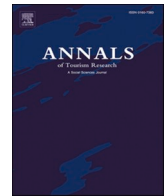




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Context mapping for creative tourism

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ABSTRACT

The article explores the processes designer-makers and communities should engage in before using service design approaches to produce creative tourism experiences. These processes can yield insights into the inner processes and interactions with external environments of creative individuals and communities. Case studies from Finnish Lapland and Namibia show the importance of identity construction, creativity and storytelling for context mapping. The article presents a practical and flexible mapping tool that has been derived from these case studies. This tool can be expanded and applied by designer-makers for practical mapping activities. The findings indicate that creative tourism involving designer-makers can provide new tourism opportunities that not only generate deeply relevant experiences for tourists but also sustainable livelihoods for local designer-makers.

Introduction

Creative practitioners working in remote, rural, poor, and postcolonial settings with limited marketing opportunities, may be interested in diversifying their livelihoods through creative tourism. However, entry into the field may be challenging and often proves unsustainable and risky (Kugapi et al., 2020; Lor et al., 2019). The application of service design processes can offset these negatives related to new ventures. Research has been conducted on service design methods and their applications for tourism. Miettinen (2007) argues that the service design process commences with context mapping and gaining customer insights, while Zehrer (2009) proposes a form of service creation that is underpinned by ideas creation, assessment and an understanding of requirements. Stöckdorn (2009, p. 256) proposes a service design process that commences with a discovery phase. However, the focus of the existing research is often on an 'outside-in' perspective (Holmlid & Evenson, 2008). This means a focus on the customer experience, which in tourism refers to tourists' experiences.

Although an outside-in perspective is important for the successful delivery of services and positive tourist experiences (Fesenmaier & Xiang, 2017; Kim & Fesenmaier, 2015, 2017), this article adopts an inside-out perspective. Such a perspective has been discussed in the recently developed paradigm presented in *Design Science in Tourism* by Fesenmaier and Xiang (2017), which focuses on research and design that not only address tourist experiences but also the realities of local people and how the tourism places can be improved. This important aspect enables the mapping of local contexts with and by individuals and communities in creative tourism (Miettinen, 2007; Richards, 2019, 2020). Context mapping with and by creative individuals and communities should involve mapping of social, cultural, environmental and economic realities by local knowledge holders to ensure sustainable outcomes. Sarantou (2014, p. 18)

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argues that careful and mindful mapping activities can be valuable for ‘grasping meaning making processes within postcolonial worlds’. Creative individuals and communities can proactively contribute to service design processes using their skills, traditions and cultural knowledge, thereby adding value to tourism development (Richards, 2019, 2020). Incorporating local knowledge into the design of new services can drive the self-determination of local individuals and communities (Richards, 2020; see also Kaján, 2014; Lee & Jan, 2019).

Following the work of Greg Richards (2019, 2020) on the role of design and place identities in creative tourism, this article explores the processes that crafters, artists and communities should engage in before using service design approaches to produce creative tourism experiences. Thus, it focuses on the first stages of service design, without placing the user or the creative tourist at the center of the discussion. Rather it seeks to explore how creative individuals and groups can prepare to engage in service design processes. More specifically, it examines the roles of locality, creativity, arts, crafts, design, identity and storytelling in this process. With reference to case studies drawn from semi-structured interviews conducted in Finnish Lapland and Namibia, this article seeks insights into the ‘inner reflections’ and ‘outer interactions’ of creative individuals and communities before they enter tourism ventures (Tan et al., 2013, p. 165). It addresses the following research questions: 1) What elements should local creative individuals consider when mapping their contexts? 2) How can context mapping with and by local creative individuals and communities contribute to the design of creative tourism services? 3) Finally, how can such knowledge be harnessed to develop creative outputs for creative tourism?

This research provides important insights into creative tourism from the perspectives of creative people and offers a practical and flexible mapping tool for context mapping from the creative individual’s point of view. Currently, the voices of local people are lacking from the tourism and service design literature. This article contributes to filling this gap by exploring insights gained from creative practitioners in Finnish Lapland and Namibia.

Literature review

The review of literature is informed by a broader perspective on creative tourism and creativity. It clarifies certain aspects of creative tourism, such as its impact on local communities. The literature review then discusses concepts of art, craft and design which are narrowly associated with creativity, its practices and outcomes. Some understandings of arts, crafts and design are explored, while their roles in identity processes and storytelling are explained. Finally, the role of service design in mapping local contexts for the development of creative tourism services is discussed.

Creative tourism and local opportunities

Developed from cultural tourism, creative tourism can add value and creativity to cultural tourist experiences (Duxbury & Richards, 2019, p. 1). Creative tourism involves activities in which creative people act as facilitators of tourist services, but it can also include visits to museums or simply souvenir shopping; it is something for all the senses (Richards, 2011). Richards and Raymond (2000, p. 18) define creative tourism as tourism that offers ‘visitors the opportunity to develop their creative potential through active participation in ... learning experiences which are characteristic of the holiday destination where they are undertaken’. By engaging in activities designed by creative locals, tourists actively learn and later applying their new knowledge to their own creative endeavors (see Duxbury & Richards, 2019).

The possibilities for co-creation through creative tourism have been the subject of recent discussions in the field. For example, Ross and Saxena (2019) discuss how participative co-creation at archaeological sites through storytelling and creative tourism affects the tourist experience, while Jelincić and Senkić (2019) discuss how consumer engagement influences the experience of creation. However, most creative tourism research has been conducted from the point of view of the tourist (see Ali et al., 2016; Kugapi & Höckert, 2020; Smit & Melissen, 2018; Tan et al., 2013; Tussyadiah, 2014). Tan et al. (2013, p. 165) developed a model to understand the tourist experience, focusing on the formation of creative experiences through outer interactions, the environment, people, products, services, experiences, and inner reflections that refer to consciousness, awareness, needs and creativity. Their core argument is that these factors interact with the inner self of the tourist, and their model strongly relates to identity processes driven by the question ‘Who am I’ in relation to environmental stimuli.

In his wide-ranging research on creative communities across the world, Greg Richards (2020) highlights the importance of design principles, such as creativity, the use of local resources and meaning making, for improving the quality of life of local communities. He argues that local creative people and their assets should play an important role in the design of new services (Richards, 2020; see also Kaján, 2014; Lee & Jan, 2019). However, it must be acknowledged that not all locals want to be involved in tourism. Thus, such decisions should be left to them (e.g., de Bernardi et al., 2018; Müller & Viken, 2017). Creative tourism can also offer development opportunities, especially for rural communities, through the establishment of small-scale operations that offer alternatives to mass tourism (Richards, 2019, 2020). More importantly, creative tourism can increase work opportunities for creative people (Kugapi et al., 2020; Richards, 2019) and support traditional livelihoods, which generally draw on natural resources (Jokela & Huhmarniemi, in press). Examples of sustainable community craft production that is keenly supported by tourism exist in Namibia, such as Penduka that provides work opportunities for creative and marginalized creatives (Miettinen, 2007). However, more creative practitioners could benefit from generating a sustainable income from creative tourism. Currently, damaging practices, such as the sale of quality crafts below their market value, are a reality for many rural-based and Indigenous communities (Sarantou, 2014). For example, in Finland, the visual elements of Indigenous Sámi cultures have been commonly used in mass-produced souvenirs (Joy, 2019; Kramvig & Flemmen, 2019) and sold cheaply instead of bringing sustainable income to local creative practitioners. In Namibia, Indigenous handmade San jewelry, created from scarce ostrich eggshell, has been documented to be sold cheaply to tourists in the Tsumkwe area

(Sarantou, 2014).

Wisansing and Vongvisitsin (2019) developed a monitoring tool to measure community benefits from creative tourism and provided evidence that local involvement in the design of (creative) tourism services impacts positively on the health, happiness, wellness and economic prosperity of communities by focusing on the community strengths, particularly creativity (see e.g. Richards, 2019, 2020; Wisansing & Vongvisitsin, 2019). Locals can bring about empowering transitions in tourism development, which means embedding creativity in tourism design from the early stages of the process. Rhodes (1961) divided creativity into four interconnected components: the person, internal functions, the environment and products, which equally contribute to creativity. Creativity in tourism has been widely and intensely discussed in recent years as offering possibilities for cultural encounters, dialogue and knowledge exchange (Duxbury & Richards, 2019; Kugapi et al., 2020; Miettinen, 2007; Richards, 2019, 2020). It also promotes personal interactions between locals and tourists (Richards, 2019) and draws on the environment and social surroundings (Richards, 2011). Drawing inspiration from Rhodes' definition, we discuss creativity through the lenses of art, craft, design, identities and stories.

Art, craft and design

The activities craft, design and art are often regarded as separate endeavors. Persisting colonial influences have created artificial divides between art, craft and design (Sarantou, 2014; Tunstall, 2013). In social and cultural creative processes, art, craft and design are often not separated; hence, they tend to become fluid and interactive during creative processes of making (Sarantou, 2014). Art-, design- and craft-based products, artifacts and souvenirs can also be described as representing new materialism (Gamble & Hanan, 2019; Gerber, 2007; Kugapi & Höckert, 2020; Penin & Tonkinwise, 2009). Collectively, these products can express the traditions, memories, cultural values of a place and can, thus, contribute various values and meanings to creative tourism.

The disconnections that are often established between the terms art, craft and design create confusion among many practitioners regarding what they want to be referred to as (Sarantou, 2014). The parallel roles of many creative practitioners, such as crafters, designers, makers, facilitators, designers of creative products and services, consultants in development processes and tourism entrepreneurs, adds to this confusion (Huhmarniemi & Jokela, 2019). For clarity and to avoid any negative connotations that some individual terms, such as craftsperson, crafter, artist, artisan, maker or designer, may carry, this article uses the integrated and more descriptive term 'designer-maker' to refer to creative practitioners.

There are several examples of practices in which art, craft and design are interconnected. One of these is Arctic art and design (Jokela et al., 2020), in which art, design and creative services are integrated with Arctic eco-culture, following the concept of *duodji* (Sámi craft). In *duodji*, art, craft and the design of everyday objects constitute a fusion of expression, production and a way of life (Guttorm, 2015). The concept of reindeer art has been introduced (Huhmarniemi, 2018) to describe the tension between the production of authentic souvenirs and the production of 'tourist or airport art' (Graburn, 1976; Hume, 2013), which turns authentic crafts into kitsch.

Identities and stories

Identities are defined by Venn (2006, p. 79) as the relational aspects between individuals or groups with regard to 'categories such as race, gender, class, nation, sexuality, work and occupation'. Individuals may identify with several of these terms simultaneously or at different stages or moments. Thus, identities are plural, layered, dynamic and in flux (Lawler, 2008, p. 3). These relational aspects make identities complex; these aspects must be managed as they can cause tensions and contradictions, and due to their binary nature, they cannot always be combined (Lawler, 2008). Lawler (2008) argues that identities are experienced not only internally but also externally, that they take shape between people.

Factors that influence identity dynamics, such as experiences of colonialism and postcolonialism, often cause individuals to experience shifting identities, or in-betweenness (Ahluwalia, 2010). Feelings of in-betweenness or 'hybridized identities' are a well-known phenomenon associated with postcolonial environments. However, they are often dismissed as inauthentic (d'Hautesserre, 2004, p. 242). Local influences and materials are intrinsic to the hybrid identity processes of many creative practitioners, as Sarantou (2014) illustrates in the Namibian context. Many creative practitioners in this country have to cope with histories of colonization and recolonization.

Identity processes are also underpinned by self-awareness. Signs and other information that are used in self-(re)presentation 'stand for the vast range of experiences that make up and shape the self' and shed light on the question 'Who am I?' (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981, p. 3). Material forms of creative tourism, such as artifacts, souvenirs and crafts, are instructive examples of signs that contribute to the shaping of their makers' identities (Decrop & Masset, 2014; Sarantou, 2014), as well as to the identity processes of tourists (Decrop & Masset, 2014; Marschall, 2012). In creative tourism, tourists themselves become the makers and are afforded opportunities to shape different understandings of local contexts and identity processes.

Individuals often make sense of their identities through storytelling. Storied identity processes enable individuals and groups to make sense of the realities they experience. Such identity processes include creative practices and making, with the result that stories are imbedded in arts, crafts and design (Sarantou, 2014). Storytelling offers opportunities for exploring, creating and sustaining identities, cultural and historical meanings and products (Sarantou, 2014). The value of stories has been understood as 'the creative potential of the encounter' (Tonnaer, 2010, p. 21). However, the role of stories in tourism experiences has been neglected in research (Moscardo, 2017, 2020), even though tourists 'produce' places when telling stories about their experiences to relatives and friends. Through their stories, tourists create images of their experiences for others (see Ek et al., 2008) and engage in intimate and meaningful exchanges about places, facilitating learning rather than objectification or what Urry (1990) calls the 'gaze'. In the context of tourism,

storytelling has been, and still can support colonialist views, and crafts can constitute cultural appropriation (Joy, 2019; Kramvig & Flemmen, 2019). However, storytelling can also offer tourists insights into the daily lives of people, their histories and cultures, thus celebrating cultural heritage and demystifying local communities, which are often stereotyped in tourism marketing.

Tourism and service design

In general, tourism is highly dependent on customer experiences and quality services, although the tourism industry has often been criticized for offering staged instead of integrated services and experiences (e.g., MacCannell, 1973; Pine & Gilmore, 1999; Sørensen & Jensen, 2015). The design methods used in tourism are experience design methods (see e.g. Kim & Fesenmaier, 2015; Rickly & McCabe, 2017; Smit & Melissen, 2018; Tussyadiah, 2014), which reflects Pine and Gilmore's (1999) observation that tourism should focus on the experience economy rather than the service economy. Nevertheless, service design connects cultural, social and human interactions (Miettinen & Valtonen, 2012), which are at the core of tourism. Service design for tourism is broadly focused on destination management (Stickdorn, 2009; Stickdorn & Zehrer, 2009), the role of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) in delivering tourist experiences (Zehrer, 2009), and the role of mobile technologies in enhancing 'backstage' processes in tourism (Kansa & Wilde, 2008, p. 629; Tussyadiah, 2017).

We acknowledge that not all aspects of tourism activities are based on services and that service design methods cannot mend all the ills in tourism. Widely used concepts in service design, such as 'service touchpoints and customer journeys' may offer a too-simplistic view of the complexities of tourism and tourist experiences (Tussyadiah, 2014, p. 546). A co-design method that is used in service and experience design and central to the argument in this article is storytelling, which can be used in tourism for learning about and exploring real-life and fictional scenarios (Kankainen et al., 2012). Storytelling can also be a tool for relationship building, empathy creation and self-reflection (Miettinen et al., 2016).

Although identities have been discussed earlier, identity processes – whether they relate to people, such as designers, communities, stakeholders or users, or contexts, such as virtual, corporate or physical – are important to consider in service design. Identity processes often involves bringing together, making sense of and managing a wide range of plural identities that may be complementary or contested (Mischenko, 2005). When individuals and communities play active roles in service development, complex identity processes become part of such development processes. The service design capabilities needed by aspiring service designers in service development are the changing of behaviors, adopting of appropriate attitudes toward change, understanding the self, as well as understanding key players in the field (Bello, 2016, p. 122; see also Kugapi et al., 2020). These capabilities assist the negotiation and management of complex internal and external identity processes. Additionally, aspiring service designers should keep in mind the purpose to be achieved and the involvement of stakeholders early in the design of services (Bello, 2016; Blomkvist & Holmlid, 2011).

Discussions on the roles of locals, specifically creatives, in preparatory processes for the design of new services for creative tourism have not received wide attention in the literature. The gap identified in this research will build on the Tan et al. (2013) model, but instead of focusing on tourist's creative processes, it will focus on the role of local creatives in co-creating new services for creative tourism. The roles designer-makers can play in mapping their contexts, especially their inner and outer worlds, while engaging with identity processes and storytelling in such processes can better prepare them for more demanding service design processes in creative tourism.

Study methods

Case studies, which are used as a method in this article, are useful for understanding the real-life contexts of phenomena once the focus and parameters of the research are pre-identified (Crouch & Pearce, 2013; Muratovski, 2016; Yin, 2008). Different kinds of case studies will lead to different types of research outcomes. Hence, the context of case studies depends on how particular elements of the case study, such as localities, temporalities, events, processes and activities, are interrelated. It is, therefore, necessary to pre-determine the parameters, or 'unit of research', in order to bring such elements into a coherent whole (Liamputtong, 2009, p. 190). This unit of research may include objects, systems, or processes (Crouch & Pearce, 2013).

The data for the two case studies were predominantly collected through interviews with creative individuals who live and work in Finnish Lapland and Namibia. In addition, the research draws on ethnographic observations, field notes and the reflections of the researchers on their several years' experience with creative tourism and craft and design research projects in both countries. The participants in the Finnish case study were situated across Finnish Lapland. Most of them were living in remote places and working in tourist centers. The Namibian participants were urban-based, working and residing in Windhoek, the capital city of Namibia, which is centrally located in the Khomas region. The selected participants were designers, craftspeople and artists who were actively producing creative products, such as artifacts, designs and souvenirs. The participants were working independently and were either established or in the process of establishing themselves as small business owners producing artifacts.

In Finland, seven semi-structured interviews were conducted with crafters, artists, designers focusing on identities and tourism during the autumn of 2012. Further data was collected in 2018 when 15 interviews were conducted with crafters, tourism entrepreneurs and destination management organizations to identify their needs regarding creative tourism services and their creative practices. Observations and discussions with creative communities are based on the authors' longitudinal research data on creative services and people. The second data set was derived from a study of Namibian narratives and postcolonial identities in craft and design conducted in the period 2010–2014 and from research data collected during 2016 and 2019. Altogether, 16 interviews were conducted with small business owners in creative industries in Namibia. Ten interviews were carried out in 2010 and 2011, and follow-up interviews with six of the interviewees were conducted in 2016. Two focus group discussions were conducted in 2019 with a total of

six participants. Observations in the studios of Namibian designer-makers were conducted in 2010 and 2011. The observations considered the life narratives of Namibian designer-makers' and reconstructed their experiences of craft and design practices.

Interviews were conducted in Finnish and English, bearing in mind the cultural and language needs of the participants. Interviews conducted in Finnish were translated by the authors for the purpose of this article. Semi-structured questions guided the interviews. Sample questions included 'Could you tell me what you do in your creative practice and how do you create?' and 'How did you become involved in creative practice?'. During the interviews, additional questions arose in relation themes brought up by the interviewees so that the interviews constituted loosely constructed conversations between the interviewees and researchers. This facilitated the emergence of richer data since the participants were able to sketch detailed stories that included personal aspects of their lives and experiences. Such information would have been lost if the interviews had been rigidly structured. Interviews lasted between 30 and 120 min and were conducted at a venue determined by the interviewee, usually their place of work. Recordings and transcripts were anonymized to protect the identities of participants.

One limitation of the intersectional research was that the interviews were conducted sporadically over many years. However, the follow-up interviews enabled the authors to draw comparisons between interviews and evaluate them to understand how the designer-makers' circumstances were evolving. Miettinen (2007) notes that creative tourism services are not widely explored in Namibia despite the many opportunities for such services in that country. The work and research experiences in Finland of the authors of the current study revealed that such opportunities also exist in Finnish Lapland. These evident opportunities motivated the selection of the two case studies.

Narrative analysis was a suitable method for this study because it enabled the authors to examine how participants narrated and pieced together their experiences. The focus of the study thus shifted from merely the content of the information gathered. Narrative analysis is concerned with how stories are told and why they are expressed in a particular manner. The focus is thus on how narratives are used to express storied lives and identities (Riessman, 1993). Narrative analysis is a systematic interpretation of peoples' motivations, inspirations and imaginations, which is particularly suited to studies that focus on identities (Riessman, 1993). Through storytelling, individuals can (re)interpret their life experiences. Therefore, the data collection and analysis was about interpreting stories that are themselves interpretations of life experiences (Sarantou, 2014). The ethics of narrative analysis require that the interpretation of transcribed texts should not affect the original intentions of the storyteller by distorting the original meanings of words (Riessman, 1993, p. 34). This was a particularly important consideration due to the postcolonial contexts in which the interviews were documented. Open coding was used to determine the headings under which the data was grouped.

Case studies

Both Finnish Lapland and Namibia are situated in specific postcolonial and Indigenous contexts. Creative practitioners in both locations share an interest in developing creative tourism due to the fact that their cultural heritage is embedded in their arts, crafts and design, although they face the limitations of seasonality in tourism and small local markets (Kugapi et al., 2020; Sarantou, 2014).

Finnish Lapland

Tourism and creativity in Lapland are interconnected. Both cultural and creative tourism have attracted interest during the last two decades. Tourists often inquire about visiting local designer-makers or attending creative tourism workshops, which illustrates the concrete need for such new services. The designer-makers in Finnish Lapland expressed interest in becoming involved in tourism. One participant concluded: *'There is no point in doing crafts in Lapland if you are not willing to get involved in tourism and expand your services'*. This interest is also apparent in souvenir shops around Lapland, which in recent times have begun to stock quality locally produced products instead of imported goods. Most of the designer-makers interviewed were directly involved in creating souvenir products for tourism. However, many of the imported souvenirs replicate the original crafts of Lapland by, for example, using symbols from Sámi culture or, in some cases, less authentic tourism symbols, such as huskies, which do not originate from Lapland.

Although the designer-makers in Finnish Lapland were curious about tourism, many did not appear to have the confidence or did not feel equipped to become involved in tourist activities, such as organizing creative workshops for tourists. There are few examples of such ventures in Finland to inspire designer-makers. As a result, some of the interviewees were somewhat skeptical about designing and organizing workshops. Many felt that they were too introverted to interact with tourists and preferred to have their private workspaces, especially since many of them worked from their own homes. Some were concerned about people visiting their premises and stealing their work methods or sources of inspiration. Their opinions generally changed as the discussions continued and the designer-makers recognized that luxury workshops could offer new opportunities for creative tourism activities. They were unanimous in their opinions on what they would like to share with tourists: simple life, home visits and the importance of nature for their work. One interviewee concluded, *'This is our lifestyle'*, which could be used as a promotional slogan and included in products and services.

Nature appeared to have the most significant influence on Finnish designer-makers identities and inspirations, as well as their products and services. Materials such as reindeer leather and bones, flowers, wood and paper are frequently used in crafts, which reflects the theme of nature and environmental sustainability values. In Arctic cultures, especially the Sámi culture, culture and nature are intimately connected. These ideas and values were apparent in the data. One of the designer-makers cited nature as a source of inspiration: *'Nature is number one for me; it is the best piece of art in itself'*. The story continued: *'When I share my inspiration, others also get to feel the experience of nature. I kind of hype pure nature [in my products]'*. In Finnish Lapland, this source of inspiration is always nearby and can be enjoyed by everyone.

Although the designer-makers were able to define their sources of inspiration, they did not always seem clear regarding how they

should identify themselves. When asked, some of them described themselves as designers based on their education. Generally, this was followed by the word 'but'. For example, one participant stated, *'I am a designer due to my education, but I also photograph and make crafts and sell them'*. The participants used various terms and definitions to identify themselves. Interestingly, the crafters who identified as Sámi found it easier to express their identities and sense of belonging. They described themselves by referring to their ethnicity and explained that they expressed their identities through their crafts. One respondent stated, *'I use Sámi symbols or color work in my creations.... I want it to be visible in my outfit that I belong to the Sámi community'*. Another concluded, *'It is really important to strengthen your identity with crafts and show others that you belong to this community'*.

The discussion of belonging to something or somewhere and identifying the self through either Finnish Lapland, Arctic or North echoes the aforementioned artificial divides between art, craft and design. Many of the designer-makers in Finnish Lapland found it difficult to define whether they were making craft, art or design, and many avoided classifications by stating they were doing and selling something they found inspirational and that offered a source of income. One said, with a tinge of laughter, *'Who am I and what do I do? Oh well, I need some time to think'*. However, identifying with certain concepts can support identity construction, and as the data illustrates, cultural and social relationships influence identities so that they are layered and constantly shifting.

The designer-makers in Finnish Lapland acknowledged the value of stories for their work and when traveling. One interviewee explained, *'We visited a place where we saw people making silver products and other crafts and that is what I call an experience. It is also something nice to give as a souvenir because it has a deeper meaning and carries a story. Maybe that is a competitive advantage of crafts, that there is a story behind every product'*. Although the designer-makers saw storytelling as an important way of expressing their identities, sources of inspiration and culture, they did not necessarily feel equipped to use storytelling in their work. They also found it challenging to reveal their stories and determine the degree to which their identity processes should be disclosed.

In conclusion, it can be said that cultural and social relationships had an impact on the designer-makers' lives. Their identity processes were multi-layered and mostly led back to their production processes. Thus, the designer-makers identified themselves through their products. The designer-makers in Finland were also interested in tourism and willing to become involved in it but only on their own terms. They did not want to take time away from their productive work. They also acknowledged the importance of storytelling. The identity construction would help them to devise useful stories and participate in the tourism business.

Namibia

The value of sustainable production practices for Namibian craft and design was addressed by the urban designer-makers in Namibia, all of whom worked in the central business district in Windhoek. The studios where they produced and sold their artifacts were located next to the Namibian Craft Centre in Garten Street. This craft precinct was described by some as inauthentic because too many crafts were clustered within a small space, which they claimed detracted from their value. The involvement of Namibian designer-makers in creative tourism is limited as most simply produce and sell their products rather than offering creative learning experiences for tourists.

The influence of the tourism market in Namibia is widely acknowledged by Namibian designer-makers. For example, one interviewee remarked on one of their products, *'This product is specifically aimed at the tourist market, so for a tourist, it would be 'I was in Africa, and I was in Namibia''*. A narrow focus on the production and making of tourist products fails to consider the wider opportunities that could stem from creative involvement by tourists. The participants recognized the value of craft for creative tourism and identity expression. One interviewee remarked, *'Tourists like the crafts'*. Another concluded, *'Craft is something that shapes a country's identity, and craft is something that tourists come to Namibia to buy as it is part of the country's heritage and traditions'*. Another interviewee stated that tourists *'would not necessarily like to buy design stuff'*. One interviewee referred to their products when clarifying, *'These products are specifically designed for that [tourism], so they include elements like the map of Namibia'*. Craft was also referred to as a phase in a development process, with one interviewee stating, *'We've been in the craft phase since independence'*. The interviewees' comments reveal ambiguity regarding the terms for their making processes and outcomes but also motivation to make creative products for the tourist market.

Making artifacts for both the local and tourism markets was acknowledged as an opportunity for sustaining livelihoods. One interviewee referred to their fashion and clothing, *'This range has been based at a tourist market and has also become reasonably popular with the local market, but it is mostly the tourist place that we are situated in'*. The designer-makers made unique artifacts in small quantities out of limited resources to keep production costs and prices low for the tourist market: *'I had to produce more affordable pieces, also because of where we are situated, which is a craft center with lots of tourists. So I started to develop clothing from African material, which is a little bit more affordable for the tourist market'*. The designer-makers remarked that these factors resulted in design problems, which they often had to improvise to solve: *'improvisation is when you do with what you have in front of you'*.

Storytelling was considered important for dealing with tourists. One interviewee remarked *'When a tourist comes to my workshop, I can make up a story about how I work, and this adds value. People want to know why I have done something, how it was done'*. Another way of using stories was to report on a significant creative accomplishment. One interviewee referred to their own products and reported, *'That was the story, that was the first time that somebody produced something which was 100% Namibian'*. Personal stories also revealed complex internal identity processes that underpinned postcolonial tensions, which most Namibians face: *'I identify a bit as African, or I'm not sure. It's very difficult; you end up not belonging anywhere if you're not careful, and I think that the identity I have now is obviously derived from all the experiences I've had'*. Another interviewee admitted *'Identity is something that I struggle with because I don't know who I am'*, and added *'I will forever be evolving and changing. Creativity has always been part of my identity'*. Creativity was also referred to as a way of expressing place, locality and culture. As one interviewee noted, *'The design and the concept have to come from here. It must be a unique idea so that people attach it to art that was made in Namibia. It must come from here'*.

In the follow-up interviews, interviewees commented on the value of services that could complement their work, stressing the importance of ‘understanding the work and the artist, of having respect and staying true to the vision the producer has for the product and not trying to change the product identity’. Another interviewee thought that services could add ‘professional knowledge and expertise’ to their work. Services, in general, were also valued for “proactively getting the product ‘out there’”. One designer-maker identified a challenge that might be faced when using external service offerings to support their work: ‘we are then more removed from (the work) and this may impact negatively on the product identity’.

In conclusion, artifacts in Namibia are generally not produced in large quantities or by industrial processes. Rather they continue to sustain individual designer-makers and craft communities. Namibian artifact making is holistic, and makers are not distanced from their making processes, environments or the textualities of their raw materials. Complex postcolonial realities continue to impact the identity and creative processes of Namibian designer-makers, causing insecurity, self-questioning and resulting tensions. Stories support the building of connections with markets and tourists, but they also sustain internal processes of sense-making. Interviewees identified the need to align services with their products in order to reach customers and various markets, including tourism. Namibian designer-makers indicated a need to select appropriate and diverse avenues for sustaining their livelihoods.

Discussion

Several important themes emerged from the narrative analysis of the case studies. The themes deriving from the transcribed data and open coding were 1) identities and inner processes, 2) creativity, 3) needs and drivers of action and 4) people, environment and interaction. There are summarized in Fig. 1. The first three of these relate to the inner worlds of the designer-makers, whereas theme four concerns their outer worlds, such as stimuli deriving from people, the environment and other interactions. In contrast to the model proposed by Tan et al. (2013), which focuses on tourists’ creative processes, the model presented here (Fig. 1) focuses on the reflections and interactions of designer-makers seeking to identify their needs when preparing to engage service design for creative tourism. Tan et al.’s (2013) model has been adapted to reflect the themes that emerged from the data. A limitation of this model is that it applies to specific creative communities. However, it can be adapted to other contexts by replacing the themes with others, while still retaining the categories of inner and outer worlds.

Designer-makers’ inner processes and identities

These cases show that designer-makers find it difficult to define who they are and what they do. Challenges regarding self-definition and, in some cases, even self-identity was illustrated in the data. In the case of the designer-makers, this means rethinking or reinventing creativity to go beyond colonially imposed definitions of arts, crafts and design, which theorists have acknowledged as artificial (Sarantou, 2014; Tunstall, 2013). For many, the identification process occurs through the creation of the products, which may be derived from ethnic, cultural, social, creative and place-specific signs. These processes impact the creative interactions of designer-makers with people and their environments, such as their interactions with tourists and when facilitating workshops. Therefore, designer-makers should be open to exploring explore signs affecting their identity construction and encouraged to do so. This may

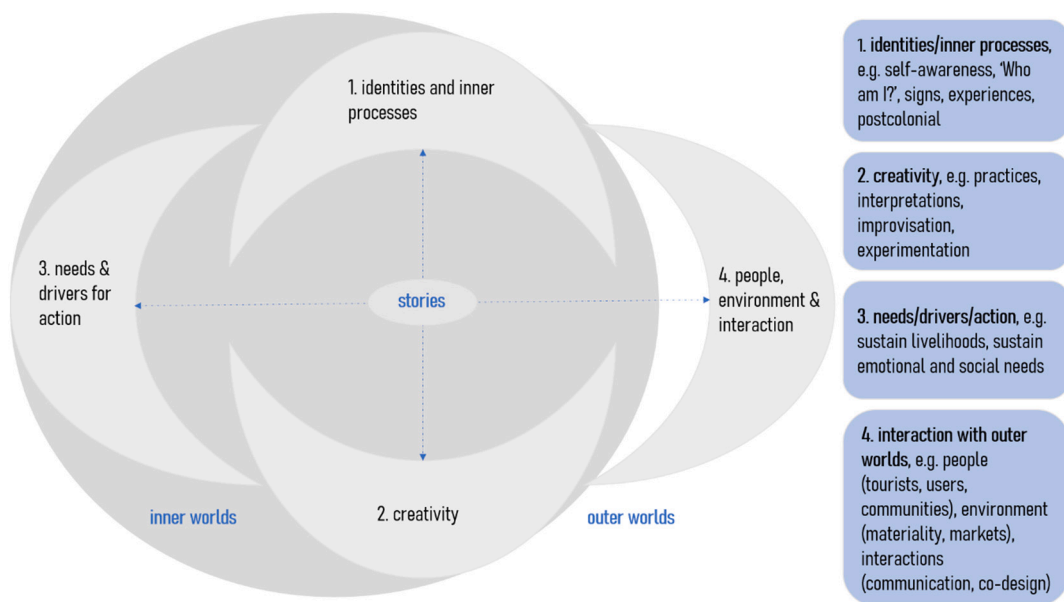


Fig. 1. A model of the inner and outer worlds of designer-makers. Adapted from the ‘creative experience in creative tourism’ model proposed by Tan et al. (2013, p. 165).

enable designer-makers to escape what Urry (1990) calls the 'tourist gaze' associated with traditional crafts, a concept with precarious connotations that suggest ongoing colonial influences.

Hybrid identities emerged from the data in both locations. The participants were unsure as to how they could or should identify or categorize themselves. Designers, craftspeople and artists were just some of the terms proposed. The postcolonial context in Namibia underpinned the tensions that emerged around the question 'Who am I?'. In Finnish Lapland, factors such as the temporal dimensions of identity processes, opportunities for self-reflection and continuous learning about and for the self were highlighted. Hybrid identities were also evident in the creative activities and expressions of the designer-makers. The Finnish data revealed how complex inner processes and insecurities prevented designer-makers from engaging in workshop facilitation for creative tourism. These are important considerations for co-design and mapping processes within these specific contexts.

Designer-maker's creativity

Designer-makers' creativity derives from the environment, including nature, which also affects their choice of materials. Such choices are connected to the social and aesthetic values of the designer-makers, which underpin their material identity expressions and their creativity, and which the data shows form part of their identities. Materials reflect places and cultures, which are intrinsic to and help to create designer-makers' plural and hybrid identities related to specific social environments. Perhaps due to the complexity of their identities and the challenges caused by limited resources, the designer-makers sometimes need to improvise with materials, which indicate their thrift and ability to reinvent what they make. In other words, designer-makers improvisation and experimentation capabilities. Both capabilities are beneficial for community-driven and bottom-up development, also in tourism, as they enable local knowledge to be embedded in design processes. Improvisation creates space in design processes for spontaneity and learning, enabling new interpretations to emerge and problems to be solved.

In both case studies, craft production was perceived as a phase to describe the tensions that exist between craft and design. It seems that this phase must be transcended to achieve a shift to design, even if this transcendence might impact negatively on sales and, as a result, become a questionable practice. Craft practice, which is closely connected to the skills and abilities of practitioners, is also deeply integrated into design and art processes. This is why problems arise and why it is illogical to attempt to separate art, craft and design. Such classifications are attempts at colonization and are derived from positivist academic discussion (Sarantou, 2014; Tunstall, 2013).

Designer-maker's needs and drivers of action

The designer-makers saw tourism as an opportunity to sustain their livelihoods, although they grappled with finding a balance between the production of luxury products with limited sales and more inexpensive products for the tourism market with larger volumes of sales. However, designer-makers often do not have to adopt an 'either-or' approach. In fact, an 'and-and' approach may enable them to produce and enjoy the production of a variety of tourist art or products. Designer-makers must be cautious also how the so-called new services will complement their activities. The data shows that many did not see how the visits or workshops could benefit them economically as they thought the activities might disturb their normal work routine. Also, the shift from product development to service provision seemed to cause frustration and dilemmas among designer-makers, who, as Kugapi et al. (2020) note, do not always find such shifts appealing.

However, designer-makers motivation to become involved with tourism was visible in the data, and the potential of service design to support the marketing and sales activities of designer-makers was foregrounded. However, such views of service design are limiting as it has wider potential that can be realized through more holistic services and community involvement. Apart from the more obvious drivers, such as the sustaining of economic livelihoods, designer-makers continue to seek opportunities to fulfill their emotional needs for reflection, self-expression and self-determination. Whether they are involved in creative tourism or not, the emotional and social drivers that sustain creative activity seem to be paramount for finding niche markets for designer-makers' creative outputs. The wider activities of creative tourism that exceed artifact making may meet such needs.

Designer-makers' interactions with the outer world

The designer-makers found it challenging to imagine new tourism opportunities, but they were curious and willing to become involved. They also expressed interest in service design and were able to articulate the challenges of being outsiders, removed from such activities with little input into the design of the processes. They saw their roles as investing their knowledge in designing services for tourism. However, they varied in terms of the extent to which they felt they would be comfortable and able to share their knowledge, identities and stories during interactions with service designers, consultants or tourists. In Namibia, persisting colonial realities are exasperated by ongoing poverty and unemployment, social stratification, lack of quality education and the failure of SMEs (Kambwale & Chisoro, 2015). These realities hamper the recognition of local talent, ability, skill and genius of designer-makers.

On the positive side, we found that designer-makers recognize the improvements services can bring to both tourist experiences and local livelihoods. As local knowledge holders, designer-makers can make important contributions to creative tourism that is community-driven, place-bound and bottom-up. Approaching tourism through co-design with relevant stakeholders enables local and material knowledge to be embedded in design processes by co-design teams. Designer-makers can have parallel or defined roles as crafters, designers of souvenirs, facilitators or designers of creative services, consultants in development processes or tourism entrepreneurs (Huhmarniemi & Jokela, 2019).

The central role of storytelling

Fig. 1 shows that stories are central to the inner and outer processes of designer-makers and illustrates the connections they shape between inner and outer aspects of sense-making. They also serve as a practical tool in context mapping processes. Making sense of both the self and one's creative processes is central to storytelling. Stories enable designer-makers to express their needs and motivations and identify what drives them, but stories also connect them to the outer world. As the data showed, such interactions may be education and learning processes that designer-makers engage in, as well as interactions with people, such as their communities or tourists. Storytelling offers tourists insights into the daily lives of people and their histories and cultures, thus celebrating cultural heritage and demystifying local communities that are often stereotyped in tourism marketing. Storied interactions between tourists and designer-makers can yield insights into the creative and inner worlds of both parties and bring about connections that are essential for the learning experiences that tourists seek from creative tourism. On the other side, storied interaction can benefit designer-makers in their co-design processes when they have to express their knowledge, insights and imagination.

However, the power of dominant narratives should not be underestimated. Some narratives can be harmful as they are rooted in powerful 'grand narratives' that are connected to unjust political systems, such as colonialism and apartheid. This is particularly relevant to Namibia (Sarantou, 2014) and to the stereotypical images of Sámi people in Finnish tourism marketing (Saari et al., 2020). These harmful narratives can result in negative behaviors that exacerbate global problems, such as overconsumption, the depletion of natural resources and the undermining of human well-being. Another challenge is that the work of stories, which is to facilitate connections between people and between people and things, is often interrupted. The work of stories can, for example, ensure the distribution of artifacts to suitable wider networks, such as creative tourism. When the work of stories is supported, new opportunities for identities and cultural and historic meanings can be reinforced.

Going back to the example of Finnish designer-makers feeling intimidated by the prospect of offering luxury workshops to tourists, it can be concluded that their storytelling during the interviews and discussions provided them with insights into such a possibility. The discussions enabled them to consider such an opportunity seriously, and by telling stories, they were able to sketch future 'what if' and 'what ought to be' scenarios regarding their involvement in such activities.

Conclusion

This research presents opportunities for creative tourism in which designer-makers are not removed from their work. Such opportunities can instead enhance the identities of both the maker and the artifact and contribute to the designing of tourism services and experiences. The model (Fig. 1) is a practical and flexible mapping tool that can be expanded and used by designer-makers for practical mapping activities. The tool will enable designer-makers to analyze, express and transfer understandings of their inner processes with outer interactions with tourists, thereby facilitating transitions for their own benefit and that of tourists. After context mapping, the implementation of appropriate and well-selected service design approaches to creative tourism can be imagined, reflected on and (re) invented.

When creative tourism services are developed with art and craft-making activities in mind and produced collaboratively with local designer-makers, craft and design communities, such services can have commercial benefits, support local activities and sustain local livelihoods. They will offer deeply relevant experiences for tourists and locals, while 'lived' stories can be materialized and made visible. However, during these processes, dominant narratives must be questioned and dismantled, and this must be an ongoing endeavor. The knowledge and drive of designer-makers can bring about innovative community-driven and bottom-up development, which is often overlooked in the literature on tourism experience design. An awareness of creative, identity and storied practices is, therefore, valuable for creating sustainable tourism experiences with designer-makers on the peripheries of societies in Finland, Namibia and beyond.

This article does not discuss the issues of colonialization, postcolonialism and marginality in detail, even though they are important considerations for locals in both locations. Another limitation of this article is that the themes locality and place-based identities were not discussed in-depth. These issues are complex and merit further discussion. Therefore, we propose these themes as avenues for future research in relation, but also with, creative communities. Further mixed-method research into creative tourism, the role of service and experience design and the application of the shared methods of these areas of design with and by local communities will yield valuable insights into creative tourism.

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What is the contribution to knowledge, theory, policy or practice offered by the paper?

This paper provides important insights into creative tourism from the perspectives of creative people. It also advances the understanding of selected concepts and theory related to creative tourism, such as creativity, identity, storytelling and service design. Currently, the voices of local people are lacking from the tourism and service design literature. This article contributes to filling this gap by exploring insights gained from creative practitioners in Finnish Lapland and Namibia, focusing on designer-makers’ roles in the preparatory stages of service design in creative tourism. The research presents critical insights into the designer-makers’ inner and outer worlds to promote self-understanding through context mapping, which is an initial stage in service design. A practical model is presented for enabling authentic, bottom-up approaches for service design by local creatives.

How does the paper offer a social science perspective/approach?

Creative tourism is a social, cultural and environmental phenomenon. It involves creative practices, experiences and personal encounters with local communities and individuals. In comparison, service design is a participatory, context-focused and solution-oriented practice. Nevertheless, studies that consider how these phenomena can work collaboratively to solve the challenges that creative makers communities face to diversify their opportunities for creating sustainable livelihoods, are limited. The contribution of this work is the analysis of the roles of creativity, identities and stories play in collaborative and local approaches to service design and creative tourism. In the contexts of Finnish Lapland and Namibia, communities may be facing the realities of one or a combination of these attributes. We contribute to the debate and discussion of creative tourism through the narrative reflections of the research participants on their creative practices and experiences with tourism.