

The Tourist Culture Nexus: Occurrence, Advantages, Sustainability

Abstract

This article investigates the concept of tourist culture in three island cases. Fieldwork and qualitative depth interviews of key stakeholders are used to identify and describe. Tourist culture is identified through artefacts and practises that are shown to be stimulated, reinterpreted and created as a result of interactions between hosts and guests, both of whom are shown to have distinct cultures of their own. Tourist culture is thus described as a nexus between. A range of benefits are identified. These may be associated with overall sustainability of tourism. Yet findings highlight that tourist culture evolution is affected by stage and scale of tourism development and may therefore need careful management if it is to be established and maintained.

Keywords

Tourist Culture; Sustainable Tourism; Involvement; Qualitative Research; Small Island Tourism; Resident Attitudes

1.0 Introduction

The occurrence or not of tourist culture, how this can be defined, and what implications can be drawn from in relation to sustainability, are explored in this research article. Tourism is widely associated with cultural influence upon and fusion with local cultures (Smith, 2003). Tourist culture may be observed through the outputs and implications of this influence and fusion. This is something of an evolutionary process, which may be developed through decades of experience hosting tourists (Sindiga, 1996). It is affected by the culture and

26 actions of visitors themselves (Wilson, 1997), their hosts (Smith, 2003), and influenced by
27 the unique requirements and processes of hosting tourism (Cooper, 1995; Butcher, 2003).

28 Development of tourist culture has been associated with many positive impacts, such
29 as resident involvement and adaptability (Butcher, 2003). This adaptability may underpin an
30 ability to co-opt tourism development in a way that is favourable to a community's needs and
31 desires (Prasad, 1987). Hence positive impacts of tourism tend to be enhanced, and negatives
32 ameliorated, avoided or managed to be more tolerable. With such underlying conditions,
33 more sustainable management of tourism may be more likely. Thus tourist culture may be
34 seen as contributing to sustainability and may henceforth it may be useful as a tool for its
35 assessment.

36 Measurements evaluating the relative sustainability or otherwise of tourism
37 developments have tended to focus on an economic or an ecological perspective. For
38 instance, there is common use in the literature of ecological carrying capacities and reviews
39 of conservation measures (Buckley, 2002; Twining-Ward and Butler, 2002; Sharpley, 2003).
40 Yet the social and cultural perspective of sustainability tends to be less extensively explored
41 (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2005; Tao and Wall, 2009). Furthermore, tourist culture is itself a
42 seriously overlooked concept within the literature. Where it is described, this is usually from
43 the perspective of tourists and the temporary cultures they may enter into (Jafari, 1987) or
44 create (Sorensen, 2003) whilst on holiday. The role of and interactions with hosts and their
45 cultures is less well observed.

46 What contributes to and constitutes tourist culture and the potential contribution of
47 tourist culture to sustainability, is something which merits further investigation therefore.
48 Small islands may be an ideal location for investigating cultural dynamics thanks to their
49 distinctive indigenous identity, and in light of heightened sustainability challenges faced.
50 This paper explores tourist culture in the context of three small islands at varied stages of

51 tourism development. Such a process is of interest to tourism theorists and practitioners in
52 general, and to those involved in implementing and measuring sustainable development
53 particularly.

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55 **2.0 Literature Review**

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57 **2.1 Tourist Culture Nexus**

58 Tourist culture may best be seen as a nexus between host culture and guest culture (see
59 Figure 1). On the one hand host culture is that which is indigenous to a locale: its particular
60 arts and crafts, language, traditional roles, festivals, and ways of doing things (Tsartas, 1992;
61 Simpson, 1993; Tapper, 2001; Smith, 2003). In the case of small islands, these often host
62 unusually rich and distinctive cultures due to their relative isolation. This must be adapted to
63 creatively and often disjoints from wider socio-economic changes felt in mainland areas
64 (Boissevain, 1979; Wilkinson, 1987; Keane, 1992; Berry, 2009). Island culture is informed
65 by particular geographic size and setting, and wider historical, social, economic, and political
66 context. Hence small islands are far from homogenous (Milne, 1992), and even proximate
67 neighbours in archipelagos tend to be characterised by a strong and unique local identity
68 (Boissevain, 1979). Language richness is noted for instance. Indigenous languages may
69 persist on small islands when extinct elsewhere, whilst unique dialects may have evolved
70 individually in isolation (Peron, 2004; Sallabank, 2006; Royle, 2008).

71 On the other hand is guest culture. This may be influenced by the originating cultures
72 of guests, who act on holiday in ways influenced by their cultural background (Wilson, 1997;
73 Carr, 2002; Yuksel, 2004), or perhaps in reaction against this (Hughes, 2002). Particular
74 temporary tourist culture exists also for those on holiday. This is typically less restrained and
75 more hedonic (Carr, 2002; Kim and McKerchner, 2011). Tourists are frequently informed by
76 common bonds of exploration, escapism, and hedonism expressed through certain typical

77 pursuits and behaviours (Fodness, 1994; Urry, 2002). More than this, interactions between
78 tourists may create unique if temporary cultures with identifiable social structures, norms and
79 values, such as that amongst backpackers (Sorensen, 2003).

80 It is the interplay between these two cultures which could be seen as the creation,
81 negotiation and overall evolution of a tourist culture informed by both. The melange of host
82 and guest cultures is typified as an evolutionary process that takes place over time (Smith,
83 1989; Butcher, 2003). It has been suggested that destinations with long histories of hosting
84 visitors may develop a tourist culture whereby tourism becomes a part of everyday life
85 (Sindiga, 1996). Host cultures may evolve alongside and adapt to the presence of guest
86 cultures, co-opting many aspects into local tradition, practise, and identity. An example of
87 such a complex dialogue is Maltese handicrafts, with some products and styles originally
88 intended for external audiences being appropriated into local culture (Markwick, 2001).
89 Tourists themselves can contribute creatively to cultures; spontaneously establishing
90 attractions for instance (Lovelock, 2004). Hence tourist culture may represent previous
91 concepts of culture as social structures of unification and subsumption (Sorensen, 2003).

92 Tourist destinations tend furthermore, to have a specific economic, social and
93 environmental make up. This is shaped by input from new economic and social migrants
94 attracted by tourism, who will inevitably influence the local economic, social, and
95 environmental landscape (Damer, 2000). Demand for certain infrastructure, facilities,
96 services, attractions and forms of cultural presentation also influence (Tsartas, 1992; Royle,
97 2003). Mundet and Coenders (2010) discuss social consequences of tourist footpath use
98 amongst local residents for example. Meanwhile, Smith (2003) describes local residents
99 taking part in cultural events for the creation and recreation of cultural meanings invested
100 within. And Canavan (2013a) describes presence of foreign visitors fostering micro-domestic
101 tourism, whereby small island residents undertake touristic activities within island.

102 Likewise cycles of seasonality linked with tourism may alter local socio-cultural
103 landscapes. For example, migrant labour, adjusted familial routines, and altered traditional
104 calendars may characterise as individuals try to exploit the peak season (Buhalis, 1999;
105 Andriotis, 2005). The presence of tourists moreover, causes a society to adjust routines in
106 order to accommodate them, take on elements of presentation of itself for visitor
107 consumption, and to analyse itself through appreciation of what incomers report back
108 (Simpson, 1993; Tapper, 2001; Smith, 2003; Pennington-Grey *et al.*, 2005). Hence social
109 roles, events and routines all evolve with tourism development over time, as do local
110 facilities, infrastructure, and natural and cultural landscapes (Cooper, 1995; Buhalis, 1999;
111 Hampton and Christensen, 2007).

112 As a consequence, many tourist destinations have a unique cultural flavour of their
113 own. Tourist destinations have been described as more entrepreneurial (Chaperon and
114 Bramwell, 2013). Similarly they have been characterised as more liberal. The nature of
115 tourist hosting, involving social interactions and cultural exchanges, means destinations may
116 be particularly multicultural, culturally experienced and sophisticated, and by association
117 open-minded and tolerant (Wilson, 1997; Brown, 1998; Hampton, 1998; Tapper, 2001;
118 Shunnaq *et al.*, 2008). To illustrate, minorities and disenfranchised groups are likely to be
119 involved in tourism due to the nature of industry employment, its support for small scale
120 entrepreneurship, and demand for diverse cultural inputs. Vulnerable groups meanwhile, such
121 as homosexuals, may be able to use tourism to promote their identity and culture, thus
122 gaining wider recognition, public acceptance, political support, and human rights protection
123 (Hughes, 2002; Smith, 2003).

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2.2 Tourist Culture and Sustainability

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Thus the evolution of tourist culture could be regarded as a mutually rewarding process for both host and guest, and symptomatic of more sustainable tourism development. Rothman (1978) proposes that communities with long experience of tourism are able to develop mechanisms to accommodate inconveniences. Similarly, Smith (1989: 16) outlines: *“If a group can survive the transition from incipient to full blown mass tourism, then it may ultimately achieve what is termed ‘tourist culture’, or a process of full accommodation so that tourists are part of the ‘regional scenery’”*.

In this situation residents are more involved with the industry, more able to appreciate its benefits, feel a sense of ownership over, promoting entrepreneurship, and contributing to positive host-visitor interactions (Sindiga, 1996). Involvement with the tourist industry, known as significant to fostering positive, deeper, and more meaningful host-guest relationships (Go and Govers, 2000; Spencer and Nsiah, 2012), is likewise linked to cultural resilience and adaptability. These have been associated with flexibility, self-sufficiency, innovation, entrepreneurship, and utilising community resources imaginatively. Such attributes may help to control, exploit and shape tourism developments for the better (Briassoulis, 1979; Campling and Rosalie, 2006; Chaperon and Bramwell, 2013). As such, tourism research repeatedly highlights the importance of resident involvement to sustainability of development (Allen *et al.*, 1988; Ioannides, 1995; Theuma, 2004; Andriotis, 2005; Kontogeorgopoulos, 2005; Graci, 2012; Reimer and Walter, 2013).

Ideally this evolution would be a balanced situation, with both host and guest cultures able to inform, exchange, and negotiate in a way acceptable and enhancing to both. The unique cultural and natural landscapes of small islands may make of potential interest to visitors. The tourism industry may be a source of benefits particularly relevant in light of challenges to inhabit, what are typically isolated locations with restricted economic and social

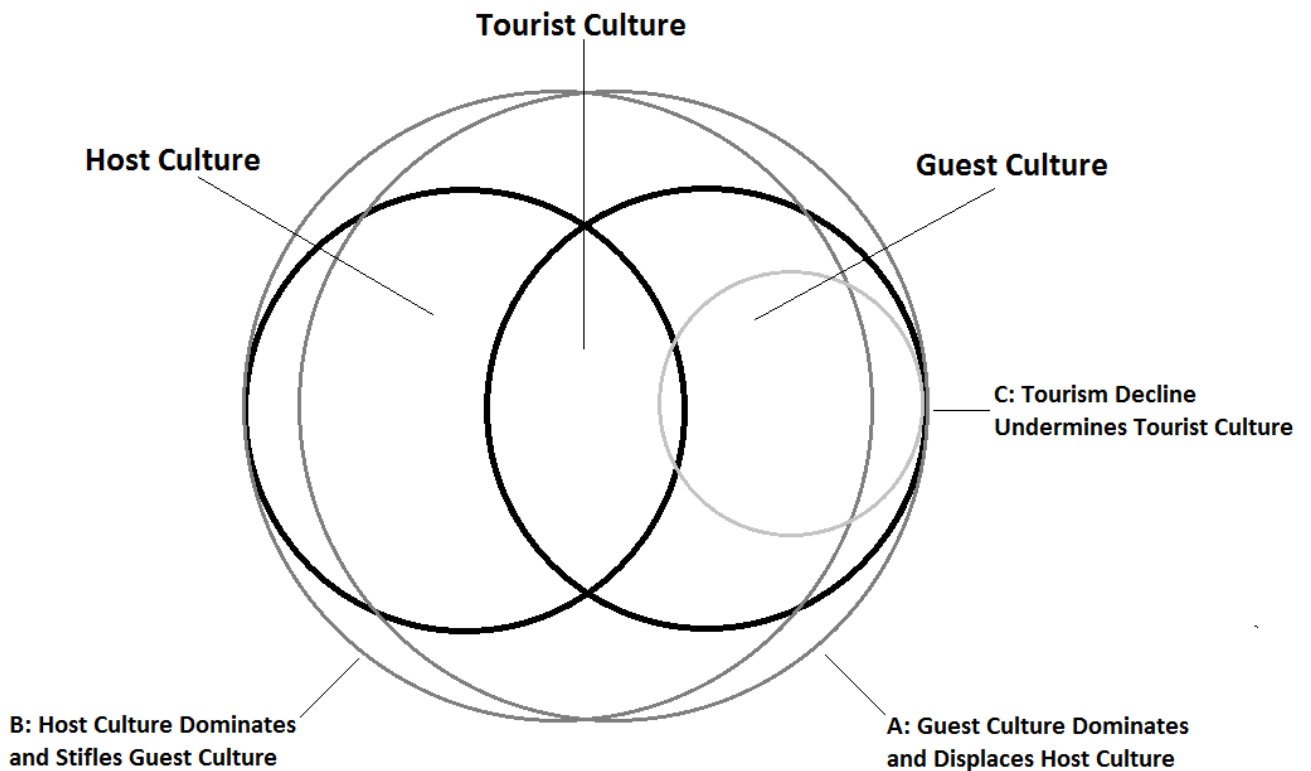
152 landscapes (see Ayres, 2000; Buckley, 2002; Andriotis, 2005; McElroy, 2006). However, as
153 is widely appreciated from the literature that tourist hosting can be a destructive process.
154 Alongside diverse benefits, many negative impacts can be caused or worsened by tourism
155 development in the fragile and confined spaces of small islands (i.e. Andriotis and Vaughan,
156 2003; Briassoulis, 2004; Theuma, 2004). Cultural homogenisation, displacement of
157 indigenous peoples, inflation, increased inter and intra group tensions, breakdown of
158 traditions, invasions of privacy and destruction of mutually evolved cultural and natural
159 landscapes are commonly recorded (Simpson, 1993; Wheeler, 1993; Royle, 2003; Smith,
160 2003; Briassoulis, 2004; Sanchez and Adams, 2008). Rather than evolution of a mutually
161 enriched culture, such situations symbolise the destruction of cultural diversity, with
162 ultimately unsustainable consequences for hosts and guests.

163 The process of tourist culture evolution may therefore be seen as a sustainability
164 indicator. Yet it might also be highly uncertain. As suggested by Butcher (2003), taking
165 inspiration from Butler's (1980) ubiquitous TALC model of destination evolution, stage and
166 scale of tourism development may affect levels of tourist culture (see Figure 2). There may
167 for example be situations where an overly dominant host culture could be unreceptive to
168 change, and thus remain unwelcoming to tourists and perhaps stifling to many residents (i.e.
169 Damer, 2000). Alternately, an overly dominant guest culture could overwhelm and subsume
170 that which is indigenous to a locale, threatening cultural degradation, homogenisation, and
171 displacement (i.e. Tsartas, 1992; Briassoulis, 2004). Lastly, it could be seen that a decline in
172 tourism, might see the loss of tourist culture. This process might serve to disrupt, and
173 potentially ultimately destroy, that which has uniquely evolved (i.e. Hampton and
174 Christensen, 2007).

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177 **Figure 1: Host-Guest-Tourist Culture Nexus**



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180 **3.0 Methodology**

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182 This article is based upon extensive fieldwork in three small island case studies. Cases were
183 repeat visited between June 2010 and September 2012. In the Isle of Man fieldwork was
184 considerably enriched by periods of semi-residence on the island during, before and after this
185 period. Amongst the limitations of this study is the significant variation in time spent on
186 individual islands. However, whilst it is accepted that this approach will have limitations in
187 terms of its representativeness, for exploratory research in an under-researched topic, such an
188 approach remains valid, and pragmatic advantages were felt to outweigh (as per Casey,
189 2009).

190 Cases were selected for pragmatic considerations, such as accessibility and language
191 barriers (the author(s) being able to speak English and French). Also for methodological

192 considerations, such as significant populations to sample from. And lastly for theoretical
193 considerations, including sizeable permanent populations from which it may be assumed an
194 indigenous culture may emerge. All of the islands also host significant tourism industries.
195 This was important in order to explore the interactions with and impacts of guest culture on
196 host culture. At the same time, different stages of tourism development were sought in order
197 to investigate how this could affect tourist culture. It was broadly assumed that those islands
198 with longer experiences of hosting tourism, would have more established tourist cultures
199 (Sindiga, 1996). Likewise those islands where tourism is larger in scale and hence more
200 pervasive (Butcher, 2003).

201 Fieldwork involved field trips to tourist attractions, attending events, participant
202 observation of and with island tourists, reviews of government statistical data, local news and
203 media, and local literature. These were used to immerse within local culture and to build a
204 broad understanding of local tourism and the surrounding context. This process fostered an
205 immersion in the case studies important to both data collection, building rapport with
206 interviewees (McGivern, 2006), and data analysis, helping to understand, interpret and
207 contextualise results (Connell, 2005).

208 Subsequently, depth qualitative interviews were conducted with tourism stakeholders.
209 The aim here was to recruit a wide sample of tourism stakeholders. Purposive sampling was
210 used therefore to access a range of tourism planners, managers, employees, local politicians
211 and special interest groups members (as with Adu-Ampong, 2014). Organisations such as
212 government departments, conservation charities, hotels and attractions, were contacted in
213 order to request interviews with representatives. Additionally, island residents who
214 experience more general contact with tourists through geographic proximity, were targeted
215 (as with Aas *et al*, 2005). Snowball sampling occurred to an extent due to the nature of
216 building contacts within small island tourism networks. A total of 46 interviews lasting for an

217 average of 30 minutes were conducted (25 Isle of Man, 11 Lewis & Harris, 10 Belle Ile).
218 These interviews were live recorded and then transcribed within 72 hours by the researcher.
219 Emergent patterns were categorised and analysed using NVIVO software and traditional
220 colour coding/copy and paste techniques.

221 Although all research is likely to conform to a preconceived worldview to at least
222 some extent, tourist culture was not something originally intended for research. Rather, it
223 arose as an interesting side issue, that having been provisionally identified was then pursued
224 further. This supported researcher neutrality and openness, allowing results to arise
225 organically from the cases, albeit the potential to go into specific detail on the issue or
226 perception check with interviewees was thus lost.

227 Therefore, due to the exploratory nature of the project, limited past precedent, and
228 study origins, research was an inductive process based upon pragmatic use of principles of
229 social constructivism to explain how data is created (see Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007). A
230 constructivist approach to grounded theory was used to interpret data and build conclusions
231 (see Mills *et al*, 2006, Thornberg, 2012). The technique, allowing for a back and forth
232 approach to data construction, and emergence of concepts through data analysis, rather than a
233 testing of preconceived hypothesis (as per Glaser, 1992; Thornberg, 2012), was felt to be
234 valuable in this research context.

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236 **3.1 The Case Studies**

237 Lewis & Harris is the largest and most northerly island in the Outer Hebrides archipelago
238 located off the coast of northwest Scotland, British Isles. The island, historically though not
239 geographically divided between Lewis to the north and Harris to the south, is characterised
240 by dramatic and largely inaccessible landscapes. Mountains dominate the south, becoming
241 expanses of peat moorland further north. There are numerous sea lochs, lakes, and tarns

242 throughout the island. Expansive sandy beaches dot the often challenging to access coastline.
243 It is not hyperbole to describe the islands as feeling at times like a moonscape. Rare flora and
244 fauna present include golden and sea eagles. Population is concentrated in the port of
245 Stornoway, the economic, commercial and administrative hub. Located throughout the island
246 are small townships usually following a distinctive pattern of ribbon development alongside
247 the islands' few roads. Economically the Outer Hebrides lag behind other Scottish islands and
248 regions. The public sector in 2001 accounted for nearly 32% of jobs and GDP per head is
249 66% of the UK average (<http://www.cne-siar.gov.uk>). Sign of generous external subsidy is
250 apparent to visitors in terms of the extensive and modern civic facilities. Evidence of
251 economic migration is present in the many empty properties throughout the island. Tourism is
252 a focus for development. Sites are well signposted and presented, with a range of modernised
253 facilities and tourist enterprises, albeit the isolation and limited infrastructure of the island
254 curtail.

255 Belle Ile is the largest and most populous of the French Atlantic islands, situated off
256 the southern coast of the Breton peninsular. The economy is dominated by tourism, with
257 some 23,000 guest bed spaces, and around 450,000 visitors per annum. Upwards of two
258 thirds of employment is tourism related. The industry, primarily serving domestic French
259 tourists, is very seasonal (insee.fr). Large crowds, busy atmosphere, and variety of tourist
260 enterprises, infrastructure, and services, characterise the island during summer. Arriving
261 ferries queue up to disembark and collect passengers. The roads are busy with competing car hire
262 niches: Renault Twizzys, electric buggys, Segways, scooters, and Citroen Meharis. The
263 atmosphere is almost one of a floating theme park. Tourism infrastructure centres on the
264 largest town and port, La Palais. This is the location of the Vauban Citadel, the island's main
265 attraction besides its mild climate and attractive coastal scenery. Belle Ile has a long history
266 of hosting tourists, with artists such as Claude Monet and Paul Gauguin helping to popularise

267 the island during the late 1800's. A somewhat exclusive image has been retained. Yachts and
268 villas for the Parisian bourgeoisie are prominent. At the same time, camping, holiday
269 villages, and many 'ordinary' day trippers, are prevalent.

270 The Isle of Man is a self-governing crown dependency, with the locally elected
271 Tynwald parliament (reputed to be the world's oldest in continuous operation), having power
272 to pass legislation which affects the island. A unique culture shaped by Celtic, Norse, and
273 English influences, reflects the island's geographic position located in the centre of the Irish
274 Sea. The island is characterised by a diversity of natural habitats, from high moorland, to
275 wooded glens, coastal heath, cliffs and dunes. From the 1890's to the 1960's the Isle of Man
276 was a major British tourism destination thanks to its distinctive cultural identity, rich natural
277 landscape diversity, range of historic sites, and sense of otherness supported by a marine
278 access barrier. Vestiges of this past remain in the impressive promenades of the capital,
279 Douglas, still functioning steam and electric tram railways, and the once tended pleasure
280 gardens now largely run wild. Since then however, visitor numbers have fallen to around one
281 third of past levels, with tourism today creating around 5% of GDP and 14% of jobs (Isle of
282 Man Digest 2010). As elsewhere in Northern Europe, cheaper and more exotic foreign
283 competition has superseded (Walton, 2000). Nevertheless, the annual TT motorbike festival
284 remains a large scale tourist event attracting upwards of 40,000 visitors.

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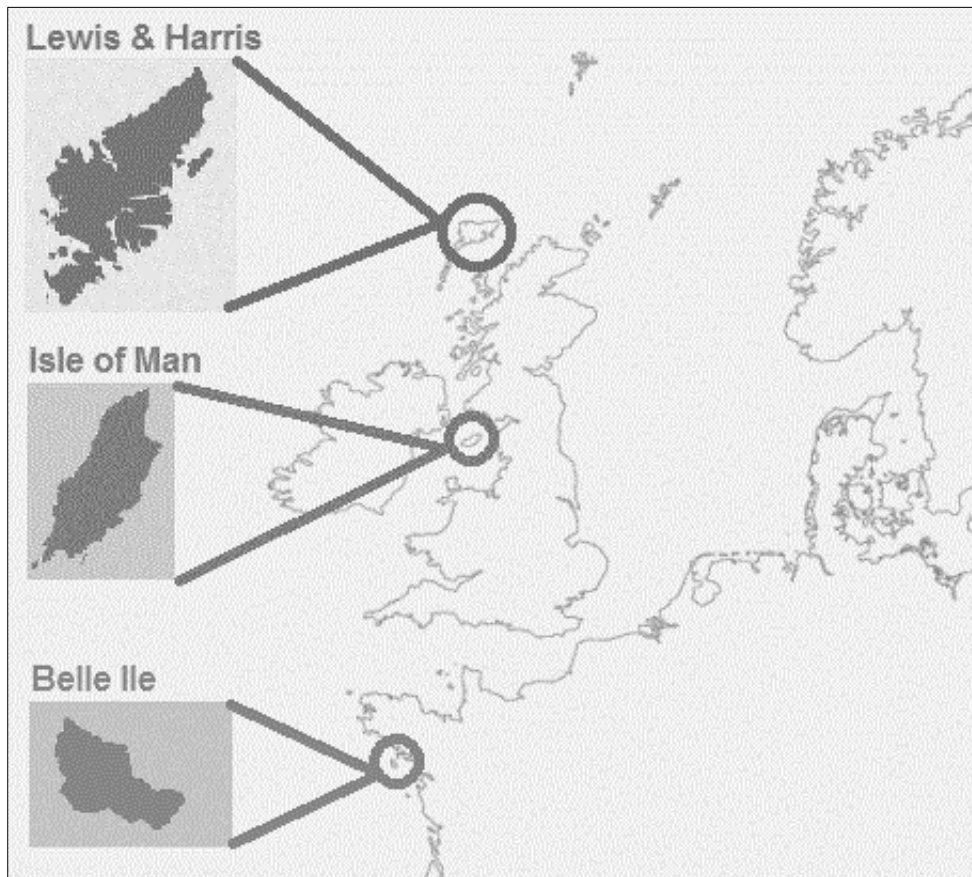
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292 **Figure 2: Case Studies Geographic Location**



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294 **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

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

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301 **4.0 Research Findings**

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303 This section reviews the findings of research. Briefly speaking, tourist culture was identified
304 in each case. This involved observations and interviewee descriptions that could be seen to
305 exemplify. These could be related back to the existing literature. Tourist culture was found to
306 have a number of impacts. Findings did suggest tourist culture may be influenced by tourism
307 industry scale or development stage. Implications for measuring and managing tourism
308 sustainability emerge, and are related to the relevant sustainable tourism literature.

309

310 **4.1 Host Culture**

311 Fieldwork demonstrated the three islands maintained strong and distinct local identities. This
312 was despite considerable pressure from economic developments, including tourism, and
313 influence of large proximate neighbours. Opportunities to attend produce shows on the Isle of
314 Man for example, gave insight into the strong farming traditions of the island. Interviewees
315 provided rich descriptions of local ways of doing things, vernacular, superstitions, and points
316 of proud difference with elsewhere. For instance, a refusal amongst Isle of Man inhabitants to
317 say the word ‘rat’ lest it brings bad luck, stemming from old sailing tradition. Persistence of
318 religious observation on Lewis & Harris that would seem rather old-fashioned elsewhere in
319 the UK. Or particular foods unique to Belle Ile.

320 Such distinctions may be subtle, but they recognisably stemmed from unique local
321 history, geography, and peculiarities of life in isolated small islands. Participants across the
322 islands also discussed the variety of cultural events and entertainment opportunities available.
323 *“There is always something to do. Choir, Ramsey Town Band, always a concert, the Guild,
324 art... I could go out every night” (J. Conservationist, Isle of Man).*

325 Nevertheless, limitations and restrictions of local culture were voiced in each case.
326 The islands were viewed by some or at times, as isolated, homogenous, restrictive or boring
327 places to live. This was particularly the case amongst younger residents concerned about a
328 lack of economic opportunity or social variety. *“There is nothing for young people to keep*
329 *them here” (H. Employee, Lewis & Harris). “Out of date views and too much religion” (Z.*
330 *Employee, Lewis & Harris). “There is nothing to do” (A, Employee, Belle Ile).* Fear of gossip
331 leading to self-censorship, such as of sexuality, was also described. *“You can’t do anything.*
332 *Everyone know(s) your business” (S. Resident, Isle of Man). “It isn’t very easy to be (gay)*
333 *here... I just don’t want to be talked about, labelled, to be labelled that way... if my boyfriend*
334 *comes I am careful not to do anything with him in public” (X. Resident, Isle of Man).*

335

336 **4.2 Guest Culture**

337 Hence research found host culture exists in three small islands, for better and for worse. This
338 existence is both alongside and informed by wider surrounding cultures which interact with.
339 One particularly interactive culture is that of guests.

340 Guest culture could be identified in those facilities, attractions and landscapes
341 especially popular with visitors. These become obviously geared towards their service. Here
342 the usual trappings of a visitor economy are evident and shape the atmosphere of
343 surroundings. Other areas, such as industrial zones, are little touched by tourism. In general
344 the demeanour, activities, outlook, even dress of tourists distinguishes them from local
345 residents. As such they can be easily observed.

346 Guest culture is orientated towards specific interests, such as surfing, or more
347 generally, leisure. Often these interests are not shared with island residents. Hence cultural
348 differences can be a source of novelty and amusement for residents observing. *“They make*
349 *me laugh” (T. Manager, Lewis & Harris).* They may also create minor frustrations at cultural

350 frictions, such as with tourists slow pace getting in the way. *“Bloody tourists blocking up the*
351 *mountain road. Stick to the coast road if you are sightseeing!” (S. Resident, Isle of Man).*

352 Guests additionally bring their national cultures with them. Although tourism in the
353 three cases is primarily domestic, hence cultural differences between hosts and guests
354 relatively reduced, inhabitants in each case can and do distinguish. As islanders’ identity is
355 viewed as distinct from proximate neighbours, all tourists are ‘foreign’. Albeit, noted in each
356 case was additional enthusiasm for tourists from further afield, seen by participants as
357 bringing a heightened sense of cultural variety and excitement. *“It’s really exciting when the*
358 *Germans come (J. Conservationist, Isle of Man)”*

359

360 **4.3 Tourist Culture**

361 Research suggested evidence of a tourist culture in the three islands studied. This was based
362 upon host cultures and stimulated by the involvement of local inhabitants in tourism and the
363 inputs of guest culture. Two Isle of Man participants involved with Celtic culture for
364 example, appreciated the linkages made through tourism with other musicians and
365 performers. These connections led to ideas and travel exchanges, which in turn stimulated
366 revivals and reinterpretations of tradition.

367 Resident involvement appeared to suggest an element of social exchange, ideas
368 stimulation, cultural sharing and other outputs between island residents and tourists. It was
369 this which facilitated the evolution of tourist culture. High levels of resident involvement
370 with local tourism were found across the islands. There were diverse interactions with
371 tourists. This included formal employment in tourism and significant entrepreneurial activity
372 associated with the sector, such as supplementary seasonal employment, informal retail, or
373 letting out spare bedrooms. Through this island residents and tourists come into close contact.
374 The social aspect of tourism employment was noted. Talked about were business partnerships

375 formed with, and ideas stimulated as a result of interacting with, tourists. *“Everyone was*
376 *coming in and asking ‘where can I get an ice-cream’ and there wasn’t. So I thought why not I*
377 *do it like? That’s where the idea came from in the first place” (E. Manager, Lewis & Harris).*

378 General sharing of atmosphere and public spaces was apparent. Much discussed
379 during interviews was appreciation of the atmosphere brought by tourists, with contrasts
380 frequently drawn between high and low seasons. The former tended to be seen as
381 accompanied by greater excitement, entertainment diversity and social opportunities. *“I like*
382 *the visitors. They give the place a bit of spark. I’m always so sorry when they leave.” (C.*
383 *Manager, Isle of Man).* The latter was often described as quiet and at times lonely or boring.
384 *“In the winter it can get very lonely” (B. Resident, Belle Ile). “They (visiting motor-bikers)*
385 *are such nice people... really quiet, gentle. I’m always sorry the day after they’ve gone” (J.*
386 *Conservationist, Isle of Man).*

387 More personal exchanges with tourists were also commonly discussed. Participants
388 spoke of forming friendships, business partnerships and even marriages with tourists,
389 emphasising the occurrence of deep social exchanges between residents and visitors. *“My*
390 *wife did it for the social side really... she was one for getting to know people... found them*
391 *fascinating. They really were interesting people from all over the world” (V. Manager, Isle of*
392 *Man).* Tourism was additionally linked to sexual relationships by young residents in each
393 case. This was as a result of both increased social opportunities and the added anonymity
394 presence of unknown people brought. *“There were two of them (tourists) in the pub... Took*
395 *him home with me (laughs). The next night went back and got his friend!” (R. Resident, Isle*
396 *of Man).* Sexual contact was clearly exciting. It could also be liberating. Two participants
397 talked about the difficulties of expressing homosexuality in a close knit and often socially
398 conservative community.

399 Inhabitants were additionally found to act as tourists within their own islands. In all
400 cases inhabitants discussed using tourist orientated facilities for their own enjoyment.
401 Widespread description was of touristic trips and activity, such as visiting attractions, going
402 to the beach, picnics in the countryside, camping, romantic breaks and family distractions.
403 Such activity was described as being stimulated and enhanced by the presence of overseas
404 visitors. These provided atmosphere, creating the touristic conditions that made a day out
405 ‘holiday like’. *“The Sound is really nice... I like that there are always a lot of people there*
406 *enjoying the setting... It (the island) can get lonely; it’s nice to share it with people” (J.*
407 *Conservationist, Isle of Man)*. Inspiration for domestic tourism also came from the presence
408 of visitors. Guest culture in the three islands was orientated towards enjoyment and
409 exploration of local landscapes. This was for many residents a reminder not to take local
410 landscapes for granted. *“I think that if you live and work here then maybe you, you stop*
411 *looking at your surroundings if you know what I mean. You start to see it the same way and*
412 *you don’t get out there and enjoy it” M, Employee, Isle of Man.*

413 Hence tourist culture was associated with providing entertainment opportunities. It
414 was also linked to the appreciation of cultural and natural landscapes and participation in
415 activities therein. Benefits of this included a stimulated sense of nostalgia or civic pride
416 amongst inhabitants reminded of the value of their locale. *“It really reminds you that where*
417 *you live is somewhere beautiful, worth visiting” (KA. Resident, Isle of Man)*. Moreover, an
418 associated spreading of conservation ethos was described by special interest group members.
419 These spoke about the awareness generated by tourists, of the quality and importance of local
420 environments. *“Yeah and also awareness, that’s also the key. If people don’t know there is*
421 *anything there to look after then why the hell would they look after it?” (K. Conservationist,*
422 *Isle of Man)*. Mutual learning and motivation arising through host guest interactions could be
423 harnessed to meet special interest group agendas.

424 **4.4 Industry Stage and Scale and Tourist Culture**

425 A number of differences in the significance or ease of observation of tourist culture were
426 noted between cases. To illustrate, on the Isle of Man tourist culture was perhaps most
427 identifiable. Here participants gave detailed descriptions of domestic tourism activity, host-
428 guest relationships and cultural exchanges. Many examples of culture stimulated and
429 enhanced by guest inputs were related and observed. *“I think most ‘Manx’ culture is actually*
430 *thanks to outsiders and the enthusiasm and input they bring... We are lucky to have them to*
431 *draw upon” (V. Manager, Isle of Man).* Yet here concern for continuing tourism decline was
432 widespread. This was felt to undermine the benefits brought by tourism. *“It isn’t like it was.*
433 *There were so many facilities, so much atmosphere, always things going on. If you could*
434 *have seen it. It was wonderful” (B. Resident, Isle of Man).* The potential for tourism decline
435 to undermine tourist culture was highlighted.

436 On Belle Ile, where tourism dominates the local economy; guest culture appeared to
437 be somewhat overwhelming host culture, suggesting that overly large scale tourism can have
438 a damaging effect. Several interviewees dismissed cultural events, festivals, arts and crafts
439 available on the island, as pastiche, imports, and purely for the entertainment of visitors.
440 Discussion was additionally of feeling overwhelmed at times by the volume of tourists. This
441 crowding could make day to day life difficult. *“It is so busy... (in the summer) you cannot see*
442 *the beach for bodies” (B. Resident, Belle Ile).* Invasions of privacy were recounted. One
443 resident explained they could feel like a zookeeper shepherding and guiding tourists. Another
444 of being rendered part of the scenery. Several comments were regards elitist or rude visitors
445 who contributed little to local community. *“Some of them (tourists) are very rude... they think*
446 *you are here to do everything for them” (D. Tourism Employee, Belle Ile).* There was
447 evidence that host culture had retreated to an extent, in order to shelter from this. Coping
448 strategies were ways islanders avoided some of the adverse impacts of tourism. Several Belle

449 Ile participants discussed altering their routines to account for inconveniences such as
450 crowding. *“It is difficult sometimes. If you just want to go shopping there are so many*
451 *people.... you adjust your routine... go out earlier and later when they (tourists) have gone”*
452 *(B. Employee, Belle Ile).*

453 On Lewis & Harris meanwhile, lesser experience of tourism may have limited the
454 evolution of a tourist culture. Residents discussed feelings of ambivalence towards
455 development rooted in concern for the cultural changes this might bring. Others expressed
456 frustration at such perspective, desired greater change, faster, viewed current lifestyles as
457 unsustainable, and hoped for tourism directed change. *“I think some very local people think it*
458 *is all going to change and that we’ll overnight be like Ibiza or whatever” (T, Lewis &*
459 *Harris).* Local craft produce had undoubtedly been stimulated by tourist interest however.
460 Interviewees discussed the income and awareness generated for traditional products and
461 industries, encouraging a new generation of entrepreneurs and artisans.

462

463 **5.0 Discussion**

464

465 Research identified existence of tourist culture in three small islands of northwest Europe.
466 This was observed through the traditions, events and crafts, at least part revived, reinterpreted
467 or created through the interactions of host and guest cultures.

468 Distinct host and guest cultures were observed. Fieldwork encountered tourists
469 bringing their particular interests, leisure outlook and national backgrounds with them on
470 holiday. Similarly experienced were the unique and varied indigenous cultures of three small
471 northwest European islands. Gaelic, Norse and Saxon influences on the three islands were
472 persistent, emphasising the resilience of host cultures.

473 These two cultures are found to be in close contact. From shared public spaces,
474 through employment based interactions to deep personal contact including friendships,
475 business and romantic partnerships, hosts and guests were closely intertwined. Such
476 interactions encapsulate the potential for mutually rewarding outputs. Resulting stimulation
477 of ideas and creativity had implications for the diversification of economic and environmental
478 landscapes. Meanwhile, social landscapes were enriched through the increased social space
479 and opportunities brought. Occasional friction between was recorded as has been elsewhere
480 (see Kim and McKercher, 2011), but only minimally. This perhaps reflects the general
481 cultural proximity of hosts and guests in the islands studied (although this is no guarantor of
482 harmony (see Wilson, 1997)). It may also result from the mostly successful establishment of
483 tourist culture in the cases, and the cultural accommodation, adaptability, inclusivity and
484 lubrication this facilitates.

485 To illustrate, close contact between hosts and guests was found to have various
486 outputs. Mutual influence and exchange arises. Drawing upon indigenous culture, tourist
487 culture is shaped by the presence and input of visitors. Pennington-Gray *et al.* (2005) suggest
488 it is evident cultures are not static, but susceptible to change, and diverse encounters and
489 interactions between hosts and guests will cause this. Likewise, Brown (1998) concludes host
490 communities and ecosystems are not static, but rather affected by and capable of change over
491 time. Simpson (1993) highlights tourism can be generative in that it leads to the creation and
492 recreation of new meanings for cultural objects and practises. Similarly Matheison and Wall
493 (1992) consider the many examples of cultural art forms renaissance or deterioration because
494 of tourism. Such processes were noted in the cases investigated. Events such as the Isle of
495 Man TT are clearly the result of long processes of host and guest inputs. In this case the
496 original impetus and ongoing tourist demand for the races, is matched by enthusiasm amongst
497 many residents for participating, and the use of motorbike related symbols throughout local

498 expressions of Manx identity. Illustrated was the co-opting and co-creation of cultural outputs
499 (Marwick, 2001; Smith, 2003; Lovelock, 2014).

500 Furthermore, the interest of tourists in natural and cultural landscapes appears to lead
501 to reappraisals of these by local inhabitants. They may then develop business ideas, hence
502 fostering entrepreneurial activity, or promote the spread of a conservation ethos (see
503 Mathieson and Wall, 1992; Ayres, 2000; Smith, 2003). Others might build like-minded social
504 networks with resulting exchanges of contacts and ideas, shown to lead to stakeholders
505 involved with arts and crafts incorporating new ideas and findings new outlets for their
506 expression (see Simpson, 1993; Tapper, 2001). Lastly, many residents are encouraged by the
507 presence of tourists to partake themselves in exploring natural and cultural landscapes. Re-
508 evaluations of these and added atmosphere contributed, together support local domestic
509 tourism (as per Canavan, 2014).

510 In line with past literature, tourist culture could therefore be seen to bring a number of
511 apparent benefits to small island communities. Liberalisation benefits could be identified.
512 Increased opportunities for making like-minded friends, pursuing interests, or sexual
513 expression, were all discussed by interviewees. Previous authors have noted the advantages
514 of multiculturalism, pluralism and challenging patriarchy in peripheral locations (Brown,
515 1998; Smith, 2003; Hall and Boyd, 2005). Many residents in these cases expressed their
516 appreciation of the cultural and ideas exchanges brought by guests, as they did frustrations at
517 aspects of closed, narrow, and perhaps overly restrictive traditional cultures.

518 Creativity benefits were noted. Tourism appeared to support and stimulate cultural
519 practises. Festivals, souvenirs, small scale manufacture, food products, and the like, rooted in
520 traditional cultures and responding to tourist input, were found in all of the islands (as per
521 Mathieson and Wall, 1992, Simpson, 1993, Marwick, 2001). The reappraisals stimulated by
522 exchanges between hosts and guests moreover contributed to the goals of special interest

523 groups. A spread of conservation ethos and good practise was noted by interested
524 stakeholders for instance.

525 Research also illustrated pragmatic benefits whereby residents took advantage of the
526 events, festivals, traditions, crafts and souvenirs that emerge through host and guest
527 interactions, for their own enjoyment. Domestic tourism was shown to be stimulated and
528 enhanced by presence of foreign guests. Economic opportunities were also exploited. On the
529 Isle of Man for instance, a number of participants provided rooms during the TT period to
530 make extra income, and sometimes for the social aspect of doing so. Interested stakeholders
531 in all islands meanwhile, used tourism for goals such as promoting conservation agendas.

532 Tourist culture could henceforth be seen as a liberalising influence, source of
533 entertainment, exchange, creativity, and landscape diversity. It may also be a source of
534 landscape reappraisal. Taking from the literature, a vibrant tourist culture suggests a shared,
535 mutually evolved, mutually tolerant culture, based upon rather than exploiting the indigenous
536 culture of a locale, and subsequently incorporating the experience and expertise of outsiders
537 (see Smith, 1989; Simpson, 1993; Sindiga, 1996; Wilson, 1997; Butcher, 2003; Smith, 2003;
538 Tao and Wall, 2009). It indicates a degree of intimacy between hosts and guests, potentially
539 contributing to more harmonious relationships amongst. This is not the hostile environment
540 between hosts and guests, with the former resentful of the disruptive presence of the latter
541 (Van Ginkel, 1995; Van der Duim and Lengkeek, 2004; Sanchez and Adams, 2008). Nor is it
542 the exclusive enclave tourism, criticised for the latter interacting little with and contributing
543 little to local culture (Cohen and Neal, 2012), or the voyeuristic forms of tourism, such as
544 favela gazing, which are similarly one rather than two way (Frisch, 2012). Rather, tourist
545 culture appears to emerge from tourism which is well integrated, where local inhabitants are
546 involved, and where positive impacts of the sector are well developed. As such, it may be

547 symptomatic of tourism which is particularly sustainable. Likewise it may indicate
548 communities which are engaged, vibrant and henceforth long-term habitable.

549 Yet differences in the extent of tourist culture were noted across the three islands
550 reviewed. Such findings were largely as expected, in light of the notions of time and balance
551 being important to tourist culture evolution (Smith, 1989; Cooper, 1995; Sindiga, 1996).
552 Briefly speaking, tourist culture was less well developed in Lewis & Harris. Here the benefits
553 brought by tourist culture were less established. Frustrations, such as with a sometimes overly
554 traditional culture, were more commonly expressed and several participants hoped that
555 greater tourism in future would bring change, such as relaxation of religious observance, and
556 thus make the island a more attractive place to live.

557 Fieldwork in Belle Ile revealed indigenous culture had been somewhat displaced by
558 the presence of tourism. Sheer visitor numbers can crowd out and make hard to observe host
559 culture. As discussed in the literature, hosting tourists can be culturally destructive as well as
560 generative. To illustrate, the physical pressure of tourist crowding causes social change,
561 congestion, resource damage, acts as a physical burden on everyday life, and subsumes
562 integrity and traditions of the local culture (Smith, 1989; Briassoulis, 2004; Rodriguez *et al*,
563 2008; Royle, 2008). Guest rather than tourist culture may predominate as a result. Events and
564 crafts available locally might be pastiche rather than mutually negotiated, evolved and used
565 for instance.

566 In the Isle of Man meanwhile, tourist culture was much evidenced in the island's
567 cultural scene. From architecture, through to public facilities, to events, and art forms, the
568 influences and outcomes of hosting tourism are pervasive. Local inhabitants participate in,
569 shape and benefit from this presence. Yet common fears were shared for the decline in
570 tourism placing under threat. Ongoing loss of facilities and an increased sense of isolation
571 was much discussed during interviews.

572 Henceforth, findings illustrate the evolution of tourist culture may be uncertain and
573 fragile. Research highlights that tourist culture is something which can contribute to and
574 exemplify sustainable tourism. At the same time, it needs active and on-going monitoring and
575 management if it is to develop and be maintained.

576

577 **Conclusion**

578

579 The overall contribution of this research is to identify and describe tourist culture and
580 subsequently relate that phenomenon to sustainable tourism debate. Findings were of the
581 presence of host and guest cultures which interact and generate new cultural artefacts and
582 practises as a result. Present in each case was tourism stimulated cultural expressions, such as
583 crafts, festivals, storytelling and dancing. Research thus supports a host-guest nexus
584 perspective of tourist culture.

585 Research also highlights associations between presence of tourist culture and
586 sustainability of tourism. Findings were that tourism diversified island landscapes and made
587 the islands more viable and attractive places to inhabit. The presence of tourist culture in a
588 locale would appear to be symptomatic of more mutually rewarding forms of development.
589 Tourist culture may be a sign of tourism that is well integrated into a locale, over longer time
590 periods and participated in by local inhabitants. It is rooted in and often celebrates local
591 indigenous culture, a process which may contribute to the continuation of these in the islands
592 reviewed. Brought at the same time are sought after engagement, exchanges and ideas that
593 can stimulate revivals, new expressions, combinations and dissemination of that culture.

594 Nevertheless, the potential for limitations in tourist culture evolution were identified.
595 Differences in tourist culture were noted relating to scale and stage of tourism development.
596 In the Isle of Man tourism decline threatens to undermine this uniquely evolved culture. In

597 Lewis & Harris the industry remains small scale and of limited impact. And in Belle Ile,
598 tourism has become so dominant it may threaten to destabilise the more nuanced and
599 mutually negotiated process of tourist culture evolution. This being the case, research calls
600 attention to the use of tourist culture as a sign of more sustainable forms of tourism
601 development, and also highlights the need for careful stewardship if that sustainability is to
602 be achieved and then maintained.

603 Although this study is qualitative and exploratory rather than quantitative and
604 generalizable, research may suggest a link between higher levels of tourist culture and
605 sustainability. The case is made therefore, for tourist culture as a potential point of reference
606 for sustainable tourism development. Further research, ideally in other geographical contexts
607 and with larger sample sizes, would be welcome to test this initial theory.

608

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