight into the effectiveness of pop-up food in the city - to assess this emerging trend as to its potential for social and economic benefit.

Explicitly, the central research question is:

What conditions impact the effectiveness of pop-up food in contemporary cities of the developed world?

There are several key objectives in answering this research question:

- Establish a framework for evaluating the effectiveness of pop-up food
- Identify innovative research methods that are appropriate within the limited resources of this research project
- Understand the various impacts of the state on the effectiveness of pop-up food in the city

The research involves looking at food pop-ups from cities across the developed world. The results will help to reveal trends for certain conditions that are more conducive to successful food pop-ups. These results are also valuable in strengthening our understanding of the role of pop-up food in the city. This research will help to supplement the current debate and support policy recommendations for 'what to do' and 'what not to do' in terms of facilitating successful food pop-ups in the city.

In the process, this research will contribute methodologically to future research involving the evaluation of temporary uses with a conceivably useful set of procedures that can be repeated and built upon. The research framework is based on a Post-Occupancy Evaluation (POE), an important step in the design cycle of urban spaces that is often overlooked or omitted due to fiscal and time constraints (Marcus & Francis, 1998). In establishing a rudimentary framework, this research will help encourage more POEs of pop-up urbanism so that lessons learned from past interventions can help enrich and support design decisions in the future.

BACK-GROUND

Following Lefebvre's (1991) theories on the production of space, modern cities are the social product of a capitalist society. As such, these spaces are embedded with ideas of control for the reproduction of a hegemonic class. The role of the state is to facilitate development of large firms that are believed to trigger economic growth and maximize efficiency (Cross & Karides, 2007). Spaces of production are reserved for corporate entities. Within this social construct, the informal sector - often accused of being dirty, ugly, and a public nuisance - is only seen as a hindrance to modernisation. Yet, with the ever-increasing rate of urbanisation across the world, the capacities of formal governance have failed to meet the needs of actual growth and development (Saunders, 2010). Informal urbanism, from slum settlements to street vending, is supporting and sustaining hundreds upon hundreds of millions within the world population. The presence of these informal enterprises challenges the "appropriate uses" of public space. Despite all the strict control and planning of the state, informal urbanism continues to flourish. This should signal a need for a shift in the modernization paradigm in a direction that is more bottom-up. Pop-up urbanism is a fairly recent articulation within the sphere of informal urbanism, one that is playing an active role in shifting social structures to produce spaces that are more innovative, resilient, effective and livable.

POP-UP URBANISM

With the rise of modernism, the general public was increasingly left out of the planning process (Hayek, 1975). The shaping and re-shaping of cities became the sole domain of "experts" - the planners and architects - who crafted the built form in exceeding detail, but largely neglected the programming of urban spaces. So well-entrenched was this idea upon the collective memory of society that, even now, few realize they have an ownership in the public domain (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001), let alone conceive of taking action to reappropriate it for uses beyond those conventionally sanctioned by the government or the economy. Furthermore, the public domain has been increasingly replaced by globalized centres of consumption - pseudo-public spaces, heedless of context, accessible only to a specific segment of the population (Cupers & Miessen, 2002). From this milieu, leftover urban spaces - termed "spaces of uncertainty" by Cupers and Miessen (2002) - were left to wither, stagnate and fester. Such spaces were particularly conspicuous in post-reunification Berlin.

The iconic fall of the Berlin Wall in 1990 signalled the beginning of German Unity and the abolishment of the Communist East German regime. But, over 30 years of political and physical separation created legal and technical challenges that left vast, desolate spaces and abandoned, crumbling infrastructure for over a decade after reunification. This Berlin also saw a growing service sector,

teeming with young creative people (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, 2007). With a struggling economy in the midst of restructuring, Berlin became an incubator for innovative temporary uses of urban space - uses that have since been gaining momentum across the globe in both popular culture and planning practices.

A concerted effort to study the temporary uses of urban space started in 2001 with the European research project Urban Catalyst, which has since sparked a number of subsequent writings on the topic. Often, these types of uses are referred to as "temporary urbanism" (Schuster, 2001; Bishop & Williams, 2012), but a common term that has emerged in planning vernacular is "pop-up urbanism". A scan of the literature on pop-up uses suggests that it is an important aspect of urbanism in terms of the social and economic development of a city.

By nature, pop-ups are bottom-up creations, springing from the recognition of site-specific potential and local needs (Haydn & Temel, 2006). They are often initiated by individuals or small communities rather than government or corporations, helping to empower the public and increase civic responsibility. Accessibility is a common theme of productive temporary uses. Sennett (1970) claimed that exclusionary practices only lead to danger, violence and eventual revolt. Consequently, Cupers and Miessen (2002) stress that spaces need to be for different users and Hajer and Reijndorp (2001) define a public space as one that is freely accessible by all. Such spaces are where society and collective will are formed, facilitating social exchange between different groups (Oldenburg, 2001). Temporary uses have a new or unexpected quality, helping to contribute to social and cultural capital, and in direct contrast with the conforming, profit-oriented spaces of consumption centres that are increasingly taking over the public domain. Also, universal accessibility is one of the main factors for successfully regenerating and securing a leftover space (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, 2007). Regeneration and security of such spaces is particularly important because, otherwise, they often become divisive within the city, both socially and physically. In addition, activation of sites through temporary uses can have various economic benefits.

Pop-up urbanism is an experimental laboratory of sorts for new urban programmes, helping to identify and re-activate underutilized sites, and expand a city's economic area (Haydn & Temel, 2006). Temporary uses can be catalysts for permanent businesses (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, 2007). This is mainly achieved through the re-appropriation of underutilized sites and the exploitation of gaps in "normal" use. These uses may appear unorthodox, but they can help anchor dominant uses while providing innovative opportunities for creative entrepreneurs. Such opportunities are especially relevant in the contemporary world where an emphasis is placed on the creative class while economic pressures are severely limiting traditional forms of employment (Florida, 2002). The temporary nature of pop-ups makes them well-suited for entrepreneurial ideas. Start-up costs are generally low, commitment time is brief and the "limited time" appeal of pop-ups tends to be a draw in itself (Bishop & Williams, 2012). Furthermore, Schuster (2001) believed that temporary uses can strongly shape the image of a city, which is important for attracting economic development. Pop-up uses are often representative of local place, people and culture, and help to build the identity and image of a place.

Most of the literature has been along the lines of proving the importance of temporary uses of urban space. Much contemporary discourse on temporary uses now focuses on determining the role of the state. The general consensus is that such uses should be facilitated by the state through initiating or mediating the process and lowering risks for both producers and consumers of temporary uses (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, 2007). Certain temporary use topics have been studied in-depth, such as architecture and street art. However, since pop-up urbanism is a relatively new field of study, it appears that little academic work concerning different planning approaches and state interventions has yet been done.

POP-UP FOOD IN THE CITY

Food-related temporary uses of urban space has existed in various forms throughout the ages (Tinker, 2003). Historically, pop-up food in the city has played integral roles in food security, placemaking, and the economic development of communities and regions (Morales, 2011). Uses such as markets connected urban people with the fruits of the hinterland, while building local social and economic relationships that helped socialize immigrants and formed a sense of community. In Medieval times in Europe, many households lacked kitchens and relied greatly on roving street vendors and marketplaces for a variety of foodstuffs (Valentine, 1998). During the Industrial Age, street food vending provided significant income for the vendors and was an essential source of affordable, ready-to-eat food for people of every class and occupation (Tinker, 2003; Scholliers, 2012).

However, in Victorian times a desire for control and order prevailed and eating in public became frowned upon as disorderly, unclean, uncouth and disrespectful of others (Valentine, 1998). This applied to women especially and still does in some cultures such as those in the Middle East (Scholliers, 2012). As such, eating in public spaces has now become an act of liberation, a freedom of expression. Adolescents take it as an opportunity to escape the surveillant gaze of adults (Valentine, 1998). According to Zukin (1991), al fresco eating can help reveal unpredictable spaces of freedom. Modern society has created lifestyles where eating on the run, often borne of necessity, transgresses gender, age, and cultural distinctions. Valentine (1998) notes a shift in contemporary attitudes, a relaxing of social codes that no longer sees eating in public as disorderly and uncouth, but as democratic. Indeed, civic commensality was a strong symbol of liberty, equality and fraternity in the revolutions of mid-19th century France and Germany (Bruegel, 2012).

Therefore, it is no great surprise that American sociologist William H. Whyte made numerous observations on the apparent correlation between food and social activity in the city. He observed that street food vendors - effective scouts for economically viable urban spaces - established themselves in areas that would tend to draw a large number of people (Whyte, 1980). And, as people appeared to be attracted to large gatherings of other people, these spaces drew more and more people - a process that Whyte called a "shill effect". His observations showed that food in urban spaces had a powerful shill effect. In parks, people congregated near the snack bars and eating facilities, such as tables and seating, drawing in more passersby and creating a party-like atmosphere. Simply placing seating and a single food cart in an empty plaza effectively regenerated the space, attracting more people and more food vendors. Indeed, a recent report on food trucks in America has shown that the rise of the food truck industry in Los Angeles and Austin have not only strengthened the food scene in these cities, but has also corresponded to a growth in the number of fixed establishments (Gall & Kurcab, 2012).

In his book, City: Rediscovering the Center, Whyte (1988) presented food as the first component in the management of spaces for public vitality and social exchange. He explicitly extolled the benefits of street food vendors, outdoor cafes, public eating facilities and local farmer's markets. The flourishing of food vendors is indicative of public demand for food in public spaces. These vendors are the "caterers of the city's outdoor life", as described by Whyte. The importance of pop-up food in the city was so great that Whyte proposed for New York City to have all new zoning laws require basic food facilities in new parks and plazas. However, this proposal was not implemented by the Planning Commission. This was not surprising, given the multitude of ordinances still in existence against street food vending in most places. The evolution of such regulations is discussed in the following section.

FOOD REGULATION HISTORY

During the Victorian era in many western democracies, not only was eating in public made a social taboo, but it set in motion the Hygienist Movement that saw the reification of social fear and obsession with cleanliness through legal mechanisms (Bruegel, 2012). Both in Europe and North America, the desire to modernize and embellish the image of towns led to severe restrictions on street food vendors, including fixed locations and time schedules (Scholliers, 2012). These restrictions made the livelihoods of street food vendors increasingly difficult as their main advantage was their mobility, which was used to service different populations that were found in different urban spaces throughout the day. Furthermore, eating establishments became increasingly fixed and concentrated to better facilitate inspection and enforcement of ordinances related to cleanliness and health. In 1906, the United States enacted the Pure Food and Drug Act, setting the stage for federal intervention in food regulation (Young, 1989). By the 1970's, street food vendors were considered a part of a dying informal sector (Tinker, 2003).

The evolution of food regulation, especially in North America, has not been kind to food-related temporary uses of urban space. While the basic premises of these regulations - health and safety - are important, many of them have become so cumbersome that both vendors and consumers are experiencing ill effects. Many North American cities do not allow any type of street food vending (Whyte, 1988) and food markets have been relegated to a marginal use (Morales, 2011). Obtaining a license for uses such as pop-up restaurants or food festivals can be daunting and often futile. Yet, these types of uses have been recognized staples of vibrant street life, steady revenue sources, and a variety of accessible food choices in many cities around the world (Whyte, 1980; Schuster, 2001; Tinker, 2003).

More North American cities are beginning to embrace pop-up food uses, although many policies are still in their infancy and implemented as pilot projects. Vancouver has been seeing an increasing number of successful food trucks, while Toronto has recently scrapped a poorly planned initiative to encourage more diverse food carts in the city. Portland is known for a number of food pods throughout the city where multiple food carts can occupy an empty lot on a regular basis. Tinker (2003) advocates the organisation of vendors to influence better solutions. Notably, in San Francisco and New York City, some entrepreneurs have taken up the challenge of navigating the complex regulations to provide vendors with friendly-vending environments that have been attracting high volumes of vendors and consumers.

Currently, one of the major opponents of pop-up food in the city is the local restaurant industry. With the rising popularity of pop-up food in the city, fixed establishments are feeling increasingly threatened. As a result, local restaurant owners are a major barrier to the implementation of new regulations that better accommodate pop-up food uses. These owners also apply a great deal of pressure on the police to enforce any by-laws against food pop-ups. The main reason cited for opposing pop-up food is the unfair advantage of pop-ups in terms of lower tax rates and operating costs. The belief is that such uses will irrevocably damage a city's restaurant industry. Other widespread arguments associate pop-up food with poor health and safety conditions, traffic congestion and street litter. A recent report by the Institute for Justice offers evidence to refute all of these arguments (Gall & Kurcab, 2012). Also, interestingly, precisely such arguments were put forth to oppose the passing of a measure to enfranchise street food vendors in Dallas (Whyte, 1988). When the measure was passed, the local restaurant industry actually experienced growth, while the city saw a substantial increase in street liveliness and no litter problem.

METHODOLOGY

The research framework for this project was built on existing Post-Occupancy Evaluation (POE) research, which has shown success in uniting different disciplines in the evaluation of urban spaces (Bechtel, 1996). First-hand data collection for a sufficient number of cases to develop a meaningful comparative analysis was beyond the scope and resources of this project. Therefore, cross-sectional data for various cases was collected from the blogosphere[1], along with some supplementing first-hand empirical data. For the most part, blog data served as a proxy for primary material. Data mining the blogosphere is particularly well-suited for examining the effectiveness of food-related temporary uses, which rely a great deal on dynamic opinions (Liu, 2007). Also, the blogosphere provides access to rich qualitative data that transcends temporal and geographical limitations, with retroactive data collection across vast distances. A more detailed discussion on this method is found in the Methods section.

On account of the methods used, all cases examined were from developed countries with active English-speaking blogging communities. While the dataset may not be representative of the complete spectrum of food pop-ups around the world, it is useful and directly relevant within the context of this project. Such data will give valuable insight into the trend of pop-up food that is currently emerging in many cities of developed countries, particularly those of North America and Europe. These geographical areas of interest actually coincide with the active english-speaking blogging communities from which the data was drawn. Therefore, despite limited external validity, the scope of blogosphere data is acceptable for the purposes of this project.

[1] The blogosphere consists of blogs - discussion or informational websites with entries that are usually in reverse chronological order and open to comments - and their interconnections, including bloggers, posts, and links.

POST-OCCUPANCY EVALUATION (POE)

POE formally emerged in the 1960s to determine how the physical design of mental institutions impacted the performance of patient treatment (Preiser, 1995). They have since been successfully applied in a range of disciplines, including psychology, architecture, and urban design (Marcus & Francis, 1998). There is a general emphasis on the perspective of the end-user. The process consists of cross-sectional studies with valid, reproducible results that can inform future design guidelines.

According to Preiser (1995), there are three levels of evaluation effort: 1) indicative, 2) investigative, and 3) diagnostic. Indicative work is mainly from observations and meant to troubleshoot the immediate design. Investigative includes more feedback from users and is meant to inform the next design cycle. Diagnostic is broader and spans multiple projects, essentially creating a database of information from which designers can draw.

For the purposes of this study, the level of evaluation will be in line with an indicative POE - the majority of data will be collected from observations. However, the scope of data collected will produce a rudimentary diagnostic POE - a broad range of cases that will become a foundation for further analysis.

For urban design, in particular, a POE should create a multi-dimensional picture of patterns of use, misuse, and nonuse (Marcus & Francis, 1998). Context is very important in understanding the results. Therefore, physical elements of the site need to be established before making user observations. Additional contextual factors are needed in the case of temporary uses. The literature places importance on reactivation and reappropriation of space, especially by individuals, communities, and non-governmental, non-commercial entities (Haydn & Temel, 2006). Some insight can be gained regarding these aspects by gathering data on the nature of the site and production of use (see Table 1).

TABLE 1: CONTEXTUAL MEASURES

USE	Pop-up Food Type	
SITE	City Location Type Inside/Outside Domain	
TEMPORAL	Date Climate Time of Day Time of Week Duration Recurrence	
PRODUCTION	Producer Funding Permit of Use	

POE uses performance measures based on specific criteria to determine the effectiveness of an environment. Previous POE's related to urban design have used criteria such as safety, cleanliness, attractiveness, user satisfaction, and accessibility (Pasaogullari & Dorati, 2004; Malkoc & Ozkan, 2010). These are valid in terms of the success of public space design. For evaluating the success of a food-related temporary use of urban space, one needs to consider the specific aims of temporary uses in general, as well as the potential benefits of pop-up food in the city. As discussed in the previous Background chapter, a literature review of these subjects revealed several key objectives: public accessibility, adaptability of use, reactivation of underutilized sites, reappropriation of urban space, and economic viability. These measures fall under three main categories (see Table 2): 1) social measures, 2) use measures, and 3) economic measures.

TABLE 2: PERFORMANCE MEASURES

SOCIAL	Site Accessibility	Ease of access, such as site visibility, physical access, and disability access.	A rating of 'low' means difficult to find or gain entry. A rating of 'medium' means moderate ease of access with minor restrictions. A rating of 'high' means good visibility and easy physical access.
	Cost Accessibility	A comparison of absolute dollar values is not feasible as many different items and services are provided by the pop-ups. Also, there are variations in cost of living between the different geographic areas examined. Therefore, heavy weight is placed on perceived values ascertained from user comments.	As a very rough guideline: a rating of 'low' means greater than $40, a rating of 'medium' means $10-40, and a rating of 'high' means free to several dollars.
	Modal Accessibility	Accessibility to the site in the greater context.	A rating of 'low' means access by one transportation mode. A rating of 'medium' means access by two modes. A rating of 'high' means access by more than two modes.
	Popularity	An indicator of public reception. It is heavily based on the popular social media measures of Facebook 'likes', Twitter 'tweets', blog content and user comments. These research methods are discussed in the following section.	The range of ratings was based on the popularity seen in the examined pop-ups - i.e. the pop-ups with the lowest measures were assigned a rating of 'low', while the highest were rated 'high'.
	Consumer	Four types of consumer groups were found among the pop-ups.	In order of increasing accessibility, they are: 1) paying adults, 2) paying general public, 3) adults, and 4) general public.
USE	Level of Use	The level of use is based on blog content, user comments, number of reviews and the Popularity measure mentioned above.	A rating of 'low' generally means very few comments and/or reviews and a low Popularity rating. A rating of 'high' means many comments and/or reviews and a high Popularity rating.
	Reappropriation	Compares the conventional use of space with the pop-up use.	A rating of 'yes' means the pop-up use is different from the conventonal use. A rating of 'no' means there is no difference.
	Adaptability	Refers the pop-up's capacity to adapt to changing conditions.	A rating of 'low' means the pop-up is relatively fixed, usually requiring specialized equipment or infrastructure that is not mobile. A rating of 'medium' means restricted mobility, such as lengthy and complex transportation needs or specific site requirements. A rating of 'high' means capacity to relocate with ease and possibility for relatively quick reconfigurations to adapt to varying consumer
ECONOMIC	Consumer	This is the same measure mentioned above in Social Measures.	Listed by increasing economic potential, the order is: 1) general public and adults, and 2) paying general public and paying adults.
	Profitability	This is an estimated measure roughly based on blog content, user comments and the Cost Accessibility and Level of Use measures.	Generally, a rating of 'low means high Cost Accessibility and low Level of Use. A rating of 'high' means low Cost Accessibility and high Level of Use. A rating of 'medium' covers the range in between 'low' and 'high'.
	Revenue Source	There were several types of revenue sources identified.	Types: food sales, ticket sales, vendor fees, and donations.

DATAMINING THE BLOGOSPHERE

The blogosphere is described by Nitin and Huan (2008) as a "storehouse of publicly regulated media" including blog sites, blog posts, blogrolls and bloggers. Since 1999, online communities have embraced blogs as a popular form of communication that encourages dialogue and co-production of knowledge (Hookway, 2008). Similar to pop-up urbanism, blogs empower consumers to become producers. Blogs have many useful features such as instant publication, interactive comments, and reverse chronologically ordered posts. The blogosphere has been growing in size and popularity due to user-friendly applications, global media exposure and generally free access. In 2008, the number of bloggers in the US only was estimated at over 77 million (Milioni & Kyza, 2010). Consequently, the blogosphere has become a rich source of qualitative data.

Datamining the blogosphere emerged in the past decade as a new research tool. The archived nature of blogs allow for relatively easy examination of social processes over time, while the globalization of the internet facilitates quick and easy data collection across vast geographical distances. This tool has been gaining popularity with researchers, especially in sociology where traditional methods have often had issues with memory, neutrality, and morality. By virtue of its publication in the public domain - through the "public act of writing for an implicit audience" (Hookway, 2008) - blogosphere data is considered by most researchers to be ethically acceptable for research purposes. Bloggers have the option to make their blogs private. Therefore, blogs that are publicly available should not require participant consent.

The blogosphere not only contains valuable data for tracking consumer beliefs and opinions; it also plays an influential role in shaping consumer behaviour (Nitin & Huan, 2008). Blogs have been found to be one of the most influential forms of social media because their interactivity and trackability help to build trust between users (Lankes, 2008; Xiaoguang, Tingting & Feicheng, 2010). In a way, blogs have become a cyber form of "word of mouth" marketing, which studies have shown to have a high impact on consumer decisions (Berry & Keller, 2003). For restaurants, 83% of people prefer consulting family, friends or experts rather than information from advertisements. Similarly, "influential blogs" have a significant effect on readers' decisions. People have traditionally gauged credibility of opinions by root authority based on identity and credentials (Jessen & Jorgenson, 2012). By way of hyperlink navigation and vote-like features, such as tweets and Facebook 'likes', internet users have replaced traditional gauges of credibility with collective judgement, or social validation. In other words, people are not disposed to trust an individual anonymous user, but they have shown to trust the collective opinion of many individual anonymous users (Lankes, 2008).

Influential blogs are mainly identified through centrality measures, which count the number and type of links to and from a blog (Hookway, 2008; Nitin & Huan, 2008; Milioni & Kyza, 2010; Xiaoguang, Tingting & Feicheng, 2010). There is ongoing research for improving various techniques and algorithms for determining centrality within the blogosphere. The results of such research are used to create more accurate blog search engines. The most commonly mentioned search engine in the reviewed literature was Technorati, which determines influence mainly based on recognition (number of inlinks), novelty of ideas (number of outlinks), and number of comments (Nitin & Huan, 2008). Technorati only analyses blogs written in English and categorizes them based on clustering of labels and tags.

Pop-ups examined in this research were from blogs that were selected based on their relevance to pop-up food in the city, Technorati ratings and social validation (see Appendix for a complete list of source blogs). Supplementary blogs were also used for each pop-up. These were not necessarily influential blogs, but provided useful additional information on the pop-ups.

Social validation was also used to gauge popularity of each pop-up. A commonly used method was applied, based on number of Facebook 'likes' and Twitter 'tweets' (Cha, Haddadi, Benevenuto & Gummadi, 2010; Jessen & Jorgenson, 2012), as well as ratings from popular, socially networked business review sites Urbanspoon and Yelp. Comments from the review sites and other blogs were also heavily used to assess popularity.

In a sense, qualitative data gathered from the blogosphere is similar to questionnaire and interview data for the purposes of this research project. However, since this data was collected passively and retroactively, there are discrepancies with respect to the type and format of information between each pop-up. This is one of the major limitations of this method. As such, there has been a necessary degree of inference to create a sufficiently complete dataset for meaningful comparisons.

About half of all the pop-ups fell into one distinct subgroup: food trucks and carts. Using food trucks to bring food back to the streets is quickly gaining popularity in many countries, especially those in North America. This is not surprising as this subgroup proved to be very effective with some of the best POEs and consistently strong performances overall. The remaining cases included various other types of pop-up food. Pop-up restaurants were the most common type within this group, although they generally did not perform nearly as well as food trucks. The other cases provided interesting ideas for pop-up food that could be effective for more specific contexts and objectives. The following analysis is presented in two sets:

- Food Trucks (including carts)
- More Pop-Up Food

Each set will be examined in terms of effectiveness and will also contain in-depth profiles of select cases to better illustrate the analysis (see Appendix for complete data table of all 30 pop-ups).

30 FOOD POP-UPS

FOOD TRUCKS

Food trucks consistently performed well because they are able to facilitate all of the qualities valued in pop-up food - cost and physical accessibility, social interaction, site reactivation, economic regeneration, adaptability of use, and reappropriation of public space.

In general, food trucks are self-funded by one or two entrepreneurs. Almost all exist in areas that permit such use. In the case of the Camionette, the struggle to gain the first food truck permit in Helsinki garnered much publicity, support and subsequent business. Conversely, the Shuck Truck in Maine is still facing a food truck ban in local municipalities, restricting their use to rural roads and special events despite their widespread popularity. The following sections take a closer look at this and other issues that affect the effectiveness of food trucks.

TABLE 3: FOOD TRUCKS ETC.

	NAME	POP-UP TYPE	CITY	PERFORMANCE SOCIAL	USE	ECONOMIC
BEST PERFORMERS	Cinnamon Snail	Food truck	New York, NY	●	●	●
	Dim Sum Truck	Food truck	Los Angeles, CA	●	●	●
	Buttermilk	Food truck	Los Angeles, CA	●	●	●
	Truckin' Good Food	Food truck	Phoenix, AZ	●	●	●
	Camionette	Food truck	Helsinki, Finland	●	●	●
GOOD PERFORMERS	Flip Happy Crepes	Food trailer	Austin, TX	●	◐	◐
	Food Truck Court	Food trucks	Queens, NY	◐	●	◐
	Viking Soul Food	Food trailer	Portland, OR	◐	●	◐
	East Side King	Food truck	Austin, TX	◐	◐	●
	Del Popolo	Food truck	San Francisco, CA	◐	◐	●
	Fun Buns	Food cart	New York, NY	◐	◐	◐
POOR PERFORMERS	Sixth & Rye	Food truck	Washington, DC	○	●	◐
	Shuck Truck	Food truck	South Bristol, ME	◐	○	◐
	A La Cart	Food carts	Toronto, ON	◐	○	○

Good = ○ Okay = ◐ Poor = ●

BEST PERFORMERS

Five food trucks performed very well in terms of social, use and economic measures. These five actually ranked highest across all the pop-ups examined. Commonalities within this group are: unique branding, strong social media presence, clearly stated location(s) and opening hours, consistent quality, and high levels of use and popularity.

All trucks operated on a daily, year-round basis, with the exception of the Camionette, which was open 24 hours, seven days a week for only the summer season. This may be due to the cold local winter weather that did not make it feasible to operate outside of summer months.

Although some of these trucks were situated in cities with less than ideal transit options and low pedestrian volumes (i.e. Phoenix and Los Angeles), the dedication to seeking out multiple, suitable locations on a daily basis, prompt customer notifications, and a well-defined, reliable daily schedule kept business traffic and customer satisfaction high.

These trucks have all been in operation for over a year; two started in 2009 and three in 2010. Their popularity has held up to the test of time and their customer base continues to grow. Three of the trucks had several hundred reviews on Yelp. Scores ranged from 3.5 to 5 out of 5, with an average of 4.3. Given the length of operation and volume of reviews, these scores indicate that the food trucks were producing a consistent quality product. The Cinnamon Snail, in particular, had been continuously gaining in popularity over the past three years. However, a recent ruling by the Supreme Court of New York is having a significant impact on the Snail and all food trucks based in New York City. This issue is detailed in the following profile.

In February of 2010, the Cinnamon Snail opened in New York City, catering to a niche market with vegan and organic fare. It is known for its staple of vegan doughnuts that come in a variety of inventive flavours, such as vanilla bourbon creme brulee. In addition, the Snail offers breakfast and lunch menus with items that change seasonally, depending on available ingredients. Costs are reasonable with beverages and desserts ranging from $2-3, and meals from $8-15.

This truck has some of the most favourable and highest volumes of comments of all the pop-ups analysed, with 297 reviews on Yelp. It appears that the Cinnamon Snail not only produces a high quality product, but has also found a market with high demand and little competition. It is clear that the Snail has a dedicated fanbase that appreciates the reasonably priced, creative and healthy options that the truck has to offer - of those reviewed, this is the only pop-up to receive an average score of 5 out of 5 on Yelp. Furthermore, the Snail has maintained a strong relationship with local communities, which have been involved with different aspects of the Cinnamon Snail, from cleaning and outfitting the truck to branding and marketing the business. According to its website, this truck is also open to giving charitable donations and exchanging food for useful services, such as photography or advertising.

Another reason for the Snail's popularity and longevity is its dedication to reliable, quality service. Everyday, weather permitting, the truck has to find and secure a parking spot.

Once this is accomplished, the location is immediately posted via Facebook and Twitter. The truck also provides delivery and catering services. This year, the Cinnamon Snail won the People's Choice Award at the 8th Annual Vendy Awards, which recognizes excellence in the street food vending industry of New York City.

Unfortunately, in 2011, the Supreme Court of New York ruled that street food is considered "merchandise". As trivial as this ruling may seem, it has been effectively pushing food trucks out of the core of New York City where pedestrian density and volume of established clientele are greatest. This is because a by-law from 1965 prohibits a vehicle from using a metred parking spot to sell merchandise. With the recent ruling, this by-law now applies to food trucks. As owners of fixed establishments feel increasingly threatened by the growing popularity of food trucks, the number of complaints have risen. As enforcement of the by-law grows, many food trucks are floundering for new viable locations. So far, it seems the devoted fans of the Cinnamon Snail have been willing to cross boroughs to track them down. Also, blog posts suggest that the Snail's deliveries and catering business are keeping them busy despite the move to a less than ideal locale.

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THE CINNAMON SNAIL

SOCIAL USE ECON

POP-UP TYPE: Food truck

CITY: New York

SITE: Streets

YEAR: Since 2010

RECURRENCE: Ongoing

PRODUCER: Entrepreneur

CONSUMER: Paying general public

After a full-time career in advertising, aspiring chef Jeff Kraus decided to start his own food truck after a revelatory trip to France. Kraus wanted to bring Parisian street food to Phoenix with a dedication to quality ingredients and affordable prices. He chose a mobile eatery over a fixed establishment for several reasons: less start-up costs and time, and the freedom to bring his food wherever he wanted. Mobility was particularly important in reaching a large clientele given the sprawling nature of the city and lack of transit options.

Truckin' Good Food opened for business in January of 2010 and quickly developed a strong following. Using simple, quality ingredients, the truck cooked up sweet and savoury crepes that cost $6-7. The truck also sold pommes frites crisped in duck fat and other creations depending on seasonal ingredients. Kraus drove a regular circuit almost daily, stopping at local farmer's markets in downtown Portland, Mesa, Scottsdale and Ahwatukee. The clientele generally had good food knowledge and discerning tastes, which added to the truck's culinary cachet. Truckin' Good Food also worked with the Phoenix Children's Project to help children of impoverished families. By the end of the year, Truckin' Good Food was receiving accolades in Phoenix and beyond. High profile sites, such as WebUrbanist and Serious Eats, touted the truck as one of the best on an international scale. The Huffington Post named it one of the top ten most influential food trucks in America according to Klout scores.

At the end of 2011, Kraus decided to pursue a fixed establishment and took the truck off the road. It is not clear from the findings why this decision was made. It may have been the long, arduous work schedule required for food preparation and truck operation. It may have been that the truck had established such a strong reputation that a fixed establishment would be better equipped to meet increasing demand. Whatever the reasons, Kraus' brick-and-mortar Crepe Bar successfully opened its doors during the summer of 2012. Truckin' Good Food has not only helped Kraus establish a strong reputation in the food industry, but the food truck has also helped him to refine his menu and better understand his clientele for the launch of the Crepe Bar. The restaurant has since been receiving consistently positive reviews.

Food

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TRUCKIN' GOOD FOOD

SOCIAL USE ECON

POP-UP TYPE: Food truck

CITY: Phoenix

SITE: Streets

YEAR: 2009 - 2011

RECURRENCE: Ongoing

PRODUCER: Entrepreneur

CONSUMER: Paying general public

Tio Tikka was only a teenager when he fell in love with the retro food trucks of the 1950's. At the age of 19, he got his hands on a 1972 Citroen Camionette and embarked on an inspiring journey to bring the first food truck to Helsinki, Finland. After spending months retrofitting the truck to sell coffee and crepes, Tikka ran up against staunch opposition from local authorities. He was told there was not enough room on the streets for his truck. Within days, his efforts gained over 10,000 supporters on Facebook and a permit was granted a week later. The power of social media clearly had sway, especially given it was an election year.

In the summer of 2010, the Camionette parked in a busy downtown spot next to a shopping mall and metro entrance, and started serving coffee and crepes 24 hours a day, seven days a week. The truck was a success. It had a steady stream of customers and six employees by the end of summer. The City then decided to offer more food truck permits, but only for specific pre-selected locations. Many of these spots were behind buildings and not conducive to business, with very little traffic or visibility. Some other restrictions included specific hours and self-estimated rents, which ranged from 80 to 2000 euros a month. Trucks were forced to vacate their spots each day after their allotted time slot. None of the new food trucks were able to succeed. Tikka was able to keep his spot, but the new regulations made it difficult to keep his business economically viable.

At the end of 2011, the Camionette gave up its spot despite having established a loyal clientele. The truck is still occasionally taken out for special events and catering jobs, but daily operation had become too troublesome due to the prohibitive regulations. The publicity generated by the Camionette was a major contributor to the successful launch of Tikka's restaurant, Suola, the following spring. While the food truck culture in Helsinki is still virtually nonexistent, the City is actively developing a Food Culture Strategy that hopes to see mobile eateries play a larger role in the urban environment.

When asked how the City could better encourage food trucks, Tikka referenced Los Angeles and San Francisco as cities having a great food truck culture. They hold regular food truck courts and even have city-operated food truck maps for the general public to track their favourite trucks. Tikka would like to see Helsinki lift the location restriction and charge lower monthly fees (about 50 euros a month) so trucks can afford the high parking fees in central locations. And, while licensing restrictions should be relaxed, Tikka feels that authorities should be more strict with hygiene and food quality inspections.

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CAMIONETTE

SOCIAL USE ECON

POP-UP TYPE: Food truck

CITY: Helsinki

SITE: Streets

YEAR: 2010 - 2011

RECURRENCE: Ongoing

PRODUCER: Entrepreneur

CONSUMER: Paying general public

32

43

44

45

11

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GOOD PERFORMERS

This group of six were all fairly strong performers, but had minor issues in one or more areas of the POE. Similar to the Best Performers, these trucks all operated on a reliable, year-round basis, and had a strong customer base. However, many of these trucks suffered from issues with physical accessibility and adaptability.

Despite their mobile capacity, four of the six had fixed locations with poor visibility from the street. One truck, East Side King, sat in the backyard of a bar establishment, which also greatly limited its clientele - to only patrons of the bar. Fortunately, this truck did occasionally get out to the general public for special events and catering. Another food truck, Del Popolo, had a more self-imposed limitation. It used a 20-ft shipping container for its truck, which was often prohibited on many city streets due to its size, limiting the number of sites it could set-up in.

The only food cart in this group, Fun Buns, had the distinction of operating on a sidewalk, which slightly enhanced accessibility. However, the lengthier and more complicated transport and set-up time - including logistics for hooking up the cart to an appropriate vehicle - greatly reduced this cart's adaptability, which may explain its lower business volumes compared to its parent food truck.

Regular congregations of food trucks are becoming increasingly popular in cities with strong food truck cultures, such as San Francisco and Portland. In New York City, however, food truck courts have only recently sprung up almost out of necessity. The recent New York Supreme Court ruling that affected the Cinnamon Snail has also left many food trucks homeless. The ruling allowed a prohibitive 1965 by-law to apply to food trucks and it was being enforced relentlessly as influential restaurants in the city core felt threatened by the increasingly popular food trucks.

Shortly after the ruling, a private developer reached out to the New York Food Truck Association (NYFTA) with a proposal for a food truck court on one of their parking lots. Essentially, food trucks would sacrifice some of their mobility for the security of a viable lunchtime spot. The developer offered up almost half of an 11,000 sqft lot located in an industrial area of Long Island City. While the location did not have the visibility, volume of pedestrian traffic or transit accessibility found in the city core, it was surrounded by several large office towers and had little competition in terms of food options.

The food truck court opened in August of 2011 to steady business. The court operated with three trucks from 1-3pm on weekdays only. The NYFTA had about 40 different trucks that would rotate spots each day. Comments showed that many local employees were grateful for the new quick and affordable food choices. The three picnic tables set up in the court were always full. The lot had room to accommodate up to 16 trucks for special events, or if the demand grew. Yet, after a year of operation, the food truck court has not added any more trucks. While it has proven popular, the fixed clientele and short operating hours have made it difficult for the food truck court to justify expansion. In comparison, successful food truck courts in other cities generally have more visibility, better accessibility, longer hours and a much greater selection of food trucks.

The NYFTA are still actively working on improving food truck regulations in New York City so that trucks can return to more viable locations. As NYFTA president, David Weber, explains:

> *"...there are many stakeholders: the truck owners, restaurant owners, New Yorkers who enjoy the food trucks, city planners ... The vending rules have been on the books for 150 years, and they're slowly changing."*

New York City currently has 3,100 food truck permits and 1,000 seasonal permits with a long waiting list for existing permits to become available (Ross & LaMattina, 2010). The actual number of food trucks in New York City is estimated to be about 10,000. This has created a large black market with many illegal transfers of ownership, which negatively impacts the city's ability to regulate the trucks, especially with respect to public health and food safety.

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FOOD TRUCK COURT

SOCIAL USE ECON

POP-UP TYPE: Food trucks

CITY: New York

SITE: Parking lot

YEAR: Since 2011

RECURRENCE: Ongoing

PRODUCER: Association and developer

CONSUMER: Paying general public

The business card of this unique food trailer reads: Megan Walhood, Viking Descendant; Jeremy Daniels, Soul Provider. Born in the summer of 2010, Viking Soul Food has been providing Portland, Oregon with creative, passionate, one-of-a-kind Norwegian-inspired fare. The menu is based on Lefse, a traditional Norwegian potato flatbread. The traditional butter and cream components of the Lefse batter have been replaced with extra virgin olive oil to allow for vegan options. The Lefse is available plain with butter and fleur de sel, or drizzled with local honey for $2.50. It can also be wrapped around inventive fillings made from fresh Northwest ingredients, such as smoked salmon, for sweet and savoury wraps ranging from $4-5.

While Viking Soul Food offers a very unique product, its success and longevity comes from the use of high quality ingredients in creative, but tasty combinations, and holding true to Norwegian roots. Many customers commented on the excellent quality of the handmade Lefse, as well as the innovative use of other authentic Norwegian ingredients such as lingonberries, Surkal and Gjestost - a popular cheese sauce in a curiously bright shade of orange. Viking Soul Food had 71 Yelp review, which is a modest number especially compared to the Best Performers above. However, the ratings are among the highest at 4.5 out of 5 on Yelp, and 92% on Urban Spoon.

Viking Soul Food is housed in a silver antique Airstream trailer, and is considered one of Portland's favourite food carts. According to the blog Food Carts Portland, Portland has over 475 food carts, most of which reside in "pods" - vacant lots or other open spaces that accommodate a cluster of food carts. The location and number of pods vary over time, but there are generally about a dozen that remain stable for about a season. Viking Soul Food has been a resident of their pod for almost two years. While their pod is an established one with good visibility, it is mainly accessed by car, which greatly limits the type and volume of clientele. The inherent nature of a food cart means limited mobility and, consequently, slower adaptability to changing conditions. Also, Viking Soul Food seems to have less of a social media presence than most of the mobile eateries examined - based on Facebook 'likes' and Twitter 'tweets'. This, coupled with the fact that they close every Sunday and Monday, may negatively affect possible revenues that this cart could generate.

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VIKING SOUL FOOD

SOCIAL USE ECON

POP-UP TYPE: Food trailer

CITY: Portland

SITE: Vacant lot

YEAR: Since 2010

RECURRENCE: Ongoing

PRODUCER: Entrepreneurs

CONSUMER: Paying general public

Jon Darsky had almost five years of pizza-making experience - hand-tossed, Neopolitan style pizzas - when he decided to open his own restaurant. Finding a suitable space was surprisingly difficult, so Darsky started considering a food truck. But, he didn't want to make any sacrifices on the quality of his pizzas. To that end, a 20 ft transatlantic shipping container was repurposed with a 5,000 lb wood-fired oven from Naples, making it one of the biggest food trucks to ever roam a street. An entire side of the container was replaced with glass doors to give an unobstructed view of the impressive oven and pizza-making action. To keep the need for equipment and space to a minimum, the menu was limited to two simple 12" pizzas - margherita and blanca - and usually one with meat and seasonal toppings with prices ranging from $11-15.

Del Popolo opened for business this past May with a strong social media presence and good reviews. Most comments were about the striking and creative truck design. Many also praised the authenticity of the Neopolitan pizzas. A few mentioned that the prices seemed a bit high, especially for a food truck. But then, this is one of the rare trucks that provide a meal and a show. And to make that possible, Darsky had invested about $180,000 into Del Popolo - that is over four times as much as a typical food truck (Leeder, 2011). Also, the operating costs of this 30,000 lb truck is higher than most. As a result, Del Popolo has prices that are higher than most food trucks. However, the massive and unique Del Popolo is an attraction in itself, and the wood-fired oven cooks a pie in about 60 seconds, which makes for fast-moving line-ups.

Del Popolo is also very dedicated to keeping its social media communications up-to-date, posting its location at least a day in advance. This is key for Del Popolo because - unlike smaller conventional food trucks - it cannot roam the streets and set-up immediately at busy spots, but has to plan ahead for a spot that could accommodate its extraordinary size. According to customer feedback, people are enthusiastically tracking down this truck for the novelty of its appearance and, also, the quality of its pizzas. Such a large investment is unusual for a food truck, but according to a recent San Francisco Chronicle article, Darsky said:

"I am happy [with] what I am doing and excited to see the response and where this takes me."

SOURCE(S):
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DEL POPOLO

SOCIAL USE ECON

POP-UP TYPE: Food truck

CITY: San Francisco

SITE: Streets

YEAR: Since 2012

RECURRENCE: Ongoing

PRODUCER: Entrepreneur

CONSUMER: Paying general public

50

51

52

POOR PERFORMERS

Only three of the fourteen cases in this subgroup performed poorly in their POEs: two food trucks and one food cart project. Interestingly, these three cases each faced distinct problems in different areas of the POE.

Poor Social Performance - The Sixth & Rye food truck launched with great fanfare based on the reputation of its celebrity chef owner. However, the popularity quickly faded due to high prices, slow service and mediocre food quality.

Poor Use Performance - As mentioned earlier, the Shuck Truck was facing issues with by-laws that prohibited food trucks from operating in nearby cities, which severely limited its use and total business traffic.

Poor Economic Performance - A La Cart was a pilot project implemented by the City of Toronto to encourage and meet the demand for more street food. However, due to the program's severe restrictions and cost-prohibitive requirements, almost all participating vendors were facing severe financial problems after just one year.

The first two pop-ups, Sixth & Rye and the Shuck Truck, are profiled in this section. The A La Cart project is discussed in greater detail as a case study at the end of this chapter.

Washington, D.C.'s first kosher deli truck was introduced in May of 2011 through a collaboration between a Jewish community centre, Sixth & I, and a celebrity chef, Spike Mendelsohn. Sixth & I was known for its progressive non-denominational, non-membership policies, and Mendelsohn was known for his participation in a reality cooking competition show and subsequent culinary endeavours.

An existing food truck was rented for lunchtime every Friday to host the Sixth & Rye operation, which only offered two sandwiches: corned beef on rye and a vegetarian option for $9 and $7, respectively. Several problems arose almost immediately. Firstly, the truck's kosher claim fell under scrutiny, and it did not come out victorious. Since the food truck did not sell kosher items on its other days of operation, the local Vaad Harabanim refused to grant Sixth & Rye kosher status. Secondly, the publicity from the celebrity chef owner generated extremely long line-ups. This, coupled with excessively slow service led to wait times of over an hour. Many comments had a similar sentiment regarding the lost kosher status and long wait times - that it would all be forgivable if the food was worth it. Yet, the main complaints for Sixth and Rye were poor food quality and scant portions: "stale bread", a few "paper-thin slices" of "bland, stringy corned beef", and "a forced dollop of yellow mustard".

Sixth & Rye received a Yelp rating of 2 out of 5, the lowest of all the food trucks reviewed. There were a great deal of comments regarding the disconnect between the high prices and low quality product. Many also expressed frustration with the slow service, especially given the very limited menu and simplicity of the items served. Suggestions for better kosher delis in D.C. were common among many of the comments.

After just half a year of operation, Sixth & Rye closed down with a promise to return the following spring. However, they were not heard from again.

53

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SIXTH & RYE

SOCIAL USE ECON

POP-UP TYPE: Food truck

CITY: Washington, DC

SITE: Streets

YEAR: 2011

RECURRENCE: Weekly

PRODUCER: Community organization and entrepreneur

CONSUMER: Paying general public

54

Cabin Cove Oysters is a small, independently-run oyster farm in South Bristol, Maine. When it was time to bring their oysters to the market, they decided to try a less conventional route. They found a 1963 Airstream Globetrotter trailer already outfitted as a food truck and started their Shuck Truck in the fall of 2011.

The idea behind the Shuck Truck is to make oysters more fun and accessible to the general public. The proprietors feel that many people are still daunted by the reputation of oysters; that they are pretentious and expensive. In addition to Cabin Cove oysters, the Shuck Truck serves a variety of other locally produced oysters, along with many creative locally-made sauces. Currently, the Shuck Truck travels through seaside towns and mainly peddles their briny delicacies at special events such as weddings.

The nearest city of Portland, Maine has the greatest market potential for the Shuck Truck. However, Portland had a ban that prohibited all food trucks from operating within city limits. The proprietors of Cabin Cove are active members of a food truck task force created in 2011 to address the issue of accommodating mobile eateries in Portland. The city is recognizing the social and economic benefits of food trucks, but developing regulations to reflect this has been slow and frustrating. The first Portland food truck permits were made available this past August. However, for the entirety of the day (from 6am to 10pm) food trucks are restricted to peripheral locations outside of downtown. From 10pm to 6am, food trucks are allowed within the downtown area, but must stay at least 65 ft away from fixed restaurant and lodging establishments. The size of food truck is also restricted to 10X20 ft, including all extensions and awnings. As of date, not a single food truck has applied for a permit in Portland due to the difficult restrictions.

The Shuck Truck has received consistently positive reviews, with many people supporting the idea of "bringing oysters to the people". However, the current state of local food truck regulations has relegated the operation to summertime use in more rural areas and only at special events.

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THE SHUCK TRUCK

SOCIAL USE ECON

POP-UP TYPE: Food truck

CITY: South Bristol, ME

SITE: Streets

YEAR: Since 2011

RECURRENCE: Ongoing

PRODUCER: Entrepreneurs

CONSUMER: Paying general public

MORE POP-UP FOOD

This section examines food pop-ups that are not food trucks or food carts. It mainly consists of pop-up restaurants, dinners and food festivals, along with a few more unique concepts. These pop-ups mostly come from the Anglosphere, but also include other places - such as Paris, Naples and Helsinki - where pop-up food is playing an important role in a developed urban context.

These pop-ups all shared the commonality of reappropriating urban space for food-related uses. For the most part, they performed best for economic measures and worst for social measures. The overall use performance varied widely. This is a distinct difference between this group and the food truck group, which consistently performed well for use measures. In general, these pop-ups did not perform nearly as well as the food truck group, with only a few that have comparable POEs. Nevertheless, each of these pop-ups offer some insight into how pop-up food in the city can be more or less effective.

TABLE 4: MORE POP-UP FOOD

	NAME	POP-UP TYPE	CITY	PERFORMANCE SOCIAL	USE	ECONOMIC
SUCCESS STORIES	Off the Grid	Market	San Francisco, CA	●	●	●
	Restaurant Day	Festival	Helsinki, Finland	●	●	◐
	Parked!	Festival	New York, NY	◐	●	●
	Picnurbia	Picnic	Vancouver, BC	●	●	
INTERESTING IDEAS	Turn Table	Restaurant	Helsinki, Finland	●		◐
	Bicycle Dinner	Dinner	Delft, Netherlands	●		
	Singapore Takeout	Restaurant	London, UK		●	●
	Dîner en Blanc	Picnic	Paris, France	◐	●	◐
	Happiness Table	Dinner	Naples, Italy	◐	●	◐
	Greenhouse by Joost	Restaurant	Sydney, Australia	◐	◐	●
	Muvbox	Restaurant	Montreal, QC	◐	◐	◐
LOW RATINGS	Le Fooding Brooklyn	Festival	Brooklyn, NY		◐	●
	Gourmet Busker	Chef	London, UK		◐	◐
	Supper Liberation Front	Dinner	Los Angeles, CA			●
	Plastic Dining Room	Dinner	Vancouver, BC			●
	Wahaca	Restaurant	London, UK			◐

Good = ○ Okay = ◐ Poor = ●

19


3


66


28

SUCCESS STORIES

These four pop-ups all have good POEs, especially for use performance. Two of these pop-ups involved food trucks and had similar mobility benefits as detailed in the food truck section. The other two pop-ups were highly adaptable in their own way, which will be elaborated in the following profiles. They all reappropriated space for special events that were open to the general public at low or no cost to the consumer. In all cases, social interaction was prompted on a large scale as hundreds of people tend to come out to the sites to explore, discover, consume, relax and linger.

A great example of a food pop-up success story, Off the Grid is a company that organizes and hosts regular street food markets in San Francisco. Inspired by the liveliness of asian night markets and motivated by the struggle of food trucks against antiquated regulations, Matt Cohen started Off the Grid in June of 2010 to provide food trucks and other street food vendors with a friendly-vending environment that was also inviting for consumers.

Although San Francisco has one of the strongest food truck cultures in North America, there still exists fierce opposition from fixed establishments, especially in high rent areas such as the downtown core. Many food trucks still experience difficulty getting permits within 300 ft of permanent businesses in high traffic areas, and late-night vending is strictly forbidden. Off the Grid transforms underutilized lots that are still relatively central and easily accessible into lively food markets that include food stalls, trucks, carts, and even pop-up restaurants. The company handles the permitting process, logistics, market infrastructure - including comfortable seating, lighting, washrooms, and even live music - all while keeping an affordable, fixed cost structure for vendors.

Cohen emphasizes the community objectives of Off the Grid; to facilitate social interaction, community building, and economic development for small local businesses. Since it started in 2010, Off the Grid has been an overwhelming success, steadily adding markets to its line-up for a current total of 15 markets. Initially, the markets were held once a week and only at night. However, with the high demand there are now markets open everyday of the week during the day and night.

Interestingly, the strong regional draw of the markets have resulted in record sales for many nearby businesses. This is of particular importance, as it directly contradicts the main argument against food trucks - that they negatively affect business for fixed establishments. Cohen has also significantly contributed to the San Francisco street food culture through the SF Cart Project, which disseminates valuable information and resources for starting and operating a food truck or food cart in the city of San Francisco.

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OFF THE GRID

SOCIAL USE ECON

POP-UP TYPE: Market

CITY: San Francisco

SITE: Vacant/parking lots

YEAR: Since 2010

RECURRENCE: Daily

PRODUCER: Entrepreneur

CONSUMER: Paying general public

Three aspiring restaurateurs in Helsinki found the heavy regulation of the food industry exceedingly difficult to navigate and stifling to entrepreneurial creativity. In protest, they started Restaurant Day in May of 2011 - “a food carnival when anyone can open a restaurant for a day [sic]”. Essentially, it is a pop-up restaurant festival that has demonstrated a great latent demand for pop-up food in the city - by both producers and consumers.

In Finland, where there is virtually no street food, Restaurant Day has become an overwhelmingly popular event where people reappropriate urban spaces of all sorts for creative culinary production and consumption. It started with about 40 participants, mostly in Helsinki, and has become a quarterly event - recurring every three months. The popular concept has now spread to over a dozen countries with almost 800 participants. Anyone can open an eatery anywhere and, as such, most are not officially permitted by local authorities. Fortunately, due to the mass public support and popularity, the pop-up restaurants are generally not hassled by law enforcement.

Restaurant Day has become a much anticipated event by locals and visitors, for the wide range of food offerings and novel pop-up settings, including homes, offices, streets, parks, beaches and even boats. Participants also range widely, from phD students to housewives to, even, a film production crew. The event has gone beyond a protest of overregulation to one of great social value. It has revealed a strong desire for civic commensality, for sharing and enjoying the creation and consumption of innovative fare. Four times a year, Restaurant Day invariably fills the city, urban spaces of all shapes and sizes, with enthusiastic crowds of all ages and background. It directly generates social interaction and site activation throughout the city.

In general, Restaurant Day operates with an open and collaborative mindset, which facilitates innovation on many levels by connecting people with different ideas and technologies. One customer shared her knowledge of iZettle, a technology that transforms smartphones into card readers for secure card payments. Collaboration such as this helps to further expand accessibility to food pop-ups. In January 2012, a “Mobile Camp”, a hack-a-thon of sorts, was held to bring together volunteer creative and technical expertise over a weekend to help design mobile applications for Restaurant Day. The results have been robust and user-friendly; enabling participants to easily map details of their pop-ups, and encouraging consumers to explore the city.

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RESTAURANT DAY

SOCIAL USE ECON

POP-UP TYPE: Festival

CITY: Helsinki

SITE: Anywhere

YEAR: Since 2011

RECURRENCE: Quarterly

PRODUCER: Anyone

CONSUMER: Paying general public

In the summer of 2011, a 28-metre long yellow astroturf wave popped up on a busy Vancouver downtown main street. This wave, titled Picnurbia, was part of a series of urban design interventions organized by VIVA Vancouver, a city initiative with the aim of transforming streets into vibrant public spaces for walking, lounging and lunching. They produce interventions through collaboration with local businesses, regional partners and community groups. For Picnurbia, VIVA Vancouver worked closely with Loose Affiliates, a local design collective focused on architecture.

The designers felt that Vancouver already had many parks that centred on nature for social spaces - they wanted to celebrate the urban space as a social space. By placing a comfortable, inviting structure in the midst of a busy thoroughfare, the hope was to prompt passersby to rethink the use of urban spaces, to entice them to gather, to relax and watch, to meet and eat. Here, food is used as an effective catalyst for social interaction. As mentioned by Zukin (1991), alfresco eating can reveal unpredictable spaces of freedom. By simply associating the installation with the element of food through its name, Picnurbia evokes a sense of serendipity not usually associated with these city streets. This sense inspires people to reappropriate streets for more creative, social uses. Indeed, this is evidenced by the many positive comments for Picnurbia, as well as its high usage throughout the summer as it remained open to everyone around the clock.

Because of its unrestricted accessibility, one point of concern arose near the end of the summer when groups of homeless youth started to take over portions of Picnurbia for a makeshift home. While many business owners felt that the homeless would affect the area's image and business, some Picnurbia users were not bothered by the homeless as they did not disturb other users and even acted as stewards for the installation, warding off vandals during the quiet hours of the night. In a sense, Picnurbia demonstrated how public spaces in the city could truly accommodate all people.

Despite its strong social and use performance, Picnurbia did not have any source of revenue and, therefore, performed poorly for economic measures. However, this intervention did effectively attract pedestrian traffic, which may have increased business volumes for local businesses.

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PICNURBIA

SOCIAL USE ECON

POP-UP TYPE: Picnic

CITY: Vancouver

SITE: Street

YEAR: 2011

RECURRENCE: One-time

PRODUCER: City and local design collective

CONSUMER: General public

INTERESTING IDEAS

This group mainly consists of pop-up restaurants, along with a few pop-up dinners and a pop-up picnic. The pop-ups come from a wide range of producers: non-profit organizations, government, entrepreneurs, corporations, and even local community members. These pop-ups performed neither exceptionally nor poorly, but rather had some performance trade-offs between the social, use and economic criteria. More importantly, this group represents many interesting ideas for food pop-ups that have potential to perform very well given a certain context or objective, such as community building where economic development is less of a priority.

The Turn Table is a great example of adaptive re-use; it converted an abandoned transportation infrastructure in Helsinki - an old train engine turn table - into an urban farm and pop-up cafe. Spearheaded by an environmental non-profit organization, Dodo Ry, the Turn Table was opened in the spring of 2012. It hosts a year-round community greenhouse and gardening workshops. The cafe serves food prepared with ingredients grown on the premises, usually with affordable meal prices under ten euros (approximately 12 to 13 dollars).

The initiative emphasizes the ecological and social aspects of food, such as nutrition and the benefits of locally grown food. The Turn Table has an admirable social agenda and achieves its objectives moderately well. However, the site accessibility is not ideal, which negatively impacts the effectiveness of this initiative. Its current location is well-hidden within an old railyard. Although it is near stops for several modes of transportation, it is not visible from any of them. And, to reach the Turn Table requires traversing circuitous paths. Given the fixed and specialized structure needed to accommodate the garden and greenhouse, the Turn Table has relatively low capacity to relocate.

The Turn Table champions a worthy cause - educating the public on local food production through adaptive re-use - and has a dedicated community of urban gardeners with very supportive comments. Yet, the initiative could realize much greater potential in terms of social impact if it were situated in a more accessible site or had a greater capacity to mobilize.

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TURN TABLE

SOCIAL USE ECON

POP-UP TYPE: Restaurant

CITY: Helsinki

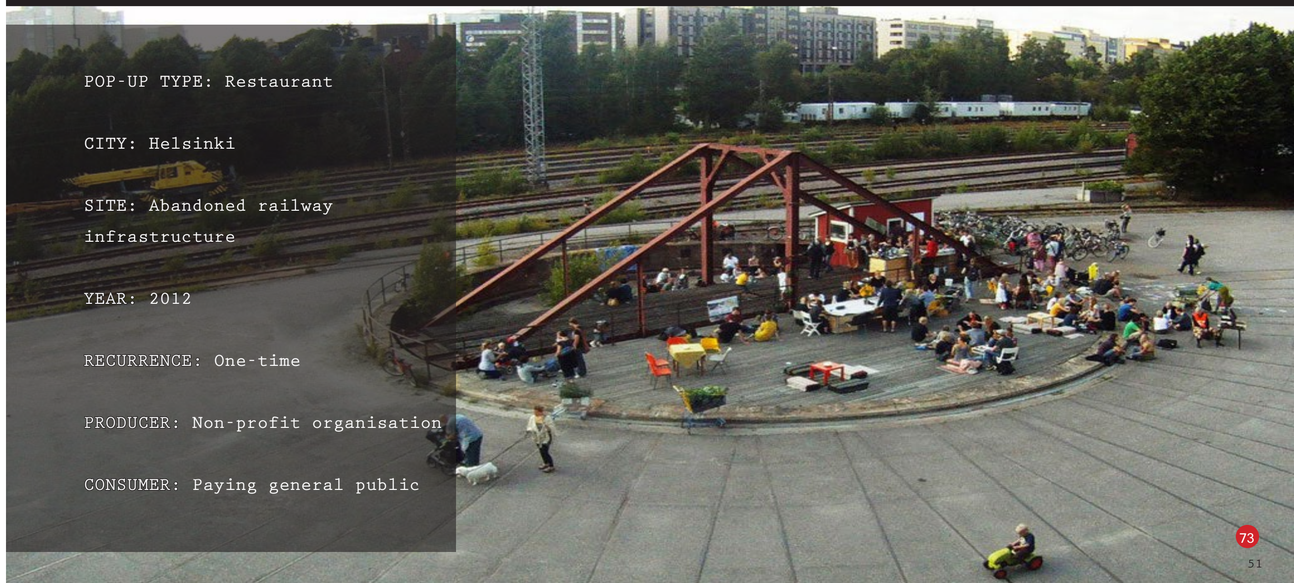
SITE: Abandoned railway infrastructure

YEAR: 2012

RECURRENCE: One-time

PRODUCER: Non-profit organisation

CONSUMER: Paying general public



Diner en Blanc is an annual mass pop-up picnic, similar to Montreal's Concrete Banquet. It originated in 1988 Paris when founder, François Pasquier, organized a picnic to reunite old friends. In order to recognize each other, he gave the simple instruction for everyone to wear white. Since then, Diner en Blanc has been gaining tremendous popularity with over 15, 000 picnickers in a dozen different countries. The rules are basically the same: dress in white, bring your own food and drinks, bring white chairs and a table of a certain size, and wait for the secret location to be revealed last minute. The result is an impressive display of collective elegance and commensality.

Every year, the picnic is held in a different iconic public space within the city, such as the Eiffel Tower, Champs Elysees or Notre Dame. Diner en Blanc performs very well in terms of use measures. It is a highly adaptable, fun food-related temporary use of urban space. Its element of surprise provides attendees and passersby with a unique spectacle in unexpected places. As the organizers explain,

> *"... the diners enhance the function and value of their city's public space by participating in the unexpected. Beyond the spectacle and refined elegance of the dinner itself, guests are brought together from diverse backgrounds by a love of beauty and good taste."*

The main restricting caveat of Diner en Blanc is how to get invited. Invitations can only be extended via existing members. Therefore, despite the large number of participants, Diner en Blanc remains a fairly exclusive affair. While exclusivity may add to the prestige and attraction of this pop-up, it negatively impacts its social performance. In addition, many of the newer hosting cities are charging a fee to the event, which further restricts accessibility. In Paris, admission remains free and it is unclear who funds the administration and hosting of the event. Economically speaking, Diner en Blanc does not appear to be a particularly profitable pop-up, which may explain why many new host cities are charging fees.

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DINER EN BLANC

SOCIAL USE ECON

POP-UP TYPE: Picnic

CITY: Paris

SITE: Iconic urban space

YEAR: Since 1988

RECURRENCE: Annually

PRODUCER: Non-profit organisation

CONSUMER: Adults

Daniel Noiseux has been in the restaurant industry for many years, rumoured to have brought the first pizza oven to Montreal in 1981. Since then, he has become the owner of a successful chain of upscale pizza restaurants. Driven by a passion for design and functionality, Noiseux came up with the Muvbox concept in 2009. The Muvbox is a recycled shipping container retrofitted to unfold as a restaurant with a kitchen and seating for up to 28 people. It is designed to open in 90 seconds, at the push of a button, and ready for business within 15 minutes. Closing shop is equally quick and easy. In its closed state, the Muvbox is secure and can be easily transported by land, sea or air.

Noiseux opened his first Muvbox in the Old Port of Montreal in June of 2009. It uses recycled and sustainable materials, such as recycled tire flooring, and solar panels that provide 40% of the restaurant's energy. The Muvbox serves pizzas and $11 lobster rolls made from local Magdalen Island lobsters. Since 2009, the Muvbox has been open every summer in an Old Port location, with a recent addition of a second Muvbox serving porchetta sandwiches. Most comments have been positive, although some feel the prices are a bit high for a mobile eatery.

The majority of comments have actually been from entrepreneurs interested in obtaining their own Muvbox, with comments originating from as far as Zimbabwe and Estonia. This is probably because the Muvbox is well-suited for long-range travel since it can be easily accommodated by most transportation systems around the world, which have been standardized for shipping containers. However, for short distances, it cannot be moved as quickly or easily as other mobile eateries such as food trucks and food carts. This is not an issue for the Muvbox in Montreal where the City's regulations restrict the eatery to an essentially fixed location. Given a city with more liberal regulations, the Muvbox would be able to realize greater mobility and adaptability, and better capitalize on the novel element of the unexpected. Also, its level of mobility makes it suitable for long-range circuits, such as fairs that travel through multiple countries.

While this concept has generated a great deal of attention as a potentially new form of street food vending, it still has fairly high costs compared to traditional food trucks and food carts. The 512-sqft full-size version described above is currently priced at $225,000. A 176-sqft mini version has been recently made available at $75,000 to make the Muvbox accessible to a wider market. Since 2009, several full-size units have been sold and are operating in Toronto, New York City and Paris.

75

76

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MUVBOX

SOCIAL USE ECON

POP-UP TYPE: Restaurant

CITY: Montreal

SITE: Waterfront

YEAR: Since 2009

RECURRENCE: Ongoing (summer season)

PRODUCER: Entrepreneur

CONSUMER: Paying general public

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78

LOW RATINGS

These pop-ups performed poorly overall, especially on social measures. They all have a medium to high cost for consumers. Three of the five pop-ups only serve adults. Most are fairly exclusive, requiring advanced booking or purchase of limited tickets. These pop-ups tend to be commercial in nature, capitalizing on the attraction of pop-up urbanism: the novelty of unexpected or surprise locations, or the draw of a limited time offer. Indeed, the economic performance of these pop-ups are generally good. Such food pop-ups may be better suited to situations that require economic stimulation, such as charity events, more so than site reactivation or social benefit.

John Quilter, based in London, has a background as an award-winning restaurateur and chef, and is now a media consultant, presenter and writer. Several years ago, Quilter started cooking backstage at festivals as a way to get interviews with the musicians. He believes that:

"food and music are the way to break down social barriers and even the coolest of the cool will fall prey"

Quilter gave his method a name - food busking - and found a regular home at London's Real Food Market on the South Bank. He operates out of the back of his van and cooks food for passersby for donations.

Quilter's approach is inclusive, fun and simple; aimed at people that do not usually cook or would like to learn how. He uses fresh ingredients and non-conventional recipes, such as himalayan dumplings, and enjoys engaging people through his cooking. Food busking has had a generally positive reception, catching the attention of local newspapers and food blogs. But, review volumes have been low. This may be due to the small number of people that could be served at any given time, and the low customer turnover rate - Quilter often spends over an hour with a single customer. Food busking appears to be a hobby for Quilter and its economic viability is not clear, although some comments suggest that Quilter is generally overcompensated for the amount of food served. More importantly, food busking is not currently beholden to any health and safety regulations. At this point, it has very limited applicability as an effective form of street food vending. However, food busking may play an important role in bringing awareness to the importance of pop-up food in the city through its novel approach and dedicated interaction with the public.

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FOOD BUSKER

SOCIAL USE ECON

POP-UP TYPE: Chef

CITY: London

SITE: Outdoor markets/concerts

YEAR: Since 2011

RECURRENCE: Ongoing

PRODUCER: Entrepreneur

CONSUMER: General public

A fundraising initiative in Vancouver, the Plastic Dining Room was in operation from July to September of 2010. The structure was specially designed to stay afloat on 1,675 repurposed plastic 2-litre soda bottles, meant to symbolize the little-known threat of plastic litter to marine life. The fundraiser was held by the School of Fish Foundation, with the specific aim of making sustainable seafood knowledge a requirement for all professional chefs.

The Plastic Dining Room was moored in the False Creek Yacht Club, one of Vancouver's premier marinas. Once a night, the floating dining room hosted a lavish six-course meal for 12 guests. The meal was prepared by an upscale seafood restaurant nearby. The cost was $215 per person and advanced reservations were mandatory. By the end of three months, almost $100,000 had been raised for the foundation.

Many comments praised the thoughtfulness of the eco-design. Although this pop-up had poor accessibility due to its locale, high costs and exclusive nature, it did prove to generate substantial revenue. Furthermore, many comments thought the unique design and location of the Plastic Dining Room helped to make a significant positive impact on the awareness of sustainable seafood issues.

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PLASTIC DINING ROOM

SOCIAL USE ECON

POP-UP TYPE: Dinner

CITY: Vancouver

SITE: Marina

YEAR: 2010

RECURRENCE: One-time

PRODUCER: Non-profit organisation

CONSUMER: Paying adults

Wahaca is a Mexican tapas restaurant chain in London. This past July, they opened a temporary experimental kitchen in the form of eight interlinked recycled shipping containers. The purpose of the pop-up restaurant is to gauge public opinion of new recipes for the chain. After 18 months, the pop-up is scheduled to move to a new location.

The company took special care to preserve their eclectic image in this pop-up with bright colours and distinctive wall murals by local graffiti artists. The shipping containers are perched atop the Southbank Centre, a large arts centre along the Thames waterfront. It contains two levels of dining, including a tequila bar and cantilevered terrace to take advantage of the river view. Meal costs are in the medium range, generally under twenty pounds (about 36 dollars).

The social accessibility is fairly poor due to costs and a very limited target market of young urban professionals. Comments were negative overall. There were complaints regarding high prices, small portions, and a poor level of service despite generally low customer volumes. Another key issue with this pop-up is physical accessibility. While the restaurant is visible from the riverfront promenade, physical access is not easily discernible and actually requires climbing up two flights of stairs. There does not appear to be any special access provided for the disabled. Also, the complex structure cannot be easily or quickly transported and, therefore, scores low on adaptability.

SOURCE(S):
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WAHACA

SOCIAL USE ECON

POP-UP TYPE: Restaurant

CITY: London

SITE: Waterfront

YEAR: 2012

RECURRENCE: Ongoing (for 18 months)

PRODUCER: Chain restaurant

CONSUMER: Paying general public

A LA CART

SOCIAL USE ECON

POP-UP TYPE: Food carts

CITY: Toronto

SITE: Sidewalks, plazas

YEAR: 2009 - 2011

RECURRENCE: Ongoing

PRODUCER: City and entrepreneurs

CONSUMER: Paying general public

82

CASE STUDY

A probe of thirty food pop-ups has shown that the most successful pop-ups are produced by entrepreneurs. They bring food to the public in creative ways, meeting a growing local demand while maintaining adaptability and accessibility. On the other hand, the most ineffective pop-ups were those burdened by costly and prohibitive state-imposed regulations. As cities struggle with defining their role in the emerging pop-up food scene, there have been instances of success and failure. This section presents a more in-depth critical review of an unsuccessful attempt by municipal authorities to create pop-up food in the city.

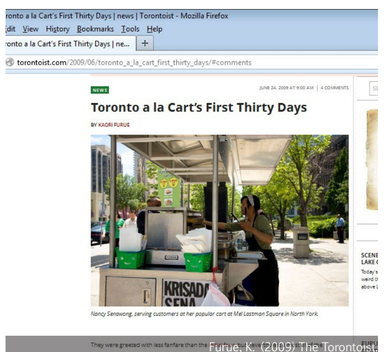
TORONTO A LA CART

The idea for healthier, more diverse street food in Toronto was first brought forth by City Councillor and Health Board Chairperson John Fillion in 2007:

> *"Over the past few years, I've had discussions with health officials and community members about the desirability of creating new, exciting, nutritious and ethnically diverse street food. Toronto's current street food—the hot dog—is none of these. ... Toronto's street food could and should showcase our city's ethnic diversity, its fabulous chefs, and its entrepreneurs. ... Fast food does not need to be unhealthy or boring. Great street food should celebrate our diversity, encourage healthy eating, support local food producers, and provide greater access to affordable nutritious food."* (openfile)

In 2009, the City of Toronto launched a three-year pilot project for food carts, A La Cart, in a proactive attempt to encourage more diverse, healthy, affordable street food options in the city. Four vendors opened their carts for business in May with four more vendors following in the fall season. They served a range of cuisines, such as Caribbean, Persian and Thai. Public opinion was very good - the carts were, indeed, providing healthy, tasty and affordable food to line-ups of grateful consumers.

83



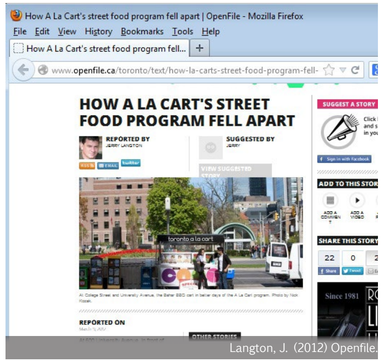
Furue, K. (2009) The Torontoist.

Yet, by the end of the second year only one of the vendors agreed to continue in the program. Almost all the vendors were facing severe financial issues, many did not pay their location fees for 2010, and some had informally abandoned their carts out of frustration. What went wrong?

From the beginning, the A La Cart program was dictated by public health. It was originally administered by Toronto Public Health with the singular aim of providing the public with safe, healthy food. Vendors had to follow strict health and safety regulations regarding menu offerings and cart operation. They were also strongly encouraged to support local food producers while keeping prices affordable. The program's downfall was not in the quality of its food products, but in the insurmountable disconnect between the inexperience of the organizing committee and the realities of street food vending.


84

A La Cart was created and implemented without any consultation with the actual street vending community of Toronto. The implementation committee itself had no direct experience with hospitality or running a small business (Cameron Hawkins & Associates Inc, 2011). The program required the purchase of brand new carts and equipment



Langton, J. (2012) Openfile.

and did not allow existing carts to be retrofitted to meet the new specifications. This extinguished any interest from experienced vendors that already had their own carts. As a result, all the applicants that were accepted for the program were chefs and business people with no street food vending experience. Most of the business proposals had unrealistic operating hours and revenue forecasts - fundamental miscalculations that the inexperienced review committee failed to recognize.

Annual fees were set relatively high - up to $15,000 - for the use of specific locations pre-selected based on perceived pedestrian traffic, which meant no actual market research or pedestrian counts had been done. One vendor, selling Afghani chapli kebabs and samosas, was not able to open at all according to Rishma Govani from Toronto Public Health as "he was located in front of a war memorial, which some people thought was inappropriate" (torontoist). Also, the carts were required to be owner-operated at least 70% of the time, which kept many from pursuing any supplementary endeavours. Branding of the program was carried out by the City and all the carts were required to conform. Any requests for location or menu changes had to undergo a lengthy and complex review and approval process. These requirements had a serious impact on the adaptability of the carts and essentially crushed the creative entrepreneurial spirit that has played an integral role in the development of many successful food carts.

The main target of criticism in the A La Cart program has been the cart itself. Custom-built according to a lengthy list of specifications drafted by the public health committee, the carts had cost well over four times as much as a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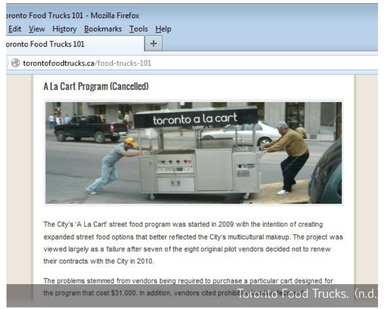
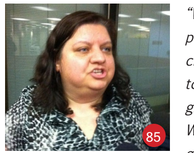


Toronto Food Trucks. (n.d.)

typical cart at $31,000 each. Initially, the carts were to be purchased by the City and leased to the vendors, which justified the extensive requirements, branding control, and sole-source supplier. However, the expected funds were not approved by City Council and the expensive carts became a mandatory purchase at the vendors' expense. Again, real street vendors were not consulted in the design of the carts, which were excessively heavy at almost half a tonne, not towable, and required two people four hours to load and unload from a trailer. Counter space was limited, the freezers malfunctioned, and within a month all the carts required significant repairs - also at the vendors' expense.

Souvlaki seller Kathy Bonivento said:


85

"We all thought we were pioneers — that's what the city told us we were — and together we'd mold the program and make it good ... We went into the project in good faith and came out financially destroyed. Why are we stuck with the screw-up?... You've told us we need to run a mobile business and you've provided us with a cart that's immobile" (The Star)

The high start-up costs and impractical restrictions imposed by the A La Cart program put many vendors deep into debt, which only grew as the project progressed despite its popular reception amongst consumers. In 2010, the program was handed over to the Economic Development & Culture Division. The City reduced fees and added new locations in an attempt to alleviate financial stress on the vendors, but to no avail. An independent report in early 2011 recommended that the program be discontinued. A La Cart was cancelled before it started its third year in May of 2011. All existing vendors were allowed to continue operating for three more years without any fees to help recoup their losses - only one vendor took the offer.

The general attitude among user comments has been that the City has overstepped their role in regulating public health and food safety. According to longtime critic of the program, Councillor Denzil Minnan-Wong, overregulation has been the culprit:

"As long as the food is safe, I think there can be a lot less regulation and a lot more creativity in terms of how we move forward with that program" (National Post).

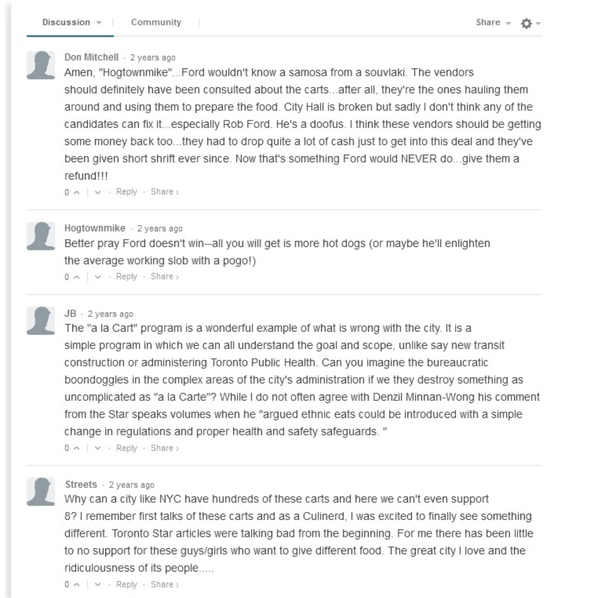
Issa Ashtarieh, who sells falafel and shawarma said:

"I cannot describe the pain that they've put us through ... They're saying, 'OK, we won't charge you for the next three years. But what do we do with this [vending cart]? They're saying, 'OK, go and buy another one.' But where is the money coming from? ... Ideally, they should give us some kind of compensation." (National Post)

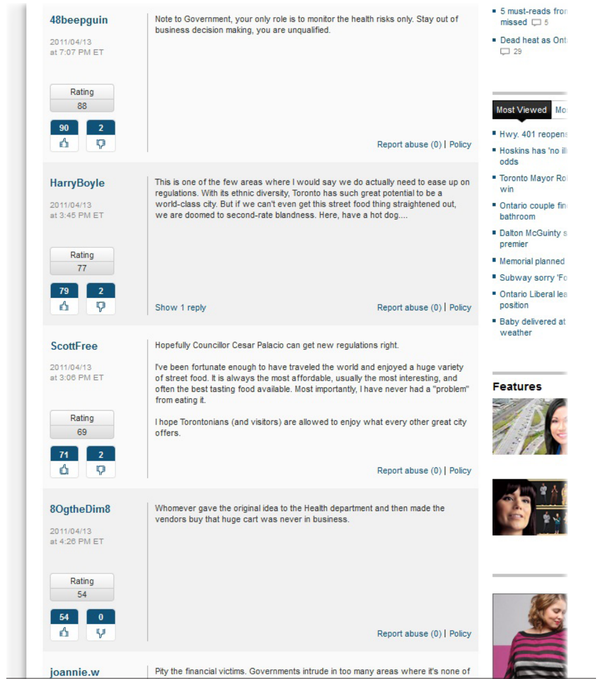

86

"Something breaks everyday. There's nothing else to break. Nothing works. It's only the grill, and you can get that at Canadian Tire for $500 ... I feel cheated by the city, they played with eight people's lives like a soccer game" (CTV News)

USER COMMENTS



CBC News Toronto (2011).



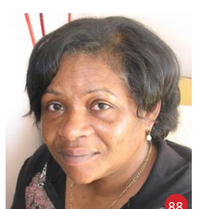
Toronto Life (2011).

One of the vendor's assistant said:

"All this money and all this effort...we're just trying to run a business. Certain rules we will accept. But, for certain rules, it has to go our way too, right?" (Torontoist)

87

Bridgette Pinder, who sells jerk chicken and roties, said:



88

"You can't have eight vendors and seven of them fail and it all be their fault ... This program, unintentionally or not, was designed to fail." (The Star)

This case study presents a strong argument against over-regulation. Cities are increasingly aware of the benefits of pop-up urbanism; in the case of A La Cart the expected benefits would have been increasing public accessibility to more diverse, healthy and affordable food. The program could have also enhanced street life and served as a business incubator, providing gainful employment and city revenue. However, in the haste to reap the benefits, the City lost sight of the organic, grassroots nature of pop-up urbanism. By institutionalising food pop-ups with a rigid cladding of regulations, the City has taken away much of the spontaneity and creativity that has been integral to the success of pop-up food in other cities.

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CONCLUSIONS

Pop-up food in the city has many social and economic benefits, such as urban vibrancy and entrepreneurial opportunities. As asserted by Schuster (2001), the pop-ups examined in this research have helped shape the image of a city by providing unique, local products, regenerating leftover spaces, and acting as catalysts for new businesses (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, 2007). The findings support Whyte's (1980) observations on pop-up food in urban spaces - that vendors are effective scouts of economically viable spaces and that food is a powerful facilitator of social exchange and public vitality.

This research also confirmed the pertinence of POEs for analysing the use space. It provided a very suitable framework for gauging the effectiveness of different food pop-ups, using three different types of performance measures: 1) social, 2) use, and 3) economic. These measures reflect the objectives of food-related temporary uses of urban space found in the literature review: public accessibility, adaptability of use, reactivation of underutilized sites, reappropriation of urban space, and economic viability. Datamining the blogosphere proved to be an effective research tool for collecting rich and diverse qualitative data that served well as a proxy for primary material. The nature of the blogosphere provided data that enabled tracking of consumer opinion, as well as identification of ideas that would influence future consumer behaviour (Nitin & Huan, 2008). Thirty different food pop-ups were examined, about half of which were food trucks or carts, and the remainder being mostly pop-up restaurants and food festivals. Overall, food trucks and carts performed significantly better than the other types of pop-ups as they appear to be particularly well-suited to meet the objectives of pop-up food in the city.

Contemporary food trucks are able to couple their mobility with the power of social media, which can both notify people of their location in real-time and help determine popular locations. This greatly enhances their accessibility, which is already strong due to their ability to locate in areas with high visibility, pedestrian traffic and modal accessibility. The mobile nature of food trucks enable them to easily relocate to different locations throughout the day, week, or season as conditions change with time. Accessibility and adaptability are both key features of temporary uses valued in previous studies (Hadyn & Temel, 2006; Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, 2007). Other important reasons for their popularity are the unique offerings and strong marketing seen in the new generation of food trucks. Again, social media has played an important role in providing a low-cost method to effectively market food trucks to a broad audience. Also, the costs of food trucks are generally low, which make them affordable for both consumers and producers. Indeed, many have taken this relatively low-risk opportunity to successfully implement entrepreneurial ideas, as suggested by Bishop and Williams (2012).

The overwhelming popularity of food trucks have proven that they can draw out people of all ages and backgrounds, effectively helping to reactivate underutilized spaces. Due to cost and physical accessibility, food trucks also provide viable food choices that can help ameliorate the effects of food deserts. Furthermore, they reclaim streets for more social and economic uses, which is of particular importance in North America where streets have become overwhelmingly monopolized for the sole purpose of transport.

Other types of food pop-ups generally have trade-offs in the three types of performance measures and may be better suited to specific contexts and objectives. While they all help to empower the public by reappropriating urban space for food-related uses, they usually fall short in social, use or economic performance. A common trade-off is between social and economic performance. Pop-ups with a strong social agenda generally have poor economic viability and require external funding, while those of a more commercial nature generally do not perform well on social measures. The following are some trends observed among the different pop-ups examined.

EFFECTIVE FOOD POP-UPS

The pop-ups with the strongest POE's had several commonalities: effective use of social media, excellent accessibility, good mobility, reliable operating hours and location information, affordable pricing, consistent quality food and service, community involvement, being located in the public domain, and having a unique product or branding. As a result, these pop-ups were very popular, experienced consistently high levels of use, and appeared economically viable.

These pop-ups all had a strong social media presence that often included a website, Facebook page and active Twitter account. They would not only have high visibility online, but on-site as well with easy physical access. Information on time and location of operation would also be easily accessible, with prompt notification of any changes via social media. Often, the pop-up would be involved in the community through other initiatives such as special programs, fundraisers, and workshops. And lastly, most of these pop-ups took place in the public domain. They helped contribute to the quality of the public realm by creating the unexpected through unique, and often fun, uses of urban space. This helps empower people to reappropriate urban spaces, which can increase a sense of citizenship and civic responsibility in the general public.

INEFFECTIVE FOOD POP-UPS

The pop-ups with the weakest POE's generally had restrictive contextual factors, poor accessibility or poor product quality. Contextual factors refer to regulations governing location, operating hours and fees. Overregulation generally resulted in low business volumes and uneconomical set up procedures and permitting fees. As previously mentioned, much of the regulation started over a century ago in response to a culmination of social fear and obsession with cleanliness from the Victorian era. Updates to these regulations are in order, yet change has been slow despite great advances in the state of health and safety. Poor accessibility also seemed to be a major obstacle for the success of many pop-ups. This included poor visibility, ease of access and reliability of information. The quality of the product included service and costs. Many pop-ups that performed poorly had complaints concerning the quality of the food, slow service and high costs.

ROLES OF THE STATE

The state (local and regional government) plays different roles - some effective, some less so - with respect to food pop-ups. The Background section presented previous work that has advocated for the state to take the role of facilitator in pop-up urbanism; to lower activation thresholds by reducing financial and legal risks for producers (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, 2007). Indeed, among the pop-ups examined, excessive regulation and high fees have been significant barriers to success. There is also the question of top-down strategies imposed by some cities, such as Toronto's a La Cart project, where the state attempts to play the role of producer.

By and large, pop-ups are creations of market forces; they come from untapped niche potential, which is very often dependent upon local context (Hadyn & Temel, 2006). It is no surprise, therefore, that successful pop-ups are usually initiated by personally invested individuals or community groups that have a strong knowledge of their urban space. Indeed, this grassroots quality of pop-ups is one of the social benefits discussed in the Background section - to help empower the public and increase civic responsibility. As pop-ups are intrinsically bottom-up creations, it would appear that the state is better suited to play the role of facilitator rather than producer, as demonstrated by the A La Cart case study. The state should focus on creating an environment that is conducive to the emergence of food pop-ups. Top-down, state-initiated pop-ups may be acceptable where the state takes liability for economic shortfalls in the pursuit of maximizing social benefits.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Several recommendations can be made based on the findings of this research. These fall into two groups: 1) recommendations for producers, and 2) recommendations for the role of the city in pop-up food.

PRODUCERS

Those interested in starting a food pop-up should first consult those with experience in the industry and become familiar with local regulations. This will help avoid unnecessary financial risks. Food pop-ups generally have lower risks than fixed businesses and, as such, are a great way to test new ideas and identify potential markets. The following are key points that will help increase chances for success:

- Establish a strong social media presence
- Provide reliable information on operation hours and location
- Provide consistent food quality and service
- Keep costs affordable
- Maintain good visibility and easy access

ROLE OF THE CITY

Many cities with a thriving pop-up food scene have city-supported initiatives, such as online and mobile applications for pop-food maps. Similar to the recommendation for producers, these initiatives should be developed in collaboration with industry experts. Overregulation has been the downfall of many promising food pop-ups. The following are key points that will help increase chances for success:

- Location is key - minimize restrictions
- Do not restrict operating hours
- Maintain a sufficient number of permits to meet demand
- Keep permit fees at a reasonable level
- Regulate for public health and food safety

Again, it should be emphasised that regulations be developed in collaboration with the industry. Pre-selected locations have shown little success as they require testing over time. As mentioned earlier, street food vendors are very reliable scouts for viable economic urban spaces. Therefore, vendors should be given maximum range to search for and test different locations. Not restricting operating hours will have a similar effect as vendors will discover the most viable times through trial and error over time and space. This will also help facilitate more street life at different times throughout the day and night. Maintaining a sufficient number of permits will help avoid the formation of a black market where regulation and enforcement would become difficult. And while it is important to maintain a standard of public health and food safety, the regulations should not be overly cumbersome, costly, or redundant. Lastly, entrepreneurial creativity has been an important driver of many successful pop-ups. The city should have minimal restrictions regarding branding and food creativity so long as health and safety standards are met.

LIMITATIONS

There are several limitations to this research project that have already been mentioned above. Datamining the blogosphere was selected as an innovative research method that was well-suited for the purposes of this research, especially given the time and budgetary constraints of the project. Using this method, a great deal of qualitative data could be gathered from varying time periods and geographical areas with relative ease and low cost. However, datamining was limited to English-speaking blogs due to the current state of development of this research tool, as well as the researcher's personal linguistic limitations. As discussed, this is not a serious limitation as the research area of interest is primarily in the Anglosphere. A more important limitation is the variation of information between each pop-up. Because the data was collected passively, the type and format of information varied noticeably between each pop-up. This has necessitated some inference to create a sufficiently complete dataset for meaningful comparisons.

There is also the question of the "digital divide", a term referring to the perceived gap between those that have access to information technologies and those that do not (Compaine, 2001). An American study from 1995 showed significant correlations between digital access (i.e. owning a phone, computer and internet access) and income, ethnicity, age, education level, level of urbanisation and gender. Basing social perceptions solely on blogosphere data inherently excludes the opinions of those without access to such technologies. This limitation is similar to the language issue mentioned above and is likely not a substantial drawback as a recent survey has shown the digital divide to be closing (Morales, 2009).

Additional limitations became apparent as the research progressed. Firstly, none of the pop-ups had any concrete data on profitability available via the blogs. Profitability was inferred from the content and user comments. Secondly, the duration and frequency of a pop-up had an impact on the measures used for gauging popularity. Accumulation of Facebook 'likes' and Twitter 'tweets' is not only a function of popularity, but also of time. Therefore, pop-ups with longer durations and higher frequencies generally appeared more popular. As such, the effect of time was taken into consideration when evaluating measures for popularity, placing more importance on content and user comments. And lastly, many metrics - such as popularity - depended wholly upon data passively collected within the blogosphere, and relied greatly upon the researcher's interpretation. It is entirely plausible that general popular opinion differs from what the blogosphere data suggested. Generally, datamining the blogosphere for consumer opinions has performed well for reliability and accuracy; so well that 64% of advertising agencies have shifted their focus to the blogosphere (Nitin & Huan, 2008). More primary research would greatly help to supplement and reinforce the validity of the results from this method.

FUTURE WORK

Pop-up food in the city is an emerging area of study with many intriguing avenues for future research. As mentioned above, the research completed in this project can be enhanced with some primary research. Certain trends have now been identified, such as conditions for success and more viable types of food pop-ups. More targeted primary research into these trends can help to illuminate more nuanced aspects that can contribute to successful pop-up food in the city. This can take the form of examining a more narrow geographic area, specific types of pop-up food, and even investigating more innovative forms of delivery such as electric tuks-tuks or the Muvbox profiled above.

Policy analysis is also a rich area for future research; an area that has been largely left out of this research project due to its complexity and site-specific implications. Examining policies for a more targeted area will be useful and necessary for informing decisions at a local level.

This research has catalogued thirty various food pop-ups within a POE framework and provided a useful foundation for further study. The effectiveness of these pop-ups can be greatly influenced by the actions of the state and, as such, this topic has become hotly debated in many cities. The results of this project aim to build a better understanding of the role of pop-up food in the city and help guide future policy developments. By shifting perceptions of "appropriate uses", society has the power to liberate more democratic opportunities for innovation, creativity, reactivation and economic growth in contemporary urban spaces. Successfully fostering pop-up food in the city will strengthen food security, placemaking, and the economic development of communities and regions.

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(Cover and page 12)

1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30

(Page 14)

30	27	31	17	32
33	34	35		
36	37	7	11	4

(Page 38)

55	56	14	57	58
59	29	60		
61	62	63	64	65

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APPEND-ICES

APPENDIX A: SOURCE BLOGS

TOPIC	NAME	ADDRESS	BASE LOCATION	TECHNORATI AUTHORITY[1]	TECHNORATI RANK[2]	FACEBOOK FRIENDS	TWITTER FOLLOWERS
pop-up urbanism	The Pop-Up City	http://popupcity.net	Amsterdam	494	1842	7388	4546
public spaces	Project for Public Spaces	http://www.pps.org/blog/	NYC	-	-	12849	15328
street food	Mobile Cuisine Magazine	http://mobilecuisine.wordpress.com/	-	127	9003	1978	12306
street food	Grub Street SF	http://sanfrancisco.grubstreet.com/	San Francisco	593	575	-	9692
street food	Londonist	http://londonist.com	London	471	2162	31035	88986
street food	Grub Street LA	http://losangeles.grubstreet.com/	Los Angeles	584	621	455	8222
food	Serious Eats	www.seriouseats.com	NYC	498	1392	47943	169623
urban design	Weburbanist	http://weburbanist.com	-	598	534	33646	12622
urban trends	Gothamist	http://gothamistllc.com	NYC	613	123	17996	69837
design trends	Dezeen	http://www.dezeen.com	London	147	1483	195170	98615
design trends	Inhabitat	http://inhabitat.com	NYC	155	849	191937	89212
trends	Cool Hunting	http://www.coolhunting.com	NYC	602	495	44317	130910
business media	Fast Company	http://www.fastcompany.com	NYC	713	79	102096	591097

[1] Authority is on a scale of 0-1000. 1000 is the highest possible authority. Authority is calculated based on a site's linking behavior, categorization and other associated data over a short, finite period of time. A site's authority may rapidly rise and fall depending on what the blogosphere is discussing at the moment, and how often a site produces content being referenced by other sites. (www.technorati.com, 2013)

[2] Technorati Rank is a site's rank among the Technorati Authority of all sites. 1 is the highest rank. We also determine topical ranks within categories, based on the topical Technorati Authority. (www.technorati.com, 2013)

APPENDIX B: POP-UP FOOD DATA

ID	SOURCE BLOG	DATE POSTED	DATE RETRIEVED	NAME	CONTEXT												
					POP-UP TYPE	CITY	SITE			TEMPORAL					PRODUCTION		
							TYPE	IN/OUT	DOMAIN	DATE	CLIMATE	OF DAY	OF WEEK	DURATION	RECURRENCE	WHO	FUNDING	PERMITTED USE?
1	Cool Hunting	1/18/2012	10/13/2012	Shuck Truck	food truck	South Bristol, ME	streets	outside	public	since 2011	varies	varies	varies	varies	events/catering	2 entrepreneurs	self	yes*
2	Pop-Up City	7/4/2012	10/13/2012	Del Popolo	food truck	San Francisco, CA	streets	outside	public	since 2012	varies	varies	varies	few hours	ongoing	1 entrepreneur	self	yes
3	Cool Hunting	9/7/2012	10/13/2012	Le Fooding Brooklyn Fling	festival	Brooklyn, NY	local restaurants	inside/outside	private	12-Sep	warm	noon/pm	Wed-Sun	5 days	one time	food magazine	company/corporate	yes
4	Pop-Up City	8/13/2012	10/13/2012	Gourmet Busker	pop-up chef	London, UK	outdoor markets/co	outside	public	since 2011	varies	varies	varies	few hours	events/catering	1 entrepreneur	self	yes*
5	Grub Street LA	10/10/2012	10/13/2012	Supper Liberation Front	pop-up dinner	Los Angeles, CA	bars/bistros	inside	private	since 2010	varies	pm	varies	few hours	monthly	2 entrepreneurs	self/donations	yes
6	Pop-Up City	6/12/2012	10/13/2012	Bicycle Dinner	pop-up dinner	Delft, Netherlands	residential/streets	inside/outside	private/public	varies	varies	pm	varies	one evening	monthly	community	self	yes
7	Cool Hunting	6/20/2011	10/13/2012	Dîner en Blanc	pop-up picnic	Paris, France	iconic public	outside	quasi-public	11-Jun	cool-warm	pm	Sat	one evening	annual	non-profit	self	no
8	Pop-Up City	8/1/2012	10/13/2012	Off the Grid	market	San Francisco, CA	vacant/parking lots	outside	quasi-public	since 2010	varies	varies	varies	few hours	weekly	entrepreneurs	self	yes
9	Pop-Up City	5/21/2012	10/13/2012	Restaurant Day	festival	Helsinki, Finland	anywhere	inside/outside	private/public	12-May	cool	all day	varies	one day	4X/yr	community	self	no
10	Serious Eats	7/6/2011	10/15/2012	Sixth & Rye	food truck	Washington, DC	streets	outside	public	since 2011	varies	noon	varies	spring-fall	annual	community org/entrepreneur	self	yes
11	Serious Eats	10/6/2010	10/15/2012	East Side King	food truck	Austin, TX	backyard/streets	outside	public	-	varies	pm	all week	evening	ongoing	3 entrepreneurs	self	yes
12	Serious Eats	1/27/2012	10/15/2012	Viking Soul Food	food trailer	Portland, OR	vacant/parking lots	outside	public	since 2010	varies	noon/pm	Tues-Sat	varies	ongoing	2 entrepreneurs	self	yes
13	Serious Eats	9/29/2010	10/15/2012	Flip Happy Crepes	food trailer	Austin, TX	vacant/parking lots	outside	public	since 2006	varies	varies	varies	few hours	ongoing	2 entrepreneurs	self	yes
14	Pop-Up City	5/17/2012	10/15/2012	Camionette	food truck	Helsinki, Finland	streets	outside	public	summer 2010	cool-warm	24/7	24/7	summer	annual	1 entrepreneur	self	yes*
15	Serious Eats	8/30/2010	10/15/2012	Truckin' Good Food	food truck	Phoenix, AZ	streets	outside	public	since 2009	varies	varies	varies	varies	ongoing	1 entrepreneur	self	yes
16	Serious Eats	10/11/2010	10/15/2012	Buttermilk	food truck	Los Angeles, CA	streets	outside	public	since 2009	varies	varies	varies	few hours	events/catering	1 entrepreneur	self	yes
17	Serious Eats	1/11/2011	10/15/2012	Dim Sum Truck	food truck	Los Angeles, CA	streets	outside	public	since 2010	varies	varies	varies	few hours	ongoing	1 entrepreneur	self	yes
18	Pop-Up City	7/13/2012	10/19/2012	Wahaca	pop-up restaurant	London, UK	waterfront	outside	private	since 2012	varies	noon-pm	all week	18 months	ongoing	chain restaurant	company	yes
19	Pop-Up City	9/14/2011	10/19/2012	Picnurbia	pop-up picnic	Vancouver, BC	streets	outside	public	11-Aug	warm	24/7	24/7	one month	one time	government/design collective	government	yes
20	Fast Company	9/13/2012	10/20/2012	Coca-Cola Happiness Table	pop-up dinner	Naples, Italy	village square	outside	public	12-Sep	warm	pm	n/a	evening	one time	multi-national corporation	corporate	n/a
21	Gothamist	5/23/2012	10/21/2012	Fun Buns	food cart	New York, NY	sidewalks	outside	public	since 2012	varies	noon	Friday	few hours	ongoing	entrepreneurs	self	yes
22	Gothamist	7/13/2011	10/21/2012	Food Truck Court	food trucks	Queens, NY	parking lot	outside	quasi-public	since 2011	varies	noon	weekday	few hours	ongoing	association	company	yes
23	Gothamist	10/9/2012	10/21/2012	Cinnamon Snail	food truck	New York, NY	streets	outside	public	since 2010	varies	noon	varies	few hours	ongoing	1 entrepreneur	self	yes
24	Gothamist	8/4/2012	10/21/2012	Parked! Food Truck Festival	festival	New York, NY	waterfront	outside	quasi-public	since 2008	hot	am-pm	Sat	one day	annual	production company	company	yes
25	Inhabitat	8/3/2010	10/22/2012	Plastic Dining Room	pop-up dinner	Vancouver, BC	marina	outside	public	Aug-Sep 2010	warm	pm	all week	two months	one time	non-profit	self	yes
26	Inhabitat	3/1/2011	10/22/2012	Greenhouse by Joost	pop-up restaurant	Sydney, Australia	waterfront	outside	quasi-public	Feb-Mar 2011	warm	am-pm	all week	6 weeks	one time	government/entrepreneur	n/a	yes
27	Inhabitat	6/12/2009	10/22/2012	Muvbox	pop-up restaurant	Montreal, QC	waterfront	outside	quasi-public	since 2009	warm-hot	noon-pm	all week	summer	ongoing (summer)	1 entrepreneur	self	yes
28	Inhabitat	6/22/2011	10/22/2012	Singapore Takeout	pop-up restaurant	London, UK	waterfront	outside	quasi-public	11-Jun	warm	noon/pm	Fri-Sat	3 days	3X/yr, one time	government	government	yes
29	Toronto Food Trucks	4/13/2011	10/27/2012	A La Cart	food carts	Toronto, ON	sidewalks, plazas	outside	public	2009-2011	varies	varies	varies	varies	ongoing, cancelled	government/entrepreneurs	self	yes
30	Pop-Up City	5/22/2012	10/27/2012	Turn Table	pop-up restaurant/ur	Helsinki, Finland	abandoned railway	outside	quasi-public	12-May	cool-warm	noon	Fri-Sun	summer	one time	non-profit	government/corporate	yes

APPENDIX B: POP-UP FOOD DATA (CONTINUED)

ID	SOURCE BLOG	DATE POSTED	DATE RETRIEVED	NAME	PERFORMANCE																
					SOCIAL PERFORMANCE	ACCESSIBILITY			CONSUMER	POPULARITY				USE PERFORMANCE	LEVEL OF USE	REAPPROPRIATION	ADAPTABILITY	ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE	PROFITABILITY			
						EASE	MODAL	COST		LEVEL	FACEBOOK	TWEETS	COMMENTS	YELP	URBANSPOON					CONSUMER	USE	COST	REVENUE SOURCE
1	Cool Hunting	1/18/2012	10/13/2012	Shuck Truck	ok	high	low	medium	pgp	medium	103	68	-	-	-	poor	low	yes	high	ok	pgp	low	medium	food sales
2	Pop-Up City	7/4/2012	10/13/2012	Del Popolo	ok	high	high	medium-high	pgp	medium	28	12	[0]	4 [45]	100% [3]	ok	medium	yes	medium	good	pgp	medium	low-medium	food sales
3	Cool Hunting	9/7/2012	10/13/2012	Le Fooding Brooklyn Fling	poor	low-high	high	low-medium	paying adults	low	31	27	-	-	-	ok	medium	yes	medium	good	paying adults	medium	medium-high	ticket/food/beverage
4	Pop-Up City	8/13/2012	10/13/2012	Gourmet Busker	poor	high	medium-high	low-high	pgp	low	12	25	[0]	-	-	ok	medium	yes	high	ok	pgp	medium	low-high	donations
5	Grub Street LA	10/10/2012	10/13/2012	Supper Liberation Front	poor	low	low	low-medium	paying adults	medium	980*	151*	[0]	-	-	poor	medium	no	medium	good	paying adults	medium	medium-high	food/beverage
6	Pop-Up City	6/12/2012	10/13/2012	Bicycle Dinner	good	low	medium	high	general public	high	82	28	[0]	-	-	poor	high	no	medium	poor	general public	high	low	-
7	Cool Hunting	6/20/2011	10/13/2012	Dîner en Blanc	ok	low*	high	medium-high	adults	high	635	184	-	-	-	good	high	yes	high	ok	adults	high	low-medium	-
8	Pop-Up City	8/1/2012	10/13/2012	Off the Grid	good	high	high	medium-high	pgp	high	38491*	6164*	[2] Boston has legal food truck sites too - smart and functional initiative.	4 [50]	100% [7]	good	high	yes	medium	good	pgp	high	low-medium	vendor fees
9	Pop-Up City	5/21/2012	10/13/2012	Restaurant Day	ok	low-high	medium-high	medium-high	pgp	medium	31	17	[0]	-	-	good	high	yes	high	good	pgp	high	low-medium	food/beverage
10	Serious Eats	7/6/2011	10/15/2012	Sixth & Rye	poor	high	medium	medium	pgp	low	-*	297*	[16] Many complaints about price. Many recommendations for places with better kosher deli	2 [15]	-	good	medium	yes	high	ok	pgp	medium	medium	food sales
11	Serious Eats	10/6/2010	10/15/2012	East Side King	ok	low	medium	high	paying adults	high	1804*	456*	[11] Everyone loves the food...a lot. Wishes there were permanent restaurant open during the day.	4 [246]	93% [77]	ok	high	yes	high	good	paying adults	high	low	food sales
12	Serious Eats	1/27/2012	10/15/2012	Viking Soul Food	ok	high	high	high	pgp	medium	848*	298*	[8] Many nostalgic enthusiastic fans.	4.5 [71]	92% [25]	good	medium	yes	high	ok	pgp	medium	low	food sales
13	Serious Eats	9/29/2010	10/15/2012	Flip Happy Crepes	good	low	medium	high	pgp	high	-*	79*	[5] Good crepes, but long wait and limited opening hours.	4 [346]	93% [407]	ok	medium	yes	high	ok	pgp	medium	low	food sales
14	Pop-Up City	5/17/2012	10/15/2012	Camionette	good	high	high	high	pgp	high	10913*	51*	[0]	-	-	good	medium	yes	high	good	pgp	medium	low	food/beverage
15	Serious Eats	8/30/2010	10/15/2012	Truckin' Good Food	good	high	medium	high	pgp	high	1474*	3408*	[0]	4.5 [29]	-	good	high	yes	high	good	pgp	high	low	food sales
16	Serious Eats	10/11/2010	10/15/2012	Buttermilk	good	high	medium	high	pgp	high	9677*	5232*	[5] "Sounds good". Mixed reviews on innovative flavours.	4 [431]	90% [22]	good	high	yes	high	good	pgp	high	low	food sales
17	Serious Eats	1/11/2011	10/15/2012	Dim Sum Truck	good	high	medium	high	pgp	high	3301*	2658*	[8] Excited to try the truck. Great idea!	3.5 [206]	89% [29]	good	high	yes	high	good	pgp	high	low	food sales
18	Pop-Up City	7/13/2012	10/19/2012	Wahaca	poor	medium	high	medium	pgp	low	14	20	[0]	4 [8]	-	poor	low	yes	medium	ok	pgp	low	medium	food/beverage
19	Pop-Up City	9/14/2011	10/19/2012	Picnurbia	good	high	high	high	general public	medium	35	8	[3] Exchange regarding preference for real trees and grass.	-	-	good	high	yes	high	poor	general public	high	low	-
20	Fast Company	9/13/2012	10/20/2012	Coca-Cola Happiness Table	ok	high	medium	high	general public	low	67	203	[2] Praise/critique of marketing strategy.	-	-	good	medium	yes	high	ok	general public	medium	low	-
21	Gothamist	5/23/2012	10/21/2012	Fun Buns	ok	high	high	high	pgp	medium	42	14	[1] Concern that bun market is oversaturated.	4 [13]	-	ok	medium	yes	medium	ok	pgp	medium	low	food sales
22	Gothamist	7/13/2011	10/21/2012	Food Truck Court	ok	high	medium	high	pgp	medium	140	38	[3] Great idea. Good use of vacant lot. Good for neighbourhood.	-	-	good	medium	yes	high	ok	pgp	medium	low	vendor fees
23	Gothamist	10/9/2012	10/21/2012	Cinnamon Snail	good	high	high	high	pgp	high	591	50	[31] Many fans. Many vegans. Some critique of prices/vegan food in general.	5 [297]	97% [39]	good	high	yes	high	good	pgp	high	low	food sales
24	Gothamist	8/4/2012	10/21/2012	Parked! Food Truck Festival	ok	high	high	low-high	pgp	high	225	19	[6] Complains of line-ups, crowds and prices.	4 [4]	-	good	high	yes	high	good	pgp	high	low-high	food sales
25	Inhabitat	8/3/2010	10/22/2012	Plastic Dining Room	poor	low	medium	low	paying adults	low	21	7	[2] Concerns about buoyancy of plastic bottles. Green design/awareness.	-	-	poor	medium	yes	low	good	paying adults	medium	high	food/beverage
26	Inhabitat	3/1/2011	10/22/2012	Greenhouse by Joost	ok	high	high	medium	paying adults	high	111	48	[0]	-	88% [42]	ok	medium	yes	medium	good	paying adults	medium	medium	food/beverage
27	Inhabitat	6/12/2009	10/22/2012	Muvbox	ok	high	high	medium	pgp	medium	80	4	[15] Interest in purchasing a muvbox from paying general public over the world.	4 [4]	81% [58]	ok	medium	yes	medium	ok	pgp	medium	medium	food sales
28	Inhabitat	6/22/2011	10/22/2012	Singapore Takeout	poor	high	high	low-medium	paying adults	high	126	35	[0]	-	-	good	high	yes	medium	good	paying adults	high	medium-high	ticket sales
29	Toronto Food Trucks	4/13/2011	10/27/2012	A La Cart	ok	high	medium-high	high	pgp	medium	-	-	-	-	-	ok	medium	yes	medium	poor	pgp	medium	low	food sales
30	Pop-Up City	5/22/2012	10/27/2012	Turn Table	good	low	medium	high	pgp	high	78	30	[0]	-	-	poor	medium	yes	low	ok	pgp	medium	low	food sales

pgp = paying general

* Numbers from pop-up website. Otherwise, stats

Rating[# of reviews] Yelp out of 5

pgp = paying general