The houses in the old streets of Singapore feature combined Malay, Chinese, and Indian architecture.

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Landscapes, peoplescapes, and mindscapes in island tourism

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ABSTRACT

At a fundamental level, all tourism development and promotion activities are 'placemaking', which is the intentional creation of a sense of place for commercial purposes. A few destination marketing organizations (DMOs) are aware of this and intentionally incorporate placemaking approaches into their tourism goals and objectives. Most DMOs, however, are only peripherally aware of the placemaking concept, even though they are

doing it all the time. A comprehensive and intentional approach to placemaking needs to consider three key aspects about a destination: (1) its natural environment and built landscape; (2) the people who are a living culture in that landscape (its peoplescape); and (3) the mental image and beliefs that people hold of the destination (its mindscape). Island tourism destinations often have advantages in these three areas because they are more easily conceptualized as distinct places due to their bounded nature. However, this also means that their identity may be more difficult to change. A placemaking approach can help to understand the existing identity of a place and how it came to be, and it can be used to reshape that identity to create new opportunities through tourism.

WHY ISLANDS?

Islands are something that we identify through their being physically and clearly separated from a 'mainland' by some kind by water. Geographic isolation of this type is one of the primary drivers of cultural differentiation. When two groups of the same people experience geographic separation, their cultures will usually innovate and evolve in different directions. The barriers that separate people geographically can vary considerably in their degree of porosity, with some barriers being strong and uncrossable, and others less so. Strong physical barriers include uninhabitable mountains, deserts, and waterways. Sociocultural barriers also exist, such as political borders and language barriers, but these often come after cultural differentiation has been created through physical barriers and are more likely to be less porous.

ISLANDS ARE POPULAR tourist attractions because they are recognized, very obviously, on a map as being special places that are different from their mainland where most people live.

The cultural differences that emerge through separation lead to 'othering'. Othering is mostly considered a negative behavioral trait that is associated with stereotyping, discrimination, and exploiting those who are not 'one of us'. However, othering is also the basis of diversity, discovery, and potential connection. The entire tourism phenomenon is based on othering, mostly as seen through differences between home and away. Islands are popular tourist attractions because they are recognized, very obviously, on a map as being special places that are different from their mainland where most people live; and all those mainland people are potential tourists.

Thus, islands are different places from the mainland with which they are associated. Recognizing and celebrating this difference can enhance an island's sense of place, which is a geographic advantage over a mainland. Today's world, however, is rapidly shrinking under the expanding influence of economic, technological, and cultural globalization. One of the characteristics of globalization is homogenization (or flattening)

of differences between places (Hall & Lew, 2009). Globalization is considered bad when local cultures and landscapes are replaced by global ones, resulting in 'placelessness' (Relph, 1976). If a sociocultural landscape is indistinguishable from those found anywhere in the world, then it is considered 'placeless', lacking a 'sense of place', and inauthentic (Tuan, 1977).

Tourism is a major contributor to globalization because it commodifies places—makes them into something that can be sold to tourists. Commodification often leads to negative outcomes because most tourists seek to buy predictable experiences that make them feel comfortable and safe, and that give them a sense of value. Even if they want a deeper understanding and more meaningful and personalized experience of at least some of the places they visit, the tourism industry finds it easier and more profitable to sell products that are packaged and designed for mass consumption.

The best tourism places are those that offer mass tourism products but also provide opportunities for individual explorations and unanticipated discoveries (Lew, 2011). In fact, almost all places have a mix of mass and individualized tourism products (and non-tourism products). The challenge is for destination marketing organizations (DMOs) to embrace and support the full range of place making practices that make a destination a real and authentic place for both tourists and residents (Kolås, 2004).

For island destinations, place making can be easier than for mainland destinations because they are often already seen as 'different' in many ways. Therefore, the goal would be to identify those differences and find ways to capitalize on them. On the other hand, islands are often in an inferior position to their mainland in terms of capital and human resources, which can make placemaking more challenging. They can, for example, be characterized as impoverished and easily exploitable. Exploitation can increase placeless globalization. This is especially apparent in some colonial contexts, such as in the Caribbean and Hawai'ian islands, where Euro-American cultural dominance has erased most forms of indigenous place identities. Changing that type of place image can be challenging.

PLACE MAKING

Islands come in many forms: large and small, tall and flat, warm and cold, near and far, crowded and uninhabited, and privately owned and not owned. Some islands, especially those more isolated from globalization, are also largely homogeneous in their internal cultural and social landscape. Others, especially those that are dependent on a global tourism economy, are more mixed. For example, tropical tourism islands usually contain a mix of (1) tourist-oriented spaces (accommodations and visitor services) and (2) local-oriented spaces (residences and local services). These two social spaces may be further divided into different types, such as low, middle, and upper-class status groups, each of which expresses its sense of place through a specific set of physical and behavioral characteristics.

From a tourism destination marketing perspective, for example, a tropical island is primarily: a beach, the sun, sunsets, swimming, surfing, snorkeling, diving, bathing suits, tropical fish, sharks, thatched roofs, water bungalows, resorts, infinity pools, native dancers and performers, and seafood. From a local, non-tourism perspective, a tropical island is most likely to be characterized by: high prices, low incomes, limited food choices, limited fresh water resources, transportation challenges, plywood walls, corrugated tin roofs, many young children, limited educational opportunities, isolation, disempowerment, legal and illegal immigrants, and tourism service jobs.

The adjectives associated with these two island perspectives are key elements in the place making of these two communities. Humans create places by assigning significance to certain parts of the geographic space that surrounds them. According to Yi-Fu Tuan (1979, p. 410), "People demonstrate their sense of place when they apply their moral and aesthetic discernment to sites and locations." Humans create geographic space through their perceptions, primarily sight, sound, and movement. As space is being created, places are also being created through the selection, based on preferences, of certain items or locations, and giving them meaning, including various forms of goodness and badness. This is the process of place making.

PLACE MAKING IS THE PROCESS of producing, designing, crafting, creating, or otherwise bringing into being the material and experiential elements of a place landscape.

Place making, therefore, is the process of producing, designing, crafting, creating, or otherwise bringing into being the material and experiential elements of a place landscape. Everyone does place making (i.e., everyone is a participant in place making) through the continuing process of expressing their preferences in the geographic space they inhabit. This includes humans, non-human animals/wildlife, plants/vegetation, buildings, economic and business structures and activities, recreation facilities and activities, and much more. The Japanese use the word *satoyama* to refer to how everything is interrelated in rural, agricultural landscapes. There is no good word for this in English, although Doreen Massey (2005, p. 149-52) suggested "throwntogetherness", which includes the idea that things that are seemingly unrelated to each other are actually related, though perhaps at levels that are not always obvious.

PLACEMAKING AND PLACE-MAKING

The comparison of tourism-oriented and resident-oriented place characteristics on tropical islands, listed above, reflects a dualism between top-down and bottom-up perspectives on place making. Lew (2017) suggested that the single word spelling of 'placemaking' should reflect the top-down approach (because this spelling has become widely used by urban planners and urban designers in North America), while the spelling

'place-making' should be assigned to the bottom-up approach. Table 4.1 shows how, as a 'polar world pair', placemaking and place-making reflect a fundamental tension of human existence, encompassing a broad range of experiences, processes, and environments.

TABLE 4.1: **A Place Making Continuum**

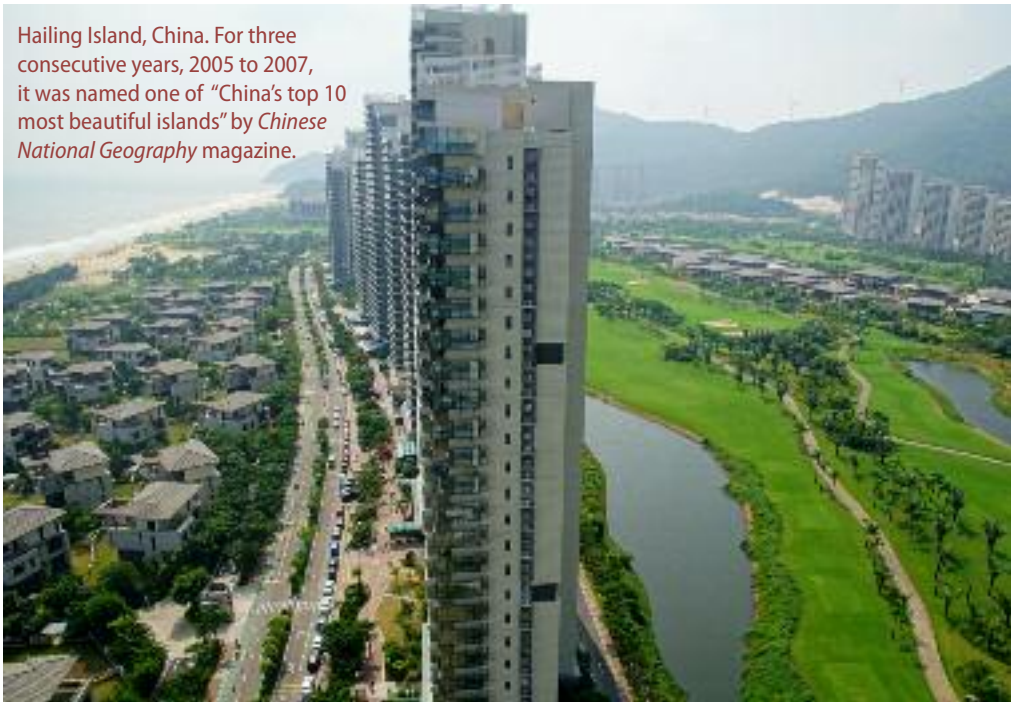
	Placemaking (PM)	**Mixed Place Making (P_M)**	**Place-Making (P-M)**
Driver of Change	Top-Down, Government, Developers, Outsiders	NGOs/NPOs, Collaborations	Bottom-Up, Individuals, Local Groups, Insiders
Symbolism	Cosmopolitan, Modern or Global	Glocalization	Local or Traditional
Process of Change	Master Planned, Intentional, Legal System	Public Participation, Co-Design	Organic, Spontaneous, Incremental, Personal
Security	Safe, Known, Predictable, Familiar		Risk, Uncertainty, Surprise, Escape
Tourist Experiences	Recreation, Leisure, Mass		Novelty, Exotic, Unique, Individual
Social Space	Front Region, Group Think, Commercial, Tourism	Co-Management	Back Region, Individuality, Non-commercial, Private
Authenticity	Inauthentic, Contrived, Fantasy, Disneyfication	Constructed or Staged Authenticity	Objective Authenticity, Real
Transformation	Rapid Change, Efficient		Slow Change, Inefficient
Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) Stage	Consolidation	Involvement, Development	Discovery, Exploration
Capacity	Large / High Capacity		Small / Low Capacity
Semiotics	Socially Constructed		Self-Constructed

Source: Based on Lew, 2017.

Situations that comprise a purely top-down placemaking process and those that are purely bottom-up place-making are extremely rare. Placemaking is usually a mix of top-down and bottom-up, although in most instances, either the top is the primary agenda-setting source or the agenda is set mostly from the bottom. In fact, even the most individual and personal bottom-up place-making acts still take place within, and are therefore shaped by the social system of rules and expectations within which a person is embedded. Similarly, even a cruise ship (which may be the most top-down tourism placemaking experience of all) adjusts its itinerary, marketing, and onboard themes to reflect the destinations that are also an integral part of its sense of place experience (except maybe for 'cruises to nowhere').

People and groups typically have preferences for place making or place-making. But whether one is 'better' than the other depends entirely on the development context of each situation, including the needs, priorities, and goals that are most evident. These goals are relatively easy to identify in some cases. In most cases, however, there are numerous competing interests and goals, which is an indicator that dialogue and a middle path of mixed placemaking and place-making is warranted.

As indicated in Table 4.1, all government actions are essentially top-down place-making, no matter the degree of public participation involved. This is because such actions are pre-planned with defined political goals and strategic methodologies. ('Political' here refers to the process of allocating limited social resources.) Citizen participation may be one of those goals, but it is public nonetheless. Similarly, all tourism



Hailing Island, China. For three consecutive years, 2005 to 2007, it was named one of "China's top 10 most beautiful islands" by *Chinese National Geography* magazine.

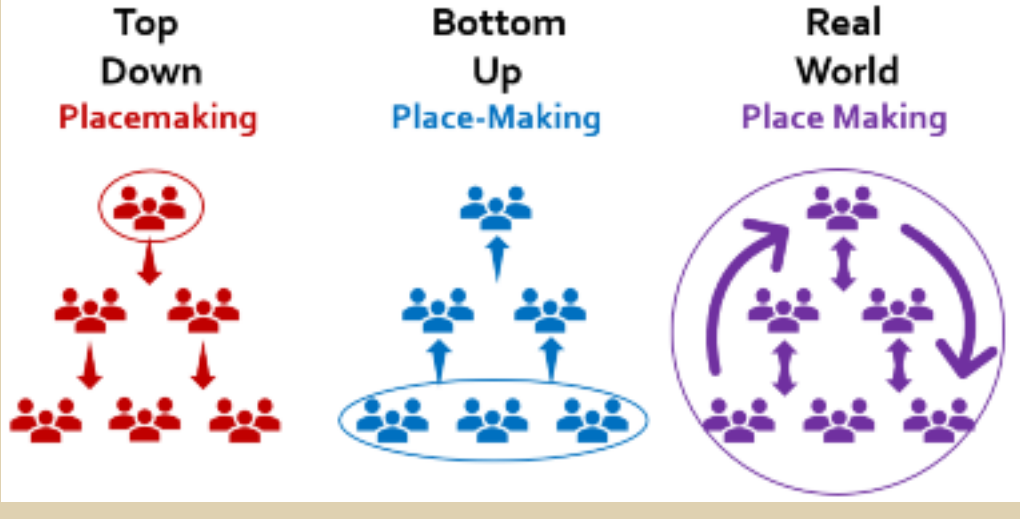
activities are essentially top-down placemaking because their objective is to commodify a place and its resources for economic development through tourist consumption. Deciding which resources and how to commodify them is similarly a political process.

Most of the top-down placemaking literature assumes a strong role for citizen participation. The focus is on techniques to ensure bottom-up participation in the mostly top-down function of urban planning and urban design (Cilliers & Timmermans, 2014; PPS, 2015; Wyckoff, 2015). It is crucial, therefore, to recognize the multiple pathways of communication and collaboration that comprise a comprehensive, effective, meaningful, and real-world place making process (Figure 4.1).

This collaborative and co-management approach seen, for example, in the Singapore Tourism Board (STB), which identifies placemaking as one of the key activities that it does (others include marketing, industry development and regulation, and capabilities development/ training):

> *The Singapore Tourism Board (STB) together with various government agencies, precinct associations and private stakeholders, convene in a coordinated effort to spearhead, develop and implement various place-making [sic] initiatives, such as festivals, marketing initiatives and infrastructure improvements, with the aim to improve visitor experience and inject vibrancy to bring the precinct to life.*
> (STB, 2016, p. 1)

FIGURE 4.1: **Top-down, Bottom-up, and Real World Place Makings**



Source: Author

TYPES OF TOP-DOWN PLACEMAKING

The urban planning literature identifies four types of placemaking that city planners can use to help a community define its sense of place and identity. These types focus on the physical design of public spaces (e.g., roads, sidewalks, public plazas, and public parks) within a community, as these are the parts of a community over which urban planners and city governments have more direct control.

1. **Standard placemaking** is the regular maintenance and incremental improvement to public spaces and public infrastructure. This might include adjusting streets, sidewalks, and interchanges to meet the needs of changing traffic patterns, for example, or updating the recreation and play facilities in a park with newer and more innovative designs. When the other three forms of placemaking (below) are more incremental and almost unseen in their implementation, they are likely to be a form of standard placemaking, rather than a significant change toward intentional placemaking transformations or enhancements.
2. **Creative placemaking** is the use of public art to enhance the attractiveness and interest of a place. This can include murals and other public paintings, statues and fountains, decorative street furniture (benches, lights), the use of thematic signage, public performances, and other activities that bring the art communities into greater public view (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010; Richards, 2014). These can be small or large, and permanent, seasonal, or temporary. Creative placemaking is also a way to financially support the arts and artists in a community, and is often funded through arts organizations, such as the National Endowment for the Arts in the US.
3. **Strategic placemaking** is the use of government funds to invest in a major public development project that is intended to be a catalyst for subsequent private investments and change in a place (Shaw & Montana, 2016). This often takes the form of an urban renewal project, in which the government purchases a large tract of land then sells all or part of it to a single developer with clear guidelines on the type of development that is desired. Public plazas or pedestrian-only streets, major league sports arenas, large museums and aquariums, and significant entertainment and shopping centres are examples of common ways that this is done.
4. **Tactical placemaking** refers to activities taken by residents to create design changes in their communities, outside of the local government system. Examples include neighbours taking over an unused empty parcel of land to create a community garden or a recreational park, without the approval of the government or maybe even the land's owner. Street parking spaces have

also been used to create temporary parks, sometimes with government approval (Wyckoff et al., 2015). In some cities, residents painted and made signs for bicycle lanes on some major streets when their requests to government for such lanes have been ignored. These actions tend to be short-lived because they are often done without proper approvals. However, they may become permanent in the long term.

The Singapore Tourism Board is not an urban planning agency, and the types of placemaking activities they engage in are somewhat different. Of the three placemaking activities listed on the STB website, 'infrastructure' is aligned with standard placemaking, but 'festivals' and 'marketing' do not align with the urban planning network. This difference points to a fifth type of placemaking, and possibly the one that is most crucial to tourism.

A restaurant on the water on Gili Trawangan, Indonesia, with Bali in the distance, provides an iconic place image of island tourism.

5. **Story placemaking** is the many ways that an image and identity comes to be associated with a place beyond the physical design elements (Dredge & Jenkins, 2003; Gottdiener, 2001). The story of a place can be captured in its physical and visual design, but it can be much more than that. One way to conceptualize story placemaking distinguishes between authentic stories and mythical stories.

   a. ***Authentic story placemakings*** are place identities that are mostly based in historical events and famous people that have been associated with a place. Broader regional or national heritage is also a part of this. The DMO marketing image of place may be considered part of this type of authentic story that a place tells the world, whether the world agrees with that story or not. The world may have its own story to tell of a place, which nowadays is reflected in a place's social media and word-of-mouth reputation.

b. ***Mythological story placemakings*** are identities that come to be associated with a place, mostly through fictional fairy tales, legends, novels, movies, and other forms of entertainment. Some of these stories may be very old, while others are very new. Many have strong staying power, while others may be very short-lived in the public's imagination. These may not be 'authentic' in their place representations, but they do contribute to a sense of place and are a commodification opportunity.

TOURISM PLACES THAT HAVE a clear and positive image and identity, a strong sense of place, a successful tourism economy, and a supportive local community are often those that have effective collaborations among government planners, the tourism industry, and local residents.

These five types of placemaking provide an overall framework in which community development (urban planning) interfaces with tourism development. In most tourism-oriented communities, urban planners and tourism interests are aware of their mutual placemaking interests. Tourism places that have a clear and positive image and identity, a strong sense of place, a successful tourism economy, and a supportive local community are often those that have effective collaborations among government planners, the tourism industry, and local residents (as shown in the "Real World Place Making" in Figure 4.1).

PLACEMAKING TOOLS

The five types of placemaking apply to the urban planning and destination marketing of a neighbourhood, community or city, and even an island. Places are experienced daily by residents and visitors at a very personal level. This involves the disciplines of architecture and landscape architecture because it encompasses micro-scale design and embodied representations of culture and place. Table 4.2 generalizes these representations into three place making tool types: tangible physical landscapes, intangible mental mindscapes, and mixed peoplescapes. A comprehensive and intentional approach to placemaking needs to consider these three aspects through the five forms of placemaking described above.

Landscapes encompass all the tangible physical elements of the world we live in. This may be divided into natural landscapes and built landscapes. Culture is, of course, embedded in both natural and built landscapes. 'Tangible' refers to anything that can be seen, heard, touched, tasted, smelled, or otherwise experienced through embodied senses by most people. Table 4.2 emphasizes physical elements in urban, built landscapes, and these elements exist whether they have mostly emerged from top-down

placemaking or bottom-up place-making. Standard, Creative, Strategic, and Tactical types of placemaking are all mostly using landscape tools to create top-down place identities.

Peoplescapes are the living human or cultural landscapes of a place. This includes sensorial perceptions of the people in a place (e.g., how they look and sound), and their practices—what they do and how they move, behave, and express their identities through body, voice, and symbolic actions. Such practices are open to considerably greater degrees of emotional and interpretive responses than are pure sensorial experiences of the colours and designs they wear and exhibit. Food, for example, is included as a peoplescape to the degree that an individual is cooking, serving, and eating part of their identity through food. As with landscapes, peoplescape elements can reflect either a mostly top-down placemaking or bottom-up place-making agenda. However, it is usually much easier to distinguish between less-authentic top-down and more authentic bottom-up variations in peoplescapes (Dyck, 2005; Lems, 2016).

Mental image mindscapes are closely associated with the Story type of placemaking, as can be seen in Table 4.2. They are the mental images that people hold of a place and are generally created and manipulated through the tools listed. For larger and more

TABLE 4.2: **Placemaking Tools**

Tangible	Mixed	Intangible
Physical Design (Landscapes & Builtscapes)	***People Practices*** (Ethnoscapes & Peoplescapes)	***Mental Image*** (Mindscapes & Storyscapes)
Street Furniture	Festivals & Special Events	Branding, Marketing, Advertising & Public Relations
Sidewalk & Street Width & Pavement	Street Life; Local Dress	History & Heritage: Famous People & Events
Building Architecture, Height & Facades	Type of Shops & Products for Sale	Myths: Fairy Tales, Legends, Fiction Novels
Plants & Greenery	Foods & Drinks	Social Media & Word of Mouth Reputation
Building Colour, Art & Signage Themes	Aural (sound) & Olfactory Sensations (smell)	Movie & Entertainment Tourism
Bikeways & Parking	Shop Advertisements	News Stories
Open Space: Parks & Plazas	Formal & Informal Entertainment	
Public Art & Monuments		

complex places, they become increasingly multilayered and contradictory. Top-down placemaking mindscapes can risk being inaccurate in the eyes of either a resident or visitor, or both. However, even the smallest place has a mindscape (as well as a landscape and a peoplescape) created through both the mundane daily stories that residents tell of themselves, as well as the more renowned stories (Chen & Chen, 2017). Learning and experiencing the bottom-up mindscapes of a place is one way that outsiders (visitors/tourists) gain a sense of existential insideness (Relph, 1976). Hollinshead et al. (2009) situated placemaking within the broader concept of worldmaking, which also includes people-making and past-making, and reflects the mythologies that all social groups hold of themselves.

PLACEMAKING TOOLS IN KEY WEST, FLORIDA

Key West is the most southern island and community of the Florida Keys in the US, and is often characterized as the most Caribbean place in the country and the most tropical place in the continental US (excluding Hawai'i). Figure 4.2 is a photo taken on Duval

FIGURE 4.2: **Placemaking in Key West, Florida**

Street, the main tourist street in Key West. The placemaking elements that are visible in this image include:

Landscapes: Pastel colours are found on the buildings and the signage. The parrot is brighter in colour, but the same shades of red and blue. The parrot handler is wearing a tie-dye T-shirt that also matches these colours. The signage colours, wood material, and store names all support the Caribbean theme. The building façades are historic (in the background on the right) and quaint (on the left). The sidewalks are wide and the walkpath is clear, which encourages walkability. The trees in the background, while manicured, are tropical (although this is not so clear in the photo).

Peoplescapes: Almost all the people are dressed to support the tropical Caribbean island theme. The men are all wearing shorts. One woman is wearing a 'surf' T-shirt, which is the clearest example of tourist co-creation, as the clothing further accentuates and supports the place image of Key West. The parrot street vendor is wearing khaki shorts and provides 'Jungle Photos of Key West' by allowing people to pose with the parrot. Behind the bikes is a jewelry vendor providing a local crafts product theme. The tourist interaction with the parrot provides an element of touchability as well.

Mindscapes: Both the café and store build on the brand image of the singer Jimmy Buffett's song, 'Margaritaville'. These signs invoke a famous entertainer and a popular song that evokes images of the Caribbean. There is also a designer clothing shop in the background which, while not necessarily Caribbean, helps to define the types of tourist that this destination seeks.

Beyond Figure 4.2, Key West builds upon its tropical climate, its location surrounded by the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean, its proximity to Caribbean islands and as a cruise ship stopover, its built heritage of historic older buildings, its historic ties to the author Ernest Hemingway, deep sea recreational fishing, and beaches and waterfront landscapes. Thus, place making is well evolved, well defined, and mostly well subscribed to, although there are exceptions. Not all islands have as clearly a defined identity as Key West does. In those cases, placemaking needs to be a tool to create a desired place identity, or perhaps more accurately, to discover an existing core identity that is presently obscured by competing stories and goals.

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HOW TO RESEARCH PLACE MAKING

Conceptually, place making (including both placemaking and place-making) considers all elements (human and non-human, and tangible and intangible) in a place, however that is defined, as being interrelated and co-creating the place that they are a part of. Boundaries between places are constructed to reflect the values and interests of the perspective that defines the boundary, which may be political and legal (reflecting formalized agreements), cultural, or biophysical. Scale is also a key component in defining what is part of a place and is not part of a place. Even then, what is not part of a place still exists in relationship to the place as a set of external variables.

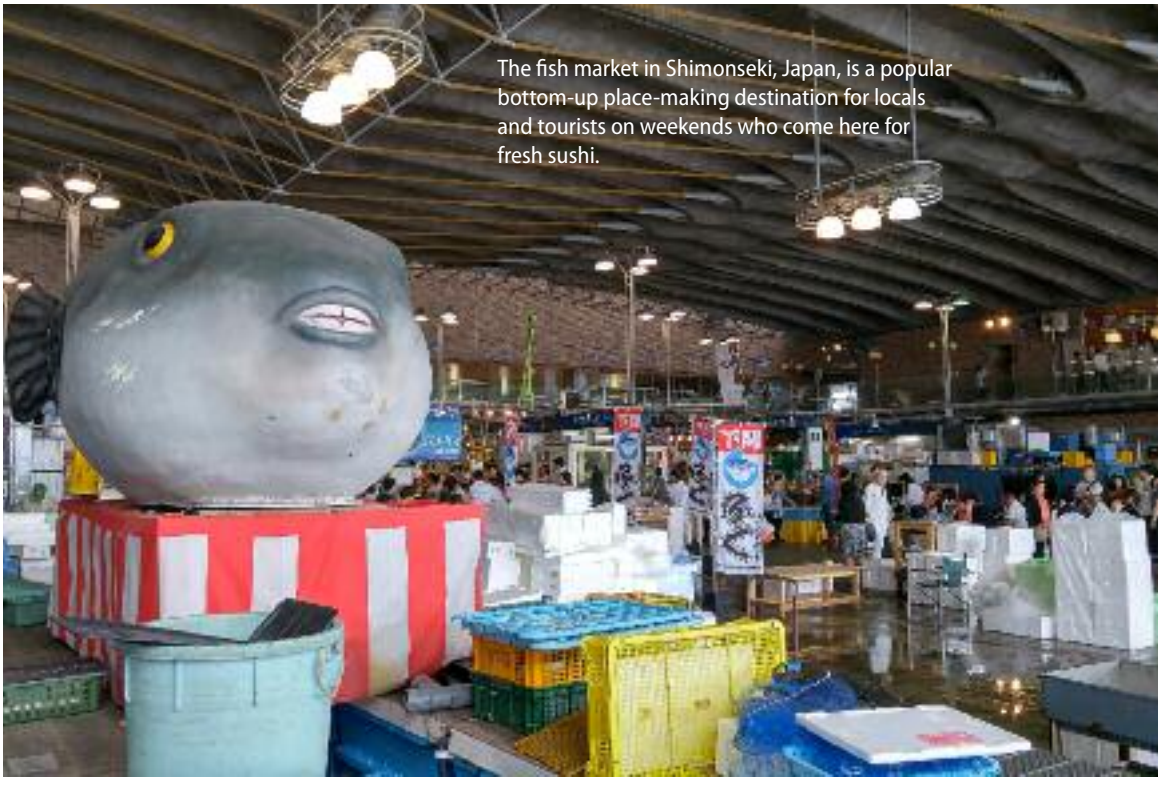
Typical place entities include a country, a region, a city, a neighbourhood, and a street. Most of the time, the selection and definition of a place are taken for granted; therefore it is not subject to reflexive analysis. This taken-for-grantedness is also driven by who is doing the research (or who it is being done for) and what their interests are. Even tourism-related place making research would vary between an emphasis on economic development and cultural preservation, for example.

The deep interrelationship of all elements in the place making process requires a research methodology that is equally comprehensive and relational. Two possible approaches to understanding place making are systems modeling and actor-network theory (ANT). Both are descriptive methodologies that seek to replicate and describe (but not necessarily explain) the complex networks of relationship that exist within a defined system or place context. Explanations come through theories and interpretations that the researcher adopts and applies to the described system after it has been modeled. (Despite the name, there is no 'theory' in actor-network theory.)

Both approaches allow for a range of human and non-human influences in those connections and relationships that are modeled. ANT tends to treat all 'actors' as equal in their potential influence, whereas systems modeling is more likely to quantify those relationships. ANT is a poststructuralist methodology and allows for a broader definition of 'actors' (those that participate in and act upon the system) than most systems modeling, including people, ideas/philosophies, environments, artificial and natural objects, and more. ANT-related interpretations also tend to be based in critical social theory (Bosman & Dredge, 2011; Martin, 2003; Peirce et al., 2011).

Systems modeling has been applied more to natural ecosystems and larger regional and global environmental systems, while ANT has been applied more to specific sociocultural contexts. Both have been used to understand and manage business decision and production processes. Both tend to assume that the system under study is closed with no external influences, at least for modeling purposes. ANT also views networks as being embedded within larger systems, and that all network relationships have both an observable physical manifestation and a semiotic meaning.

The advantage of either a systems modeling or an ANT modeling methodology is



The fish market in Shimonseki, Japan, is a popular bottom-up place-making destination for locals and tourists on weekends who come here for fresh sushi.

the potential to capture the breadth of elements and their relationships to one another that contribute to the place making process. This is no easy task and requires considerable reflexivity by the researcher to properly define and contextualize the 'place' and the selection of variables for analysis. The potential outcome, however, can be a rich understanding and un-layering of the personality of place.

HOW TO DO PLACEMAKING

Place making is action that creates places. At one level, all actions taken (and states of just being) by the full range of actors and elements in a place contributes to its sense of place. As noted above, bottom-up place-making is mostly unintentional and unplanned, whereas top-down placemaking has become a significant tool for community development objectives by local government and non-governmental (non-profit) organizations (PPS, 2013). Government placemaking in this context usually has a very specific objective, which then inherently defines the place boundaries and context. The major goals of placemaking for community development include:

1. Economic development (attract investments; increase employment)
2. Transportation system improvements (vehicle, bicycle, and pedestrian)
3. Architectural and landscape improvements

4. Built heritage and architecture design and conservation
5. Beautification and open space
6. Intangible heritage conservation
7. Natural environment conservation
8. Community recreation, health, and wellbeing
9. Supporting local arts and artists
10. Supporting innovation and the 'creative class' (Florida, 2002)
11. Enhance social capital
12. Crime reduction and control
13. Tourism development
14. Youth development
15. Community inclusion

The traditional rational planning process for community development roughly follows these steps (Lew, 2007):

1. Identify a problem and a goal (to ameliorate the problem)
2. Collect and analyze data for a deeper understanding of the problem
3. Develop alternative solutions to address the problem
4. Select a preferred solution from the alternatives (this is usually a political decision)
5. Implement the preferred solution and monitor its progress
6. Periodically revisit the original problem and goals and start over as needed

PROBABLY THE SINGLE MOST important task in doing placemaking as a community development and planning process is identifying what is most important to community residents. This requires a comprehensive and inclusive community participation process.

In this process, the possible planning objectives are identified because someone reported a problem or opportunity within a place. This can be synonymous with stating a goal: to address the problem. Governmental and non-governmental organizations (including grassroots initiatives) then begin the planning process. Placemaking is not always a clearly defined part of these steps, even though almost all actions taken toward addressing a community issue of any kind has a placemaking impact. Placemaking advocates suggest that what is most important is to include placemaking as an intentional objective from the start. By doing so, the narrower objective (e.g., to solve a specific problem) is broadened to have greater significance for a broader community, both spatially and over time.

Probably the single most important task in doing placemaking as a community development and planning process is identifying what is most important to community

residents. This requires a comprehensive and inclusive community participation process, which should be part of any community planning process anyway. Something new that would be brought in, however, are design visualizations, both created by residents themselves and by professional designers, to enhance and expand creative visions of the community's future.

In the end, however, a sense of local place authenticity requires an element of bottom-up place-making that is beyond the reach of planners. As Lew (2017, p. 459) says:

> *For planned placemaking to foster a true and satisfying sense of place requires allowing space for the natural evolution of organic place-making to add to and influence master planned environments with vernacular and homegrown overtones. From this perspective, planned placemaking becomes a stage or action that is part of the larger meta context of place making and community development, and which also includes organic place-making.*

CRITIQUES OF PLACEMAKING

As much as public planning professionals espouse the goal of building placemaking initiatives through an inclusive community participation process, this is not always the outcome. Three major criticisms of place making in general, and top-down placemaking in particular, are: (1) it is a political tool used by elite groups to dominate others; (2) it furthers a neoliberal economic agenda; and (3) it often results in gentrification and the displacement of lower income populations.

Both bottom-up place-making and top-down placemaking are political processes (Buser et al., 2013; Hultman & Hall, 2012; Peirce et al., 2011) based on the tendency of individuals, and groups of individuals, to hold distinct worldviews reflecting their interpretations of "nationalism, (post)colonialism, identity politics, and the spatialization of collective memory" (Rose-Redwood & Alderman, 2011, p. 2). This raises the fundamental question of whose place is this place? Related to this, different governmental authorities may use placemaking to exert and secure power over what they perceive as their territory (Dredge & Jenkins, 2003).

Tourism is a neoliberal economic process, promoting globalization, commodification, exploitation, and homogenization of peoples and places (Insch, 2011; Kolås, 2004; McKercher et al., 2015; Morgan, 2014; Winter, 2014). Placemaking, as something that tourism development does that reflects this neoliberal global agenda, results in placeless landscapes (Friedman, 2010; Relph, 1976), Disneyfication (predictability with a lack of surprise), and McDonaldization (efficiency and the lack of risk) (Ritzer & Liska, 1997).

Placemaking as a way of upgrading the built infrastructure often contributes to gentrification (Frank, 2012; Lou, 2010; Richards, 2014), in which the original lower-income residents of an area are displaced by wealthier elites. Buser et al. (2013) and

Richards (2014) also point to a contradiction in which arts-oriented 'creative place-making', which often reflects political resistance to conservative social institutions, is co-opted by the neoliberal gentrification process through placemaking.

CONCLUSIONS

At a fundamental level, all tourism development is a version of top-down placemaking because it is a planned and intentional effort to commodify place attributes for the goal of economic development. The degree of top-down tourism placemaking varies based on the context and goals of those involved, and some versions include a significant degree of bottom-up place-making. Unfortunately, very few tourism destination marketing organizations (DMO) are aware of the role of placemaking in tourism, even though they intentionally incorporate placemaking approaches into their tourism development and promotion activities. Thus, most DMOs are only peripherally aware of the placemaking they are doing, even though they are doing it all the time. Awareness of placemaking could make DMOs more effective.

PLACEMAKING CAN HELP island destinations to both understand their existing identity and sense of place, and how those came to be, and to reshape that identity to create new opportunities through tourism and other shared endeavours.

A comprehensive and intentional approach to placemaking would include awareness of, and encouragement of, community-wide discussions of the preferred forms of three key aspects about a destination: (1) its natural environment and built landscape; (2) the living culture in that landscape (its peoplescape); and (3) the mental image and beliefs that people hold of the destination (its mindscape). By creating consensus in these areas, an authentic sense of place can emerge that is deeply appreciated by both residents and visitors alike.

Island tourism destinations have advantages in these three areas because they are often more easily conceptualized as distinct places due to their bounded geography, more focused set of resources, and shared social sense of oneness with other islanders. However, this also means that their identity may be more difficult to change, if such a change is determined to be a goal.

Placemaking can help island destinations to both understand their existing identity and sense of place, and how those came to be, and to reshape that identity to create new opportunities through tourism and other shared endeavours. Everyone does place making every day through the decisions they make and the actions they take. Knowing this, and facilitating placemaking through a community-wide dialogue, is what is needed to make the best tourism places.

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