Designing creative places: The role of creative tourism

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ARTICLE INFO

ABSTRACT

Creativity has become a strategy in the making of places, with cities and regions seeking to increase their attractiveness to the creative class, support the creative industries or to become 'creative cities'. We examine how creativity has been utilised in placemaking in tourism destinations through different design strategies. A shift in theoretical focus from creative individuals towards creative districts or places is noted, in line with the developing field of creative placemaking. Case studies of creative development indicate strategies need to be sensitive to local context, and follow some basic design principles. Creative placemaking includes consideration of resources, meaning and creativity, driven by clear vision, enabling participation, leaving space for creative expression and developing a coherent narrative.

Introduction

There is much discussion about how to stimulate processes of urban and rural regeneration, particularly in ways that support the symbolic economy (Zukin, 1995). Culture and creativity have taken a central role in such debates, and tourism has become an important tool in the implementation of creative strategies. Cultural tourism has been stimulated by the development of cultural heritage, which in turn is often supported by the income from tourism (OECD, 2009). Creative development also articulates with cultural tourism as a means of animating and adding value to heritage locations.

The development of cultural and creative tourism is part of a general shift towards developing attractive places for people to live in, work in and visit (OECD, 2014). Many cities and regions have positioned themselves as 'creative' in recent years, and the 'creative city' has become a UNESCO designation. But there are increasing criticisms of predominantly top-down models of creative development, such as Richard Florida's concept of the 'creative class' (Peck, 2005).

Creative development strategies link with tourism because a 'creative atmosphere' makes places attractive, not just for the creative class, but also for others. However, attraction-based strategies are associated with gentrification, exclusion and serial re-production, causing places to lose the very distinctiveness that they seek to develop (Ashworth & Page, 2011). This suggests a need to design creative places better, to ensure that they retain their creativity and distinction. Can the design process be guided through top-down planning initiatives, or is sustainable creative development best stimulated through grass-roots, endogenous processes? (Braun, Kavaratzis, & Zenker, 2013).

This paper examines the developing relationship between tourism and creativity, and identifies some basic design strategies that support more successful creative development initiatives by integrating insights from creative tourism with the emerging field of creative placemaking. Firstly, we review different development models, tracing the shift from creativity conceptualised as an attribute of individuals towards relational approaches emphasising the role of interaction and place. We then examine 'creative placemaking' as an approach to experience design, exemplified by tourism-based cases. Finally, we outline design strategies for

developing creative experiences in tourism. The paper contributes to the analysis of the changing context of tourism production and consumption, in which creativity is essential in the value creation process.

The growing links between tourism and creativity

Growing articulation between tourism and creativity has been encouraged by the search for alternative models of tourism development and the expanding creative economy (Long & Morpeth, 2016; OECD, 2014). Adding creativity to tourism has become a common diversification strategy, particularly in the field of cultural tourism. Developing new events and festivals, regenerating old buildings and adding animation to static attractions have become commonplace. Turok (2009) argues that places are seeking quick ways to make themselves distinctive in the global economy, and they are increasingly turning to the creative industries for help. As Della Lucia and Trunfio (2018:36) argue "Iconic architecture and events are currently among the most important cultural catalysts used to revamp urban identity, increase vibrancy and attract creative people and tourists."

Such developments often depend on the mix of assets, knowledge and skills underpinning the creative economy, particularly in sectors such as architecture and design. Creativity has also been widely applied to tourism facilities, such as 'design hotels', iconic museums, art galleries and wineries (Richards, 2011). The OECD (2014:7) has identified "a shift from conventional models of heritage-based cultural tourism to new models of creative tourism centred on contemporary creativity, innovation and intangible content."

Many aspects of creativity and contemporary culture now fall under the UNWTO (2018: 13) definition of cultural tourism, which includes "arts and architecture, historical and cultural heritage, culinary heritage, literature, music, creative industries and the living cultures with their lifestyles, value systems, beliefs and traditions." This suggests significant integration of the creative economy and cultural tourism. UNWTO research shows that 81% of National Tourism Administrations consider 'contemporary culture and creativity' (film, performing arts, design, fashion, new media, etc.) as part of cultural tourism (UNWTO, 2018).

The growing symbiosis between tourism and creativity means tourism benefits from added symbolic value generated by creativity, and the creative economy benefits from greater tourist activity. This relationship has spawned what Richards and Wilson (2006) characterised as creative spaces, creative spectacles and creative tourism. Creative spaces include the growing number of spatial clusters that bring together creative producers and artisans to provide creative environments for tourism consumption (Marques & Richards, 2014). In China clusters such as the 798 Art Zone in Beijing attract millions of visitors a year, including many international tourists (Sepe, 2019). Creative spectacles include buildings designed by global 'starchitects' such as Frank Gehry, and shows staged by organisations such as Cirque du Soleil. Creative tourism began as a concept related to small-scale courses and workshops showcasing the creativity of the destination (Richards & Raymond, 2000), gradually expanding into a wider range of experiences encompassing informal learning situations and encounters (Richards, 2017). This expansion led the OECD (2014:14) to define creative tourism as a convergence of tourism and the creative economy generating "knowledge based creative activities that link producers, consumers and places by utilising technology, talent or skill to generate meaningful intangible cultural products, creative content and experiences."

Empirical studies of creative tourism experience are also now giving indications of the important elements of design. For example, Tan, Kung, and Luh (2013) studied 'Creative Life Industry' sites in Taiwan, finding that creative experiences consist of novelty, usefulness, controlled risk, experiential and existential dimensions. Also in Taiwan, Lee (2015) studied learning experiences at parasol umbrella shops. Surveys showed that emotions and creative experience are positively related, and that creative experiences lead to a high level of intention to re-visit. In Vietnam, Ta and Yang (2019) studied ceramics workshops, and found arousal and memorability positively affected recommendation. Such studies indicate that creative experiences are strongly related to novelty, learning, memorability, arousal and interaction, and that creativity can engender more engagement and therefore produce positive outcomes.

However, the growing articulation between tourism and creativity has also generated critique. Long and Morpeth (2016:2) highlight the need for a "critical, theoretically informed approach to the study of creative tourism policy and practice". They identify 'problematic and controversial aspects' of the concept, including the loose application of the term 'creative', debates about the nature of creativity and the creative industries becoming a contested domain of public policy. Korstanje, George, and Echarri Chavez (2018) also argue that there is a 'dark side' to creative tourism, which they see as supporting low-cost projects overcome the financial crisis. They also argue that only larger cities can benefit from the concept, tending to reinforce the status quo.

Creative tourism can also be problematic for host communities, allowing tourists to penetrate even further into daily life (Richards, 2018). The creative tourist is on your street, in your living room, and even in your kitchen, as Bell (2014) shows in the case of cooking classes in Bali. Blapp and Mitas (2019) also show that such developments in rural villages may produce the very type of 'serial reproduction' (Richards & Wilson, 2006) it was supposed to counteract. There is a need to remain critical about the creative tourism concept, and not to treat it as a cure-all.

The following sections review models of creative development and consider their application in different contexts. The basic research and management questions we address are: how can places be designed to be more creative, and what is the role of tourism in stimulating creative development?

Perspectives on creative development

The growth of creative development strategies is linked to a 'creative turn' in public policies and academic analysis since the 1990s (Richards, 2011). This turn was linked to the rise of the creative industries, first promoted by the UK Department for Culture,

Media and Sport (DCMS, 1998). The creative industries became an engine for the growing symbolic economy, while supporting national and regional distinctiveness. The development of the creative industries intensified with publication of Richard Florida's *Rise of the Creative Class* in 2002. Florida suggested that by attracting creative people, cities would enjoy higher economic growth.

Florida's work challenged prevailing economic theory, arguing that people were not attracted by cities with industry, but rather that business would be drawn to cities with talented people. Cities with a creative atmosphere would be most attractive to the 'creative class', or people working in science, engineering, education, computer programming and research. Florida's ideas have been criticised for being elitist, and encouraging neoliberal policies, although there is empirical backing for the link between Florida's basic indicators of creativity (Technology, Talent and Tolerance) and economic growth (Rutten & Gelissen, 2008). Whiting and Hannam (2014) also found that Florida's creative class are highly likely to engage in creative tourism, using travel to find inspiration and new ideas.

Further impetus for creative development came with studies of specific creative clusters (Evans, 2009) or the development of 'creative cities' (Pratt, 2010). Clusters of creative businesses, such as Shoreditch in London, Maboneng in Johannesburg or the Bairro Alto in Lisbon have subsequently been promoted as tourist attractions (Marques & Richards, 2014). Mommaas (2004) and Evans (2009) analysed the factors influencing the growth of such clusters, particularly in terms of governance. Such detailed case studies of creative districts produced a more place-based and contextualised picture of their development. This work has begun to answer Jakob and Van Heur's (2015:357) call to pay more attention to how local actors have appropriated and used the concept of creativity.

In particular Sacco and Blessi's (2007) model of 'creative districts' responds to this call by disassembling the different forms of capital involved in the development process. They argued that policies should not only aim to increase place attractiveness, but also support capacity building and competitiveness. In terms of attractiveness, Sacco and Blessi utilise Florida's (2002) work, arguing that attracting and retaining talent is a challenge for all places. They also add capacity building, emphasising knowledge production and building the social fabric of places. Finally, they argue places need to develop competitive advantage. They incorporate these elements into an endogenous growth model based on investment in culture and human resources. The Sacco and Blessi model gives a very comprehensive picture of the different forms of capital utilised, but it does not address the dynamics of change within the creative system.

Della Lucia and Trunfio (2018) proposed a more dynamic model of urban development, integrating urban governance and the hybridisation of heritage through creativity, arguing that both shape cultural regeneration processes. They argue creativity helps to secure the engagement of community stakeholders in the regeneration process. The design of experiences is seen as central to development strategies, linking the need to attract people (new residents and tourists) and the desire to add value to existing assets (to build competitiveness). Their work also emphasises that the design of experiences relies on co-creation, or co-design between tourists and experience producers. Tourists increasingly seek more active participation in their experiences and more meaningful contact with local people (Russo & Richards, 2016). Della Lucia and Trunfio (2018), see these developments as central to the design of tourist experiences in creative cities. The work of Sacco and Blessi (2007) and Della Lucia and Trunfio (2018) illustrates a shift towards greater local embedding of such development models, towards more bottom-up design approaches and towards co-creation of experiences. Such new modes of tourism development, as Huijbens and Jóhannesson (2019) argue, require a more relational view of tourism, seeing actors as part of wider networks, and destinations as places.

A more embedded consideration of creative design is therefore emerging. There is a general shift from seeing creativity as general productive activity or industry, towards the collective creativity of groups of people, cities and districts, and finally places. Arguably, creativity and tourism have become more closely linked as more place-based analyses of creative development have emerged. In the following section we consider the growing links between creative development and placemaking.

Creative placemaking

Although creativity itself is essentially footloose, value creation in the contemporary economy is closely bound to place. This is clear in experiences such as music tourism, film tourism, gastronomic tourism, design tourism and architectural tourism, in which tourists use global frames of reference to consume local creativity (Long & Morpeth, 2016). Placemaking is not new, stemming largely from the work of Jane Jacobs (1961), but it has taken on new meanings in recent years. Wyckoff (2014) identifies 'standard placemaking', as well as strategic and tactical varieties. There is now a particular vogue for 'creative placemaking', which Markusen and Gadwa Nicodemus (2010:3) characterise as a process to:

> "strategically shape the physical and social character of a neighborhood, town, tribe, city, or region around arts and cultural activities. Creative placemaking animates public and private spaces, rejuvenates structures and streetscapes, improves local business viability and public safety, and brings diverse people together to celebrate, inspire, and be inspired".

The key design elements of this strategy were later distilled by Richards and Duif (2018: 79–81) as inspiration, selection, providing structure, mobilizing people and resources, giving these meaning and finally using creativity to bring everything together. This approach has been applied in many locations (Gadwa Nicodemus, 2013; Markusen & Gadwa Nicodemus, 2014), although there has been criticism of the narrow focus of this approach, which can generate "philanthropic routes to gentrification" (Wilbur, 2015).

In attempting to develop a wider approach to placemaking, Richards and Duif (2018) consider *Small Cities with Big Dreams*. Lorentzen and van Heur (2012) argue that small cities find it hard competing with larger 'supercities' such as London and New York (Florida, 2017). Richards and Duif's (2018) analysis is based on Lefebvre's spatial triad, and maps the practice of placemaking onto Shove's dynamic model of practices (Shove, Pantzar, & Watson, 2012), envisaging a placemaking practice consisting of the interplay of resources (concrete space), meaning (lived space) and creativity (conceived space). This combination encompasses the view of

Sacco and Blessi (2007) that the design of places should consider the use of endogenous and exogenous resources. It also implies that these resources need to be given meaning through use and representation, as suggested by Della Lucia and Trunfio (2018).

The placemaking model proposed here encompasses the resources provided by different forms of capital (as described by Sacco & Blessi, 2007) as well as the meaning implied by the co-creation and local embedding processes outlined by Della Lucia and Trunfio (2018). It adds two important elements: the recognition of creativity as an important catalyst for 'making things happen' (Bærenholdt, 2017) and the introduction of programming as a development tool. Programming is conceived of as "a relational device that links stakeholders in the city and beyond to a series of actions that together are designed to produce beneficial effects" (Richards & Duif, 2018: 48). Placemaking is therefore open to bottom up and top down strategies, contrasting with the more formal governance approach of Della Lucia and Trunfio (2018). Opening the placemaking process to tactical, emergent influences aligns the model more closely to creative placemaking. It also means that creativity is not restricted to the specific districts designated by governments or those inhabited by the creative class.

The model also extends the operationalisation of the concepts of resources, meaning and creativity. Richards and Duif's (2018) concept of resources closely follows Sacco and Blessi's (2007) notion of different forms of capital to include endogenous tangible and intangible assets as well as external assets accessed through collaboration and networking and developed through capacity building. In terms of meaning, we link to Harrison and Tatar's (2008) idea of place meanings being generated through the combination of people, events and loci. Loci (or localities) attain meaning through a continual flow of people and events, which can be designed through programming. This linkage of civic resources to produce meaning also requires creativity. Following Long and Morpeth's (2016) advice to better ground concepts of creativity, we adopt Montuori's (2011) precept that creativity is no longer the preserve of the talented individual, but a ubiquitous, collective and relational process.

Creative development can therefore be seen as a system of co-creation, which requires the collaboration of all those involved in visiting, using and living in a place (Richards & Marques, 2018). Della Lucia and Trunfio (2018) illustrate this principle with the example of The Farm Cultural Park in Favera, Italy, which provides a mix of art exhibitions, artist residencies, co-working spaces and cooking experiences. The owners of this space had the vision of creating "a better future and a more desirable place to live" through collaborative design and management. The aim is to increase the value of material and immaterial resources by giving them new meanings through creativity – mirroring the three elements of placemaking described by Richards and Duif (2018).

A placemaking perspective on creative development has important implications for tourism. Tourists become essential actors in the co-creation of place, re-negotiating meanings of place that attract them. The 'placing' of creativity in concrete local contexts, rather than seeing it as a global panacea, permits more balanced approaches integrating top-down and bottom-up initiatives, as Della Lucia and Trunfio (2018) suggest.

Designing creative tourism

This section outlines the use of creative placemaking as a design strategy through cases drawn from a range of locations (Thailand, the Netherlands, Brazil and Germany) illustrating the effects of programmes with different design strategies and governance mechanisms (Della Lucia & Trunfio, 2018). The cases act as heuristic illustrations of placemaking principles, with particular attention paid to how the resources, meaning and creativity elements in the placemaking model of Richards and Duif (2018) are unfolded to stimulate tourism. These cases are presented in order of increasing geographic scale, from rural areas through small cities to larger cities and finally to major conurbations, highlighting differences between settings that are supposedly rich in creative resources (larger cities and conurbations) and those that arguably suffer from a lack of such resources (smaller towns and villages). By highlighting concrete contexts of creativity, we hope to respond to Jakob and Van Heur's (2015) plea for more embedded consideration of development processes.

Rural areas

Thailand has positioned itself as 'the first creative tourism destination in Asia' (Wattanacharoensil & Schuckert, 2016). In 2011, the Designated Areas for Sustainable Tourism Administration (DASTA), started creative tourism programmes (Songserm & Wisansing, 2014) providing experiences for tourists in rural villages. Appreciative inquiry and participatory learning techniques were used to demonstrate how local communities could develop tourism and co-create experiences with visitors. Local facilitators and community-based organisations supported the development of creative tourism and researchers were engaged as observers to distil design principles, enabling the concept to be transferred to new areas. Wisansing and Vongvisitsin (2019: 122) argue that this approach reflected a change in focus, "from a macro and top-down imposition of what well-being, sustainability, and quality of life should look like for communities, to a bottom-up approach that emphasises democratic participation and empowerment in the development of locally significant understandings of the community's own well-being and its measurement."

DASTA is a public sector organisation charged with supporting community-based initiatives. The creative tourism programme was therefore firmly orientated towards community-based design principles, including engaging communities in co-creating best practices; community capacity building; creating local pride and self-sufficiency; developing new ways to work across the tourism value chain; and empowering leaders to share the community-based tourism approach. Enabling the community to monitor the achievement of sustainability and quality of life goals, helped to develop a qualitatively better local economy, rather than a bigger one. Communities can identify and limit leakages, for example by using more local produce in creative gastronomic experiences. Wisansing and Vongvisitsin (2019) identify a range of benefits from this model of tourism development, including

- Increased diversity (50% of team leaders are women)
- Retaining the younger generation in the villages with new business opportunities.
- Sourcing from local producers creates backward economic linkages, stimulating agriculture and local food production.
- Gastronomic trails incorporate local food foraging, cooking classes, and ancillary services, reducing economic leakages.

The design principles of creative tourism experiences were further elaborated in the *Creating Creative Tourism Toolkit* (Richards, Wisansing, & Paschinger, 2019), which uses experience design to enable local communities to expand their tourism offerings. It outlines an experience design model based on content development, conceptualisation and enrichment. Content development stimulates local communities to utilise artistic and storytelling skills to develop engaging and participative experiences. These encourage residents to think about their own culture and assets, also considering the view of the outsider. Conceptualisation of the experience includes engaging the five senses in the development process, and providing spaces and a flow of activities to allow for creative expression. The experience can then be enriched through co-creation and innovation of new experiences between tourists and locals.

On a national level the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) developed a tourism programme entitled *Discover the Other You*, aimed to raise awareness of Thailand as a destination where people could discover their creative potential. This dovetailed with national government policies to support the creative industries, and with attempts to underline the uniqueness of Thai culture through the promotion of 'Thainess' (Richards, 2017). Wattanacharoensil and Schuckert (2016) note that creative tourism was not mentioned specifically in the national plan, although support was broadly implied. However, they also signal a lack of understanding of the concept, which has hampered efforts to disseminate these new tourism practices.

Issues in the design of rural creative tourism experiences were also signalled by Blapp and Mitas (2019), who analysed programmes in rural Bali, Indonesia. They found that there was a danger of serial reproduction in small villages where the basic creative resources (usually based on agricultural lifestyles) were very similar, and the experiences tended to differ relatively little from a tourist perspective. The uniqueness of such places is often perceived more easily by the local than the visitor. Blapp and Mitas also found that spontaneous activities from the locals' everyday lives may be perceived as more authentic by tourists than experiences that have been purposefully designed.

Small cities

Smaller cities lack the critical mass of creative producers to support significant economic activity and social networks (Lorentzen & van Heur, 2012). Indeed, the experience of small cities that have tried to copy the development models of larger 'creative cities' has largely been negative (Lewis & Donald, 2010). Richards (2019) argues that creative tourism can be a particularly useful strategy for small places, because it is based on personal interaction, one-to-one contacts between tourists and locals and depth of place experience.

The small city of 's-Hertogenbosch (Den Bosch) in the Netherlands has used creativity to put itself on the global map (Richards & Duif, 2018). Although the city has an attractive historic centre, it struggled to develop a distinct image and to inject more creativity into a static heritage tourism offer. As the birthplace of the famous medieval painter Hieronymus Bosch, the city should be a leading art tourism destination. However, Den Bosch previously ignored this option, because Bosch's paintings are spread around museums in Europe and the United States – a lack of physical resources that undermined the meaning of the painter for the city. But in 2006 the city decided to develop a programme of events commemorating the 500th anniversary of Bosch's death in 2016, taking on a major challenge to reunite his oeuvre in the city. This was achieved through the Bosch Research and Renovation Project, which paid for the analysis and restoration of paintings held by other cities. Participation in the project had a catch, because it was linked to loaning the paintings for a major exhibition in Den Bosch. This strategy was so successful that the exhibition eventually managed to gather 17 of the 25 surviving paintings, and attracted over 420,000 visitors, a feat described as 'achieving the impossible' by the *Guardian* newspaper. The city is now busy developing the creative leverage of the event by turning itself into a knowledge hub on medieval art. This development was supported by a raft of smaller projects, including the Bosch Dinner cooking competition between different neighbourhoods, and the Bosch Parade, a floating artistic display on the river around the city centre. These were successful in bringing people together and building social cohesion as well as attracting many tourists.

Lorentzen (2012) illustrates similar principles in her analysis of tourism development strategies for small Danish cities. For example, in the small northern city of Frederikshavn, hit by the closure of its shipyards, experience development through events and creative programmes produced significant growth in tourism. The vision of the Mayor was important in supporting this approach and sustaining the development programme over a long period of time. An important principle was collaboration, rather than competition: "Taking unconventional approaches leads to the creation of something special. When we work together, across all kinds of boundaries, we can achieve things that we could never accomplish alone." (Freire-Gibb & Lorentzen, 2011: 165). Fisker (2015) also describes important experiential transformations in the city, including resources (new creative spaces), adding meaning (repositioning the shipyard city to the host city), and institutional creativity (establishing an organisation to develop events).

Large cities

Larger cities have often followed the creative city model of urbanists such as Richard Florida (2002), developing similar strategies, or bidding for global designations, such as the UNESCO Creative City title (Marques, 2019). Many creative city programmes are developed in a top-down fashion, with the civic authorities taking the lead in framing the city as 'creative' and designating

specific creative sectors or districts for development. But they can also include grass roots elements.

For example, the north-east Brazilian city of Recife has recently launched a campaign to position itself as Recife Capital of Creativity. The claim to this self-appointed title is based on a number of distinctive activities, including the local variety of Carnival celebrations and the *Frevo* dance and musical style that this generated. Marques and Borba (2017) examine the Recife Playtown programme, which is injecting creativity into neighbourhoods through the device of play. The concept of the 'playable city' (Nijholt, 2017) brings stakeholders together to enable residents and visitors to connect with the city and each other through play. This playfulness is linked to the smart city concept through the use of digital technologies and big data (Trinchini, Kolodii, Goncharova, & Baggio, 2019), but mixed with analogue interventions using small-scale design workshops and the development of physical prototypes.

Playtown Recife is co-ordinated by Porto Digital (Digital Port), a technology hub comprising 300 companies. The programme has involved local people and visitors in the development of the old city of Recife through strategies designed to change behaviour, engage people and break routines (Playtown Rec, 2019). An initial 'hackathon' with local stakeholders generated creative development ideas, from which seven were selected and developed into prototypes through a month-long 'Immersion Lab'. These prototypes were deployed in public spaces, enabling residents and tourists to discover the city through play. Installations included aquatic pathways, fortune-telling bus stops, poetry reading sculptures, an interactive toy based on the Frevo dance and 'emotional furniture' designed to translate the feelings of users through lighting displays. These were means to bring people together, add new layers of meaning to existing city infrastructure, and opening up new ways of experiencing culture for all. Marques and Borba (2017) argue that playfulness is particularly useful as a development strategy for creative tourism, because play increases engagement for local stakeholders and creates new understandings of place, providing a basis for tourism experiences.

Recife also coordinates the Brazilian National Network of Creative Tourism (RECRIA), which claims it has "contributed to the integration of people, places and tourist experiences throughout Brazil, where co-creation, enchantment and social inclusion represent its guiding principles." (RECRIA, 2019). RECRIA projects in Recife include a Carnival-themed bike tour, cultural activities linked to Frevo and the Bomba do Hemetério cultural centre, percussion workshops and local gastronomy experiences. There are also year-round Carnival experiences, enabling visitors to participate in dance and music rehearsals and make decorations as temporary members of a Carnival association. The Creative Tourism Programme included workshops and seminars in which local people and association members were invited to develop and test different concepts. Over 900 people attended more than 20 events, which helped to develop potential experiences in design and fashion, street art, music, popular culture, literature, technology and gastronomy. These activities frequently used the old city centre as a backdrop, taking in different elements of the streetscape created for the Playable City.

Creative regions

The Nordrhein-Westfalen region in Germany makes extensive use of the creative industries to attract tourists. The #Urbanana project was launched with support from the European Union in 2017 to position the Nordrhein-Westfalen region as a "destination for the urban lifestyle and scene". The programme uses music, fashion, and literature to create a more desirable image for this former industrial region, to attract creatives and to build its creative capacity. '#Urbanana' is the name given to the "banana-shaped urban jungle that extends from the Ruhr Area and Düsseldorf to Cologne", encompassing many major cities in western Germany. This provided a gritty background for creativity in many different fields and produced emblematic bands such as Kraftwerk and CAN.

The #Urbanana website promises visitors "Together with the creative community, we come up with a network of ideas for your bucket list" (Nordrhein-Westfalen Tourism, 2019). These ideas include urban art, media art, international literary festivals, networking events such as the Night Economy Conference in Mannheim, gamification events, co-working spaces and debates. Many of the strands of this ideas network come together in the New Fall Festival in Dusseldorf, staged annually since 2011. This festival combines music performances in unusual venues with debates, panels and readings. There is a music sampler series aimed at children, and debate themes include "What does pop have to do with politics?" and "Do artists have a duty to deal with the political aspects of their music?"

Design is an important theme of the experiences offered in the #Urbanana: "For the astonished visitor, state of the art and a stubborn unwillingness to change result in a high-contrast snapshot of a transformation that is more exciting than some high-polished urban veneer" (Nordrhein-Westfalen Tourism, 2019). This is also a relational creative atmosphere: "the open, creative spirit is above all transferred from person to person: in thousands of small shops and at festivals ranging from ….. sustainable design to process, and from Robodonien (robot art festival) …. at maker fairs, barcamps and in repair cafés" (Nordrhein-Westfalen Tourism, 2019). There is a particular "post-tourist" take on authenticity, adapted for the creative turn (Russo & Richards, 2016):

> "Not everything is fantastic here, and that's not what #urbanana attempts to portray. #urbanana itself cannot be authentic, but it aims to bring you into contact with people who love and co-design their urban area and who can tell you in all sincerity why you should definitely come back for another visit."

> (Nordrhein-Westfalen Tourism, 2019)

The post-tourist storytelling of #urbanana enables tourists to read the urban landscape and decipher its content. This is particularly important in major conurbations rich in creative resources, where local creativity has to be made visible, and where stories also serve to weave different resources into a new identity for the region.
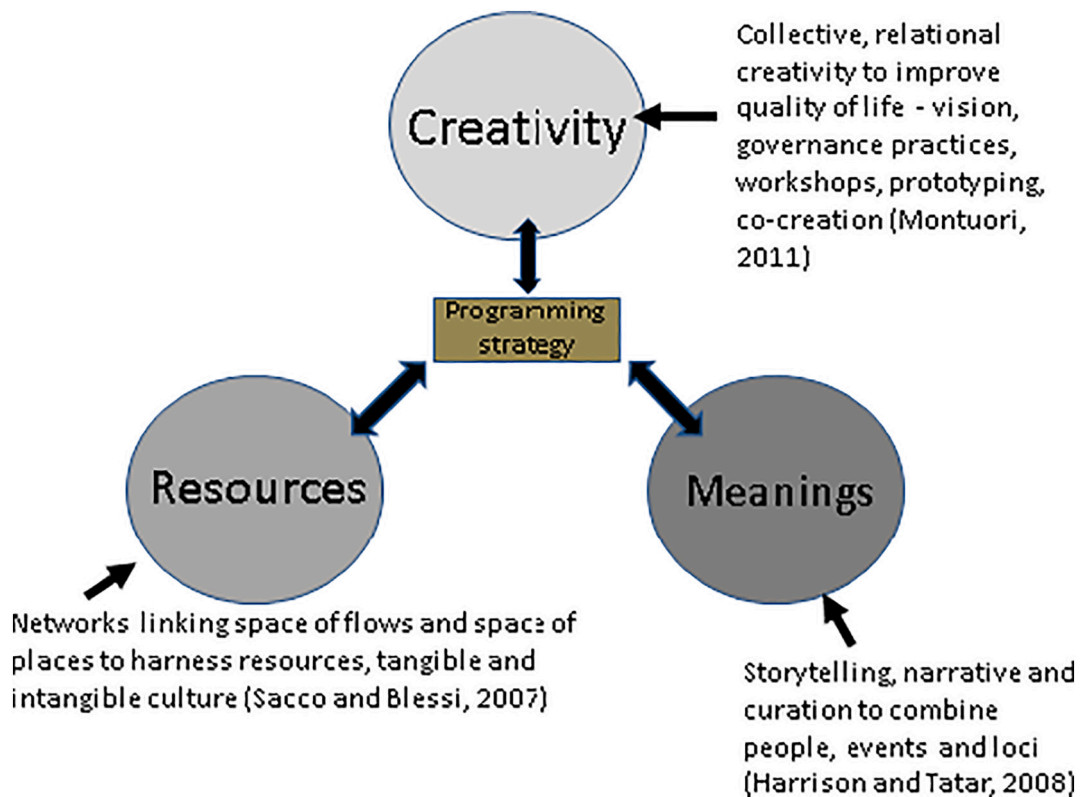
Fig. 1. A summary of basic design principles for creative placemaking.

Discussion

The cases unfolded in the previous section indicate a number of strategies to make places more creative and to develop tourism. Fig. 1 outlines the elements of this placemaking model, in which the basic elements of resources, meaning and creativity are combined through programming to improve the quality of place. Although this model can be applied to all of the cases examined, each also shows specific traits of locally embedded creativity. The Thai case illustrates how creative tourism can be developed on the basis of relatively limited resources, developing meaning through storytelling and sensory enrichment. The lack of understanding at national level, however, shows that meanings and locally embedded creativity are difficult to transfer between different contexts. In small cities in the Netherlands and Denmark, creativity in the form of a clear vision proved crucial to collaborative generation of resources and giving new local meanings to these resources. New local meanings also ensured broad participation and local support (Della Lucia & Trunfio, 2018), as well as stimulating tourism flows. In the larger city of Recife plentiful creative assets were given new meanings through playfulness, which also provided the inspiration for grass-roots participation and creativity. In this case use was made of intangible assets (such as Frevo and Carnival) to develop tangible interventions in the physical spaces of the city (Marques & Borba, 2017). In the #Urbanana region, meaning was created through storytelling that invited tourists to co-create relational experiences with a network of resources linked to global narratives of the creative industries.

Table 1 provides a review of the main features of the different cases, illustrating how these differ in terms of the elements of creative placemaking as summarised by Richards and Duif (2018). These are presented successively in terms of the preparation of creative development actions (inspiration, selection, structure) and the implementation phase (mobilizing resources, giving meanings and using creativity to links thing together). The comparison of the cases reveals a number of changes in design strategies with increasing geographic scale. These include a shift from more embedded creative resources and networks in rural areas to more footloose forms of creativity in conurbations. The emphasis on creative skills in villages is also replaced by creative knowledge at larger scales, becoming more abstract at the same time. Increasing scale also relates to a shift from local forms of creativity to more cosmopolitan forms, and from spatially determined forms of creativity to more relational forms. In general these trends may equate to a greater availability of resources at larger scales, with whole creative scenes being employed to attract tourists to the conurbation of the Nordrhein-Westfalen region, compared with the emphasis on local crafts and skills which are considered unique to certain villages in Thailand. An important takeaway from this analysis is that creative development strategies are also heavily influenced by the spatial, economic and cultural context. This suggests that the transfer of creative development models from one location to another, as has frequently been the case with concepts such as the creative city or creative class attraction strategies, is problematic. This underlines the need for a more general and flexible model of creative placemaking, such as that outlined in the current paper,

Table 1
Summary of the main features of the different cases of creative tourism.

Context	Preparation phase		Implementation phase			Related literature
	Inspiration	Selection	Structure	Mobilizing resources	Meanings	Creativities	

Context	Inspiration	Selection	Structure	Mobilizing resources	Meanings	Creativities	Related literature
Rural areas (Thailand)	Authenticity, local crafts and 'Thainess'	Community-based discussions and appreciative inquiry.	Top-down policies implemented with community involvement	Local crafts, traditional skills, use of natural products, creativity of individual craftspeople	Community life, relationship to nature, tradition, sustainability	Giving new life to tradition through experience design, improving livelihoods, linking to the tourist economy.	Brouder (2012); Blapp and Mitas (2019)
Small cities (Den Bosch)	Iconic artist as basis for programme development	Artistic Director supported by a team of experts.	Mayor as inspirational switcher, local government funding.	Linking external and internal networks, local knowledge, cultural heritage	Iconic figures, injecting creativity into heritage, using the underdog position relative to bigger cities	Putting the city on the map, linking to the space of flows through collaboration with other cities.	Richards and Duif (2018); Lorentzen and van Heur (2012).
Large cities (Recife)	Distinctive popular culture (Carnival, Frevo)	Hackathons, immersion labs and workshops with a broad range of stakeholders	Public-private collaboration, with involvement of civic groups.	Creative industries, popular culture, neighbourhoods, creative clusters, creative class	Diversity, cultural vibrancy, social cohesion, new urban rituals	Playfulness, new technologies, smart city	Florida (2002); Landry (2012); Richards (2014).
Conurbations (Nordrhein-Westfalen)	Diverse creative scene with strengths in music, media art, street art and literature	Project team with input from individual makers	European Union supported project run by regional government and tourist board	Creative economy, cosmopolitan atmosphere, creative cities	Authenticity related to gritty industrial past, eclectic, idiosyncratic, exploring the urban jungle	Stories as linking devices between the nodes of the conurbation, post-tourism, framing the inauthentic, cultural scenes	Richards and Wilson (2007); Sacco and Blessi (2007); Zukin (1995)

which can be adapted and moulded to the local space of places while maintaining the ability to plug into the global space of flows.

The examples presented here also illustrate the important role of programming as a relational device. This is particularly important in trying to weave coherence between top-down and bottom-up approaches. The examples from Thailand and Brazil in particular illustrate the work required to engage local citizens and tourists in the process of placemaking. Increasing engagement in experience design requires leaving space for people to participate, interact and create. This emphasises the need for 'underdesign' (Ehn, Nilsson, & Topgaard, 2014) of tourism environments. Underdesign allows new ideas to emerge and allows people to express their own creativity, in contrast to the overdesign common in most homogenised tourism spaces (Edensor, 2001).

In all of the cases the design process is also guided by an overall creative vision, which is important in giving meaning to development and supporting local engagement (Richards & Duif, 2018). This moves us beyond the idea of creativity as a strategy to be adopted by places in a search for growth (Wu, Wall, & Yu, 2016) towards an understanding of creativity as a potential for change, transformation and improving the quality of life. Maintaining a broad vision that benefits all place users requires a wide range of local stakeholders, often in the form of a triple or quadruple helix collaboration including public, private, civil and knowledge institutions (Richards & Duif, 2018). Such broad engagement may also help to counteract the challenges of gentrification and commercialisation often identified in creative development (Peck, 2005).

The meaning of such programmes is often provided by storytelling, or narratives that link people, events and loci (Harrison & Tatar, 2008). To engage a wide local audience these narratives should be based in the culture or 'DNA' of the destination (Richards & Duif, 2018). An important first step in the creative process is therefore to review the resources available (Sacco & Blessi, 2007), and to consider how these can be linked to the needs of residents and the desires of tourists. As the creative placemaking movement suggests (Markusen & Gadwa Nicodemus, 2010) an important role can be played by artists and other cultural intermediaries in this process. The experience of the CREATOUR project in Portugal suggests that such intermediaries are not always locals, but people with a cultural interest in the place (Bakas, Duxbury, & Vinagre de Castro, 2019).

Considering the role of tourism in creative development, we can see a trend towards co-creation, in which the tourists become co-producers and co-consumers of experiences. The Thai creative tourism programme uses co-creation as a basic design principle, which guides not just the storytelling aspects of the creative experience, but also the physical design of the experience setting (Wisansing & Vongvisitsin, 2019). The implication of tourists as relative outsiders in the design process helps develop links between the global space of flows and the local space of places, as Fisker, Kwiatkowski, and Hjalager (2019) indicate. This is an important means of securing the external resources that are needed for development, particularly for smaller places (Sacco & Blessi, 2007). At the same time, creative tourism programmes provide support for endogenous resources by increasing interest in local creativity and culture (Brouder, 2019).

Curation is another design process becoming more evident in development programmes, particularly in larger cities and conurbations. The role of the curator is not only to develop a creative story of place, but to highlight particular elements of culture and creativity that are of importance for local and global actors. The experience of the #Urbanana programme shows that cultural icons can act as sources of internal cohesion as well as external attraction. The curation process also allows visitors to 'read' the landscape, and apply their own creativity to developing stories of place.

Developing tourism through storytelling, curation and co-creation may also provide an antidote to the increased determinacy of new technologies, smart tourism and big data (Xiang & Fesenmaier, 2017). Big data are already being used to 'predict' the development of new creative tourism opportunities by the Culture Trip platform (Culture Trip, 2019), and digitally produced or augmented experiences are increasingly common in museums (Grevtsova & Sibina, 2018). But our review suggests that creative experiences are best designed for the relationality and the surprise provided by the unexpected, rather than the predictable. Smart tourism is based on the analysis of past consumption, or a reflection of what Sanders and Stappers (2008) term 'consumptive mindsets'. Simply generating information on past consumption activities, however, is not sufficient to understand behaviour. As Baggio and Moretti (2018) argue, a more human-centred approach based on creativity is needed to make sense of complex patterns of behaviour. Factors such as creativity, flexibility, ethnic plurality, open-mindedness, cosmopolitanism and participation are also essential elements of 'smartness'. Well-designed creative tourism programmes may provide a means of supporting such human-centred smartness.

Implementing these design principles implies new approaches to tourism development, and the need for new intermediaries to guide the creative process. The intangible nature of most creative resources means increased emphasis on design processes. The examples presented here make use of immersive workshops, prototyping, co-creation, appreciative inquiry and curation. A more diverse range of creative tools is also needed to deal with the wider range of actors involved in the development process. The effective integration of these different approaches and tools in the placemaking design process can be guided by the programming process, as suggested in Fig. 1. A well-designed programme should not only integrate the resources, meaning and creative practices of the placemaking system, but will also need new models of governance and participation to ensure that both bottom-up and top-down creativity can be harnessed.

Conclusions

Our review underlines the growing importance of creativity as a development strategy, and more recently as a basis for placemaking. The rise of creative development has stimulated more cities and regions to develop creative tourism strategies, although as a number of commentators have noted, there is less understanding of how creative tourism works on the ground. Our analysis of cases operating at different scales indicates that such developments are highly context-dependent, and there are considerable differences in the design and implementation of programmes according to the scale of the location, connectedness and the available asset base.

The contribution of this paper lies in the application of creative placemaking to tourism development. The holistic placemaking approach provides a theoretical grounding for the design elements of creative tourism (resources, meaning, creativity), as well as introducing the notion of programming as a process that enables things to happen. The cases examined illustrate how, in a range of settings and at different scales, places have gathered and exploited tangible and intangible resources, given them meaning through a range of design tools, and applied creativity to embed these meanings in place and to link the local resources of the space of places with the global space of flows. In each case analysed, the creative placemaking process produces different results, because the design tools adopted and the governance context varies. Another important implication is that by shifting the focus of analysis from tourism destinations to places with tourism, the need to consider a wider range of processes outside the sphere of tourism becomes more evident.

It is clearly important to engage a wide range of actors in the placemaking process, which ideally involves both bottom-up and top-down dynamics. Grass roots involvement is important in activating local assets that will directly benefit local people, whereas more strategic vision is also needed to ensure coherence of the creative programme and avoiding the danger of serial reproduction. As Della Lucia and Trunfio (2018) indicate, development models such as the creative city concept need to be based on a high level of local participation if they are to be effective. Developing meaning to engage a wide range of stakeholders is therefore crucial. In the case of tourism development, the stakeholders also include tourists, who can add flows of knowledge and skills that can help to improve the quality of life in the places they visit, if these can be effectively harnessed.

The combination of creativity anchored in the local space of places and the development of experiences that resonate in the global space of flows is important in ensuring an exchange of ideas and resources between local and global levels (Fisker et al., 2019; Sacco & Blessi, 2007). Collective, relational creativity (Montuori, 2011) is important in developing links between actors and places in order to secure and build the resource base. The cases presented in this paper illustrate how networking and collaboration helps places achieve things that (at least externally) are regarded as 'impossible' in terms of their available resources. The 'surprise' element of achieving beyond apparent capability is also important in building creative experiences, which as Blapp and Mitas (2019) suggest, is often more engaging than traditional planning approaches.

The development trajectory of the models reviewed in this paper also indicates a general shift to placemaking, or more contextualised forms of development. Although placemaking itself is also a contested field, it does seem to offer the possibility of transformations that are more firmly rooted in place. In this sense, creativity becomes not an end in itself, but a means to improving the quality of life for all users of places.

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