

Creativity and tourism in the city

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Abstract

Creativity has become increasingly important for the development of tourism in cities in recent years. As competition between cities grows, they increasingly seek to distinguish themselves through creative strategies. In the field of tourism, however, such strategies may arguably be counter-productive, as the race to produce distinction often results in cities adopting similar creative development models. In particular, many cities rely on the ideas of creativity ‘gurus’ such as Richard Florida and Charles Landry to provide creative solutions to a wide range of cultural, social and economic problems. However, by following such exogenous prescriptions, adopting forms of ‘fast policy’ and copying ideas from other ‘creative cities’ through ‘policy tourism’, the result is often a form of serial reproduction, unattractive to the very tourists cities seek to attract. This review paper examines the search of many cities for distinction through creativity, and analyses the development of different forms of creativity, including creative industries and creative cities strategies and creative tourism. It argues that the shift away from tangible to intangible competitive advantage is continuing, with a trend towards relational forms of tourism based on creativity and embedded knowledge. These processes are illustrated by reviews of the literature relating to cities around the world.

Keywords: Creativity, cities, urban tourism, creative tourism, creative industries, creative cities

Introduction

Theoretical debates about the renaissance of cities has given a specific role to creativity as stimulus for innovation, urban regeneration and renewal and placed it at the heart of discourses about the contemporary network or knowledge society (Frey, 2009; Bærenholdt & Haldrup, 2006). Growing inter-urban competition in a globalising world increasingly forces cities to be creative in their attempts to distinguish themselves in a crowded tourism marketplace.

For example, in thinking about the future of American cities, *Business Insider* (Polland, 2012) selected 15 top future cities, based, among other things on ‘how "cool" the city is - an important factor in attracting the young, creative types who will make the city hot.’ Hot cities are cool, seems to be the implication. The top hotspots are very far from the classic cultural capitals that now attract large numbers of visitors and which often boast a high quality of life. They include Brooklyn, which is a ‘hipster-friendly borough [that] attracts young chefs, artists, entrepreneurs, families, and more, who have opened hip farm-to-table restaurants, cool art galleries and boutiques, and hipster markets’, Philadelphia, where ‘low housing prices, affordable lifestyle, and cool arts scene are attracting young people’ and ‘hipster haven’ Pittsburgh with its ‘thriving student population, emerging arts and hip-hop scene, and fast-growing job market’. Pittsburgh is also the home city of Richard Florida, who heralded the arrival of the ‘creative class’ (or ‘hipsters’ or ‘bohemians’) in many of these new creative hotspots (2002).

The argument that creative places attract creative people has become so widely accepted that ‘culture and creativity have appeared almost as a mantra in urban development worldwide in the last 20 years’ (Lysgård, 2012: 1284). Such ideas are also permeating into the field of tourism, not only because creativity has become an important element of tourism experiences in cities, but also because creativity is seen as one potential solution to problems of commodification and serial reproduction of tourism experiences, both of which seem particularly prevalent in cities (Fainstein, 2007).

Creativity has therefore been used in a number of ways in tourism, including:

- Developing tourism products and experiences
- Revitalisation of existing products
- Valorising cultural and creative assets
- Providing economic spin-offs for creative development
- Using creative techniques to enhance the tourism experience
- Adding buzz and atmosphere to places.

Given the growing importance of creativity in the development and marketing of tourism in cities, this review article examines the recent literature relating to this broad subject, and attempts to identify some of the major current and future trends in the field. A model is proposed that depicts the transformation of culture and creativity in cities from a model of patronage and subsidy towards their definition as economic sectors and increasingly towards ‘Culture 3.0’, which exhibits increasing co-creation of experiences and the rise of embedded creativity and everyday creativity as attractions. This trajectory implies that relationships

between tourists and between tourists and hosts will play a more important role in the creative development of urban tourism in future.

A search for recent literature on tourism, creativity and culture in cities was made in leading tourism journals (e.g. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *Tourism Management*, *Current Issues in Tourism*) and sources related to cities and culture (e.g. *Urban Studies*, *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*). The author also had access to many recent reviews written for the Routledge Handbook of Cultural Tourism (Smith and Richards, 2013). General searches were also made in online databases for relevant terms, such as 'creativity and cities', 'creative industries' and 'creative tourism'. Although an effort was made to select mainly from refereed journals, the relatively recent emergence of this research field meant that many recent sources also relate to reports and studies conducted for cities or papers presented at the growing number of conferences related to this theme.

Creativity and the city

Creativity has become a more important issue on urban agendas as cities have developed and changed. Cultural events in cities have slowly evolved from the staging of royal pageants and other cultural rituals of power to the bourgeois patronage of culture that characterised the industrial city, to the postmodern mixing of public and commercial culture (Richards & Palmer, 2010). Over time, culture gained weight in urban agendas, and in the second half of the 20th century culture became a major engine in the development of cities. There was a shift from what Pier-Luigi Sacco (2011) refers to as a 'Culture 1.0' model based on patronage, towards 'Culture 2.0' where cultural and creative activities produce economic value, become profitable, and eventually represent a specific sector of the whole urban economy. Culture became central to processes of cultural regeneration (Vickery, 2007; Evans, 2001) and there has been a proliferation of new cultural facilities, a physical expansion of the symbolic economy (Zukin, 1995).

Sacco (2011) argues that we are now moving into the Culture 3.0 phase, in which networked cultural audiences become transformed into practitioners, increasingly challenging individuals to use their own creativity to assimilate and manipulate the content provided by cities. Passive reception of culture is therefore transformed into active engagement and culture becomes pervasive, an essential element of everyday life (Richards, 2011). This underlines one of the major challenges of dealing with creativity, namely the lack of widely accepted definitions of the term. A recent review of the relationship between creativity and tourism (Richards, 2011) points out the many different approaches taken to the term creativity, including the work of creative people, creative products and processes and creative environments. These different meanings of 'creativity' are often used interchangeably in the literature, while in fact they can have very different implications. All of these different senses of creativity are referred to in the current review, because cities interact with creativity in many different ways. In the context of tourism, for example, creative people can be attracted as 'creative tourists', creative products such as theatre, films or architecture function as tourist attractions, people visit cities to sample the atmosphere developed through creative processes and 'scenes' and cities themselves can form creative environments that attract visitors as well as residents.

However, in pursuing a cultural or creative agenda, cities also face a number of challenges. In their recent review of urban tourism literature, Ashworth and Page (2011) identify a number of paradoxes in the relationship between tourism and cities: one of which is 'that the more unique, important and complete the urban attraction and the stronger the perception of

its aesthetic or historic perfection, the more difficult it will be to extend the product.’ This points to the problem that the more attractive cities become as tourism destinations and the more experienced tourists become in consuming the experience of urbanity, the more difficult it is for cities to distinguish themselves in an increasingly crowded marketplace.

The advent of the experience economy (Schulze, 1992; Pine & Gilmore, 1998) strengthened the reproduction of urban cultures, and stimulated the development of a plethora of new attractions and events in cities, including many iconic buildings and mega events (Roche, 1992; Hall, 1994). In world cities ‘the accumulation of an urban based knowledge economy has meant cities have become the point where knowledge is transformed into productive activities, and for tourism, the creative development of experiences and products’ (Ashworth & Page, 2011:4).

The ‘serial reproduction’ of consumption-led and experience-based redevelopment strategies (Richards & Wilson, 2006; Evans, 2003; Plaza 2000) led to complaints about the ‘cloning’ of urban landscapes and increasing ‘placelessness’ (Smith, 2007). The increasing gap between urban reality and projected image was encapsulated in Hannigan’s (1998) description of the ‘Fantasy City’, and case studies such as those presented by Hoffman et al (2003) and Zukin (2010) described the role of commodification and the growth of tourism and leisure consumption in reducing the ‘authenticity’ of the urban landscape.

Growing competition between cities has led to a search for new means of distinction, which has increasingly led to the use of theming and branding strategies. Klingman (2007) argues that architecture itself can use branding as an expression of identity, and she cites New York, Bilbao and Shanghai as examples of cities that have used architecture to enhance their images, generate economic growth, and elevate their positions in the global village. Similarly Richards (2010) shows in his analysis of major cities in Asia that culture and creativity now form a major element of the branding efforts in cities such as Shanghai, Seoul and Singapore. As Al Rabadya (2012) suggests in the case of Jordan, many Middle Eastern cities are facing challenges of ‘Dubaisation’, and it is important to find alternative models that allow the development of creative urban images and identities. For example Yue (2006) describes the branding of ‘New Asia Singapore’, which was encouraged by the development of a *Creative Economy Cultural Development Strategy*. This advocated a creative economy characterised by a mixing of arts with business and Asian values.

Creativity has a number of advantages for city branding, including flexibility, the ability to target upmarket members of the creative class, the attractiveness of creative lifestyles and the links between creativity and the media (e.g. Trueman, Cook & Cornelius, 2008; Zenker, 2009, McRobbie, 2006). Ooi and Stranggaard Pedersen (2010) show in their study of the role of film festivals in city branding, for example, that film festivals can increase the vibrancy of cities and serve to put cities on the ‘global map’. However, as they also show, reconciling such externally-orientated agendas with the needs of the local community may be more challenging.

Tourism has been an important part of the creative revival of cities, since tourists were arguably attracted to the same ‘buzz’ as the creative workers, and attracting tourists in turn helps to support the facilities that creative workers sought. The emerging synergies between tourism and creativity were explored in a collected volume on *Tourism, Creativity and Development* by Richards and Wilson (2007). Contributions in this volume included the analysis of creative cities (Hannigan, 2007), creative clusters (Santagata, Russo & Segre 2007) and case studies of cities such as London and Montreal (Shaw, 2007; Maitland, 2007),

Venice (Russo & Arias Sans, 2007), Amsterdam (Hodes, Vork, Gerritsma & Bras, 2007) and Sydney (Collins & Kunz, 2007). Other recent examples of the developing relationship between creativity and tourism are contained in a special issue of the *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice* (Richards and Marques, 2012).

Forms of creativity in cities

Although ‘creativity’ is often viewed as a single field of urban development, there are distinct themes that can be identified in the recent growth of creative ideas, particularly as they have been applied in cities (Richards, 2011). The three main strands are creative industries approaches, the creative city concept and the creative class model. The basic outlines of these three approaches are summarised in Table 1.

Table 1: Key conceptual approaches to creativity in cities

	Creative industries	Creative cities	Creative class
Focus	Creative production	Creative milieu	Creative consumption
Form of capital	Economic	Social and cultural	Creative
Creative content	Arts, media, film, design, architecture, etc.	Creative places, artistic production	Atmosphere and ‘cool’
Key sources	DCMS (1998)	Landry and Bianchini (1995)	Florida (2002)

The legacy of the cultural industries approach pioneered in Rome and London in the 1980s was consolidated in the concept of the ‘creative city’, as initially espoused by Landry and Bianchini (1995). This marked the separation of creativity as process from culture as product, and heralded the arrival of the ‘creative industries’ as a reformulation of the idea of cultural industries, originally formulated by Adorno (1991). The creative industries became the flagship for new Labour in the UK (Smith, 1998) and the Keating government in Australia (Creative Nation 1994), and subsequently made their way onto many urban development agendas.

The ‘creative industries’ sector was broadly defined as including advertising, architecture, art, crafts, design, fashion, film, music, performing arts, publishing, software, toys and games, TV and radio, and video games (DCMS, 1998) but may also arguably include tourism (Bagwell, 2009). Creative industries strategies have been adopted in a wide range of cities including Barcelona, Berlin and London (see Foord, 2008 for a review of these and other cities). The ‘new Berlin’ actively exported the image of a creative city through its ‘culturpreneurial’ activities (Lange 2006), and other cities, including Bilbao and Barcelona exported creative models of urban development through ‘policy tourism’, attracting policy makers from other cities to view their achievements (Gonzalez, 2010). Such strategies clearly helped the global spread of creative industries strategies. For example, in Singapore, Gwee (2009) and Kong (2012) have analysed the ways in which creativity was taken up in the political agenda and in Australia Gibson (2012) and Gibson et al. (2012) have examined the development of the creative industries, including in the suburbs of major cities. However

there has been much discussion about the definition of the ‘creative industries’, and in how far these differ from earlier conceptions of the ‘cultural industries’ (Pratt, 2008).

The discussion about definition of the creative industries has continued as the range of cultural forms and media has grown in recent years. For example, the transformation of graffiti into ‘street art’ has provided a number of cities with new tourist attractions as artists such as Banksy have become internationally popular. As Dickens (2009) has argued in his analysis of graffiti in London: ‘the street art scene in London has established itself as a particular but quite recognisable form of creative industry.’

There have also been an increasing number of studies on the relationship between tourism and the creative industries in recent years, which underlines the growing attention paid to the creative industries by policy makers. For example, Beeton’s work on film-induced tourism (2005) includes many examples of film-related product development in cities around the world. Music tourism has also boosted the creative industries in many cities as Gibson and Connell (2007) show in the case of Memphis and Cohen (1997) illustrates with the case of Beatles tourism in Liverpool. Other forms of creative industries-related tourism in cities include ‘architourism’ (Ockman & Fraust, 2005), arts and entertainment tourism (Hughes, 2012) and literary tourism (Herbert, 2001).

The creative cities paradigm was further refined by Landry (2000), who argued that creative development should embrace the city as a whole, allowing people to be ‘creative for the world’ (Landry 2006). Creative city policies have been developed in cities including Berlin (Lange, 2006; Colomb, 2011), Barcelona (Pareja-Eastaway, 2010), Bordeaux (Martone & Sepe, 2012), Helsinki (Sepe, 2010), Turin (Vanolo, 2008), Brisbane and in Thailand, where ‘creative city prototypes’ have been selected in ten provinces by the Department of Intellectual Property and Ministry of Commerce in response to the ‘Creative Thailand’ policy (Inside Thailand, 2011). There is also a global network of ‘creative cities’ supported by UNESCO (Wurzburger, Pattakos & Pratt, 2009).

The major problem of creative city strategies, according to Vickery (2011) is that they often fail to engage the whole city:

surveying the available books now in the marketplace on the subject of the creative city, we do not find tales of success, but more often than not ... problems (that) include gentrification and property-oriented development, with its social class segregation, and consequent ‘class cleansing’ of suburbs (Vickery, 2011:6).

Similar problems are identified by Vanolo (2008) in Turin and by Atkinson and Easthope (2009) in their review of Australian cities, where they identified creative city strategies as causing, rather than resolving problems of social exclusion.

Certain forms of creativity become valued by urban elites and enjoy support from public funding, often with an international audience in mind As a result, other forms of creativity — which might be more mundane or vernacular, suburban or more experimental and less mainstream.. — are either ignored, suppressed, under-valued or explicitly excluded from ‘creative city’ policies, which actually has the effect of suppressing creativity and the associated edgy ‘buzz’ which is supposed to surround creative activity. (Borén & Young, 2012: 3)

Chairatana (2011) therefore argues that there should be a bottom-up approach to the development ‘a pro-poor creative city’ that will ‘leverage their self-esteem and social

cohesion by embedding an “everyday culture” for the poor. These will include the socially and economically disadvantaged people; e.g. the HIV-positive, the stateless people, the under-educated senior citizens, and the indigenous minorities and others into a creative society.’

The creative discourse shifted from a predominant production-related perspective to a consumption-based narrative with the publication of Richard Florida’s *The Rise of the Creative Class* in 2002. Florida transformed traditional locational arguments, maintaining that people were not attracted by cities with industry, but rather that creative people themselves would attract business. As the creative class he identified tended to be drawn to cities by their ‘atmosphere’ and ‘cool’, the prescription was to become more creative in order to attract more creative people. This apparently circular argument found a sympathetic ear among urban policymakers and developers keen to revitalise city centres and create jobs.

The people Florida identified as making up the creative class included those working in science, engineering, education, computer programming and research, as well as ‘creative professionals’ working in healthcare, business and finance, the legal sector and education. The creative class arguably accounted for around 30% of the US population. He argued that if cities could develop a creative ‘atmosphere’ they would attract well-heeled creative people. Some other authors have found empirical evidence to support the link between Florida’s indicators of Technology, Talent and Tolerance and levels of wealth (Rutten & Gelissen 2008). McGranahan and Wojan (2007) also found some empirical backing for the idea that creative activities add vibrancy and vitality to places and therefore stimulates economic growth in cities. Such empirical evidence may help to explain why:

..... the rapid rise in the adoption of notions of ‘creativity’ in urban policy (particularly those with a ‘Floridean’ hue) is proceeding despite the intense academic critique to which notions of the ‘creative city’ in general, and Florida’s ideas in particular, have been subjected (Borén & Young, 2012:2)

Florida’s linkage of creativity and economic growth perhaps explains why support for creative strategies was often found in neo-liberal growth orientated coalitions or ‘regimes’ (Stone, 1989) that sought to stimulate growth through creative industry or ‘creative city’ development. In the case of Milwaukee, for example, Zimmerman (2008) shows how a group of image-makers, planners, and municipal leaders orchestrated urban promotional activities and planning strategies that highlighted a distinct set of urban motifs related to creative class lifestyles, cultural practices, and consumption habits. Such ‘urban entrepreneurialism’ and the rise of creative gurus such as Richard Florida and Charles Landry has also been widely criticised (e.g. Peck, 2005; Richards and Wilson, 2007; Ponzini & Rossi, 2010)

The strongest criticism, however, has been reserved for Florida’s notion of the ‘creative class’. For example Jamie Peck (2005) sees the creative class concept as a form of ‘fast policy’, attractive to policy makers in cities worldwide as a quick fix for urban problems. Turning the dominant narrative about Florida’s book on its head, Peck (2005) dismissed the notion that the creativity thesis was a radical new solution to urban problems. Rather, it amounted to ‘a conservative celebration of extant urban policy prescriptions that had become commonplace since at least the first round of mid-1970s deindustrialization.’ (Zimmerman, 2008:233).

There is also the question of whether Florida’s analysis, developed as it was in the United States, is transferable to other contexts. For example, Ooi (2007) points out that in Singapore there is a lack of acceptance of diversity, particularly in terms of gay culture. This indicates

that the openness seen as essential to creativity in western cities is not accepted everywhere. In the cases of Osaka and Kanazawa City in Japan, Sasaki (2010) also argues that there is a 'common misperception' that the creative class leads to more prosperity, and that grass-roots cultural movements are more effective in developing a socially-inclusive creative city.

Similarly, Scott (2010: 125) argues there is:

little or no room in (Florida's) analysis ... for claims that advanced forms of creativity in cities can be induced simply by making them attractive on the consumption side for individuals with high levels of educational attainment and "talent".

Scott (2010: 125) sees creativity as being:

induced in complex socio-spatial relationships constituting the local creative field, which in turn is centrally rooted in the production, employment, and local labour market dynamics.

In other words, creativity on its own is not enough. Creative processes need to be linked to wider urban structures if the city is to harness them effectively for economic growth or wellbeing.

Whatever the criticisms of creative development strategies, there is little doubt that creativity has become a leading theme for cities worldwide, and is now also promoted by national and supranational policies (e.g. European Commission, 2012). In the process, the relationship between creativity and tourism in cities has grown, as creative development strategies have gone in search of mobile creative consumers, and the creative tourists have gone in search of local creativity.

Forms of creativity in tourism

Efforts to develop creativity in cities through general creative industries or creative city strategies, or by attracting the creative class seem to have had varying levels of success. Where creativity has been applied more specifically, for example in the area of creative tourism or creative clusters, there seems to be more evidence of successful regeneration and re-imaging. Richards and Wilson (2006) identify three specific forms of creative development related to tourism in cities: creative places, creative events and creative tourism. Although it is tempting to treat these as discrete categories, there is a growing integration between them: for example, events are becoming hubs in global networks that concentrate creativity in certain places and cultural spaces provide the local embedding necessary for developing creative tourism (Duxbury & Murray, 2010).

Creative places

One of the biggest challenges for creative development is to anchor and embed creativity and creative value in specific places. Creativity tends to be relatively footloose, and there are major challenges in making sure that the creative value stimulated by a city also remains there. However, tourism is an area where, as Frey (2009) discusses, place matters. Frey argues that places express their identity through different ‘languages’ attached to physical morphology, social and economic structures and communicative interaction, which can be ‘read’ by certain kinds of tourists. For example, Wolfram and Burnill (2013) identify ‘tactical tourists’ as visitors who actively avoid mass tourists, seeking out places where they can create their own experiences. Their creative approach to tourism also arguably influences other consumers to follow their lead in visiting new areas and seeking out new experiences. The role of creativity in attracting particular types of tourists is also echoed by Russo and Quaglieri-Domínguez (2013) in their analysis of the creation of new ‘tourist’ spaces in Barcelona by mobile ‘post-bohemians’, people who live in the city for a few weeks or months without being integrated into the formal labour market or being recorded as official residents, such as students on an international exchange and youngsters taking a ‘sabbatical’ or ‘gap year’. There are particular neighbourhoods that tend to attract these people seeking to ‘live like a local’. The cities that attract such tourists not only tend to have lots of ‘culture’ and ‘creativity’, but also offer ‘plug and play’-style facilities for the modern ‘global nomad’ (Richards 2010), such as large mobile populations, good communications and plentiful spaces for interaction, such as bars, plazas and parks. These cultural sites are not just destinations, but relational spaces, in which ‘being there’, ‘being seen’ and ‘being cool’ are just as important as the cultural content itself. The volume on *Tourism, culture and regeneration* edited by Melanie Smith (2006) provides numerous examples of how local creativity has become utilised in cities to develop and market tourism.

Very often the neighbourhoods that attract ‘creative’ people are the ‘edgy’ areas of cities that Hannigan (1998) identified as providing ‘safe danger’ and which Zukin (2010) identifies as the ‘authentic’ neighbourhoods in cities that become attractive to the creative class. Such an ‘edge’ is however often hard to maintain in the face of gentrification and large scale urban redevelopment. Bottom up developments are therefore increasingly important in (large) cities, as Kennell (2013) argues in the case of the Stokes Croft suburb of Bristol and Wolfram and Burnill (2013) demonstrate in relation to inner city areas of Berlin.

In the face of gentrification (often supported by ‘creative development’ strategies) creative activities also seem to be moving out of the city centre towards the inner city fringe (Maitland, 2007; Pappalepore, Maitland & Smith, 2010) and now increasingly towards ‘creative suburbia’ (Flew, 2012, Felton, Collis & Graham, 2012). This is almost a natural economic process in major cities, as the inner city areas are gentrified (partly through the efforts of the creatives themselves) and creative production is squeezed out to cheaper spaces outside the city centre. The new leisure, tourism and cultural-creative clusters emerging in the centre of major cities often seem to be more closely related to leisure and tourism consumption than creative production (Mommaas, 2004; Gospodini, 2007; Richards & Tomor, 2012). In some cases there has been successful mixing of creative enterprises and creative participation by the local community, as in the case of *La Cité des Arts du Cirque* in Montreal, which also houses the headquarters of the Cirque du Soleil (Blessi, Tremblay, Sandri & Pilat, 2012), or the *Westergasfabriek* in Amsterdam (Hitters & Bonink, 2001). But such projects require conscious and sustained effort on the part of managers and administrators

Demarcation of specific places or clusters where creativity can be embedded is important from a marketing perspective. Such clusters may focus on a specific type of creativity, such as those related to ethnic quarters. As Shaw (2007) shows in the case of London, ethnic entrepreneurs are often identified as a source of innovation and creative ideas. However, Diekman (2013) analyses the case of African enclaves in Brussels, where the ethnic communities are often not aware that they are the focus of tourist promotion.

In addition to formally-designated districts and clusters, other strategies for highlighting creative places are being employed in cities. For example Edensor and Millington (2012) discuss the use of ‘design-led regeneration’ in the case of Blackpool, where the traditional illuminations are being upgraded through the professionalisation and cosmopolitanisation of lighting design. Creative use of lighting to attract tourists, as developed in Blackpool in the late nineteenth century, now extends around the globe. Guo, Lin, Meng and Zhao (2011) show how Guangzhou managed to effectively extend the tourist day by the use of creative lighting design. Literal attempts have been made to ‘hold back the night’ (Evans, 2012) through events such as the Nuits Blanches in Paris and similar events elsewhere, often centred on evening or night time openings of museums and other cultural facilities. Seeburger and Choi (2011) in their study of the Sapporo World Window also show how spaces can also be shaped through the use of public screens to display social media content, turning private virtual space into public physical space.

Places are also being creatively redefined through temporary use with the development of ‘pop-up’ cultural spaces. As Bishop and Williams (2012) describe in their analysis of the ‘Temporary City’, the pop-up phenomenon has given a new dimension to urban space, creating a form of thirdspace (Soja, 1996) that turns space into an event. The pop-up also creates a new relationship with audiences in which not so much cultural objects, as the encounter itself is important. Such spaces depend on relational aesthetics (Bourriard, 2002) for their meaning. Not so much the cultural and creative content of the space is important, but the people who visit it. The pop-up may be posed as the perfect example of the experience economy – a series of individual experiences that people have to link through their own narrative. One example of the ‘pop-up’ or ‘temporary city’ phenomenon that is strongly linked to tourism is the appearance of ‘ruin bars’ in derelict buildings in Budapest. Lugosi and Lugosi (2008) have analysed the role of these bars as hubs in the cultural scene. Tourism and leisure often form an essential backdrop to these places, as the informal nature of exchange is linked to free time and social interaction. For example in Berlin Lange (2006) examines the role of ‘culturepreneurs’ in forming ‘scenes’ within which projects are discussed and formed, knowledge is exchanged and innovation is stimulated. These creative ‘hot-spots’ are often bars and clubs in which leisure consumption is mingled with and transformed into work, embedding the creative network in a specific location, even though these hot-spots may move frequently around the city.

Creative events

Events often provide the activity and animation necessary to enliven creative spaces. The role of events as creative elements in cities has therefore become a major focus of attention in recent years. Prentice and Anderson (2003) opened up this debate with their analysis of the Edinburgh Festival as a form of ‘creative tourism’. Richards and Palmer (2010) identified the development of ‘Eventful Cities’, or cities that use events in a strategic way to improve the quality of life. Through careful programming and event portfolio selection, it is argued, cities can develop events as a creative force, linking the creativity of the local population with the cultural and creative sector and visitors. More recently Jakob (2012) has analysed the

‘eventification’ of places in New York and Berlin, where events become a spearhead for gentrification processes.

All of these approaches suggest that events can become a catalyst of change in cities. The idea of events as creative moments and spaces in cities is explored in more detail by Larson (2009) in the context of Roskilde in Denmark, and Johansson and Kociatkiewicz (2011) in the cases of Warsaw and Stockholm. These examples illustrate the delicate balance that often exists between the role of events as creative nodes in the network society and their role in distinguishing commodified urban landscapes in the experience economy.

Given the mobility of creative people and ideas noted above, the question of how to embed and exploit the creativity of events remains a key question for cities worldwide. In some cases events may become major creative hubs, spinning off new events and cultural products, as in the case of the Sonar Festival of avant garde music in Barcelona. This relatively small event now runs versions in Tokyo, Cape Town and Sao Paolo and in 2012 took ‘Sonar on tour’ to New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Toronto, Denver, Oakland, Montreal and Boston. For the festival this is a useful way of generating extra revenue and publicity, although from the point of view of its home city Barcelona, it may also be undermining the ‘original’ Sonar event as well.

The problems of a city embedding events is underlined by Van Aalst and van Melik (2012) in their analysis of the move of the North Sea Jazz festival from the Hague to Rotterdam in 2006. Their research indicated that the festival audience was ultimately more faithful to the event than to the location, indicating that in many cases creative content may outweigh context. This underlines the role of some events in configuring the field or the city in which they operate. Lange (2012:26) argues that such ‘field configuring events’ ‘play an important role in constituting creative markets as well as the creation of symbolic and cultural values in these industries.’ Major creative festivals, such as the Edinburgh Festival, London Fashion Week, the Sundance Festival or the Cannes Film Festival are capable of configuring their own environments, bringing together actors to discuss and shape the creative fields they operate in. Such events can also play an important role in the image formation and branding of cities (Richards & Wilson, 2004; Johansson & Kociatkiewicz, 2011). However, in the case of Loulé, in the Algarve region of Portugal, Carvalho, Ferreira and Figueira (2011) found that even though cultural and creative events may be effective in limited regeneration efforts, single events are not sufficient in themselves to change the image of a small city.

The co-presence implied by events also generates significant social interaction:

‘a distinct place-making process turns the field into a potential place of social interaction. Although the spatial dimensions of an event are programmed by the organizers, the visitors start to interact with the spatial opportunities and thus create their own program.’ (Lange, 2006:27)

Arguably, therefore, events can be field configuring for consumers as well as producers, helping to synchronise the agendas of significant sub-groups and ‘scenes’ of consumers. Events can therefore be a way of creating new forms of sociality and links between visitors and cities, as Hollands (2010) shows in the case of the Prague Fringe Festival.

Olsen (2012) also shows that there is a clear relationship between festivals, creativity and urban regimes. Because of the tendency for growth-orientated coalitions to instrumentalise culture, there is a tendency for creative festivals to be co-opted by cities to further broader policy agendas, such as creative industries development (as Campbell, 2011, shows in the

case of Liverpool) or cultural tourism (as Quinn, 2005, shows in the case of urban art festivals). Olsen proposes ‘a re-thinking of festivals as heterotopias with the potential to experiment with city spaces’ (p. 18).

Creative tourism

‘Creative tourism’ was first defined by Richards and Raymond (2000:18) as:

Tourism which offers visitors the opportunity to develop their creative potential through active participation in courses and learning experiences which are characteristic of the holiday destination where they are undertaken.

Richards and Wilson (2006:1218) argued that what distinguished creative tourism from creative spaces or creative events is that ‘creative tourism depends far more on the active involvement of tourists’. However, as Richards (2011) has pointed out, the forms of creative tourism that have developed in cities range from very active creative involvement to the passive viewing of the creativity of others, or even just buying ‘creative’ products.

At the more active end of the spectrum, Anzaldi (2012) analyses the emergence of tango dance tourism as a specific form of creative tourism in Buenos Aires, arguing that this represents a ‘more active and individualized involvement of tourists in the city’. Törnqvist (2013) argues that this creative involvement eventually becomes part of the ‘economies of intimacy’ that link tourists and locals. In Paris, under the slogan ‘creative: the new tourist attitude’, creative tourism is being developed through a portal which includes a wide range of different creative activities:

Do you want to see another side to Paris and the city’s history, heritage and culture? Are you ready to awaken your creativity in one of the most stimulating settings? As a popular and magical destination, Paris and its creative tourism sets itself apart as a pillar of cultural, interactive and sustainable tourism. <http://creativeparis.info/en/>

The website offers a broad range of creative experiences including visual and performing arts, crafts, music, photography, cinema, culinary arts, fashion, design, writing and philosophy. Similar portals offering access to locally-based creative experiences can be found in cities such as Santa Fe (santafecreativetourism.org), Bangkok (www.discovertheotheryou.com/), Sydney (www.gosouthoftheborder.co) and Manchester (www.creativetourist.com).

In Barcelona, the local dimension of creativity is highlighted by the activities of Creative Tourism Barcelona (www.barcelonacreativa.info), which among other things brings artists together to co-create and perform. Also in Barcelona the local content of apartment accommodation is generated by involving tourists and locals alike in the delivery of services (golocalbcn.com).

Creative tourism is therefore increasingly conceived of not just as an activity for creative tourists, but as a relationship between people (Richards 2011). In cities this idea is embodied in experiences that allow one to ‘meet the locals’ or ‘live like a local’. The ‘urban nomads’ who run the Austrian enterprise Nectar & Pulse offers guides that link tourists with ‘local soulmates’ in cities such as London, Vienna, Berlin, Barcelona, Tel Aviv, Munich and Salzburg. Plus One Berlin also offers the opportunity to hang out with the locals:

Plus One Berlin gives you a stylish, ecological apartment to stay in 'Kreuzkölln', an exciting and non-touristy neighbourhood of Berlin, and the opportunity to be the 'plus

one' of a well-connected and knowledgeable local of your choice. As their 'plus one' you're given a one-of-a-kind insight in to Berlin life and can discover a side to the city that only locals see. You can take your pick from over 30 locals and choose when you want to hang out with them and for how long. (<http://plusoneberlin.com/>)

The growing link between creativity and tourism is now beginning to generate a range of concrete initiatives in the development of creative tourism or creativity and tourism programmes, particularly as an adjunct to cultural tourism. Very often these policies are directly related to urban development, a trend that is particularly visible in Asia. For example, in Thailand ten cities have now been designated as creative cities, and this programme is linked to specific creative tourism development efforts. Similarly, the recent transformation of the Indonesian Ministry of Culture and Tourism into the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy has been marked by the promotion of 'green and creative tourism' in the country, and a bid to increase the number of creative cities.

In North America many cities have developed creative districts or cultural corridors that have potential as creative tourism products. Borrellia and Kalayil (2011) describe the development of creative tourism by the Indo American Heritage Museum in Chicago, using the Devon Avenue area as a focus. The aim is to generate ethnic dialogue and to bring tourists into contact with local people through interactive, creative experiences.

Other cities, however, have found that traditional modes of cultural tourism are more stubborn. For example, evidence suggests that although some creative approaches to packaging and marketing cultural tourism exist in Budapest, the product is still mainly heritage-focused (Smith & Puczko, 2012). Similarly, Jelinčić and Žuvela (2012) quote research from Croatia that suggests that although 61% of Croatian cultural tourists have an interest in participating in creative activities, the most popular activities are relatively traditional, such as gastronomy workshops (24%), picking fruits/olives/herbs (23%) and archaeology (21%), traditional dances/songs (17%) and traditional crafts (17%), arts workshops (13%) and Croatian language classes (11%).

The diffusion of creative concepts between cities

As part of the knowledge economy par excellence, one would expect models of creative development and creative tourism to be diffused between cities. Cities themselves are becoming active in the diffusion process, because they are configuring themselves to attract, accommodate and support creative individuals, who are often highly mobile and who move between major urban hubs. Gonzalez (2010) also describes how 'models' of development, such as the Bilbao model or the Barcelona model travel via 'policy tourism' undertaken by administrators from different cities. International experts on creativity, such as Charles Landry and Richard Florida, also help to strengthen this process by propagating their models worldwide (Luckman, Gibson and Lea, 2009).

The circulation of different 'models' (or approximations of them) shows how knowledge is reproduced between cities. The Creative Tourism Network (www.creativetourismnetwork.org) was founded by Barcelona, Paris and Rome; cities that considered themselves to be at the forefront of creativity in Europe and who saw each other as equal partners.

However, it is debatable to what extent specific models of culture and creativity are readily transferable between cities. Cox and O'Brien (2012) argue in the case of the Liverpool Model for culture-led urban regeneration, which culminated in the 2008 European Capital of Culture

Event, the development of the model was dependent on a unique set of place-based factors which would be hard to replicate elsewhere.

Luckman et al. (2009: 73) also discuss the transferability of creative city idea in the case of Darwin, Australia. As they point out:

Darwin is very different from previously analyzed creative cities: it is remote (both physically, and figuratively), comparatively small, defined by colonial/postcolonial anxieties and has a substantial population churn, losing up to 25 per cent of its population between any census period, but also consistently gaining a steady flow of in-migrants.

and

‘European’ fixations with walkability, creative milieux and clusters of spatially proximate actors, while highly credible in many contexts, do not fit Darwin's tropical climate and geographical realities.

However, the idea of cities learning from each other has a long pedigree, as Robert Venturi argued in his seminal work *Learning from Las Vegas* (Venturi, Scott Brown & Izenour, 1972). These days it is not just the physical form of cities that generates models, but also the ‘software’ and ‘orgware’ associated with urban processes. For example the European Capital of Culture has spawned a host of different organisational models (Richards & Palmer, 2010), including the event management model developed by Antwerp for the 1993 event, which was subsequently borrowed by Bruges in 2002 (Brugge Plus, 2012).

The creative experience of cities

Even if cities are beginning to adopt similar creative development models, the argument often made is that the experience of creativity for the individual consumer is unique, which also makes their experience of cities themselves distinctive. This poses an important question - what do visitors value from a creative experience of a city?

As already noted above, it seems that many creative experiences are closely linked to the idea of ‘living like a local’. Local people are framed as the gateway to local culture and experience, and they can show visitors how to creatively navigate the city, supposedly finding those places where only locals go. Such entry points to the city are facilitated by organisations such as mycreativetours.com and gidsy.com, which concentrates on Amsterdam, Berlin and New York. These portals link up ‘locals’ offering experiences with visitors. These experiences are typified as ‘unique activities organized by real people’ by Gidsy, which invites users to ‘Think off the beaten path walking tours guided by locals, nature hikes with wild cavemen and cooking classes hosted by professional chefs.’ The types of experiences offered to potential creative tourists are therefore identified as being ‘real’, because they are offered by ‘locals’, and unique because they are co-created *in situ*. There is also an emphasis on the development and transfer of skills and embedded knowledge between the participants. Such experiences rely heavily on linking ‘locals’ and ‘tourists’ together and facilitating active exchange. Such exchanges can only be created if tourists can successfully penetrate the local community or ‘scene’ that can supply the desired knowledge and skills. Den Dekker and Tabbers (2012:130) argue ‘the easier a creative environment can be approached and infiltrated, the more attractive this city is for the contemporary tourist.’ Local scenes and specific groups such as students (Shaw & Fincher, 2010; Russo & Arias Sans, 2009) often provide such infiltration points.

Even when tourists can successfully ‘infiltrate’ the city, however, there is a need to think beyond the constraints of the encounter itself. There is a growing realisation on the part of practitioners and academics that the experience of places needs to be approached more holistically. Verhoef, Lemon, Parasuraman, Roggeveen, Tsiros and Schlesinger (2009) emphasise the need to include pre and post purchase factors. Binkhorst and Den Dekker (2009) emphasise the need to treat the whole tourist journey, pre departure, in destination and post-return, as part of a complete creative experience. As many urban tourist experiences are constrained by the temporal pressure cooker of the ‘short break’, this places extra emphasis on the pre- and post-visit periods as experiential extensions of the visit itself, in which the tourist can anticipate and reflect on the creative dimensions of the experience.

Such locally-based creative tourism experiences are arguably very different from traditional cultural tourism experiences, because they are based on the creativity embedded in everyday life. Rather than framing the unique elements of high culture, everyday life itself has come to be viewed as unique. As Richards (2011) outlines, there is a particular emphasis on ‘cool’ and trendy places in cities, many of which are currently undergoing gentrification, as Zukin (2010) explores in the case of Brooklyn, New York. In their study of Tampa, Florida, Bonn, Joseph-Mathews, Dai, Hayes and Cave (2007) also emphasise the importance of ‘atmospherics’ as part of the cultural and creative experience sought by visitors.

However, in their research in Porvoo, Finland, Lindroth, Ritalahti and Soisalon-Soininen (2007) identified a mismatch between the perceptions of local stakeholders and the needs of tourists. Local stakeholders tended to take for granted many of the aspects of the city that were valued by visitors, and in particular there was a lack of appreciation of the importance of ‘living like a local’ as part of the creative experience. A similar lack of adaption to the needs of creative tourists was encountered by Gordin and Matetskaya (2012) in their review of cultural institutions in Saint Petersburg. As Jelinčić and Žuvela (2012) argue, creative tourism ‘may mean the creation of totally different and new business models which are based on creative production, management, marketing or sales.’

The characteristics of creative tourism experiences make them particularly hard to manage and study. In cities, the interstitial nature of experience makes control of experiences particularly difficult. There are no clear boundaries between tourism and everyday life, between ‘local’ and ‘visitor’, and no clearly identifiable creative tourism ‘infrastructure’ or target market. In fact, what is often valued most in creative tourism is the unexpected, the unplanned, the gap between expectation and reality. It is precisely the fact that creative tourism is embedded in social networks and relationships that makes it attractive to the visitor, and challenging for cities to manage.

The developing relationship of creativity and tourism: towards a conceptual model

This review indicates that a number of important shifts are taking place in the relationship between tourism and creativity, which are linked to a number of important cultural, social and economic trends:

- 1) The basis of the cultural economy has continued to develop in recent years, producing a further shift away from the patronage and subsidy of high culture (Culture 1.0) towards support for the creative industries and symbolic production (Culture 2.0) and now the growing emergence of co-created culture (Culture 3.0) (Sacco, 2011).

- 2) The changing basis of experiences from heritage and tangible cultural resources towards more symbolic and intangible forms of culture more susceptible to creative (re)interpretation (Richards, 2011).
- 3) In creativity, the emphasis has shifted from individual knowledge and skill towards more collective, socially-created knowledge, which can be accessed through relationships (Potts, Cunningham, Hartley & Ormerod, 2008). The creativity of the individual ‘craftsman’ (Sennett, 2010) has therefore been augmented by the relational capital of the ‘switcher’ (Castells, 2009) who links people and networks together.
- 4) The cultural and creative elements incorporated into the tourism product of cities are becoming increasingly embedded in everyday life (Maitland, 2007; Richards, 2011), as in the case of ‘live like a local’ experiences.
- 5) This increased embeddedness of culture and creativity necessitate the creation of new relationships between those dwelling in cities and those visiting them. These relationships are often mediated through ‘scenes’ which incorporate the ‘switchers’ or brokers who are the new foci of creative tourism in cities, opening up new areas of the city to the exploration of everyday life, and the development of new creative clusters (Pappaleore et al., 2010).

Taken together, these trends indicate that creative and relational capital have begun to play a role alongside cultural capital as arbiters of tourist taste and choice. Although the role of creative capital can be viewed as an extension of relatively static cultural capital into areas such as intangible heritage and performativity, it is perhaps the growing relationality of tourism in cities that is more interesting.

It can be argued that the growing relationality of tourism corresponds to the need for new forms of relationships created by the network society. As Urry (2001) has pointed out, increased virtual connectivity has actually increased our need for physical co-presence, and the need for ‘networked individuals’ to come together in particular places at specific times has been one of the key drivers of increased ‘eventfulness’ in contemporary society (Richards, 2010). Okano and Samson (2010) argue that bringing people together is a vital antidote to individualisation (Meethan, 2013) and they emphasise the values of cosmopolitanism as an essential means of developing collective creativity and enlivening public space. As Lazzeretti (2012:2) proposes in the case of Florence, ‘the city of art can be considered as ‘an informal, collective open space that can absorb and recombine art and culture leading to novelty and renewing.’

Creative interaction in such arenas also promotes forms of value exchange that are more relational than transactional. As Antoci et al. (2004) argue, ‘relational goods’ cannot be enjoyed alone, as their enjoyment depends on a joint contribution of time by the individual as well as by others, which means that relational goods can only be produced by co-presence. The amount of relational capital generated by an encounter, for example in terms of trust and shared values, depends on the level of participation by those involved. As Collins (2004) points out in his model of ‘interaction ritual chains’ the degree of centrality and level of participation in social rituals will lead to higher levels of ‘emotional energy’ for individuals, motivating them to engage again in similar activities.

Cities therefore no longer just provide containers for creativity and sociality, but they need to articulate with mobile flows of people and their creative activities in order to stimulate the relationships that generate relational capital and stimulate creativity. This ostensibly means

that the people already living in the city have to be mobilised to make contact with and to engage the temporary citizens who are passing through. This is indeed the basis of creative tourism programmes and projects that enable tourists to meet locals, interact with and to learn more about them, and eventually to be able to 'live like a local'. This also has important implications for the spatial articulation of tourism and creativity, because as the content of experiences becomes less tangible it also becomes more mobile, enabling cultural and creative encounters to take place anywhere. This has diminished the hegemony of the museum and other established cultural spaces by adding squares, plazas, bars and restaurants as sites for creative exchange and the development of relational capital. These less formal relational spaces are also relatively free of the traditional schemas of legitimacy that underpin social class (Bourdieu, 1984).

As people as a whole become more mobile (including temporary tourism-related mobility and more permanent migration), it becomes important for cities to make themselves distinctive in order to attract attention and to promote place attachment (Turok, 2009) and to provide the experiences and facilities expected by residents and visitors. As Russo et al. (2011) point out, cities can be considered attractive if they provide sufficient benefits to outweigh agglomeration disadvantages. In terms of the mobile creative class, this tends to mean that they will be attracted to places that have a large group of creative class residents (Lorenzen & Anderson, 2007), because this provides maximum opportunities for contacts and knowledge exchange. Whereas in the past the attractiveness of cities has been treated as a function of a critical mass of amenities, it might now be framed in terms of a critical mass of contacts – cities which have sufficiently large 'scenes' offer enough people with a similar lifestyle to develop an attractive social milieu. Smaller cities often have to try and mimic this effect by creating temporary scenes or hot-spots, for example by organising events.

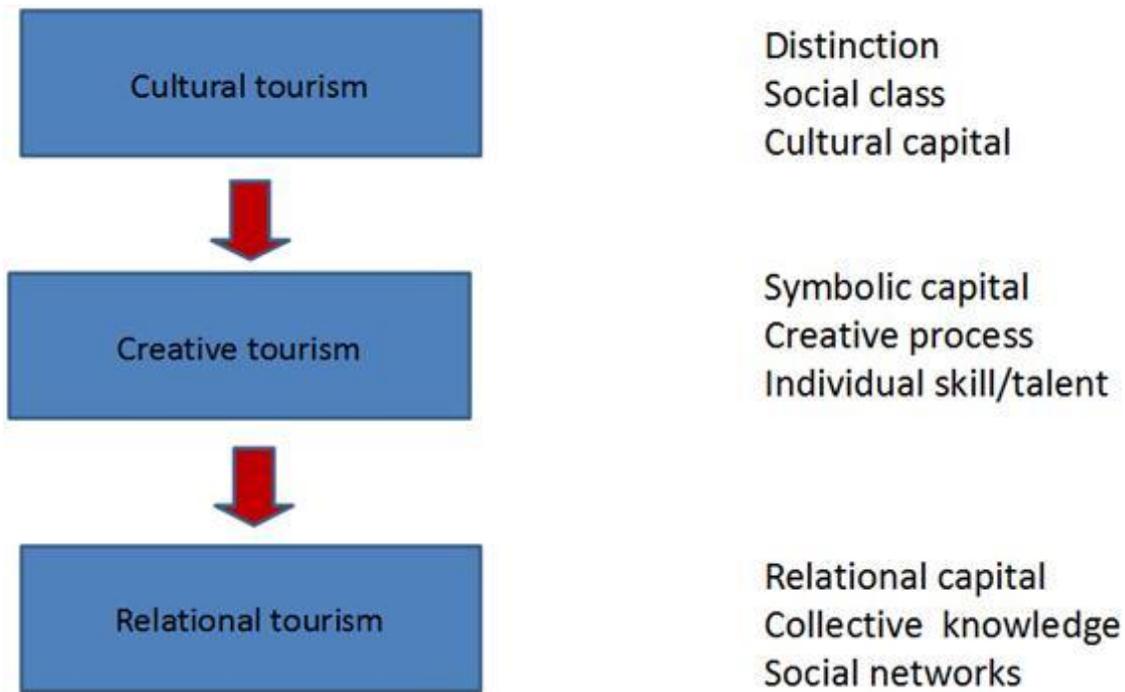
However, the development strategies adopted by cities may well have to change to adapt to this new reality. In recent decades a transaction economic logic has tended to dictate that cities should be involved in polishing and promoting their brand image primarily to external publics. However, the social dimension of creativity and tourism is now also being emphasised because of the 'internalisation' of urban development agendas. In many cases the political capital to be gained from using creativity and tourism as engines for external promotion of the city is subject to diminishing returns (Russo, 2002). A number of cities, such as Barcelona and Antwerp, that previously leaned heavily on external promotion are now beginning to prioritise internal social agendas and emphasising the overall 'quality of place' as a means of linking with the local population as well as attracting visitors. Such strategies have been advocated as a means of strengthening city brands, because as Hildreth (2008:11) remarks 'the best way to improve your image is to keep improving your reality'.

That reality is likely to include the creative and relational capital that underpins many satisfying tourism experiences, as recent research on the role of friendship in tourism transactions has emphasised (Andersson Cederholm & Hultman, 2010). Such forms of 'relational travel' are also likely to increase thanks to the activities of Generation Y, who seemingly have an increasing need for peer attention (Leask & Barron, 2013), and because attention and connectedness have become more important in the network society (Richards, 2012).

Against a background of a growing role for creative and relational capital in urban tourism, we can begin to construct a conceptual model of the developing relationship between tourism and creativity (Figure 1). In the first instance we can identify an evolution of the content of cultural experiences from tangible cultural goods (such as those provided by works of art,

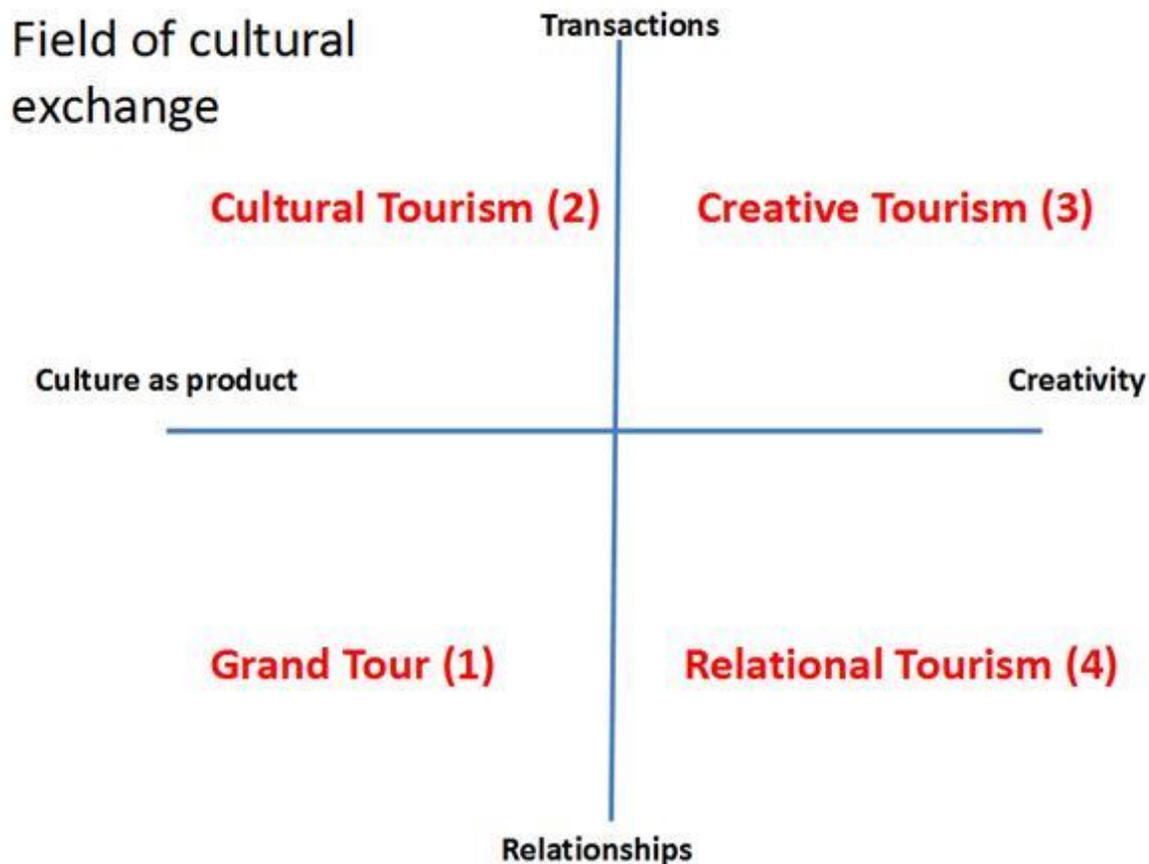
museums or monuments) towards less tangible, more creative and eventually more relational forms of experience. This evolution corresponds to the declining power of prescribed forms of meaning attached to 'high' culture and the rise of symbolic consumption and more 'creative' forms of intangible culture more commonly found in 'everyday life' (Richards, 2011). In the process, the emphasis shifts from forms of capital attached to culture, towards creative capital and relational capital, involving people more centrally in the process of value creation.

Figure 1: The evolution of cultural content in urban experiences



The dynamic in Figure 1 is just one dimension of the creative field, which can be posited as consisting of at least two key dimensions. The first dimension (horizontal axis in Figure 2) constitutes the cultural content of tourism experiences, as presented in Figure 1. The second dimension (vertical axis in Figure 2) denotes the process of exchange involved in establishing the value of the cultural content. This ranges from transactional exchange (typical of commercial markets) to relational exchange, where the value of experiences is established by the relationships embedded within them.

Figure 2: The developing field of creativity in tourism



The focus of the relationship between creativity and tourism can be hypothesised to be moving in the direction of increasing intangibility and performativity along the horizontal axis, and from more transactional to more relational modes of establishing the value of cultural content on the vertical axis. In a longer term, historical perspective, one might postulate a spiral movement of the focus of cultural and creative tourism. This might be seen as starting in the bottom left quadrant (1) with the relatively uncommercialised consumption of high culture by the nobility during the grand tour (Towner, 1985), who were often concerned at forging relationships with their important hosts as well as sightseeing (Bruce, 2013). The rise of cultural tourism as a mass market is reflected in a shift towards the top left quadrant (2), where the market for culture as a tourist product became an important part of many urban economies. The cultural tourism market tends to be dominated by cities with high levels of tangible cultural capital – museums, monuments – which are often found in large cities or capital cities (Maitland, 2012). The more recent shift towards creative tourism and the utilisation of the creative industries to attract tourists is reflected in the upper right quadrant (3). However, it seems that the apparently creative motives of many tourists visiting cities are also tied to important relational motivations, as in the emerging ‘live like a local’ concept. This seems to be shifting the focus of tourism and creativity towards the lower right quadrant (4), where the advent of ‘relational tourism’ might be identified. It is important to point out that this developmental trajectory is not a transition from one type of tourism to another, but rather represents a summation of different modes of tourism in the city. In particular, mass cultural tourism is still a predominant feature of many major cities, as Russo (2002) underlines. The development of creative tourism to some extent represents a small fraction of cultural tourists who are seeking more engaging and active creative experiences, but it can also involve less active forms of creativity, such as ‘taster’ experiences, which are

now enjoyed by much larger numbers of visitors. The emergence of relational tourism probably also represents a relatively small market in numerical terms, but is more significant in symbolic terms, as it will often involve the ‘tactical tourist’ (Gernot & Burnill, 2013) who acts as a pioneer and taste maker for larger numbers of more conventional tourists.

All of this points to a more varied experiencescape of creativity and tourism in cities in the future. Mass cultural tourism, which largely involves the consumption of the creativity of previous generations, will be augmented by new forms of creative and relations tourism, which should involve more active exchanges between the creativity of ‘locals’ and the creative and relational needs of ‘tourists’.

Future trends in the relationship of creativity and tourism

In pointing the way towards the future relationship between tourism and creativity, it is interesting to note the homologies between the development of creative tourism and the Homo Faber project of Richard Sennett (2012). Sennett’s latest project is to chart the way in which people shape personal effort, social relations and the physical environment. This project is based on a trilogy of books – the *Craftsman* (2008), which explores the way in which skills are embedded in individuals, *Together* (2012), an exploration of how people respond to and collaborate with each other, and the as-yet unpublished work on *Making Cities*, which will address how urban design can be improved by the application of craftsmanship and cooperation.

If the homologous links between tourism and creativity and Sennett’s Homo Faber project hold good, then the next phase in the development of the relationship will be the addition of place-making elements to creative and relational travel. People will travel not just to know and to relate to places, but also to help change them. If tourists do become creatively implicated in the growth of the places they visit, this holds out the prospect of addressing the concerns about the authenticity of cities expressed by Zukin (2010) issues of serial reproduction (Richards & Wilson, 2006) and vicious cycle of downgrading of culture (Russo, 2002).

One important point that is raised for cities by the creativity debate is how they can attract and retain the talented people who are seen as necessary for a healthy economy. The mobilities paradigm in tourism (Urry, 2007) has underlined the fact that people are increasingly mobile, and that cities in particular have become more like transit spaces and less like permanent dwelling places. In this context, Frey (2009) argues that successful creative cities need to exploit the weak ties of civil society in developing new forms of social cohesion, in order to make themselves more ‘sticky places’ where creative people will cluster and contribute to new urban ‘hot spots’. Because tourists by definition have a low degree of ‘stickiness’, cities will need to think increasingly about ways to transform tourists into ‘temporary citizens’ or ‘paralocals’, using local networks to reach out to different tourist segments, and in particular those who have a propensity to stay longer. There is already evidence of local coalitions emerging around the attraction of international students, for example, where the interests of knowledge organisations, local authorities, the tourism industry and property developers all coalesce. Students feed the leisure industry by enlivening creative spaces (Russo & Arias Sans, 2007), stimulate their friends and family to come and stay and sightsee, boost the local property market by creating a demand for accommodation and stimulate the local knowledge economy.

One of the biggest challenges facing cities adopting such strategies is likely to lie in the potential division between the international, mobile population of tourists/temporary citizens

and the relatively sedentary local population. This is where creativity is needed to develop relationships between locals and tourists that are not just about attracting consumers, but which are aimed at developing the co-creation of place between the host population and their mobile visitors or temporary fellow citizens.

Potential areas for future research

The growing relationship between tourism and creativity in cities provides ample potential avenues for research.

Given the growing complexity of creative relationships between destinations, tourists and local residents, there is a need to explore the way in which these links are formed, experienced and maintained. Because of the tendency for research to focus either on the experience or motivation of tourists or the perceived impacts of tourism on residents, our knowledge of host-guest interaction in cities is rather underdeveloped. There is certainly room for more research on the contexts and forms of encounters through which people come into contact with each other, and in particular how new technologies are facilitating new forms of exchange. The growth of new intermediaries in urban tourism is obviously a key area of interest, particularly as such intermediation seems to be occurring on an informal basis, outside the traditional economic channels. There is ample scope for both quantitative and qualitative research on these issues, in order to gauge the scale of conventional versus new modes of contact as well as the meanings attached to these encounters by different groups.

Some groups within the city are also positioning themselves as key conduits of creative exchange in cities. For example, students and other mobile groups can act as attractors of tourists and pioneers of place-based development. Creative entrepreneurs often play an important role in developing the creative spaces that attract creatively-interested visitors, and these in turn play an important role in creative regeneration of the city. It would be extremely interesting to map the 'hotspots' emerging in different cities, and to link these to conventional patterns of tourism. In this way the effectiveness of such 'new' forms of tourism in spreading tourism flows and opening up new destinations could be charted and analysed.

The growing links between tourism and the creative industries could be explored, particularly where interesting crossovers are beginning to emerge. There is already quite a body of research on specific sectors such as film and gastronomy, but other sectors, such as media, advertising, design, architecture and fashion are still relatively unexplored. Broadening our knowledge of such crossovers is important in the context of developing policy frameworks, such as the Creative Europe strategy being developed by the European Commission, the UNESCO Creative Cities network, the Creative Tourism Network and the interest shown in the creative industries and tourism by the OECD.

Relatively little is known about the economic impact of creative forms of tourism, even though this is often assumed to be greater than many conventional forms of tourism. Measuring economic impacts may be complex in a field that is increasingly dominated by informal encounters, but surveys of visitors to 'creative' destinations or providers of creative services may prove fruitful.

Little is currently known about the image impacts of creative forms of tourism in cities, even though this is often one of the key drivers for creative development strategies. The extent to which creative experiences help to develop a 'cool' or 'hip' image for a city is interesting to explore in the light of claims made by Florida (2002) and other creative development

advocates. Does having a creative image help to overcome urban decay and degradation? Do creative forms of tourism help to develop an attractive image of the city as a whole, or do they just help to improve the image of specific 'hotspots'? Do members of the creative class select the cities they visit on the basis of their creative image?

The role of 'field configuring events' (Lange, 2006) in attracting and developing different forms of tourism is worthy of further exploration. To what extent do such events act as important hubs in global creative networks, attracting the movers and shakers who are important in influencing opinions about places? Can such events help to support local creativity, drawing down the financial and knowledge streams operating at global level in the 'space of flows' to the local level of the 'space of places'? How do such events position themselves relative to the local creative 'scene' in the city, as opposed to the global competitive framework of comparable events?

The current economic crisis has placed an important emphasis on the development of new business models in the creative sector. Cultural and creative events and attractions are all having to reinvent themselves in order to replace dwindling sources of public funding. This is facilitating the development of new transversal economic linkages and is stimulating many cultural operators to reposition themselves in the value chain. Tourism is often seen as one of the important means of creating and capturing value for the cultural sector, and this role is likely to become more important in future. There will be many new research opportunities in identifying and analysing the new hybrid creative-tourism business models, and looking at their impact on the wider urban economy.

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