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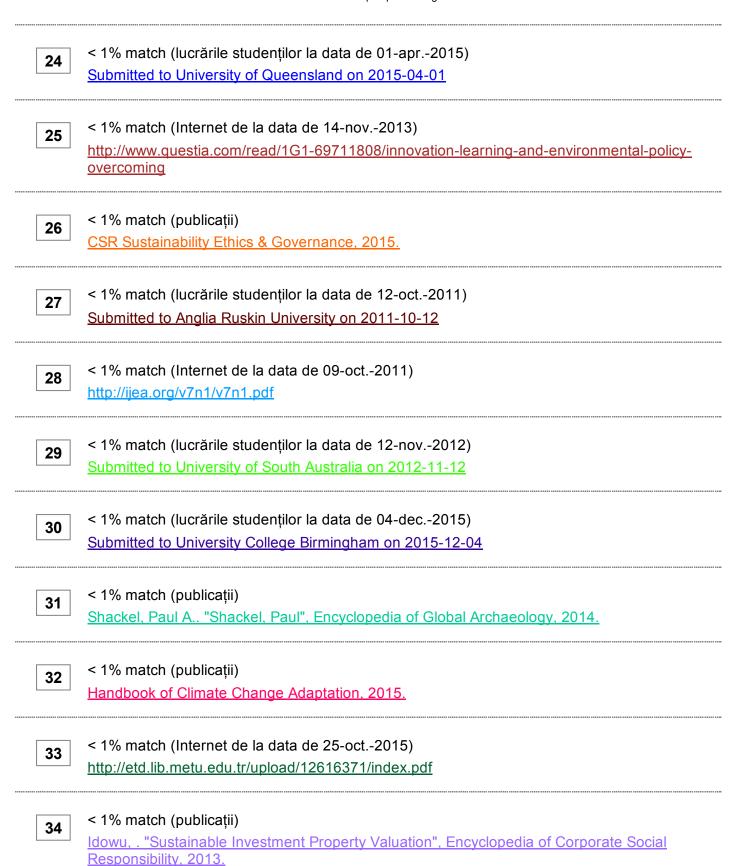http://scholar.lib.vt.edu/theses/available/etd-08172003-150141/unrestricted/DISSERTATION.pdf

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TOURISTS' ROLES IN A SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: POLLUTERS, MITIGATORS AND BELIEVERS Marinus C. GISOLF Senior Consultant at Tourism Theories – Costa Rica marinus@tourismtheories.org Abstract On September 25th 2015 the United Nations adopted a renewed set of global sustainable development goals, whereby again tourism was hardly mentioned. The more recent COP21 agreement on climate change has made clear the urge for all parties to be involved. This paper aims to discuss therefore the extent to which tourists can contribute positively to a sustainable tourism development depending their

predisposition and ways of experiencing. The research was carried out by means of a current literature review using a descriptive and exploratory approach. First, insight is gained in the ways of experiencing of tourists, while next space/place relations at holiday destinations are examined as well as which type of tourists is likely to move in each selected area. A framework is then developed, that allows for determining three so-called experience zones at holiday destinations, whereby each zone contains different characteristics for the roles tourists can play in a sustainable tourism development. Dividing a holiday destination into sections according to space/place relations in combination with tourists' modes of experiencing wields valuable insights not only into the extent tourists can contribute positively to a sustainable development, but also into the relationship between tourists and the environment they move in. Key words: COP21, sustainable development goals, space/place, Tourist Experience Model JEL Classification: Q56, Z30, Z32. I. INTRODUCTION The role of tourists in a sustainable tourism development has never been defined, clarified or recorded. The Global Sustainable Development Goals established by the UN in September 2015 (UN, 2015) only mentioned tourism in 3 of its 17 main goals: in goal 8 on economic growth, goal 12 on ensuring sustainable consumption and goal 14 on

> 33**the conservation and sustainable use of** the oceans. Since **social** mobility in general **and**

holiday tourism specifically have become of vital importance for the economies of nearly all countries around the globe and a sound sustainable development needs the support of each and everyone on this earth, it is remarkable that tourists have not been mentioned specifically. Only during the last 25 years or so calls are heard for tourists to "mitigate their foot prints", "to go green" or to "respect the locals" without making clear what is actually meant by these cries for action. Undoubtedly the main reason is the fact, that the concept "tourist" is nearly as broad as there are people on earth and cries for mitigating one's footprints may apply to any situation – starting at one's own door step. The generalized state of the concept "tourist" impedes the prescribing of specific actions. However, there is another argument for the unclear role tourists play in sustainable development and this argument may turn out to be even more powerful. At large tourism is still considered to be a foremost economic activity following a producer-product-client structure. Since in mercantile thinking clients are supposed to be the dominant actors, it cannot be expected from them to mitigate any footprint if they do not wish to do so. Tourists are seen primarily as clients and this economic status dominates 'secondary' considerations such as the case of sustainability (Gisolf, 2014). However, the Paris' COP21 agreements on climate change (UN-COP21, 2015) clearly indicate, that the many reports on climate change, global warming or loss of biodiversity (see e.g. Ruddiman, 2005; McKibben, 2011; Peeters & Landré, 2012; UN, 2015), are going to be implemented and that a sound sustainable development is paramount, though not the only action to be taken. Therefore leaving tourists outside a sustainable development and transferring sustainability responsibilities to just the producer side of tourism will limit the necessary actions to reverse the harmful trends tourism causes. This paper presents a theoretical discussion arguing that a multi-disciplinary approach towards the phenomenon of tourism may shed light on the possibilities and opportunities that are presented to tourists to act responsibly in any tourism activity or environment. A phenomenological approach is embarked on viewing tourism as an encounter between tourists and the environment they move in. Then the role of sustainable development is looked into and more specifically into the tourism spaces and places that mould the tourist activity. It is argued that the more tourists are able to detach from their familiar ways of behaviour and attach to the destination's ways of living the more they will be in a position to consider a positive attitude towards the holiday destination's development. Then a model is set up showing those areas within the tourism activity that provides most opportunities for tourists to

having a positive influence on the destination's sustainable development and its use is further explained.
II. DEVELOPMENT, SUSTAINABILITY AND TOURISM In 1987 a vision on development came to the fore laid down in what is now

10**known as the** Bruntland **report: 'Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (WCED, 1987:**

49). The urge behind this vision can be traced back, among others,

27**to the report of the Club of Rome (Meadows et. al., 1972)**

called Limits to Growth. This report assumed that population and industrial production will keep on growing in a world with fixed available resources leading to a series of compromising effects, such as an ever-increasing pollution, lack of non-renewable resources and soil erosion, while the resulting food shortages could mean a population collapse during the 21st century. At the time the case for there being limits to economic growth as a result of environmental constraints did not receive much support by a majority of mainstream economists. In turn, the Bruntland report pointed to a development structure based on three fundamental pillars, that is to say (UNEP &

7**UNWTO, 2005): • Economic sustainability, which means generating prosperity at different levels of society and addressing the cost effectiveness of all economic activity. In** this respect a **long-term** vision is crucial. • **Social sustainability, which means respecting human rights and equal opportunities for all in society.**

Among others, an emphasis is put

3**on local communities, maintaining and strengthening their life support systems, recognizing and respecting different cultures and avoiding any form of exploitation. • Environmental sustainability, which means conserving and managing resources, especially those that are not renewable or are precious in terms of life support. It requires action to minimize pollution of air, land and water, and to conserve biological diversity and natural heritage. It is important to appreciate that these three pillars are in many ways interdependent and can be both mutually reinforcing** or **in competition. Delivering sustainable development means striking a balance between them (UNEP & UNWTO, 2005:**

9). However, within the light of economic sciences it is suggested that sustainable development concepts

have

11emerged in an attempt to reconcile conflicting value positions with regard to the environment and the perception that there is an environmental problem which **requires** a **solution**

which now is being recognised as global (Hall et al., 2015). Unlike the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the environment is now a global issue that requires both an international response and a global analysis. Although initially tourism was hardly mentioned in either of the two reports, during the 1990s it had become clear that tourism was a major economic force combining beneficial and harmful outcomes of its activity. Tourism was, and still is, seen as a mechanism to both conserve the environment and provide for economic development and employment generation (UN, 2015). During the 1990s a series of proposals were to follow regarding the core issues that surround sustainable development. Tourism as means of poverty alleviation was one of such initiatives (see e.g. Daly, 1991), while much attention was drawn to John Elkington's 1998 publication introducing the notion of a triple bottom line: ecology-economy-social with emphasis on sustainable human development (Elkington, 1998). There is now a growing recognition that environmental conservation is ultimately socially constructed and culturally driven and recognition must be given to cultural values, particularly those of indigenous peoples, and broader principles of environmental justice (Hall et al., 2015). In practice it means, that to ensure that nature areas are preserved, somewhat paradoxically people will have to be allowed to visit environmental sensitive surroundings so that policy makers can be persuaded to maintain their reserve status. Additionally, the notion that international tourism can be promoted

3as a means of alleviating poverty while simultaneously reducing tourism's contribution to climate change is also being **increasingly criticised (Gössling,**

Peeters et al., 2008; Gössling, Scott and Hall 2013; Peeters and Landré, 2012).

4Meanwhile one has to realize that the lack of the State's effective capacity to guarantee the complete protection of eco-systems and the need for productive alternatives in nature buffer zones have created an opportunity for community based **sustainable tourism developed by local people** in order **to find a solution to the eternal conflict between conservation and development.**

However, so far the role of tourists themselves has only scarcely been mentioned in the literature on sustainable tourism development and this role has been limited to portraying tourists as clients in an economy driven setting. Negative impacts on local level concern the environment directly (diminishing biodiversity, deforestation, waste, etc.), water (quality and supply), the air or culture, affecting not only urban areas but also rural communities (Fernandez and Ramos, 2015). Although the global issues of development dominate most agendas (see UN-COP21, 2015), next an outline is given of how on a local level the participation of tourists in the tourism activity can be in support of a sustainable tourism development and this same process can provide a wide array of opportunities for the key stakeholder in

the tourism process: tourists themselves. III. TOURISTS AND WHAT THEY COME FOR. While mere satisfaction is considered to be the expected primary outcome of the encounter between tourists and holiday destination, tourists may well be motivated to go beyond the level of satisfying needs and venture into spaces and places where their home rules may not apply and outcomes and consequences are unknown. When entering the unknown tourists have to rely on their expectations, previous experiences, factual travel knowledge and personality (García Mas, 2005). It means that the tourist's mind relies either

> 1**on known activities or** opens up to **new ones.**

This can be related to a part of

> 1**what constitutes the mind's activity, namely repetition of what it already knows and exploration of what it does not know.**

The

> 1**tourist's mind becomes aware of its destination in either of** these **two outlined modalities: the mind applies the perceptual norms, standards and expectations of a person whose perception seeks the alignment with roles, or his/her mind is humanistically oriented and seeks spontaneous convergence of emotions and** situations **that reflects the individual's existence at each given moment** (Gnoth **and**

Matteucci, 2014).

> 1**If the tourist's mind views its own activity as known, repeatedly practised and, with the assurance of past successes, predictable in its outcome, the mind focuses on ''being'', that is, on the consolidation or recreation of known feelings and outcomes.**

As Gnoth and Matteucci (2014) explain,

> 1**holding (repetitive) activity constant, as it were, but changing to an existentially authentic perceiving mind, experiencing tends to become more a re-discovery of past selves and if the mind reflects critically, of the true self. This follows because the activity is known and repetitive but the mind is seeking to close a gap between the real and the ideal self. The**

1destination is thereby perceived self-reflectively and evaluated by way of its utilitarian value to achieve a predetermined outcome.

1While "being" thus may lead to an equilibrium that is being felt from moment-to- moment, it may also include one's rediscovery of past skills and abilities, as much as a regained sense of self and self-esteem that creates the happiness of one's existentially authentic being-in-the-world. Experiencing can therefore also be defined as "being in becoming".

Gnoth & Matteucci (2014) continue stating that

1in contrast, if the activity the mind engages in becomes exploratory, that is new to the person or the individual, it involves learning because the mind's focus is less self-reflective but other-oriented.

1If, for example, the mind applies socially acquired norms and patterns to new environments by exploring how it operates (e.g. the destination as a culture) or how an artefact has been constructed,

the

1experience builds on known patterns of behaviour.

Gnoth & Matteucci (2014) show a Tourism Experience Model (TEM) developed by Juergen Gnoth based on the activity and consciousness axes separating four interrelated domains.

1Hence, the four modes of the TEM (see Figure 1) define the total scope of all potential interactions, with each mode further qualifying the actual experience implicating self-engagement and formation.

Figure 1 Tourism Experience Model as developed by J. Gnoth (Gnoth & Matteucci, 2014) These four domains can be summarized as follows: Egoistic pleasure seeker: In

1this mode, the tourist experiences known feelings and outcomes and is able to predict what moderately novel environments may produce, and varies their intensity to a measured degree through choice and decisions. Re-discoverer:

Here,

1the tourist begins to rediscover him or herself as he/she seeks to apply some form of effort in order to re-establish known skills and capabilities.

Knowledge seeker:

1Novelty seeking moves beyond self-gratification when becoming exploratory and when the mind is seeking. Holist: **If**

exploratory behaviour becomes spontaneously

1playful, experimental and seeking existential, emotional convergence,

1activity becomes creative and holistic as moments are experienced as Gestalts rather than differentially experienced details.

1Following Luhmann (1995), the actual interaction

of tourist and holiday destination

1is preceded by a reduction in the tourist's mind of both the subject's and the place's complexities so as to make interaction possible. The process of perception is thereby an intentional selection, organization **and interpretation of place-stimuli, out of all the various ways in which the interaction could potentially take place.**

1An additional dimension to consciousness and activity is **therefore the tourist destination itself as the physical and mental space that turns into a relational place**

1when the tourist engages and interacts with it.

1It can reveal the types of agency the destination assumes in the interaction

(Gnoth & Matteucci, 2014). Therefore next an outline is presented of the role of places and spaces at destinations. IV. TOURISTS AND WHERE THEY MOVE From a phenomenological perspective the focal point of tourists' activities is their encounter with their holiday destination. This destination environment cannot be treated independently from their tourists and provides the time/space related setting of the encounter. It is the destination's space-place relation that moulds this encounter and the resulting tourism activity. Gnoth (2013) states that turning space into place means 'going there', 'doing things', 'feeling things' and tourism is all about turning spaces into places.

29Place implies space, and each home is a place in space.

13A place requires human agency; it **is something that may take time to know and a home especially so (Agnew, 2011). The** notion **of**

place goes beyond physical matter and transcends tangible qualities such as size, proportions and features (Zidarich, 2002). A place is what people make out of a space with their emotional attachment and interaction. Tuan (1977) characterized places as "humanized spaces", wondering how people understood and recognized them and how they imparted meaning to them. For local people their daily environment is directly place related, which turns the encounter between tourists and their holiday destination in the widest sense of the term into a complicated entwining of space/place concepts (Gisolf, in press). Both spaces and places can be turned into experience sources by tourists, but each can be ascribed distinct features for their functioning in tourism.

16If a place can be defined as being **relational, historical and** related to an **identity, then** the **space that cannot be defined as relational, historical**

and related to an

31identity can be defined as a non-place (Augé,

1995). International hotel chains, airports or shopping malls are examples. Main tourism attractions are specifically developed for tourists and represent spaces exclusively for them. This means that local people who might visit this attraction may feel the same distanced space, although in the past they may have known the site as a familiar place. Tourists might try to convert these spaces into recognizable places for themselves, however, they will still remain among tourists (Gisolf, in press). Different are those spaces where tourists intermingle with local people in a local setting. This encounter opens up a wider array of options for tourists in their effort to turn space into place, depending on their own predisposition

15to either stay close or move farther away from what is familiar.

In mixed spaces more often than not tourists are non- paying consumers. The point here is to what extent tourism attractions may be scaled on a space-based perspective. Not only do tourists and local people mix at spaces, this may also be the case at public places. Those present in a concert hall are all listeners regardless of their background. Finally there are places with different characteristics: so-called backstage local life, which is about living places by definition and it is therefore hard for any tourist to penetrate, although there are examples, such as backpackers or volunteers. So far arbitrarily 5 contact zones between holiday destination and tourists have been distinguished: non-places, tourism spaces, mixed spaces, mixed places and local places. Next a summary of the favourite spots for the the four TEM modes. V. WHERE TOURISM IS EXPERIENCED Experiencing depends not only

1**on how the mind perceives the** tourism **activity** as **it**

interacts with its environment, but also on what the destination is providing in terms of experience sources. During the encounter between tourists and their holiday destination

2**tourists take what is given to them and then turn it into their own ends; it is these ends what is of primary interest**

within a time/space setting. The pleasure seekers as presented by Gnoth's TEM are likely to avoid direct contact with locals and move mostly in spaces specifically designed for them, such as beach resorts, international hotel chains or famous attractions (Disney Land, Iguazu Waterfalls or the Taj Mahal are examples). In general they concentrate on activities with a predictable outcome and on the recreation of known feelings. basis of tourists´ way of experiencing at the various sections of their holiday destination – always keeping in mind that an area can only be a holiday destination with the presence of tourists. Tourist Spaces: The discussion around the However when a tourist's experiencing implies re- discovering him or herself the destination is perceived self-reflectively and functions either as background or as vehicle. Naturally this tourist will move in non- places or typical tourism spaces, but may also venture in the mixed spaces, although direct contact with locals is not sought. Apart from shopping malls, famous beaches or major tourism attractions, these tourists may want to visit nature parks, well known local fairs or impressive vista points. Knowledge seekers form another

1**subcategory of the experience model** that **relates to experiencing marked by a role-authentic orientation, which views its activity as new and exploratory.**

Museum or city tourism are typical examples of tourists that want to learn, based on and related to already existing knowledge. However, these tourists tend not to deviate too much from their role authenticity. The last sub-category to mention are the so-called holists.

1**It is a mode replete with desires and fantasies, and with romantic and nostalgic associations of cultures.**

1**Individuals gain control and assurance in their relationship with the "Other"**

(Gnoth and Matteucci, 2014). Here, the extraordinary becomes routine. The existentialist element is translated

1**more and more** into an **outward** attitude, **taking in new environments exploratorily.**

An example would be backpackers: their constant changing by continuously moving becomes an

1**exploration of the self vis-a-**

1**vis new places and** a **lack of commitment**

(Gnoth and Matteucci, 2014). VI. TOURISTS' INVOLVEMENT IN A SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT Using Table 1 an analysis is carried out on the encounter between tourists and their holiday destination and the successive tourists' way of experiencing so far has opened some insight in those tourism settings that lend themselves for lower or higher degrees of tourists' supporting sustainable management and local development. When tourists aim at just "being" and have no intention to put much effort in "becoming" their direct surroundings can be best described as tourist spaces, whereby tourists remain among tourists and are content with that. Their efforts to convert space into place will be limited to fellow tourists and the encounter with the destination will not provide much insight in the development issues at stake. A client – producer relationship prevails. Mixed spaces: This is the presence of elements from different cultures next to each other without intermingling; there is no immediate interaction directed at significant change and can also be called a state of cultural coexistence (Lie, 2002). Therefore the space of the encounter will remain a space for tourists, but with a potential to be converted into places if tourists make the effort to do so. Having local people close by may incentivate tourists to play the role of visitors and behave as such – tourists may realize that they are not just paying consumers, but also non- paying visitors enjoying themselves. Awareness of the surroundings and with it a keener eye for a sustainable environment may be the result. Tourists moving in this environment may be re-discoverers, but knowledge seekers and even holists may well move around in these mixed spaces. Mixed places: With these there is an active form of interaction between various elements from different cultures. There is a state of negotiation that in turn may result in a change from space to place. Bars or restaurants that are dominantly frequented by the local population and occasionally by tourists are examples. Smaller attractions may also become a meeting point for locals and tourists alike (bullfight events or other cultural expressions). Tourists looking for adventure and existential authenticity often resort to contact zones with a local population. Markets and popular festivals are places where tourists and local folks can meet. These encounters are usually informal, whereby tourists are consumers but not necessarily clients (Gisolf 2015). Here for tourists turning spaces into places is the name of the game and means a direct involvement of tourists with their holiday destination, its past and its future. The holists and even knowledge seekers move around freely in these zones, though each has their particular understanding of their environment. Backstage: Local life

does not form part of tourism – otherwise it would not be "local" anymore. Some tourists may want to penetrate into the depth of local ways of living: the holist type and they could include backpackers, volunteers or the various people wishing to submerge in local culture being some of them. It is about tourists who may even care more for a true sustainable development than the locals themselves – the latter having survival as first agenda point. The balance between development and conservation is extremely complicated and usually tourists' presence does not ease the possible tension between the two. VII. Tourism experience zones In Table 1 three areas have been highlighted, each of them covering some parts of the various destination spaces and places in combination with two of the four tourism experience modes as developed by J. Gnoth (Gnoth & Matteucci, 2014). The first area is called the detachment zone and refers, as far as the destination is concerned, to mainly non-places and tourism spaces, while covering a small part of mixed spaces. At the same time from a tourist point of view this area is about "pleasure seekers" and "rediscovers". That is to say this first area is about tourists that concentrate on just being with little effort to discover new things in their immediate surroundings and do so in experience zones that prevent them from any direct contact with the local population other than professional relationships based on economic transactions. Tourists' direct concern and involvement in the destination's sustainable management cannot be expected to be high other than selecting only these experience sources that have shown or are renowned for high levels of sustainable management. A direct involvement is not possible for these tourists since their presence is restricted to those spaces where tourists only intermingle with fellow tourists or other visitors. When talking about involving tourists in sustainable development, this sector shows less propensity to actively involve in any action, while this sector in most holiday destination may well turn out to be the largest: mass tourism forms part of it. Tourists in this zone are clients and usually behave as such; they are polluters without being in a position or being really interested to change this role or mitigate negative effects. The area indicated in the middle of Table 1 is called the discovery zone and covers a different set of characteristics. It refers mainly to the so-called "re- discoverers" and the "knowledge seekers" moving dominantly in tourism spaces and mixed spaces, although some mixed places may also be attended. The re-discoverers move into mixed spaces as they seek

1**to apply some form of effort in order to re- establish known skills and capabilities.**

1**If the activity the mind engages in becomes exploratory,**

the

1**mind's focus is less** self-reflective **and**

more other-oriented. Mixed spaces and even mixed places will be visited, which additionally opens up the opportunity for tourists to transform spaces into places. The possibilities of some kind of direct exchange with the locals create simultaniously an opening towards a growing interest in sustainability issues, in other words in the way a destination manages its resources with a view to their future generations. Some aspects of behaviour in relation to sustainability for tourists positioned in this area are pratical attitudes, such as recycling, correct behaviour in nature areas, honest treatment with locals and not wanting to

dominate the encounter with them. To realize that one is not necesarily a client who has to be served, but a visitor who comes to enjoy simply what is there – whether intended for tourists or not – creates a different basis for involving these tourists in a sustainable (tourism) development. The role for tourists moving in this zone can be called "the mitigators". The third area is the attachment zone, whereby tourists located in the TEM as Knowledge Seekers and Holists move predominantly in mixed spaces, mixed places and even "backstage". It is about tourists that put the effort to turn a mere being into a becoming and learning elements dominate holiday interests. Close contact with a local population is important and especially for the group called Holists. Turning spaces into familiar places is one of the leading elements. Obviously keen interests in sustainability issues lead these tourists to a direct involvement with the locals and helping them with their efforts to keep their environment clean, not only physically, but also socially and economically. This zone is dedicated to the believers and although a growing percentage of tourists can be categorized as such, they still form a minority – depending the destination. VIII. CONCLUSIONS Tourists' limited participation and collaboration with sustainable development is a major stumbling block for any sustainable tourism development. Simply ignoring the biggest polluter is obviously no option, but actively involving him/her has also shown to have practical problems: how to tell a paying consumer what to do and what not to do. In this paper tourists have been categorized with the help of Gnoth's Tourism Experience Model (TEM) in an effort to understand better their propensity to either experience whereby the outcome is already known, or to venture in unknown physical and social surroundings. The view is taken that from a phenomenological perspective tourism is seen as an encounter between tourists and the environment they move in. It is this environment that is of most concern, since it embodies the focal point of development. Some parts of this environment tend to be reserved for the near exclusive use of tourists and other visitors, while there are areas that are destined for the locals only. In any environment and even more so at a holiday destination, there are spaces and places where tourists and local people intermingle, may have contact and their propensity to generate a mutual understanding can be in favour of a sustainable development. The more tourists move in experience zones with some kind of contact with locals, the higher tourists' propensity to consider, to get involved or to actively participate in issues concerning the sustainable development of that particular environment at a particular time. It is worth mentioning here that the experience zones as set out in this paper are only remotely related to the "contact zones" as proposed by Pratt (1995).

> **9Pratt uses the term contact zones to refer to social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power.** The experience zones **as**

proposed here refer primarily to physical zones where cultural interchange may take place as well as possible states of negotiation. Although in tourism in the experience zones as proposed here cultures may meet, this is not a condition for their existence. Three experience zones are established: the detachment zones populated by what are called the tourists-polluters, referring to mass tourism environments or any other space specifically developed for tourist with hardly any contact possibilities other than mercantile ones with locals. Tourists play the part of clients (paying consumers) and will behave as such, while the destination is lived as background for the pleasures tourists seek. Next there is the discovery zone where tourists can intermingle with the local people, although this may not necessarily lead to cultural or social exchange. Tourists will be paying clients most of the time, but will live instances that they are non-paying consumers, such as it is the case when visiting some impressive vista, old villages or landscapes in general. Tourists moving in these zones are called 'the mitigators' since they are in a position to mitigate

the negative effects they may have caused. The third zone is called the attachment zone, that opens clear opportunities for tourists to have contact with local people and live places together with the locals. In most cases these tourists are non-paying consumers and may well develop a keen interest into the local way of life. Tourists moving in this zone are called 'the believers' referring to the predisposition these tourists may show towards sustainable development goals. These three zones are introduced to indicate in which environments tourists are in the position to support any local sustainable development actively or less actively. When planning any sustainable tourism development it is paramount therefore to distinguish these three zones and try to include tourists that move in the discoverer or attachment zones. Without the help of tourists themselves it is hard to envisage any sound sustainable tourism development. At the same time this discussion invites further research into the determination of an inventory of tourism spaces and places, their aptness for certain tourists according to their way of experiencing. Not all tourist can be involved in the same way and when mobilizing tourists as a force that works towards sustainable development goals one cannot simply put all tourists in the same basket. Distinguishing tourists on the grounds of their ways of experiencing and approaching them on that basis through the spaces and places they move in is a first step towards a meaningful integration of tourists in a process they may not be aware they form part of. The recently adopted UN Sustainable Development Goals state in goals 8.9 and 12.8b

24**".....sustainable tourism that creates jobs and promotes local culture and products." (UN, 2015).**

Involving tourists directly in this development seems to be the only viable option and the analysis presented here is a step into that direction. Furthermore, supporters of the Paris COP21 agreement note that it has already catalyzed private sector investments, and they point to cities and other sub-national actors who have taken the lead up to Paris as a cue to build towards a low- carbon, high-resilience future. Tourism and therefore tourists themselves have changed from local to global actors. Canalizing their efforts and with it the convergence of the local with the global is paramount for achieving not only the Sustainable Development Goals, but also the COP21 targets to curb climate change. IX. References

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