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Tourism and Sustainability: Unfolding Local Identities; Shifting Global Challenges.

Papers Presented in the Tourism Strand of the Sociological Association of Aotearoa-New Zealand Conference 1995.

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TOURISM AND SUSTAINABILITY:
Preface

The rapid development of tourism over the past few decades, and in particular, the growth of highly institutionalised mass tourism, has highlighted the need to consider tourism's impacts. These impacts, economic, environmental and socio-cultural, are often presented as having negative outcomes for the host community. These effects are often viewed in relation to the "life cycle" of a tourist destination (see for example Bjorkland & Philbrick, 1972; Butler, 1974 & 1982; Doxey, 1975; Keller, 1982 & 1987). Early in this tourism life cycle, initial stages of tourism are met with enthusiasm by the local community; resources are invested in the development of tourism; and, the type and amount of tourism are sustainable in terms of the social and environmental capacity of the community. However, if tourism continues to grow, the type and number of tourists also evolve (see for example Cohen, 1979 and Smith, 1989). Eventually, for many destinations, a point is reached where the amount and type of tourism experienced (environmentally, economically and/or socio-culturally) is no longer sustainable. This may result in stagnation or decline of tourism development and numbers, environmental degradation and community animosity (and occasionally hostility) towards tourists.

These potentially negative impacts of tourism have given rise to the idea of sustainability in tourism. Sustainability addresses the issue as to whether the benefits of tourism can be realised without the associated negative consequences. Sustainability, however, is not an absolute concept. Given the complexity of tourism and its effects, it can be difficult to gauge what is sustainable. Compounding this is the complicated issue of who should decide what a sustainable level of tourism is and how it should be achieved and managed.

New Zealand has experienced increasing numbers of tourists, and concomitant with this has been an increasing awareness of the impacts (both positive and negative) that tourism may have on the economy, conservation estate, people and culture of the country. Answers to questions such as what is a sustainable number (and type) of tourists for New Zealand remain inconclusive. Also debatable is how these decisions should be arrived at, and subsequently, who should govern their implementation.

In recognition of the importance of informed debate on the issue of sustainability in general, the Sociological Association of Aotearoa/New Zealand adopted for the theme of their 1995 conference in Akaroa (1-3 December), "Unfolding Local Identities; Shifting Global Challenges". One stream of that conference addressed issues concerning sustainability and tourism in New Zealand. This Occasional Paper presents four of the papers given as part of the Tourism Stream of the Sociological Association of Aotearoa/New Zealand's 1995 Conference. In the first of these papers, "Public participation in tourism planning: Where is the Trojan horse?", D. Simmons addresses the complex issue of the use of public participation in tourism planning. Obstacles to pubic participation are discussed and specific features which may countervail those obstacles in New Zealand are presented. The types of developments and actions that may emerge from the resource Management Act are also considered.

Following on from Simmons' paper, C. Horn, in her paper "Using conflict and sense of place perspectives in understanding tourism's impacts", argues that social sustainability of tourism needs to be re-conceptualised and approached from other theoretical perspectives, other than life cycle concepts (as discussed above) to be of utility. Social exchange theory is presented as one approach, and is extended by the additional consideration of resource conflict and sense of place. Focus is then placed on how these may inform the investigation of how members of the community in tourist destinations develop and use coping mechanisms in response to face-to-face encounters with tourists.

J. Fountain, in her paper "Akaroa's 'French connection': reconstructing a gaze on the past", presents a case study on the dynamics of sustainability and heritage tourism. Utilising Urry's (1990) concept of the 'tourist gaze', the historical construction and focussing of the tourist gaze on the French heritage of Akaroa is considered. The impact of France's recent nuclear testing in the South Pacific is discussed in relation to its impact on Akaroa's 'French connection'.

In the final paper, "The personal sustainability of tourism", K. Moore presents a novel conceptualisation of sustainability in the context of tourism. Rather than conceptualising sustainability in terms of the tourist destination, Moore suggests that sustainability may also be conceptualised in relation to the individual tourist. He suggests that tourism, like any other activity in one's life, is sustained in the individual's life by sociological and psychological processes. A preliminary framework for understanding the processes involved in why individual travellers do in fact travel; why a travel episode is brought to a close; and why travel ceases or is restricted to certain periods of an individual's life is presented.

In conclusion, this Occasional Paper, in addressing the issue of sustainability in tourism, presents a diversity of definitions of sustainability, ranging from the sustainability of tourism at the socio-cultural level, to the sustainability of tourism for the individual. In doing so, several tourism contexts are explored. These papers are not intended to provide conclusive, applied suggestions as to how (or if) sustainable tourism can be realised in New Zealand. Rather the papers are presented with the intention of raising topical issues in relation to the notion of sustainability in tourism, and to encourage informed debate on this compelling, yet inconclusive area of tourism.

I wish to thank the Sociological Association of Aotearoa/New Zealand, and in particular the Programme Coordinators of the conference for their support and consent to publish these papers from the Tourism Stream. I would also like to thank the individual authors for their contributions and preparedness to share their thoughts and ideas in the hope that they will serve to stimulate further debate and development of this compelling topic.

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PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN TOURISM PLANNING: Where is the Trojan Horse?

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ABSTRACT

For more than a decade there has been an increasing call for more participation by local residents of destination areas into tourism planning. While such calls seem an inevitable extension of public participation practices in many aspects of contemporary democracies the unique nature of tourism has made this particularly difficult to achieve. First, much of the so called 'tourism product' revolves around 'hospitality practices' and other public 'resources' of a destination. Second, tourism is rarely a controversial industry, with host communities apparently welcoming the initial levels of tourism development. Third, tourism is a diffuse, multi-sectorial industry, with few residents recognising it in its entirety. As such, tourism is a poor candidate for generating the focal point to attract sustained public scrutiny. New Zealand society, however, has two features that may countervail these factors. There is a high degree of existing participation in environmental watchdog groups, which may increasingly focus their attention on tourism. Second the recently enacted Resource Management Act while providing a clear focus on the 'effects' of proposed developments, also enhances the opportunities for public participation, and calls for specific recognition of amenity features. The paper reviews progress in the public participation in tourism planning and speculates on the types of developments and actions that may emerge under the Resource Management Act.

INTRODUCTION

This paper is a speculative piece. It is almost 20 years since UNESCO and the World Bank jointly sponsored a seminar entitled *'Tourism Passport to Development?'*. That seminar, the proceedings of which were later distilled and most ably written up by De Kadt (1979) represents a turning point in the understanding of tourism and its effects on social and cultural resources. Some two decades later, this text and its recommendations remains as a seminal work. It has brought into focus the need to manage the social and cultural impacts of tourism, and was one of the first calls for greater community participation in its planning. 1995 also marks 10 years since the publication of Peter Murphy's (1985) text *Tourism: A Community Approach.* In this work, Murphy describes a central role of tourism planning as being the search for a 'community tourism product' - that amalgam of resources the community wishes to place before the tourism market. Murphy described the need for community participation succinctly when he wrote:

> The product and image that intermediaries package and sell is a destination experience, and as such creates an industry that is highly dependant on the goodwill and cooperation of local communities.
> ... it is the citizen who must live the cumulative outcome of such developments and needs to have greater input into how his community is packaged and sold as a tourism product (1985, p. 16).

Given these two seminal works, spanning two decades of debate and writing, it is timely to ask what progress has been made with these issues in New Zealand, and to question the current status and practice of public participation in New Zealand's tourism planning.

The Centrality of Host Communities in Tourism

The goal for tourism planning has become a search for the 'community tourism product'. It is envisaged that the community is in a symbiotic relationship with tourism, where all actors: local residents, the tourism industry and tourists themselves, can have their needs addressed and met by the processes of tourism development and delivery.

Tourism needs inputs from the host community to provide the 'hospitality atmosphere' of a destination. This is increasingly so as destinations seek to distinguish themselves one from the other, and as cultural events are packaged, developed and promoted as individual tourism products. A second argument for greater public participation in tourism planning lies in tourism's geographical structure. Tourism tends inevitably to be a peripheral activity, that is, it is most often drawn to small, 'resource rich' communities. At these localised destination points the economic social and physical impacts of tourism are manifest most strongly. As has been noted in much of the social impact literature, wherever tourism activity is concentrated in time and space, it grows rapidly, it disrupts community life, ignores community input; the seeds of discontent are sown. Host-tourist encounters sour and the industry has a tendency to peak and fade. Finally, community input is required as tourism is increasingly seen as just one among many competing choices for development. The past two decades of study, while providing few models or approaches to integrated tourism planning have served to remind us that tourism is evolutionary in nature, and this has often been expressed in the phrase "is tourism for us, or are we for tourism?"

With the shift in emphasis towards sustainable tourism it is now clearly recognised that local participation is a prerequisite in the planning process, especially if the needs of local residents (and indeed future generations of residents) are to achieve a priority consideration in planning processes.

Tourism as a Focus for Public Participation

Increasingly, residents of developed economies are being asked to participate in the planning for a range of activities that affect their daily lives. Certainly in New Zealand we have seen increased opportunities for participation under a variety of public resource issues embodied in the Town and Country Planning Act(s) (1953 /77) and subsequent Resource Management (1991), Reserves (1977), and Conservation (1980) Acts. Public participation is now encouraged throughout a range of public services such as the education system, city plans, natural resource systems, and the like. The question must first be asked, therefore, is tourism a good candidate for widespread public participation? Three issues make any such transfer of ideology or practice to tourism problematic, however.

The first of these relates to the structure of the tourism industry itself. There has always been some debate in the literature as to whether tourism is in fact an "industry" or a multi-sectorial activity. The main industry sectors which are usually identified are: attractions; accommodation; transport; and a looser group of 'incidental' industries - industries that serve the public at large, some of whom happen to be tourists (Leiper, 1990). The question of who or what constitutes a tourism product is implicit in such arguments. Tourism products have been defined as individual tourist destinations (generalised place products), as well as foundation tourism resources such as natural and cultural systems, resident oriented products such as parks, gardens and museums, through to individual products 'within four walls' such as restaurant and theatre seats (O'Fallon, 1994). While tourism itself remains challenging to define, a corollary is that it is very hard for the general public to have a clear and balanced view of what constitutes tourism as an industry, tourism products, or for that matter to recognise tourists easily when in very many respects they may be quite similar to themselves. Thus a central issue for public participation - that of a clear problem identification - is a significant challenge for tourism.

A second issue relates to the evolutionary nature of tourism development. Much has been written about the evolution of tourist destinations over time (Butler, 1980; Butler and Pearce, 1995), however it is not the intention to review these works here. Notwithstanding, it is important to note that the tourist area lifecycle is premised on changes in both the type tourists attracted to a destination and in the host communities' acceptance of these various groups. Briefly, the models of tourist area evolution postulate that high degrees of initial acceptance soon give way to a souring of attitudes and a fading of support, although this often does not happen until residents have had the time to appraise the full nature of change brought by tourism development (Butler, 1980; Doxey, 1976)

Finally, to be satisfactory, public participation in any form has to be broadly representative of affected publics (Sewell and Coppock, 1977). This in itself poses a significant question for tourism. As tourism affects so many people in the community, not just the business leaders and politicians, but also those who also seek amenity attributes and values from destination areas, it is often extremely difficult to know which groups have the focus, time, and resources to engage actively in participatory approaches to tourism planning (Hayward, 1988).

Tourism appears, therefore, to be a poor candidate for public participation in its planning because, at least in the early stages, it rarely constitutes the "provocative issue or short coming in people's lives which demands a concerted approach" (Butcher Collis, Glass & Sills, 1980, p. 251). The conclusion of past research in this area, therefore, is that public participation in tourism planning may be an 'unachievable ideal' (Simmons, 1988) and to be successful will require processes which are educational, highly focussed, and iterative (Simmons, 1989;1994). Notwithstanding these challenges, the need to address questions of public participation in tourism planning still remain. If planning agencies do wish to engage the public in tourism planning they will therefore need to be pro-active in their approach, have a clear understanding of major stakeholder groups, and be willing and able to develop alternative participation strategies at differing stages of planning.

Stakeholders in Planning for Sustainable Tourism.

Four groups can be identified as primary stakeholders in the planning for tourism. The first of these are tourists, both international and domestic. Without the human element, people who are prepared to travel and have the means to enact this, there is no tourism and no tourist industry. All too often, however, tourists have been seen as the only, or most dominant group of values to be taken into account in tourism planning. The second group, which has been highlighted by Murphy (1985), among others, are host communities. Early work on host communities suggested the possibility that a single dominant community attitude might emerge (Doxy, 1976) as communities moved from euphoria to apathy, annoyance and finally antagonism, in the face of increasing visitor numbers. More dynamic models focussing on the individual and their place within society suggest that there is a spectrum of attitudes towards tourism and tourists, and that varying individuals in society will become more active in the pursuit of their attitudes. Significant levels of association have been found particularly with the seasonality of tourist flows, (NZTP, 1988), and in the economic 'back linkages' to the local economy (Ap, 1990). A third stakeholder group is the tourism industry. Quite often this group has been seen as a sub-set of the local community, but as Keller (1987) has pointed out tourism's development in small peripheral economies often leads to the search for capital from larger centres, first regional, national and then international. In so doing, locals run the risk of forfeiting increasing amounts of control over the physical and economic development of their local area. The tourism industry, because it has a strong interest in protecting and enhancing its capital, is often the most vociferous in tourism planning, and their wishes and those of their financiers many often receive prominence in tourism plans.

Finally, if we are genuine in our search for sustainable tourism, there is one other group which must now be added to the above and that is future generations. Sustainable tourism, in this context, means a level of tourism which provides benefit from the resource mix of today without jeopardising options for future development. Thus future generations clearly have a definable set of needs from the tourism industry of today, even if it is to simply make sure that they are not disenfranchised from future opportunities for development.

Contemporary Mechanisms for Public Participation in Tourism Planning in New Zealand

Having briefly set out the need for public participation in tourism planning and the inherent difficulties in this, the types of mechanisms which are emerging in contemporary New Zealand society for its enactment will be considered. Three different groups of actors /mechanisms are reviewed, and speculative comment is made on their progress and likely efficacy. These are:

- the development and application of social and societal marketing models;
- the Resource Management Act (1991); and
- the environmental lobby.

Societal Marketing for Tourism

Marketing has traditionally been described as an exchange process based on identifiable consumers' needs. As societies have begun to recognise and focus more directly on their environmental responsibilities there has been increasing recognition among marketeers that we are not just consumers of individual products but we are also consumers of the production processes inherent in the development and distribution of those products. Marketing has correspondingly sought to broaden its base to include greater social responsibility, and to develop models and methods of marketing to 'consider customers' wants, the company's requirements, the consumers' long run requirements and society's long run interests (Kotler, 1989). In keeping with the increasing emphasis on services marketing there is a shift away from the four traditional "Ps" that are at the heart of traditional marketing strategies: product, price, place (distribution), and promotion; to consider three additional "Ps": people, physical evidence, and process (Cowell, 1984, p. 70).

An attempt has been made to conceptualise how societal marketing might be applied to tourism (Simmons, 1991). At that time it was suggested that considerable techniques for the researching of tourists' needs and the development of various approaches to market segmentation had been developed, that could be usefully transferred to the host community and its various interest groups. These could be applied to determine host communities' needs from tourism development. A somewhat instrumental view of human behaviour towards tourists was also put forward. Simply put, local residents will continue to be welcoming and hospitable to tourists as long as tourism (as a system) continues to deliver tangible benefits to them. We do not need to scratch far below the surface of many rural towns in New Zealand to draw an initial list of needs from tourism: off-farm income; jobs for our children; the protection of essential services; the development of amenity; the protection of resources.

The Canterbury Tourism Council has recently commissioned a strategy document for tourism planning in this region (Canterbury Tourism Council, 1995). The authors claim that the basis for this model is 'endemic tourism', a form of tourism which is based primarily on local residents' needs and deployment of local resources. They see the aim of tourism development as 'meeting the needs of Cantabrians today, while conserving the region's ecosystems, heritage and culture for the benefit of future generations of the region'. To implement this goal four 'key result areas' were developed, with the first of these being 'community awareness'. Other key result areas were coordination and management, quality enhancement, and finance. Within the community awareness key result area 15 strategies were developed and 82 individual action statements. In brief, what is proposed is an extensive consultation process involving the establishment of a 'Tourism and Community Task Force' (TCTF), focus groups in designated communities, and the compilation and understanding of core values, all with the objective of determining preliminary ecological, cultural and social thresholds to tourism development. Once these have been documented a discussion paper will be put forward along with a communication strategy and response programme. A central idea to effect this strategy is the development of biannual fora and a 'trust' to fund ongoing research. The programme was presented as 'managed tension' between community values, compatible industry development, and appreciation of, and support for, the industry.

Notwithstanding this diligent attempt to develop a societal marketing model for tourism, the question must be asked 'Is this the Trojan horse for comprehensive community participation in, and control of tourism development?' However, the fact remains that the Canterbury Tourism Council is largely a marketing organisation. It has been acknowledged that the organisation will require separate funding from its constituent local governments to establish a special community liaison position, and therefore raises significant doubts about their ability to incorporate the level of community input and control as indicated in the writings of de Kadt (1979) and Murphy (1985). As evidence of this, key community values have already been identified primarily as being 'income and employment' and much attention is paid to community appreciation of, and 'support for' the industry rather than a level of development which will see the community as the major break on tourism development as indicated by Butler's (1980) model of tourist destination area evolution.

The Resource Management Act

The Resource Management Act (1991) is (along with the Reserves (1977) and Conservation (1980) Acts) the primary land and resource management mechanism in New Zealand. Its purpose is defined (section 5) as being to "promote the sustainable management of natural and physical resources". Sustainable management is defined as meaning "managing the use, development and protection of natural and physical resources in a way, or at a rate, which enables people in their communities to provide for their social, economic and cultural wellbeing for their health and safety, while:

a) sustaining the potential of natural and physical resources (excluding minerals) to meet the reasonable foreseeable needs of future generations; and
b) safeguarding the life support capacity of air, water, soil and ecosystem; and
c) amending, remedying or mitigating any adverse effects of activities on the environment (RFBPS, 1991).

Of interest, to tourism and other social processes, the 'environment' has generally been interpreted to include the social environment. Three levels of responsibility are determined in sections 6, 7, and 8. Section 6 determines matters of **national importance** with those that potentially relate directly to tourism planning including:

- preservation of the natural character of the coastal environment;
- protection of outstanding natural features and landscapes from inappropriate subdivision, use and development;
- protection of areas of significant indigenous vegetation;
- ... the enhancement of public access to coastal marine areas lakes and rivers;
- relationship of Maori and their culture and traditions with ancestral lands, water, sites ... Taonga.

The second item in this abbreviated list, (the question of inappropriate subdivision) is one that is likely to have significance for tourism. However, it is my belief that it is in section 7 where planners and managers "shall have regard to" Kaitiakitanga (guardianship or stewardship) of resources; "efficient use and development of natural and physical resources; and maintenance and enhancement of an underlying amenity values", that many tourism developments will be put to their test. The question of amenity values is likely to be most incisive as tourism development grows in its scope and intensity. Already the legislation has been tested in this regard and 'amenity values' have been interpreted to mean:

> those natural and physical qualities and characteristics of an area that contribute to peoples' appreciation of its pleasantness, aesthetic coherence, and cultural and recreational attributes (Resource Management Act, 1995).

In this regard a recent decision in the Planning Tribunal shows the potential applicability of this test. In a case between the Mt Cook Group vs. the Helicopter Line and the Westland District Council, Judge Kenderdine (NZ Planning Tribunal, 1995) has indicated that an increase in helicopter flights over the Fox Glacier Village, an area where there already was some base activity of this nature, "would mean that the kind of amenity that the district scheme seeks to provide is *not* achieved in this particular area".

This is the only decision which I can currently find which clearly indicates the ways in which amenity values as they relate to tourism developments are likely to be interpreted under the new Act. There can be little doubt that this decision is likely to be used as precedent for other community actions.

Other clauses under section 7 of the Act outline the requirement to recognise and protect heritage values of sites, buildings, places and areas which again may in time be tested with regard with their relevance to tourism.

Finally, section 8 of the Act requires planners and managers to "take into account... the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi". This also indicates that, in the future, the wishes of local Tangata Whenua will have increasing importance, although it is quite unclear how in the absence of a strong consultative tourism planning process, these will be acted out. The Resource Management Act is still a relatively new piece of legislation, and its introduction has been softened by the rolling over of existing planning documents, such as regional and district schemes, until their next review periods. Its strong emphasis on the environmental 'effects' of actions, rather on traditional zoning /land-use concepts, will require the establishment of new precedent. However, given the combined emphases on sustainable management, protection of amenity, natural features and landscapes, coupled with widespread provision for public participation provides fertile ground for the development if lobby groups and strong action for styles and forms of tourism development that meet local consensus.

Tourism and the Environmental Lobby

Both the Royal Forest and Bird Society, (which currently has 53,000 members in New Zealand), and the Federated Mountain Clubs (representing various mountain user groups) have developed policies on tourism development in the recent past. Both organisations see the protection of the natural environment as paramount, and they are both keen to ensure that tourism does not lead to conflict in recreational use. For the Royal Forest and Bird Society, the goal for tourism is that it be compatible with the protection of the natural environment, and with the recreational opportunities that depend on unspoiled natural areas (RFBPS, 1993). This policy raises a most interesting point about the context in which tourist encounters take place. Currently only 5.7 percent of New Zealanders are employed directly in tourism, although indirect and induced income employment levels are listed as approximately 7.9 percent (Lim, 1991) of the New Zealand work force. Thus the great many New Zealanders who meet tourists do so when both groups (tourists and residents) are at their leisure. Tourism planning at the site level will of necessity require a balance between the recreational needs of both groups, and holds some promise as recreational planning has a long history of public participation (Garrett and Spedding, 1982; Gold, 1973). Some friction is however already palpable in key back country areas, particularly those which have high international touristic use such as New Zealand's 'great walks' (Department of Conservation/NZTB, 1993), and may well be representative of areas approaching tourism's social carrying capacity.

The Federated Mountain Clubs go further than the Royal Forest and Bird Society when they voice their strenuous opposition to the privatisation of protected lands. Their policy statement reiterates their widespread opposition to the development of the 'commercialisation of nature', particularly in those areas which lead to the 'excessive use or use inappropriate with the underlying values implicit in nature conservation, and its quiet enjoyment' (FMC, 1995). Again these policy statements are recent developments from these organisations, as they develop better articulated positions in the face of continued growth in tourist visitation numbers. However, their influence as public interest groups is not to be overlooked if their long history in nature conservation, and national parks establishment and management is taken into consideration. Thus the environmental lobby remains as a third potential advocate for greater public participation in tourism planning especially as both these groups often have direct representation on regional Conservation Boards, and are traditionally active in planning litigation. Thus the environmental lobby is another potential Trojan Horse for increasing the public's stake in tourism planning.

CONCLUSIONS

I indicated at the outset that the second half of my paper would be speculative. While a clear need for public participation in tourism planning has been identified and has become a recurrent theme in the international literature, it is not clear 'how' this is going to be enacted or achieved in New Zealand. There are significant challenges with tourism as an "issue" or focus for public participation, especially as the earlier stages of tourism development inevitably appear positive. Furthermore, in the absence of a clear statutory mandate for tourism planning, there is no clear indication of how public participation will be effected. Should such a plan emerge, there is no clear evidence that issues of the type raised here would be incorporated as central to the process.

My tentative conclusions are that these issues will first emerge and be acted out in the environmental lobby around the issues of environmental sustainability and recreational access and opportunity. The case of the limits to helicopter activity in the Fox Glacier area is a clear indication of this. I say this primarily because there are already well established organisations with a strong history of public participation and motivation in this arena. Given what we understand about the evolution of tourism at destination areas, this is likely to be a curious development because my very real sense is that the social capacity (as opposed to environmental capacity) is at the turning point of Butler's (1980) tourist destination area lifecycle model. These factors appear especially significant given the use of natural and recreation assets as key tourism 'products', and the resultant "adventure" and "nature-based" positioning of tourism in New Zealand.

The point at which these issues might be transferred to urban, particularly small 'resort', towns remains speculative and will no doubt centre around various interpretations of the Resource Management Act. While this Act defines matters of national and regional importance it has not listed tourism in these categories, leaving its management as equivalent to that of any other industry in spite of its widespread public good implications.

Regardless of the presence of legal structures and a relatively strong history of public participation in New Zealand, the type of comment currently drawn to tourism is mostly reactionary and adversarial. The normative style of planning advocated by de Kadt (1979), Murphy (1985) and others, has potential under the Canterbury Tourism Council's 'Tourism and Community Task Force' as presented to the Council by their consultants. If such mechanisms can become central to tourism planning at all stages - from normative to operational - and if major authorities with significant responsibilities for planning are prepared to resource them, then the needs identified in the first paper might well be able to be addressed. However, in the interim, both the structures and processes to achieve these goals still appear distant.

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USING CONFLICT AND SENSE OF PLACE PERSPECTIVES IN UNDERSTANDING TOURISM'S SOCIAL IMPACTS.

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ABSTRACT

This paper argues that future research into the social impacts of tourism must move from its current reliance on the life cycle concept to utilise new theoretical perspectives. Social exchange theory has already been suggested as one avenue of inquiry. It is argued that some of the negative impacts of tourism can be conceptualised as a form of resource conflict and that current understandings of *sense of place* may provide a useful basis for research work. More recent research into the behavioural adaptations that residents of destination areas make should be further developed to investigate how coping mechanisms are developed and used during face to face encounters with tourists.

INTRODUCTION

Currently, tourism is a U.S.$3.4 trillion industry world-wide (New Zealand Yearbook, 1995), including transport of people around the globe, and provision of accommodation and services such as roading, sewerage, rubbish collection, airports, etc.. A range of economic, environmental and social impacts arise from the mass movement of people. The major focus of this paper is social impacts, but these are linked to economic and environmental impacts; most tourist destinations develop for economic reasons, and impacts on the physical environment can diminish residents' quality of life. Other social impacts arise because residents must adapt to the presence of tourists and to the changes that such a presence causes.

That residents become progressively irritated with tourism, eventually becoming antagonistic towards tourists is the idea underlying most social impacts research. The inconsistency of results between studies indicates that further theoretical development is necessary. This paper outlines recent social impacts research and suggests that social exchange theory, sense of place and a social conflict framework may offer insights into tourism's impacts.

Social exchange theory, defined as a form of interaction whereby two or more actors provide each other with services or activities each finds rewarding (Burgess & Nielsen 1974 cited Lerner, 1979), may provide insights into the differences between individuals and communities (Ap, 1990). According to social exchange theory, residents who must compete with tourists for resources will be less positive than those who feel tourism increases their lifestyle opportunities. In the former case, it is possible to conceptualise the impacts of tourism as a form of resource conflict.

A conflict framework raises new questions about the effects of tourism in different settings. Through tourism, different cultures meet in places which have different meanings for each. For residents the destination area will be part of their self-identity, their memories and their future. In comparison, for tourists, the same place will contain no previous experience, contribute little towards self-identity and be incidental to their future. Differences in cultural background will magnify these differences in *sense of place*. In addition, tourism brings together groups which are easily distinguished. All of these factors are important preconditions for the development of conflict (Kreisberg, 1973; Owens, 1985), thus tourism provides a prime setting for the development of conflict.

Understanding Tourism Impacts

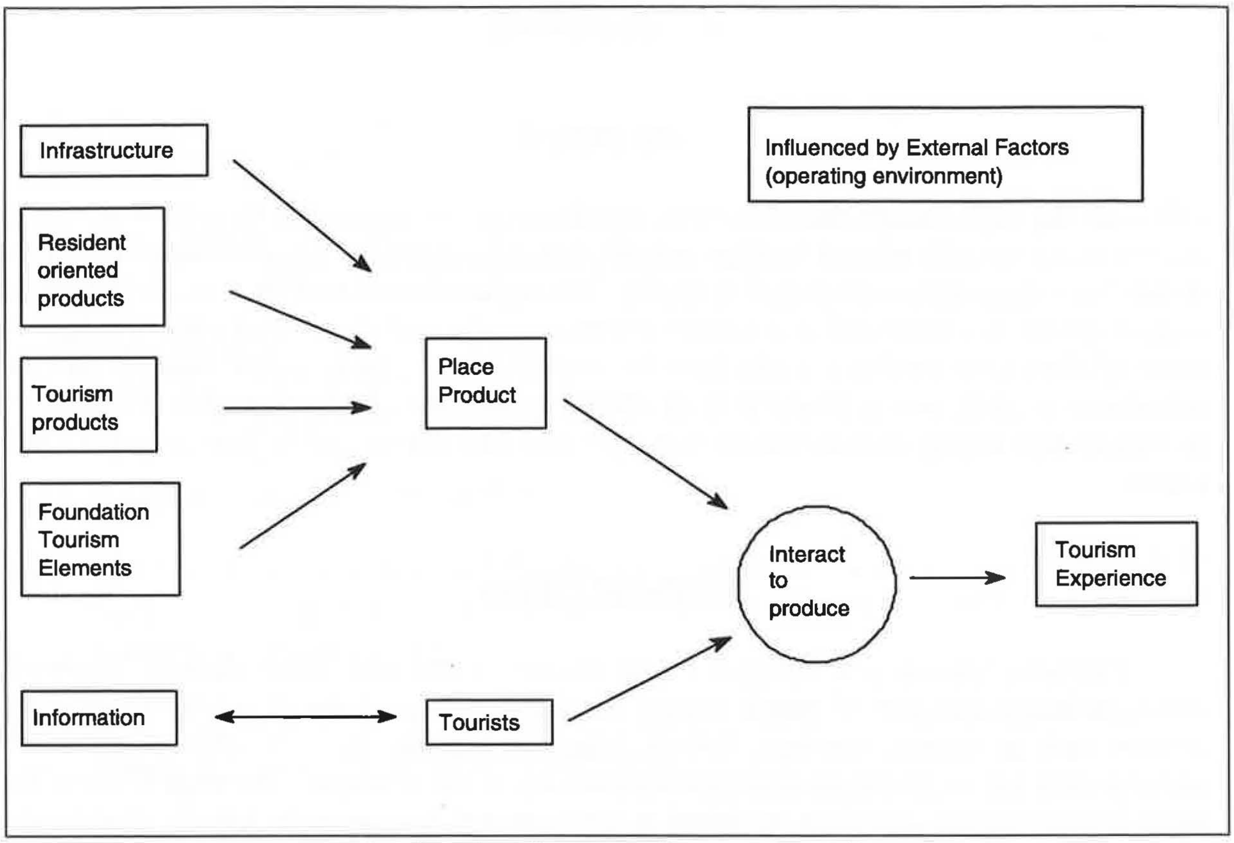

Figure 1. A tourism production function (from O'Fallon, 1994, p. 31)

For the tourist, the tourism product is everything the tourist experiences in between leaving and returning home. Its production is therefore external to what is popularly known as the "industry". Figure 1 illustrates what O'Fallon (1994, p. 31) calls "a tourism production function". *Tourism products* such as transport and accommodation contribute only a small part to the experience. Information, management of attractions such as the natural environment, and the friendliness of local people are more important for satisfying tourism experiences (Ross, 1993a & b). This paper is most concerned with the latter two inputs.

Management of resident-oriented goods and foundation attractions is vital to maintaining system outputs for two reasons. First, the quality of these inputs will directly affect the tourist experience. Second, these inputs can have considerable meaning for local residents, whether attractions are cultural (as in the case of festivals or religious buildings) or natural (e.g., national parks, landscapes). Where settings are significant to residents, impacts can occur in several ways. Tourists can behave inappropriately, because of the meanings they attribute to the place, event or their own behaviour, or because the tourist role is not appropriate to the setting (Pearce, 1982a; 1982b; 1988; Smith, 1989). Crowding may negatively affect the resident's perception of tourists (Ap & Crompton, 1993; Brown & Giles, 1994), or impacts may occur where inappropriate modifications are made to the local environment to accommodate tourism (Hester, 1993). Consequently, the meaning of natural and cultural attractions can change, diminishing the experiences of both tourists and hosts. With unwanted change, local people can become increasingly irritated by tourism, a fact which provides the basis of the models of tourism development outlined below.

The Tourist Area Life Cycle

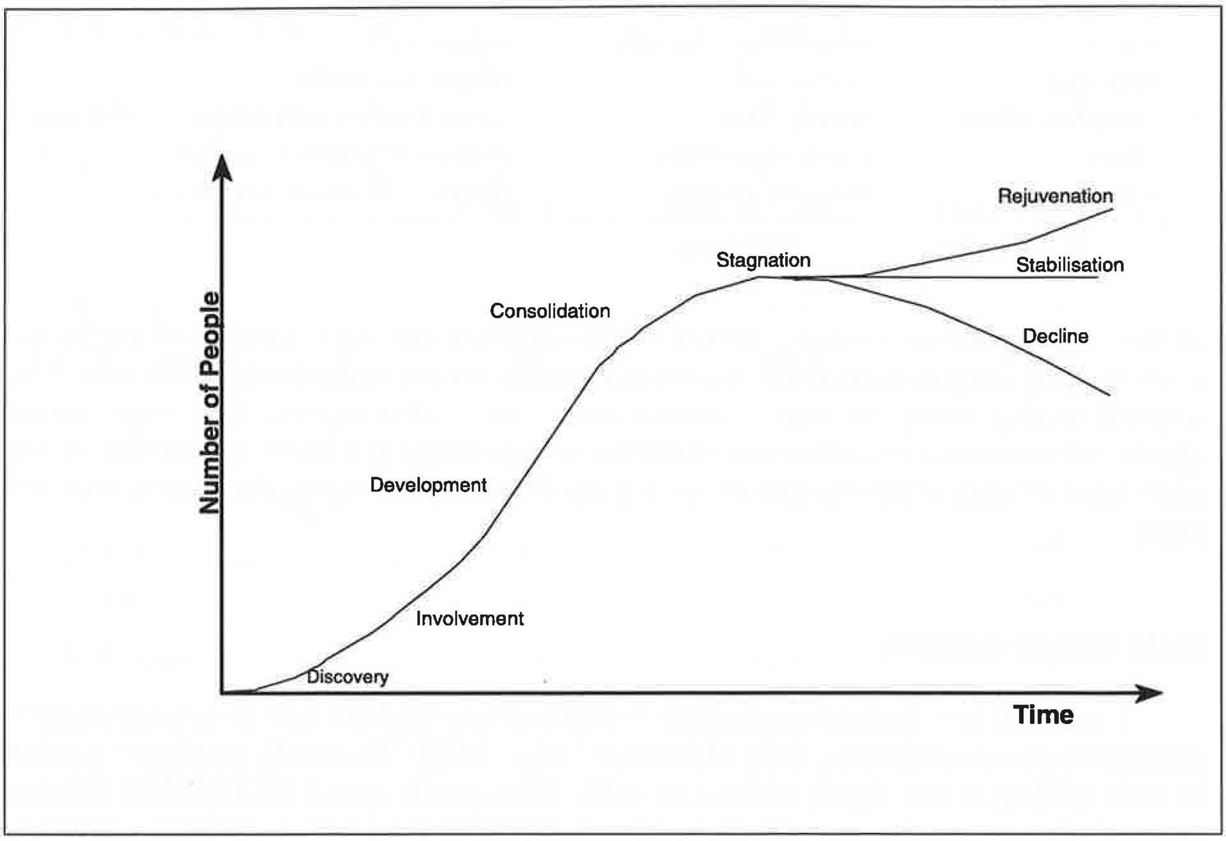

Figure 2. The tourist area cycle of evolution (From Butler 1980, p. 3)

Butler (1980) proposed that tourist destinations move through a life cycle consisting of seven stages (see Figure 2). During *discovery*, small numbers of tourists visit the area and adapt well to local life. As tourist numbers gradually increase, some locals begin to cater for tourists during *involvement.* Fast growth in tourist numbers, steady loss of local control and rising recognition of the negative impacts of tourism characterise *development.* Tourists now require facilities and are less adaptable. *Consolidation* occurs with a decline in the growth of tourist numbers (although absolute numbers may still be increasing). Changes in consumer tastes or the tourist product (reflecting environmental and social impacts) make the destination less popular during *stagnation.* Absolute numbers may *decline* unless innovation and/or amelioration of impacts sets the area into *rejuvenation or stabilisation.*

As the life cycle progresses, many changes occur. Tourist characteristics and tastes change. Smith (1989) proposed a classification of tourists based on degree of institutionalisation (summarised in Table 1). *Explorers, elites* and *off beats* discover a destination during the early stages in the tourist area life cycle. Numbers increase as the destination becomes attractive to *mass* tourists. As tourist numbers grow, destination areas often need capital from external investors for development projects. Prices of homes, land and rents increase rapidly as investors move in to buy property at prices that residents cannot afford (Keller, 1983). Thus residents gradually lose control

Table 1. Tourist typologies (from Smith, 1989, p. 2)

Type of Tourist	*Numbers of Tourists*	*Adaptations to local norms*
Explorer	very limited	accepts fully
Elite	rarely seen	adapts fully
Off beat	uncommon but seen	adapts well
Unusual	occasional	adapts somewhat
Incipient Mass	steady flow	seeks Western amenities
Mass	continuous influx	expects Western amenities
Charter	massive arrivals	demands Western amenities

of their area as tourism develops. Doxey (1975) suggested that accompanying (or maybe as a result of) these changes, local people become increasingly irritated with tourism in their area. They welcome tourists during the initial *euphoria* stage. As tourism increases they move through *apathy*, and *annoyance* to *antagonism*, where tourists are treated in a hostile manner and are seen as the cause of many of the area's problems. It is this idea on which much social impacts research is based.

Social Impacts Research.

In selected New Zealand communities, a reverse irridex has been used to ascertain residents' perceptions of tourism (Evans, 1993; McDermott-Miller, 1988). In general, acceptance was high in 1992, although it was slightly less than in 1988. Most people agreed that tourism is important economically, however, in areas with high economic dependence[1] on tourism and high *seasonality*[2], there is evidence of decreasing acceptance. Table 2 shows economic dependence and seasonality along with the size of the group that Evans (1993) labelled "haters" (i.e., those most negative in their perceptions of tourism) in each location. Seasonality and economic dependence on tourism are significant in small towns such as Queenstown and Wanaka. Interestingly, these towns also have a shorter off-season because of skiing in the area and many outsiders have invested in Queenstown.

In overseas research, degree of local control, tourist density, distance of residence from the tourist zone, attachment to community, environmental impacts and economic dependence on tourism have all have shown some correlation with host perceptions of tourism (Allen, Hafer, Long and Perdue, 1993; Ap, 1990; Getz, 1994; McCool & Martin, 1994). Allen et al (1993) found that in places with much tourism development, residents were more positive if overall economic development was high or if they felt that they had good recreational opportunities. Getz (1994) found that in a repeat study in the Spey valley, residents' perceptions of tourism were slightly more

[1] measured by the number of people employed in tourism over the total level of employment in the area.

[2] measured by the percent increase in population at the height of the tourist season. The term *seasonality* is misleading, as it can imply that a quiet season is problematic. In fact, residents of Byron Bay, Australia, felt that the quiet season gave them time to recover from the busy season (Brown & Giles, undated c1995).

negative in 1992 than in 1984 and locals expressed concern for environmental impacts most frequently of all impact types. Kariel (1993) found that once residents in four Austrian alpine communities felt economically secure, quality of life and the natural environment became their major concerns. Overseas, research into a range of factors affecting residents' perceptions has largely been inconclusive (Ap, 1990). However all these factors have shown correlations with host perceptions in one or more tourist areas.

Table 2 Percentage of *haters*, seasonality and level of economic dependence by region (from Evans, 1993, p. 111)

	% Haters	peak/off-peak population[1]	Economic dependence[2]
Whitianga	57	med	low
Queenstown	49	v high	v high
Wanaka	42	high	v high
Taupo	39	high	med
Auckland	26	v low	low
Hokitika	19	med	med
Wellington	18	v low	low
Nelson	17	low	low
Picton/Blenheim	17	med	med
Christchurch	16	low	med
Dunedin	10	v low	low
Te Anau	13	v high	v high

[1] % change in population due to overnight visitors:
v high - >40%increase
high - between 20% & 40% increase
med - between 10% & 20% increase
low - between 2% & 10% increase
v low - 2% or less increase
[2] based on numbers employed in tourism as a % of total employment in each place

Butler (1974, cited in Mathieson & Wall, 1982) suggested that each community will contain a range of attitudes towards tourism (see Figure 3). Using this model as a basis for their study, Ap and Crompton (1993) found that the residents within a Texan community had four different strategies for coping with tourism: embracement, tolerance, adjustment and withdrawal. Residents who felt that tourism increased vitality and variety in their local area *embraced* tourism. *Tolerant* individuals articulated both positive and negative aspects of tourism development and had a generally favourable attitude. Many residents *adjusted* their shopping times or used different routes

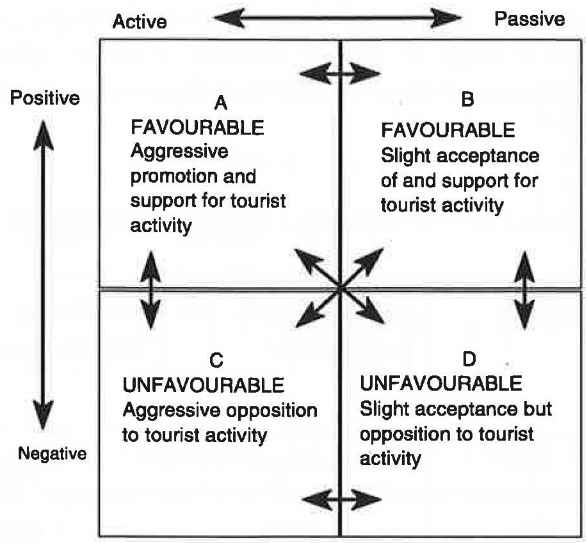

Figure 3 Host responses to tourist activity (Butler, 1974 cited in Mathieson and Wall, 1982, p. 139)

for getting to town to avoid the inconveniences of tourism. Some individuals *withdrew* into their homes for the tourist season and some even left the area permanently (Ap & Crompton, 1993).

Brown and Giles (1994) found that residents of Byron Bay, adjust their activities at the height of the tourist season. Residents modified the timing, the form of transport or the routes that they used to move around town in order to avoid congestion and parking problems. Some residents retreated into their homes, coming out as little as possible, while others felt that the effects of crowding were alleviated if they were recognised as local when shopping or using recreational facilities. Kariel (1993), in a study of four Austrian alpine communities, found that people had to learn to distance themselves from tourists to limit impacts on family life. These findings imply that residents can tolerate tourism as long as they can find ways to adjust, to reaffirm their identity, and to maintain those aspects of their life that they consider to be important.

The more extreme form of withdrawal where residents move away from a tourist area has some implications for research. First, these people may not overtly oppose tourism but its impacts are clearly judged to be too high. Impact studies centred on the residents remaining in the area will exclude these people and the impacts that they perceive. McCool and Martin (1994) found that average length of residence was shorter in communities with high tourism development, hence this group may be of some importance. Second, moving away may be a coping mechanism not available to all residents of tourism areas, but aggressive opposition to tourism seems an unlikely scenario. People who depend on tourism may feel its impacts, but are unlikely to oppose it (although they may oppose further growth), even though they are aware of negative impacts. Third, to be opposed to tourism when one lives in a small community could be considered anti-social if other community members need employment. It is more likely that people who dislike tourism will retreat or move away rather than voicing unpopular opinions. Therefore social impacts research should include people who have recently left the area and look at the wider social context in which people make judgements. Coping mechanisms and strategies may also indicate what impacts are occurring. Recent papers have begun this process, however it may be useful to look at how these strategies affect, and are affected by, encounters with tourists.

The Encounter

De Kadt (1979, p. 50) outlined three contexts in which tourists meet hosts:

1. when guests purchase goods or services from hosts;
2. where residents and tourists are side by side; and
3. when hosts and guests meet for the purpose of exchanging information.

Encounters also have a number of distinctive characteristics. They are usually brief, both parties are oriented towards instant gratification, tourists are constrained by time and relationships tend to be formalised rather than spontaneous (Sutton, 1967 cited in Noronha, 1979; United Nations Education, Scientific & Cultural Organisation [UNESCO], 1976). The relationship is asymmetrical: tourists may have more money and power (de Kadt, 1979); hosts have greater knowledge of local conditions (Noronha, 1979); and for hosts the encounter is commonplace and mundane, while for visitors it may be unusual and strange (Brewer, 1984). In addition, communication may be difficult for both parties if they do not share a common language or if there is a large cultural distance between them. Encounters will also vary depending on the type of tourist (Noronha, 1979), but this variation can be explained in terms of the increasing negative effect of the above characteristics. For example, interactions with explorer tourists early in the destination's life cycle will be less frequent, less brief and less formalised than those with mass tourists.

Not all of the situations outlined by de Kadt (1979) will have all of the characteristics listed above. Where host and guest meet to exchange information, the relationship is likely to have few of the above characteristics. This form of contact offers the greatest likelihood of cross-cultural understanding, but it is rare. In comparison, where host serves guest, contacts will usually be frequent, brief, formal and prescribed. Both parties will be aware of their roles and have scripts for what should happen. For hosts these interactions are likely to be commonplace part of "business as usual", a fact which can result in stereotyping (Brewer, 1984; Pi-Sunyer, 1989; Stroebe & Insko, 1989).

For residents who do not work with tourists, side by side meetings in recreation settings will be the most common form of contact and they will vary in quality. Where meetings between host and guest are frequent, hosts may develop strategies to distance themselves from tourists (Kariel, 1993) and will begin to develop generalisations about the different types of guests just as they do in situation 1. Second, the voluntariness of the encounter will affect its outcomes (Berno, 1995). In recreation settings, meetings may be involuntary and unexpected, increasing their impact on hosts. Hosts may feel more negatively if they also feel that there is nowhere that they can go to escape such encounters. Third, if individuals are unaware of their different perspectives, and/ or are unable to bridge language gaps, any communication may become stereotyped or lead to misunderstandings (Metge & Kinloch, 1978). Where individuals have the time, inclination and means to understand each other and find shared meanings, stereotyping may be avoided. What factors intervene in residents' (and even tourists') perceptions of individual encounters, and how do individuals develop their perceptions of tourism?

Individuals who embraced tourism in Ap and Crompton's (1993) study felt that tourists added to the variety and vitality of their local area and offered them many opportunities to meet new people. Londoners surveyed in 1978 were positive about tourism because they felt little personal cost, but they were able to benefit from tourist entertainment facilities (Pearce, 1982b).

Add to this the observation that locals with access to good recreational opportunities feel more positively about tourism (Allen et al, 1993) and it appears that residents will be more positive if tourism adds to their quality of life. These observations are consistent with social exchange theory, which suggests that as long as individuals perceive that the costs and benefits of tourism balance each other, they will continue to support or tolerate it. As a corollary, when the benefits are considered to outweigh the costs, people will be very positive while those who perceive that the opposite is true, may be expected to oppose tourism (Madrigal, 1993). In addition, people's evaluations of the relative merit of the costs and benefits of tourism may change over time. Kariel (1993) found that, at first, the economic benefits were the most important consideration for residents who needed employment. Once these needs were fulfilled, attention then turned to quality-of-life issues.

Tourism Impacts as Resource Conflict

Conflict may result from encounters in recreation settings, where tourists are in direct competition with residents for resources (Brown & Giles, 1994; McKercher, 1992) and are easily distinguished as different from residents. Perceptions of difference, and competition for scarce resources are both preconditions for the development of conflict. Perceptions of difference allow the formation of in-groups and out-groups, and direct competition for resources can then lead to

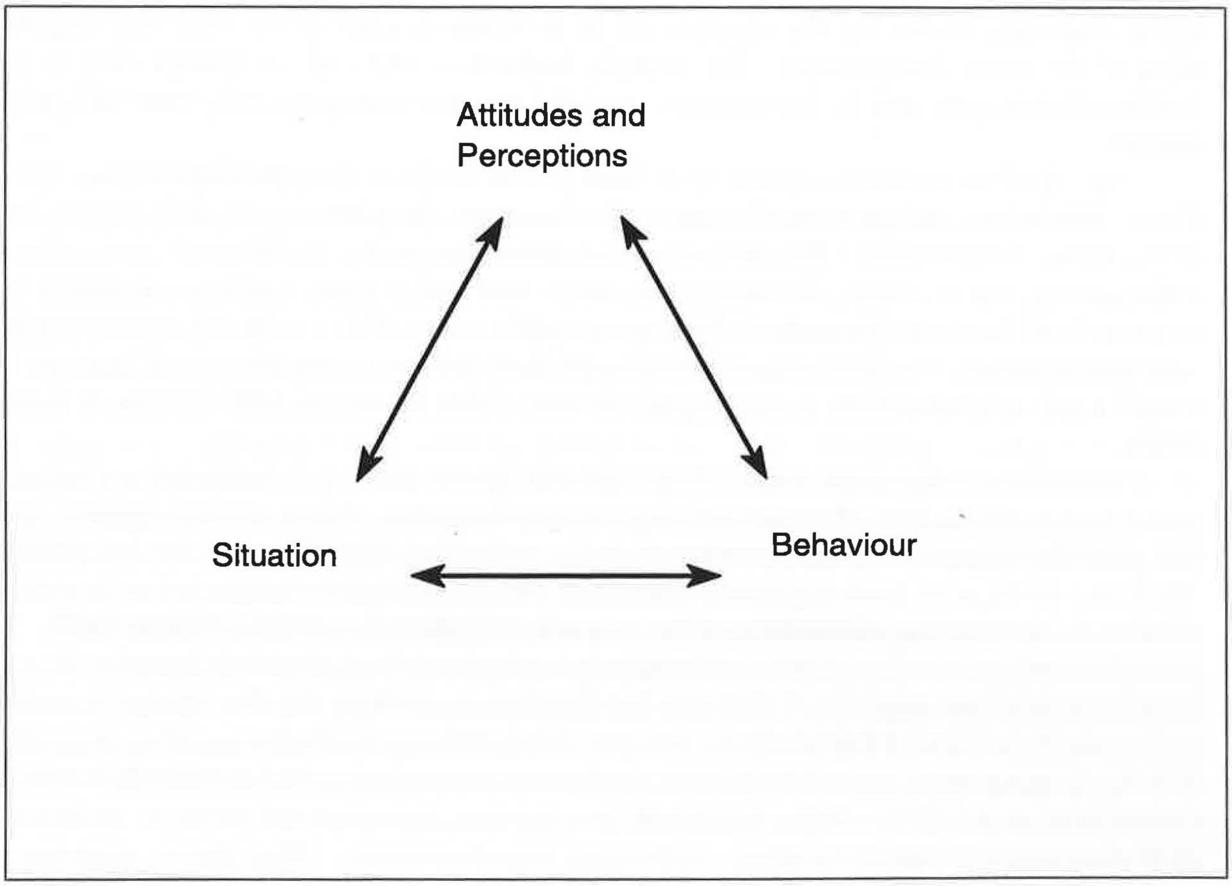

Figure 4. The Galtung triangle (cited in Bercovitch, 1984, p.6)

the development of negative attitudes (Brown, 1988; Kreisberg, 1973; Owens, 1985), necessary for conflict to exist (Owens, 1985). These conditions are significant in New Zealand where international tourists are becoming an increasingly large proportion of national park users (Espiner, 1995; NZTB, 1993) and New Zealanders' changing work patterns are making it more difficult for them to use more remote backcountry areas (Espiner, 1995; Horn, 1994). Residents are likely to find tourism most threatening when recreation areas become crowded and when the impacted opportunities are highly valued. Social impacts, then, may be conceptualised as a form of resource conflict.

Galtung (1971 cited in Bercovitch, 1984) suggested that conflict can be understood from looking at the interplay of three factors: the situation, behaviour, and the attitudes and perceptions of all actors involved (see Figure 4). Each factor affects, and is affected by, the others, hence the Galtung Triangle provides a framework for inquiry and accounts for the complexity of conflict. Situational (or objective) factors include level of economic dependence on tourism, the number of tourists relative to the number of local residents during the tourist season, and competition for resources. Behaviour (action) includes all that the different groups do. Little research has been done on how different cultural groups interact, what kinds of interactions have the greatest impacts and how the setting affects the interactions. Attitudes and perceptions (subjective factors) *have* been researched, but little is understood about the role of past experiences, values, and feelings about the places in which interaction occurs.

Sense of Place

People's perceptions of the places they use (or their *sense of place*) can affect their attitudes towards other user groups (Brandenburg & Carroll, 1995; Horn, 1994; Jacob and Schreyer, 1980). Sense of place is also important in outdoor recreation (Brandenburg & Carroll, 1995; Fishwick & Vining, 1992; Lee, 1972; Moore & Graefe, 1994; Williams, Patterson and Roggenbuck, 1992) and there is reason to believe that it will just as important in understanding tourism. That environmental impacts are of concern in tourism areas (Getz, 1994; Kariel, 1993; Liu & Var, 1986; Sage, 1995) also indicates that there may be links between perceptions of place and perceptions of tourism. Understanding the meanings that these places have for all users and the implications that these meanings have for the social impacts of tourism is fundamental to successful management.

Understanding the meaning of place may help explain why social impacts differ between destinations. Depending on residents' relationships with their area, and their evaluation of lifestyle factors such as available recreation opportunities, people's perceptions of tourism will differ. For example, conservationists may have negative feelings when they judge environmental damage to be too high, whereas people who value the new recreational opportunities created by tourism may feel more positively. Of interest are the ways that New Zealanders assess these different positive and negative impacts.

CONCLUSION

Social impacts research has been inconclusive because of a lack of theoretical development and because little account has been taken of contextual factors such as values, sense of place and the characteristics of the interactions that individuals have with tourists. Degree of economic dependence on tourism and tourist/ host ratios *do* correlate with more negative perceptions, however there are still a significant number of exceptions. These exceptions need exploring in depth to build a good understanding of why individuals and communities vary in their ability to absorb tourism. The assumption that the impacts of tourism are unimportant until a significant proportion of residents are antagonistic towards tourism is untenable. Residents who are overstressed by tourism will either develop coping strategies to relieve their stress or will leave the destination area, to be replaced with individuals who are prepared to live with the current conditions. The question is what happens if people begin to feel that there is nowhere to go to get away from these impacts?

Generally researchers assume a link between people's judgement of the costs and benefits and their *evaluations* of those things, but the link may not always be strong. An individual's assessment of impacts will depend on the relative value that they place on lifestyle changes that occur because of tourism. A person might agree that tourism benefits the country economically, but may not value economic benefits as highly as other lifestyle factors. Social exchange theory also offers some insight into why there may be differences between communities and between people in their assessment of tourism impacts.

In a new approach, researchers have studied the behavioural adaptations that individuals have made to accommodate tourism. The results of this research suggest that people adapt strategies to maintain those aspects of their life that they value most. In addition, people's assessments of the impacts will depend on the quality and frequency of their encounters with tourists.

Little empirical research has been done on what happens during individual encounters between hosts and guests. Noronha (1979) wonders, do residents continue to enjoy encounters with explorer tourists once mass tourism is common in their area? Furthermore, how might explorer tourists be recognised in a setting where mass tourism is common? Do residents distinguish different groups of tourists? How are they distinguished? Do encounters with these different groups vary? Do residents control the number and types of interactions that they have with tourists? If so, how? Is there a threshold frequency of encounters above which individuals prefer to avoid travellers? These questions are pertinent across the whole range of settings in which interactions occur.

New Zealanders will most commonly encounter tourists in recreation settings. Where tourists are perceived to be competing with residents for desired recreation resources, tourism impacts may be conceptualised as a form of resource conflict. This does not imply that tourism causes conflict, but instead, understanding how conflict develops could aid understanding of tourism impacts, and in the long term, may help in managing environmental and social impacts that residents consider undesirable.

Overall, tourism impacts researchers need a more comprehensive theoretical base from which to work. While the tourist area life-cycle and host irritation are intuitively attractive, they are inadequate. Notions of social exchange, social conflict, stereotyping and sense of place all have a potential use in this field of endeavour. Researchers must broaden their approach to ask more open ended questions and to explore the more subjective aspects of the impacts of tourism.

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Akaroa's 'French Connection': Reconstructing A Gaze On The Past

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ABSTRACT

During 1995, the French government resumed nuclear testing in the South Pacific. This act had ramifications in the township of Akaroa, on Banks Peninsula. Since the 1960s, a 'tourist gaze' has been constructed and focussed around the 'French Connection' of Akaroa, as the site of the only attempted French colony in New Zealand. During this past year (1995), the promotion of 'things French' became increasingly unpopular amongst the local population, culminating in protests over the publicity for the Akaroa French Festival. These objections led to a refocussing of the Festival, and the heritage promoted. The following paper examines the construction and focusing, and subsequent refocussing of a tourist gaze on the French heritage of Akaroa, in light of the nature of heritage and some of the requirements of tourism. In so doing, it is argued that heritage must be seen as a contemporary product which is constructed according to the political, economic and cultural values of the time. As the case study shows, whether to promote communal identity or tourism, heritage is created and packaged, and can be recreated and repackaged as values and needs change.

INTRODUCTION

The township of Akaroa, nestled on Banks Peninsula, has been a destination for visitors and tourists for more than 140 years. Over this period, its fortunes have fluctuated, as has those of most small communities dependent on agriculture. Increasingly, tourism has been seen as an important additional source of revenue. Akaroa has many qualities which attract visitors. It is marked for its beautiful scenery, mild weather and tranquil atmosphere. The harbour provides ample opportunity for water sports and fishing, and the hills surrounding the township are marked out with walking tracks. However, one quality that sets Akaroa apart from other locations is its position as the only site in New Zealand where the French tried to establish a colony.

Akaroa's 'French Connection' has long been included in promotional material for the area. However, the attention given to this aspect of Banks Peninsula's extensive and colourful history has varied as times and fashions have changed. During 1995, the resumption of nuclear testing in the South Pacific by the French had substantial repercussions for the promotion of a French heritage in Akaroa. Having a connection with 'things French' became increasingly unfashionable, and the promotion of Akaroa's French past was widely questioned by the local population. The following paper examines the construction and focusing, and subsequent refocussing of a tourist gaze on the French heritage of Akaroa. The underlying argument here is that heritage must be seen as a contemporary product which is constructed according to the political, economic and cultural values of the time. It is created and packaged, and can be recreated and repackaged, as values change. Heritage is necessarily selective. For this reason, an analysis of the promotion of the 'heritage' of a place must pose questions such as 'whose heritage?' and, 'for what purpose?'

What is Heritage Tourism?

The concept of heritage is one that is widely spoken about in the media, and in the past ten years, has increasingly become the subject of academic debate (for example see Lowenthal, 1985; Hewison, 1987; Lumley, 1988; Walsh, 1992; Boniface & Fowler, 1993; Herbert, 1995). The past two decades have witnessed a huge growth of interest in heritage. The protection of natural heritage- in the form of wilderness preservation, national parks and species conservation- and cultural heritage, such as the protection of buildings, historic sites, cultural artefacts and activities have become prominent issues for governments, private organisations, communities and individuals alike. This has been the case in New Zealand as in other parts of the world. In this country much attention has been paid to natural heritage, through national parks' planning and 'eco-tourism' ventures. However, the built heritage has also been given considerable attention in many urban areas (see Hall & McArthur, 1993).

If one thinks of heritage in terms of a dictionary definition, then it may be defined as the things from the past that are valued or as Hall and McArthur put it "the things we want to keep" (1993, p. 2). These 'things we value' may be material, such as buildings, landscapes or archives, or may be non-material, such as languages, folklore, oral histories and customs. There is often associated with the concept of 'heritage' a notion that it refers to something which is under threat (Hewison, 1987, p. 137), and in popular usage the term 'heritage' carries great emotive weight. The value of the term, as it is popularly used, is not in its "analytical precision, but in its psychological resonance", and heritage is often associated with the concept of nostalgia (Davison, 1991, p. 4; see also Davis, 1979; Lowenthal, 1985).

In popular usage, it is often assumed that heritage is intrinsically related to history, and that heritage somehow 'reflects' history objectively. However, the content of heritage is necessarily selective. Everything that has existed before the present moment can be thought of as 'the past', and by implication, any part of this past may be labelled 'heritage'. Ashworth (1992, p. 96) has suggested that "The past [can be] viewed as a quarry of possibilities only a very small proportion of which will ever be utilised as heritage". Heritage value, therefore, is not based on the inherent quality of 'things' themselves, but on their representative function, that is, they come to represent at a particular point of time, values or ideas considered important by society as a whole, or by some segment of that society. Schouten sums up this relationship between history, heritage, and contemporary value when he says: "Heritage is history processed through mythology, ideology, nationalism, local pride, romantic ideas or just plain marketing, into a commodity" (1995, p. 21; see also Herbert, 1995).

Heritage values can serve social and cultural ends, such as developing a sense of identity and 'communal spirit' within a locality or nation. However, the meanings and symbolism of heritage also serve political ends, for example, the conservation and interpretation of certain heritage sites over others may serve to reinforce a particular version of history or to promote existing political values. Equally, sites that portray the 'wrong' history or interpretations contributing to the 'wrong' ideology will tend to be ignored (see Uzzell, 1989, on 'hot' interpretations of war and conflict).

There are also economic values to contend with, especially when heritage is used as a tourist resource. Whether a historical site is included on a heritage trail or not is often as reliant on its accessibility to consumers and its proximity to other recognised sites, as it is to its historical value. Many 'historical' buildings have been destroyed because it is more economic to use the land for purposes other than heritage tourism (see Ashworth & Tunbridge, 1990; Hall & McArthur, 1993).

The constructed nature of heritage is often most apparent when it is used as a tourism resource. Theme parks and historic sites are often criticised for commodifying some community, or area's precious heritage for financial gain. However, what must be recognised is that all heritage is a commodity and a contemporary creation, developed for some purpose in the present, whether that be for tourism, or to promote or defend some national, or communal identity (see Game, 1990 on conflicting interests over the use of Bondi Beach).

Typically, references to heritage imply consensual, common property: "Distinguished old buildings are spoken of as being part of 'our' heritage. It is suggested that 'we' metaphorically own them and that their preservation is important because they are part of our identity" (Wellington City Art Gallery, 1991, cited in Hall, 1994, p. 203). Such rhetoric neglects the diversity of experiences, values and 'heritages' amongst different groups in a community. It also fails to acknowledge that the needs and requirements of tourists from a heritage site may be very different from those of the local community. Tourists come to experience someone else's heritage, and their values may, and often do, conflict with the people whose 'heritage' they have come to gaze upon or experience (see Ashworth, 1992).

There are other fairly specific demands made of heritage when it is used as a tourist resource. This is due largely to the nature of the tourist experience, an important part of which involves gaining pleasure from gazing upon, or viewing a set of built or natural landscapes or performances (Urry, 1990). Therefore, in order for tourism to exist, there must be something for the tourist to look at, and often, to take pictures of. However the 'tourist gaze' is not simply an act of 'looking' but of 'seeing'. Tourists respond not so much to sights themselves, but to the signs of things- the various meanings and discourses that exist about an object or place. In this way, the tourist gaze, like heritage itself, is not a natural but a cultural construction, and many professional 'experts' are needed to focus the gaze:

> ...tourists are rarely left to draw their own conclusions about objects or places before them. Instead they more often confront a body of public discourse- signs, maps, guides and guidebooks- that repeatedly mark the boundaries of significance and value at tourist sites (Newman 1988, p. 24, cited in Shields, 1991, p. 126).

The tourist experience is also based on the extraordinary- those sites/sights that contrast with everyday experiences (Urry, 1990). However, what is considered extraordinary is not static, and tourist opportunities must continually change to meet new consumer demands. In this context, people and organisations increasingly seek to forge a distinctive image, often centred on place and 'heritage' that will prove attractive to outside interests, and especially visitors.

The value of these additional characteristics of the concept of 'heritage' rests largely on the fact that they problematise the term. They enable one to recognise the contemporary and mutable nature of the heritage product. This provides the opportunity to be critical of what is often blindly ascribed to 'heritage', especially when applied to a specific case study, such as Akaroa.

Akaroa

Akaroa is the best known tourist and holiday location on Banks Peninsula. The village has a resident population of approximately 700, but over Christmas and New Year this increases to 5-6,000. There is also a substantial bach owning population, equal in size to the resident population. Throughout the year, weekends and public holidays witness an influx of day and short stay visitors. Over half of all visitors to Akaroa are Christchurch or Canterbury residents. However, the past ten years has witnessed an increased number of international tourists, 60 percent of whom stay in Akaroa for less than a day. It has been estimated that approximately 13,000 international tourists visited Akaroa in the year ended September 1993 and it is projected that by the end of the century, this number will have doubled (Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu, 1994).

While Akaroa is experiencing rapid growth in its tourist industry in the late twentieth century, it has been renowned as a tourist location since the 1860s, when Akaroa was being referred to as the Brighton, or Riviera of Canterbury, depending on one's point of reference. It has long been marked for its beautiful scenery, mild weather and tranquil atmosphere. As early as 1851, Akaroa's 'pure water, cool breezes, abundant foliage and varied scenery' were being praised, and the settlement was being described as 'the *fashionable* watering-place' (Lyttelton Times, 27/12/1851, p. 5).

There are many reasons why visitors tackle the roads to Akaroa today. The place still has breathtaking scenery and is peaceful and enchanting. The harbour provides ample opportunity for water sports and fishing, and the hills surrounding it are marked out with walking tracks. A recent addition has been the Marine Mammal Sanctuary, the first of its kind in New Zealand, which was established around Akaroa harbour in 1988. Publicity over this, and the presence of an active and friendly population of the rare and endangered Hectors Dolphin, has lead to an increasing awareness and promotion of the natural heritage of the area. Another aspect that sets Akaroa apart from other locations is its 'French Connection'.

Akaroa, it could be argued, began marketing its heritage well before the recent trend towards this type of tourism. As the site of the first European settlement in the South Island, it has long recognised its potential as a site for heritage tourism, or at least, has included this aspect of its colourful history in much of the promotional material.

The basic story of the French attempt to colonise Akaroa is fairly well known, and revolves around the fact that in August 1840, a French ship, the *Comte de Paris*, sailed up Akaroa Harbour. On board was a Captain Langlois, accompanied by a crew of 39 and 57 passengers. The colonists were mostly uneducated French peasants from small country towns, however there were also 12 Germans. The journey was long and arduous, and on arrival the only livestock that had survived was a hen, a duck and a goose.

This was not Langlois' first trip to New Zealand. During the 1830s, at the height of whaling in the area, Langlois had commanded a whaling boat that had worked the waters around the Peninsula. While in Lyttelton in 1838, he purchased the whole of Banks Peninsula (although the deed of purchase was questionable), with the intention of selling the land to the French Government. Langlois returned to France, and the Nanto-Bordelaise Company was set up to colonise the Peninsula. However, while the French were still preparing for their journey to the South Pacific, Governor Hobson obtained the first signatures on the *Treaty of Waitangi*. On May 21 he proclaimed sovereignty over the whole of the South Island by virtue of Cook's discovery and a week later sent Major Bunbury to obtain the signatures of two Akaroa chiefs. Thus, when Captain Langlois finally sailed up Akaroa harbour with his colonists, the British flag was flying.

There were disagreements which continued for years over the validity of Langlois' land claims, however the French were provided with some land, and a number stayed in Akaroa. The Germans opted for land across the hill in the neighbouring bay of Takamatua. The settlement of Akaroa gradually developed in two halves, with one part of the town being referred to as the English half and the other, the French. Two legal systems operated site by side- both a French and English magistrate were resident in the town for the first ten years of settlement.

By 1850, the year of the arrival of Canterbury's first immigration ships, a majority of the people living in the Akaroa basin were British. In 1851 most of the French and German settlers who had stayed applied to Governor Grey for British citizenship, having been told that this would help them secure their land. This, to a great extent, marked the end of the aborted French attempt to establish a colony in New Zealand. The entire experience had lasted little more that a decade, although evidence of French ancestry continued to be evident in surnames and in the memories of the older folk.

It has been suggested that Akaroa now appears more French than it ever did in the 1840s. Since the 1960s, a tourist gaze has been constructed and focused around Akaroa being 'The French connection' in the South Island. Promotional features extol the virtue of Akaroa as a 'graceful Gallic reminder of what might have been' with a 'unique French architecture and atmosphere'. [1]

Evidence of the 'Frenchness' can be seen in the name of the shops and cafes in the town. You can stay at La Bonne Villa, Chez la Mer, La Rive motels or L'hotel; eat at Jacques, C'est La Vie, La Rue, or Astrolabe; buy your souvenirs at Beaux Arts or Pot Pouri and play La Mini Golf. The Shell petrol station also advertises 'l'essence', on one side of its hoarding. These names are mostly recent additions. For example, in 1938 one had a choice of eating at the Kowhai Tea Rooms or Miss Mahon's Esplanade Tea Rooms, buying fruit and vegetables at Price's Corner Shop, and staying at the Ilfracombe Private Hotel.

The French influence in the town is also seen in the street names. Not only are the names French, but are presented in the French form 'Rue'. Many visitors consider this an appropriate reminder of the days of French settlement in Akaroa. What they may fail to realise is that these signs were erected in August 1960 by the Akaroa County Council, when 'Streets' with French names were prefixed by 'Rue'. At the time, the president of the Akaroa Progress Association favoured the move, suggesting that "This will give publicity to Akaroa, and draw attention to the town's historic associations" (Akaroa Mail, 6/9/1960, p. 4)

Two factors can be seen to be at work in this construction of a French heritage. The first relates to the need for something 'extraordinary' to capture the tourist gaze (Urry, 1990). In this regard, a certain aspect of Akaroa's history has been selected for promotion to visitors, and the aspect selected is one unique within New Zealand, namely French settlement. Akaroa does have a history of French settlement, albeit brief. It has a much longer history of Maori occupation and most of the present residents are descendants of early British, and not French settlers. However most towns in New Zealand have British and Maori history. In order to attract tourists, Akaroa needed a distinct image of some sort, and this was achieved by becoming 'Frenchified'. It is evident, then, that the promotion of the French heritage of Akaroa for tourist purposes has involved the quarrying of one aspect of the history of a town.

The second point relates to the specific needs of tourists for something to look at, and often take pictures of. Early Akaroa did look different architecturally from most New Zealand towns; however nearly all of these original French houses have disintegrated or been destroyed. Visible reminders of the days of the French are few. For this reason, markers and signs have been placed to ensure that the tourist does not lose sight of the town's unique history.

The many tourist guidebooks mark the selected qualities that the tourist is expected to appreciate. The history of the French arrival in Akaroa is retold, often with the inclusion of the 'myth' of the race between the British and French from the Bay of Islands to Akaroa.[2]

[1] From a brochure published in October, 1994 by the Banks Peninsula District Council. This approach is indicative of most tourist brochures, which make much of the history of French settlement in Akaroa. See also Hogg, C (1995), in an aptly named article 'Akaroa, Mon Amour'

[2] There is mixed opinion about whether there was in fact a 'race' for Akaroa. However most seem to agree that the French Commissioner, Lavaud was made aware of the Treaty of Waitangi and its implications when the

Much is also written about the distinctive French atmosphere of the narrow streets and typically French buildings and houses. The walnut trees and roses, the guide books tell us, are descended from French varieties. In this way, the tourist gaze on the French Connection is focused:- we are very much directed to 'see' what we are looking at.

This is just one of many possible constructions of Akaroa, but has proved to be lucrative. Gordon Ogilvie possibly summed it up best when he stated: "Cashing in astutely on its origins, Akaroa projects a *perfectly valid image* as a vibrant tourist town with a uniquely Anglo-French colonial style: the only New Zealand township, in fact, with any sort of foreign accent" (Ogilvie, 1994, p. 49, italics added)

A particular part of Akaroa's heritage has been packaged and presented around a 'French connection', one of a number of possible images that could have been selected. It would be wrong to suggest that this construction occurred systematically, or has been universally promoted. The presentation of a 'French heritage' developed in a piecemeal and fragmentary fashion, and tended to be the result of many small initiatives from within the Akaroa County Council, the Akaroa Progress Association, the Akaroa Civic Trust and members of the local business community. However, a deliberate and explicit attempt to attract visitors with a constructed French heritage was made with the establishment of the Akaroa French Festival in 1992.

This project, initiated by the Akaroa Promotions Association in conjunction with the local business community, involved the promotion of an annual weekend, during which the French heritage of the region would be showcased. For the past four years, a festival has been held during the first weekend of October, the timing a deliberate attempt to extend the tourist season. Since its inception, involvement by the local community in the planning of the French Festival has been largely limited to members of the business community. At a debriefing meeting following the 1994 Festival, the question of why more locals did not actively support the event was raised. The response was interesting. It seemed that many residents were reticent about openly supporting a festival which they believed to be purely for the benefit of business people. This restraint was compounded by a feeling that the French heritage was something most of the community had no affinity with:- only a handful of residents had any French ancestry, no one at the local district high school learnt French and as one woman asked rhetorically, who likes the French anyway?

This was not the first time the local population had expressed apprehension regarding the promotion of French heritage in the area. When the Akaroa Museum, centred around the Langlois-Eteveneaux Cottage, was first established in the 1960s, many locals were concerned about donating funds. There seemed to be a widespread feeling that the museum's sole purpose was to commemorate the French ancestors of the area, due to its location in the 'French house' (Steve Lowndes, *pers. com*).

This raises questions about Urry's (1990) suggestion that most initiatives for heritage tourism have their roots in popular support for conservation and the heritage movement in the local community; he seems to underestimate the economic forces behind the growth of the heritage industry. While it is true that there has been some local support for the French heritage of Akaroa, most of this has come from the business community, who have financial incentives for such support. Various local organisations have also acted to preserve the colonial architecture of Akaroa, especially the Akaroa Civic Trust. However claims to support

ship arrived in the Bay of Islands, and seemed to accept its authority. See Ogilvie, 1994 for much more detail on these issues.

their cause are not to be found in a desire to protect the French connection specifically, but to preserve the charm of the place generally.

Urry also discounts the many important political forces that operate within a community and between the various groups involved in the construction of the tourist gaze. For example, 'the local community' is by no means united in the identification of the signifying aspects of their environment. Within the Akaroa area, the 'heritage' being presented has little relevance to most of the residents. It ignores the four to five hundred years of Maori occupation of the area, and the British ancestry of most present residents. The early German residents, who made up twenty per cent of the original 'French' colonists are also largely invisible. [3]

Doubt about the relevance of the French Festival to Akaroa's heritage intensified during 1995, in light of the resumption of Nuclear Testing by the French at Mururoa. Not only did celebrating French heritage sit uneasily with many residents' perception of the heritage of the area, but the values seen to be represented by such a festival had much wider political ramifications. It became increasingly clear, as the date for the French Festival approached, that many locals felt anxious about connecting themselves in any way with things 'French'. Some business people who during the 1980s had jumped on the heritage bandwagon by giving shops French names, became embarrassed and concerned that the association might affect business (Lloyd Edwards, *pers. com*).

Within a short space of time, Akaroa's portrayal of a French connection through a French Festival, went from being a fabrication of some economic merit, to being the 'wrong' history in the eyes of many local people. Continuing to promote a French Festival seemed inappropriate, and letters to the editor of *The Akaroa Mail* poured in. Many suggestions were made as to what should be done, including the tongue-in-cheek suggestion that the French Festival be renamed:

> ... the Akaroa Non-French Festival weekend. [This]... would obviously involve the removal of all things French .... To complete this ethnic cleansing we would have to reverse the first French landing. All citizens with French names would gather in period costume at the landing site, at 3pm with the French National anthem being played backwards they would enter small boats and row back to France as we slowly lowered the French flag...(Akaroa Mail, 30.6.95).

This last suggestion alluded to an important part of the 1994 French Festival, which involved a re enactment of the arrival of the French at Akaroa, complete with period costume and French Champagne. Much of the correspondence, however, was not so light hearted, and became heated, especially after one of the important sponsors of the event, the Akaroa Community Arts Council, withdrew all funding, due to the feeling that they should "have the courage to say no to things French at this time" (Akaroa Mail, 28.7.95).

There was also the suggestion that a different group of ancestors be recognised, in light of the diverse ancestry of the local population:

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3 The bay where they settled, Takamatua, had generally been known as 'German Bay' by the settlers until World War One, when this connection was deemed inappropriate. In 1916 waterside workers refused to load cheese from the German Bay factory, despite the fact that there had been no Germans living in the bay since the 1890s. This resulted in the residents asking for the bay's name to be changed to Takamatua, the original Maori designation (Ogilvie, 1994, p. 162).

> ...We have done the French theme, ... now we can move on and enjoy a new approach. Shall we celebrate our English ancestors this year with a wonderful 'British Festival'. I'm a bit tired of French crissants [sic], how about some good ole' English Trifle? (Akaroa Mail, 11.8.95).

The voice of the French descendants in Akaroa did not go unheard in all this, however:

> Regarding the furore over the French (?) Festival, we feel obliged to make some comment on it.... Boycotting the festival is hardly likely to change political policies....The majority of France does not support nuclear testing either. Some of us had seen the Festival as a small gesture towards honouring our ancestors (Akaroa Mail, 28.7.95).

What is perhaps most interesting here, is that during this debate, a very different construction of Akaroa's heritage became apparent. For many residents of Akaroa, the area's nuclear free heritage was much more relevant, and timely than its French heritage, the following quotation being typical:

I have always been proud to be a resident of this wonderful Banks Peninsula but never more so than on the day in 1984 when we became a Nuclear Weapon Free Zone. We were one of the first counties in New Zealand to be so and we had to overcome a great deal of apathy to achieve that status...[4] (Akaroa Mail, 30.6.95).

One of the results of such debate was the renaming of the French Festival the Nuclear Free French Festival, with the word French crossed out. The conference organiser stated that the reason for this was twofold. The move provided the opportunity to present a positive peaceful protest against French Nuclear Testing, while acknowledging that French culture is still something to be cherished (Akaroa Mail, 14/7/95).

There is no doubt that the publicity received by Akaroa regarding the Nuclear Free French Festival during the planning stages was much greater in 1995 than in any year previously, both nationally and internationally. The festival organiser was interviewed by Reuters, with press releases throughout Europe. A camera crew from Hong Kong even came out to film the town. Denying a heritage that had been at best, tenuous, seemed to be a great selling point.

When the Akaroa Mail went to print with the issue advertising the Festival, instead of a French flag on the front page, there was a peace symbol, and whether deliberate or an oversight, the word 'French' disappeared completely from the festival name, and it was advertised as: "Akaroa's Non-nuclear Festival". Despite assurances that it was French culture, and not French politics that the festival celebrated, there remained sensitivity towards the connection with anything French. In the end, the potential of financial gains to be made from heightened publicity was rejected, in response to a refusal on the part of the local community to have anything to do with the festival. The festival weekend came, the weather was fine for the first time in its four year history, and the event fizzled. Without the support of the local community, the event was a non-event.

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4 Akaroa was not in fact one of the first counties in New Zealand to be Nuclear free. At the time Akaroa County became nuclear free, 73 counties throughout New Zealand had already declared themselves such, representing 53% of New Zealand's population (Steve Lowndes, *pers. com.*). This clearly indicates the constructed nature of heritage, whether for financial reasons or to support some communal identity.

Akaroa at the Crossroads: Where to From Here?

On the 28th of July, 1995, a photograph appeared in the *Akaroa Mail*, which nicely illustrated the dilemma facing Akaroa. It showed a set of three street signs at an Akaroa intersection. Two of the signs were untouched, and they read 'Rue Jolie' and 'Rue Balguerie'. The third had a new message covering one of the French names which read 'Green Earth'. This photograph is significant for the fact that it encapsulates some important changes that have been taking place in the township of Akaroa over the past few years, and in the portrayal of the area's heritage to tourists. There is little doubt that the 'French connection' seems to be losing its appeal as an image for the promotion of the town for many local residents. There is also a growing anxiety about the level and nature of tourism development in the area. Recent attempts to set up a Hole-In-One golf challenge on the waterfront, and plans for a Helipad and Marina have raised concerns that Akaroa will become 'another Queenstown', and lose the peaceful and tranquil atmosphere that has been a feature of the town for 140 years.

In response to these concerns, projects are underway to develop 'quality' tourism on the Peninsula. One such project is a plan to establish a Cultural Institute, focusing on cultural tourism, and drawing on the French associations of Akaroa (Clothier, 1995). There has also been a series of meetings in the town, called 'Tourism Think Tanks' convened to discuss how the worst effects of tourism may be overcome. These have looked particularly towards the potential of 'eco-tourism', or 'green tourism' for a more sustainable growth in the area.

The focusing of a tourist gaze on Akaroa's heritage looks set to continue, albeit with a different emphasis. Akaroa is at a crossroads in its development, and it seems that an increasing proportion of the local residents wish to follow the road towards green tourism, particularly focussed around the presence of Hectors dolphins and the recently formed Marine Mammal Sanctuary. These are both unique elements of New Zealand's natural heritage, and the dolphins have begun to replace the French flag on promotional brochures. However, this is not to say that the days promoting the history of French settlement in Akaroa are over. Already the history of French settlement in Akaroa is being reconstructed as a starting point for cultural tourism, based on a Cultural Institute, where visitors will be attracted by visual arts and languages. Times, and the tourist gaze change, what remains clear is that constructions of heritage will continue to be important in Akaroa, both as a source of communal identity, and a resource for tourism promotion.

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The Personal Sustainability of Tourism

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ABSTRACT

It is common to define tourism as a temporary stay in places which are not one's usual place of residence. Explicit in such definitions is the observation that people stop travelling. While in some circumstances this can be easily explained in terms of availability of time, money or some other resource, in more open-ended travel experiences of interest is why the travel episode is brought to a close. Of further interest is the question of why travel, in some people's lives, is restricted to certain periods or ceases entirely as a chosen leisure activity. This paper explores the notion that tourism, like any human activity, is sustained in the lives of individuals by psychological and social psychological processes. It presents a framework for understanding the complex of processes involved in the personal sustainability of tourism.

INTRODUCTION

People move around in the world for all sorts of reasons. Tourism is just a particular form of this movement. One of the fascinating things about travel is that, as Leiper (1990) has noted, at any one point in time most people are *not* travelling. It is a minority activity. For *most* of the time *most* people do not travel and for the majority of those who do travel it is temporally circumscribed. This is clearly brought out in definitions of tourism and the tourist which stipulate the temporary nature of a person's stay in an area. In a person's life, travel does not seem to be permanent or *sustainable*. Of course, people do not have the money or time to travel continuously. Societies are not structured so as to make constant travel an option for most individuals. However, there are other 'levels' involved in the sustainability of travel which will be demonstrated here. Further, a full answer to this question has implications for the more typical concerns considered under the topic of the sustainability of tourism, a topic which at the moment is centre stage in the literature.

The sustainability of tourism is often considered in ecological terms and from the point of view of the destination. That is, as Butler's (1980) now well known model of a destination area life cycle suggests, unfettered touristic development in a city, region or country may not guarantee unending tourists and, in fact, is likely to reduce the destinations 'half-life'. Resources can be used or damaged and capacities can be breached early in development. Pearce (1995) suggests that the emphasis on ecological sustainability has meant that social and cultural sustainability have been overlooked. In this article one possible framework for beginning to understand the personal and social sustainability of travel in the lives of individuals will be considered. It will be argued that, at its heart, the sustainability of tourism is ultimately about the sustainability of a particular complex of human practices or, to use my preferred term, *forms of life*. The term 'form of life' is taken from the philosophy of Wittgenstein (1953) and, amongst Wittgensteinian scholars has been a notoriously difficult notion to pin down. Whatever the 'final' view of the concept may be it is used to emphasise what I believe is the primacy of meaningful human practice. Any explanation of a phenomenon as complex as sustainability must deal with this primary complexity rather than reduce it to units that are supposedly more 'manageable'.

Personally Sustainable Tourism

As well as being a form of life which we can understand, in the loosest sense of the word, as something social or public, touristic activity - and travel in general - is at one level also a *personal* experience. It is individual people who travel and have the experiences. It is individual persons who decide to travel, who desire to travel, who see the sights and remember their trips. It is also individuals who change the way they travel or even cease to travel altogether during their life.

So, just what are these experiences? Rather than being some subjective, private 'internal' experience had by individual psychological subjects I understand personal experience to be ultimately an aspect of a form of life. In particular, it is that aspect that involves an *enactment* of a form of life. To experience something is therefore to live out possibilities within a form of life and to engage with the meanings inherent within it. In this way personal experience is intimately related to the more public - and therefore accessible and understandable - features of particular forms of life.

Further, and as already implied, the unit of analysis in this context is the 'person' rather than sub- or, for that matter, supra-personal processes. In this sense it is aligned with various 'social constructionists' within psychology such as Rom Harré, John Shotter, and, to a certain extent Kenneth and Mary Gergen. Following Harré (1995) an individual is seen as an "embodied person" who is variously positioned in time and space, within certain social relations and within various moral orders pertinent to particular situations. In other words, we as human beings can occupy changing and manifold positions within forms of life (what Harré, 1983, considers a 'conversation'). But it is our embodiment which connects these various positions rather than some self constituted of a mental substance.

To return to the main theme of this paper, the sustainability of tourism is also, therefore, about the sustainability of a number of personal experiences involving that form of life, or forms of life, we can call 'tourism'. Just how sustainable are these experiences for persons and what makes these experiences sustainable or not? What ultimate bounds exist for the possibilities involved in experiencing this particular form of life? What is required to answer such questions is some acknowledgement of the broader context within which these factors themselves make sense. If this broader context is ignored or misunderstood then I believe our understanding of travel as an example of human action will be too fragmentary, probably be mistaken, and have limited applicability.

Of course, the exposure of non-tourists to visiting tourists and touristic activities also involves personal experiences. However, the particular personal experiences which will be the focus of the following discussion are those of the tourist or traveller rather than the host. Obviously, the experiences of the hosts can have considerable impact on the sustainability of tourism as an industry, and this is widely acknowledged (e.g., Doxey, 1976; Liu, Sheldon & Var, 1987; Long, Perdue & Allen, 1990; Perdue, Long & Allen, 1987). However, the sustainability of the experiences of *tourists* has been neglected. 'Personal sustainability of tourism'in this context includes all those factors which determine an individual's continuation of the activity of tourism or travel with respect to particular travel episodes and travel in general. As was argued above concerning personal experience, the personal sustainability of tourism can only be fully understood once the form of life (or forms of life) involved are clearly seen.

It could be argued that personal sustainability does not have much bearing on the sustainabililty of tourism overall, since there is apparently a never ending supply of new travellers to replace any who suspend or terminate travel in their lives. For a destination and its host community what really matters, it follows, are the typical *impacts* that travellers have rather than whether or not particular people cease travelling (or do not begin in the first place). However, the actions of persons are not atomistic. Implicit in the approach adopted here is the view that what one person does is not independent of the meanings concerning particular actions that are current in society - and amongst human beings even - as a whole. The meaningfulness of human action is intrinsically a public and shared meaningfulness. Thus, the actions of a single person are resonant of meanings potentially accessible and experiencable by all. It is the shared awareness of the meanings of human action that provides a link between personal experiences and social phenomena. When persons are understood as themselves aspects of the forms of life that allow sense to be made of life then it becomes easy to see how this link is possible. If we maintain a dualistic view of persons and the world it is impossible.

The following section is an overview of the current research on the dimensions involved in understanding what sustains and what undermines, in the lives of individual persons, that particular form of life known as travel or tourism. After this discussion I will present my favoured approach to examining this issue. Finally, some conclusions are drawn

Patterns of Travel During Life

Early motivational theories of travel tended to ignore the possibility that travel behaviour varies in the lives of individuals and were more concerned with differentiating tourists in terms of motivational categories (eg., Gray, 1970). Of central interest were the internal psychological factors or reasons that lead to travel behaviour. It was assumed that these reasons could form a base for a causal, psychological theory of travel behaviour which could then be used for practical ends such as the prediction of tourist flows and as an aid in marketing efforts. However, as Mansfeld (1992) later commented, these early theories were largely oversimplifications and did not provide much real benefit in performing this predictive task. Further, lists of motives on their own are theoretically shallow and have explanatory weakness. In particular, they have trouble in providing any useful explanation of the *dynamic* aspects of travel behaviour and experience. In this regard Pearce (1993, p. 120) noted that "the challenge for a good theory of tourist motivation is to have this tapestry, this interlocking pattern of shifting and fluctuating motives represented and treated within the theoretical formulation."

While theoretically based, Plog's (1991) much cited personality approach still exemplifies this difficulty. According to Plog (1991) people have more or less stable personalities that predispose them to travel or not to travel as the case may be. While dynamic changes in the popularity of *destination areas* can be explained under Plog's theory, this is achieved not in terms of hypothesised personality development over time *within* individual travellers but, rather, by changes in the make-up of the population of visitors to an area. That is, over time there is a shift in the 'average' personality of the population of visitors to a destination such that the 'psychocentric' personality becomes increasingly represented.

Madrigal (1995) compared the utility of Plog's model against that of the 'personal values approach'. The latter assumes that a person's travel behaviour is determined by personal values that are central to "the individual's cognitive structure" (Madrigal, 1995, p. 126). Values were found to be a better predictor of travel behaviour than Plog's approach. As social constructionists in psychology have argued in several contexts (eg., Harré, 1986, concerning emotions) of vital importance in understanding human action is an understanding of the 'moral order' within which it occurs. That is, human action can often only be understood in terms of the 'rules' or 'obligations' that a person habitually follows and the agreement via action they show with particular moral interpretations of situations. Ignoring the difference between the 'internality' of Madrigal's (1995) cognitivist assumptions and the 'externality' of the social constructionist position it is clear that in order to understand travel and its sustainability a means of understanding the web of meanings surrounding it is required.

Recently, there have also been theories proposed which try to accommodate changing motivations within the lives of travellers in order to explain changing patterns of travel. Iso-Ahola's (1983) dialectical theory of recreational travel behaviour explicitly mentions the changing nature of motivations to travel. He suggests that travellers are continuously trying to find optimal levels of stimulation in both their personal and interpersonal environments. Travel serves as a homeostatic mechanism which, because it takes place in free time and is freely chosen, helps individuals 'fine tune' their needs for particular experiences during their lives. However, even this dynamic and dialectical model presupposes a world of meaningful acts (forms of life) within which certain actions will produce desired changes in levels of stimulation. The mechanism, in a sense, is too 'blunt'. It is the particular meanings of certain acts that *allow* them to alter stimulation levels in personal and interpersonal environments.

Perhaps the most developed model of travel behaviour that seeks to incorporate the changing nature of a single person's experience of travel can be found in Pearce's (1988; 1993) well known 'travel career ladder', or 'tapestry' as he has come to call it. In this model an individual is said to have a 'career' in travel during his or her life. The career involves progressing through a modified version of Maslow's (1954) need hierarchy. A travel career can begin at any level and terminate at any time. Progress through the career can be fast or slow and even operate in reverse. Pearce (1988; 1993) mentions that people can sometimes 'drop out' of a travel career but, as yet, little research has been carried out to support this suggestion or to provide an understanding of the kinds of factors that may cause this to happen. For Pearce (1993, p. 121), people who cease to travel are no longer "part of the system".

Yet, I would argue that such people are very much part of the continuing 'system' and their cessation is reflective of certain possibilities within the forms of life associated with travel. Their cases therefore can provide interesting insights into travel and its various roles in people's lives. Further, the emphasis of the empirical research under Pearce's model so far has focused on the way that *motives* for travel change over time rather than considering patterns of travel and non-travel activity themselves. Nevertheless, Pearce's model does potentially allow for some conceptual emphasis to be given to those factors which help sustain and undermine travel behaviour in a person's life.

Oppermann (1995) goes further than most in considering temporal changes in travel patterns. Noting the need for data on period, life-cycle and generational changes in relation to travel behaviour, Oppermann (1995) used a questionnaire to ask for details on respondents' past history of travel concerning frequency of trips longer than three nights away, destination choice and stage in life-cycle. Basic data, such as provided by Oppermann (1995), raise questions about the forces determining travel behaviour and its sustainability over time. Explanatory variables such as the 'life cycle' or economic factors do not provide a complete answer as the following comment from Oppermann (1995, p. 548) makes clear:

> Through their travelling the youth [of Germany] gain different travel *experiences*, which makes it unlikely that they will select the same destinations as previous generations in later stages of their life span. This could have an enormous impact on tourism destinations,

> particularly on those places that, at the moment, depend on the older generations as their main market. Thus, such destinations cannot rely on the younger generation to sustain their market share (emphasis added).

Despite the acknowledged importance of the experiences still no framework is provided to understand them or the meaning they have for the tourists. However, as implied, these experiences and meanings will be linked to broader social processes (forms of life) which explain inter-generational differences.

The leisure behaviour literature has come further than the tourism literature in examining the 'sustainability' of its corresponding activities of interest. Rapoport and Rapoport (1975), in an early attempt, linked leisure behaviour to patterns of behaviour in family and work settings (they called them 'planes') using a life-cycle perspective. This interactive, developmental perspective has perhaps been complemented by an increasing interest in the full range of factors that 'constrain' leisure, including social, cultural and social psychological factors (eg., Iso-Ahola and Mannell, 1985; Jackson, 1988; Jackson, Crawford and Godbey, 1993).

There has also been recent theoretical interest in reasons for starting, ceasing and replacing leisure activities. For example, Iso-Ahola, Jackson and Dunn (1994) carried out a major survey in Canada involving almost four thousand households to examine starting, ceasing and replacing leisure activities over the life-span. Data were interpreted within a dialectical perspective previously emphasised and developed by Iso-Ahola (1980) in which a person is said to be using leisure activities to seek out stability and change over the life-span, a search directed by that individual's particular optimal level for such stimulation. The conclusions of the study do not need to be detailed here but something can be said about the approach. Once again, underlying the research is the assumption that cessation, starting and replacement of leisure activities is governed primarily by internal psychological states and characteristics which have their own developmental paths. The "search for novelty" (Iso-Ahola et al, 1994, p. 230), for example, is thought to increase from childhood to adulthood and then level off and decline in late adulthood. The effect and influence of social factors on this process is acknowledged by the authors but is not examined more closely.

Research in tourism could follow the lead of leisure research and explore changing patterns of travel using a similar approach. However, the main point here is that ultimately, it will not be enough to provide psychological or even sociological theories to understand the patterns and, perhaps more significantly, the *possiblities* involved in travel activity, if sustainability is to be properly understood. The next section attempts to explain this last point.

The Personal Experience of Travel

It was claimed in the introduction that an understanding of the sustainability of tourism should include consideration of the personal sustainability of travel in the life of individual persons. This claim is based on the assumption that there is no mere accidental relationship between patterns of travel in the life of the individual, on the one hand, and general issues concerning the sustainability of tourism, on the other. Rather, the two are linked by common understandings of the nature and form of travel.

The factors that contribute to the sustainability of travel episodes or travel in general in someone's life are various. As already mentioned, available money and time are two obvious factors. Psychological factors such as personality (Plog, 1991) personal tendencies to seek out stimulation or otherwise (Iso-Ahola, 1983) and personal values (eg., Madrigal, 1995) are others. While these are all valid and important to consider in explaining the personal sustainability of travel, I would like to emphasise a different type of factor. The personal sustainability of travel depends on the 'possibilities' involved in that shared form of life. These 'possibilities' help make sense of the psychological, economic, sociological, historical, etc. factors used to explain the travel. Without an understanding of the activity at *this* level such explanations would themselves be meaningless. For example, loneliness and social isolation may be seen as the factors that explain a particular person's act of ceasing to travel. However, it is our common and shared understanding of what it is to be lonely when travelling (or, if we have never travelled or been lonely while travelling, what it *might be like*) that, finally, provides sense to the explanation. The following example may help demonstrate the point.

Nobody in New Zealand is surprised when a young New Zealander expresses the need (that is, begins to talk about and in other ways demonstrate a need) to travel away from his or her home country for an extended period to the other side of the world. If anything, it is part of the social 'norm' known as the 'OE' (overseas experience). Yet, such a desire would be seen as quite unusual and even a sign of severe aberration in some societies and social groups and, consequently, would be actively discouraged. Social norms specific to New Zealand (and perhaps Australia) have provided a 'window of opportunity' for young people to travel extensively during their early adult years. Interestingly, this 'window' can rapidly close later on in the young person's life. Social norms related to age-appropriate activities may even be internalised to the point where that type of travel, or even travel itself, may no longer be desired or seen as important.

To understand this particular type of travel fully we must be aware of the overlapping forms of life involved and the way in which the meaningfulness of a form of life is composed. The OE is not mere 'travel behaviour'. It is perhaps connected to widely understood patterns of activity associated with youth and maturing. Perhaps, also, it is connected to forms of life associated with origins, or escape, or whatever.

So, how might we begin to understand the forms of life in this and other types of travel, and how they are related? Each of these forms of life is at first glance an extremely complex web of experience and meaning. One helpful starting point could be to employ what Finch (1995) describes as the four ways in which Wittgenstein thought about 'meaning'. These are: (1) meaning as *use*; (2) meaning as *rule-following*; (3) meaning as *custom*; and (4) meaning as *physiognomy*. For example, travelling in a particular way involves following certain 'rules' or conventions such as applying for visas, paying for accommodation before-hand, using local currency, etc. It also involves the *performance* of various rituals or customs and the production of certain 'myths' in relation to travel (e.g., bargaining in tourist marketplaces, conversations about where one is from or how one likes it 'here', the fashionableness of certain destinations, etc.). Travel also involves talking and thinking about it in certain ways using a variety of concepts such as 'package holiday', 'tour' 'sightseeing', 'exploring', 'discovering', etc.. Finally, it also involves various 'physiognomies', or appearances (e.g., maps of places, photographs in brochures or taken by the tourist, the welcoming smile of the immigration officer, the faces of bored tourists in a museum, etc.). The travel form of life (or forms of life) has at least all of these aspects incorporated into its meaningfulness and cannot be reduced to any one The sustainability of such travel for the individual is to be found ultimately in these customs, rules, concepts and physiognomies. That is, it is to be found in the manifestations of meaning that compose it. It is these that help us to make sense of all the psychological, sociological and other factors to which we normally attend in trying to understand travel (or any other human practice).

The approach suggested in this paper, I believe, is the only way to make travel *clear* to us as researchers. It does not *explain* travel or explain its sustainability as a form of life. However, I believe it puts those explanations we do have in their proper place - as human activities that themselves need to be understood clearly.

The Sustainability of Tourism

The approach described allows us to do more than understand the personal experience of travel and why that travel occurs and ceases to occur. It also provides insight into the sustainability of tourism as a whole. The social, cultural and even environmental sustainability of tourism rest on the extent to which the relevant form of life - or forms of life - can be sustained. In other words, how we are to understand the sustainability of tourism is identical to how we can understand the sustainability of personal experiences of travel. The two are, in a deep sense, the same. This is because, from the perspective adopted here, there is no sharp division between persons and the social, cultural and physical environments of which they are a part. For example, a social environment in which a certain type of travel is no longer sustainable (eg., coach tours) is ultimately one in which certain features of that form of life (or forms of life) no longer make sense and so are not performed, and, indeed, cannot be performed. As Wittgenstein (1953) put it, it is agreement in forms of life which underpins all human activity. Without this agreement a form of life is dead. No amount of enforcement of laws or persuasion can bring it back to life.

However, there is one more point that should be made and which has been noted previously. There is a sense in which a form of life may be 'resurrected'. What has been discussed does not only concern the actual, as it were, empirical ways in which travel is *actually* enacted. It also leaves room for understanding the *possible* ways in which travel can make sense and therefore occur. Customs, rules, concepts and physiognomies are not inflexible. Their meaningfulness is not fixed in any factual sense. Rules can always be followed in a different way from that in which they are usually followed *without being violated* (this is a central insight in Wittgenstein's later philosophy). There is no single 'one and only' way to follow a rule, or practice a custom, or apply a concept or respond to a picture (physiognomy). Sometimes we just do things differently and that is the end of it.

This is one of the major advantages of the approach recommended here. By attempting to understand directly the forms of life that underpin travel behaviour we are better able to consider the possibilities of this particular form of life. Through travel, individuals explore not only the world but also the forms of life involved.

Sustainability might suggest to us a kind of preservation of a particular state or some equilibrium condition. In fact, it is more likely to involve a type of 'natural' change that originates from the possiblities inherent in forms of life. Extensions of tourism into activities, places and situations that a few decades ago would have been unthinkable reveal these possibilities. They are features of forms of life and arise through a process of metaphor and analogy. That is, we notice that one way of doing something or thinking about something is like another. For example, sightseeing objects and places is not unlike examining a people or a culture. Many of the same 'language-games' and forms of life can be used. In doing this, misunderstandings between people can arise, of course, but in a modified form the activity can be sustained.

The sustainability of tourism is therefore finally dependent on the possibilities that are inherent in its forms of life. Which is to say it is dependent on the different ways in which rules can be followed or customs can be practiced and ultimately in which experiences can be had.

CONCLUSIONS

I have argued that more research needs to be carried out to discover the sorts of factors involved in explaining changing patterns of travel in an individual's life. I also claimed that what is needed is a comprehensive understanding of the meaningful human practices involved in travel and within which an individual's travel activity can be understood. It was then proposed that understanding travel as ultimately a 'form of life' allows for this to be done.

I also claimed that the sustainability of tourism is finally about the sustainability of particular human practices or 'forms of life' (even more than environments, communities, societies and cultures). The sustainability of tourism also necessarily includes the sustainability of certain personal experiences understood as enactments of particular forms of life associated with travel. Understood in this way, the personal experiences of travellers are expressions or manifestations of publicly meaningful forms of life and make sense once these are made explicit. Psychological, social psychological and, indeed, sociological factors are subsumed under these forms of life and their operation can only be understood through them.

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