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ART MOVES IN SOCIAL MEDIA: SELF ORGANISING SOCIAL MEDIA IMPACTS ON TOURISM

Rosalinda Ruiz-Scarfuto¹

University of Sunderland, Sunderland, UK

Kristina Svells²

Nordland Research Institute, Bodø, Norway

Robert Gutounig³

FH JOANNEUM - University of Applied Sciences, Graz, Austria

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¹ Rosalinda Ruiz-Scarfuto. Art, Design & Media Department, University of Sunderland, Sunderland, UK.

² Kristina Svells. Senior researcher, Nordland Research Institute, Bodø, Norway.

³ Robert Gutounig. Senior Lecturer (FH), Department of Media & Design, FH JOANNEUM - University of Applied Sciences, Graz, Austria.

Abstract

The “tourist gaze” has been in constant transformation and so has its mediatized representations spanning from the picture postcard to the virtual picture posted on social media (SoMe) platforms. In the digital society users of SoMe form a feedback-loop breaking the glass ceiling of destination marketing tactics. Virtual dynamics partly shift control from tourist managers to tourists, at times negatively with divergent unintended outcomes. This behaviour has occasionally resulted in viral effects jolting sustainability schemes for tourist destinations. Therefore, we first present an overview of the general challenge that SoMe poses for the tourist industry sometimes leading to environmental and economic degradation with global viral effects. Secondly, visual content analysis to images posted on the photo-sharing social networking service Instagram and self-organizing dynamics in the form of viral effects point to circular causality impacting tourism. Public art is presented as a possibility to redirect tourist flows playing on sensory attraction and engaged experience. This multidisciplinary paper suggests innovative ways for the industry and how they can possibly react to the unplanned outcomes, e.g. using art as a tool which may influence both viral effects as well as tourist’s behaviour for more sustainable tourism development. We propose that art can be utilized by tourist managers to redirect flows and/or stabilize a crisis, even in the short-term temporary. The paper targets the tourist industry, especially those engaged in tourism management and marketing, with alternative solutions to the unforeseen increase in the number of visitors due to consumer-generated-content (CGC) on SoMe.

Keywords

Tourism marketing, Social media, Public art, Theory of self-organization, Sustainability

Resumen

La “mirada turística” ha estado en constante transformación y también sus representaciones mediatizadas que abarcan desde la postal hasta la imagen virtual publicada en las plataformas de redes sociales (SoMe). En la sociedad digital, los usuarios de SoMe forman un circuito de retroalimentación que rompe el techo de cristal de las tácticas de marketing de destino. La dinámica virtual en parte cambia el control de los gerentes turísticos a los turistas, a veces negativamente con resultados divergentes no deseados. Este comportamiento ocasionalmente ha resultado en efectos virales que sacudieron los esquemas de sostenibilidad para los destinos turísticos. Por lo tanto, primero presentamos una descripción general del desafío general que plantea SoMe para la industria turística, que a veces conduce a la degradación ambiental y económica con efectos virales globales. En segundo lugar, el análisis del contenido visual de las imágenes publicadas en el servicio de redes sociales para compartir fotos Instagram y la dinámica de autoorganización en forma de efectos virales apuntan a la causalidad circular que afecta el turismo. El arte público se presenta como una posibilidad para redirigir los flujos turísticos jugando con la atracción sensorial y la experiencia comprometida. Este documento multidisciplinario sugiere formas innovadoras para la industria y cómo pueden reaccionar ante los resultados no planificados, p. utilizando el arte como una herramienta que puede influir tanto en los efectos virales como en el comportamiento de los turistas para un desarrollo turístico más sostenible. Proponemos que los administradores turísticos puedan utilizar el arte para redirigir los flujos y / o estabilizar una crisis, incluso a corto plazo. El documento se dirige a la industria turística, especialmente a aquellos que se dedican a la gestión y comercialización del turismo, con soluciones alternativas al aumento imprevisto en el número de visitantes debido al contenido generado por los consumidores en SoMe.

Keywords

Marketing turístico Media social, Arte pública, Teoria da auto-organização, Sustentabilidade

Introduction

The multidisciplinary aspect of this paper includes three basic fields that combine to create a unique approach to the tourist industry challenges for sustainable stability in the digital age building from the “tourist gaze” (Urry, 1990), the Generation Hashtag (Colombani & Sanderson, 2015) and the “more than visual” haptic sensory (Paterson, 2011). Social media (SoMe) participants, in contemporary tourism, form part of a feedback loop or circular causality that stems from the spectator’s interaction with the attraction. Shifts in the tourist gaze (Urry & Larsen, 2011) and stage authenticity (McCanell, 1973) driven by SoMe have transformed the tourist industry. Visitor attraction management analysis reveals a wide range of issues important for tourism sustainability, management and marketing (Leask, 2016). By the term sustainable stability, we understand long term economic, environmental, social, cultural sustainability.

The use of SoMe in tourism has attracted a growing number of attention by scholars, mainly coming from a business/management, hospitality/tourism or information technology background (Mehraliyev et al., 2019). A growing number of studies discuss the role of consumer-generated-content (CGC) on social media in connection with tourism, oftentimes emphasizing that this type of content has impacted strongly the decision making process of travellers (Dedeoğlu et al., 2018; Hudson & Thal, 2013; Leung et al., 2013; Lu et al., 2018). Although we know that SoMe is used as one of the major tourism information sources, it is still under-investigated as to how the image of a tourist destination is formed via SoMe (Kim et al., 2017). The analysis of online imagery of popular tourist destinations confirmed that the “distinction between marketers' intentions and the visitors' uses of SoMe to communicate or share their experiences breaks down” (Hunter, 2016, p.222). Shin and Xiang (2020) suggest it is essential to comprehend SoMe from the tourist motivational perspective. A large part of contemporary culture is not produced by professionals, but by the Generation Hashtag making use of their mobile device's cameras (Hochman & Manovich, 2013; Manovich 2016) with one of the most frequently used platforms, Instagram. It allows users to upload and manipulate their photos with approximately 1 billion monthly active users and 500 million daily users (Statista, 2020). Our approach is to understand these network dynamics and SoMe with the theory of self-organization (TSO) (Götschl, 2005). SoMe is usually referred to the “widely accessible electronic tools that enable anyone to publish and access information, collaborate on a common effort, or build relationships” (Jue et al., 2010, p. 4). The long-standing marketing of art attractors in tandem with cultural heritage, have become icons by sharing CGC (postcards, emails, SoMe) over time and created a stabilizing effect in national tourism e.g. *David* in Florence, *Sphinx* in Egypt or *Buddha* in Kamakura. Today, sculpture may also help redirect tourist flows given its potential for “human-art-interaction” of experience beyond the visual (Jeon et al., 2019; Steelman et al., 2019; Trigg, 2012; Paterson, 2011). Notwithstanding the allure of the immediate posting on Instagram or other SoMe sites,

supports a re-thinking of fixed art as an attraction, gravitating towards dynamic interactive installations to fit the digital society.

The research questions are the following:

1. How can the threats to sustainable stability provoked by SoMe viral effects within tourist attractions/destinations be understood in order to prepare for unplanned outcomes?
2. How can art (sculpture) interact with SoMe as an attractor for re-directing tourism flows?

These two questions are essential for the tourist industry to cope with the unforeseen increase in the number of visitors due to user-generated content on SoMe. Art has long been utilized as a tourist attractor/stabilizer and optimizing its role can help redirect flows when partnered up with SoMe. This paper adopts an exploratory research approach to review options as a launching point and prompt discussion of the current unsustainable situation and yet offers insights into possible solutions. We highlight how 3D art and SoMe can work in tandem as attractors with virtual dynamics impacting tourism reality (Townsend, 2008). The research design was mainly descriptive due to the early stage of this multidisciplinary field by utilizing case studies analysing SoMe interactions with art.

First is an overview of the general challenge that SoMe poses for the tourist industry leading to environmental and economic degradation with global viral effects. In the theoretical chapter, we examine the ‘tourist gaze’ with SoMe (Magasic, 2016) posing for tourist destinations as the base for a shift of self-organizing feedback loops and this circular causality is explored utilizing TSO. The methodological framework is thereafter presented. The consequent chapter examines the current challenge of viral effect in two forms; firestorms and earthquakes. Finally, an exploratory chapter on a case study with Instagram and art attractors. This leads to the results section, in which two cases were compared, followed by conclusions.

Theoretical Backdrop

Tourist Gaze Revisited - From Postcards to WWW

Marketing tourism attractions and destinations should reflect the change of media usage in order to offer sustainable tourism that enhances a local economy and social context, culture and environment with sensitivity to national, regional and local aims (Svels, 2017). Staged authenticity, interactive sculptures, sharing via artistic expression, and cultural heritage all played a role in identifying how consumers generated content in SoME for the case studies we explored.

Tourist and tourist manager relationships for our purposes begin with the introduction of the postcard, identified as semi-public (Östman, 2004), creating a post-experiential effect to advertise a destination. Over the last decade with the onset of SoMe, the modern postcard (Instagram) has become dominantly public, opening up a wider audience with a sense of belonging to a worldwide photo album. In contemporary

tourism, SoMe form part of a feedback loop or circular causality with the heightened public participation that stems from the spectator's interaction with the attraction or object known as the "tourist gaze" (Urry, 1990) transformed into a virtual reality in the technological age. Staged authenticity (MacCannell, 1973) both in cultural heritage or other tourist attractions enters into tourism and is eventually passed on to virtual worlds. In some cases, the viral effect of SoMe has posed a threat to the local environment and the object itself if not checked to prevent saturation--i.e. Lofoten Islands, Norway (Duncan, n.d.). Increased individual participation shifted the control of tourist flows (Pan et al., 2007). Smart-phones and tablets revolutionized the whole process and fuelled a new group of worldwide self-organizing groups. The impact on tourist destinations from online posting and to offline popularity transformed the virtual reality into tourism reality (Xie et al., 2016). The tourist gaze, in terms of sustainability, now shifted significantly. CGC plays a pivotal role in tourism marketing as suggested by Dedeoğlu et al., 2020, changing the relationship between tourist managers and tourists (Buhalis & Sinarta, 2019). Both groups have become part of a circular causality in the sense that the SoMe self-organizing processes lost its linear structure built on planned schemes. As a result, it became apparent that no longer was the tourist manager solely managing the destination's image (Hunter, 2016; Kislali et al., 2016). Uploaded images and photographs are the most attractive CGC on SoMe (Zeng and Gerritsen, 2014).

Theory of Self-Organization

In a digital society, communication networks are able to perform feedback loops and constitute complex and nonlinear systems, which can be analyzed using structural sciences. Complex systems such as the Web have the potential for developing phenomena of self-organization. TSO provides the theoretical framework for this transition to emergentism. When analysing Web dynamics, we look at convergent tendencies between the Internet (as a structural backbone) and the social dynamics taking place with the view TSO. Publishing/sharing photos (experiences) can be regarded as a phenomenon of self-organization in dynamic networks.

Forms of circular causality are on the rise (Gutounig, 2015; figure 1) leading to viral effects. User interaction dynamics of SoMe (figure 1) are not centrally planned, but rather emerge. The question arises, whether these systems reach sustainable stability. Generally speaking, self-organizing systems tend to generate macroscopic stable patterns that are maintained by dynamic (flow) equilibrium (Foerster, 1993). In order for systems to develop, temporary disequilibrium is necessary, which often leads to evolutionary stable structures (Götschl, 1993; 2005). These phases of nonlinear development are where systems either jump to a higher evolutionary state and generate stability or fall back to a lower level. This is the point of bifurcation where the system develops an *attractor*, which represents a point, where the whole system is moving towards self-organizing.

Methodology

Following Kislali et al. (2016) in that “qualitative studies might be more appropriate to capture the processes that allow individuals to construct destination images in their minds” we chose to investigate our empirical data using Visual Content Analysis (Bell, 2001). We developed a codebook according to our research questions and the concepts of staged authenticity, interactive sculptures, sharing via artistic expression, and cultural heritage. Then we refined the codes according to our initial findings in a sample set of images in order to make a practical comparison between traditional and contemporary art attractors. The coding was done using the software QDA Miner. Since the images were taken from a SoMe platform, Instagram, this procedure was connected to the *Digital Methods* approach put forward since Rogers (2013). As exemplary sets of images we picked specifically the Great Buddha in Kamakura, Japan and Anthony Howe’s sculptures. The images were retrieved by using the respective hashtags (#kamakurabuddha, n=317; #anthonyhowe, n=533) in July 2017. Subsequently the cases where the large Buddha is not visible (e.g. tattoos, sites near the Great Buddha, Great Buddha sketches, food images, etc.) were eliminated resulting in 243 remaining images to be analysed. In the case of Howe sculptures, the 200 most recent images showing his sculptures were chosen for the qualitative analysis.

Qualitative document analysis, an objective technique for a systematic description and understanding of communication content (Berelson, 1952; Polit & Hungler, 1995) was used besides the visual content analysis to examine internet blogs, academic articles and strategic tourism documents.

Challenge: Social Media as the Pivot Point of Tourism

The tourist manager relationship to tourists has shifted 180 degrees, changing the social composite and meaning of tourism with these rapid digital sociological changes. Tourist managers may now be dealing with saturated destinations and sustainability issues from viral effects, an uncontrollable wave of popularity. Unfortunately, it has even in some cases overloaded a local destination both in rural and urban areas. We identify two possible divergent sustainability threats from SoMe in relation to TSO activity and designate them for this purpose as “firestorms” and “earthquakes”.

Firestorms and Earthquakes in Virtual Reality

Viral effects tend to result in two directions bypassing tourism managers and planned schemes. The “firestorm” effect, quick increase of SoMe activity (Pfeffer et al., 2014), can cause short lived damage to local natural and/or economic sustainability due to saturation with subsequent possible investment followed by a fall out of visitors. This happens when “ad hoc publics” emerge, often centered around certain hashtags (Bruns & Burgess, 2011). In contrast the “earthquake” effect (long lasting SoMe activity) creates a breach of local environmental sustainability by attracting increased numbers

over time and over capacity results (Alonso-Almeida, et al., 2019; 2019; Szromek, et al., 2019). Contributions made by tourists and travellers are defined as a “mixture of fact and opinion, impression and sentiment, founded and unfounded tidbits, experiences, and even rumour” (Blackshaw & Nazzaro, 2006, p.4). According to Gnoth (1997, p. 283), tourist “expectations, in turn, determine performance perceptions of products and services as well as perceptions of experiences. Motivation thus impacts on satisfaction formation”.

Based on TSO, two scenarios are described where SoMe presents an unexpected impact on the holistic tourism attraction. We identify possible outcomes that would be beneficial to take into consideration for tourist managers and marketing schemes to face SoMe challenges (table 1). It is important to note that SoMe plays out in urban and rural settings. Some SoMe reach out to nature tourists, adding to natural setting saturation (A). Others focus on cosmopolitan travellers, adding to overcrowding urban centres (B). Various relay secret hideaways destroying quaint atmospheres in both settings (C). In order to explore these effects and reactions we look at three examples in Europe.

A case where tourist peaks, “firestorm,” hit highs within a short period of time at a quaint location due to SoMe, is the Green Lake in Tragöß, Austria (Holzer, 2015). After film-star Ashton Kutcher posted a picture of the beautiful natural scenery on Facebook, a viral effect set in and more than 100,000 people visited the beautiful yet protected site resulting in fears of negative effects for the natural treasure due to increased traffic and environmental pollution.

A first example of the “earthquake” effect is found in Norway, where some attractions show increased visitors’ influx due to shared SoMe experiences. Recently SoMe postings have changed the way local governance (municipality authorities and area planners), tourism management and the destination organisation view possibilities for tourism development in for example Preikestolen, Trolltunga and the Lofoten Island (Evers, 2016; Fossan Langeland, 2017; Lytring Lofoten, 2018). As for today, official marketing efforts are challenged by SoMe causing a need for a switch in marketing performance.

A second “earthquake” example is Venice, where the urban centre shows signs of having been victimized with its landmark attraction marketing and Forbes’ reports ‘Blacklisting’ Venice to actually save it from tourism (Rodriguez, 2017). Venice tourist managers have been playing an active role with SoMe to cope. In a new campaign for Carnival, hashtags were used as a tool to deal with tourist flows. This tactic was transferred to the summer campaign as “#EnjoyRespectVenezia” (Buckley, 2017). Venice city council intends to play along with tourists in real-time stating, “while there will be no specific cap on visitor numbers, the figures will be shared in real time through the city’s website and SoMe in an effort to avoid overcrowding” (Edwards, 2017).

Consequently, as in TSO, attractors may be useful to redirect tourism flows for sustainable stability. We offer the concept of art as the historical tourism attraction across borders. Temporary art installations rather than fixed public art would allow for a variety of timelines and flow patterns. Furthermore, the SoMe component in today’s

digital world of marketing is highly engaging as a parallel attractor tool for recording experiences with art.

Case Study: Instagram and Art

Sculptures, art attractors, have had a long-lasting stabilizing effect as national tourism marketing icons. The phenomenological relationship of humans to icons, points to the cognitive process whereby “individual memory is irreducible to experience...rooted in lived experience (Trigg, 2012, pp.72-73). On one hand cultural icons such as the Great Buddha in Kamakura have been attractive over time (Guichard-Anguis & Moon, 2008) and yet temporary art installations change the short-term atmosphere of a destination such as Jeanne-Claude Christo (Christo 2018) or sand castle events (Wierenga, 2019).

Tourism and art history both actively engage their disciplines in this “reception and response” theory extending phenomenal relationships in social practice to engaged observation (Lakey, 2011). Paterson (2011) reveals a gap in the static visual prominence, pointing to the ‘more-than visual’, and the relationship between affect and sensation by delving deeper into haptics (hands), somosematics (touch) and oculomotor (visual scanning) scopes of visitor interaction. The tactile access to the object is the attraction that lends itself to outdoor interactive sculptures. Tactile perception can also increase environmental empathy with *in situ* experiences (Ruiz-Scarfuto, 2018). In the 2016 Summer Olympics, artist Anthony Howe attracted audiences with his “environmental message” and dwarfed the traditional flame (Graham, 2016; Howe, 2017) with his kinetic sculpture.

Results

In analysing the images from Instagram, we were interested in how users of SoMe make use of the communication possibilities provided by digital technology and create hashtags for sculptures, furthermore, how this behaviour can connect with tourism. The categories of interest were the following: Are there people visible in the picture? Are stylistic photographic elements being used (details, use of filters, angles or creative use of image composition) or how do people act in regard to the sculpture? We analyzed how SoMe users participate and integrate with public art in two divergent cases with the traditional Great Buddha and Anthony Howe’s kinetic sculptures with Instagram posts.

Regarding the images of the large Buddha in Kamakura, a total of 126 images (39,75%) of the whole set (n=317) showed people. From this subset, 17 (13,49%) featured one single person (e.g. selfie), 39 (30,95%) showed between 2-5 people and 70 (55, 5%) a larger crowd. In 59 cases (46,82%) people took a standard pose in front of the sculpture, while only in 13 (10,32%) they took up a more defined posture. 23 (18,25%) images showed certain hand gestures, e.g. the Gyan Mudra (Seal of Knowledge). Only 7 cases (5,55%) could be identified where the scenery in the picture appeared to be a staged one (see figure 2).

When we look at the creative elements of the whole set, we see that 65 pictures (20,5%) avoided the frontal view and tried to take a perspective from an angle, at least 59 (18,61%) made use of characteristic filters and 35 (11,04%) created their picture by selecting a partial of the statue. 44 (13,88%) also used additional elements for their composition such as integrating elements around (e.g. trees) in order to make it more interesting.

When we looked at images of Anthony Howe sculptures, displayed on Instagram (n=200) we get different results. Here only 31 (15,5%) featured people (only a subset of pictures of Howe's sculptures taken during the 2016 Summer Olympics had a significant higher share). From this subset, 12 (38,71%) showed only one person, 11 (35,48%) between 2 and 5 and 8 (25,81%) more than 5 people. Consequently, observable human interaction with the sculpture resulted less frequently: In 4 cases (12,9%) people took on a posture, only 1 identifiable hand gesture (3,23%) as well as 1 person (3,23%) touching a sculpture could be found. In 12 pictures (38, 71%) people took a standard pose in the photo. 5 cases (16,13%) from the whole set could be identified where the scene appeared staged.

When we look at the photographic elements in the whole set, we see 85 pictures (42,5%) choosing a viewpoint from an angle, 138 (69%) making use of optical filters and 60 (30%) focusing on a specific detail of the artwork. Photo composition, such as making use of the environment in the photo, is found in 79 (39,5%) cases.

Hashtag behaviour was noted in both cases indicating the desire to belong to a group based on an art attractor. The results of the Instagram analysis of the #hashtags #kamakurabuddha and #anthonyhowe (figure 3) show some remarkable differences in terms of how the sculpture was portrayed with people or standing alone as an object.

Conclusion

The relationship and balance in tourism, between providers and users, has drastically shifted with this counterweight of freedom of information. We have drawn on the current research of SoMe behaviour to be applied to the tourist industry as a self-organizing challenge rather than the traditional marketing tool. There is circular causality in the sense of TSO, no longer constituting a linear structure building on planned schemes. There are examples of subsystems where this claim can be upheld (e.g. on Wikipedia).

SoMe is a layer for analysis of flows on the global level posing a potential risk for sustainable tourism. Albeit, SoMe has enhanced the tourist marketing strategies, we have detected a loophole in the enthusiastic outbreak to forge forward without real stop-gaps or risk management schemes. Following Kang and Schuett (2013) conclusions this article encourages tourism policy makers to recognize SoMe as the key marketing force in the internet, whether it be for immediate crisis management of overcapacity or re-marketing to redirected visitor flows in mid to long terms. We comply with Park, Oak and Chae (2016) that there is a need for tourism marketers to develop sufficient follow-up and preparation techniques for SoMe impacts on destinations. However, we detect

unplanned outcomes from those relationships in virtual reality that can have an adverse effect in the short term or long term creating “firestorms” or “earthquakes” for destinations in tourism reality. Therefore, in discussing how SoMe creates viral effects, but are not always in one direction, the consequences can be varied. Sometimes it can lead to a peak (economic) followed by a fall out whereby, if investment is applied, it would be unsustainable. On the other hand, a significant increase in the flow of visitors to the point of saturation can devastate the morale and environmental sustainability to a destination. Thus, calling for contradictory measures we have used the terms “firestorms” and “earthquakes” as metaphors for viral effects to alert tourism marketers and management to be aware of possible unplanned outcomes.

Sharing the object by using a hashtag and belonging to a group by definition in the virtual world did not necessarily mean posing with the object as part of the narrative. Being there and posting was a key factor for these two different cases. The large discrepancy of technical modification with optic filters, details or angles, and composition became apparent with the Howe kinetic sculpture. Whether or not this indicates the high-tech attraction of Howe’s sculptures triggered a high-tech response is inconclusive but could be explored in further research. The gestures associated with the sculpture were on par basically with only a slight difference with the Great Buddha in that imitation of the hands was present. The large crowds noted in the Great Buddha case could be due to Kamakura tours that played out in the photo. In contrast, Howe’s sculptures are designed as artwork and a large number of images appear in a natural setting, which could account for the low number of people in image set overall. It may be inferred that by posting the artwork as part of the landscape without people, it became integrated with the natural setting.

Art as an attractor to redirect flows of tourism worldwide has long been a tool to boost national and local economies. Public art installations are a long decision-making process due to their fixed and permanent structures that will affect a destination in the long term or even define it for the future (Januchta-Szostak, 2007). However, to utilize this cultural value in society that is visually attracted to images posted daily or even hourly on such SoMe as Instagram, there may be an advantage to temporary art installations with interaction to draw attention. The tactile aspect of sculptures in open spaces allows for a variety of digital angles to cover with interactive players on SoMe. Considering how participants post their own creative forms of experience on SoMe with filters, angles, details or touch, the 3D artwork offers several different types of interaction to keep the Generation Hashtag engaged and can be studied further. Due to the small sample size of analysed images results have to be verified by researching a bigger number of images. Also researching other platforms such as Pinterest or TikTok for tourism purposes seems promising.

In a comparable manner, tourist marketers should act accordingly as crisis-managers and prepare for natural disasters that arrive with little notice. Sustainable tourism policies as well as crisis and risk management schemes should be in place to prepare, monitor online communications and participate as players in SoMe communication to stabilize and influence the situation positively (Goldgruber et al., 2017). Responsible

marketing is necessary to combat sudden overcapacity and degradation via viral effects. Furthermore, viable multi-stakeholder risk management partnerships, mobilising and sharing knowledge, expertise, technology and financial resources are essential to counteract the unplanned fallout and enhance sustainable consumption/production patterns. ‘Firestorms’ and ‘earthquakes’ show that local sustainability influenced by unexpected tourism flows may be in danger. Then again, it also provides possibilities for bottom-up initiatives (e.g. local community informing people when not feasible to visit area, pop-up enterprises, local resistance etc.) and bottom-up causality (e.g. the possibility to publish your own creative content without the control of gatekeepers and directly reach various audiences). Such developments diminish hierarchically organized top-down causality. This seems to apply also to users of SoMe who live out their creativity and receive feedback from others.

In this article we propose that art can be utilized by tourist managers to redirect flows and/or stabilize a crisis. We propose that tourist managers can make the switch from pure aesthetics, natural or cultural background, to alluring visitors towards alternative destinations, putting art in the forefront. Sharing knowledge with sectors outside the tourist industry may soon be necessary for collaborative projects to combat this growing phenomenon that affects not only locals but the ecological backdrop that defines a sense of place.

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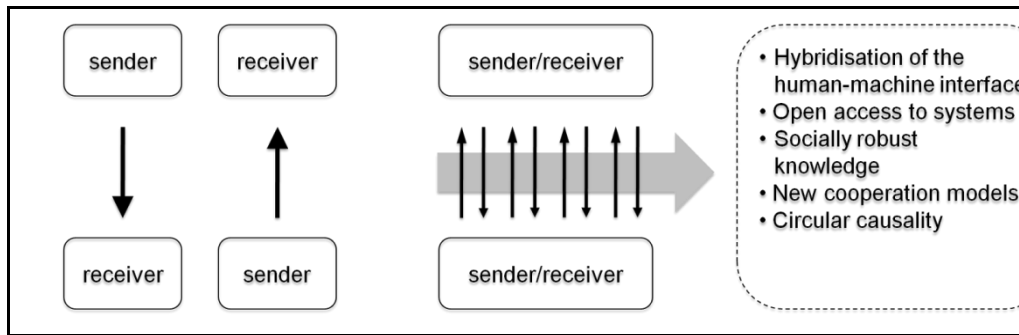


Figure 1. Circular causality through SoMe (adapted from Gutounig, 2015)

Table 1
Viral Effects on Social Media

	Viral Effects on Social Media		
	A. Nature	(B) Urban	(C) Mixed
	<i>Possible outcome</i>		
	Saturate nature	Exhaust services	Ruin quaint location
<i>Firestorm</i>	Too quick to respond to local needs, damage to an ecosystem in the short term, locals misread signals and invest unnecessarily. Plan for stabilization.	Add to urban centre overcrowding suddenly, no time to react with services. Short term lower quality life. Possible risk to overinvestment.	Popular today, gone tomorrow. A reputation risk due to overbooking, possible investment and sudden decrease, leads to financial ruin.
<i>Earthquake</i>	Mid-long term eco damage, need for transformation.	Major investments to redirect tourist flows with additional services needed.	Positive financial gains at the cost of a small intimate location.

Image Analysis:

Great Buddha on Instagram

Anthony Howe on Instagram

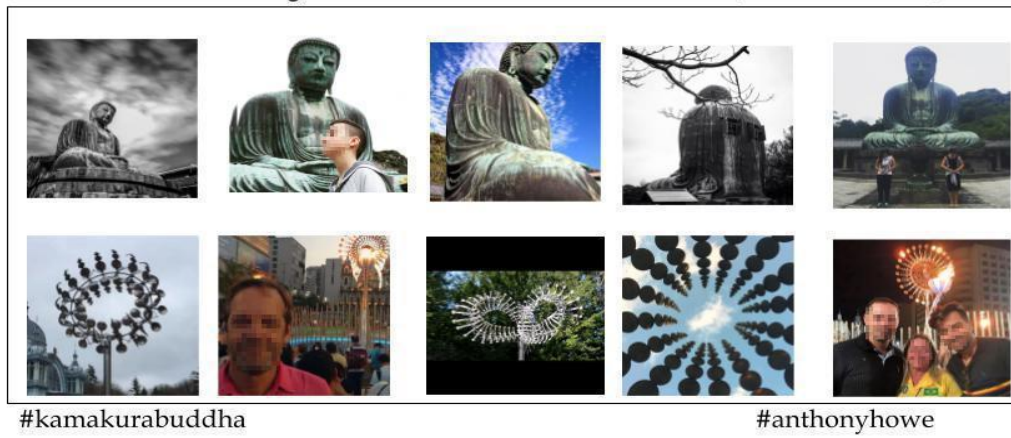


Figure 2. Example of posted hashtags #kamakurabuddha and #anthonyhowe on Instagram

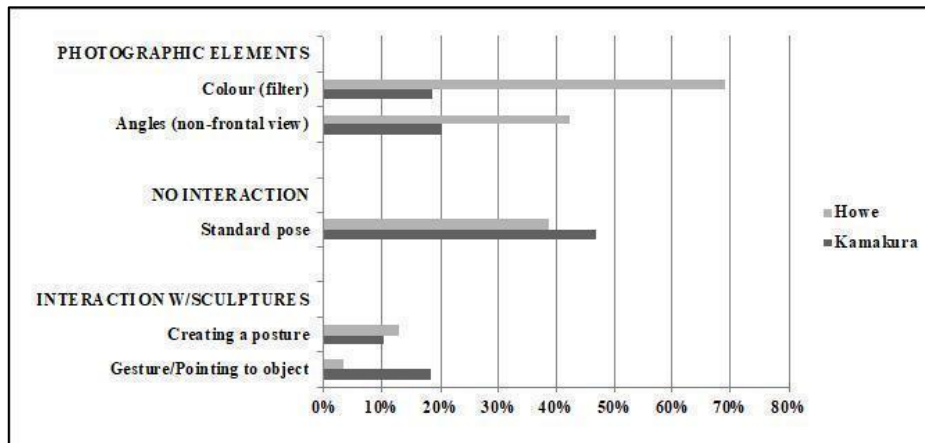


Figure 3. Comparison of #kamakurabuddha and #anthonyhowe