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Tourism Culture: Nexus, Characteristics, Context and Sustainability

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1 **Tourism Culture: Nexus, Characteristics, Context and Sustainability**

2

3 **Abstract**

4 *This article makes the case for tourism culture; the new cultural expressions, practises and*

5 *identities, influenced by hosts, guests and industry context, which may develop in*

6 *destinations, as a useful perspective with which to draw together various conceptual*

7 *narratives within the tourism studies literature. Research in three small islands finds*

8 *evidence of a distinctive cultural landscape which emerges from the interaction of host and*

9 *guest cultures, and the exchange, change and creativity that results. Tourism industry*

10 *dynamics are found to facilitate or undermine this process, as in turn they may be influenced*

11 *by. This tourism culture has implications for the continuation and evolution of indigenous*

12 *culture, as it does for the absorption of elements of tourist cultures. The emergent fusion may*

13 *be symptomatic of a richer cultural landscape and might be considered as an indicator of*

14 *more sustainable communities and forms of tourism development.*

15

16 **Keywords**

17 Tourism Culture; Sustainable Tourism; Host-Guest Relationships; Resident Involvement;

18 Qualitative Research; Small Island Tourism; Host Culture; Guest Culture

19

20 **1.0 Introduction**

21

22 Explored in this research article is the occurrence or not of tourism culture, how this can be

23 defined, and what implications can be drawn from in relation to sustainability (see Figure 1).

24 Tourism culture can be seen as a product of the melange of host and guest cultures that

25 occurs in a destination, resulting in a new and distinctive emergent culture, in turn shaped by

26    and shaping the local tourism context. The aim of this paper is to present an overview of host-

27    guest interactions and the outputs to emerge from these, using tourism culture as a lens to do

28    so. It is proposed that this alternative perspective might synthesise and complement various

29    conceptual narratives within the tourism literature, and can be used to encourage a more

30    holistic, nuanced and potentially positive evaluation of tourism outputs.

31        It appears that both hosts and guests are mutually affected by their tourism

32    involvements. Tourism is widely associated with cultural influence upon and at times fusion

33    with host cultures (i.e. Tapper, 2001; Picard, 2008). Likewise guests themselves can be

34    influenced and altered by their travel experiences (i.e. Richards, 2014). And many tourists do

35    choose to a greater or lesser extent to acculturate and become closely involved with host

36    cultures (Rasmi *et al.,* 2014). Exchange, change and creativity outputs may arise from this

37    process of mutual interaction. These potentially lead in turn to the development of new and

38    distinctive cultural landscapes: a tourism culture. (NB. In the literature the term 'tourist'

39    rather than 'tourism' culture has been used by those exploring the topic (i.e. Smith, 1989;

40    Sindiga, 1996). The latter is adopted here in recognition of the equal status of hosts as well as

41    guests (tourists) and influence of industry dynamics.)

42        Tourism culture is affected by the culture and actions of visitors themselves (Wilson,

43    1997), their hosts (Smith, 2009), and influenced by the unique requirements and processes of

44    hosting tourism (Cooper, 1995). For example, tourism culture may be facilitated or disrupted

45    by dynamics of tourism development and decline (Butcher, 2003). At the same time tourism

46    culture may shape this local tourism context and the host-guest relationships situated within,

47    potentially in a more sustainable manner. Its presence has for instance been associated with

48    many positive impacts such as mutual learning, cultural revival and multiculturalism (Stronza

49    and Gordillo, 2008), proximity between hosts and guests and local stakeholder involvement

50    in the industry (Sindga, 1996). With these recognised as factors in more sustainable forms of

51 tourism development (i.e. Almeyda *et al.,* 2010; Reimer and Walter, 2013), tourism culture

52 may be a potential antecedent and precedent of this.

53        What contributes to and constitutes tourism culture is something which merits further

54 investigation therefore. We broadly understand how tourism can affect tourists, how it can

55 affect local stakeholders and communities, and how such outcomes may influence

56 measurement and management of sustainability. Less present is a wider perspective exploring

57 or articulating the dialectical interplay between hosts and guests and what may emerge from

58 this. The participation of hosts may be especially overlooked, risking patronising or overly-

59 negative assessments of what are in fact more dynamic, nuanced and varied experiences

60 (Scheyvens and Momsen, 2008). The process of interaction between visitors and residents on

61 islands specifically has remained largely unexplored (Moyle *et al.,* 2010), whilst cold-water

62 and secondary destination islands are under-researched in general (Ritchie and Inkari, 2006;

63 Baldacchino, 2010).

64        This paper therefore explores tourism culture in the setting of three such islands at

65 varied stages of tourism development. In doing so a particular perspective on tourism outputs

66 is revived and refined, one which may be more flexible and perhaps accurate in

67 accommodating the various nuances within. Theoretical benefits as a result include

68 complementing, extending and drawing together various conceptual narratives within the

69 tourism studies literature.

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76    **Figure 1: Conceptual Framework**
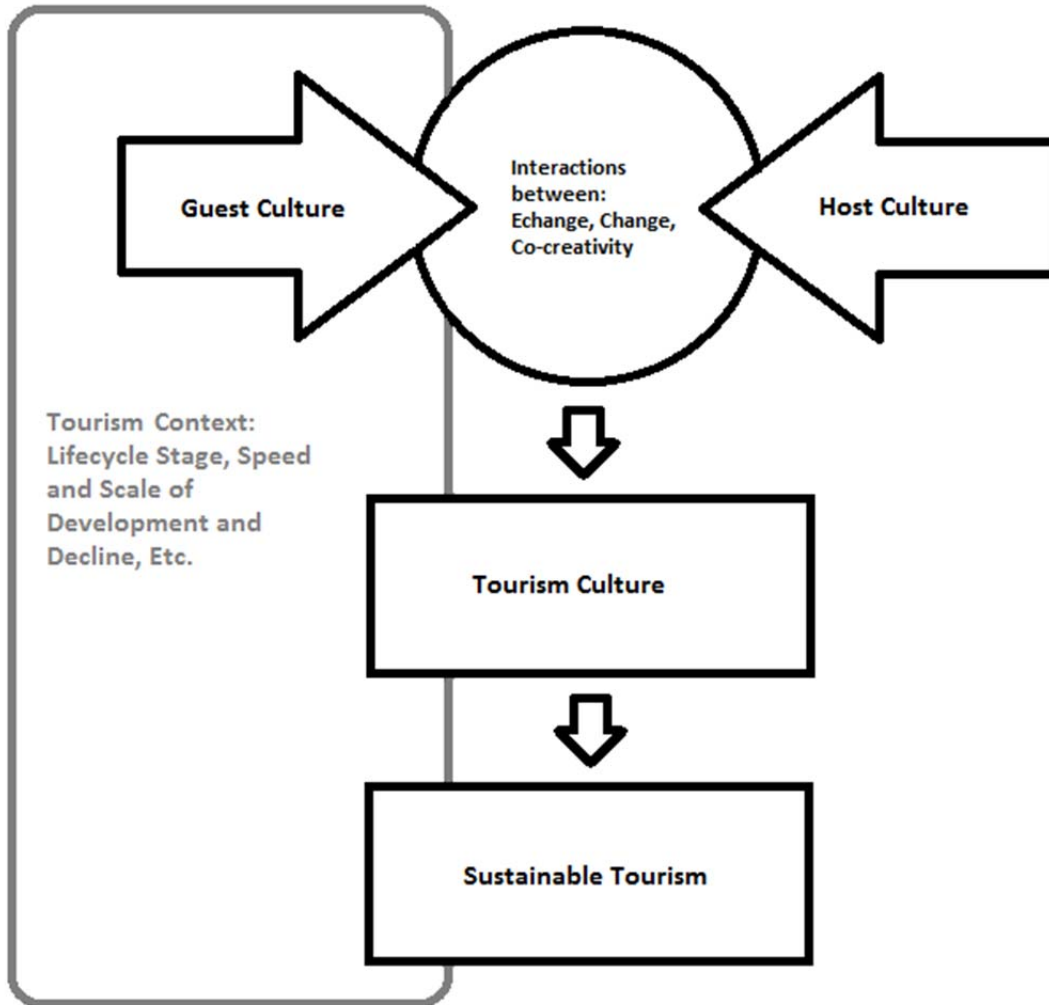


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79    **2.0 Literature Review**

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81          **2.1 Tourism Culture Nexus**

82    Tourism culture may best be seen as a nexus between host culture and guest culture (see

83    Figure 3). On the one hand host culture is that which is indigenous to a locale: its particular

84    arts and crafts, language, traditional roles, festivals, and ways of doing things (Tsartas, 1992;

85    Simpson, 1993; Tapper, 2001; Smith, 2009). In the case of small islands, these often host

86    unusually rich and distinctive cultures due to their relative isolation. This must be adapted to

87   creatively and often disjoints from wider social, cultural, political and economic changes felt

88   in mainland areas (Royle, 2003; 2008; Berry, 2009). Small islands are known to be far from

89   homogenous, with even proximate neighbours having often very distinct economic, social,

90   cultural and natural landscapes (Milne, 1992). At the same time, broad similarities between

91   islands are shared, informed as they are by the challenges of peripherality resident

92   community's face, and the often resilient and creative adaptations to those (Boissevain, 1979;

93   Andriotis, 2005; McElroy, 2006; Chaperon and Bramwell, 2013).

94        On the other hand is guest culture. This may be influenced by the originating cultures

95   of guests who act on holiday in ways influenced by their cultural background (Wilson, 1997;

96   Carr, 2002), or perhaps in reaction against this (Hughes, 2002). Particular temporary tourist

97   culture exists also for those on holiday. Noted are the temporary cultures that tourists may

98   enter into (Jafari, 1987) or create (Sorensen, 2003) whilst on holiday. These may have

99   identifiable social structures, norms and values, such as that amongst backpackers (Sorensen,

100  2003), and are typically less restrained and more hedonic (Carr, 2002; Kim and McKerchner,

101  2011). Tourists are frequently informed by common bonds of exploration, escapism and

102  hedonism expressed through certain typical pursuits and behaviours (Fodness, 1994; Urry,

103  2002).

104       It is the interplay between these two cultures which could be seen as the creation,

105  negotiation and evolution of a new tourism culture informed by both. An example of such a

106  complex dialogue is Maltese handicrafts, with some products and styles originally intended

107  for external audiences being appropriated into local culture (Markwick, 2001). Tourism has

108  in many places become an integral part of culture, and interaction with tourists is frequently a

109  central component in the definition of ethnic identity and authenticity (Picard, 1997; 2008).

110  Tourism potentially becomes over time a part of everyday life (Sindiga, 1996), an authentic

111  demonstration (Cohen, 1988) and integral part of local landscapes and identity (Lim and

112  Cooper, 2009). Host cultures may evolve alongside and adapt to the presence of guest

113  cultures, co-opting many aspects of cultural meaning and expression into local tradition,

114  practise and identity (Cohen, 1988), as per the Bai Chinese indigenous community where:

115  "Tourism has become central to the Bai in the ancient town of Dali. It is now part of their

116  culture and part of their ethnic identity" (Zhihong, 2007: 256). Even those cultures that may

117  react to or reject tourist hosting (i.e. Sanchez and Adams, 2008), through the processes of

118  cultural reflexivity, resistance or ritual stimulated (see Boissevain, 1996), inevitably find

119  themselves still shaped by the host-guest nexus.

120  It is evident cultures, host communities and ecosystems are not static, but rather

121  affected by, susceptible to and capable of change over time (Brown, 1998; Pennington-Gray

122  *et al.,* 2005). The encounters and interactions between hosts and guests are one influential

123  source of this.

124

125  **2.2 Tourism Culture Characteristics**

126  Impacts and outputs of tourism therefore form something of an on-going dialogue between

127  hosts and guests. This dialogue may produce a number of interrelated economic,

128  environmental, social and cultural outputs. Although diverse and setting-specific these may

129  be broadly classed in terms of the exchanges between host and guest cultures (Pennington-

130  Gray *et al.,* 2005), the changes in values, attitudes, behaviours, consumption patterns and

131  ways of life this may engender (Yasothornsrikul and Bowen, 2015), and the creativity to arise

132  from (Richards, 2011).

133  Social, cultural and economic exchange is a characteristic of the service intensive

134  tourism industry which essentially engenders large scale interactions of people (Dieke, 2003).

135  Although the superficiality and positivity of these interactions varies widely (Moyle *et al.,*

136  2010), more meaningful and constructive exchanges are possible. Reciprocal bilingualism

137    (Evans, 1975, cited in Smith, 1976) for example, defines the potential for tourism stimulated

138    interactions to enrich the knowledge of hosts and guests about each other. Outputs such as

139    higher levels of economic entrepreneurship may be stimulated as a result (see Boissevain,

140    1979; Brown, 1998; Brown and Hall, 2000).

141        Subsequent changes in attitudes, behaviours, values and ways of doing things may

142    occur as a result of hosting tourism. The demonstration effect, used within tourism studies to

143    identify cultural impacts of tourism, usually upon hosts, applies the principle that observing

144    tourists leads indigenous residents to change their own attitudes, values, behaviour and

145    consumption patterns as they emulate (Yasothornsrikul and Bowen, 2015). Similarly, hosting

146    tourism can provoke reflexivity in terms of questioning of and concern for defining local

147    identity (Pedregal and Boissevain, 1996; Wood, 1997; Picard, 2008). For example, Michaud

148    (1997) describes in a Thai Hmong community how cultural tourism has had a salutary impact

149    in the form of a catalyst for questioning implicit cultural limitations, and also what aspects of

150    that culture need to be preserved in light of wider social changes.

151        Although tourism induced change has been frequently framed negatively in terms of

152    the erosion of indigenous cultures (i.e. Royle, 2003), examples from the sustainable tourism

153    literature credit an expansion of conservation ethos and resource re-evaluation amongst many

154    indigenous communities, to the financial and social inputs brought by tourism interest and

155    example (i.e. Rodriguez *et al.,* 2008; Reimer and Walter, 2013).  The same could be said of

156    tourists who may reappraise own and community attitudes, values and perceptions as a result

157    of travel experiences (i.e. Yu and Lee, 2014).

158        Lastly, the potential of tourism to revitalise, reinterpret, recreate and create meaning is

159    raised. Alongside a demonstration effect, what could be described as an 'attention effect' may

160    be stimulated, whereby indigenous communities are motivated by outsider interest to explore,

161    revive and reinterpret traditional aspects of local identity (i.e. Stronza and Gordillo, 2008).

162    Similarly, commercial creativity might be driven by the impetus in both economic and

163    cultural spheres for the rediscovery, reinvention, importing and creation of cultural products

164    for tourists' entertainment and consumption (Boissevain, 1996). Over time these may become

165    integral parts of, fusions with, and expressions of culture for residents also. 'Coping

166    creativity', whereby the wider changes brought by the industry influence creative adaptation

167    and coping strategies in response, such as resisting, avoiding or hiding (see Boissevain,

168    1996), can likewise see new cultural practises and identities emerge as a result (i.e. Rodriguez

169    *et al.,* 2008; Smith, 2009). Cohen's (1988) discussions of emergent authenticity, new

170    meanings and play illustrate how communities may react to tourism.

171        Tourists themselves input into this process through their presence and expectations

172    influencing and stimulating hosts, but also through their desire for cultural exploration,

173    participation and co-creation of products and experiences (Cruz, 2014; Richards, 2014).

174    Tourists can contribute creatively to cultures; spontaneously establishing attractions for

175    instance (Lovelock, 2004). The increasingly active participation of tourists in local way of

176    life and creative collaboration in developing tourism practises by both consumers and

177    producers is noted (Richards, 2011). Likewise the co-creation of hosts and guests in terms of

178    developing tourism products and experiences, adding atmosphere, valorising cultural assets

179    and revitalising existing products (Richards, 2014). Such co-creativity can reinvigorate local

180    culture for both residents and tourists (i.e. Crespi Vallbona and Richards; 2007). It is thus

181    linked to added value for both the visitor and visited at the same time as contributing to the

182    uniqueness and authenticity of a destination (Binkhorst and Den Dekker, 2009). Tourism can

183    henceforth be generative in that it leads to the creation and recreation of new meanings for

184    cultural objects and practises (Mathieson and Wall, 1992; Simpson, 1993).

185

186

**2.3 Tourism Culture Context**

These host-guest interactions take place in and informed by the economic, social and environmental landscapes of a locale; landscapes shaped by dynamics of the tourism industry itself. To illustrate, tourist destinations tend to have a specific economic, social and environmental make up. This is shaped by input from new migrants attracted by tourism, who will inevitably influence the local economic and social landscape (Damer, 2000). Demand for certain infrastructure, facilities, services, attractions and forms of cultural presentation also influence (i.e. social consequences of tourist footpath use amongst local residents; Mundet and Coenders, 2010). In addition, cycles of seasonality linked with tourism may alter local socio-cultural landscapes. For example, adjusted familial routines and altered traditional calendars may characterise as individuals try to exploit the peak season (Andriotis, 2005). The presence of tourists moreover, causes a society to adjust routines in order to accommodate them, take on elements of presentation of itself for visitor consumption, and to analyse itself through appreciation of what incomers report back (Simpson, 1993; Tapper, 2001; Pennington-Gray *et al*., 2005). Hence social roles, events and routines all evolve with tourism development over time, as do local facilities, infrastructure, natural and cultural landscapes and even sense of local identity (Cooper, 1995; Hampton and Christensen, 2007; Canavan, 2013a).

In turn tourism culture contributes to the on-going evolution of the surrounding tourism context. As a consequence of the exchange, change and creativity stimulated by the host-guest nexus, many tourist destinations have a unique cultural flavour of their own. Tourist destinations have been described as more entrepreneurial and more liberal (Chaperon and Bramwell, 2013). The nature of tourist hosting, involving social interactions and cultural exchanges, means destinations may be particularly multicultural, culturally experienced and sophisticated, and by association open-minded and tolerant (Brown, 1998; Hampton, 1998;

212  Tapper, 2001; Shunnaq *et al.,* 2008). To illustrate, due to the nature of industry employment,

213  its support for small scale entrepreneurship and demand for diverse cultural inputs,

214  vulnerable, minority and disenfranchised groups may be able to use tourism to promote their

215  identity and culture, thus gaining wider recognition, public acceptance and political support

216  (Wilson, 1997; Hughes, 2002; Smith, 2009).

217

218  **2.4 Tourism Culture Sustainability**

219  Commentators have suggested that tourism culture may contribute to more sustainable

220  contexts (i.e. Sindiga, 1996), as its emergence may be disrupted by those which are less so

221  (Butcher, 2003). Henceforth tourism culture could be regarded as a precedent and antecedent

222  of more sustainable tourism development.

223  In its simplest form sustainability refers to the long-term conservation and

224  enhancement of cultural and natural resources (Fennell, 2008). Culturally speaking, finding

225  new outlets for sharing (Stronza and Gordillo, 2008), motivation to reappraise (Tapper, 2001)

226  and sources of inputs for creativity (Richards, 2014), suggest such a process of continuation

227  and evolution in action. The stagnation of cultures meanwhile, linked to socioeconomic

228  limitations and subsequent processes of out-migration and eventual abandonment, might be

229  avoided (Marjavaara, 2007; Royle, 2008; Berry, 2009). Thus tourism has been linked to

230  indigenous cultural continuation, revival, and diversification, both within and without

231  communities (Ireland, 2003; Saarinen, 2006).

232  Moreover, the establishment of tourism culture, mutual dialogue that it is, suggests a

233  high degree of integration of hosts and guests. As has been widely appreciated in the

234  literature, higher levels of stakeholder involvement and integration are associated with

235  community resilience and adaptability which may help to control, exploit and shape tourism

236  developments for the better (Campling and Rosalie, 2006; Chaperon and Bramwell, 2013).

237 Hence Rothman (1978) proposes that communities with long experience of tourism are able

238 to develop mechanisms to accommodate inconveniences. Similarly Smith (1989: 16)

239 outlines: *"If a group can survive the transition from incipient to full blown mass tourism,*

240 *then it may ultimately achieve what is termed 'tourist culture', or a process of full*

241 *accommodation so that tourists are part of the 'regional scenery'"*.

242        Ideally this evolution would be a balanced situation, with both host and guest cultures

243 able to inform, exchange, and negotiate in a way acceptable and enhancing to both. As is

244 widely appreciated however, alongside diverse benefits many negative impacts can be caused

245 or worsened by tourism development. Rather than processes of exchange, change and

246 creativity, industry dynamics may contribute to those of cultural displacement,

247 homogenisation and consumption, as may be threatened by the intrusive nature and

248 commercial orientation of the industry (Tsartas, 1992; Simpson, 1993; Andriotis, 2005;

249 Pennington-Gray *et al.,* 2005). Royle (2003: 27) for instance argues tourist positioning of

250 Irish islands has driven: *"a process that has rendered the island into little more than a living,*

251 *interactive museum of itself with islanders as actors"*. Rather than a mutually enriched

252 culture, such situations symbolise the destruction of cultural diversity, with ultimately

253 unsustainable consequences for hosts and guests (Mihalic, 2000).

254

255 **3.0 Methodology**

256

257 This article is based upon extensive fieldwork in three small island case studies. Cases were

258 repeat visited between June 2010 and September 2012. In the Isle of Man fieldwork was

259 considerably enriched by periods of semi-residence on the island during, before and after this

260 period. Amongst the restrictions of this study is the significant variation in time spent on

261 individual islands. However, whilst it is accepted that this approach will have limitations in

262  terms of its representativeness, for exploratory inquiry in an under-researched topic pragmatic

263  advantages were felt to outweigh (as per Casey, 2009).

264      Fieldwork involved field trips to tourist attractions, attending events, participant

265  observation of and with island tourists, reviews of government statistical data, local news,

266  media and literature. These were used to immerse within local culture and to build a broad

267  understanding of local tourism and the surrounding context. This process fostered an

268  immersion in the case studies important to both data collection, building rapport with

269  interviewees (McGivern, 2006), and data analysis, helping to understand, interpret and

270  contextualise results (Connell, 2005).

271      Subsequently, in-depth qualitative interviews were conducted with tourism

272  stakeholders (an approach chosen to capture findings both within local context and

273  participants own words: Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). The aim here was to recruit a

274  wide sample of tourism stakeholders in order to obtain a range of perspectives on and

275  descriptions of impacts of island tourism. Also in order to represent communities within the

276  islands, likely as they are to be fragmented into various cultural groups and sub-groups

277  (Pedregal and Boissevain, 1996) (see summary in Appendix A). For example, sought was a

278  mixture of permanent, temporary or part-time residents, those born on or immigrants to

279  islands; groups recognised as of particularly frequent and significant cultural contrast in

280  island societies (Damer, 2000; Royle, 2003; Marjavaara, 2007).

281      Purposive sampling was used therefore to access a range of tourism planners,

282  managers, employees, local politicians and special interest groups members (as with Adu-

283  Ampong, 2014). Organisations such as government departments, conservation charities,

284  hotels and attractions, were contacted via phone, email or in person, in order to request

285  interviews with representatives. Also targeted were island residents who experience more

286  general contact with tourists through geographic proximity (as with Aas *et al*, 2005).

287 Snowball and network sampling occurred to an extent due to the nature of building contacts

288 within small island tourism networks. Drawbacks of this approach are noted (Creswell,

289 2003), albeit Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007) do suggest theoretical sampling is

290 opportunistic.

291     A total of 46 interviews lasting for an average of 30 minutes were conducted (25 Isle

292 of Man, 11 Lewis & Harris, 10 Belle Ile). These interviews were live recorded and then

293 transcribed within 72 hours by the researcher. Emergent patterns were categorised and

294 analysed using NVIVO software and traditional colour coding/copy and paste techniques.

295 Tourism culture arose during the analysis phase as an interesting concept for categorising and

296 interpreting data. Being an emergent concept supported researcher neutrality and openness by

297 allowing results to arise organically from the cases (Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007). Patterns

298 which arose during analysis were related back to concepts of exchange, change and creativity

299 discussed in the literature. Due to the exploratory nature of the project, limited past precedent

300 and study origins, research was an inductive process based upon pragmatic use of principles

301 of social constructivism to explain how data is created (see Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007).

302 A constructivist approach to grounded theory was used to interpret data and build conclusions

303 (see Mills *et al,* 2006; Thornberg, 2012). The technique, allowing for a back and forth

304 approach to data construction, and emergence of concepts through data analysis, rather than a

305 testing of preconceived hypothesis (as per Glaser, 1992; Thornberg, 2012), was felt to be

306 valuable in this research context.

307

308     **3.1 The Case Studies**

309 Cases were selected for pragmatic considerations, such as accessibility and language barriers

310 (the author(s) being able to speak English and French). Also for theoretical considerations,

311 including sizeable permanent populations from which it may be assumed an indigenous

312     culture may emerge. Islands with large transient populations or proximate to larger

313     population centres were not considered in light of the loss of indigenous island culture these

314     have been associated with (Marjavaara, 2007; Royle, 2008). All of the islands also host

315     significant tourism industries. This was important in order to explore the interactions with

316     and impacts of guest culture on host culture. At the same time, different stages of tourism

317     development were sought in order to investigate how industry dynamics could affect tourism

318     culture. Cases are briefly outlined below with further details provided in Appendix A.

319         Lewis & Harris is the largest and most northerly island in the Outer Hebrides

320     archipelago located off the coast of northwest Scotland, British Isles. The island, historically

321     though not geographically divided between Lewis to the north and Harris to the south, is

322     characterised by dramatic and largely inaccessible landscapes. Mountains dominate the south,

323     becoming expanses of peat moorland further north. There are numerous sea lochs, lakes, and

324     tarns throughout the island. Expansive sandy beaches dot the often challenging to access

325     coastline. It is not hyperbole to describe the islands as feeling at times like a moonscape. Rare

326     flora and fauna present include golden and sea eagles. The resident population is concentrated

327     in the port of Stornoway, the economic, commercial and administrative hub. Located

328     throughout the island are small townships usually following a distinctive pattern of ribbon

329     development alongside the islands' few roads. Economically the Outer Hebrides lag behind

330     other Scottish islands and regions. The public sector in 2001 accounted for nearly 32% of

331     jobs and GDP per head is 66% of the UK average (http://www.cne-siar.gov.uk). Evidence of

332     economic migration is present in the many empty properties throughout the island. Tourism is

333     a focus for development. Sites are well signposted and presented, with a range of modernised

334     facilities and tourist enterprises, albeit the isolation and limited infrastructure of the island

335     curtail.

336        Belle Ile is the largest and most populous of the French Atlantic islands, situated off

337      the southern coast of the Breton peninsular. The economy is dominated by tourism with some

338      23,000 guest bed spaces and around 450,000 visitors per annum. Upwards of two thirds of

339      employment is tourism related and around four fifths of local property used as second homes

340      (insee.fr). The industry, primarily serving domestic French tourists, is very seasonal. Large

341      crowds, busy atmosphere, and variety of tourist enterprises, infrastructure, and services,

342      characterise the island during summer. Arriving ferries queue up to debark and collect

343      passengers. The roads are busy with competing car hire niches. The atmosphere is almost one

344      of a floating theme park. Tourism infrastructure centres on the largest town and port, La

345      Palais. This is the location of the Vauban Citadel, the island's main attraction besides its mild

346      climate and attractive coastal scenery. Belle Ile has a long history of hosting tourists, with

347      artists such as Claude Monet helping to popularise the island during the late 1800's. A

348      somewhat exclusive image has been retained. Yachts and villas for the Parisian bourgeoisie

349      are prominent. At the same time, camping, holiday villages and many 'ordinary' day trippers,

350      are prevalent.

351        The Isle of Man is a self-governing crown dependency, with the locally elected

352      Tynwald parliament (reputed to be the world's oldest in continuous operation), having power

353      to pass legislation which affects the island. A unique culture shaped by Celtic, Norse and

354      English influences reflects the island's geographic position located in the centre of the Irish

355      Sea. The island is likewise characterised by a diversity of natural habitats, from high

356      moorland to wooded glens, coastal heath, cliffs and dunes. From the 1890's to the 1960's the

357      Isle of Man was a significant British tourism destination thanks to its distinctive cultural

358      identity, rich natural landscape diversity, range of historic sites, and sense of otherness

359      supported by a marine access barrier (Rawcliffe, 2009). Vestiges of this past remain in the

360      impressive promenades of the capital, Douglas, still functioning steam and electric tram

361 railways, and the once tended pleasure gardens now largely run wild. Since then however,

362 visitor numbers have fallen to around one third of past levels, with tourism today creating

363 around 5% of GDP and 14% of jobs (Isle of Man Digest 2010). As elsewhere in Northern

364 Europe, cheaper and more exotic foreign competition has superseded (Walton, 2000).

365 Nevertheless, the annual TT motorbike festival remains a large scale tourist event attracting

366 upwards of 40,000 visitors.

367

368 **Figure 2: Case Studies Geographic Location**
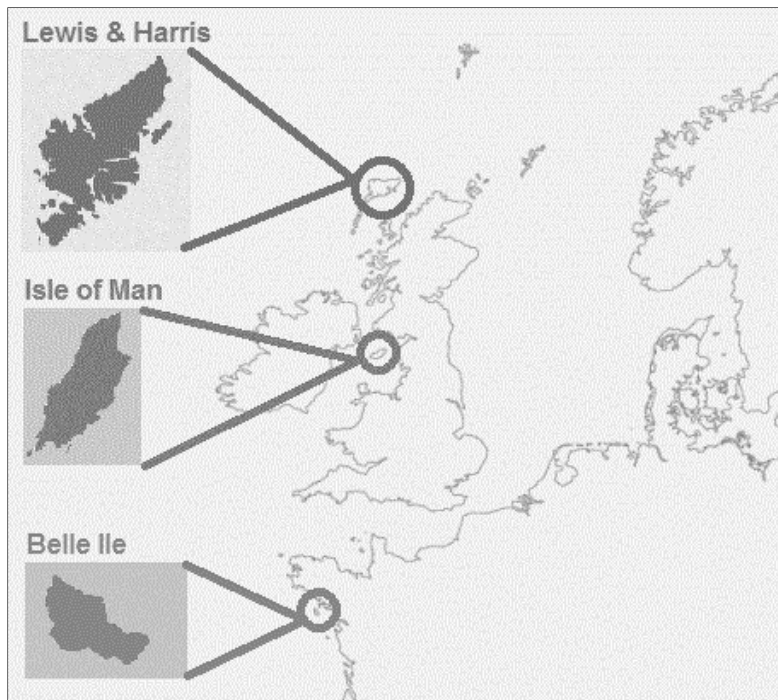


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371 **Table 1: Case Studies Key Data**

| Case Study | Lewis & Harris | Belle Ile | Isle of Man |
|---|---|---|---|
| Population* | 20,000 | 5,000 | 80,000 |
| Geographic size (km²) | 2187 | 84 | 520 |
| Visitor Numbers* | 150,000 | 450,000 | 287,000 |
| Employment at least somewhat dependent on tourism (%) | 31% | 48.5% | 28% |
| TALC Stage | Expansion | Maturity | Late Decline |
| Primary Industry* | Public Sector | Tourism | Finance |

372 * Peron, 2004; insee.fr; Isle of Man Digest, 2010; cne-siar.gov.uk

16

**4.0 Research Findings and Discussion**

373

374

375 This section reviews the findings of research. Briefly speaking research identified existence

376 of tourism culture in each case. This was judged to exist in the unique festivals, tourism

377 facing entrepreneurial activity, reinterpretation of traditional arts and crafts at least part

378 stimulated, revived, reinterpreted or created through the interactions of host and guest

379 cultures (i.e. Markwick, 2001), as well as the integration of touristic values and symbols into

380 local identity (i.e. Zhihong, 2007). Observations and interviewee descriptions were of

381 exchange, change and creativity which arise from the interactions between hosts and guests.

382 These shape and could be seen to exemplify a tourism culture which is a fusion of both host

383 and guest elements into something unique (see also Lovelock, 2004; Richards, 2014).

384 Distinct host and guest cultures were observed, highlighting how tourism is neither so

385 markedly creative nor destructive as the literature may at times imply (Smith, 1989; Butcher,

386 2003). Fieldwork encountered tourists bringing their particular interests, leisure outlook and

387 national backgrounds with them on holiday. Similarly experienced were the persistent,

388 unique and varied indigenous cultures of the islands. These two cultures are also found to be

389 in varying degrees of close contact, with prospects for mutually rewarding exchange, change

390 and creativity to emerge from this interaction. These have implications for the continuation

391 and revitalisation of traditional island cultures (Peron, 2004; Berry, 2009), as they do

392 incorporation of new ideas, values and methods (Brown, 1998; Hall and Boyd, 2005), which

393 together might enrich and diversify local landscapes and increase community viability and

394 cultural continuation (Royle, 2008; Canavan, 2013b). The extent of these interactions and

395 outputs differed between cases however, suggesting tourism culture may be influenced by

396 tourism industry scale or development stage (as per Lim and Cooper, 2009). A number of

397 implications for tourism sustainability are thus suggested by tourism culture evolution.

## Table 2: Summary of Findings

| Case | Lewis & Harris | Belle Ile | Isle of Man |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Host Culture** | Strong crafts heritage (i.e. Harris tweed), traditional land use patterns (i.e. peat burning), persistence of Scots Gaelic and religious observance. | Agriculture and fishing remain important, Breton vernacular architecture, specific religious and storytelling traditions (i.e. veneration of local saints). | "Traa dy liooar" slower pace of life, Celtic and Norse heritage (i.e. unique political tradition). Strong sense of unique local identity/nationality distinct from other British Isles nations. |
| **Guest Culture** | Niche visitors who inhabit created cultures (i.e. surfers, as per Sorensen, 2004). | Short term pleasure seeking day-trip culture (lots of eating, consumption, frivolity), Second home tourist culture may interact little with and antagonise locals. | National cultures can be seen amongst different tourist groups (i.e. English vs. German). |
| **Tourism Culture** | Tourism culture is relatively undeveloped due to the limited influence of guest culture and the relative distance between that of guests and hosts. | Tourism culture evidenced by a multicultural atmosphere with high levels of economic and cultural entrepreneurship. Hosts and guests in close proximity, sharing spaces and forming many relationships. Tourism symbols and activities permeate economic, social and cultural landscapes. | Tourism infrastructure, facilities, activities etc. incorporated into island way of life, traditions and identity. Increased interconnectedness with wider world thanks to tourism. Diverse host-guest interactions. Evidence of tourism stimulating participation in culture by both hosts and guests (Przeclawski, 1985). |
| *Exchange* | Limited due to small visitor numbers. But descriptions of atmosphere brought by tourists, positive exchanges, friendships established, etc. | High levels of interaction and exchange between hosts and guests (i.e. shared atmosphere, socialising between, relationships formed). Frustration however that some tourist groups interact little with local people, economy or culture. | Atmosphere and social opportunities brought by tourists anticipated and enjoyed. Friendships, business, sexual and romantic partnerships made between hosts and guests. Immigrants choose to live on the island following positive holiday experiences. |
| *Change* | Concerns expressed that tourism may change local traditions and ways of life, but for others these changes are sought and hoped for. Tourism may reduce the influence of the church and liberalise society. | Signs of host culture commercialisation as a result of intense tourism development. (i.e. festivals being pastiche). But also pride at the increased awareness of the island throughout France. | Awareness and funding generated by tourism may lead to revivals in traditional practises as well as reappraisals of natural and cultural landscapes. Together this informs concepts of and civic pride in Manx identity. |
| *Creativity* | Evidence of arts and crafts revivals (i.e. Harris tweed retailers), and entrepreneurship (i.e. souvenir manufacturing) inspired by host-guest interactions and stimulated by the outside interest tourism brings. | Positive creativity demonstrated through the co-created festivals, arts and crafts observed, tourist input for the renovation of vernacular architecture, etc. Immigrants have moved to the island to start or run businesses, inspired by previous holidays. Coping creativity shown through resident' adaptation and avoidance strategies. | Co-created events, attractions and activities are enjoyed by both tourists and residents (i.e. domestic tourism, see Canavan, 2013a) and have become part of local island identity. The TT is for instance participated in, observed and managed by both. Motorbike symbols and lifestyle values are co-opted into, complement and extend local identity (i.e. Manx cats riding bikes, 3 legs combined with TT logos, sense of independent spirit of the island and open road combined). |
| **Tourism Context** | Relatively undeveloped tourism sector characterised by niche visitors. Investment in tourism signposting but some facilities (i.e. accommodation) remain limited. | Highly developed tourism sector, albeit strongly seasonal. Appeal mainly to domestic French tourists. Generally upmarket image/clientele. | Industry in long term decline (see Cooper, 1995; Baum, 1998; Canavan, 2013a). Characterised by older tourists loyal to the island and motorcycle enthusiasts attending the TT. |
| **Sustainability Implications** | Narrow and traditional host culture can be restrictive for some community members, who may wish to leave the community as a result, potentially undermining continuation (i.e. Marjavaara, 2007). Exchange, change and creativity brought by increased tourist presence may help to create a more liberal, flexible and viable community. Sensitive tourism development respecting local traditions could be encouraged. (i.e. Royle, 2008). | Overly large scale tourism risks denuding indigenous cultural resources. Rather than a mutual exchange and negotiation, leading to the evolution of a tourism culture, guest culture prevails at the expense of that of hosts. Tensions between hosts and guests and damage to unique local landscapes may occur, undermining tourism longevity (i.e. Mihalic, 2000). Thus careful management of tourism including a focus on conservation and involvement of local stakeholders is essential to pre-empt and find solutions (i.e. Fennell, 2008). | A shrinking tourism sector may threaten to undermine the positive outputs of tourism culture, potentially reducing landscape quality and attractiveness. Uniquely evolved local tourism cultural resources could be lost. A sense of cultural interconnectedness may be replaced by one of rejection (Canavan, 2013a). Tourism decline needs to be carefully managed so that a more gradual transition might be enabled (see Canavan, 2014). |

### 4.1 Host Culture

Fieldwork demonstrated the three islands had strong and distinct local identities. Island residents considered likewise. *"I'm not Scottish no, I'm Hebridean" (B. Resident, Lewis & Harris). "I'm Manx as the hills" (S. Resident, Isle of Man).* Experiences were of unique arts and crafts, festivals and events present in each case, and also of distinct work-life routines and social structures. A strong connection of residents to natural landscapes remains noticeable in Lewis & Harris for instance. Gaelic, Norse and Saxon influences on the three islands were persistent, emphasising the resilience of host cultures despite considerable influence of large proximate neighbours. As such, research compares with previous assessments of host cultures continuing alongside and often relatively unaffected by presence of tourism (i.e. Cohen, 1988; Smith, 1989), as it does research highlighting the cultural resilience of small islands (Scheyvens and Momsen, 2008).

Observation and interviewee description was of local ways of doing things, vernacular, superstitions, and points of proud difference with elsewhere. For instance, a refusal amongst Isle of Man inhabitants to say the word 'rat' lest it brings bad luck, stemming from old sailing tradition. Persistence of religious observation on Lewis & Harris that would seem rather old-fashioned elsewhere in the UK. Or particular foods unique to Belle Ile. *"We have our own way of life here... it's more like what the UK was fifty years ago" (T. Manager, Lewis & Harris). "It's not like anywhere else" (A. Employee, Belle Ile).* Such distinctions may be subtle, but they recognisably stemmed from unique local history, geography and peculiarities of life in isolated small islands.

Also talked about was the variety of cultural events and entertainment opportunities available. *"There is always something to do. Choir, Ramsey Town Band, always a concert, the Guild, art... I could go out every night" (J. Conservationist, Isle of Man).* These reflected a vibrant local cultural calendar informed by indigenous heritage alongside the influence of

425     outsiders. *"I think most 'Manx' culture is actually thanks to outsiders and the enthusiasm and*

426     *input they bring… We are lucky to have them to draw upon" (V. Manager, Isle of Man).*

427         This cultural and natural landscape richness was appreciated as making the islands

428     attractive places to inhabit. Nevertheless, limitations and restrictions of local culture were

429     voiced in each case. The islands were viewed by some or at times as isolated, cliquey,

430     homogenous, restrictive or boring places to live, particularly the case amongst younger

431     residents concerned about a lack of economic opportunity or social variety. Such has been

432     noted amongst peripheral communities (Marjavaara, 2007). *"There is nothing for young*

433     *people to keep them here" (H. Employee, Lewis & Harris). "Out of date views and too much*

434     *religion" (Z. Employee, Lewis & Harris). "There is nothing to do" (A, Employee, Belle Ile).*

435     Fear of gossip leading to self-censorship, such as of sexuality, was also described. *"You can't*

436     *do anything. Everyone know(s) your business" (S.  Resident, Isle of Man). "It isn't very easy*

437     *to be (gay) here I just don't want to be talked about... if my boyfriend comes I am careful not*

438     *to do anything with him in public" (X. Academic, Isle of Man).*

439

440     **4.2 Guest Culture**

441     Guest culture could be identified in those facilities, attractions and landscapes especially

442     popular with visitors. These become obviously geared towards their service. Here the usual

443     trappings of a visitor economy are evident and shape the atmosphere of surroundings. Other

444     areas such as industrial zones or residential suburbs are little touched by tourism. Hence even

445     on intensely touristic Belle Ile, a few hundred metres is all that it takes to be away from the

446     crowded tourist streets with their busy atmosphere and commercial emphasis.

447         Observation found guest culture may be orientated towards specific interests such as

448     backpacking which typically have their own cultural identifiers; in terms of dress and social

449     codes for instance (Wilson, 1997). More generally it may orientate towards leisure and

450  hedonism (Fodness, 1994). Often these interests are not shared with island residents. Hence

451  cultural differences can be a source of novelty and amusement for residents. *"They make me*

452  *laugh" (T. Manager, Lewis & Harris).* They may also create minor frustrations at cultural

453  and lifestyle frictions, such as with tourists slow pace getting in the way. *"Bloody tourists*

454  *blocking up the mountain road. Stick to the coast road if you are sightseeing!" (S. Resident,*

455  *Isle of Man).*

456      Guests additionally bring their national cultures with them. Although tourism in the

457  three cases is primarily domestic, hence cultural differences between hosts and guests

458  relatively reduced, inhabitants in each case can and do distinguish. As islanders' identity is

459  viewed as distinct from proximate neighbours, all tourists are 'foreign' (as per Boissevain,

460  1979). Noted in each case was additional enthusiasm for tourists from further afield seen by

461  participants as bringing a heightened sense of cultural variety and excitement. Again there

462  could be friction in such cultural difference (see Kim and McKercher, 2011). Several Belle

463  Ile respondents expressed annoyance with French visitors characterised as rude, selfish or

464  disrespectful towards local ways of life. *"Some of them (tourists) are very rude... they think*

465  *you are here to do everything for them" (D. Tourism Employee, Belle Ile).* This was relatively

466  minor however, perhaps reflecting the general cultural proximity of hosts and guests in the

467  islands studied (although this is no guarantor of harmony (Wilson, 1997)). It may also result

468  from the mostly successful establishment of tourism culture in the cases, and the cultural

469  accommodation, adaptability, inclusivity and lubrication this facilitates (Sindiga, 1996;

470  Butcher, 2003).

471

472      **4.3 Tourism Culture**

473  Research suggested evidence of a tourism culture in the three islands studied. This emerged

474  from the interactions between host and guest cultures. Noted were cultural, social and

475    economic exchanges such as the formation of relationships between hosts and guests. Also

476    identified were subsequent changes in attitudes, behaviours and lifestyles as a result of

477    interacting with tourists. Lastly, creativity in terms of cultural outputs, such as that of music

478    and dance societies was again linked to the fusion of host and guest inputs.

479

480        *4.3.1 Exchange*

481    Varying degrees of resident involvement with tourism were noted in the three cases. This

482    ranged from relatively passive sharing of space and atmosphere, to potentially deep, personal

483    and perhaps permanent connections formed (as per Moyle, Gray and Weiler, 2009). Such

484    involvement appeared to suggest an element of social and cultural sharing between island

485    residents and tourists. To illustrate, social exchanges were talked about in detail. Much

486    discussed was appreciation of the atmosphere brought by tourists, associated with excitement,

487    entertainment diversity and social opportunities. *"I like the visitors. They give the place a bit*

488    *of spark. I'm always so sorry when they leave." (C. Manager, Isle of Man). "They (visiting*

489    *motor-bikers) are such nice people... really quiet, gentle. I'm always sorry the day after*

490    *they've gone" (J. Conservationist, Isle of Man).* Participants additionally spoke of forming

491    friendships, business partnerships and even marriages with tourists. Hence emphasised was

492    the potential for occurrence of deep and mutually rewarding exchanges between residents and

493    visitors.  *"My wife did it for the social side really... she was one for getting to know people...*

494    *found them fascinating. They really were interesting people from all over the world" (V.*

495    *Manager, Isle of Man).*

496        In addition, the building of like-minded social networks with resulting exchanges of

497    contacts and ideas was shown to lead to stakeholders involved with arts and crafts

498    incorporating new ideas and finding new outlets for their expression (see Simpson, 1993;

499  Tapper, 2001). *"Yeah we've made a lot of contacts through (tourism) and that gives you a*

500  *platform for a lot of exchanges and so on" (G. Arts and Crafts, Isle of Man).*

501

502  ### *4.3.2 Change*

503  In turn, research suggested that the exchanges between hosts and guests led to changes in

504  attitudes, values and ways of doing things. For example, social exchanges resulting from

505  tourism were linked to sexual relationships by young residents in each case. *"There were two*

506  *of them (tourists) in the pub... Took him home with me (laughs). The next night went back and*

507  *got his friend!" (R. Resident, Isle of Man).* This was something made possible as a result of

508  the added social opportunities and anonymity the presence of unknown people brought, but

509  additionally the sense of social permissiveness they introduced (see Canavan, 2013b). Such a

510  finding is potentially evidence of guest culture rubbing off on that of hosts and introducing a

511  more liberal atmosphere (i.e. Wilson, 1997; Shunnaq *et al.,* 2008). And just as guest culture is

512  associated with hedonism, perhaps this can be translated to hosts also. This might be

513  particularly welcomed in traditional societies which can feel restrictive (Brown and Hall,

514  2000). Interestingly, in Lewis & Harris where tourism is least developed, description of the

515  need for such cultural liberalisation was most marked. *"There is too much religion and*

516  *narrow minded opinion" (G. Resident, Lewis & Harris).*

517      Change as a result of host guest interactions was also noted in the case of domestic

518  tourism. In all islands inhabitants discussed using tourist orientated facilities for their own

519  entertainment. Widespread description was of touristic trips and activity such as visiting

520  attractions, camping, romantic breaks and family distractions. Inspiration for domestic

521  tourism came in part from the presence of visitors. Guest culture in the three islands being

522  orientated towards enjoyment, exploration and learning about local landscapes was for many

523  residents a source of re-appreciation of island landscapes and motivation to explore likewise

524 (see Canavan, 2013a). *"I think that if you live and work here then maybe you, you stop*

525 *looking at your surroundings if you know what I mean. You start to see it the same way and*

526 *you don't get out there and enjoy it" (N. Employee, Isle of Man).*

527      Recognised was a stimulated sense of civic pride amongst inhabitants reminded of the

528 value of their locale (as per Pennington-Gray *et al.,* 2005; Stonza and Gordillo, 2008), *"It*

529 *really reminds you that where you live is somewhere beautiful, worth visiting" (KA. Resident,*

530 *Isle of Man).* Moreover, a spreading of conservation ethos as a result of tourism generated

531 funding, awareness and resource reappraisal (i.e. Rodriguez *et al.,* 2008; Reimer and Walter,

532 2013). Special interest group members in each case spoke about the awareness generated by

533 tourists of local environments and their conservation value. *"Yeah and also awareness, that's*

534 *also the key. If people don't know there is anything there to look after then why the hell*

535 *would they look after it?" (K. Conservationist, Isle of Man).* These were further evidence of

536 the changes that host-guest interactions might engender.

537

538      *4.3.3 Creativity*

539 Research indicated host guest interactions stimulated commercial creativity. Observed was

540 entrepreneurial activity associated with the sector, such as supplementary seasonal

541 employment, informal retail or letting out spare bedrooms. Much of this entrepreneurship was

542 rooted in traditional cultures such as new festivals based upon local landscape qualities, or

543 production of souvenirs drawing from traditional arts, crafts and culinary heritage. The

544 artisan bakeries and art galleries of Belle Ile exemplify. Such entrepreneurship was motivated

545 by tourism demand, and inspired by interactions with (as per Mathieson and Wall, 1992,

546 Simpson, 1993, Markwick, 2001). Interviewees discussed the income generated for

547 traditional products and industries as encouraging new entrepreneurs and artisans. *"There*

548 *wouldn't be any of that if it wasn't for (the tourists)… it keeps things alive" (T. Manager,*

549 *Lewis & Harris).* Also talked about were business partnerships formed with and ideas

550 stimulated as a result of interacting with or observing tourists. *"Everyone was coming in and*

551 *asking 'where can I get an ice-cream' and there wasn't. So I thought why not I do it like?*

552 *That's where the idea came from in the first place" (E. Manager, Lewis & Harris). "It gives*

553 *you something to think about; that yeah we should be building on this" (X. Academic, Isle of*

554 *Man).*

555    This co-creation also extended into the cultural sphere and appeared to have

556 influenced local identity. This could be particularly seen in the way both host and guest

557 influences and inputs were involved in co-creation of various festivals, traditions and events.

558 For instance, the TT Festival on the Isle of Man originates from outside enthusiasts who

559 founded (the name refers to the Tourist Trophy after all). This event is still popular with

560 tourists who shape the atmosphere and dynamics of the event and indeed the wider island for

561 the fortnight they are present in large numbers. Over time however, the TT and motorbikes

562 have become internalised by Manx residents as an important component and signifier of local

563 culture. *"The best thing about (the Isle of Man) is the TT... It is what we are all about" (L.*

564 *Resident, Isle of Man).* Many residents observe, manage and even participate in the races.

565 They often wear branded T-shirts and other merchandise (themselves designed by both

566 islanders and outsiders). This TT branding in turn frequently incorporates the Manx three

567 legs; a national identifier since early medieval period with older Celtic roots, tailless cats,

568 loaghtan sheep, and other local symbols. Thus the TT is an example of the co-creative output

569 of and on-going dialogue between cultures in a tourism destination (Marwick, 2001;

570 Richards, 2013; Lovelock, 2014), as it is of the potential for such creation to become an

571 authentic and integral part of local identity over time (Cohen, 1988; Lim and Cooper, 2009).

572    In Belle Ile research additionally identified coping creativity, whereby host culture

573 adapts when confronted by wider change (Boissevain, 1992; 1996). Here coping strategies

574   (noted as a sign of potential cultural displacement: Sindiga, 1996) such as altering routines,

575   were ways islanders avoided some of the adverse impacts of tourism. *"It is difficult*

576   *sometimes. If you just want to go shopping there are so many people....  you adjust your*

577   *routine… go out earlier and later when they (tourists) have gone" (B. Resident, Belle Ile).*

578   Moreover, leisure activities of residents often took place in spaces less well known to or used

579   by holidaymakers. *"The (tourists) don't come up here, they don't know about. That is where*

580   *we go if we want peace" (C. Employee, Isle of Man).* As such local lifestyles, routines and

581   work-leisure patterns evolve alongside, and sometimes in reaction to, impacts of the industry

582   (Boissevain, 1996; Butcher, 2003).

583

584        **4.4 Tourism Culture and Tourism Context**

585   A number of differences in tourism culture were noted between cases. Such findings were

586   largely as expected in light of the notions of time and balance being important to tourist

587   culture evolution (Smith, 1989; Cooper, 1995; Sindiga, 1996).

588        On the Isle of Man tourism culture was perhaps most identifiable. Here participants

589   gave detailed descriptions of domestic tourism activity, host-guest relationships and cultural

590   exchanges. Here also the legacy of tourism was particularly apparent throughout the islands

591   urban and rural landscapes. Yet here concern for continuing tourism decline was widespread.

592   This was felt to undermine the benefits brought by tourism. Mentioned in particular were

593   facilities closures reducing social and entertainment opportunities, and damage to urban and

594   rural landscapes due to changing patterns of development. *"It isn't like it was. There were so*

595   *many facilities, so much atmosphere, and always things going on. If you could have seen it. It*

596   *was wonderful" (B. Resident, Isle of Man).* A sense of increased isolation from and disregard

597   by the wider world was also discussed. *"Nobody ever even knows anything about the island,*

598   *where we are, anything" (L. Resident, Isle of Man).* The potential for tourism decline to

599    undermine uniquely evolved tourism culture was henceforth highlighted (see also Cooper,

600    1995; Lim and Cooper, 2009; Canavan, 2014)

601        On Belle Ile where tourism dominates the local economy, guest culture appeared to be

602    somewhat overwhelming host culture, suggesting that overly large scale tourism can have a

603    damaging effect. Several interviewees dismissed cultural events, festivals, arts and crafts

604    available on the island as pastiche, imports, and purely for the entertainment of visitors.

605    *"(Gesturing) Little paintings for those who cannot paint" (C. Employee, Belle Ile).* Such

606    conclusions have affinity with descriptions of the cultural commodification that tourism may

607    bring (i.e. Royle, 2003). Mentioned was the loss of local distinctiveness due to the

608    acculturating influences of large numbers of tourists, second home owners and economic

609    migrants (i.e. Peron, 2004). The latter groups where criticised for interacting little with,

610    having limited desire to become involved, integrate or understand local culture and ways of

611    life. Discussion was additionally of feeling overwhelmed at times by the volume of tourists

612    with crowding that could make day to day life difficult. *"It is so busy... in the summer you*

613    *cannot see the beach for bodies" (B. Resident, Belle Ile).* Invasions of privacy were also

614    recounted (as per Markwick). There was evidence that host culture had retreated to an extent,

615    in order to shelter from this.

616        On Lewis & Harris meanwhile, lesser experience of tourism may have limited the

617    evolution of a tourist culture. Some residents discussed feelings of ambivalence towards

618    development, rooted in concern for the cultural changes this might bring. Others expressed

619    frustration at such perspective, viewed current lifestyles as unsustainable and hoped for

620    tourism directed change. *"I think some very local people think it is all going to change and*

621    *that we'll overnight be like Ibiza or whatever" (T. Manager, Lewis & Harris).*

622

623

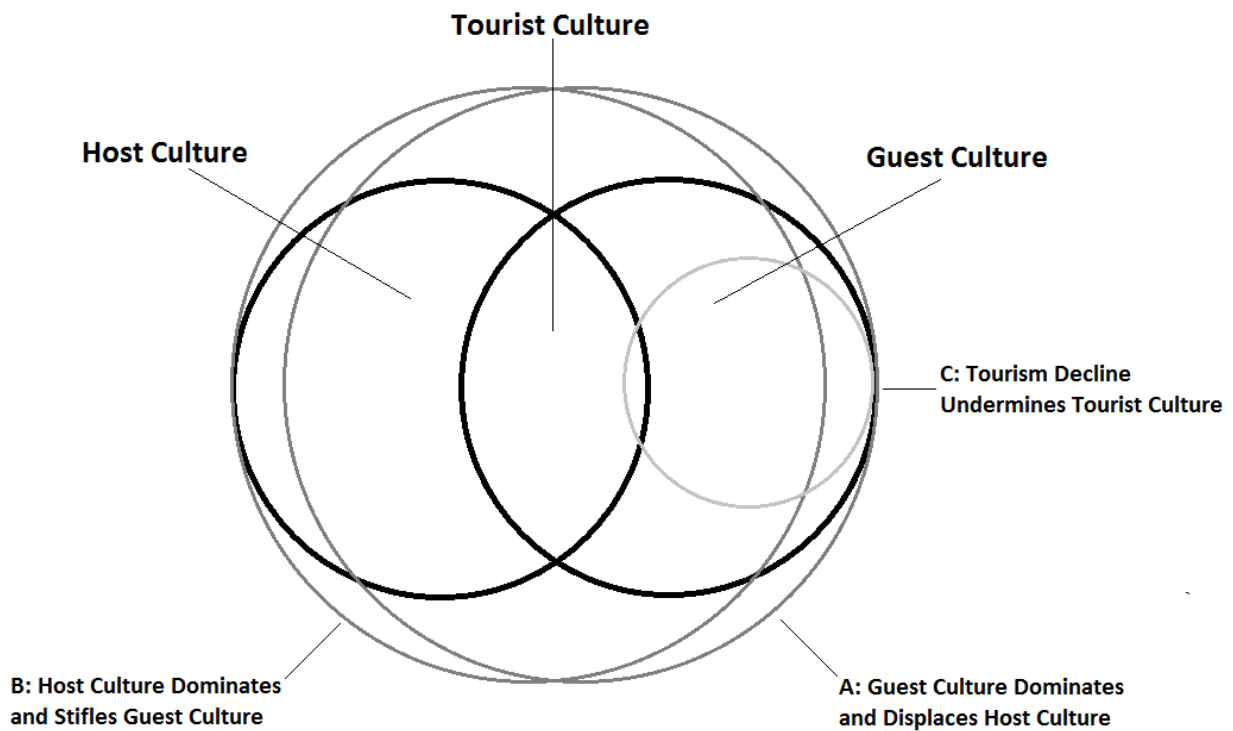### 4.5 Tourism Culture and Sustainability

624

625 Tourism culture evolution may henceforth be an uncertain and fragile process. In line with

626 the extant literature, findings illustrate industry context may positively or negatively affect its

627 development and continuation. Regards the former, proximity of hosts and guests and high

628 levels of resident involvement in tourism were shown to foster the exchanges, changes and

629 creativity that exemplify. Conversely, speed or scale of development which exceeds the

630 capacity of local resources and communities to adapt (Campling and Rosalie, 2006; Chaperon

631 and Bramwell, 2013), might threaten to displace or denude local culture, as signs were of in

632 Belle Ile. Overly large scale or rapid tourism decline might similarly challenge (Canavan,

633 2015), as Isle of Man interviewees proposed.

634       Building upon past literature and research findings, Figure 3 attempts to map potential

635 development patterns of tourism culture and offers a flexible model for doing so according to

636 local context that could be applied to diverse tourism models and spaces. As identified,

637 tourism context may affect levels of tourism culture in the sense that they set the conditions

638 for host-guest interactions. There may for example be situations, akin to Lewis & Harris,

639 where an overly dominant host culture could be unreceptive to change, and thus remain

640 unwelcoming to tourists and perhaps stifling to many residents (i.e. Damer, 2000).

641 Alternately, an overly dominant guest culture could overwhelm and subsume that which is

642 indigenous to a locale, threatening cultural degradation, homogenisation and displacement

643 (i.e. Tsartas, 1992). Signs were of this occurring somewhat in Belle Ile. Conversely, it could

644 be seen that a decline in tourism, might see the loss of tourism culture, as has happened in the

645 Isle of Man. This process might serve to disrupt, and potentially ultimately destroy, that

646 which has uniquely evolved (i.e. Hampton and Christensen, 2007; Lim and Cooper, 2009;

647 Canavan, 2014).

648

649   **Figure 3: Host-Guest-Tourist Culture Nexus**



650

651

652   **5.0 Conclusion**

653

654   The overall contribution of this research is to identify and describe tourism culture and

655   subsequently relate that phenomenon to sustainable tourism debate. Tourism culture is

656   potentially a useful concept for describing host guest interactions, in that it is a nuanced and

657   flexible one that recognises on the one hand the persistence of originating cultures, whilst on

658   the other appreciating the evolution and change in these as a result of wider influences

659   including tourism. This concept may better illustrate the persistence of the mundane largely

660   untouched by tourists or tourism (Smith, 1989; Smith, 2009), the concurrent potential of

661   tourism to engender destructive or creative impacts in a locale (i.e. altered religious and

662   familial values Yasothornsrikul and Bowen, 2015). And the constant cultural transformation,

663 both separately and informed alongside each other, of both hosts and guests (Azeredo

664 Grunewald, 2002).

665      Links with sustainability are likewise accommodated. A vibrant tourism culture

666 suggests the presence of a shared culture based upon rather than exploiting the indigenous

667 culture of a locale. Furthermore, it appears to be symbolic of tourism which is well integrated

668 into a locale, where local inhabitants are involved and have a subsequent sense of ownership,

669 outsider experiences can be benefitted from, and where traditional cultural resources are both

670 protected and diversified as a result (i.e. Smith, 1989; Sindiga, 1996; Wilson, 1997). And one

671 moreover where self-consciousness, reflexivity and creativity promoted on behalf of both

672 hosts and guests may contribute to more stable and rewarding relationships between (Tan *et*

673 *al.,* 2013). As such tourism culture may be both antecedent and precedent of more sustainable

674 tourism contexts and the host-guest relationships which take place within and contribute

675 towards.

676      Tourism culture may therefore be a useful tool for bringing together diverse

677 conceptual narratives within tourism studies and for promoting a more holistic, flexible and

678 reflexive perspective. Acknowledged also is the difficulty of separating cultural impacts of

679 tourism from other influences such as the media (Fisher, 2004). Henceforth it can be easy to

680 inappropriately exaggerate the sociocultural impacts of tourism (Chen, 2014). Thus care is

681 taken not to over-emphasise what are initial findings from an exploratory study. Yet broad

682 inferences may still be carefully drawn. Further research, ideally in other geographical

683 contexts and places with different tourism dynamics would be welcome to test this initial

684 concept.

685

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