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Creative Tourism Consumption: Framing the Creative Habitus through a Bourdieusian Lens

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Abstract: Creative tourism studies remain a newly developed field, pointing to changes in the consumption of tourism and culture while influencing how creativity and co-creation differentiate tourism supply through exploring the existential dimensions of creative experiences, the latter remaining an under-researched theme in the creative tourism literature. In addition, this type of tourism is presented as more responsible and sustainable than other types of massified forms of tourism. Building on a Bourdieusian approach, an updated version of Bourdieu's main sociological thinking tools was used to analyse the creative habitus of both the supply and demand involved in the co-creation of creative tourism experiences. The authors developed 42 semi-structured interviews with creatives and creative tourists using the Loulé Criativo network in Portugal as a case study and applied qualitative techniques for the data treatment. The results showed that the creative habitus could move successfully between fields, expressing a sustainable agency towards creative tourism consumption. Autodidacticism is important for skill development and knowledge replication resulting from the co-creation of creative experiences. The creative habitus, endowed with intercultural and creative capital, is characterized by self-education and ecological awareness where co-creation and coexistence with other creative people enhance the development and replication of creative competencies outside the tourism field.

Keywords: creative tourism; creative habitus; sustainability; tourism consumption; Bourdieu

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1. Introduction

The postmodern paradigm has not only contributed ontologically to an open society [1] marked by a strong ecological awareness but also to the conception of an increasingly globalized, cosmopolitan and technology-mediated world. This condition has brought about important changes in the cultural, environmental and economic sectors, affecting the tourism sector and influencing the organization of products, services and experiences, marked by growing deregulation and the liberalization of supply with effects on tourism disintermediation. In recent years, tourists have changed their behaviour, showing that they are increasingly concerned with sustainability issues [2–3], thus making it mandatory to rethink tourism strategies. In this sense, researchers have explored issues related to the commercialization of culture, the improvement of economic well-being and the development of tourism based on environmental, economic, social and cultural sustainability [4,5]. As the development of the concepts of the experience economy, knowledge economy and creative economy have served as backdrops for these changes in the tourism sector, sustainable forms of tourism such as creative tourism [6–9] can contribute to achieving several sustainable development goals (SDGs) [10–13]. Creative tourism is seen as a sustainable form of tourism where immersive and authentic experiences constitute

an alternative to massified forms of touristic consumption, and co-creation plays an important role in the design and consumption of learning and creative experiences [14]. The development of this type of tourism has evolved over several conceptual overlapping phases [15] involving an ever-growing number of agents in the creative tourism ecosystem. With learning at its core [15] the evolution of value co-creation processes and dimensions [16] under the creative flag has received recent attention from researchers [6,17–21].

Creative tourism business models have evolved from basic, small-scale creative experiences to platforms of creative communities, incorporating principles from the experience economy, linking tourism to creative economy businesses and activities, thus giving rise to global networks centred on the sharing economy paradigm [15,18,20,22,23]. With the three key elements of creative tourism experiences, namely participation, knowledge acquisition and the experience of the local life [5,24], new forms of cultural mediation have emerged and been developed by new cultural intermediaries [25] such as “lifestyle entrepreneurs” [14,26] “switchers” or “curators” [19] influenced by the cultural and creative industries [27,28] with ICTs and global virtual platforms giving rise to creative tourism 4.0 [18].

This new cultural mediation gains special relevance when analysed from a Bourdieusian framework. The work of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has been seldom applied to tourism research, mainly by using only part of his sociological apparatus [29–31]. Departing from the traditional concept of habitus, capital and field [32–36], the authors present in this paper an up-to-date version of the main thinking tools of Bourdieu (Table 1), incorporating the theoretical underpinnings of creative tourism [14,31]. With the broad concept of culture, both tangible and intangible cultural assets are important in creative tourism [37], where non-sanctioned forms of cultural capital (e.g., internet, media) and informal education [38] coexist alongside family and school (dear to Bourdieu), acting as structuring structures and enabling the reflexive and flexible habitus endowed with intercultural capital [39] to cross over to new fields without the effect of hysteresis [40,41], thus rendering social success, skill development and their applications in the creative tourism subfield [31].

This conceptualization assumes a lack of autonomy of this subfield concerning the autonomous cultural tourism field [31], which is made possible by acknowledging the migration of culture-specialized professionals to the cultural tourism field, such as art historians becoming tour guides [42–44] and the development of specialized tour operators related to art history, a symptom of a massified form of cultural tourism consumption [19].

Creative, intercultural and digital capital [25,45,46] are used interchangeably to allow mobility of the creative habitus between fields. By re-entering the Bourdieusian realm, habitus [32,34,47] is reframed under postmodern tourism consumption [48] while directing researchers to a holistic view and the application of the concept within the social practices of creative tourism consumption in particular and to tourism in general.

Table 1. An up-to-date version of Bourdieu’s main thinking tools towards post-modern tourism consumption.

Bourdieu’s Classical Definitions	The Cultural Production of Tourist Consumption in Post-Modernity
Habitus—a matrix of generative perceptions (structured and structuring) acquired along individual life trajectories of life, producing “lifestyles”. They are mainly formed by the family and school.	(Re)flexible habitus of tourists formed in multicultural scenarios, consistent with the mobility and fusion of cultural references characteristic of globalization.
Capital—it is first and foremost composed of values, tastes and lifestyles of some individuals and social groups that arbitrarily confer a social advantage over others; secondly “forms of capital, such as cultural capital, can be understood in terms of qualitative differences in awareness among different social groups (class fractions)”.	Intercultural capital formed through virtual networks (online) and digital capital perpetuating personal networks (offline) able to help its holder to move between various fields for reasons of profit or “just plain fun”.
Field—a place or area where social practice takes place, which influences and inhibits certain behaviours and enables others, where positions and capital exist for the taking.	The tourism field is a heterogeneous place where the role of producer and consumer are intertwined in the elaboration of highly personalised experiences, even if mediated by the internet and virtual-based technologies.

Source: own elaboration.

The purpose of this study was to characterize the creative habitus concerning creative tourism consumption and the production of creative experiences, mainly the development and replication of creative skills, co-creation processes and the evidence of sustainable agencies, addressing the under-researched existential dimensions of creative experiences [16,49–51]. This was conducted as incomplete accounts based on Bourdieu’s model applied to tourism. This paper makes an important contribution in updating all the main thinking tools of Bourdieu’s sociological model and applying it to the creative tourism field, a field in formation that is dependent on the autonomous cultural tourism field. The present paper updates Bourdieu’s framework to fulfil a more complete analysis of tourism social practices, thus enhancing the knowledge of creative tourism experiences. It does so by focusing on a case study of Loulé Criativo in Portugal, where 42 semistructured interviews were applied to both sides of supply and demand using qualitative techniques for data treatment. In the next section, the methodology is explained. The interview script is presented with the dimensions of content analysis from the Nvivo 12 Plus software. The results are explained in Section 3 and discussed in Section 4. Finally, in the conclusions, contributions and implications for future research and limitations are presented.

2. Materials and Methods

The qualitative research conducted in this study followed a Bourdieusian analytical research framework, where its main theoretical concepts (habitus, capital and field) were used relationally consistently with the need to include all the thinking tools of Bourdieu (Table 1) [52–54] when applied to tourism studies. The case study was based on the Loulé Criativo network promoted by the town hall of Loulé in Portugal in the Algarve region. It was part of a bigger project that entails a creative hub for creative enterprises and entrepreneurs, short-term workshops on palm handicrafts, photography, local and regional gastronomy, introduction to clay, tin smithing classes and the rehabilitation of old buildings within the historic centre of the town, therefore constituting the supply of a wide range of local art workshops (handcraft, art, gastronomy, heritage and rhythm) (<http://loulecriativo.pt>, accessed on 21 January 2022). Before the fieldwork, creatives working in Barcelona were consulted to improve the interview script, and peer scrutiny was developed by advisors and colleagues [55], and the city hall of Loulé was asked to provide the information and contact details of all interviewees from the supply side.. A

total of 19 creatives involved in the Loulé Criativo network and 23 creative tourists who participated in creative workshops were interviewed. Purposive sampling [56] was used, and interviews ended when the saturation point was achieved [57]. All semi-structured interviews (Table 2) were developed physically by the authors between April 2019 and March 2020 and audio-recorded with a duration of around one hour and thirty minutes each [58]. NVivo 12 was used for qualitative data analysis [59–61], namely the coding technique [62], content analysis and cluster analysis, using Pearson’s correlation index for word similarity [63–67]. The main dimensions of the coding emerged from the literature review and Bourdieu’s model, and the secondary and tertiary coding dimensions (Table 2) emerged from several mature readings and full transcriptions of the interviews [59,60,68–71].

Table 2. Interviews scripts and Nvivo-codified dimensions and subdimensions.

Semi-Structured Interview Script for the Supply	Semi-Structured Interview Script for the Demand	NVivo-Codified Dimensions and Sub-Dimensions
(1) As a creative tourism entrepreneur, how do your family upbringing, and educational background influence or impact the creative experiences you offer?	(1) Did your family upbringing, education, schooling or previous journeys influenced your choice of this type of creative experiences? How? In what way?	Cultural capital and habitus.
(2) Has your personal life or professional need influenced you to develop a taste for co-produced creative experiences? In what way?	(2) Has your personal life or professional need influenced you in any way to choose this type of co-created activity? In what way?	Sanction and non-sanctioned forms of cultural capital.
(3) Do you feel you need to develop skills to engage in this type of tourism or to develop creative experiences?	(3) In choosing this type of experience, were you motivated to develop skills for personal or professional needs?	Family; School; Creativity; Autodidacticism.
		Cultural capital, habitus and field.
		Co-creation.
(4) Do you know if your clients have replicated the knowledge acquired, after the holidays?	(4) Have you replicated or do you intend to use the knowledge acquired here later on with family, friends or at work?	Replication of creative skills; Knowledge acquisition in co-creation processes; skill replication in different social milieus.
		Cultural capital and field.
(5) Are your personal goals and life-style the same since you started selling these types of experiences?	(5) Has the consumption of this type of tourism changed your way of going on holiday? In what way?	Lifestyle; Sustainable agencies; Creative tourism sustainable practices.

Source: own elaboration.

Building on a Bourdieusian framework, the questions reflected the issues that emerged from the literature review, mainly skill development, co-creation, creative knowledge re-application or intention to replicate it in different social milieus and finally the presence of sustainable agencies within the creative tourism discourse characterising

the existential dimensions of creative experiences. From the supply side, nineteen (seven men and twelve women) individuals were interviewed, with all of the women aged between 36 and 65 years old. On the demand side, twenty-three (six men and seventeen women) individuals were interviewed, with the majority (thirteen) of the women aged between 36 and 65 years old). All the individuals from the supply side resided in Portugal, and from the demand side, 18 resided in Portugal, and the rest were divided between Finland (1), France, (1), the UK (1) and Canada (2). Fifteen creatives (78.9%) were self-employed and creative tourists, eight were self-employed (34.8%) and nine (39.1%) were dependent workers.

3. Results

It was the author's choice to use the interview questions verbatim [68] because of the richness of the interviews in highlighting the importance of the secondary and tertiary coding dimensions displayed in the results. The testimonies from the supply side (IS) and the demand side (ID) are presented as follows:

3.1. Sanctioned Forms of Cultural Capital

The sanctioned ways of acquiring cultural capital refer back to Pierre Bourdieu's traditional view, where the role played by the family and school [35,47], constituted determining factors for the cultural development of the interviewed individuals. Although the authors updated its definition and its forms of embodiment, objectification and institutionalization [35,39,72–76], family and school maintained their importance for the formation of the creative habitus.

3.1.1. Family

The family still represented the first social institution that inculcates cultural values into the creative habitus. Family, as a previous influencer for the formation of a creative habitus, was pointed out by several interviewees on the supply side, where the first contact with contents that can be considered creative such as the arts, gastronomy, sewing and painting [21] happened in a family environment.

'In artistic terms I can talk about my grandmother who used to crochet, embroider, embroider on looms, she used to do these things and I learned with her and I have always liked working with my hands and I have always liked learning arts related to this... (IS 5).'

The family, as a socialising agent, acts so early in the lives of social agents that, according to Bourdieu, it leads to capital acquired unconsciously through habitus embodiment [77–79], thus seeming natural. Here, the naturalistic illusion alluded to by Bourdieu came to mind [40] among the supply and demand sides.

'I always liked to paint ... I got this taste from an uncle, ... who was perhaps my great inspiration ... it was a taste that was born with me (IS 17).'

'I've always had this aptitude for the arts, whether it's drawing, or the more visual than exactly writing although I also like to write (ID 4).'

'As a musician, I also love the arts, more so painting and crafts. My family loves the arts and some of my relatives are naturally talented, so I think we have influenced each other in these aspects" (ID 15).'

Despite the family's importance in terms of generating contact with the creative arts, this early contact did not find consensus among the interviewees.

'Nothing at all. It only started in 2011 and it wasn't through my family or anything like that (...) Nothing! It was born already in a phase after the age of 40 and it came about just like that. That's it (IS 16).'

3.1.2. School

School is a social institution of the first order, as it sanctions the acquisition of the institutionalized state of cultural capital in the form of academic qualifications [35]. Coinciding with the cultural and creative tourism literature [15,31,80–82], fifteen of the creatives and nineteen of the creative tourists interviewed held a higher education degree (bachelor or master's degrees). In terms of creative arts education, school was not always relevant as an a priori manifestation of cultural capital acquisition in the subfield of creative tourism. In this way, the reference to the higher education diplomas obtained is important, and they were not always exclusively representative of the connection to the arts and other creative areas on the supply side.

'I took a bachelor's degree in photography in the arts, and also my interest in art, history of art, has a little bit of this aspect too, knowing sculpture, history (IS 12).'

'I am a landscape architect I have always been connected in some way, although it is a career within the sciences I connect to the sciences and art (IS 4).'

However, school maintained its importance in developing the artistic taste of the interviewees.

'I had the Spanish tradition at home then the Flemish tradition at school (...) I studied at a blacksmith school when I was twelve. (...) I had the luck of a blacksmith, whom I liked, which saw me drawing a lot, I was always drawing, so she helped me since my parents did not know, they only knew how to speak Spanish and they didn't know how to speak French and flamenco they didn't know that there was an art school. So the blacksmith helped to enrol me in an art school in ..., one of the most recognised schools in ... and from then on my vision also became wider (IS 2).'

'When I started studying at secondary school I always felt very divided between continuing to study management or a more creative area which would be architecture or fashion design, because I had good grades in both areas, I liked both areas and I liked accounting and numbers a lot but I also felt a great attraction for the more creative area... (IS 9).'

According to the French sociologist, school socialisation processes demand dedication and personal investment and is time-consuming [47].

'Since school, I've always liked school very much, I've always taken several courses related to various things and situations, and the fact that I was working also gave me various training courses in the service area. When the opportunity arose to take a course linked to cooking. I liked the idea and went for it (IS 5).'

3.2. Unsanctioned Forms of Cultural Capital

Unsanctioned forms of cultural capital acquisitions were present in Bourdieu's followers, which led to the actualisation of their main thinking tools [31]. The necessity of a more flexible conceptualization of habitus [83–85] and intercultural capital [46,86] acquired through informal learning [19,43] led the authors to acknowledge the influence of alternative ways of learning the creative arts outside formal education, with special relevance for the need of self-learning or autodidacticism in the subfield of creative tourism [31].

Autodidacticism

Self-learning is seen by Bourdieu as an insufficient resource that someone holds and as a heretical way of acquiring cultural capital [47]. According to Bourdieu (2010): "Since he did not acquire his culture according to the legitimate order established by the school institution, the autodidact is condemned to betray incessantly, in his anxiety for good classification, the arbitrariness of his classifications and therefore of his knowledge" (p. 486). However, autodidacticism seems to be a legitimate form of cultural capital acquisition for its followers [25,83],

[84,87–89], corresponding to changes in lifestyles where the valorization of self-development and new skills acquisition during leisure time are in line with the postmodern consumption paradigm. This was strongly referred to by the supply-side respondents.

'The connection there is with ceramics was drawing and painting in a spontaneous and self-taught way without any influence, I developed this interest when I learned about ceramics...(IS 10).'

'I have been doing some things in that area and have promoted some exhibitions of plastic arts of various sculptors, so I have been learning, without having an academic formation ... I have been attentive and curious I have done some study work, self-taught(IS 15).'

'At the beginning of the creation of the experiences there was a lot of research, to know it was also a lot of testing, we were also very self-taught, but ... there you go test research, test research, understanding how it works... (IS 6).'

Autodidacticism also helps to avoid a hysteresis effect [41], allowing, in the opinion of the interviewees, to find its place in the subfield of creative tourism.

'So I had a period in which I ended up dedicating myself to many things that I could access, which here in the Algarve is also difficult, but therefore I learnt a series of craft techniques ... At a certain point I felt a certain frustration because in my spare time I was doing things in the most creative contexts and collaborating with an [cultural] association, but I felt like an outsider, I mean, everything I do may have some value, but I'm not a designer, I'm not this, I'm not that. So I started to feel like trying to become a professional in some creative area (IS 9).'

In addition, the necessity of knowledge transfer is possible by the demand of self-actualisation.

'Sharing knowledge with others makes me constantly update my knowledge, to be in continuous training (...) I can't stop being (IS 1).'

3.3. Co-Creation of Knowledge

As a theoretical underpinning of creative tourism [14] and due to the experiential nature of tourism [90], the processes of co-creation involvement [16,91] are key in the interpretation of existential dimensions, allowing the development of knowledge and its dissemination between creatives and creative tourists, especially in creative workshops. With a primary focus on learning and developing creative skills [15], the sharing of knowledge emerges as an important subcategory for understanding the processes of knowledge co-creation during workshops [31].

Replication of Knowledge

The acquisition of knowledge acquired during the workshops is effective. It was the perception of the supply-side interviewees that there was some application of knowledge previously acquired by the feedback that the participants give to the creatives and the application of knowledge by the demand side after the consumption of creative tourism experiences.

'Yes, that's the idea. That's why I propose the furniture workshop a lot more often. It is a three-day workshop (...) it covers various techniques (...) it gives the person the basis to make their furniture. That's the idea. After that, you don't do anything else. It's not just the workshop, it's the basis to continue and apply (IS 3).'

'I think they do. I think they do what they have learned. I had feedback from some. The biggest capacity I had (to receive participants) was when I did the bread activity and I had 12 to 14 people from the bread they tried some like 4 tried to make it and they made it, but in the domestic oven it doesn't have that impact like you can have in a community outdoor oven (IS 12).'

Although the perception of creatives only gives us a glimpse of the intention of creative tourists to replicate knowledge acquired through creative tourism workshops, this replication happens outside the tourism environment and other social milieus [92].

'People also... how can I put it, they always bring something, we also tell them where the materials are acquired, (...) many times through the workshops, through the conversations that are generated it is noticed and people tell us: -I came here to learn in fact to see whether or not I can apply these techniques to my artistic creations (IS 7).'

'there are specific cases, with one person or another, they also participate precisely to get in touch with those materials, because they have old houses ... but they already have the basic notions of what to do in the houses. There have already been specific cases of people who wanted to decorate the window sills or wanted to do some kind of intervention or even whitewash houses (IS 6).'

On the other hand, there were clear mentions of the replication of knowledge acquired in the workshops by creative tourists.

'Yes yes definitely. I have already reapplied (ID 22).'

'I have already used what I have learned and shared with others (ID 11).'

'I talked about it and shared new knowledge, but I kept using the new skills whenever I could (ID 13).'

In addition, there was the intention of replicating the knowledge acquired in the creative workshops.

'I haven't reapplied it yet, but I will be able to apply it with friends, in the (cultural) association or in the construction of anything that is needed, of any structure, scenario (ID 18).'

'Yes we have the intention to cook the sweets again' (ID 10).

'I intend to reapply on creative photography themes or those that are interesting as well as trying to get my family to participate (ID 6).'

The mentions of replicating the knowledge acquired were in line with the creative tourism literature [14,25,38,80]

3.4. Sustainable Lifestyle

As already mentioned, creative tourism praxis is presented as a sustainable one [10]. The role of new intermediaries as lifestyle entrepreneurs in the creative tourism literature has presented the role of such intermediation as a sustainable one apart from material questions [93,94]. In this sense, it is important to highlight several sustainable practices connected to creative tourism.

Creative Tourism Sustainable Practices

According to the interviewees, there were several sustainable manifestations within the practices of the creative habitus that were in line with the theory of lifestyle entrepreneurs and the creative tourism literature [8,95].

'Then an awareness also of the work, working here and having contact with other people from other cultures, who come from other countries and speak other languages, also opens us to the vision of a global world that belongs to everyone. And that has to be respected (...) also the personal questions and the vision of the world were deepened. (...) And that yes, the ecological conscience, the preservation of the planet and the environment of communication relations, all this I had to go deepening things. Material issues never moved me (IS 1).'

The creative habitus is interested in sharing good sustainable practices as it will influence the resources used in the workshops, thus passing these values onto the participants.

'Nowadays I try and it has changed my lifestyle, (...) of course I nowadays try to use more and more recycled products, products... the reuse as natural as possible. It has changed my consciousness (IS 17)'.

"I didn't know how to talk today about the pollution of textiles and today, in the introduction of the course I start with this awareness of the fact that this fast fashion ... the fact that most of the clothes are made of oil and fall into the environment and are not biodegradable. I always make that alert for that. Today it's a very important issue (IS 9)'.

4. Discussion

According to the supply side, family and childhood seemed to establish the first continuous contact with creative content, making its acquisition be seen as innate, natural or intuitive by some creatives. The family thus seemed to establish an environment that was conducive to creativity. The results showed that the Bourdieusian view of family and school as the main social institutions maintained their relevance in the acquisition of cultural and creative capital in the context of creative tourism, with several of the creatives and creative tourists interviewed displaying higher education diplomas [37,80–82,96].

Despite this, there was a growing importance of non-sanctioned forms of cultural capital acquisition, as demonstrated in the previous section. Although the internet and television were identified as informal learning sources in general [85,89], and creative tourism specifically [19], previous family trips and autodidacticism were identified by R. Carvalho [31] in the context of creative tourism experiences.

In the present research, the authors delved into autodidacticism practices, to the extent that there was an explicit need to pursue creative knowledge and hold creative techniques to further improve creative performance by creatives linked to the creative tourism supply of creative workshops [97], highlighting the active and principal output of creative tourism, which is learning [15].

Co-creation processes present creative tourism experiences and allow knowledge transfer and the replication of knowledge concerning creatives' and creative tourists' mutual involvement in the consumption of these types of hands-on experiences. This is in line with the involvement dimension of co-creation processes [16] in creative experiences.

We note that according to what was found in the literature on creative tourism, the lifestyle of creatives will tend to adapt to a life with fewer material [93], but this tendency, which does exist, is not common to all creative habits, but it will have a significant influence, which, combined with an entrepreneurial spirit, will lead some creative agents to seek the continuous improvement of their creative skills [31]. Finally, there is a tendency for investment in creative tourism to result in a compliment for economic purposes and a tendency to develop more ecological awareness. Future research directions should be directed to understand how sustainability is better addressed in the context of creative tourism praxis, especially while conceptualizing the creative habitus of creative tourism agents of the overall tourism ecosystem under a Bourdieusian framework [31]. In addition, international creative tourism case studies can be evolved to ascertain to what extent co-creation, knowledge transfer and sustainable agencies are present in the several forms of creative tourism development models [18,94].

5. Conclusions

The present paper had the goal of shedding light on the creative habitus of both supply and demand engaged in the consumption of creative tourism experiences. The creative habitus endowed with intercultural and creative capital could move between fields, echoing the features of postmodern tourism consumption. Creative tourism was presented as a friendly and sustainable form of tourism, where co-creation, skill development, autodidacticism and sustainable agencies are important in the creative tourism literature, as the authors tried to allude to.

By framing creative tourism under a Bourdieusian approach, the concept of creative habitus was largely characterised as a more flexible social agent in the overall creative tourism ecosystem, bridging a more sociological stance and applying it to the creative tourism phenomenon. The contributions of this paper are threefold: it increases the knowledge in the creative tourism field as it updates all the main thinking tools of Bourdieu; it characterises the creative habitus as more active and adaptable, where self-actualisation is mandatory to move between fields, within the creative tourism subfield or within fields in formation concerning its autonomous cultural tourism field, and it envisages the reapplication and intention of creative skills learned in the context of creative tourism workshops; finally, it contributes to knowledge of where sustainable practices linked to creative tourism are present in the opinion of the interviewees.

Notwithstanding, there were limitations to this study, as a single case study was chosen for analysis, and only a typology of creative tourism experiences was included in the research, as different approaches must be included, such as creative tourism experiences present at cultural and creative festivals, long-term creative courses or international creative networks, among other creative tourism contexts.

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