

## Creativity in tourism experiences

### The case of Sitges

Esther Binkhorst

#### Introduction

With access to almost anything they want, people in the developed world are engaged in a quest to satisfy their psychological needs such as inspiration, belonging to a meaningful community and meaning in general (Nijs and Peters 2002; Ter Borg 2003). It is particularly in the experience environment of free time, that leisure and tourism experiences have become a basic contributor to the quality of life (Csikszentmihalyi and Hunter 2003; Richards 1999; Urry 1990). People wonder whether they should spend their next couple of days off in the mountains or in the city, which culture they have not explored yet, what cuisine they would like to try now, whether they should try a boutique hotel, a design hotel or an ice hotel and what would really make their trip memorable.

Selling tourism experiences to this highly experienced and sophisticated clientele is a great challenge. According to Pine and Gilmore (1999), experiences can 'touch' people better than products or services. Experiences are intangible and immaterial and although they tend to be expensive, people attach great value to them because they are memorable. The so-called 'first generation' experiences have been criticized within European contexts for being too staged, commercial and artificial and therefore not always suitable for today's customers (Binkhorst 2002; Boswijk *et al.* 2005; Nijs and Peters 2002). Modern consumers want context-related, authentic experiences. Moreover, the 'new tourist' (Poon 1993) wants to be in charge. The 'second generation' experiences, based on co-creation between company and client, enable this and therefore deserve to be studied (see also Binkhorst 2005).

The concept of creativity is interesting in respect of tourism. It was first introduced by Richards and Raymond (2000: 18) as a form of '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'. This definition reflects, on the one hand, the growing interest among individuals to creatively construct their own 'narrative of the self' (Giddens 1990). On the other hand, creative tourism explicitly provides tourism destinations with opportunities to engage with their local culture in order to offer a unique experience. Creative tourism could thus be a very welcome alternative to those destinations providing a 'copy and paste' reproduction of culture.

But where and when does creativity in tourism experiences occur? Can the fact that people visit destinations in order to improve their skills or transform themselves be called 'creative'? It surely results in more unique life stories than the experience of traditional tourism when everyone did more or less the same thing. But when diversity is only defined by the way people link their tourism experiences, which in fact are a series of standard and product-driven goods and services, what is so creative about that? Is creativity then focused on a more interactive form of tourism, a *co-creation* between the tourist and other stakeholders in the tourism network, in order to create unique value for both? If so, when does the co-creation take place? At the destination, during some of the cultural tourism activities undertaken? Or also in the home environment before and/or after the actual travel? Are tourism destinations aware of the existence of the co-creation tourism experience yet, and, if so, how can they develop strategies to really embrace creative tourism?

In this chapter, the concepts of experience and creativity are explored in relation to tourism. The first part of the chapter focuses on the relationship between meaningful experiences and creativity. This is followed by a case study of how the Spanish coastal town of Sitges is developing creative alternatives to its traditional 'sol y playa' ('sun and beach') product.

## **Tourism experiences and creativity**

### ***Experiences and transformations***

While 'experiences' are nothing new,<sup>1</sup> they have long been neglected and perceived as similar to everything else supplied in the service sector. However, according to Pine and Gilmore (1999), they have now been (re)discovered by companies as the way to survive ever-increasing competition. Experiences, rather than goods or services, are said to escape the footloose character of standardization. But, if one views experiences as modules created by companies and selected by individuals from an overloaded (time) market full of experiences, what protects them from commodification?

In view of how the modernization process has manifested itself so far, the production of goods and services in general is said to be 'McDonaldized', that is, based on efficiency, predictability, calculability and control (Ritzer 1996), while the products of tourism in particular (which generally thrives on intangible experiences) are said to be 'McDisneyified' (Ritzer and Liska 1997). The modularization of daily life (Van der Poel 1993, 1997) shows that experiences, when they are considered to be more or less commodified activities undertaken in a certain period of time, can easily become subject to standardization. Modules are exchangeable in the sense that people today have limited time and unlimited options for time allocation, making the selection of time-modules a rather arbitrary process. Modularization does, however, provide the opportunity to compose a unique experience for every individual consumer, while the basic assortment for everybody is standard.<sup>2</sup> For instance, although packaged as a unique and everlasting memorable experience, every show or time-module chosen by a Disney World guest is a McDisneyified performance conditioned by the guidelines of McDonaldization. While the ultimate composition and experience thereof is in itself unique for each individual, its modular parts are nothing more than a sum of standardized product and service elements. The ultimate consumer experience is the result of these elements together with the contextual time-space and personal conditions that surround the individual. Today's post-tourists, who are already collectors of images and sights, will now also become collectors of memorable experiences. The cumulative experience of every person reflects their story or 'narrative of the self'. But is that what creativity refers to?

Much has been written about why people spend their leisure time the way they do. Authors such as Cohen (1972, 1979, 1988), Lengkeek (1994, 1996), MacCannell (1976) and Urry (1990) all interpret tourism as a consequence of the alienation in everyday life. The interruption of daily temporal and spatial structures is what most obviously distinguishes a holiday from the normal routine. Moreover, during holidays, activities are undertaken for which, usually, no time, space or opportunities are at hand, and which are strenuous but relaxing, risky and/or pleasant and so on, in contrast to daily activity patterns (Lengkeek 1994, 1996). The extent to which counterstructures are different from the ordinary, however, depends on the degree of interest

<sup>1</sup> The founder of the experience expansion is Walt Disney who, after he made a name for himself with cartoons, opened the theme park Disneyland in 1955 and designed Disney World, which opened in 1971. In Disneyland, guests are engaged in stories told with images, sounds, tastes, smells and sensations, together inducing a unique experience (Pine and Gilmore 1999). More about the cultural construct of the Disney phenomenon can be read in, for instance, *Disney and his Worlds* (Bryman 1995).

<sup>2</sup> Pine and Gilmore (1999) also point to the phenomenon of modularization as a means to make mass customization possible. Besides environmental architecture (consisting of a 'design instrument' to couple the needs of consumers to the capacities of producers, and a 'designed interaction' in which the producer constructs an example to help the client decide exactly what experience he or she wants), modular architecture (a supply of modules and a coupling system to dynamically connect the independent modules, cf. 'modular system', Van der Poel 1993) is also required to make modularization possible (Pine and Gilmore 1999: 107).

that people have in the 'other' and the extent of alienation in everyday life. Many tourist typologies have been developed in order to categorize tourism behaviour (Cohen 1972, 1979; Elands and Lengkeek 2000; Plog 1972, quoted in Shaw and Williams, 1994: 70; Richards 1996a, 1996c, Richards and Wilson 2003; Stebbins 1997; Thrane 2001).

With respect to cultural tourism in particular, McKercher and Du Cros (2002) found that the major reason for the 'purposeful cultural tourist' to visit a destination is to learn about and to experience the other culture. The 'sightseeing cultural tourist', by contrast, is less concerned with experiencing the other culture than with visiting the cultural highlights. For the 'casual cultural tourist' culture plays a less dominant role in the decision making process for the destination, and being there, the tourist does not get deeply involved. The 'incidental cultural tourist' does not choose a destination based upon culture, and will only be superficially involved with culture during his or her visit. The 'serendipitous cultural tourist' does not seek cultural involvement in the destination choice, but while there gets really involved and has a deep experience. This typology shows that a certain group of cultural tourists is susceptible to being surprised by cultural tourism experiences they encounter along the way. Together with those tourists already interested in culture, this is an interesting and important group for those involved in cultural tourism development. To what extent, however, do these tourists differ in achieving their meaningful experiences? What was the balance for each type of cultural tourist between more passive and more active involvement with their cultural tourism experiences? These questions should not only be investigated regarding tourism experiences at the destination but also in the home environment; when preparing the trip and after returning. Creativity could bloom during all these phases.

It is argued here that experiences can only be unique when people not only play an interactive and participative role in undergoing them, but also in creating, designing, selecting and reflecting upon them. This implies the necessity for a co-creation tourism experience environment, where supply and demand meet and where dialogue between producers and consumers can take place. These trends of future innovation are described by Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2004) but have not yet been specifically studied in the area of leisure and tourism experiences. It is argued here that creative tourism cannot be considered an appropriate alternative to the serial reproduction of culture unless it explicitly refers to a co-creative role of the guest and other stakeholders in the tourism experience network (see also Binkhorst 2005).

Pine and Gilmore (1999) do acknowledge the commodification pitfall for experiences when more and more competitors start offering 'unique' experiences. To avoid this pitfall, they argue that producers need to offer experiences which transform the consumer. People arguably attach more value to such 'transformations' than to services or basic experiences because transformations touch the very source of all other needs, including the origin of the desire for commodities, goods, services and experiences. Memories can be seen as souvenirs of experiences, but they slowly fade away. In the case of transformations, however, the client is the 'product'. No transformation can be copied or simulated exactly, as the unique relationship between the transformer and the transformed can never be made common property. Therefore, transformations cannot degrade to commodities and, at least when adequate aftercare is provided, will endure until the next transformation presents itself (Pine and Gilmore 1999).

Transformations can thus be considered to be co-creations between the transformer and the transformed. The involvement and engagement of the transformed is exactly what explains the added value of transformations, as opposed to memories of experiences that fade away. But does this mean that all tourism experiences undertaken to develop creative potential at the tourism destination could be considered transformations? No. Crucial here is the concept of co-creation; the involvement of the individual in designin or co-creating, undergoing and evaluating their own experiences. These phases are connected in the tourism experience environment in which creativity could bloom.

Therefore, the focus should shift from discussing whether something should be called an 'experience' or a 'transformation' to studying the process of how the products come alive. Who initiates and designs experiences? Who participates in experiencing them? Who participates in optimizing them? How can the process of co-creation be characterized for tourism experiences?

### **Meaningful experiences during travel**

Csikszentmihalyi (1990) characterized the optimal experience as containing a feeling of play, a feeling of control, maximum concentration, enjoying the activity in itself, losing time awareness, a good balance between challenge and own capacities and having a clear objective. Based on an extensive literature review, Boswijk *et al.* (2005: 27) added three other characteristics to the seven already defined by Csikszentmihalyi, namely a unique process for the individual that has intrinsic value, contact with the 'raw stuff' or the 'real thing' and finally, active involvement.

Considering these characteristics, not everything one does can be considered a meaningful experience. Doing routine daily activities such as waking up to the alarm clock in the morning, preparing for school or work or rushing to the bus or train, do not help you to lose time awareness or to have a sense of playfulness. Neither do these types of activity provide us with an increased level of concentration or get us emotionally involved. Consequently, meaningful experiences are generally to be found outside the range of usual, routine, repetitive daily activities. Rather, they are 'first time' experiences or they are 'once in a lifetime' experiences, of which many occur when discovering new places during travel. The area of free time in which leisure and tourism activities are usually undertaken can therefore be considered to be the main generator for meaningful experiences (see also Binkhorst 2005). Tourism experiences are generally undertaken as part of 'paid for' experiences. Consequently, those who buy and those who sell experiences interact in what is called the 'co-creation tourism experience environment'. This experience environment where demand and supply meet is still underestimated as a useful tool to stimulate creative tourism.

It is argued here that both in the home environment when preparing the trip or reflecting upon it, and during the actual travel, virtual and real experiences continuously shape the individual's tourism network and determine the final tourism experience (see also Binkhorst 2005). The current setting in which tourism experiences are designed and offered does not stimulate but rather limits creativity.

### **The concept of creativity**

Traditionally, creativity is associated with 'doing something manually', or with 'the creation of things' such as painting, making music, making handicrafts and so on. It also refers to being inventive, imaginative and original as Van Dale (2007) puts it. Creativity in the concept development process refers to 'finding solutions for problems that others have not found yet and applying combinations of knowledge to new problem areas' (Walravens, cited in Nijs and Peters 2002). Although know-how and an analytical approach are absolutely necessary in any concept development process, creativity is an indispensable ingredient. Nijs and Peters (2002) point to several key aspects of creativity as part of the concept development process: creativity is about solving problems; creativity is about innovation, that is, finding solutions that others have not found yet; creativity is about crossing borders and looking into other fields; and creativity is about combining knowledge from different fields, not necessarily about the development of completely new ideas. The descriptions in the literature of the process of creativity resulting in new developments has varied a lot over the years. It is summarized by Nijs and Peters (2002) as: problem definition, preparation, breeding, 'aha-erlebnis' (moment of finding the solution), evaluation and selection, elaboration and implementation. These phases do not necessarily have to progress in a linear fashion during the concept development process; one can easily start breeding again after the aha-erlebnis, for instance. Csikszentmihalyi argues that creativity

results from the interaction between three elements in a system: an individual launches something new into a symbolic field with its own culture of norms and rules and a market of experts recognizes and then evaluates the innovations (Csikszentmihalyi 1999, cited in Nijs and Peters 2002).

Based on this model, creativity is a pervasive and ongoing process that continually shapes everyday life. Consumers will play an ever bigger role in this, as they increasingly gain more power and control in future experience environments in which dialogues can take place between them and companies (Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2004). Florida (2002) argues that the rise of human creativity is the key factor in our economy and society and identifies the 'creative class' as the driving force behind the transformation of society.

### **Creative tourism**

Based on a study of tourism experiences of US tourists in the Netherlands, Binkhorst (2002) warns against the creation of too many 'fun-seeking sights' there. These 'footloose' reproductions of reproductions may occur in any other country and will therefore not contribute to the uniqueness of the Netherlands as a tourism destination. Several of its popular and unique cultural tourism attractions, such as the red light district of Amsterdam, the coffee shops and the Delta Works, which are limited to passive sightseeing so far, could be transformed creatively into more interactive tourism experiences. Moreover, the intangible aspects of the Netherlands very much appreciated by American travellers, such as the atmosphere, culture, food and people, are invaluable resources for creative tourism experiences. A recent initiative, 'Dine with the Dutch', invites tourists to have dinner in real, private, local Dutch settings at people's homes:

Get to know Dutch culture in a unique way and join an Amsterdammer for dinner. Book an at-home dinner with one of our specially selected hosts. Listen to their stories about *Dutch culture*, find out more about Amsterdam and sample our kitchen!

([www.dinewiththedutch.nl](http://www.dinewiththedutch.nl))

According to the ten characteristics detailed above (Boswijk *et al.* 2005), this can be considered a meaningful experience. An American couple reflects, after having returned home, that they had a wonderful time visitin Amsterdam and the Netherlands and that their dinner with 'Hans and Marreke' was one of the highlights of their trip. They report that this unique experience does indeed give the visitor an entirely different perspective of the country (*ibid.*).

Creativity in tourism has so far basically been referred to in two ways. First, people today are more decisive in the process of shaping their own narratives, a phenomenon that pre-eminently develops during leisure and tourism. This results in numerous stories full of ever-more original tourism experiences. Second, it involves 'the creation of things' at the destination – the painting, cooking, making handicrafts and so on mentioned above. Indeed, there is a growing interest in having such creative experiences during holidays. Richards and Wilson (2006) point out various ways in which the application of creativity can help develop cultural tourism into creative tourism. These are:

- creative spectacles: the production of creative experiences for passive consumption by tourists;
- creative spaces: the development of a spatially demarcated creative 'enclave' populated by creatives to attract visitors;
- creative tourism: a more active involvement of tourists, not just spectating or 'being there' but reflexive interaction.



Having dinner in a real Dutch home can be considered creative tourism. The tourist interacts with the local people at the destination, enters places that normally would not easily be accessible, learns about how they live, eat, cook and so on, and both visitor and visited are able to share their cultures. This example illustrates as well that creativity in itself cannot be considered an appropriate alternative to the serial reproduction of culture unless it refers to a participative role of the individual and other stakeholders in the tourism network, in the co-creation of the tourism experience before, during and after travel. The following section focuses on how the coastal Spanish town of Sitges deals with creativity in tourism.

## **Creativity and tourism in Sitges**

### ***Plan of Excellence 2004***

In Sitges, a Spanish coastal town just south of Barcelona, attempts are being made to fight the traditional tourism developments of the 1960s that made the destination suffer from typical problems such as overcrowding. Sitges is basically known for its beaches and palm tree boulevard, its picturesque church, its art and galleries, the traditional celebrations, the parties, its numerous events, its gay scene, the boutiques, nineteenth- and twentieth-century modernist architecture, and its international and cosmopolitan atmosphere. In 2004, the *Plan of Excellence* was launched by the local tourism authorities to relocate services and amenities, to create new products adapted to current trends in demand, and to work towards enhancing natural resources. The plan consists of four programmes focusing on the creation and consolidation of tourist products (product portfolios of cultural tourism, gastronomic events, active tourism, company products); tourist promotion and publicity (the Sitges brand, infrastructure and services, a marketing plan); strengthening tourist commercialization (new promotional DVD, new website); and improvements of beach services (services, accessibility and sustainability).

Some recent initiatives show how tourists are being offered cultural- and natural-related experiences by inviting them inland to experience the 'other side of the beach'. Current supply ranges from standard tours to innovative and context-related activities. They can basically be organized around the following topics:

- Cultural heritage (passive sightseeing to museums, art galleries, monasteries, markets and so on, and routes passing modernist buildings);
- Festivals and events (observing, spectating activities);
- Gastronomy (active participation in wineries and other food- and drink-related settings);
- Nature (passive and/or active activities in the Garraf National Park);
- Adventure (active sightseeing such as hot-air ballooning, helicopter tours, sailing trips, 4x4 excursions or activities such as carting and skydiving).

Each of these will be discussed in the following sections.

### ***Sitges' cultural heritage experiences***

The cultural heritage highlights of the town are the three museums. The museum of Cau Ferrat is the former house and studio of artist and painter Santiago Rusiñol. He bought this old fisherman's house in 1894 and transformed it into a meeting place for artists and intellectuals of the time. Later it was transformed into a museum where works by El Greco, Picasso, Miró, Rusiñol, Utrillo and others are exhibited. Today it is one of the icons of Catalan Modernism. Visitors may enjoy the cultural spirit of the era during concerts organized in the museum Cau Ferrat. The Romantic Museum shows how a Sitgetan family lived at the end of the nineteenth century and the museum also houses an interesting collection of dolls, a donation of the writer and illustrator Lola Anglada. In summer, outdoor opera concerts can be enjoyed. The Museum Maricel houses three art collections and forms, together with the Maricel Palace (a building constructed at the beginning of the twentieth century by the American collector Charles Deering

with the help of the engineer and art critic Miquel Utrillo), an impressive entity of modernist architecture right by the sea in the old town centre. In summer, the music of composers such as Bizet and Albéniz can be enjoyed accompanied by castanets and a glass of cava ([www.sitgestour.com/sitgestiucultura-13.html](http://www.sitgestour.com/sitgestiucultura-13.html)). Other cultural heritage sights in Sitges include the churches of Vinyet and Sant Bartomeu and Santa Tecla and the modernist architectural route along the villas of the Catalans who made their fortune in America.

The year 2006 was dedicated to Santiago Rusiñol, the artist and painter who is generally held responsible for the transformation of Sitges from a fishing village into a meeting place for artists, building the foundations of the magical appeal of Sitges today. Seventy-five years after his death, the municipality of Sitges celebrates the spirit of modernism and wants to strengthen the image of Sitges as Santiago Rusiñol created it: an image of art and culture, of civilization, of modernity and, moreover, a European image. To this end, the municipality organized a range of activities from June 2006 to June 2007, including conferences, courses, symposia, itineraries, web pages, book (re)editions, documents and the restoration and improvement of the architectural and cultural heritage of the town (Municipality of Sitges 2006).

In the area around Sitges, markets, castles, monuments and monasteries can be visited, as well as, obviously, the nearby city of Barcelona with its numerous cultural sights and attractions. Sitges' cultural heritage can basically be experienced by passing by and admiring the buildings from the outside, having a look at the expositions inside, joining a guided sightseeing tour or joining one of the events organized by the museums. Through seeing, listening and a bit of tasting, tourists can familiarize themselves with the town's cultural heritage.

### **Sitges' festivals and events**

*Sitges es una fiesta permanente* ('Sitges is a permanent festival') according to the Patronato Municipal de Turismo de Sitges (2005b), and an expansive calendar of local, national and international events is held in Sitges. Whether it is a traditional celebration, cinema, theatre, music, dance or gastronomy, Sitges hosts events of all kinds and sizes. Some of the principal events are the Carnival, the vintage car rally, Sant Jordi book and rose day, the celebration of the 'Corpus Christi' flower carpet competition, the anual festival (*Fiesta Mayor*) in honour of Sant Bartomeu (the town's Patron Saint), the 'Fiestas de la Vendimia' (the grape harvest festival), Santa Tecla and the International Film Festival of Catalunya (Patronato Municipal de Turismo de Sitges 2006). The events guarantee a continuous flow of visitors to the town. Copious events announced weekly in the local newspaper 'L'Eco Sitges' reflect the nature of Sitges as a creative space.

Lately, Sitges has also increasingly developed as a conference and meeting destination. The recent opening of the Dolce Sitges Conference Centre and the establishment of the Sitges Convention Bureau has professionalized this segment even more. Companies such as Porsche, Nike and others come to Sitges to celebrate all kinds of event such as product launches, conferences, team building activities and so on. Located almost next door to Barcelona, Sitges benefits from the increase in popularity of Barcelona as an event destination.

### **Sitges' gastronomic experiences**

Boosted by the year of gastronomy in Catalunya in 2005, the area of gastronomy is being exploited more than ever before in the creation of cultural tourism experiences. As the senses of taste and smell are explicitly involved in gastronomy, it is a very valuable resource for creating meaningful experiences.

In a recent interview with the Gremio de Hostelería de Sitges (Arenas 2006), their President argues that the level of gastronomy in Sitges has increased tremendously during the last 20 years. Gastronomy seems to be a year-round reason for people to visit the town. 'Sometimes clients come to Sitges just to have a good lunch', he says. Therefore, some of the restaurants in Sitges have more work during winter than during the tourist season. 'Most of the clients are of Spanish origin who tend to spend more on food generally' (Arenas 2006: 14).

*El parc a taula* ('Park at your Table') for instance, is part of the project *Viu el Parc* ('Enjoy the park'). It is aimed at sharing significant aspects of Catalan culture, for example gastronomy, with visitors to the Garraf National Park. Twelve restaurants offer specially prepared dishes with products that are typical of the national park and cooked by experts. In 2005, the wine and cava producers of the municipalities in the park also joined the project to complement the Garraf gastronomic experience.

On winery excursions, people come to see, smell and taste diverse wines besides learning about the thousand-year-old tradition of winemaking and viticulture. A winery experience in the surroundings of Sitges usually includes a walking or 4x4 tour of the vineyard with its chapel, tower and cellar, where tourists can learn about viticulture from a qualified oenologist who guides the wine tasting. To get a taste of the typical local cuisine, a Catalan lunch is often served.

At the famous Torres winery ([www.torres.es](http://www.torres.es)) the one-hour tour begins inside the 1300 square metre visitors' centre, with the screening of a video which explains Torres' history. The estate where the mythical Mas la Plana wine was born can be visited. The secrets of the Torres way of planting and picking grapes are shown, visitors can see the arrival of the grapes, the fermentation process and visit the ample underground cellars. Then they will be able to walk among the casks, smell the wine while it ages and understand the secrets of this work. After a wine tasting session at the end of the tour in the vaulted-roofed tasting hall, people will leave the Penedès region with the Torres taste. The Torres family makes it clear that their vocation does not lie in the restaurant industry but in the production of wine. However, the customer has the opportunity to accompany his or her wine with some gourmet dishes, essentially based on selected products of the *Torres Real* brand, also owned by the family, including asparagus, tuna, olives and so on. *La Vinoteca Torres* is a space of modern design where one can taste any of the more than 50 wines and brandies produced by the Torres family in Catalonia, Penedès, Conca de Barberà, Ribera del Duero, Chile and California. Wines of the PFV (Primum Familiae Vini) association, to which the Torres Family belongs, may also be found. Also at Jean Leon ([www.jeanleon.com](http://www.jeanleon.com)) another winery in the Penedès region owned by Torres, they have succeeded very well in creating an experience environment in which visitors are being exposed to the legend behind the brand by guiding them through different experience spaces. Visitors arrive at a brand new modern visitor centre at the heart of the Penedès, perched on top of a hill with views of the entire valley. A film shows visitors the fascinating life of Jean Leon, a Spanish immigrant who, with his extraordinary and unbreakable willpower, made it through a relentless string of adventures until he saw his most desired dreams become reality. The museum contains a mine of information visualizing Jean Leon's life story on the one hand, and about the viticulture in different areas of Leon's vineyards on the other. Visitors are then taken on a guided tour through the vineyard and bodega with explanations of viticulture and the different winemaking techniques. Moreover, there are opportunities to taste several wines, and lunches can also be served.

What is remarkable about all of these gastronomic experiences, however, is that the participation of the visitor is still limited to seeing, listening, smelling and tasting. There are no options yet to be completely engaged in, for instance, the Torres brand through the principle of co-creation.



### **Sitges' nature experiences**

Sitges is located between the Mediterranean and the Garraf National Park. The latter is located between the regions Baix Llobregat, l'Alt Penedès and El Garraf. It borders the inland area of Llobregat, the Mediterranean and the Penedès. The Park occupies 12,820 hectares and its two highest mountains peaks are 'la Morella' (595 metres) and 'el Rascler' (572 metres). Some interesting examples of creative tourism environments can be found in the Park.

*Jafrà Natura* ([www.jafranatura.com](http://www.jafranatura.com)), a governmental body of the *Diputació de Barcelona*, organizes guided walks along the coast to observe transformations of the landscape. They also organize specialized guided tours in the Garraf National Park to discover its flora and fauna, its history, its inhabitants, its fruits and vegetables and so on, with a link to Catalan cuisine. For the more adventurous tourist they offer guided sailing and catamaran tours to experience the Park's coastline from the sea, as well as excursions by 4x4, mountain biking, climbing and so on. Experiencing the park is creatively linked with gastronomy in *El Parc a Taula* (see above).

Besides various educational centres, the Garraf National Park houses *Vallgrasa*, an experimental centre for the arts that was established some 20 years ago. In 2001 it was transformed into an innovative project based on both the natural surroundings of the Garraf National Park and the Mediterranean cultural identity. It is a meeting point for artists and visitors; a gathering place for creativity and observation.

It is a place where the universal, open language of today's art allows for the discovery and integration of the soul of the Park of Garraf. . . . It is a meeting point and a departure point too, where bridges are created to connect the Park and its surrounding territory through workshops, seminars, exhibits, poetry recitals, music concerts.

(Vallgrasa 2005)

One of the workshops that Vallgrasa organizes is set up around the sense of smell, giving form to emotions and sensations arising from the experience of nature, through different smells that can be found in the Park such as rosemary, pine sap, sea and so on.

The examples described above show that the natural heritage of Sitges and its surroundings can be experienced in a more participative way. A more in-depth analysis of the supply side will tell us who the visitors are that actually consume these experiences. The initial results of fieldwork undertaken in Sitges during the summer of 2006 indicate that creativity is not yet a well-known part of the tourism product.

### **Sitges' adventure experiences**

The more adventurous experiences that are currently being offered in Sitges are hot-air ballooning, helicopter tours, carting, sailing, surfing, 4x4 and skydiving. The bicycle has also become a visible element in town as cycle tracks are becoming part of Sitges' street scene. 'Sitges Bike' ([www.sitgesbike.com](http://www.sitgesbike.com)) now makes it possible for tourists to experience the town and its surroundings on two wheels.

*Garrafactiu* ([www.garrafactiu.com](http://www.garrafactiu.com)) is a company specialising in sport activities in the Garraf National Park. Through activities such as quad rides, archery, kayaking, orientation games on mountain bikes, horseriding, discovering all the secrets of the Park while trekking and other personalized activities, emotions are touched while people are in contact with the natural environment. The experiences they offer are fun and educational at the same time.

As the examples described above are sports and adventurous experiences in which the participant is personally and actively involved, the level of participation is obviously higher than in some of the other tourism experiences mentioned before. A more in-depth analysis of the suppliers in this category could shed light on the question 'who are the people that sign up for these adventurous experiences?' Again, from the results of fieldwork undertaken during the summer of 2006 among tourists in the centre of town, it is not currently an experience that tourists have heard of or actually participate in during their stay in Sitges.

## **Tourists in the summer of 2006 in Sitges**

### ***Methodology***

No recent and reliable data were available on visitor profiles or travel behaviour in Sitges. In order to get an insight into the characteristics, motivations and behaviour of cultural tourists in the town, it was decided to use the ATLAS<sup>3</sup> cultural tourism questionnaire. The advantage of using this questionnaire is the ability to compare the data collected locally with the worldwide ATLAS database. A disadvantage, however, is its more or less fixed structure and content. Some specific questions about the tourism supply in Sitges were added but, to be able to compare the data with the rest of the ATLAS database and to prevent the questionnaire from being too long, the basic content of the ATLAS questionnaire was followed. In future, tailor-made questionnaires and in-depth interviews with a number of tourists and suppliers would be very useful for getting an insight into more specific topics, especially when it comes to the impacts of the various tourism experiences that people undergo.

The survey was conducted in Spanish and English among 350 international tourists in Sitges from mid July to mid August 2006. Two students from ESADE/St. Ignasi<sup>4</sup> were instructed to approach tourists throughout town, along the boulevard and on the beach, either in the morning from 10 am to 2 pm or from 5 pm to 9 pm in the afternoon. Due to very high temperatures during the month of July, an exception was sometimes made, and fieldwork was conducted later at night in cooler temperatures. Generally, tourists were quite willing to participate and to talk about their holidays. Nevertheless, as the survey was conducted among all tourists and not directed at those who had visited cultural attractions at the moment of interviewing, some of the questions were not applicable or did not fit into the tourist's mindset at that time.

Obviously, this research has some limitations. Most importantly, as fieldwork was only done during the summer, it is not surprising beach tourists dominated the sample. The research was also limited because the questionnaires were conducted only in the centre of Sitges. Consequently, none of the specific locations for cultural, natural, gastronomic, sports and adventurous tourism experiences were included. This increases the chance of having a sample of tourists who are only walking around in town or lying on the beach. This problem was reduced, however, by including questions about the cultural, natural, gastronomic or adventurous sights and attractions tourists had heard about or planned to visit during their stay.

---

<sup>3</sup> ATLAS is the Association for Tourism and Leisure Education. The Cultural Tourism Research Programme of ATLAS has conducted visitor surveys and studies of cultural tourism policies and suppliers over the past 15 years (see [www.tram-research.com/atlas](http://www.tram-research.com/atlas)).

<sup>4</sup> I would like to thank ESADE/St. Ignasi for supporting this research. Many thanks to Vinyet Gonzalez and Carlos Martín who, despite the demands of their summer jobs, conducted this survey during their scarce free time!

### **Visitor profile**

The total sample consisted of 350 people who spent their holidays in Sitges during the survey period. Two-thirds of them were male and one-third were female.

Ten per cent came from the local area (basically from Barcelona; those residing in Sitges were excluded from the survey), 41 per cent from the rest of Spain and 49 per cent from abroad. The sample represents a very International visitor profile. The majority of those who came from abroad (81 per cent) came from other countries within the European Union, most of them from France (23 per cent), followed by the United Kingdom (18 per cent), Germany (11 per cent) and the Netherlands (10 per cent). Other European countries that were less well represented were Andorra, Finland, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Switzerland and Sweden. Of the visitors originating from non-European countries, 11 per cent came from the USA and others (only 1 to 2 per cent) came from Argentina, Australia, Bulgaria, Canada, Colombia, Japan, Kuwait, Russia and Uruguay.

Almost one-third of the total sample of tourists was 30–39 years old, closely followed by the categories 40–49 and then 20–29. Only a few of them were younger than 20 years or 50 years and older. There are generally no significant differences in age regarding the country of origin. However, tourists from the local area tended to be younger. The sample was quite highly educated: a quarter having completed vocational education and another quarter a masters or doctoral degree. Remarkable is the high percentage of visitors from outside Spain with a masters or doctoral degree (45 per cent), while only 7 per cent of people from the local area had a similar qualification. Of those in paid employment, over half were professionals, and this meant that the tourists had relatively high incomes. Over a quarter of the sample had an annual household gross income level of €40,000–50,000.

In terms of travel style, most people were travelling with their family (36 per cent) or their partner (31 per cent). Most tourists stayed in a hotel (57 per cent), although a large proportion of the tourists from Barcelona stayed in a second residence and 11 per cent of them stayed with family and friends. When looking at the people coming from other places in Spain, self catering accommodation such as apartments (19 per cent), caravan or tent (10 per cent) and staying with family and friends (10 per cent) were also popular. For those who originated from outside Spain, most were staying in a hotel (64 per cent) or in a caravan or tent (15 per cent).

The majority of tourists who booked their transport separately indicated that they did not book it in advance (61 per cent). Many of them probably came with their own car from other places in Spain or Europe. Twenty-one per cent arranged their transport via the Internet. When looking at how they booked their accommodation, 30 per cent indicated that they made their own travel arrangements directly (by phone or fax), 27 per cent booked accommodation via the Internet, 26 per cent did not book their accommodation in advance and 17 per cent booked through a travel agent or tour operator. The average length of stay for the total sample was six nights.

### **Purpose of visit**

When asking tourists about the main purpose of their trip to Sitges, the vast majority (63 per cent) answered that they came for a holiday. Other options they could choose from were 'for a cultural event' (12 per cent), 'visiting relatives and friends' (5 per cent), 'for business' (5 per cent), 'for a sports event' (6 per cent), 'for shopping' (3 per cent) or for 'other', unspecified, reasons (6 per cent). The fact that 12 per cent visited Sitges for 'a cultural event' reflects the specific interest in cultural tourism that many people had when choosing Sitges as a holiday destination.

When reflecting upon their holiday in Sitges, most tourists (61 per cent) described it as a sun and beach holiday. For the tourists originating from the local area this was the most important category (74 per cent), while among tourists from the rest of Spain and foreigners it was mentioned by 61 per cent and 60 per cent respectively. Only 15 per cent of all tourists described their trip to Sitges as a cultural holiday. Even fewer local people characterized their trip as 'cultural' (3 per cent), compared with 19 per cent of the foreigners.

From these results it can be concluded that, according to the tourists themselves, Sitges is still basically seen as a sun and beach holiday destination.

### Cultural tourism experiences in Sitges

Tourists were asked about their visits to cultural attractions such as museums, monuments, art galleries, religious or historic sites, theatres, cinema, pop concerts, traditional festivals and gastronomic events. More than one-third of the sample did not visit any of the 14 cultural attractions mentioned in the questionnaire. Twenty per cent planned to visit one cultural attraction, another 19 per cent planned to visit two cultural attractions and 11 per cent said they would visit three cultural attractions. There seemed to be little enthusiasm for cultural tourism experiences among the respondents.

International tourists were also asked about some specific cultural attractions in and around Sitges, such as the Garraf National Park, *El Parc a Taula*, wineries, the three museums of Sitges, activities linked to the year of Rusiñol, the annual *Fiesta Mayor*, having lunch or dinner with local people, or other sights or events. Figure 1 shows the results for this question.

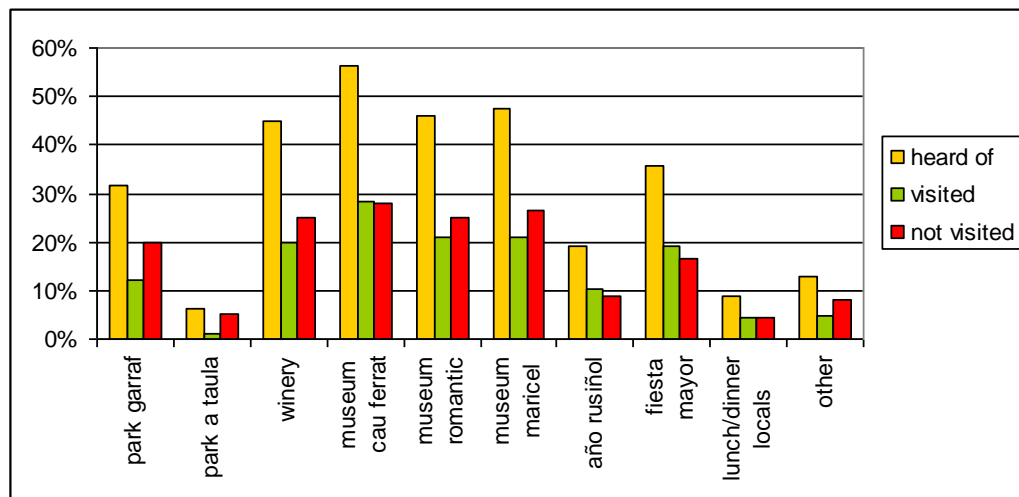


Figure 1 Awareness and visiting behaviour of cultural sights in Sitges for those who indicated having heard about at least one of the cultural attractions (N=259).

Over a quarter of the total sample had not heard about any of the cultural attractions in Sitges at all. Over half of the sample had heard of between one and five cultural attractions and another 19 per cent indicated being aware of between six and ten of the attractions. Figure 1 indicates that even when tourists were aware of cultural attractions, they did not necessarily visit them. The three museums, wineries, the *Fiesta Mayor* and to a lesser extent the Garraf National Park are the most well-known cultural sights among tourists. Even so, the numbers of tourists who visited, for instance, the three museums are low (between a quarter and a fifth of respondents). Tourists were even less familiar with intangible cultural products, such as the gastronomic project *El Parc a Taula*, the year of Rusiñol and having lunch or dinner with locals.

'Having lunch or dinner with locals' is obviously not very well known, due to the fact that it does not exist (yet) as a cultural tourism experience. It seems that the *Fiesta Mayor* is visited by many tourists. This is remarkable because most of the tourists were questioned in the days leading up to the *Fiesta Mayor*. This percentage is probably boosted by repeat visitors who had visited the *Fiesta Mayor* during previous years. Gastronomic experiences in the Garraf National Park and activities organized around the year of Rusiñol do not seem to be reaching the tourism market as almost no one had heard about them.

In general, it seems that not too many people are aware of the range of cultural tourism experiences in and around Sitges. More remarkable, however, is that a lot of people who are familiar with them do not visit. We will now look at how tourists evaluate their trip to Sitges.

### How do tourists evaluate their Sitges tourism experience?

The fact that more than half of the sample (55 per cent) were repeat visitors to Sitges tells us something about the large number of people that must be highly satisfied with their tourism experience in Sitges. Ninety-three per cent of the tourists coming from the local area (basically Barcelona), 55 per cent of the Spanish tourists and 49 per cent of the foreign tourists indicated that they had been on a holiday in Sitges before.

Figure 2 shows to what extent tourists agreed or disagreed with some statements about Sitges as their tourism destination. Again, tourists are extremely positive about Sitges. The average rating of the total sample for their overall satisfaction of their visit to Sitges is 8.5 on a scale from one to ten. Local, Spanish or foreign tourists do not differ in their satisfaction with Sitges.

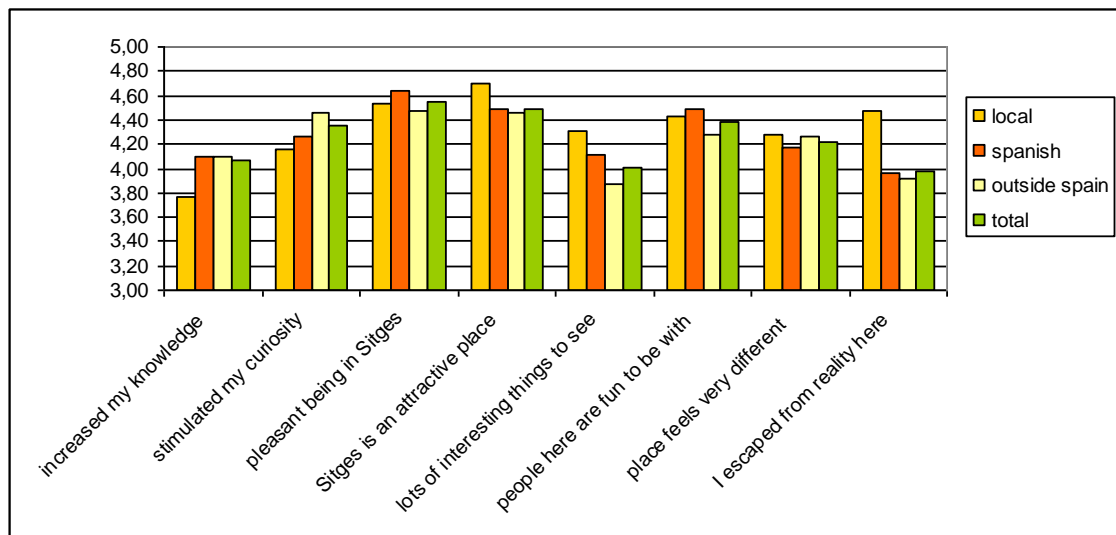


Figure 2 Extent to which tourists agreed with statements about Sitges (N=350).

Most of all, tourists indicated that it was very pleasant being in Sitges (average rating 4.55 on a scale from one to five), that Sitges is a very attractive place (4.49) and that the people in Sitges are fun to be with (4.38). 'My visit to Sitges has stimulated my curiosity' was rated 4.35. Although rated a little lower, 'this place feels very different' still had a score of 4.22 out of five. Tourists tended to agree least with statements such as 'my visit to Sitges has increased my knowledge' (4.07), that 'there are lots of interesting things to see in Sitges' (4.0) or that they had 'completely escaped from reality here' (3.97).



These scores seem to indicate that the visitors to Sitges still see it basically as a place for relaxation and fun, and not so strongly related to 'classic' cultural tourism motivations, such as learning new things.

### **From *sol y playa* to creative tourism?**

#### ***Current tourism experiences in Sitges***

According to the tourists themselves, Sitges is basically seen as a sun and beach holiday destination and relatively few tourists visit cultural sights and attractions. From these results, Sitges cannot be considered a typical cultural tourism destination. Nor would the activities undertaken by tourists identify Sitges as a creative tourism destination where people go to participate in courses or join other learning experiences. Looking at the supply side, there are many cultural tourism experiences on offer. They are not very well known yet, at least not among summer tourists. Generally, creativity is seen as a supply-driven affair during the product development process. There are a number of new 'creative tourism' experiences being developed in and around the town, but to develop Sitges as a creative destination, cultural and natural heritage should be utilized and communicated to visitors in a more engaging way.

An innovative perspective on creative tourism could help Sitges to develop as a creative tourism destination, with both real and virtual tourism experiences. First, a study of the supply and the actual use thereof by different types of tourist could shed light on the current state of creative tourism. Second, the challenge is to explore whether and how tourists could actually be involved in designing and co-creating their own tourism experiences and reflecting upon them afterwards; not just as participative cocreators in the experience setting, but also in the process of designing such settings. As in other businesses where customers co-create innovations, Sitges should seriously consider including knowledgeable tourists in the tourism development process so as to co-create relevant and creative innovative tourism experiences. Consumers are, together with the local entrepreneurs and inhabitants, the carriers of knowledge and experience needed to innovate and develop the products (See Binkhorst 2005 on the 'cocreation tourism experience'). Or, as Nijs (2003: 17) argues, 'People, and particularly their creativity and passion, eventually will appear to be the only possible and most sustainable source for competitive advantage'.

Regarding the gastronomic experiences in Sitges, for instance, a range of more participative and engaging – and therefore more memorable – tourism experiences could be implemented, such as preparing a typical Catalan dish in an authentic local setting, helping with the grape harvest, making wine or staying on the authentic Torres vineyard to live the life of a Torres wine grower. In addition, one can think of an immense range of virtual winery or gourmet experiences that could enhance gastronomic tourism experiences, even before arriving at the destination and again after returning home. The natural heritage of Sitges and its surroundings could also be experienced in a more participative way.

However, from the results of the fieldwork undertaken for this study, it is not yet a well-known or very common experience to undergo during a (summer) stay in Sitges. A more in-depth analysis of the supply side could tell us something about the demand – who the visitors are that actually participate in these experiences and why they participate.

#### ***A creative future for cultural tourism in Sitges?***

'Sitges, the art of living' is the new slogan to brand the town of Sitges as a tourism destination. It refers to the Mediterranean lifestyle, captures its arty image and even expresses it as a way of living. At the same time, it expresses the magic that surrounds the town of Sitges.

Sitges is a highly popular destination, as the growing number of inhabitants, flows of immigrants, tourists and visitors reflect. Creative tourism in Sitges, however, can basically be found in the first two spheres of 'creative spectacles' and 'creative space', while the more active form of 'creative tourism' is not yet very developed. Although there is an increase in alternatives to the core of *sol y playa*, very few of these aim to have tourists actively co-creating their stay in Sitges, let alone during the preparation of their visit or after having returned home. Rather, tourists are restricted to passive consumption through sightseeing or spectating.

### **Recommendations for further research**

Much research needs to be done here. To begin with, few data are available on the visitor profiles, their motivations, their time-spatial patterns and so on, and the demand for, use of and satisfaction with the traditional tourism supply and recently developed alternatives in Sitges. What strategies could be developed to achieve more creative tourism? It would be interesting to conduct, after a basic and year-round study of the tourist profile, a timespace analysis of tourism behaviour in the town, and to have a closer look at peoples' interest in and evaluation of different experiences in the area. This study and preliminary findings through participant observation show that most tourists are hardly aware of the alternatives off the beach. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether creators of tourism experiences realize that a significant market is now passing by. Often, 'not knowing about' or not being able to understand promotional material due to language barriers keeps people on the beach, or in the shops, bars and restaurants. This leaves the 'other side of the beach' unknown, while Sitges in fact has a rich cultural and natural heritage that provides the town with an indefinite resource for creative tourism experiences.

An interesting question for further research related to the world of experiences and creative tourism would be 'what are the impacts on future tourism behaviour of the various tourism experiences?' The hypothesis is that the higher the level of active participation or even co-creation in the design, undertaking and evaluation of the tourism experience, the more engaged tourists are, the more memorable the tourism experience will be and the more attached people become to the Sitges brand. If this is the case, a coherent portfolio of real and virtual Sitges tourism experiences, targeted at different markets with varying interests, could really brand Sitges as an innovative and creative tourism destination.

### **References**

- Aranda, A. and J. Colomer (2006), *Nuevas experiencias por Barcelona*. Practicum III. Barcelona: ESADE/St.Ignasi.
- Arenas, S. (2006), Aquí se come muy bien. Entrevista con Joan Antón Matas Arnalot, Presidente del Gremio de Hostelería de Sitges. In: *Mon Blau* 8, 12-15.
- Binkhorst, E. (2002), *Holland, the American way. Transformations of the Netherlands into US vacation experiences*. PhD Thesis Tilburg University.
- Binkhorst (2005), *Creativity in the experience economy, towards the co-creation tourism experience?*, paper presented at annual ATLAS Conference 'Tourism, creativity and development', Barcelona, November.
- Boswijk, A., T. Thijssen and E. Peelen (2005), *Een nieuwe kijk op de experience economy, betekenisvolle belevenissen*. Amsterdam: Pearson Education Benelux.
- Bryman, A. (1995), *Disney and his worlds*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Cohen, E. (1972), Toward a sociology of international tourism. In: *Social Research* (39) 1, 164-182.

- Cohen, E. (1979), A phenomenology of tourist experiences. In: *Journal of British Sociological Association* (13) 2, 179-201.
- Cohen, E. (1988), Authenticity and commoditization in tourism. In: *Annals of Tourism Research* (15), 371-385.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1990), *Flow: The psychology of optimal experience*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. and J. Hunter (2003), Happiness in everyday life: the uses of experience sampling. In: *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 4, 185-199.
- Elands, B. and Lengkeek, J. (2000), *Typical Tourists. Research into the theoretical and methodological foundations of a typology of tourism and recreation experiences*. Leiden: Backhuys Publishers.
- Giddens, A. (1990), *The consequences of modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, A. (1991), *Modernity and Self-Identity. Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge/Oxford: Polity Press in association with Basil Blackwell.
- Gilmore, J.H. and B.J. Pine (2002), *The experience IS the marketing*. Louisville: BrownHerron Publishing.
- Huisman, J. (2005), Laissez faire met een torenhoge ambitie. Job Cohen over zijn creatieve stad Amsterdam. In: *Items* 2, 35-41.
- Lengkeek, J. (1994), *Een meervoudige werkelijkheid: een sociologisch-filosofisch essay over het collectieve belang van recreatie en toerisme*. Proefschrift, Mededelingen van de Werkgroep Recreatie 20, Wageningen: Landbouwniversiteit Wageningen.
- Lengkeek, J. (1996), *Vakantie van het leven*. Over het belang van recreatie en toerisme. Amsterdam: Boom.
- Lengkeek, J. (2000), Imagination and Differences in Tourist Experience. In: *World Leisure Journal* (42) 3, 11-17.
- MacCannell, D. (1976), *The Tourist. A new theory of the leisure class*. New York: Schocken Books.
- McKercher, B. And Du Cros, H. (2002), *Cultural Tourism: The Partnership between Tourism and Cultural Heritage Management*, Binghampton, NY: Haworth Press.
- Moreno, S. (2002), *Jean Leon, el rey de Beverly Hills, la aventura de un español en el Corazón del Hollywood dorado*. Barcelona: Ediciones B, S.A.
- Municipality of Sitges (2006), *Any Rusiñol, 2006-2007, Sitges*.
- Nijs, D. (2003), Imagineering: Engineering for imagination in the Emotion Economy. In: P. Peeters, F. Schouten and D. Nijs (eds) *Creating a fascinating world*, Breda: Breda University of Professional Education, pp. 15–32
- Nijs, D. and F. Peters (2002), *Imagineering. Het creëren van belevingswerelden*. Amsterdam: Boom.
- Patronato Municipal de Turismo de Sitges (2005) *Sitges, Joya del Mediterráneo*. (Promotional material).
- Patronato Municipal de Turismo de Sitges (2005) *Sitgestiucultura'05*. (Promotional material).
- Patronato Municipal de Turismo de Sitges (2006) *Sitges, the art of living*. (Promotional material).
- Pine, B.J. and J.H. Gilmore (1999), *The experience economy, work is theatre and every business a stage*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.
- Poon A. (1993), *Tourism, technology and competitive strategies*, Wallingford: CAB International.
- Prahalad, C.K. and V. Ramaswamy (2003), The new frontier of experience innovation, *MIT Sloan Management Review*, 44 (4), 12-18.

Prahalad, C.K. and V. Ramaswamy (2004), *The future of competition: co-creating unique value with customers*, Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

Richards, G. (1996a), Production and consumption of European cultural tourism. In: *Annals of Tourism Research* (23) 2, 261-283.

Richards, G. (1996b), Skilled consumption and UK ski holidays. In: *Tourism Management* (17) 1, 25-34.

Richards, G. (1999), Vacations and quality of Life: patterns and structures. In: *Journal of Business Research*, 44, 189-198.

Richards, G. and C. Raimond (2000), *Creative tourism*, ATLAS News No. 23.

Richards, G. and J. Wilson (2003), *Today's youth travellers: tomorrow's global nomads. New horizons in independent youth and student travel*. Amsterdam: International Student Travel Confederation.

Richards, G. and J. Wilson (2006), Developing Creativity in Tourist experiences: a solution to the serial reproduction of culture? In: *Tourism Management*, 27(6): 1209-1223.

Ritzer, G. (1996), The McDonaldization of Society. *An Investigation into the Changing Character of Contemporary Social Life*. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.

Ritzer, G. & Liska, A. (1997), 'McDisneyization' and 'post-tourism'. Complementary perspectives on contemporary tourism. In C. Rojek & J. Urry (eds.) *Touring Cultures. Transformations of Travel and Theory*. London/New York: Routledge, 96-109.

Schouten, F. (2003), About the quality of life, and nothing less. In: *Creating a fascinating world*. Breda: Breda University of Professional Education (NHTV), 9-14.

Shaw, G. & Williams, A.M. (1994), *Critical Issues in Tourism. A Geographical Perspective*. Oxford/Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers.

Sitgestiucultura '05 (2005), *Museums de Sitges. Passeja't per la cultura!* Sitges.

Stebbins (1997), Serious Leisure and well-being, in J.T. Haworth (ed.) *Work, Leisure and Well-being*, London: Routledge, 117-30.

Ter Borg, M. (2003), *De Zineconomie. De samenleving van de overtreffende trap*. Schiedam: Scriptum.

Thrane, C. (2001), Everyday Life and Cultural Tourism in Scandinavia: Examining the Spillover Hypothesis. In: *Loisir et Societe/Society and Leisure* (23) 1, 217-234.

Turner, V. (1973), The center out there: Pilgrim's goal. In: *History of religions*, (12) 3, 191-230.

Urry, J. (1990), *The tourist gaze: leisure and travel in contemporary societies*. London: Sage.

Vallgrasa (2005), *Nature, the festival of ecotourism and protected natural spaces*. Sitges, Park of Garraf.

Van der Poel, H. (1993), *De modularisering van het dagelijkse leven. Vrijetijd in structurietheoretisch perspectief*. Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers.

Van der Poel, H. (1997), Leisure and the Modularization of Daily Life. In: *Time & Society* (6) 2/3, 171-194.

Van der Poel, H. (1999), *Tijd voor vrijheid. Inleiding tot de studie van de vrijetijd*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Boom.