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### **A literature review on the role of cultural capital in creative tourism**

#### **O papel do capital cultural no turismo criativo – uma revisão bibliográfica**

**Rui Carvalho**

University of Aveiro, PhD student, Department of Economics, Management and Industrial Engineering, Aveiro, Portugal, [ruicarvalho57@gmail.com](mailto:ruicarvalho57@gmail.com)

**ABSTRACT** Tourism literature mentions creative tourism as a special interest tourism allowing a wider participation of the tourist near local communities and their tangible and intangible cultural assets in opposition to traditional massive cultural tourism.

The creative tourist has the opportunity to engage in meaningful experiences mainly through the act of co-creation. In the experience economy where experiences gain relevance in relation to services, some authors mention the development of several types of capital by different groups like supply managers, local communities and creative tourists. This is relevant to the study of tourism because various social groups mentioned above are gaining importance in the organization of supply and demand.

A systematic review was used as methodology to analyze how cultural capital theory is being used in creative tourism. Findings showed that only few researches have applied capital theory to creative tourism and much more research is needed.

**Keywords:** Creative Tourism; Cultural Capital; Co-creation; Experience Economy and Systematic review

**RESUMO** A literatura refere-se ao turismo criativo como um nicho de mercado que permite uma maior participação do turista junto às comunidades locais e os seus bens tangíveis e intangíveis funcionando como alternativa ao turismo cultural de massas.

O turista criativo tem a oportunidade de participar em experiências significativas através do ato de cocriação. Na economia da experiência onde experiências ganham maior preponderância em relação aos serviços, alguns autores mencionam o desenvolvimento de vários tipos de capital detido por vários grupos como gestores da oferta, comunidades locais e turistas criativos. Isto é relevante para o estudo do turismo porque grupos sociais mencionados anteriormente estão a ganhar uma maior importância na organização da oferta e procura.

Pesquisa sistemática foi utilizada como técnica metodológica, a fim de analisar como o capital cultural está a ser alvo de estudo na área do turismo criativo. Os resultados demonstram que são poucos os estudos que tentam aplicar a teoria dos capitais ao turismo criativo e que mais pesquisa é necessária.

**Palavras-chave:** Turismo criativo; Capital cultural; Cocriação; Economia da experiência e Revisão sistemática

#### **1. Introduction**

According to the literature, the massification of cultural tourism has originated the development of creative tourism experiences. The search for a more engaging experience has led cultural and creative tourists to develop new relationships with the everyday life of the destination (Richards, 2011). They want to develop new skills, get closer to local communities and contribute to the overall experience in the destination with their own knowledge and opinions through the act of co-creation.

The rise of skilled consumption, the importance of identity formation and the acquisition of cultural capital in (post)modern society point towards the use of creativity as an alternative to conventional cultural tourism (Richards and Wilson, 2006). A new type of tourism based on a broader use of culture, intangible cultural assets, a stronger relation with the locals and effective knowledge transfer, reveals the emergence of creative tourism as a field of study (Richards, 2011).

Richards and Raymond defined creative tourism as: “Tourism which offers visitors the opportunity to develop their creative potential through active participation in courses and learning experiences which are characteristic of the holiday destination where they are undertaken” (Richards and Raymond, 2000). UNESCO also defined this tourism niche as: “Travel directed toward an engaged and authentic experience, with participative learning in the arts, heritage, or special character of a place and it provides a connection with those who reside in this place and create this living culture” (UNESCO, 2006).

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In a destination analysis, we can broadly identify several groups linked to tourism production and consumption: national tourism boards, tourism enterprises, supply managers and intermediaries, the local community and tourists. In creative tourism destinations both sides of supply and demand need to develop new skills (Richards and Wilson, 2006, 2007). This raises the question of who detains cultural capital and how it is applied for tourism purposes.

In the process of tourism development, several types of capitals can be identified and attributed to several social agents or social groups. Following the work of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, several authors linked his notion of social, cultural and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986) to tourism studies (Karlson, 2005); (Richards, 2011); (Richards and Wilson, 2006; 2007). Other authors have mentioned creative capital in relation to creative tourism. Such capital would be held by the so called creative class (Florida, 2002, 2007) and creative tourists (Richards, 2011). Also Richards has highlighted relational capital as another type of capital present in creative tourism networks (Richards, 2013).

Although we acknowledge that several types of capitals are used in the study of cultural and creative tourism (Carvalho, 2014), the present study is mainly concerned with cultural capital and its role in the development of creative tourism experiences. The main goal of this research is to link cultural capital theory to creative tourism in the effort to describe who detains cultural capital and how it is used for tourism purposes. Having this in mind, we intend to answer the following question: What are the roles that cultural capital plays in creative tourism literature? In this attempt we used systematic research technique (Sampaio e Mancini, 2007).

The present article begins by contextualizing creative tourism and tries to connect cultural capital theory with the process of tourism development in section 2- Methodology is explained in section 3- evidencing how systematic research technique was used and how the study was conducted. Section 4- (Results) is divided in three subsections: 4.1 - an overall review; 4.2 - references of how cultural capital is mentioned in the articles analysed; 4.3 - discussion and 5- Conclusion.

## **2. Literature review**

In this section, we try to contextualize creative tourism as a new form of tourism which offers new possibilities for destinations to differentiate themselves from others and for tourists, as they are able to connect up close with local communities by learning new skills and to transform themselves through meaningful experiences.

Likewise, cultural capital is characterized and linked to tourism studies. References are done to the work of (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986) as cultural capital theory is analysed. Questions are raised about the actual role that cultural capital plays in tourism development and who are the social actors that activate this type of capital, using creative tourism as reference.

### **2.1 Creative Tourism**

Creative tourism is best understood in the experience economy paradigm (Pine & Gilmore, 1999) where staged experiences take over the simple offering of services. Several studies have mentioned that cultural tourism has become a mass-tourism market. Diverse alternatives have been developed by destination managers, in order to differentiate themselves from traditional cultural destinations (Richards and Wilson, 2006).

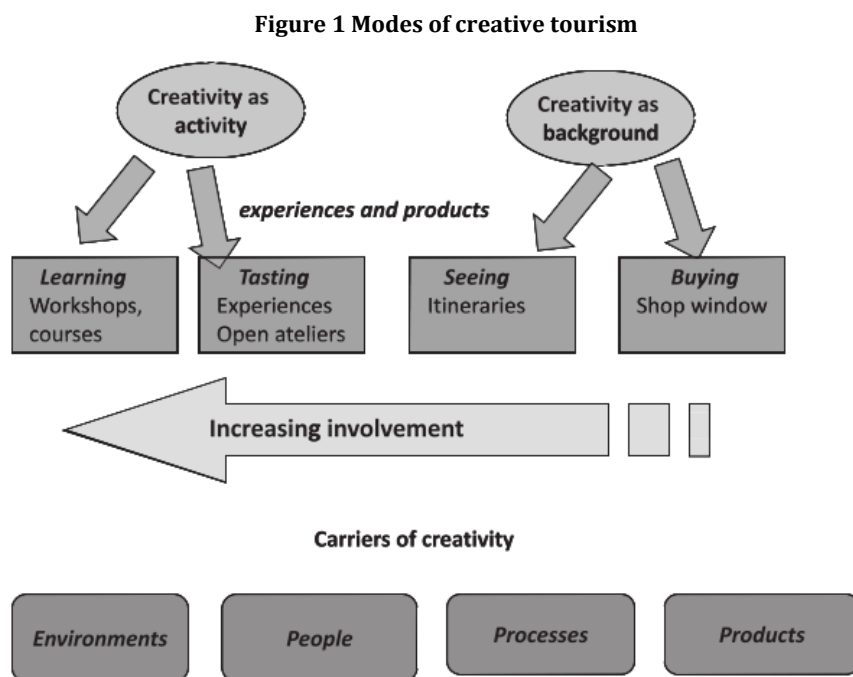
The broader use of culture (tangible and intangible cultural assets) and the rise of skilled consumption (i.e. Toffler's prosumer) have originated a creative turn in tourism studies. This influences destination images where cultural and creative events are among several strategies developed for the sake of differentiation (Carvalho, Ferreira e Figueira, 2011). In this context, Richards and Wilson identified four main strategies developed by destinations, each one with different goals: "Iconic Structures" such as the Guggenheim Museum, "Mega events" such as Capitals of Culture, "Thematisation" such as Cultural Routes and "Heritage Mining" where cities like Bruges, Florence and Girona have attempted to re-develop themselves through the revalorization of cultural heritage, mainly built heritage (Richards and Wilson, 2006). But several problems emerged as destinations started to copy others, originating the serial reproduction of culture (Richards and Wilson, 2006).

Since cultural identities have been under siege by the process of globalization, many cities have tried to use other forms of intangible culture as traditions, local legends, special events, among others, which could help

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them to create different atmospheres and environments (OECD, 2009). This influenced tourism consumption and an alternative to traditional cultural tourism was coined. One might argue that creative tourism is seen as a special interest tourism which allows the tourist to engage in meaningful experiences mainly through the act of co-creation or prosumption, connecting tourists to local communities (Richards, 2011); (Carvalho, 2014).

Figure 1 provides an overview of the different styles of creative tourism, ranging from more active to more passive types of creative activities and involving different types of creativity (Richards, 2011). In creative tourism, there are no static business models as its success depends on the destinations characteristics and cultural capital available, to develop this kind of tourism.



Source: Richards, 2011

## 2.2 Cultural capital

*“The definition of capital as goods which, when combined with other inputs (especially labour), give rise to further goods, has been fundamental to the interpretation of production processes in economics for more than 200 years.”* (D’Auria, 2009, p278). Capital is accumulated labour (...) which when appropriated individually, by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labour (Bourdieu, 1986). The original and longest-serving interpretation of capital has been founded on three types of capital: physical or manufactured capital, human capital and natural capital (D’Auria, 2009).

Karlsson’s work *“The Social and the Cultural Capital of a Place and their Influence on the Production of Tourism”* is used here as a starting point for our discussion. Karlsson studied the influence of these two types of capital to understand how it influences small tourism business in Sweden and Norway (Karlsson, 2005). Both capitals were seen as essential for the development of tourism where social capital was related to social relations as determination, sense of community and solidarity among business owners and networks; cultural capital was seen in the existence of a longer tradition of smaller business promoting other small business enterprises in tourism industry.

This view has to do with the materialization of a place where several types of capital are present through their locals. The author follows the work of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, mainly in relation to these two concepts, referring to social capital as the influence of social relations, and cultural capital as the influence of culture and tradition in the development of tourism (Karlsson, 2005). Bourdieu himself developed alternative theories to economic capital, mainly social, cultural and symbolic capitals (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986).

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A closer analysis of tourism researches and recent studies of tourism and creative tourism allows us to identify several kinds of capitals, some of them already mentioned: Social and cultural capital (Karlsson, 2005); (Pappalepore, Maitland, and Smith, 2014) [both based on Bourdieu (1984, 1986)], creative capital (Florida, 2002, 2007) and relational capital (Richards, 2013). These are some of the examples mentioned in cultural creative tourism analysis. Cultural capital can be mentioned in relation to a certain place (e.g. cultural assets, built heritage, traditions) or capital which is held by social actors (i.e. knowledge), cultural competence (Bourdieu, 1984), (Caldwell & Woodside, 2003) cited by van der Ark and Richards (2006).

Bourdieu is one of the main authors in capital theory as he successfully developed different types of capitals in order to explain in a better way, how the social world works. By looking at how social, cultural and symbolic capital is developed or obtained he steps outside general economic analysis. He argues that *“cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the embodied state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the objectified state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), (...) and in the institutionalized state (i.e. educational qualifications)”* (Bourdieu, 1986, p47).

The network society (Castels, 1999) has allowed the participation of different social groups in the tourism market, where the relation between supply and demand has been blurred by the ubiquity of internet and the act of co-creation as the locus of value creation and extraction changes (Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2003; 2004); (Binkhorst and Dekker, 2009). This happens especially in new forms of tourism consumption where we can find creative tourism. More risks are being taken by enterprises as they see everyday clients, and therefore tourists, gaining more influence in tourism trade.

Because this changes the rules of the game, the present research has the goal to analyse how cultural capital is mentioned in the study of creative tourism. How cultural capital is transferred, created, represented, held, applied or transformed for tourism purposes, are some of the questions we think need answers. In the next sections, we analyse how the two variables are treated and connected.

### **3. Methodology**

Systematic research was chosen as research technique using Scopus database ([www.scopus.com](http://www.scopus.com)). A systematic review, like other review studies, is a way to do research using literature as data source on a specific topic (Sampaio e Mancini, 2007). It enables, in a clear and explicit way, a summary of all studies in a particular theme allowing us to incorporate a wider range of relevant results, rather than limit our conclusions to read only a few articles (Sampaio e Mancini, 2007).

“Creative tourism” and “cultural capital” were used as keywords in the present research. Because several types of capital are mentioned in creative tourism literature and the fact that these capitals can vary in form (Bourdieu, 1986), other combinations were attempted. Several attempts were made using social capital, symbolic capital, creative capital or relational capital always in relation to creative tourism, but all without any result at the time of this study. The simple cross relation between creative tourism and cultural capital was the only relation that showed measurability which resulted in 16 items.

Articles which treated co-creation (Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2003; 2004); (Binkhorst and Dekker, 2009) as an act of developing or acquiring cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) were also seen as relevant to the study as it is mentioned in creative tourism literature (Richards, 2011). As mentioned before, this research had the goal to answer the following question “What are the roles that cultural capital plays in creative tourism literature?” We were mainly interested in the type of cultural capital within the framework of creative tourism.

## **4 Results**

### **4.1 Global view**

Results culminated in 16 items ranging from 2002 to 2014. Seven papers were chosen, as they corresponded to the goals in our analysis. The following table 1 was organized by title, author, year, journal and main conclusions of the chosen studies. References to cultural capital are explained in section 4.2. The majority of these papers were mostly representative of the Social Sciences subject areas; others included Business, Management and Accounting, Environmental Science, Arts and Humanities and Multidisciplinary.

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**Table 1 Group of papers analysed**

Title	Author	Year	Publication	Main conclusions
<b>"From cultural tourism to creative tourism: European perspectives"</b>	Richards	2002	TOURISM - An International Interdisciplinary Journal	Creative tourism as alternative to traditional cultural tourism
<b>Developing creativity in tourist experiences: A solution to the serial reproduction of culture?</b>	Richards and Wilson	2006	Tourism Management	Creative tourism is an alternative to the serial reproduction of culture; this type of tourism is based on the cultural capital of local communities, tourism suppliers and creative tourists
<b>Urban cultural tourism: creative approaches for heritage-based sustainable development</b>	D'Auria	2009	International Journal of Sustainable Development	Culture and tourism share a close relation where creativity and the acquisition of cultural capital provide a more sustainable type of tourism
<b>Exploring urban creativity: visitors experiences of Spitalfields, London</b>	Pappalepore, Maitland, and Smith	2010	Tourism, Culture & Communication	Creative areas are still non-formal touristic areas; as an experience, they combine atmospheres, exploration and the opportunity for the visitor to enhance their own creative output
<b>Budapest: from socialist heritage to cultural capital?</b>	Smith and Puczko	2011	Current Issues in Tourism	Evidence suggests that, although some creative approaches to packaging and cultural tourism marketing exist in Budapest, the product is still mainly heritage-focused
<b>Implementing Tourism Events: The Discourses of Umeå's Bid for European Capital of Culture 2014</b>	Åkerlund & Muller	2012	Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism	Cultural capital is pointed out as a major outcome of event organization; creativity and collaboration is merged into a culture of co-creation in which all actors and inhabitants are participants
<b>Prosuming creative urban areas. Evidence from East London</b>	Pappalepore, Maitland, and Smith	2014	Annals of Tourism Research	An alternative use of cultural capital is used to link symbolic and cultural capital which allowed the authors to develop a new frame of typologies of creative tourists in creative areas

Source: Own elaboration

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Every study was developed in or refers mainly to Europe. Authors used qualitative research where we can point out: literature review, case studies, semi-structured interviews, inquiries; data, content and discourse analysis. Inquiries were applied to 4000 people in one case and 55 persons were interviewed in another case. We can also stress the most important keywords used by researchers in their studies, among them: Creative and cultural tourism, cultural attractions, cultural events, cultural quarters, creative industries, experience economy, co-creation and cultural capital.

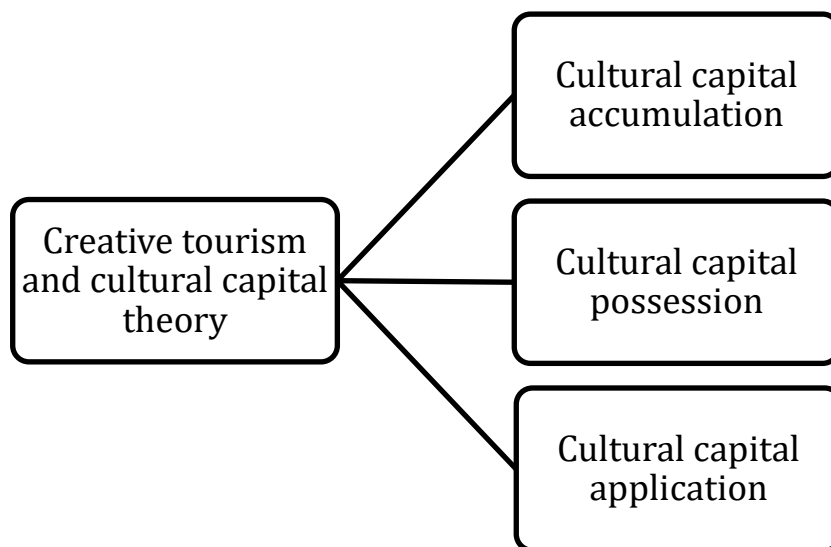
None of the studies selected treated cultural capital singly. On the other hand, many citations of cultural capital were done in reference to the work of Bourdieu (1984, 1986). On the following section, we attempt to contextualize all cultural capital references in creative tourism in the chosen articles.

#### 4.2 References to cultural capital

The majority of the authors' works analysed here constitute strong references to the work of Pierre Bourdieu, as they follow his three forms of representation of cultural capital (embodied form, objectified form and institutionalized form). Other authors have applied it in different ways.

We already know that capitals vary in form. Despite this fact, all of the authors have converging concerns as they link cultural capital to creative tourism and mention it in distinct ways; nonetheless, it was possible to extract three major references. This shows how this connection has been done and how it has been influencing creative tourism studies.

**Figure 2 Presence of cultural capital theory in creative tourism studies**



**Source:** Own elaboration based in (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986); (Richards, 2002); (Richards and Wilson, 2006); (D'Auria, 2009); (Pappalepore, Maitland, and Smith, 2010); (Smith and Puczko, 2011); (Akerlund & Mueller, 2012), (Pappalepore, Maitland, and Smith, 2014).

After analysing several papers, we can identify three main research themes using cultural capital theory in creative tourism: a) cultural capital accumulation, b) cultural capital possession and c) cultural capital application as shown in Figure 2. Next, we try to sum up their references.

##### a) Cultural capital accumulation

A direct connection is established between tourism consumption and the acquisition/accumulation of cultural capital, both by cultural and creative tourists as (Richards and Wilson, 2006) and (D'Auria, 2009) mention. Also (Pappalepore, Maitland, and Smith, 2014) mention that cultural capital is something which tourists want to acquire but also exhibit through tourism. The same authors explain that cultural capital accumulation is done by a cosmopolitan consuming class in search for status. Culture and tourism share a close relation where creativity and the acquisition of cultural capital is an alternative to regular cultural tourism (D'Auria, 2009).

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On the other hand, an opportunity to acquire cultural capital is given when a critical mass of “arty” people is present (Pappalepore, Maitland, and Smith, 2010). Concerning cultural and creative events (Carvalho, Ferreira e Figueira, 2011), Akerlund and Muller (2012) inform us that legitimizing stakeholders is a way to “accumulate knowledge, competence and also [to accumulate] power to execute activities” such as cultural events.

At this point, we can highlight that cultural capital accumulation or acquisition is made possible by tourism consumption and tourism experiences when applied to cultural and creative areas or people. This is important because it reinforces the idea that these “special areas” and social agents are the object of study in creative tourism studies.

#### b) Cultural capital possession

A sociological view is used here in the articles mentioned in the present research. Both supply and demand sides possess the cultural knowledge of a place for tourism production, following the idea already mentioned by Karlsson (2005). Not only tourists themselves own cultural capital as intellectual property (Richards and Wilson, 2006) but also several social groups stationed in a particular touristic destination: local habitants, entrepreneurs, cultural institutions (Akerlund & Mueller, 2012), residents and visitors (Pappalepore, Maitland, and Smith, 2014).

And if we can identify people or groups that own cultural capital and use it for tourism purposes, we can also refer to its objectified form in tourism destinations. Several authors recognise built heritage, monuments and therefore tangible cultural resources as a form of cultural capital of a place (Richards, 2002); (Richards and Wilson, 2006), (D’Auria, 2009), (Smith and Puczko, 2011).

The question of whether cultural capital can represent the entire community is referred by (Akerlund & Muller, 2012). This tells us that despite the fact that all places possess cultural capital, when this is used for tourism purposes it might not represent an entire community. This raises questions about who (destinations and their actors) best uses and activates this kind of knowledge and what are their applications in what concerns to tourism.

#### c) Cultural capital application

Because we are studying the use of this kind of capital in the frame of creative tourism, the chosen articles only show cultural and creative applications to tourism. Local cultural capital is used to boost the event bid for Umea - European Capital of Culture 2014, and cultural capital is pointed out as a major outcome of event organization (Akerlund & Muller, 2012). This capital is used in the design of experiences contributing to long term sustainable development (D’Auria, 2009) where creative tourism is seen as a credible strategy for urban development.

According to (Pappalepore, Maitland and Smith, 2010), cultural capital is referred to the use of insider knowledge about commodities and consumption practices not yet available to the mainstream. This allows visitors and creative tourists to detach themselves from regular tourists (Pappalepore, Maitland, and Smith, 2014), thus converting individual evaluation and establishing social status as important aspects for creative tourism practical applications.

Cultural capital is referred to the knowledge of new trends in tourism services such as “of the beaten track” tours and as a form of distinction within types of tourists and cool, vibrant places (Pappalepore, Maitland, and Smith, 2014). This may concern tourism service providers as they have to design the right experiences for the right tourists. The creative tourist wants deep transforming experiences requiring skill development for both sides of supply and demand. Co-creation plays here a crucial role as visitors co-create their experiences influencing the final outcome of tourism consumption.

### 4.3 Discussion

The present research intended to answer the question: What are the roles that cultural capital plays in creative tourism literature? We have seen that several authors follow the work of Bourdieu as they try to apply its capital theory to tourism studies. This is a positive effort because it allows for researchers to have a different view of how creative tourism is being treated.

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Cultural capital can be seen as part of destination characteristics constituting both tangible and intangible cultural resources. It is held by several actors present at the destination and by tourists, especially through co-creation. It is activated according to tourism policies. Cultural capital transfer is made possible by specialized tourism consumption.

We think that the major contribution of the various studies analysed, is to characterize in an easier way, how creative tourism works and to account for new forms of developing cultural and creative experiences. In developing a kind of taxonomy for cultural capital accumulation, possession and its application in the creative tourism field of study, we have tried to help researchers to idealize new ways of developing creative areas, destinations and experiences.

If we can look at a special territory and identify what is crucial for creative tourism development, one of the most fruitful strategies to do so is to identify who accumulates, holds and activates cultural capital in its different forms for tourism purposes. This might help to develop more sustainable tourism experiences in the long term and to establish creative networks more rapidly.

## 5. Conclusions

The study of creative tourism as so far constituted a different strategy for many destinations as they try to differentiate themselves from regular cultural destinations. It allows tourists to engage in different ways and experience local culture from up close. Co-creation constitutes only one way of using cultural capital in the design of cultural and creative experiences for tourists, as they use it to influence market choice. Cultural capital theory can be used to shed some light in creative tourism theories and practices.

This paper tries to contribute positively to the study of creative tourism. We do not intend to answer all the questions about creative tourism and acknowledge that this paper has some limitations. The study of creative tourism is still at an early stage, as the size of the sample constitutes a very small example compared to other fields of tourism studies. Besides, we have only used one data base in the present investigation. The simple crossing of cultural capital and creative tourism framework lacks other implications of a more economic purpose. Creativity itself can be seen in many different ways which were not referred here. Systematic review technique allowed us to measure only a small set of papers on this matter, as mentioned before.

Nonetheless, we believe this work to be valuable. We believe that by analysing how cultural capital is being used or referred to in this special interest tourism, it might help other researchers develop new ways of thinking about destination strategies and the activation of tangible and intangible cultural and creative assets within tourism studies.

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