CREATIVE TOURISM IN SMALLER COMMUNITIES: PLACE, CULTURE, AND LOCAL REPRESENTATION
Edited and with an introduction by Kathleen Scherf

Creative Tourism in Smaller Communities: Collaboration and Cultural Representation

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Issues arising from overtourism in many of the world's major cities call into question the adage "bigger is better," as do touristic desires for authentic, human-scale immersion in local life, culture, and knowledge. Overtourism accounts for many headlines, and some of these posit an alternate travel experience—for example, Elaine Glusac's 29 August 2019 article in the *New York Times*: "Cooler, Farther and Less Crowded: The Rise of 'Undertourism.' " According to the United Nations World Tourism Organization's (UNWTO) statistics for 2018, the number one consumer trend in tourism is "travel for change: live like a local, seek authenticity and transformation" (5). Overtouristed places are hard-pressed to accommodate this trend, but "undertouristed" places are not. Endogenous community characteristics, tangible and intangible, provide an opportunity for residents and locals to come together to create shared social capital that reverberates in the community. Smaller communities are especially well-suited to hosting tourists who seek connection with the local. While the examples provided in the following chapters fall within most countries' definitions of small or at least medium-size cities, it should be said that population is one way, though not the only way, that we can measure what a "smaller community" is. Such communities might also be viewed as granular—small geographical units bound together by social and cultural networks. These networks are invaluable resources for smaller communities transitioning from a resource-based economy or for places that

are otherwise urgently seeking a lifeline to cultural, social, economic, and ecological resilience. Many struggling communities are geographically peripheral, intensifying their need for rebranding themselves as destinations that appeal to tourists who seek to live like a local, so that the locals can keep living in their own location. The ability to provide a sense of place, created by locals with endogenous resources, opens up the possibility of a tourism that leverages the unique cultural characteristics of *any* place, whatever the size or expressed parameters—as long as there are creative tourists who want to engage with it. This situation presents tremendous and exciting development opportunities for smaller communities.

In these communities, which are often reeling from economic insecurity, the ability to create tourism products and experiences is a key strategy for economic diversification, as so many of the chapters in this volume show. The move to identify, promote, and commodify endogenous cultural assets provides not only a wide field for tourists who seek immersion in local, place-based cultures, but also offers the host community the opportunity to carefully and collaboratively map the tangible and intangible characteristics that define its unique fingerprint on the planet and find creative paths to transition from a resource-based economy to one that harnesses its cultural assets to offer place-based experiences to tourists.

The need to save the smaller community lifestyle is urgent: in 2018, the United Nations reported that 55 per cent of the world's population lives in cities, and it projects that this figure will increase to 68 per cent by 2050 (UN 2018). Urbanization is devastating smaller places, demanding the development of alternate economies in order for them to survive. At the same time, with so many people living in cities, smaller communities have the opportunity to exploit their "smallness" and to become attractive tourist destinations. And in megacities, the necessity to create a sustainable tourism industry often places an emphasis on diverting tourists from core "sights" and into local neighbourhoods.

The authors in this book confirm that, if well-grounded in community-oriented people, plans, policies, and practices, innovative development such as that offered by creative tourism initiatives can be ecologically, socially, economically, and culturally sustainable. This volume collects a variety of perspectives on the relationship between creative tourism and smaller communities in an attempt to highlight the importance of a

collaborative paradigm in culture-led tourism and to analyze how tourism initiatives can access the creative representation of smaller places. The book offers case studies, descriptions, and critiques of the challenges and possibilities of creative tourism in such communities. It illuminates the distinctive realities of tourism initiatives that are mindfully embedded in particular places, provides an international snapshot of research and practice trends in this area from 2016 to 2019, and reflects a growing interest in tourism in smaller places. In 2020, the disastrous effect of the COVID-19 pandemic on the travel and tourism industry highlights the necessary movement from massive to smaller tourism.

While the book's intent is to provide as wide a perspectival canvas as possible, all chapters were selected with the following question in mind: In what ways are creativity and place-based tourism co-engaged to aid sustainable cultural development in smaller communities? The authors were invited to demonstrate a broad understanding of "smaller communities." They tackle the issue of "creativity" through an array of approaches—and in doing so sometimes invoke the work of Richard Florida (2002), acknowledging his theories' awkward fit with smaller communities that do not have the infrastructure to support a creative class. Particularly in towns reeling from various downturns, including the COVID-19 pandemic, harnessing local creativity is more a matter of economic survival than attracting members of the creative class to live in "cool" neighbourhoods in urban centres.[1]

Six general themes about the relationship of creative tourism and smaller communities emerge in the following chapters: (1) the co-creation by visitor and resident of experiences that feature unique local skills and knowledge; (2) the engagement of visitor imagination by participation in tangible or intangible endogenous culture; (3) the generation or regeneration of sustainable cultural development for the host community; (4) the formation of creative networks to offer touristic experiences; (5) the examination of the processes, policies, and methodologies around creative tourism; and (6) the creative representation of smaller communities. Some chapters, depending on their specific topic, develop more than one of these approaches.

The Centrality of Place in Defining Creative Tourism

As Duxbury and Richards (2019) have recently pointed out, creative tourism—the research field produced by the marriage of cultural and experiential tourism—has evolved dynamically since Richards and Raymond (2000) offered the first definition of creative tourism, which described the experience of tourists exercising their own creative potential by actively engaging with the social and cultural characteristics of the destinations they visit. An alternative to the mass consumption of the tangible cultural heritage of a given destination, creative tourism is tied also to intangible knowledge and skills, which, when shared by locals with visitors, provides an authentic experience unique to the place that hosts it. The tangible and intangible characteristics of place, and the experiential integration of the tourist with them, is the core of creative tourism. For the residents of these places, there is an opportunity to engage with visitors to offer place-based experiences. Because they step "outside the confines of the tourist gaze, cultural and creative tourists are engaging their creative skills to develop new relationships with the everyday life of the destination" (Richards 2011, 1233). And as they do, creative tourism reveals that every place has the ability to attract visitors. Every place can create tourism based on its unique characteristics. This simple fact has changed tourism practice and scholarship. More places are now able to compete for a share of an industry eager to offer authentic and personal travel experiences.

Duxbury and Richards (2019) identify four "overlays" to describe the way the study of creative tourism has evolved in the twenty years since the concept was first introduced (4). As they also point out, the rapid take-up of some of the central ideas of creative tourism, such as an embedded sense of place, the transfer of local knowledge and skills, the interaction of locals and visitors, sustainability, and co-creation, as well as the field's inherent interdisciplinarity, has resulted in a situation where "what is referred to as 'creative tourism' may be linked to very different types of creative activities and creative context, and there is no consistent application of the definitions or terminology relating to creative tourism" (5).

In this volume, we understand "creative tourism" to be an experiential subset of cultural tourism that demonstrates four characteristics: (1) it involves the transfer of culture-based, place-specific endogenous knowledge

to the visitor; (2) it includes the experiential participation of the visitor in activities that embody such knowledge; (3) it operates in a collaborative paradigm in some manner; and (4) it demonstrates a longer view beyond the actual tourist experience toward the host community's cultural sustainability. Chapters were selected to represent a range of methodologies and critical approaches that embody this definition, which are enumerated below. First, however, we offer a few words about some of the central concepts in the book: smaller communities, collaborative placemaking, planning processes, identification of cultural resources, and cultural sustainability.

Place and Smaller Communities

We view smaller communities as the smallest geographical unit that can be conceptually bound together by a place-based set of tangible and intangible cultural characteristics that include shared history, heritage, values, traditions, practices, and skills. The residents of a smaller community define its physical and conceptual boundaries. Of course, population size is also relevant. Bonifacio and Drolet (2017) define a "small city" in Canada as having a population under 200,000. In Europe, countries define these communities independently, but mostly small and medium-size urban areas show a population of 5,000 to 250,000 (Eurostat 2018). The communities examined in this volume range from remote, rural settlements to medium-size urban areas. Smaller communities are home to a significant percentage of the national population; for example, according to Statistics Canada, 40.4 per cent of Canadians live in places with a population of less than 99,999 (2016). Eurostat reports the percentage in Europe in 2015 was higher, at 59 per cent (2018). As cited earlier, the UNWTO predicts these per centages will decrease through urbanization.

Greg Richards and Lian Duif (2018) argue that smaller communities may offer many advantages for expressing local culture and embedding creative tourism. Kent Robertson (2001), meanwhile, has enumerated the general features of small cities in the United States, and these features suggest both an attractive alternative to mass tourism as well as a fertile field for connecting with the local culture, because they

- Are human scale, less busy, more walkable;

- Do not exhibit the problems of big cities—congestion, crime, etc.;

- Aren't dominated by corporate presence;

- Lack large-scale flagship or signature projects;

- Have retailing distinguished by independents;

- Aren't subdivided into monofunctional districts;

- Are closely linked to nearby residential neighbourhoods;

- Possess higher numbers of intact historic buildings.

(quoted by Bell and Jayne 2006, 8)

Tourism in global cities also demonstrates the trend toward tourists' engagement with the local, which often translates into connecting with a smaller component of a city.

In *City of Quarters: Urban Villages in the Contemporary City* (2004), David Bell and Mark Jayne argue persuasively for the distinct identity of smaller communities within cities, defined by the daily lives and interests of residents. Some of the communities explored in the following chapters are villages—and sometimes barely that. Some are small and medium-size cities; some are remote, and some are neighbourhoods within a city. The word "smaller" in the volume's title was chosen deliberately because it connotes a sense of measurement against something else; a neighbourhood in a city is a place that is smaller than, and contained by, the larger city around it. Neighbourhoods often replicate the characteristics described by Robertson (2001), and they can respond to Bell and Jayne's (2009) challenge for us to think big about being small. This concept has become very important in urban tourism, especially as more tourists seek that authenticity that is frequently associated with the local (Russo and Richards 2016). A country like Wales is smaller in size and cultural impact than its neighbour, England, for example, and its distinct culture can be a refreshing dive for immersive tourists. Cities are themselves seeking to break down a monolithic concept of how tourists engage with their city, devising strategies to tie visitor experiences to an even more local sense of

place, either to provide a more engaged experience with the everyday life of the place in which residents and tourists can interact and share an intercultural experience that generates a collaborative sense of placemaking, or to disperse numbers of visitors more widely, out of the central tourist areas, so as to distribute the load across the city and ease the stress on central physical, cultural, and social infrastructure.

Copenhagen's tourism organization, Wonderful Copenhagen, has launched the bold "Localhood" campaign as a strong example of the collaborative placemaking strategy. Proclaiming "The End of Tourism as We Know It," Copenhagen's tourism plan to 2020 speaks to "the experience of temporary localhood":

> Today, fewer and fewer [people] want to be identified as tourists. Instead, new generations of travellers seek out experiences that not only provide a photo opportunity, but also get their hands "dirty" and immerse them in the destination. The travellers seek out a sense of localhood, looking to experience the true and authentic destination—that which makes a destination unique. With the increasing number of providers and businesses that tap into the sharing and collaborative business potential, travellers gain increasing access to the local travel experience. (Aarø-Hansen 2017, 5)

In this way, Copenhagen's destination marketing organization hopes to avoid the unsustainable tourism of cities such as Amsterdam and Barcelona, where touristic activity is frequently viewed by locals with approbation, if not outright hostility. Instead, the Localhood campaign asserts that "the delivery of an authentic destination experience depends upon the support of locals, whereas the livability and appeal of our destination—and thereby the advocacy of locals—depends on our ability to ensure a harmonious interaction between visitors and locals" (5).

Barcelona's central infrastructure, particularly in the central barrios of El Gótico and El Raval, cannot support the number of tourists flocking there, and the "livability" factor for locals is severely reduced (Goodwin 2016). Barcelona has officially adopted the practice of un-identifying

visitors as "tourists" or "outsiders," declaring in its *Barcelona Tourism for 2020: A Collective Strategy for Sustainable Tourism* that

> far from being an outside phenomenon, tourism produces the city and, at the same time, the city shapes tourism's possibilities. Tourism is an inherent and constituent part of the current urban phenomenon. Tourism activities must not be seen as something foreign to the city, they are not "out there," but part of its day-to-day activities, intrinsic dynamics, and even daily life. So tourists do not have to be considered passive players "in the city" but rather as visitors with rights and duties "of the city." (Ajuntament de Barcelona Direcció de Turisme [ABDT] 2017, 7)

Like Copenhagen, Barcelona realizes that "the quality of the tourist experience depends on guaranteeing the well-being of the people who live in the city" (16). In order to relieve the pressure on the central tourist district, Barcelona plans to encourage districts outside the centre to develop sustainable tourism plans (30). As Richards and Marques (2018) point out, Barcelona is not alone in attempting to facilitate such distribution: Amsterdam, Rome, Montreal, and Lisbon have various strategies to do the same. Smaller places, smaller communities, are literally well placed to provide more authentic personal experiences for visitors: they are human-scale.

Sustainable Cultural Development as a Theme in Creative Tourism

Creative tourism and its relationship to sustainable development in smaller communities has become a burgeoning area of study, as the following highlights demonstrate. Early in 2019, José Álvarez-García et al. published a bibliographic review on the subject; spring 2019 saw the publication of Duxbury and Richards's *A Research Agenda for Creative Tourism*, which addresses creative tourism and sustainable development in small and rural communities. In the summer of 2019, Patrick Brouder and Suzanne de la Barre, both at Vancouver Island University, were awarded a prestigious Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada grant

for their project Creative Economies: Exploring the Nexus of Culture and Tourism in Rural and Peripheral Canada (Yukon and Northern BC). In October 2019, CREATOUR, which focuses on sustainable creative tourism in small communities and rural areas, held its third international conference on creative tourism in Faro, in the Algarve region of Portugal. And in November 2019, Duke University Press published *Detours: A Decolonial Guide to Hawai'i*, which reimagines tourist engagement with the island state so that endogenous culture is seen and sustained. The current volume, published in spring 2021, provides an international digest of perspectives on and approaches to engaging smaller communities with sustainable creative tourism.

Sustainable development has most famously been defined by the World Commission on Environment and Development in its so-called Brundtland Report as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (1987, 43). As Du Pisani (2006) has pointed out, however, the concept and its definitions were contentiously vague both before and after the publication of the Brundtland Report, also known as *Our Common Future*. The United Nations is more specific: "For sustainable development to be achieved, it is crucial to harmonize three core elements: economic growth, social inclusion and environmental protection. These elements are interconnected and all are crucial for the well-being of individuals and societies" (n.d.).

The rise of the creative economy, and its relation to cultural, experiential, and creative tourism, has placed a spotlight on the role of cultural and creative assets, both tangible and intangible, in culture-led local economic, social, and environmental development initiatives.[2] At a macro level, the UNWTO (2017) has recognized the connection between cultural tourism and the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals; at a micro level, almost every chapter in this volume speaks to the benefits of collaborative placemaking processes that integrate the possibilities of creative tourism in addressing local sustainability issues. As early as 2005, W. F. Garrett-Petts and Lon Dubinsky argued that "economic development and cultural development cannot be effectively separated, especially in a small city. Tourism promotion, for example, can have only limited success if it is not planned in co-ordination with the cultural sector" (10)

And, as many authors in this volume demonstrate, effective development planning is not only a thematically integrated process, but is also a collaborative community practice.

Smaller communities, although often disadvantaged in terms of their ability to offer tangible resources, do have the ability to generate a bottom-up planning process, tapping into their knowledge of everyday life in their place, which in turn can develop attractive creative tourism experiences based on both tangible and intangible resources. The emphasis on arts-based placemaking, of cultural mapping, of searching out the creative skills and knowledge embedded in the host community, and of developing creative experiences in which visitors can learn about and practise these skills, develops shared social capital in the host destination. Like a creative fingerprint, these experiences are unique to the destination, arising as they do out of the genuine and authentic skills and ways of locals, providing a local authenticity that is not as available to a more homogenized urban city brand. The more the interest of tourists and residents are aligned, the more social cohesion and social capital are generated. Creative placemaking, which Greg Richards addresses in his conclusion to this volume, opens a space for creative tourism as a sustainable development tool. A critical strategy to get there, Richards points out, is "harnessing the creative energy of local communities." Host communities can employ various methodologies and demonstrate various expressions of these features of creative tourism, but all of them demonstrate a reliance on creative people and the organizations and networks they build to engage in creative tourism.

How can a community engage in a collaborative process to identify its sources of creativity? Nancy Duxbury, W. F. Garrett-Petts, and David MacLennan's book *Cultural Mapping as Cultural Inquiry* (2015) offers sixteen different approaches to answering that question, using the following idea as a basis:

> Cultural mapping is regarded as a systematic tool to involve communities in the identification and recording of local cultural assets, with the implication that this knowledge will then be used to inform collective strategies, planning processes, or other initiatives. . . . Together, these assets help define

communities (and help communities define themselves) in terms of cultural identity, vitality, sense of place, and quality of life. (2)

Identifying cultural assets is key to deploying creative tourism and encouraging sustainable development. The 2017 conference Culture, Sustainability, and Place: Innovative Approaches for Tourism Development provided a forum for discussion about "the portrayal of people and places." It recognized the importance of identifying critical themes that emerge when local stakeholders use tourism as a method of local sustainable development; art and culture were seen as key to developing meaningful, sustainable tourism that is place-sensitive and contributes responsibly to sustainable local community development. In their placemaking guide for small cities, Greg Richards and Lian Duif (2018) hope to "inspire a new development agenda for the small city" (3). The basics of the placemaking process, they argue, are meaning, creativity, and resources. In particular, they call attention to intangible resources when they write that "In smaller cities immaterial resources are particularly important, because the culture, creativity, and skills available within the city allows them to make better use of the relatively limited means at their disposal" (18).

For smaller communities especially, community-led economic development that involves cultural mapping can help forge a strong relationship between sustainable development and creative tourism. Identifying creative skills and features of lived experience, defining unique aspects of traditional local heritage, tracing creative networks, developing policies that integrate the needs of stakeholders, and connecting residents and visitors are all strategies that can tightly bind creative tourism and sustainable development. The chapters in this book explore those ideas, and have generated the definition of creative tourism we proposed earlier in this introduction.

Methodologies and Approaches

There are many ways to address our central question (In what ways are creativity and place-based tourism co-engaged to aid sustainable cultural development in smaller communities?). No single edited volume can cover enough ground or offer a sufficient number of case studies to exhaust all

possible approaches to this question. We hope, however, that the following chapters will contribute to an understanding of the central question we pose and will generate further study. This volume covers much ground but offers two main approaches to the study of creative tourism: an emphasis on the importance of locally led collaborative placemaking and planning processes in developing sustainable creative tourism enterprises, and the creative representation of place and its role for both the host community and the creative tourist experience in creating cultural capital. These two types of approaches are frequently entwined, and taken together they encompass all the themes embedded in this volume: (1) co-creation by visitor and resident of experiences that feature unique local skills and knowledge; (2) engagement of visitor imagination through participation in tangible or intangible endogenous culture; (3) generation or regeneration of sustainable cultural development for the host community; (4) formation of creative networks to offer touristic experiences; (5) examination of the processes, policies, and methodologies informing creative tourism; and (6) creative representation of smaller communities.

Tourism, Development, Policy: The Collaborative Turn of Creative Tourism

In chapter 1, Nancy Duxbury explains and reflects on the integrated approach of CREATOUR (Creative Tourism Destination Development in Small Cities and Rural Areas), a three-year project that, aligned with Tourismo Portugal's desire to redistribute tourism from Porto, Algarve, and Lisbon, is headquartered at the University of Coimbra's Centre for Social Studies, where Duxbury serves as CREATOUR's principal investigator. CREATOUR's massive undertaking examines, in research and practice, how to build a sustainable creative tourism sector. Forty organizations across the country were selected as pilots to develop creative tourism experiences/products using endogenous resources, both tangible and intangible, in projects designed and implemented by locals. These pilots are connected to university research centres, and together they comprise a research-and-application network linked through an advisory council, conferences, meetings, workshops, and publications. This integrated approach provides a framework for developing tourism products that connect visitors and locals through creative self-expression, develops and

shares best practices, and provides a living laboratory for researchers to study the creation of sustainable cultures and economics in smaller communities through tourism. CREATOUR has recently expanded, adding a branch in the Azores. In one way, we can view this project as a laboratory that conducts experiments and discusses processes and results in close collaboration between research and practice.

In chapter 2, Elisabete Tomaz examines the role of creative activities as drivers of local development, noting that tourism—especially cultural tourism and its close ties to creative tourism—can play an important role in culture-led development. The role of culture in the development of large urban centres is well-documented, and she believes the same dynamic can apply in small and medium-sized cities. She offers five European examples from the Czech Republic, England, Finland, Portugal, and Italy. Tomaz explains how tourism activity has a relevant place in urban development strategies, not only economically but also by highlighting and supporting local identity and culture. The integration of tourists and residents, a defining characteristic of creative tourism, can strengthen local creative and innovative capacity, resulting in a more sustainable development program.

In some ways, the planning process examined in chapter 3 shares the goals of the cases Tomaz examines, except that it highlights a top-down example of tourism planning that is short on local collaboration. Here, James Drummond, Jen Snowball, Geoff Antrobus, and Fiona Drummond use the South African Cultural Observatory Framework for the Monitoring and Evaluation of Publically Funding Arts, Culture, and Heritage (2016) to assess the impact of the Mahika Mahikeng Music and Cultural Festival, which takes place in the capital of South Africa's North West province every December. The role of festivals in local economic development and place- and identity-making is well-documented, as the literature review in chapter 3 shows. As the authors point out, this festival is a government initiative that

> seeks to capitalize on the development potential of the cultural and creative industries and cultural tourism and is linked to the "Mahikeng Rebranding, Repositioning & Renewal Programme" of the provincial government. The goals of the Festival include promoting cultural and heritage tourism;

celebrating artists in the region and nation; repositioning and rebranding Mahikeng and the North West province as a cultural hub; stimulating economic growth; and creating jobs in the music and cultural industries.

Interestingly, the authors' evaluation of the festival indicates that it may be a little *too* rooted in place, as the audience surveys suggest that Batswana regional culture was overemphasized, with 78 per cent of attendees identifying Setswana as their home language. So, while endogenous cultural resources were definitely expressed and shared, the economic impact of attracting "new dollars" from visitors (the neighbouring countries of Namibia and Botswana were targeted) was less successful. While the Mahika Mahikeng Festival did attempt to employ culture-led community economic development in the region, there is little evidence that cultural interactivity was successful in this enterprise. The chapter offers an example of a creative tourism opportunity that was missed, arguably attesting to the importance of the collaborative paradigm and embedding a meaningful relationship with locals in developing creative tourism.

In chapter 4, Suzanne de la Barre illustrates how cultural mapping is essential to the process of placemaking. Using the Yukon as an example, she argues for the necessity of uncovering and using data at the local level to understand the cultural sector, and its relation to creative tourism, in northern peripheral regions. Spatial and cultural representation, including Indigenization, are vital placemaking elements; shared with stakeholders, these elements in turn should inform any policy aimed at development, including tourism. Any creative tourism experiences must be embedded in the information provided by such data. As she explains in her chapter, de la Barre is concerned with "the impact the cultural sector is having on the territory, including contributions to resident quality of life and community well-being, as well as the engagement between the cultural and tourism sectors." Especially in such large but sparsely populated northern areas, the author points to the crucial role of networks in collaborative placemaking processes that consider nature, tourism, funding support, cultural capital, multiculturalism, and Indigeneity. Weaving tangible and intangible community assets through a community-based development plan, including creative networks among the stakeholders, is key to

sustainable development. The provision of creative tourism experiences can be a strategic contribution to the building of resilient communities in economically challenged, peripheral regions with small populations. De la Barre argues that in order to build such sustainable development plans, local data must be mined and considered. Remote northern communities are not only fragile in terms of their physical environments, but also in their social and cultural contexts, given their peripherality, small populations, distance between communities, and, most importantly, threats to Indigenous world views and practices.

We remain in the North for chapter 5, in which M. Sharon Jeannotte examines the issues that arise when tiny and fragile Arctic communities are confronted with mass tourism; she refers directly to the August 2016 entrance of the thousand-person cruise ship *Crystal Serenity* into Canada's Northwest Passage. To this end, her chapter "explores risks to environmental, economic, social, and cultural sustainability in these communities, as well as the complicated relationship between creative practices, cultural tourism, Indigenous/Inuit values and world views, and local planning practices in this part of Canada." Crucially, her chapter also examines "Some of the ethical and practical implications of Inuit/cruise passenger interactions, and explore[s] the adaptive capacities of these communities to cope with larger and more frequent cruise tourism incursions."

Jeannotte's sensitive and broad study of the complicated web of factors that need to be considered in planning and implementing creative tourism in this small community concludes with three strong and well-reasoned recommendations. Especially in the North, visitors and creative tourism providers must work to co-create a sense of place with an "ethic of care for visited places" (Walker and Moscardo 2016, 1246). Jeannotte's chapter calls attention to the consideration of "last chance tourism," particularly its presence in polar destinations as a result of global climate change. Her concerns have been recently and grimly echoed by Groulx et al. in *Annals of Tourism Research* when the authors write that "last chance visitors extract emotional benefit and an enhanced sense of self by developing a connection to a vulnerable, iconic environment, but remain resistant to making decisions that sustain the source of this relationship beyond their individual experience" (Groulx et al. 2019, 210). Jeannotte's chapter speaks

to the necessity of a local collaborative paradigm in developing sustainable creative tourism policy that preserves cultural and natural heritage in fragile smaller communities.

In chapter 6, Jessica Aquino and Leah Burns view creative tourism through the lens of creative resilience in the small village of Húnaþing vestra, a municipality of around twelve hundred inhabitants located in the northwest of Iceland, where the population is slowly declining. Given the size and the peripherality of their location, the residents, as the authors document, have employed creativity as a form of resilience, pushing through the industrialization of the fishing, sheep, and dairy industries and looking toward experiential and creative tourism in order to sustainably develop their community. Aquino and Burns focus on the case of the Icelandic Seal Center, established in 2005 "by a group of locals who recognized an interest in seal-watching tourism but who also wanted to develop sustainable community tourism for Húnaþing vestra." This collaborative planning effort, which not only produced a successful tourism product, but has also served as a community-building, placemaking project, and has led to a revitalization of the entire region. As part of this process, the local creative industries were boosted as stakeholders, stressing the importance of their involvement in this community-based tourism initiative. The authors argue that their chapter showcases a fine example of a sustainable, embedded, and locally developed place-based creative tourism destination.[3]

Creative Expression of Place: The Artistic Turn of Creative Tourism

As Duxbury and Richards (2019) note, not all definitions of creative tourism include specifically artistic interventions and engagement as a necessary condition, but many practices and studies of creative tourism do develop such experiences. The remaining chapters in this volume examine the role of artists in creative tourism, demonstrating how crucial artistic networks are, especially in smaller and geographically dispersed locations, to establishing a sustainable cultural environment that can contribute to economic sustainability, influence policy through culture-led economic development, and, finally, cultivate creative tourism opportunities. Artistic products are tangible expressions of cultural heritage; the

skills and knowledge involved in artistic production are intangible and endogenous aspects of culture that are transferable to visitors, and, when actively sought out by creative tourists, they can energize, regenerate, and strengthen the representation of place identity. In all cases, a process of cultural mapping is seen as a foundational strategy to creative place-making, which Greg Richards explores in the book's conclusion. These chapters in this volume shine a light on the importance of clusters and networking—another vital aspect of the collaborative paradigm in creative tourism.

Culinary arts and their attendant traditions represent place, and they have of course held a prominent position in tourism. As Lee et al. have suggested, food clusters are important constituents of place-based creative tourism in smaller communities (2016). The provision of interactive culinary experiences has become a staple of creative tourism; cooking classes abound. Susan Slocum argues persuasively in chapter 7 that more scholarship is needed on local food tourism as a cultural development tool for smaller communities. Rather than visitors symbolically and literally consuming the local culture through making or just eating its food, regardless of food's role as a signifier of place, Slocum suggests that attention to "foodways"—the cluster or network of activities that involve cultural decisions at every step of the food system—via co-created experiences that allow tourists to explore the culture that produces the food traditions of the region is a key to deploying food tourism as a tool of sustainable development. Her approach is echoed by other scholars, such as de la Barre and Brouder on placing food in the Arctic tourism experience (2013). For example, Sangkyum Kim et al. (2019), in their discussion of Mizusawa udon, suggest that visitors appreciate "the traditional, historical and cultural values attached to the Mizusawa udon noodle as a form of Japanese intangible food heritage. Despite the ordinary nature of udon noodle in the Japanese context, Mizusawa udon noodle holds a unique status associated with foodways of the region's identity which has transformed into a commodity for tourists" (183). Slocum's chapter, likewise, "calls for a broader approach to food tourism studies as a means to reflect on the shared construction of food experiences, and situates that approach as a potential method for creative tourism development and agent of change."

In chapter 8, Kieron Smith, Jon Anderson, and Jeffrey Morgan's cultural mapping project offers a strikingly innovative approach to creative tourism by deep mapping the literary creativity of twelve physical and social spaces in the small nation of Wales. In their chapter, they describe their project, *Literary Atlas: Plotting English-Language Novels in Wales,*[4] an interdisciplinary literary geography project that plots twelve anglophone Welsh novels on a digital map of Wales. The project seeks to use digital technology to engage visitors with the local as it is understood by novelists. The deep map format provides rich content for each novel as well as its location and tangible and intangible heritage. And as the authors explain in their chapter, "alongside this, it has designed an evaluative framework, organizing reading groups and field trips to locations around Wales, encouraging participants—including tourists—to engage with Welsh space and place through the lens of literature, while at the same time evaluating these engagements as potential uses of the *Literary Atlas* website."

The use of digital media as a tool to express the complex process of place creation, and to engage visitors in an authentic sense of the distinctive and unique features of the "place" in a mediated setting, is timely in an age of digitally enabled tourism—especially in Wales, which the authors argue could be seen as a smaller national community, in that its literary heritage is often overlooked in favour of its larger neighbours in the United Kingdom. One section of the *Literary Atlas* website allows users to upload their own five-hundred-word "microfictions," which can be any form of creative literary reflection or relevant photos, by pinning them on a location they select on a digital map. In this way, using the interactive tools offered by digital media, visitors can be part of the collaborative composition of Welsh places. As Clifford McLucas (2000) points out, deep maps create a space in which the professional and the amateur can co-create a place, as they do in the *Literary Atlas* project. Visitors can express, via their literary contributions, their engagement with the small places of Wales. Studies of smart tourism would do well to examine this novel initiative.

In chapter 9 we move from literary creative tourism experiences to film. Christine Van Winkle and Eugene Thomlinson explore the opportunities for the film and television industries to benefit both their projects and the small communities in which they film through creative tourism

planning and development. Their research uncovers three ways in which the film and television industries could collaborate with tourism destination management organizations for mutual benefits in smaller communities, all of which speak to the collaborative paradigm in creative tourism: marketing and communication, advocacy and lobbying, and resource sharing and development. They argue that this development strategy can enhance the rising interest in film tourism: "both film and tourism rely on the communities in which they exist. When community members reap the benefits of film-induced tourism they are more like to offer valued experiences to their guests." Van Winkle and Thomlinson call for collaboration among stakeholders in a community-based planning process, and they underscore the need for cultural mapping to reveal and identify creative clusters that can be leveraged to produce film-related creative tourism. The case studies included in this chapter provide examples of how such collaboration does and does not work. The authors point out that, while most smaller communities presently realize only short-term benefits from most film-related creative tourism, collaboration between industries in a community of creatives can nurture a more sustained creative tourism practice. Van Winkle and Thomlinson end with a strong call for more research into this possibility.

The theme of creative clusters in rural environments is highlighted in chapter 10. Solène Prince, Evangelia Petridou, and Dimitri Ioannides make the point that creativity in relation to economic growth has typically been studied from the point of view of larger cities. By contrast, in their chapter they "offer insights to the development of such arrangements and theories that demonstrate enhanced sensitivity to the nature of creativity and networking in rural areas, especially in light of these regions' peripherality, where reliance on public funding and tourism development are commonly used to counter limited economic and social opportunities." With the decline of primary industries, rural communities have had to reinvent themselves as sites of touristic consumption, relying on the cultural assets they have to attract creative tourists. The authors examine the importance and role of embedded artistic clusters in establishing a strong sense of territorial cohesion and sense of place, especially in local development schemes. They ask: How are creative clusters formed in peripheral places, such as the two small areas in Scandinavia that provide the basis

for their research—the Danish island of Bornholm and the sparsely-populated county of Jämtland in Sweden? How can these clusters contribute to making places that are attractive to residents and visitors? They conclude that artist networks have the potential to enhance life in peripheral locations as creative domains, to enjoy a greater voice in collaborative planning, and to play a significant role in co-placemaking.

Greg Richards concludes the volume with a review of the themes covered in each chapter and a consideration of placemaking and its role in creative tourism in smaller communities. He finds that the small size of the communities examined here can be both a challenge and an advantage. A number of the chapters comment on the comparative manageability of smaller communities, perhaps enabling a smoother collaborative placemaking process. Richards observes that "if a place is good to live in, it will also be good to visit," and he argues for a placemaking mindset based in the emotional connection and meaning of the place for both residents and the visitors that seek to engage with and immerse themselves in a destination's local identity or "sense of place." The "everyday creativity" of the local, Richards argues, is the touchstone for creative placemaking, and the source of creative tourism opportunities in smaller places. Many chapters in this volume reference smaller communities' ability to engage in bottom-up creative placemaking processes, which in turn often spawn creative tourism ideas.

Creative Tourism: Conditions for Sustainable Cultural Development

The volume's chapters, taken together, and in the context of the definition of creative tourism suggested in this introduction, identify five interrelated circumstances that, when present and active, provide favourable conditions that enable creative, place-based tourism to contribute to sustainable cultural development in smaller communities.

First, the host community recognizes and promotes its embedded sense of place, its history, and its tangible and intangible cultural resources, offering the authenticity that creative tourists desire through experiences that provide opportunities for visitors to consciously engage themselves with the endogenous knowledge, skills, traditions, and processes that define the culture of that place. Chapters specifically addressing the

condition of asset recognition include Duxbury on CREATOUR, de la Barre on identifying cultural data, Aquino and Burns on the collaborative creation of the Icelandic Seal Center, Slocum on recognizing local food-ways and developing their creative tourism potential, Smith, Anderson, and Morgan on the cultural mapping process for *Literary Atlas*, and Richards on asset identification and local placemaking, and their role in supporting healthy, vital smaller communities with robust creative tourism opportunities, which in turn feed the cultural well-being of the host community.

Second, creative tourism initiatives are more sustainable and contribute to a resilient culture when cultural assets have been determined collaboratively through a culture- and/or community-led planning process. The recognition of tangible and intangible place-based cultural assets, and the energetic regeneration of the skills and knowledge associated with attracting, involving, and weaving together both residents and visitors, vitalizes and sustains the host destination by highlighting its unique sense of place as reflected in its culture. In her chapter, Tomaz describes how this process has functioned (or not) in small and medium-size urban centres in Europe; both Drummond et al. and Jeannotte take a critical approach to the need for such collaborative planning in their chapters, as does Richards in his conclusion. Van Winkle and Thomlinson show how planning involving stakeholders in the film industry and film locations could open up a more robust and sustainable creative tourism opportunity. De la Barre explains how using cultural data in a culture-led development process can help foster creative tourism projects in communities. Not only does such a process harvest local ideas and enthusiasm, it also embeds residents in the initiatives discussed, and creates a sense of ownership and shared success. The chapters in this volume speak to the benefit of a collaborative, community-based, culture-led planning process, not only as a sustainable development tool for the community, but also as a generator of creative tourism enterprises. Furthermore, the provision of these sorts of enterprises serves to reinforce local and unique ways of life and strengthen the longevity of endogenous cultural resources.

Third, because smaller communities are often disadvantaged by a lack of density and the dispersed co-location of players in the cultural and creative sectors, it is especially important for host communities who hope to

benefit from creative tourism to support extant creative clusters or networks or to create the circumstances in which they could grow. In these smaller nodes of creativity, often physically isolated or geographically peripheral, it is necessary for social and cultural networks to band together, not only for sharing resources and for co-promotion, but also to speak with a unified voice to policy-makers, planners, and funders. The establishment of networks of creative practitioners and supporters in smaller communities is a pivotal aspect of sustainable cultural development when deploying creative tourism as a tool of cultural resilience. In their chapter, Prince, Petridou, and Ioannides demonstrate how such clustering has benefitted creative tourism in the peripheral regions of Scandinavia; Van Winkle and Thomlinson advise that it could work well in smaller communities that provide film locations; as Duxbury shows, creating networks is one of the main concerns of CREATOUR, and the project also emphasizes the benefits of connecting the academic, cultural, and tourism stakeholder sectors. Champions for a particular creative tourism idea, such as those involved in the Icelandic Seal Center described by Aquino and Burns, must get other residents on board, join with other sympathetic networks, or create those networks. While top-down ideas can work (but sometimes not as successfully as envisioned, as Drummond et al. demonstrate in their chapter), creative tourism initiatives that recognize or develop cultural networks and clusters are embedded in the history, culture, and knowledge of a particular place; they are developed by committed and enthusiastic locals, and create genuine pride in genuine place.

The identification of cultural assets through collaborative and inclusive planning processes that involve and support artistic, cultural, and creative networks, and that have the support of local stakeholders, provide the necessary setting for the fourth condition in which creative tourism can flourish and contribute to sustainable cultural development: the relationship between visitors and residents. The collaborative paradigm we suggest as one of the defining components of creative tourism includes not only collaboration among the host community stakeholders, but also between tourists and locals. Or rather, we might say, along with Barcelona's destination management organization, that visitors *are also* host community stakeholders. A respectful and energetic connection not only fosters the ability to, as Richards says, "co-create place," but also

makes real the ideal of visitors engaging in the everyday life of the place, thus sustaining the place-based culture, developing it, and vitalizing it by contributing to the destination culture their own experiences of it, shared with residents. Together, they create place. Without the participation of locals, creative tourists will be disappointed in their search for connecting with the everyday life of the host community.

But to sustain a creative tourism sector, these four conditions require a fifth, the one necessary condition that is a key to the entire endeavour: the creative tourist. Duxbury and Richards have argued that insufficient profiling of the creative tourist represents a gap in creative tourism scholarship, and they have called for future research in the area (2019, 179). The authors in this volume stress the need for a collaborative paradigm involving stakeholders, including tourists; the chapters seem to call for visitors who wish to participate in experiences associated with a host community's artistic and cultural heritage, who recognize their agency as contributors to cultural sustainability, and who desire to take up a place in a culture-based collaborative paradigm. This may require a new mindset for being a *visitor*. Tucking into a local culture in this way as a visitor can only happen when the participative arena is manageable—or, put another way, when it is small. As the tourism industry struggles to recover from calamitous reality of *Coronazeit*, we might find that small is the new big.

NOTES

1   For a solid historical analysis and critique of the proliferation of Florida's creative cities strategy and how it relates to small cities in British Columbia, see Karsten (2018).

2   See Dessein et al. (2015) and UNESCO (2016).

3   For more discussion on approaches to co-creation in communities, see the special issue of Tourism Recreation Research, 44.3, 2019, "Critical Issues in Tourism Research," edited by Giang Phi and Dianne Dredge.

4   The project's website is available at http://www.literaryatlas.wales/en/.

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