

Integrating Western and non-Western cultural expressions to further cultural and creative tourism: a case study

Abstract

The term *cultural industries* was coined more than half a century ago, but at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the broader concept of *creative industries*, covering a wide range of cultural, design and digital activity, captured the imagination of public policymakers at national and city levels. Paralleling these developments has been the recognition of the phenomenon of *cultural tourism* and, more recently, the emergence of the idea of *creative tourism*, that is, tourism programmes designed to engage tourists actively in cultural activity. This paper presents a case study of a creative tourism event which took place in 2012 in the City of Manchester in the UK. The festival, which celebrated West African culture, utilised existing cultural institutions of the city and drew on the talents of local and visiting members of West African community to engage not only tourists but also indigenous and Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) residents of Manchester in a variety of cultural activities. It thus used the focus of creative tourism to seek to foster community and cultural development as well as tourism.

Keywords: creative tourism; cultural tourism; museums, galleries; festivals; black and ethnic minority groups; cultural engagement.

Introduction

English author Brian Aldiss (1990) says that 'whatever creativity is, it is in part a solution to a problem'. As Richards and Marques (2012) point out, over the last few decades, creative activities and developments have been seen by policymakers as a component of solutions to a range of social, cultural economic and technological problems. Nevertheless, this claimed role has not been without criticism; while it has become a buzzword in public policy, creativity has become a highly contested concept (Chatterton, 2000; Drake, 2003) and has been overloaded with different meanings, associations and uses 'regularly imported into a range of varying discourses, institutions and settings' (Negus & Pickering, 2000, p. 259). Leaving aside these different definitions and controversies, in this paper the concept of creativity is seen as a means often deployed to contribute to the development of a collective cultural discourse (or set of discourses), shaped by specific social, economic and educational backgrounds or environments (Scott, 2000; Richards, 2011).

In the public policy context, the concept of creativity has been co-opted to define the concept of *creative industries* as a component of the *cultural industries* and has been brought into play in the conceptualisation of *creative tourism*, understood as innovative and creative ways to produce, present and consume traditional forms of cultural tourism. The main aim of the paper, therefore, is to consider how, in the context of the creative industries, creative tourism can be a valuable form of cultural engagement, through cultural festivals, which are in turn supported by museums and galleries. The paper is structured into two main sections: the first examines the conceptual context of the study and the second presents a case study of creative tourism deployed in a festival which took place in the City of Manchester in 2012.

Defining the context: creativity, creative and cultural industries and creative tourism

The context for the case study is provided by a number of interrelated concepts which are briefly defined here. They are: creativity; the creative and cultural industries; creative capital and creative cities; cultural and creative tourism; and festivals.

Creativity, creative and cultural industries

Throughout this article, the term “creativity” is understood as a means to produce, develop and consume cultural “distinction, economic spin-off and authenticity” (Richards, 2011, p. 1255). It is conceived as defining a strategic approach to policy which may be implemented by cities aspiring to support the development and attraction of creative individuals and organisations and has been pervasive in recent urban regeneration strategies. Creativity has come to be seen as a source of competitive advantage for cities, emerging from a set of powerful economic, cultural and social shifts which Florida (2012) describes as having transformed, and as still transforming, the structure of everyday life. Typically, creative individuals and organisations make up networks which form the *creative industries*. According to the UK Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS, 2001, p. 3) creative industries “have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property”. They include: advertising; architecture; crafts; designer furniture; fashion clothing; film, video and other audiovisual production; graphic design; educational and leisure software; live and recorded music; performing arts and entertainment; television, radio and internet broadcasting; visual arts and antiques; and writing and publishing.

A clear distinction between the creative industries and *cultural industries* is difficult to draw: the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) sees cultural industries as “those industries whose inspiration derives from heritage, traditional knowledge, and the artistic elements of creativity”, while the creative industries “place emphasis on individual creative talent and innovation, and on the exploitation of intellectual property” (UNESCO, 2007, p. 11). The two terms are, however, often used interchangeably. They share the notion of creativity as well as the use of “cultural knowledge, and intellectual property to produce products and services with social and cultural meaning” (UNESCO, 2007, p. x). Broadly speaking, however, it seems that creative industries are perceived as being more dynamic and innovative than cultural industries. This may be the outcome of the uncertain and shifting boundaries of their definitions but may also be due to the fact that the creative industries are framed by the economic, income-generator setting of the knowledge economy while the cultural industries are associated with the public, non-profit sector (Galloway and Dunlop, 2007).

Nevertheless, major public institutions of the traditional cultural industries, such as museums and the heritage industry, with which this study is involved, are key components of the creative as well as the cultural industries. They aim to offer a setting for cultures to develop, change and interact; they are social and physical forums where people have the opportunity to engage with different cultures and expression of traditions. Especially during the past two decades, Western museums have defined and asserted more strongly their role as agents of social change (Nightingale & Sandell, 2012). However, within the context of the tourism industry, museums have struggled with a form of identity crisis, generated by the fact that they have been placed in a constant competition with other attractions, favouring experiences which are synonymous with immediacy, action and adventure (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). As Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998, p. 139) explained almost two decades ago, the term “experience ... indexes an engagement of senses, emotions, and imaginations” and, although museums provide engaging experiences, they “worry that they may be bypassed as boring, dusty places”. However, involvement of museums and their exhibitions, collections and expertise in creative tourism strategies may be a way forward to assist them in overcoming this “identity” crisis and misconceptions about their roles. Through the setting of cultural activities and events, especially those which generate income and economic as well as cultural

value, museums could come to be seen more clearly as a critical resource in the supply chain and network of the creative industries.

Creative cities

The rising role of the cultural and creative industries has reaffirmed the importance of the competitive and strategic exploitation of the cultural and creative capital of cities, typically pursued by the development of local strategies and plans covering culture, leisure, sport and tourism (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012, p. 53). In this context, the cultural/creative industries are seen as drivers of social, cultural and economic development through the use of local “raw material” (e.g. cultural resources) which is transformed, exploited and disseminated through new knowledge, creative ideas and cultural products or services (Landry, 2008). This approach reflects the idea of the *creative city* (Landry, 2008). As explained by Krätke (2011, p. 23), the creative city starts “from the assumption of a transformation from the industrial to a knowledge society, in which creativity is becoming an increasingly important resource”, not only to stimulate the local economy but also to attract the creative class and unite different communities in order to revitalise the local culture and its tangible and intangible resources (Richards & Marques, 2012).

Cultural tourism and creative tourism

While *cultural tourism* is “tourism constructed, proffered and consumed explicitly or implicitly as cultural appreciation, either as experiences or schematic knowledge gaining” (Prentice, 2001, p. 8), the more recently developed concept of *creative tourism* indicates an “active participation by tourists in creative activities, skill development and/or creative challenge [that] can form the basis of tourist experiences” (Richards & Wilson, 2007, p. 20). It offers people the opportunity to engage with new experiential and interactive forms of cultural and leisure activities, “closely linked [...] to a location and its people” (Smith, 2009, p.164). It is a form of networked tourism, which:

reflects a fundamental shift in the creation of value from production (the “tourism industry”) towards consumption (the “tourist”), with the essential nexus between the two being provided by the encounter, the space/event node in the new social networks of tourism. ... [creative tourism depends] on the ability of producers and consumers to relate to each other and to generate value from their encounters: creative tourists are “cool hunters” in search of creative “hot-spots” where their own creativity can feed and be fed by the creativity of those they visit (Richards and Marques, 2012, p. 9).

Creative tourism experiences range from museum-based art workshops to involvement with writing, music-making or cookery. It therefore provides inclusive access to social and cultural aspects of a place (e.g. museums, theatres, artists) through experiential involvement with the visited location and the people who live there (Prentice, 2001). In this way, the creative tourism experience goes beyond mere “spectating”; it becomes an interactive and reflective experience based on local cultural and creative aspects, allowing tourists to feel “like a citizen” and experience innovative events while, at the same time, allowing locals to rediscover, consume and present their culture, possibly in a more entrepreneurial way (UNESCO 2007; Krätke, 2011). Moreover, through experiential and creative involvement, creative tourism can address the various leisure needs and ambitions of different categories of tourists consumers/co-producers, such as amateurs, hobbyists or even volunteers. The pursuit of career-like experiences in such leisure/tourism roles and of durable benefits, such as self-fulfilment, self-enrichment and a sense of belonging, suggest that creative tourism has a number of features typical of *serious leisure* (Stebbins, 2007).

Creative tourism, through the use of local intangible heritage and tourists' engagement with traditional products, is a strategy that has been implemented for some time in non-Western countries (Smith & Akagawa, 2009) and with indigenous groups. Examples where tourists engage with basket weaving classes with Aboriginal groups in Australia or with Navajo pottery workshops in Santa Fe are well-documented instances of creative tourism (Wurzbürger, 2009). Through the engagement with local traditions, *in situ*, tourists are able not only to take part in and experience different cultural practices or products, but also to experience self-development through a set of new experiences. Creative tourism "is a form of reinvestment in people"; it raises its resources (economic, social and cultural) both from visitors and from locals through their interaction (Raymond, 2009, p. 44). This is very much based on the understanding that culture (and its creative applications and ever-changing interpretations) is not "something fixed and frozen", but a process of constant struggle as different cultures "interact with each other and are affected by economic, political and social factors" (Sarup, 1996, p. 140).

Richards and Marques (2012, p. 8) observe that creative tourism emerges in the "intermingled" spaces between tourists and locals and that some of the most developed examples of creative tourism activities are provided by "creative networks aimed at linking tourists and locals" (p. 3). Creative tourism programmes, with their emphasis on participatory learning experiences, involving the arts, local heritage or special features of local places, can therefore appeal to locals as well as tourists (Smith, 2006; Wurzbürger, 2009). Furthermore, as Western societies are becoming an increasingly cosmopolitan mix of different ethnicities, it is legitimate to ask how the creative and cultural tourism portfolio in the West could vary and adapt to this change. If, as Robert McNulty (2010) observes, in referring to the USA, we are becoming "a nation of minorities" (p. 46), how can creative tourism reach out to members of any diaspora? What would be the different, engaging, and relevant tourist offerings for different ethnic groups?

Festivals

One type of milieu where locals and tourists typically intermingle is the festival. Festivals can be considered as vehicles of communicative actions (Habermas, 1984), providing the context both for the deployment of cultural and social capital as well as for the 'exchange of ideas and the construction of reasoned consensus about art and society' (English, 2011, p. 64). Indeed, festivals, shaped by the local cultural policy, are examples of how creative and participatory experiences of a community's culture and traditions can make tourism products more accessible to local residents and visitors alike by providing an 'open forum for celebration of life and continuity of living' (Smith, 2009, p.143). In the context of creative tourism, they can stimulate creative and vibrant urban atmospheres, through the convergence of creative spectacles and creative spaces, where locals and tourists can experience a sense of belonging, community and shared responsibility.

Festivals are organised events, promoting innovative experiences, typically staging an international context for the exchange of cultural practices and knowledge as well as the broadening of tastes (Habermas, 1984). Indeed, due to their celebratory nature, festivals have always provided "points of meaningful connectivity and spectacle" but, most importantly for diasporic communities, they have also offered "important moments of visibility and occasions of celebrated concentrations of identities beyond the confines of their host communities" (Picard & Robinson, 2006, p.1, 13). Within urban contexts, therefore, it is fair to say that festivals offer the opportunity to reinvent different local narratives: historical, societal,

touristic and economic. Furthermore, as del Barrio, Devesa and Herrero (2012) point out, festivals are active cultural processes, accomplishing the “threefold goal of attracting intense expenditure, forging a new urban image and acting as driving force behind cultural creativity and social cohesion” (p. 237). However, in this paper, cultural festivals are considered primarily in the latter sense, as “channels for expressing and consolidating a sense of community” through creative/experiential engagement with the provided cultural offer, which seeks to foster the development of cultural distinction and authenticity (Giorgi & Sassatelli, 2011, p.1). In addition, festivals (as part of creative tourism) offer a set of opportunities for realising a discourse about a shared, but often not fully acknowledged, social and cultural capital (e.g. BME traditions and creative practices, museum collections).

Case study: the City of Manchester and the *We Look Forward* festival

Manchester is a city of half a million population located in the north-west of England. Since the 1990s Manchester City Council has made a number of attempts to transform, re-brand and regenerate the city from one with an economy based primarily on traditional, but declining, manufacturing industries, such as engineering, metals, textiles, paper and chemicals, to one with a service-based economy, including cultural and creative industries. Policies have been instigated to support the growth of local micro-businesses, encourage environmental improvements and develop public art spaces and music venues, to contribute to a new creative, culturally innovative and forward-looking image for the city. The case study illustrates how the concepts discussed above come together in the context of urban cultural policy. We examine in turn the city's cultural strategy; the role of the city's museums and galleries;

Cultural strategy

The current action plan of the City of Manchester's cultural strategy, *Culture at the Heart of Manchester* (Manchester City Council (MCC), 2012), includes five main themes: cultural capital; culture and learning; culture for all; cultural economy; and marketing culture. These themes focus on cultural partnerships and diversity, environment and events, creative learning, business development, employment and tourism. In commenting on the culture and learning theme, the strategy document states: “We will encourage people to develop their cultural skills and knowledge by ensuring that the value of creativity is recognised in the City's education plans and strategies for lifelong learning” (MCC, 2012, p. 16). The strategy has a strong cultural and audience-focused approach, and signals the commitment of the city government to the development of cultural capital and creative resources. Tourism and museums are seen as key components of the strategy, as are the notions of creativity and creative development, combined with more established forms of culture. An example of the strategy in action is the Northern Quarter Regeneration Strategy (MCC, 2003), which was a culture-led policy, aiming to build on the creative atmosphere of an inner city area and capitalise on its industrial, musical and artistic heritage, to enhance its economy and reinvigorate the local, cultural urban life (McCarthy, 2006).

Museums and galleries

By tradition, the museum and gallery offer in Manchester is broad, both in terms of collections and in terms of the audiences they attract. The Manchester City Galleries include the Manchester Art Gallery and Platt Hall Gallery of Costume and are part of the Strategic Partnership between the city council and the University of Manchester. The purpose of the partnership, is:

to promote Manchester as a centre of knowledge, creativity and culture (p. 3) ... [and to

provide] ... significant cultural opportunities to a large and diverse local audience through free exhibitions and public events that showcase the excellence of the city's collections and make them relevant to local residents today, as well as allowing them to see the best of contemporary art from around the world (p. 28) (MCC Cultural Engagement Task and Finish Group, 2012).

Black minority ethnic groups

Black minority ethnic groups (BMEs) account for 33.5 per cent of the population in the central area of the city of Manchester. Of this figure, 8.6 per cent are Black-British citizens (Manchester City Council, 2013). The presence of Black African people in Manchester was recorded as far back as the eighteenth century, as Greater Manchester County Record Office reveals. Therefore, the Black African community in Manchester is an old and deep-rooted one. However, there is still a feeling of non-integration between this community and the rest of Mancunian society. Since cultural institutions, as discussed above, can play a role in linking and communicating cultures within culturally diverse communities, the question arises as to the extent to which Manchester's cultural institutions play this role in relation to this group.

The report on the Strategic Partnership quoted above makes no reference to specific ethnic minority groups within the city, probably due to the fact that, while the acronym BME, generally refers to the African diaspora, in museums and galleries it is used in a wider sense to refer to "anyone who is not white, which is the majority of people" in a multicultural city like Manchester (Marketing Manager, Manchester Art Gallery, personal communication Nov. 11, 2012). Previous research has shown that African descendents do not feel connected with the typical portrayal of their heritage on offer in Western museums, mainly because the idea of museums has become synonymous with a Western, postcolonial, institutionalised discourse (Catalani, 2009). Notwithstanding the efforts of museums to change this perception, these institutionalised forms may not sit comfortably with other ethnic expressions of the cultural identities involved.

Traditional institutions in the city have therefore faced a challenge to become more relevant to local BME residents. Creative tourism, targeted specifically to tourists, involving a range of creative and engaging experiential leisure opportunities, targeted at locals as well as tourists and offered in a festival format, could be the ideal vehicle. Such activities would facilitate interaction between members of various local communities, going beyond traditional localised outreach community programmes. These creative opportunities would allow members of local BME groups – whose contribution to the cultural and artistic, as well as economic vitality of the creative city has been acknowledged for more than a decade (Landry & Bianchini, 1995; Shaw, 2007) – to share, through participatory events or workshops, their traditional practices, skills and knowledge with other residents and with tourists, thus integrating ethnic identities into the local systems of cultural production and creative consumption, as well as facilitating the emergence of new cultural identities and of new tourism-based networks, for example with other diasporic communities outside the city.

We Face Forward cultural festival

The cultural festival, *We Face Forward: Art from West Africa Today*, took place in Manchester between June and September, 2012. It was a citywide event, which included exhibitions, art workshops and music programmes, spread across nine different venues. The venues involved were: the Whitworth Art Gallery; the Manchester Museum; the Band on the Wall music venue; the Manchester Art Gallery; the Bridgewater Hall; the Printworks; Platt

Hall the Gallery Of Costume; the National Football Museum; and the Royal Northern College of Music. Participation through performance, with and for the visitors/tourists/consumers, was at the core of the festival, so that the entire city of Manchester became a stage, where different events, celebrating West Africa, were happening.

The festival was inspired by the words of Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first president, who, in 1960, asserted the Ghanaian refusal to choose any side in the Cold War, by stating "We face neither East nor West: we face forward". The festival was therefore a celebration not only of contemporary African art but also of the resilient African spirit and pride. It bore a distinctive message of cultural identity, which drew from international, national and local cultural resources, since the artists involved were all West-African or of West-African origin and came from twelve different countries: Benin; Ghana; Nigeria; Togo; Mali; Cameroon; Ivory Coast; Senegal; Burkina Faso; Congo; Gambia; and Cuba. The idea of the exhibition itself originated from a textile collection at the Whitworth Art Gallery, which includes a high proportion of West African material. The collection, therefore, was very much emblematic of the historical and social links that Manchester has with West Africa, and that go back to the infamous trans-Atlantic slave trade and colonial connections and to the hosting of the fifth Pan-African Congress in 1945.

The purpose of *We Face Forward* was to establish a "new global dialogue" and to explore, in the words of its Artistic Director Maria Balshaw:

the incredibly diverse and dynamic art made by artists from West African countries, not as an exhibition of work that is separate from the global art scene, or defined through ethnographic or geographic containment, but as a body of work that is actively engaged in shaping and challenging how that world is configured (Balshaw, Bond, Griffiths & Howes 2012, p. 7).

The festival aimed to explore and reaffirm the creativity of African culture, art and music, through the juxtaposition of tradition and modernity (Balshaw *et al.* 2012).

The programme included: exhibitions of sculpture, films, painting, photography and textiles from eight artists at the Whitworth Art Gallery; concerts by four bands and solo artists at the Band on the Wall venue; new specially commissioned large-scale works exploring ideas of trade and cultural exchange, migration and freedom of movement at the Manchester Art Gallery;

The creative tourism approach was not intentionally adopted but was certainly the approach taken in practice. It provided engagement, *in situ*, through and with local traditions: local visitors (of non-African descendants) and tourists were able not only to take part in and experience different cultural practices or products, but also to develop themselves through a set of new, authentic experiences, in museum, gallery and other spaces.

Alternative Camera Club

The Alternative Camera Club involved a series of discussions and talks, held at the Whitworth Art Gallery, during which participants explored the use of photography within the artworks on display in the festival and also gained practical knowledge of photographic techniques. These activities and experiences related particularly to the self-realisation and self-expression of the local visitors and/or tourists (including members of the African diaspora) in a conceptually creative context, so that they could step out from the spectator role

of the “cultural tourist” and become co-creators of the chosen creative experience (Richards, 2011; Fabiani, 2011).

Through *We Face Forward*, different aspects and practices of the African (intangible) heritage were reinterpreted and shared as part of an ongoing artist-audience dialogue, so that not only the richness of such heritage was highlighted, but also it was almost possible to define a new phase into the life of the local African diasporic groups, through the re-discovery and enhancement of West African intangible heritage and cultural and artistic traditions. In this way, the *We Face Forward* festival became a vehicle of “communicative action” (Habermas, 1984), an “international arena for the exchange of new cultural forms and the broadening of taste” (Giorgi & Sassatelli, 2011, p. 8).

The festival encouraged, in fact, an active participation from members of the African Diaspora, not only as artists or visitors but also as enablers and co-creators of the creative experience, inspired by the pursuit of personal (e.g. personal enrichment, self-actualisation, recreation) and social rewards (e.g. participation in the social world of the activity and group accomplishment) (Stebbins, 1996).

We Face Forward: Bite Sized,

We Face Forward: Bite Sized was a series of thirty-three public discussions led by fifteen volunteers and organised by the Manchester Art Gallery and the Whitworth Art Gallery. The fifteen volunteers (all resident in Manchester), were of British, Ghanaian and/or Nigerian nationality and beside a passion for culture and the arts, they all needed to have links to West Africa, as explained in the leaflet used to recruit them. The volunteers had the opportunity to develop public speaking, networking and event management skills. Through this initiative an emphasis was placed on the individual (the local volunteer) and the chance to develop new knowledge and expertise (African art) within a creative context (an art gallery and the creative, artistic network). Indeed, according to a short evaluation carried out soon after the festivals, volunteers (but also the other practitioners involved) “took pride in working with audiences in different places, being able to show off the city and its artists and open up culture to grassroots audiences” (Ainsley, 2012, p. 11).

Art workshops

We Face Forward offered also opportunities for self-expression, through art workshops, which allowed local visitors and/or tourists (particularly members of the African Diaspora) not only to share their knowledge of African art and crafts but also to take part in or lead the workshops.

Artbus

The opportunity for self-expression was evident from the decoration of the *ArtBus* by the Nigerian Creative Hands Foundation, a business service based at the Manchester Nigerian Centre, and the music and art 'taster' that the *ArtBus* promoted around Manchester. The vehicle was a kind of mobile art gallery with speakers, delivering free art and music performances and workshops to local communities (inspired by the music and contemporary art of West Africa) across Manchester. It delivered workshops at Collyhurst Family Fun Day, Longsight Festival and Wythenshawe Games, and music and art sessions at Beswick Library, Powerhouse, Chorlton Library, City Library and North City Library, and Gorton and Withington Libraries (Ainsley, 2012).

The *ArtBus* not only raised awareness of the festival events but additionally created a

dynamic and novel connection with the public. As one participant (of Nigerian origins) explained: “I saw it as a twofold thing: it gave me the opportunity to learn more about the culture and compare it with what I already knew. So I could present it to anybody, may be from both worlds, as a Nigerian and as a British” (Ainsley, 2012, p.5). The ArtBus provided a creative non-fixed venue where tourists or locals (both of African origins and not) could take up a creative challenge, experiment and express their artistic taste and interests and, in some cases, deepen the connection they felt with the city while learning about West African culture (Richards & Wilson, 2006).

Concluding thoughts

It is not possible to consider yet what the legacy of *We Face Forward* is in terms of impact on the local community or tourism. Immediately following the Festival a short evaluation, was conducted, involving discussions with volunteers, creative practitioners, community leaders and interns involved in the festival (Ainsley, 2012). The evaluation revealed high levels of satisfaction and engagement (especially in terms of learning and skills development) as well as ideas for future events and collaborations with the organisations involved. Visitor surveys aimed to gather information on the visitor numbers, ethnicities and experience were conducted independently by each venue during the festival, but the results were not available at the time of writing. However, the aim of this paper was not to evaluate the success (or otherwise) of *We Face Forward*, but to reflect on how museums could use creative engagement strategies to raise awareness of their offer to both local BME groups and tourists.

We Face Forward provided an notable example of an application of creative tourism in a city which has aspirations to develop as a creative city. The paper has considered, first and foremost, how creativity can be understood as a collective cultural product shaped, by the social, economic and cultural context, populated by creative individuals, belonging to different communities. Manchester has provided a suitable setting for this consideration; a city of transformation and regeneration since the late 1980s/early 1990s, and with a cultural strategy which is creatively focused. Through this approach a variety of learning, economic, and social opportunities were generated, allowing direct interaction between locals and non-locals, residents and tourists.

Within the context of creative tourism, events such as *We Face Forward* can contribute to the emergence of a culturally creative, vibrant atmosphere through the convergence of creative spectacles and creative spaces. In fact museums and galleries as creative spaces can allow people to experience and develop further a sense of belonging, a sense of community and also a sense of responsibility (in terms of knowledge, skills transmission and sharing). The paper has also highlighted scope for addressing more fully the cultural needs of local BMEs, in the context of local creative tourism activities, a process which could be extended through an in-depth understanding of the use of the cultural resources that can make a city creative, in order to enhance community pride and place image of local BME and the community at large.

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