Usage guidelines

Journeys of Inspiration? Touristic Modes of the Artistic Creative Class

Abstract:

Post-tourism, or the ironic play of tourists adopting different roles, aware of the problems of searching for 'authenticity', and engaging in a wide array of previously delineated travel and tourism practices is a paradigm that has emerged to understand many contemporary practices of leisure mobility. We suggest though that well documented desires for romantically inflected modes of travel are still very important to working artists and the broader creative class. Findings, generated through interviews and participant observation research, suggest that many of the working artists in our study adopt anti-tourist rather than post-tourist philosophies and practices in their corporeal mobilites. These anti-tourist perspectives are often gained through exposure to certain forms of cultural capital found in higher educational settings and are contextually informed by romanticism. The desire to 'not be a tourist' however becomes challenged during different stages of the lifecycle – with the arrival of children pointing respondents to more institutionalised forms of travel and tourism. Regardless of stages in the lifecycle however, a permeating desire for an integrated and inspirational engagement with the elsewhere is a central aspect in the travel motivation of working artists.

Key words: artists; anti-tourism; post-tourism; cultural capital; lifecycle; creative class

Introduction

In this paper we specifically examine the tourism preferences of artists in the city of Newcastle upon Tyne, UK. Whereas previous work has examined the ways in which artists can be an attractive focus for tourism development (Currid 2009) and the ways in which tourism and artistic practices are intertwined (Thompson *et al* 2010; Rakic and Lester 2013) this paper critically examines the tourism practices of this segment of what has been termed 'the creative class' (Florida 2002). Our findings point to the fact that the working artists, whose views informed the research, do not share the perspectives and practices of 'post-tourists' and in fact remain deeply tied to the core values of Romanticism including searching for authenticity and inspiration in travel and tourism experiences – however, the desire for such experiences are tempered by entering different stages in the life-cycle. 'Post-tourists' are characterised as: enjoying simulated experiences, engaging in forms of tourism closely related to leisure and lifestyle at home, accepting that there is no true authentic experience, treating commodification of place and self playfully, being ironically detached from tourism experiences (Feifer 1985; Urry 1988; Hannam and Knox 2010). Contra these post-tourists we find that the artistic sensibilities of working artists are much more serious, engaged with a philosophy of 'anti-tourism', a search for authenticity and auratic presence, and artistic inspiration through 'tourism', or, rather, the practices of anti-tourism.

Artists, Travel and Tourism

The relationship between artists and the inspiration of travel is revealed by many works of literature and visual art. The origins of European romanticism are wedded to the 'framing' of nature as a spiritual realm (Blanning 2010), and the construction of the exotic and the Orient as signifiers of 'Other' cultures, free from the strictures of emergent bourgeois modernity (de Botton 2002). Later, visual artists such as Delacroix and Gauguin, amongst many others, also contributed towards the construction of these dominant representations of the exotic and the Oriental (Mackenzie 1995; Staszak 2013), a theme that was also carried into twentieth century modern art in the guise of 'primitivism' (Knapp 1986; Costa 1991; Guenther 2003) and into later 'countercultural' ideals of Non-Western peoples as idealisations of the 'Pre-modern' (Heath and Potter 2005).

Travel writing is also viewed as playing a significant role in the construction of Romantic otherness during the 19th century (Pratt 1992) and the attraction of creative countercultures to mobility in the 20th century is well documented (Richards and Wilson 2004) as signifying the emergence of modern backpacking. The modern period has also seen the emergence of 'home' environments of creative alterity in the form of bohemias as 'urbanisations of romanticism' - areas of bohemian 'opposition' to the bourgeois and spaces where the 'limits' of modern ideas of individualism can be tested (Seigel 1986; Wilson 2000). These areas, for example the Montmartre in Paris, or Heights-Ashbury and Greenwich Village in San Francisco and New York respectively, have often become tourist attractions in their own right.

Feifer (1985) and Buzard (1993) describe how the emergence of tourism as a social practice in the early 19ᵗʰ Century was bound to the practices and worldviews of Romantic artists and how these same artists were often the instigators of 'anti-tourism'. The Romantic Gaze constructed through romantic artists' portrayals of nature as a realm of the solitary and the spiritual, eventually, became challenged by the presence of Others (Urry 2002). This inspirational realm so central to the Romantic ethic (Cardinal 1997; Wedd 1998; Urry 2002), and constructed in romantic ideology as an authentic arena, separate and distinct from the emerging modern world, ironically, itself becomes an object of consumption, and a space of occupation, by the embodiment of modern alienation; 'the tourist' (Buzard 1993).

The irony of this was of course the fact that the practices and artistic productions of people such as Wordsworth and Rousseau themselves became key inscriptions of new meanings of 'sublime' landscape and were distilled into the guide books of the emergent tourism industry (Urry 2002; Buzard 1993; Neumann 2002; Butler 1985; Butler 1998; Watson 2006). In this sense we can see the emergence of one particular strand of Romantic practice, that of solitary travel in sublime nature, being appropriated and transformed through cultural emulation and nascent consumer capitalism into a popular activity.

The values founded in the Romantic Movement have often become manifest in later artistic movements and creative countercultures including American Transcendentalism, the Beat poets (Allen 1960), the creative countercultures of the

1960s (Goffman and Joy 2004; Braunstein and Doyle 2002) and punk rock (Hebdige 1979; Savage 1991). Echoing these broader shared values (or rather *inherited* values), later artistic movements have often embraced certain forms of mobility, that, as their Romantic forbears did, emphasised the distinction between the 'traveller' and the 'tourist'. Modern backpacking culture for instance, the origins of which can be traced to the nascent American counterculture (Adler 1985; Wilson and Richards 2004), sees a clear ideology of anti-tourism on behalf of its community of practice (Welk 2004). However, this distinction may lie in the realm of rhetoric and self-representations as much as in any particular distinction between their actual behaviours and the behaviours of people labelled as 'tourists' (Kontogeorgopolous 2003; McCabe 2005; Welk 2008) and empirical evidence for the motivations of modern backpackers and independent travellers suggests that differences between the practices of the 'backpacker' and the 'tourist' may not be that great (Cooper *et al* 2004; Larsen *et al* 2011).

The above examples, of desires for Romantic experiences in nature, and putatively non-institutionalised travel experiences through backpacking, point to the importance of artists and counter-culturalists as instigators of practices that eventually become, through processes of commodification and emulation, popular practices. The importance of 'the artist' as a figure of identification has arguably grown in the post war era as transmissions of 'artistic values' through modes of popular cultural consumption have often been tied to critiques of 'regulated Fordist life' that was seen to mitigate against individuality and to prize utilitarian gains over emotive (or spiritual) engagements with the world (see Roszak's classic 1969 critique on this).

This cultural transmission, facilitated also by rising educational levels and associated degrees of (counter) cultural capital and aesthetic-reflexivity (Lash and Urry 1994) within broader segments of the population can be seen to have created cultural desire (Caulfield 1989) on behalf of the 'new middle classes' (Ley 1996) to inhabit the secular-spiritual realm of 'the artist'. At the same time, the 'rise of the creative class' (Florida 2002; Peck 2005; Evans 2009) has witnessed the growth of creative industries in the West as global divisions of labour have facilitated a 'creative workforce' often located in specific areas of urban agglomerations within Europe and America. These roles have required increasing numbers of Western knowledge workers to adopt creative modes of thinking and aesthetic reflexive (Lash and Urry 1994) sensibilities in regards to economic production (Florida 2002;, Ray and Anderson 2000; Brooks 2000) The need for creativity as an essential facet of industrial production and service provision, as well as its importance as a performative node for the validation of the self has thus, in later capitalism in Western societies, led to greater imperatives to 'be creative' and 'experience creativity'. As such, what were once fairly hermetic 'artistic values' have been transmitted to broader components of the 'experience economy', such as, for example tourists' desires (Richards and Wilson 2007; Richards 2011).

Influences of the Human Lifecycle

The desire to get off the 'beaten track', that has been discussed above as a longstanding desire of artists and 'counterculturalists'; a desire that, through the

process of cultural transmission and emulation had been adopted by broader segments of the population in the post war era is not always possible to achieve. The processes of ageing and the arrival of children may affect the possibilities of engaging in putatively 'non-institutionalised' modes of travel and tourism.

The concept of 'lifecycle' in the social sciences has a complex and contested genealogy (O' Rand and Krecker 1990). In relation to travel and tourism studies the idea of 'lifecycle' has often been used to study the growth, stagnation and decline or rejuvenation of destinations (Butler 2006). There have, however, been a number of studies devoted to the stages of the lifecycle in relation to tourists, travellers and practices of leisure mobility. Backpacking, and putatively less 'institutionalised' modes of mobility have commonly been understood as 'rite of passage' (Paris and Teye 2010; Kain and King 2004) and may be attractive to younger age groups due to these psycho-social connotations. Also, more prosaically, these modes may be more achievable due to having less "family, work or time constraints" (Paris and Teye, 2010: 256), and 'committed' backpackers have been shown to have fewer familial responsibilities or dependent family members (Cohen 2011), as the arrival of children clearly has an influence on people's travel decision-making behaviours (Thornton *et al* 1997).

Empirical demographic evidence also points to associations between backpacking, and more 'independent' forms of touring with younger age groups (Cain and King 2004; Newlands 2004; Cohen 2011), and younger people are more likely to self-

identify with the moniker 'backpacker' as opposed to 'tourist' (Akatay *et al* 2013). Literature has also seen older tourists associated with 'total institutions' of vacationing (Dann 2000) – an 'old person's home in the sun'. However, changes in longevity and expectations of maintained physical fitness in an "ageless society" (Yeoman *et al*, 2013 p100) has seen "travel products previously taken up by the younger generation … now being designed for the mature traveller" (Ibid. p100).

Stages in the human lifecycle, then, have been clearly shown to have influences on the self-identifications of tourists and their relationships with levels of 'institutionalisation' of leisure mobility. Importantly, these issues of being a 'traveller' rather than a 'tourist' and of, seeking inspiration, through escaping the institutions and landscapes of modernity have been important motives for the mobilities of creative countercultures. Our study investigates these tensions in relation to qualitative personal biographies of working artists.

Methodology

The empirical basis of this paper is founded in 18 months of interview and participant observation research, in 2010 and 2011, in the Ouseburn Valley area of Newcastle upon Tyne. The Ouseburn Valley, a location for early industrial production in Newcastle (Morgan 1995), and following relocations and declines in these industries, a dilapidated, neglected and polluted area of post-industrial decay has been transformed in recent decades to being a centre of creative industry and 'alternative'

8

(Chatterton and Hollands 2001) leisure consumption in the city (Newcastle City Council 2003, 2007, 2012; Ouseburn Trust 2012). The 'Valley' has undergone this renewal through a process of regeneration and gentrification that has seen its landscape and buildings being revalorised through the settlement of artists in the area since the 1980s. The increased importance of creative industries to local government growth agendas since the turn of the Millennium (Florida 2002; Evans 2009; Zimmerman 2008) has witnessed the development of the area as a 'creative hub' for the city of Newcastle upon Tyne and the 'Valley' now boasts hundreds of artists' workspaces and creative enterprises.

In-depth semi-structured Interviews were conducted with 24 people, a mixture of working artists (who work in the Valley) and broader users of the Valley (nonetheless dominated by working artists, numbering 18 of this sample). The approach taken was to gather their tourism biographies following the methodology outlined by Desforges (2000). This granted the research project an *emic* epistemological stance, giving priority to the views of the workers' and users' of the Valley in relation to their tourism and leisure practices. Participant observation of activities in the Valley were also conducted, with visits to the Valley's pubs and festival, as well as a degree of volunteering within the Valley's oral history society giving opportunities for the generation of analytically relevant field notes.

Respondents were gathered via both individual requests for interviews from artists in a number of studio spaces in the Ouseburn Valley, and through subsequent

'snowballing' of further possible interviewees. Interviews were conducted in the artists' studios, at their homes and, on occasion, in local bars. Respondents' ages ranged from 27 to 65 and the gender composition was 13 male and 11 female. Initial questions focused on the artists' own experiences of tourism and travel.

Emergent themes were coded around the main themes of:

Anti-tourism: many of the respondents were keen to avoid 'tourist experiences', and these desires were often clearly formed in relation to the accumulation of cultural dispositions through the acquisition of educational capitals. Tourist experiences were generally not treated in an ironic or 'post-tourist' sense.

Stages in the lifecycle: These desires, however, were often tempered by entering certain stages in the lifecycle. The arrival of children often heralded an acceptance of the 'safer' environs of 'institutionalised' forms of travel and tourism.

Inspiration of the elsewhere: Travel to, and experience of, other places was nonetheless, both before and after the arrival of children, viewed as an integrated part of a 'whole life' often providing creative experience or opportunity for creative practice acting as inspiration for creative practice when 'back home'.

Tourism and the Artistic Creative Class

Becoming an 'Anti-Tourist'

10

The literature reviewed has discussed the roles of artists and creative countercultures in the construction of 'anti-tourist' rhetoric and identities. Anti-tourist sentiments were clearly elicited by *all* of the 24 participants in the research process. Four of the respondents used the terms "off the beaten path" or "off the beaten track" to describe their desire to avoid 'tourist experiences' and tourist spaces whilst away. Respondent 1 suggested "I do like to go off tangentially [whilst on holiday]" and respondent 10, plainly, stated that "I hate being a tourist" (of course indicating that she *has* in the past taken this role). Respondent 16 suggested that being a tourist meant belonging to a "crowd of sheep just going everywhere".

Further illustrations of the rejection of the 'collective gaze' (Urry 2002) can be found in respondent 16's suggestion that tourists, lacking in individuality and courage, and submitting to a "slave mentality" are "hoards of idiots [who] feel safe with their own" and respondent 13 suggested that he "tends to avoid [package holidays] …maybe it's about avoiding crowds and discovering things for yourself". Respondent 4 described Benidorm as "hell"; respondent 19 stated "I'm not a package holiday person"; respondent 3 suggested he preferred to visit destinations that "don't have a tourist trade" and respondent 22 suggested that he preferred independent travel and 'couch surfing' so he could "meet the real deal, rather than staying in a Travelodge, being spoon-fed orders".

The above examples clearly demonstrate the degree of anti-tourism that was expressed in the interviews with the working artists. Many of the respondents

however had, in the past, experienced 'package holidays', but, through processes of accumulating cultural and educational capital, had come to disparage them. The tourism careers of many of the interviewees had often changed due to having gone to university. In relation to this, the collective nature of mass tourism practices were also commented upon by respondents 2 and 3, self-described as a photographer and a musician respectively. Both these respondents described themselves as coming from working class villages in north east England, and as they recounted their childhood experiences of package holidays, and "local club trips" or "going away for two weeks and staying in hotels with all kinds of games". It was clear that as they had reached adulthood their desires and preferences had changed. Respondent 3 described how such vacations, where large numbers of people from the same village would take coaches to the continent and decamp for two weeks, was "my idea of hell" and how he "couldn't think of anything worse". Respondent 2 described her early experiences of tourism in the same way telling how she had "gone on a holiday to Magaluf with eight girls and just thought 'what am I doing here'!". It is clear for these respondents, that the importance of acquiring new cultural capital and taste were formed at university and through the pursuit of liberal arts and creative courses whilst there:

> Respondent 3: [W]e come from the same sort of class backgrounds and the same kind of [geographical] area…but then we've all been through university…

> Respondent 2: We've done arts degrees

Respondent 3: Yeah we've done arts based courses and I think that's affected us in broadly similar ways also – it's not quite "wow I've had my eyes opened by the big city" but y'know at the same time you know that there's more out there.

Respondent 2: yeah I think that when you branch out from your town and go to university or whatever it's like a whole new world is opened up for you, and I can't imagine myself ever doing that [going on a package holiday] again.

Here we see how the transmission of an aesthetic-reflexive sensibility (Lash and Urry, 1994) through exposure to higher education or educational capital (Bourdieu 1984) plays a role in the creation of broader rejections of perceived 'standard' or 'passive-leisure' orientated vacations. This, in a similar vein to Ley's (1996) theorum of the importance of the expansion of higher education in the post-war era to opening up realms of cultural capital in the area of gentrification bears broad commonalities with other taste terrains – in this case the critique of 'Fordist' tourism patterns (Sharpley 2008). These themes were also strongly echoed by respondent 5, in his account of his changing holiday and travel preferences:

I grew up in a village…and I kind of grew up in the kind of mainstream bracket of going away for two weeks to lie on a beach scenario…so sort of into my early twenties I was still really sort of doing that…so I did go away on a couple of laddish holidays for a few weeks, but the older I've got , and as [name withheld] mentioned about going through art college and university I've kind of broadened my horizons…I'm going back to the south of France again, it'll be my third time, erm but the reason I go there is to soak up the culture and the

wine and the food…the only other time I've been to Spain was to Barcelona and that was to see works by Salvador Dali and buildings by Gaudi and things like that…more art related, and related to the profession I do.

The rejection of the 'laddish holiday' is founded though the experience of university, the exposure to different perspectives found there, and the validation of these perspectives and practices. Respondent 5 also mentioned how his interests when abroad are now informed by his profession as an architect – the 'cosmopolitan' integration of interests and inspirations from the elsewhere with the home life, and working life at home. Mass tourism destinations were often viewed negatively by many of the people interviewed. It became obvious however, that nearly all of the interviewees had some previous experiences of these kinds of holidays. These experiences had often come at the beginning of people's travel and tourism careers, and often, as discussed immediately above, before or during the acquisition of further and different cultural capitals gained in higher and further education.

Stages in the human lifecycle

The desire to get 'off the beaten track' (a phrase that was used commonly by a number of the interviewees) and away from institutionalised, mass or packaged settings was often challenged however by the appearance of children. This tension again echoes the tensions found within the cultural desires and reproductive strategies found within the new middle classes in relations to other aspects of *habitus* as discussed by Bridge (2006) in relation to the effects of children on 'ideal' housing preferences. This demonstrates how these fields are linked to an overall

14

taste orientation (and, of course, the use of economic capital) for the new middle classes more generally and how 'stages' in the 'lifecycle' can challenge these priorities (see Thornton et al., 1997). Some interviewees suggested that the arrival of children in both budgetary and in a clearer sense safety and practical concerns greatly limited the scope of their tourism modes.

Respondent 11, who had had a broad and lengthy travel career, and had spent much time working abroad, described the taming of his travelling days as related to the birth of his daughter:

> when she was born I thought I'd better stick around you know...if it wasn't for her I'd probably be on a beach Barcelona probably – drinking wine and playing guitar with the gypsies (laughs).

This illustrates how having children affects the travel careers of many of the interviewees. Children, whilst not always heralding the 'end of going away' and of the practice of a Romantic or exotic gaze, as in this case were often alluded to as the reason why a more 'institutionalised' or packaged vacation may be sought. When asked about what he did in terms of travel and holidays, respondent 13 responded: "there's two answers to that question – erm before children and after children". This respondent suggested that the birth of his first child had had a significant impact on the scope of his destination and activity choices when planning a holiday, as did Respondent 6, who also had a young family. Respondent 9 suggested that holidays in the sun had been a good option for her and her children when they were young,

15

but really her preferences lay elsewhere – with cities and galleries within Europe. Respondent 16 also commented upon this tension:

> Yeah I do very much so I mean I would always go not on a package holiday and organize everything myself…but that gets harder with a child…but I do plan to take her on a longer trip when she gets older…but I mean even if you do end up going to Lanzarote it's like about looking for the best local restaurants and trying not to do the mainstream parades that everybody else does.

Here we can see that the arrival of her daughter had led her to more 'mass' spaces of tourist consumption. However she was also keen to stress that even in such environments there is scope for exploring and engaging with local culture. The concern for child friendly vacations was also evident for respondents 7 and 8, a married couple who suggested that the 'safeness' of packaged holidays was explicitly related to the birth of their child:

> Respondent 7: I'd like to go on a holiday where it wasn't necessarily as planned as the norm…I mean we've been on a couple of things where you kind arrive and it says 'Chambers' or 'Thompsons'…packages…and I would really like to get away from that but it would be difficult with us having him now – maybe when he's a little bit older…

> Respondent 8: [we would like] something where it's not planned…where we're not exactly sure what we're going to be doing every day…

For this couple, the arrival of children and entering a new stage of the 'life cycle' created a tension between the care and responsibility for the child and the pursuit of

less regulated experiences whilst on holiday. The need for institutionalised, packaged, itinerated, planned, 'safe' or 'enclavic' tourism spaces becomes then more central to the planning of a trip. However, as with respondent 16 , the arrival of their young "bambino" (as respondent 7 referred to her baby) does not necessarily mean that the bounds of the imagined tourist institution are always needed. Respondent 7 revealed that:

> Y'know we're going to Sorrento for a wedding and everyone's booked into this big hotel free function, they've got a bus to the hotel y'know and it's all organized, and we've booked some flights to this crazy B and B on top of the hill…and we're going to arrive just the baby or us…and we like to do that sort of thing.

Having the baby then does not necessarily preclude *all* attempts to avoid the 'institutional signifiers' of modern tourism, and for respondent 13, although having a child may have limited the possibilities of going to certain destinations, even the pool holiday is organised at the villa of a friend, not a large hotel. Similarly for respondent 18, a pool holiday with her family members still allows for experiences of "local food and culture". In this sense then, the arrival of children for a number of the participants in the research may have moved some of their preferences towards institutional forms of holiday making there is still a desire to avoid the archetypical imaginings of such venues. We can see then that 'mass', 'institutionalised' or 'packaged' resorts and itinerated tours are generally viewed negatively by many interviewees. Nearly all of the respondents and participants however have experience of such tourism. These experiences are often talked about in the past tense and as such are relegated to a time of naivety, when certain tastes and

activities were perhaps less critically engaged with. They are often seen as a negative learning experience (as in the cases of respondents 2, 10 and 19) – a going on holiday by mistake – never to be repeated.

More 'institutionalised' or home-culture-centred forms of holidaying however do perform useful functions for a good number of my respondents. The ambivalences towards such destinations are brought out in different stages of the 'lifecycle', and particularly the arrival of children changes the possibilities leisure mobility. There is, then, a certain ambivalence in relation to the delineated leisure spaces of 'traditional' resorts, but nearly always in the interviews, they are not seen as 'ideal' destinations if engaged with, but as 'necessities'. More significant were the interviewees' responses with regard to their ideal tourism practices.

Finding Inspiration

For nearly all of the creative working artists and interviewed the purpose of travel and experiencing the elsewhere was nearly always related back to artistic practice, learning new methods and/or gaining inspiration from new and different places. In this regard then, mobility for these artists was often linked to their working practices, and integrated into a 'whole' creative lifestyle. These practices also echoed Uriely's (2001, 2005) work on the blurring distinctions between tourism/travel and work 'at home', and Edensor's (2007) argument that travel and tourism often forms an extension of 'banal practice'. The 'total lifestyle' at home, was linked to the desire to

18

actively experience and make contacts and networks with people elsewhere. 'leisure mobility' was *not* talked about in terms of escaping alienation in the home environment, but in a more constructive and 'cosmopolitan' manner as integrating the ways and inspirations of 'difference' into the 'one life' of working creative practice (see Uriely 2001; 2005; Thompson *et al* 2010; Richards 2011; Bell 2013).

This practice was usefully summated by respondent 12, who suggested that his tourism and travel practices were "holistic" and in tune with other aspects of his life. Indeed, many of the artists interviewed suggested that their travels had in fact been related to residency and learning from others abroad. This finding, that mobility amongst the working artists that partook in the research was often related to work-travel was explicitly commented upon by the above respondent. Furthermore, he suggested that "a lot of my travel has been related to residencies...it's like the only real affordable way of travelling – so the way I try to do it [travel] is to incorporate it into my work". Similarly, respondent 6 also suggested that holidays with his young family would essentially be working ones, with him performing puppet shows in the south of England during the summer months in recent years.

This de-differentiation of home and away was also commented upon by respondent 11 who stated that being an artist was a strongly held vocation: "what you do all of the time, so it would be quite weird if you didn't take that interest away with you...it tends to be in your mind all of the time so it's not like you can switch off". This respondent further stated that this was "totally different" to an "ordinary job", which in

19

some ways implied that for this artist "ordinary jobs" do contain degrees of alienation and separation between travel and tourism and work. respondent 19, in relation to his visit to New York, commented that this trip had work as a sculptor at its centre, and this experience of working abroad was particularly fulfilling:

> New York's great and I was really lucky 'cos I spent six weeks there based in Spanish Harlem and I did this sculpture thing [for the Dean of a cathedral there] and they said 'oh do you want to work in the stoneyard?' and all the people working there were down on their luck and unemployed and the whole thing was like a training program and they were making fine stonemasons out of these people...that was a fantastic way to be in a city...it gave you the confidence to go off out into Queens and Brooklyn.

Here the involvement in a creative or artisan programme whilst in the city is clearly valued, and it was his role as a sculptor that had in fact taken him to the city on this occasion. This engagement with 'locals' also facilitated a greater confidence to get off the beaten track in New York and demonstrated how involvement in creative activities in destinations can often generate links into the 'urban everyday' through facilitating integration with 'locals' rather than 'tourists' (Richards 2011; Aoyama 2009), outside the 'spectacle' of the city centre..

New York exercised a particularly attractive pull over a number of the other interviewees. As a modern art centre, respondent 1 suggested that she would visit the more spectacular galleries in the city but also venture into newer bohemias such

as Williamsburg. For this artist these ventures are not of a passive nature however, and she often aims to integrate trips away into her artistic practice:

> Respondent 1: "I love cities yeah and when I'm around a gallery I'm always looking for new work and for new artists...I find it very easy to visually over dose and get a migraine! I suppose it's the researcher and the visual artist in me that always wants to follow that up wherever I am...ermm I've worked as a designer before and I was very interested in Kappa shoes (laughs) and I visited the factory when I was there in Mallorca – I do that sort of thing you know...erm I enjoy the sort of visual culture of Spain."

Here we see the respondent suggesting a close integration between her work as an artist and the possibilities of engaging with new directions in art through travel. There is clearly a quite developed degree of aesthetic-reflexive sensibility at work here as demonstrated through the desire to view the design and production of specific items of apparel. It is further suggested that the desire to engage with the visual culture of the elsewhere sometimes becomes a little overpowering and this 'way of seeing' is to a degree given a 'weight' or 'essence of being' through the idea of being an almost autonomous act, a lack of volition founded in 'the visual artist in me'.

Respondent 13 similarly commented upon the allure of prominent art cities, and how his travel in the past had integrated mobility for enjoyment, but at the same time been combined with a desire to learn from and gain inspiration from the elsewhere:

21

New York's just a buzzing place which I've been to a few times to see art...and I went to Venice this year and that was with a couple of friends...and [in these places] it's just about trying to absorb as much as you can and that's really why I do it...it's responding to good and bad work and trying to pick out where you are in the bigger picture but also to be inspired by these places...even if we go to say Greece and we say 'oh we'll try to relax' there still well might be something of interest – whether that's a building or a door or something you know which I just love the look of you know and I'll photograph it...it's just a different kind of absorbing things.

Here we again see that particularly when visiting prominent art cities, the respondent is demonstrating a desire an ability to critically engage with work he has sought out when there. He also suggested that this type of visit can generate inspiration and motivation for his work back in Newcastle. Even when this artist has tried to take a 'holiday' and pursue a more relaxed state whilst away, he is still critically and aesthetically active, viewing objects and forms in his environment – significantly in relation to the 'authenticity of the everyday' discussed above, these are in the quote nominally 'banal' objects – through a 'frame' of artistic orientations.

The integration of the 'artistic gaze' or the aesthetic-reflexive sensibility into the touristic practices of the working artists and creatives who participated in this study was also alluded to by respondent 4, who suggested that other places have an appeal because she is "interested visually in what things are like" and this interest is generated through "who I am which is also being an artist I suppose". Respondent

12 also stated that whilst he may try to take time out to travel simply to relax he found this: "really difficult, as part of me's always thinking about work...I love to go to Brussels 'cos my brother lives there but I love it 'cos it's got a fantastic art scene and the architecture's amazing".

Here we see, as with respondent 13, the desire to search for art and to carry out an aesthetic-reflexive form of gazing is present when away from home. Respondent 10, also explicitly commented upon the desire for the 'one life' or non-fractured existence. When asked about her travel and tourism experiences and if she visited galleries whilst abroad and took her "interests from work to other places". She commented:

> Respondent 10: I think if you're an artist it's not work...it's part of you...
>
> I: So there's no separation of like...work and leisure or holidays?
>
> Respondent ten: No I don't think so, I think I'd be depriving myself personally, if I didn't continue to create and explore – I just think it's a continuous thing that I'd do anyway...I mean it's like a vocation it's like of kind of a priest – you can have holidays but I mean you don't stop believing in god and praying (laughs).

This eloquent metaphor above suggests, in line with a number of the other respondents' comments, that being an artist is a 'calling' and the conviction of this vocation means that disjuncture in neither time nor space can fracture or derail the focus of the reflexive aesthetic orientation. For respondent 10, "being away" is an

active pursuit of creativity and exploration, it is clear that the difference of the elsewhere in terms of artistic practice is also important as a process of learning or viewing new directions:

> I like to take brief holidays y'know... erm to go and...well...experiencing other culture and cultures...kind of recognising that things can be done differently and there's no one way to do anything.

In a similar mould, respondent 2, suggested that her vocation and concern with visual aesthetics often accompanies her when away from home. This concern ties itself into the documentation of the everyday elsewhere through photography in relation to what she might value in terms of experiences and activities when away from 'work' and in other places:

> [It is] looking at absolutely different cultures...in the sense that from a photographic point of view, observing what happens in the everyday and recording that. I think it's part of being a photographer in general though – that you're y'know observing things and I think that you find that a lot with photography in general...like you *could* stay indoors all day but I'd have to go out to take pictures...and I don't know much about history or geography or anything so it's the desire to take pictures really that motivates me to see things.

Again, the 'way of seeing' when in the elsewhere is informed by an artistic practice. In this example, the mobile artist is often, literally, seeing through a lens, and this lens is focussed not upon the spectacular tourist markers of 'must see' itineraries but on the, often urban, everyday (this respondent had described her preferred

destinations as "Krakow, Prague, Nice, Rome, Berlin – just in general anywhere that easy jet will go (laughs)"). Although the comment here suggests that she "doesn't know much about history or geography" it is clearly the aesthetic meaning brought to capturing the forms of the everyday that bring meaning to her mobility. For respondent 18, travel was also desired as a means of integration with her work as an artist, rather than an escape from the working environment of the home life. This artist suggested that she would like to visit America in the future to "do a residency out there...and to look at the market and see if there is anywhere I could get my work out". Similarly for respondent 22, going to Berlin was an opportunity to gaze on new art and to meet other artists "I like going there to get pissed and meet people – having a laugh and checking out the art are the main objectives when I go there."

Cities with significant artistic provision then have a clear pull factor for a good number of these artists. New York would appear to be particularly prominent in this hierarchy of urban desire, but respondents 1, 12 and 13 also cited Venice as an important destination for inspiration and network generation. Non urban environments, classic sites of the Romantic gaze, too proved to be inspirational, and sites where work could be carried on as part of time away. Respondent 20 suggested that even though he lives in the city that "nature and countryside environments appear in lots of my work – I think I'm, basically inspired by those sorts of places and you can see that in what I draw and paint." Similarly, respondent 16, who valued the "silence and solitude" of non urban places suggested that when away, often in Scotland, his practice as an artist would still continue. This latter artist,

at the time of interview, was working on a project involving the depiction of boats and was talking about a plan to visit Scotland:

> If I was taking a holiday it would be a working holiday...I would go up [to Scotland] and stay for a couple of days and move on and take some photographs and do some sketches and just gather some more information – a lot of the inspiration came from and still does come from boats in the Ouseburn and things up at Beadnall [Northumberland, UK] and places like that.

Here we see a clear link between inspirations being found in the home environment and then further inspiration being sought elsewhere, with a clear plan to practice art on this trip. Respondent 11, in the days before becoming a father limited his mobility somewhat, recounted how being a musician had led him all over Europe and even further afield. As well as having been to Greece, Spain, Poland. Malaysia and India as an English teacher, he told of how he had toured America, Scandinavia, France and Belgium with bands. It is clear that his mobile biography is not to be seen as a series of 'holidays' but as a process of working and learning whilst abroad:

> they're not really holidays 'cos a holiday is like from work y'know...but this was like working y'know I mean you're working the streets in France and on the beach and I lived in Granada for a bit 'cos all of the guitar makers were there...I think I was always interested in music and wanted to see how other people did it you know – not to take my culture but get somebody else's really to see what I could get from that you know be it flamenco guitar or Eastern European things like Polish burkas or whatever...I went travelling to learn.

26

This respondent's mobiliites have then been informed by a constant relationship with work (also as an English teacher) and his desire to expand his knowledge of guitar playing as a musician. Respondent 3, also self-described as a 'musician' recounted as to how aesthetic, networking and creative impulses informed his travels suggesting that playing with bands had been the reason for much of his travel and how this had opened a door to the everyday of the elsewhere:

> A lot of the travelling I've done has been though playing music and that tends to be places that aren't on the map particularly, literally you've got a gig in that town and there's someone there that will put on gigs and you're sleeping in their house and you're seeing what they do every day.

Conclusions

Although, through the appropriation of certain forms of cultural capital gained through experiences of higher education, the moniker of 'tourist' is viewed pejoratively, and the places and spaces of 'collective' tourism are generally avoided and derided, we can see that a tension emerges in many of the interviewees with different stages in their life cycles. The very 'safeness' and institutionalism of such tourism urbanisations can in fact become, for reasons of child care and practicability, appealing upon the arrival of children. This tension of wanting safety for children but the adventure of the ex-collective elsewhere however does not stop the artists attempting to reach autonomy and authenticity, but to a lesser degree when on holiday. Importantly, we have analysed from qualitative standpoint how the urban everyday acts as a strong pull factor for many of the interviewees. We have seen

how they attempt to 'get off the beaten track' in cities and how this often involves removing oneself from the centre of such places that are deemed to have tourist facing edifices. This discussion has pointed to a number of the artists seeking out a 'bohemian bubble' when in the elsewhere – a parallel to the 'tourist bubble' or collective space inhabited by constructed Others.

It is conceded that many of the destination preferences and experiences sought by the working artists when away – especially the desire to seek 'authenticity' and to engage with local community as a manifestation of this construct – are shared by a broad liberal middle class. However, in this paper it has been argued that a specific type of aesthetic-reflexive 'integrationism' is at work to orient and give order to the participants and interviewees 'gazes' when away from home. This desire for 'holism', that has thick tropes founded in the romantic and later countercultural critique of 'fractured life' in modern divisions of labour and time, means that when 'away' my respondents are nearly always 'at work' and reflecting on aesthetics and new forms and seeing how the art of other places, and connections with other artists, can be integrated into their practice in the Ouseburn Valley – their 'home bohemia'. Journeys to other places then, in line with the practices of artists from the Romantic Movement onwards, do not act as much as 'escape' but as 'inspiration'.

References

28

Adler, J. (1985). Youth on the Road; reflections on the history of tramping. *Annals of Tourism Research.* Vol. 12. pp335-354.

Akatay, A., Cakici, C. and Harman, S. (2013). Involvement with backpacking: A research on backpackers visiting Istanbul. *Tourism: An International Interdisciplinary Journal,* Vol.61 No.4 December 2013.

Allen, D. M. (1960) *The New American Poetry.* London: Evergreen Books Ltd.

Aoyama, Y. (2009). Artists, Tourists and the Sntate: Cultural Tourism and the Flamenco Industry in Andalusia, Spain. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 33, 80-104.

Bell, C. (2013). Peripatetic Artists: Creative mobility and resourceful displacement. In Duncan, T., Cohen, S. A. and Thulemark, M. (eds.) *Lifestyle Mobilities.* London: Ashgate, pp.21-34.

Blanning, T. (2010) *The Romantic Revolution.* London: Weidenfield & Nicholson.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction .* London: Routledge.

Braunstein, P. and Doyle, M. (Eds). Introduction in: ***Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and '70s.*** **New York: Routledge.**

Bridge, G. (2006). Perspectives on Cultural Capital and the Neighbourhood. *Urban Studies.* 43(4), 719-730.

Brooks, D. (2000) *Bobos in Paradise: The New Upper Class and How They Got There.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Butler, J. A. (1998) 'Travel Writing'. Ch. 36, pp 364-370. In Wu, D. (Ed). *A Companion to Romanticism*. Blackwell: Oxford.

Butler, R. W. (1985). Evolution of Tourism in the Scottish Highlands. *Annals of Tourism Research.* Vol. 12. No. 3. pp371-390.

Butler, R. W. (2006) Foundations of the TALC. Part 1. pp3-12. In Butler, R. W. (Ed). *The Tourism Area Life Cycle: Applications and Modifications*. Channel View Publications: Clevedon.

Buzard, J. (1993). *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature and the Ways to 'Culture' 1800-1918.*Oxford: OUP.

Cardinal, R. (1997) 'Romantic Travel'. Ch. 9, pp135-155. In Porter, R. (Ed). *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present.*

Caulfield, J. (1989), Gentrification and desire. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology.* 26, 617–32.

Chatterton, P. & Hollands, R. (2001). *Changing our 'Toon' – Youth, Nightlife and Urban Change in Newcastle.* Newcastle: University of Newcastle.

Cohen, E. (1972). Towards a Sociology of International Tourism. *Social Research* . Vol. 39 No. 1.pp 164-189.

Cohen, E. (1973). Nomads from Affluence: Notes on the Phenomenon of Drifter Tourism. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*. Vol. 14. Nos. 1-2. pp89-103.

Cohen, E. (1979). A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences. *Sociology.* Vol. 13: pp 179-201.

Cohen, E. (1989). Primitive and Remote: Hill Tribe Trekking in Thailand. *Annals of Tourism Research.* Vol. 16. No. 1. pp30-61.

Cohen, S.A. (2011). Lifestyle travellers: Backpacking as a way of life. *Annals of Tourism Research* , 38(4), 1535-1555.

Cooper, M. O' Mahoney, K. and Erfurt, P. (2004) "Backpackers: Nomads Join the Mainstream? An Analysis of Backpacker Employment on the 'Harvest Trail Circuit' in Australia". pp 180-195 in Richards and Wilson (Eds). *The Global Nomad: Backpacker Travel in Theory and Practice* Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

Costa, M. (1991) Technology, Artistic Production and the 'Aesthetics of Communication' *Leonardo* Vol. 24. No. 2. pp123-125.

Currid, E. (2009). Bohemia as subculture; "bohemia" as industry: Art, culture, and economic development. *Journal of Planning Literature*, *23*(4), 368–382.

De Botton, A. (2002) *The Art of Travel*. London: Hamish Hamilton.

Dann, G. (2000). "Overseas Holiday Hotels for the Elderly: Total Bliss or Total Institution?" pp83-94 in M. Robinson, P. Long, N. Evans, R. Sharpley and J. Swarbrooke (Eds). *Motivations, Behaviours and Tourist Types: Reflections on International Tourism.* Sunderland: Business Education Books and Centre for Tourism, University of Northumbria.

Desforges, L. (2000). Traveling the world: Identity and Travel Biography. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27(4), 926-945.

Edensor, T. (2007). Mundane Mobilities, Spaces and Performances of Tourism. *Social and Cultural Geography*. 8(2), 199-215.

Evans, G. (2009). Creative Cities, Creative Spaces and Urban Policy. *Urban Studies*. 46(5), 1003-1040.

Feifer, M. (1985). *Going Places: The Ways of Tourism from Imperial Rome to the Present Day.* London: Macmillan.

Florida, R. (2002). *The rise of the creative class: and how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life*. New York: Basic Books.

Goffman, K. & Joy, D. (2004) *Counterculture Through the Ages: From Abraham to Acid House*. New York: Villard Books.

Guenther, M. (2003) Contemporary Bushman Art, Identity Politics and the Primitivism Discourse. *Anthropologica*. Vol. 45. No. 1. pp95-110.

Gustafson, P. (2002). Tourism and seasonal retirement migration, *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29(4), 899-918.Hannam, K. and Knox, D.(2010). *Understanding Tourism*. London: Sage.

Heath, J. & Potter, A. (2005) *The Rebel Sell – How the Counterculture Became Consumer Culture*. Chichester: Capstone Publishing Ltd.

Hebdige, D. (1979) *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. London: Routledge.

Kain, D. and King, B. (2004) "Destination Based Product Selections by International Backpackers in Australia. pp 196-216 in Richards and Wilson (Eds). *The Global Nomad: Backpacker Travel in Theory and Practice* Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

Knapp, J. F. (1986). Primitivism and the Modern. *Boundary 2*. Vol. 15. Nos.1-2. Pp365-379.

Kontogeorgopoulos, N. (2003). Keeping up with the Joneses: Tourists, Travellers and the Quest for Cultural Authenticity in Southern Thailand. *Tourist Studies*. Vol. 3. No. 2. pp171-203.

Lash, S. & Urry, J. (1994) *Economies of Signs and Space*. London: SAGE.

Larsen, S. Øgaard, T. & Brun, W. (2011). Backpackers and Mainstreamers: Realities and Myths. *Annals of Tourism Research*. Vol. 38. No. 2. pp690-707.

Lea, J. (1993). Tourism development ethics in the third world. Annals of Tourism Research, 20(4), 701-715.

Ley, D. (1996). *The New Middle Class and the Remaking of the Central City*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ley, D. (2003). Artists, Aestheticisation and the Field of Gentrification. *Urban Studies*. 40(12). 2527-2544.

Lukes, S. (1973). *Individualism*. New York: Harper and Row.

Mackenzie, J.M. (1995) *Orientalism, History, Theory and the Arts* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

McCabe, S. (2005). Who is a Tourist? *Tourist Studies*. Vol. 5. No. 1. pp85-106.

Mehmetoglu, M. (2004). Tourist or Traveller? A Typological Approach. *Tourism Review*. Vol. 59. No. 3. pp 33-39.

Morgan, A. (1995). *Bygone Lower Ouseburn*. Newcastle upon Tyne: City Libraries and Arts.

Neumann, M. (2000). "Making The Scene: The Poetics and Performances of Displacement at the Grand Canyon" (pp38-53) in Crang & Coleman (Eds). *Tourism: Between Place and Performance*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Newcastle City Council (2003). *Regeneration Strategy for Lower Ouseburn Valley*. Newcastle: Newcastle City Council.

Newcastle City Council (2008). *Ouseburn Barrage: A Newcastle City Council Regeneration Project*. Newcastle: Newcastle City Council.

Newcastle City Council (2012). *Ouseburn Regeneration and Action Plan*. Newcastle: Newcastle City Council.

Newlands, K. (2004) "Setting out on the Road Less Travelled: A Study of Backpacker Travel in New Zealand" pp 217-236 in Richards and Wilson (Eds). *The Global Nomad: Backpacker Travel in Theory and Practice* Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

O'Rand, A.M. and Krecker, M, L. (1990). Concepts of the Life Cycle. Their History, Meanings and Uses in the Social Sciences. *Annual Review of Sociology*. 16. 241-262.

Ouseburn Trust (2012). *A Celebration of 30 Years of Ouseburn Regeneration*. Newcastle: Ouseburn Trust.

Paris, C. M. and Teye, V. (2010) Backpacker Motivations: A Travel Career Approach. *Journal of Hospitality Marketing and Management*. 19: 244-259.

Peck, J. (2005). Struggling with the creative class. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29(4). 740-770.

Pratt, M. L. (1992). *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation.* Routledge: London.

Rakic, T. and Lester, J.-A. (eds.) *Travel, Tourism and Art.* London: Ashgate.

Ray, P. H. and Anderson, S. (2000) *The Cultural Creatives: How 50 Million People are Changing the World.* New York: Three Rivers Press.

Richards, G. and Wilson, J. (2004). Backpacker Icons: Influential Literary 'Nomads' in the Formation of Backpacker Identities. Ch. 8. pp123-145. In Richards and Wilson (Eds). *The Global Nomad: Backpacker Travel in Theory and Practice* Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

Richards, G. and Wilson, J. (2007). Tourism development trajectories: from culture to creativity? In Richards, G. and Wilson, J. (Eds) *Tourism Creativity and Development*. London: Routledge, 1-34.

Richards, G. (2011). Creativity and Tourism: the State of the Art. *Annals of Tourism Research* 38(4). 1225-1253.

Roszak, T. (1969). *The Making of a Counterculture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and its Youthful Opposition.* Berkley: University of California Press.

Savage, J. (1991). *England's Dreaming: Sex Pistols and Punk Rock*. London: Faber and Faber.

Seigel, J. (1986) *Bohemian Paris: Culture, Politics and the Boundaries of Bourgeois Life 1830-1930*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Sharpley, R. (2008) *Tourism, Tourists and Society*. Huntingdon: Elm Publications.

Staszak, J. F. (2013) "The Artist and the Tourist: Gauguin in Tahiti" in Rakic, T. and Lester, J.-A. (eds.) *Travel, Tourism and Art.* London: Ashgate.

Thompson, F., Hannam, K. and Petrie, K. (2012). Producing Ceramic Art Through Tourism Research. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(1), pp.336-360.

Thornton, R., Shaw, G. and Williams, A. (1997). Tourist group holiday decision-making and behaviour: the influence of children. *Tourism Management*, 18(5), 287-297.

Uriely, N. (2001). Touring Workers and Working Tourists: Variations Across the Interactions Between Work and Tourism. *International Journal of Tourism Research*. 3, 1-8.

Uriely, N. (2005). The Tourist Experience: Conceptual Developments. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 32(1). 199-216.

Urry, J. (1988). Cultural change and contemporary holiday-making. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 5(1), 35-55.

Urry, J. (2002). *The Tourist Gaze*. (2nd Ed). London: SAGE.

Watson, N. (2006). *The Literary Tourist: Readers and Places in Romantic and Victorian Britain*. Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke.

Wedd, M. (1998) 'Literature and Religion'. Ch. 6, pp61-71. In Wu, D. (Ed). *A Companion to Romanticism*. Blackwell: Oxford.

Welk, P. (2004). The beaten track: anti-tourism as an element of backpacker identity construction. In Richards, G. and Wilson, J. (eds.) *The Global Nomad.* Clevedon: Channel View, 77-91.

Wilson; E. (2000). *Bohemians: The Glamorous Outcasts*. I.B. Tauris: London.

Yeoman, I. Schanzel, H. and Smith, K. (2013). *A sclerosis of demography: How ageing populations lead to the incremental decline of New Zealand. Journal of Vacation Marketing.* 19: 91.

Zimmerman, J. (2008). From brew town to cool town: neoliberalism and the creative city development strategy in Milwaukee. *Cities.* 25, 230-242.