

Critically examine the relations between concepts of the 'creative city' and the 'experience economy'

"They will forget what you said, but they will never forget how you made them feel."

(Carl W. Buechner, cited by Neumann, 2002:8)

The economy and the city

The connection between the development of urban areas and the different stages of the local, regional or global economy has been constantly debated throughout they years (Scott, 2006; Jacobs, 1969; Kong and Conor, 2009). There is no doubt that the evolution of cities and that of the dynamics of economic production, labour and consumption can be overlapped during different periods of history, however, stating that one has led to the birth of the other can prove to be a very challenging argument. Jane Jacobs (1969) claimed that historically, cities have been the origin and engine of innovation and economic growth, on the other hand, Scott (2006:2) suggests that "the shifting fortunes of each individual urban area" depends highly on the shift in economic models and behaviours. To answer the question "which was first?" is impossible as "new ideas and new fields of economy are invented in cities" (Kong and Connor, 2009:208) but also, cities have been created and expanded due to the needs and demands of the economy different ages.

Combining the models of Toffler (1980) and Bell (1973), the world economy can be divided into a first, agrarian wave, based on agricultural practices, a second wave of mass produced goods and automised machines, followed by a post-industrial, third wave, focused mainly on the provision of services. Over the past 20 years, as new technologies have shown their power and due to significant changes in the financial capital and the amount of leisure time, concepts like the "knowledge economy" (in which the main

currency is information; Bell, 1973), “the experience economy” (based on the value added by experiences to the consumption process; Pine and Gilmore, 1999) and the highly praised “creative economy” (in which creativity is the main factor of differentiation between products, companies or places; Pratt, 2008) have also been circulating. They could either be placed in the last, post-industrial wave or most likely, considered to have created a Forth Wave of their own in which they co-exist and overlap.

During each stage, cities have been the main arenas for the interaction between producers, consumers and all the other entities connected to the transactional processes. In Antiquity and Medieval times, they were the world’s communication knots and therefore its main markets, growing steadily to accommodate a variety of trades that answered the needs of those passing through (Hall, 2000). The nineteenth-century capitalism gave birth to the classical factory town, followed by the rise of the fordist mass production “associated with the growth and spread of the large industrial metropolis” (Scott, 2006:3). As “traditional manufacturing activities declined in the developed world” (Pratt, 2008:5) new styles of urbanisation have developed to create the perfect conditions in which new economies could flourish and to cater for a new work force.

The very popular concept of “creative city” (Landry, 2000) could be the perfect urban model associated with the development of knowledge, experience and creativity all together because it brings “the dimensions of economy, culture, and place back into a practical and humanly reasonable harmony” (Scott, 2006:15). As creativity and information are the base for the creative city (Cooke, 2008), this paper will focus on examining the extent to which “experiences” and other concepts associated with Pine and Gilmore’s (1999) description of the experience economy, are part of, or resources for, this type of urban environment.

Experience and the experience economy

According to Carlson (1997) an experience is “a constant flow of thoughts and feelings that occur during moments of consciousness” (Mossberg, 2007:58). However, it isn’t just an abstract state of mind, it is also contextual, socially and culturally embedded, and always embodied, as for it to exist, there must be someone experiencing it. No two people can have the same experience as they are “highly personal, subjective, ever fleeting and continuously ongoing” (O’Dell, 2005:15). An experience can range from one event, for example attending a theatre play, it could be a “supplement” to a commodity such as having dinner in a specific restaurant or it can incorporate both (in ‘dinner and a play’). Experiences are always more than products and they can occur in various places, from department stores to museums, cities, parks or tourist attractions. At the same time they are not limited to a single place and O’Dell (2005) defines “the experiencescape” as a space where experiences collide, an arena of pleasure, enjoyment and entertainment, as well as the meeting ground in which groups interact.

“The experience” is not a new topic in economy as it was previously linked to sectors such as leisure, tourism, cultural activities or marketing. What is new in the “experience economy” approach is that the experience becomes the main link between production and consumption (Andersson, 2007) and therefore the creation of experiences becomes a strategic process driven by a business objective. Although organisations can’t “give” an experience to a customer as they would do with a tangible product, they can create the circumstances and the environment in which the consumers could “experience” (Schulze, 1992), making this the basis of economic activity.

Academia and industry have commented on the reasons for which the post 1990s political and social contexts led to the rise of the experience economy. Pine and Gilmore (1999) follow customers habits through time as they moved from the acquisition of simple commodities, to that of packaged goods and then onwards to the quest for services. As nations have become wealthier giving people more money and increasing the amount of leisure time they have (Bendtsen and Mikkelsen, 2003), many prefer to scrutinise the resources spent on services to make way for more experiences because “after the material, product force-feeding of the last century”, late modernity longs for them (Hjorth and Koster, 2007:28). One of the reasons for this is that while commodities are fungible, goods tangible, services intangible, experiences are truly memorable. In addition, the saturation of markets led to a change in consumption patterns and companies need to find new strategies to increase sales. Therefore, experiences may account for the much needed added-value that makes the difference between similar acquisitions (Mossberg, 2007) because the purchase of an experience also buys “time” enjoying a series of memorable events that engage the consumer in a personal way.

The experience economy can act at all levels of economic activity: from product to company, to region, country and world economy as experiences can be introduced into any place thorough “immediacy, subjectivity, playfulness and performativity” (Hjorth and Koster, 2007:21). Considering that modern cities are “compounded by the dense, many-sided human interactions making up the source for endless forms of creativity and socioeconomic change” (Scott, 2006:2), today’s urban environments seem like the ideal arena to experience in.

Having defined and briefly discussed the experience economy, to be able to place it within “the creative city” it is also essential to understand what exactly creative cities are, what is it that makes them different as well as why they are needed in the current global context.

Creative city, creative class, creative industries and the creative economy

According to Landry (2000), the Creative City describes a new method of urban planning in which people (locals or tourists) can think, plan and act creatively. At the heart of it stands a creative citizen who “is encouraged to share the vision laid out by the civic leaders” (Chatterton, 2010:1): transform the city into a place that combines economy and culture, a place of diverse and inclusive arts but also a place of economic innovation and of the creative industries. The main difference between the two approaches, named by Smith, (2007), culture-centric and respectively econo-centric, is in the much debated value placed on creativity as the first focuses on the intangible value of the imagination, while the other on its economic, exchange value. Whether it is the main objective of the creative city or just an instrument towards different goals, “creativity can come from anyone who addresses issues in an inventive way: a business person, a social worker, a scientist, an engineer or public administrator” (Landry, 2000:xxi).

Vanolo (2007) comprised a checklist of features for the creative city by bringing together different views of scholars and professionals. First, the buzz of the city is its key advantage, scenes with people meeting, chatting and exchanging ideas create a specific environment that fosters and encourages creativity and innovation. Next, variety and difference are expressed through multiculturalism and tolerance (Landry and Bianchini, 1995) and the local art scene is open to both “high” and more “popular” forms of art (Zukin, 1995). The leisure industries include a wide selection of venues that could accommodate

young and “trendy” people as well as green public spaces with outdoor sports facilities (Cybriwsky, 1999). Events that would grab the attention of large crowds as well as landmark buildings are also part of the urban spectacle. In addition, the educational side of the creative city is essential as high-quality opportunities for both young people and professionals are essential for urban wealth and development (Stead, 2003).

But why should cities become “creative” and why has creativity become such an important keyword in city-planning and urban-marketing projects around the world? The Toronto City Council (in Duxbury, 2004) answers that question: “Creative Cities drive the world’s economy. They are dense urban centres whose economies are dominated by ideas, and by people who bring them to life. (...) These cities work with their minds.” These minds don’t necessarily come from Florida’s (2002) concept of “the creative class” whose job is to “create meaningful new forms” (such as artists, scientists, analysts, business managers, opinion makers), but from all who interact with the city and find in it the inspiration to create or innovate. Such creative professionals are not simply motivated by material rewards, “but want to live in ‘quality’, ‘creative’, ‘tolerant’ and ‘exciting’ places” (Vanolo, 2007:1), hence the fierce competition between cities to attract them. Considering this, just as retail environments merge entertainment and learning through the creation of experiences to differentiate themselves from their competition in the current saturated markets, so could cities encourage the urban buzz and celebrations “that capture the unusual, the uplifting and the creative” to become the next best places on the map (Landry, 2000:xi).

Although the above definitions already show a strong, functional connection between the experience economy and the creative city, a more schematic parallel is needed to discover the ways in which the two can develop further.

The experience economy in and for the creative city

As previously discussed, the events that favoured the apparition of the two concepts are quite similar, considering the post-industrial environments that led to the changes in living and working conditions and therefore consumption habits as well. Urban spaces have ceased to be inhabited by a commodity driven working class as the new jobs in cities led to more affluent citizens with more leisure time that could be invested towards travelling or enjoying the local attractions, all supported by the advances in transportation as well as by technology's great influence on the daily life. Moving from a more traditional type of city to a modern, creative one "requires thousands of transformations in mindset, creating the conditions for people to become agents of change rather than being passive recipients or victims of it" (Landry, 2000:xxvii). Hence, the transformations need to come from constant, everyday lived experiences rather than one-off events and the experience economy is the best to facilitate them.

John Urry's (1995) book, "Consuming Places" indicates how cities are constantly restructured and reinvented towards consumption, to provide the context in which "goods and services are compared, evaluated, purchased and used." On the other hand, places themselves are being consumed, either just visually or through the local resources, turning them into actual products. As experiences can be applied to a wide variety of businesses or retail companies, they can also bring the much needed added-value for cities on a 'market' in which each urban space tries to attract as many visitors or potential inhabitants as possible. According to Ward (1998:1), every town, city, region and nation "is now frenetically selling itself (...) to ensure that the tourist gaze falls, however fleetingly, upon them." Also, cultural consumption and experiences have slowly made their mark on the

“quality of life” indexes (Smith and Warfield, 2007:1), turning the ‘creative city’ into the ideal home town.

The problem is that “gazing” involves cognitive work of interpreting, evaluating, drawing comparisons and making connections. The environment in which all these take place can definitely change their outcome (Urry, 2011) and therefore, cities should use experiences for their tourists to make each visit memorable, but also for their locals to make sure they are proud and happy for having chosen it as their homes. Bille (2010) refers to the two different approaches as “short-term” consumption effects referring mainly to tourism and “long-term” effects which lead to the attraction of new residents, investment and businesses.

The role of creativity: memorable experiences and differentiation

Why creativity, as a broad-based attribute (Landry, 2000), has become the ideal currency of the post-industrial city has already been discussed. However, where does creativity stand in the market driven experience economy?

Compared to other national plans, the current policies of Nordic countries (Sweden and Denmark for example) place the experience economy, the creative industries and the cultural economy under the same sector. Bille (2010:2) traces the origin of this system back to Pine and Gilmore’s (1999) book, the DCMS’s focus on the creative industries in the UK and Richard Florida’s (2002) “The Rise of the Creative Class.” He claims that despite being concentrated into one single department, the only points the three have in common are creativity and experience, which “provide quality products and services by

embodying sentiments, values, convictions, identity and aesthetics” (Bendtsen and Mikkelsen, 2003:4).

From certain perspectives, experience creation is similar to innovation or artistic creation as businesses need to package everything into a certain “theme” and strategically set the “stage” for its release (Sundbo, 2008). To be truly memorable, a theme must alter the sense of reality, affect space, matter and time but still be part of an overall realistic whole. Employers and employees must become actors and audience in the work “theatre”, as “staging experiences is not just about entertaining customers, it’s about engaging them” (Pine and Gilmore, 2011:30). The participants can be either passive, only observing the show put together in front of them or choose to actively engage in the performance. Also, they can simply absorb the information that is being thrown at them or immerse themselves completely in the imagined universe. The intersection of these two axes create 4 realms: the entertainment, the educational, the escapist and the aesthetic. To be truly memorable, an experience must pass through all of them (Pine and Gilmore, 2011). Similarly, creative cities have to cater for the different quadrants and most urban policies aim to educate (by engaging body and mind in learning processes), entertain (through arts and culture), offer an alternative space for escapism (such as theme parks, casinos, virtual reality) and enchant the eyes of the passers-by (through architecture, street art and design).

Just as the creative city is composed of smaller, separate experiences, it can also be viewed as an overall experience in itself. For example, Wurzbürger and Pattakos (2009:81) discuss the development and spreading of the “creative tourism”, which isn’t strictly performed within creative cities, but which should be a constant presence in it. In their view, creativity is crucial because “it creates atmosphere; it feeds on people’s need

for self-development; it creates a direct link between the culture of the tourist and the host population.” By encouraging the contact with local people and engaging them in local cultural and creative practices the visitors feel welcomed and part of the community rather than simple observers. The creative city should offer the “experience” of an alternative to the serial reproduction of tourist checklists, to the “McGuggenheimisation” of cultural experiences (Wurzbürger and Pattakos, 2009). As the inspiration behind both the experience economy and the creative city come from the need to be different, cities and businesses should carefully customise and personalise the experiences they offer as they must be characteristic to the places in which they occur rather than copy successful models (such as those of the UK cities). Determining the unique selling point around which the experience can be created is probably the most important step and it should focus mainly on internal resources that could be packaged or re-sold creatively, to make sure the differentiation is kept.

Authenticity and spectacle

Another issue thoroughly commented in the literature covering the experience economy as well as the scholarship and policy concerned with the creative city is “authenticity.” If organisations should “perform” a certain routine at the encounter with the customer, if the city should package its resources in a certain way that would attract further tourists and residents, then how “real” is the experience and how does it affect the agents involved?

In discussing the importance of customising the business experiences according to organisational and customer profiles, Pine and Gilmore (1999) refer to “consumer satisfaction” and define the term of “consumer sacrifice” as the gap between what the individual settles for, considering it is satisfactory enough, and what he would truly want

from a certain category of products or services. They state that, to stand out, businesses must focus on “increasing the customer satisfaction, on eliminating customer sacrifice, on creating customer suspense and ultimately surprise” (Pine and Gilmore, 1999:81).

The same concepts can be applied to the creative city as development strategies aim to overcome visitors’ expectations. But these forced urban shows and business performances are sometimes just idealised, “simulated” versions of reality (Baudrillard, 1981), focused strictly on the short-term consumption outcomes that satisfy the powerful mental and emotional expectations of participants, previously created through representations and reputation. Goffman claimed that performances are about “giving off” impressions before an audience meaning that there would always be “a front-stage” and “a back-stage” to them. These two notions have inspired MacCannell’s (1973) classical idea that tourists want to experience “back-stage authenticity” but often receive the rehearsed “staged authenticity.” “Spectacle”, although the perfect way to “surprise” and reward “suspense” can sometimes be overwhelming and if constantly repeated can lead to scepticism and the loss of consumer confidence and fidelity. However, when audience participation and immersion are encouraged, especially through engaging all 5 senses into the process, performances can never be completely choreographed as the imagination of the consumer can take control. In this way, no experience (being it in the corporate or urban environment) can be completely “pre-formed” (Sundbo, 2008:180) and it should be “performed” with flexibility as it will be remembered and could become addictive, giving participants reasons to return.

The consumer, the tourist, the local

Some of the most frequent critiques brought to “creative city” projects have surrounded “the audiences” of these particular development plans. On the one hand, they claim to be directed to and inspired by the everyday needs of the residents, on the other, most of their objectives focus on increasing tourism rates, or bringing new businesses and investors to the areas. The two paths can be difficult to overlap and considering that the initiatives generally come from local councils supported by public funding, each step should be carefully balanced between them. Landry (2000:xxvii) argues that the biggest issue with urban regeneration is “whether it is sensitive and reflects people’s deeper needs”, suggesting that the issues raised by those who spend every day in a certain area should be placed higher up the objective list of urban planning and that they should constantly be reexamined.

In a similar way, within the experience economy, much of the advice given by Pine and Gilmore (1999) or Sundbo (2008) to the corporate world, focuses on the creation of experiences that would lead to the gaining of new audiences. However, once they have been attracted to a certain product or service, they have turned into regular customers and have gotten used to the performance put together by companies, they are forgotten and could be lost in favour of new experiences offered by competitors. The needs of consumers change with time meaning that a business must constantly reinvent itself to be able to respond to them. Andersson (2007:57) categorised the needs into: basic needs, social needs and intellectual needs for novelty, claiming that when a certain need has been saturated, extra stimuli can have negative effects on consumer habits and “when experiences become subject to replication they may ultimately lose their value” (Wurzburger and Pattakos, 2009:81).

Compared to the creative city policies which are generally directed to and try to involve the corporate as well as the non-for-profit sector, the leaders as well as the regular citizens, the experience economy theory mainly addresses organisations that want to raise their financial outcomes. However, the distinction is actually not as striking if the profile of the beneficiaries of the two is considered. On the one hand, creative cities should cater for all social and economic backgrounds, however, to attend events, visit the cultural venues or especially work in the creative industries, there are certain social, financial and educational criteria that must be met. Also, as experiences bring further value to products and services, they also lead to an increase in prices, making them less accessible. Both concepts are therefore more socially devising than it would appear, although they plead for openness and diversity.

Another point in which the two differ is the authors of the actual practices and strategic plans. Generally, creative city projects are being devised and implemented top-down, coming from authorities, either local, regional or national councils. However, practice has proved that in many cases, those plans are triggered by the accumulation of cultural and creative activities in one area. Cultural quarters and creative clusters which form organically when different artists move and work together in a region lead to the increased interest of policy makers who understand the potential of the industries and encourage their development. The experience economy is in a way a bottom-up process as organisations, either big or small, each apply it to the relationship with their customers leading ideally to an overall growth in the entire region. However, within the companies, the implementation of the strategy is a hierarchical one, although it is necessary for all employees to believe in it, to put together a credible performance for their audiences. In both cases, a good collaboration between the public and the private sectors could lead to better and widely spread results.

Conclusion

One of the various outcomes of the comparisons between concepts of the creative city and the experience economy is that the first can definitely offer both the professionals and the customers needed for the second. Residents of the creative city would have the much needed creativity that would allow them to inhabit a character and perform for the sake of business objectives. Also, its visitors, seeking innovation, authenticity and memorable experiences would definitely make the best consumers, willing to immerse in the created environment. On the other hand, the presence of businesses which adhere to the experience economy within an urban environment would make it “trendy” and attractive for the cultural and creative professionals, leading to the development of the area (Florida, 2002). Therefore, the entire marketing strategy of cities should be based around unique experiences which could cater for a variety of audiences, from tourists, to potential residents and investors.

However, the terms can't be forced onto their objects. Not every urban region can, or should be “creative” and not every organisation can, or should use “experiences” in its business plans. Each of them comes from a different background, is led by a different authority, offers different products or services and has very different audiences. In some cases, consumers might actually want to avoid a complex acquisition process and they should not be regarded “as helpless clients that are told to expose themselves so that the producers can make them experience” (Hjorth and Koster, 2007). Also, both cities and companies should permanently seek to reinvent themselves and feed the constant curiosity and desire of locals/old costumers as well as of visitors/new customers, turning them from passive consumers into active and engaged performers.

As each stage of the world economy has found its arena in the historically correspondent type of city, this paper has followed the ways in which “the experience economy” and “the creative city” coexist in today’s economic, social and political contexts. With each parallel between concepts that define them individually as well as an ensemble, it was proven that both can truly benefit from this alliance as long as they are used strategically, with the right audience in mind and using specific, personalised tactics. Considering that “the experience economy is here to stay” (Jensen, 1999:14) and that the creative city appears in more and more urban development plans, it will be both inevitable and unproductive for one to function in complete isolation from the other.

References

Andersson, T., D., (2007): The Tourist in the Experience Economy, *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 7:1, 46-58

Baudrillard, J. (1981) *For a critique of the political economy of the sign*, St Louis, MO, Telos Press

Bell, D. 1973. *The coming of post-industrial society: a venture in social forecasting*. New York: Basic Books.

Bendtsen and Mikkelsen, 2003, *Denmark in the Culture and Experience Economy – 5 new steps*, available online at:

http://www.culturalplanning-oresund.net/PDF_activities/experience_economy.pdf

accessed on: 10th of April 2012

Bille, T., 2010, *The Nordic approach to the Experience Economy – does it make sense?*, Copenhagen Business School, available online at:

http://openarchive.cbs.dk/bitstream/handle/10398/8012/44_TB_The_Nordic_Approach_to_Experience_Economy_-_Does_it_make_Sense_Final.pdf?sequence=1

accessed on 11th of April 2012

Boswijk, A. et al. (2007): *The Experience Economy – A New Perspective*, Pearson, Amsterdam

Carlson, R., (1997) *“Experienced Cognition”*, Lawrence Erlbaum Associations, New York, USA.

Chatterton, P., (2000): *Will the real Creative City please stand up?*, *City: analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action*, 4:3, 390-397

Costa, P., *Creativity, innovation and territorial agglomeration in cultural activities: the roots of the creative city* in Cooke, P., (2008) *Creative Cities, Cultural Clusters and Local Economic Development*, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing

Cybrivsky, R. (1999) *Changing patterns of urban public space. Observations and assessments from the Tokyo and New York metropolitan areas*, *Cities*, 16 (4) (1999), pp. 223–23

DCMS (2001): Creative Industries Mapping Document, Creative Industries Task Force, UK Department for Culture, Media and Sport, London

Debord, G. 1967. *La sociéte´ du spectacle*. Paris: Editions Buchet-Chastel

Duxbury, N. (2004), *Creative Cities: Principles and Practices*, available online at:

http://cprn.org/documents/31347_fr.pdf

accessed on 17th of April 2012

Florida, Richard. (2002) *The Rise of the Creative Class: and how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life*. New York: Basic Books.

Hall, Sir Peter. (2000). *Creative Cities and Economic Development*. *Urban Studies*. 37(4), p. 639-649.

Haemoon, O., Fiore, A., Jeoung, M. (2007), *Experience Economy Concepts: Tourism Applications*, *Journal of Travel Research* 2007 46: 119

Hjorth D., Koster, M. (2007), *Entrepreneurship and the Experience Economy*, Denmark: Copenhagen Business School Press

Jeffcutt P, Pratt A C, 2002 "Managing Creativity in the Cultural Industries" *Creativity and Innovation Management* 11 225-233

Jacobs, J. (1969), *The Economy of Cities*, London: Random House

Jensen, S.S., Christine Benna Skytt & Lars Winther (2009): *The Geography of the Experience Economy in Denmark: Employment Change and Location Dynamics in Attendance-based Experience Industries*, *European Planning Studies*, 17:6, 847-862

Kong, L., Conor, J. (2009) *Creative Economies, Creative Cities: Asian-European Perspectives*, London: Springer Dordrecht

Landry, Charles. (2000) *The Creative City*. UK: Comedia.

Landry, C. and Bianchini, F. (1995) *The Creative City*, London: Demos.

MacCannell, D. (1973). "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings." *American Journal of Sociology*, 79 (3): 589–603

Mossberg, L. (2007): *A Marketing Approach to the Tourist Experience*, *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 7:1, 59-74

Neumann, D., (2002) "Erfolgsfaktoren des Erlebnismarketing", Germany: Der Humanwissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Potsdam

O'Dell, T. and P. Billing (eds) (2005), *Experience-scapes*, Copenhagen: Copenhagen Business School Press.

Pine, J. and Gilmore, J.H., (1998) "Welcome to the Experience Economy", *Harvard Business Review*, Jul/Aug 1998, Vol. 76 Issue 4, p. 97.

Pine, J. and Gilmore, J.H., (1999) and (2011) "The experience economy", Harvard Business School Press, Boston, Massachusetts, USA.

Pine, J. and Gilmore, J.H., (2000) "Satisfaction, sacrifice, surprise: three small steps create one giant leap into the experience economy" *Strategies and Leadership*, 2000. 1. 28. pp. 18-23, MCB University Press.

Pine, J., (2000) "In the Name of Experience", *Economist* Vol. 357, Issue 8198, p. 73.

Pratt, Andy C. (2008) *Creative cities: the cultural industries and the creative class*. *Geografiska annaler: Series B - Human geography*, 90 (2). pp. 107-117

Schulze, G., (1992) "Die Erlebnis-Gesellschaft" Campus Vlg., Frankfurt, Germany

Scott, A. J., 2006. *Entrepreneurship, innovation and industrial development: Geography and the creative field revisited*. *Small Business Economics*

Smith, R., Warfield, K. (2007), *The Creative City: a matter of values*, available online at: http://www.utoronto.ca/isrn/publications/WorkingPapers/Working07/Smith07_CreativeCity.pdf accessed on 16th of April 2012

Stead, D. (2003), Is urban living becoming more attractive?, *Local Environment*, 8 (5) (2003), pp. 559–565

Storper, M., Venables, A.J. (2004) Buzz: face-to-face contact and the urban economy *Journal of Economic Geography*, 4 (4) (2004), pp. 351–370

Sundbo, J. (2008) *Creating experiences in the experience economy*, London: Edward Elgar Publishing

Toffler, A. (1980), *The Third Wave*, London: Collins.

Urry, J. (2002) *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. 2nd ed (London: Sage).

Urry, J. (1995) *Consuming Places*, USA: Routledge

Urry, J., Larsen, J. (2011) *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, London: SAGE

Vanolo, A. (2007) The image of the creative city: Some reflections on urban branding in Turin, *Cities* Volume 25, Issue 6, December 2008, Pages 370–382

Ward, C. (1989) *Welcome Thinner City*. London: Bedford Square Press.

Wurzburger, R., Pattakos, A. (2009) *Creative Tourism, A Global Conversation*, US: Sunstone Press

Zukin S, 1995 *The cultures of cities*, Blackwell, Cambridge, MA