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'BEEN THERE - DONE THAT'

IDENTITY AND THE OVERSEAS EXPERIENCE OF YOUNG PAKEHA NEW ZEALANDERS

A dissertation presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts in Social Anthropology at Massey University

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ABSTRACT

Tourism has become, in recent decades, a pertinent, though contentious area of social scientific inquiry. Anthropological and sociological studies have tended to favour an impact analysis approach, choosing 'Third World' 'host' communities as research sites. This study asserts that tourism research must also consider *tourists*. It calls for analysis of tourists' practices from the perspectives of tourists. Specifically, it suggests that in examining tourists' practices, researchers must consider the socio-cultural and historical contexts from which these practices are constructed.

The particular tourist practice with which this thesis is concerned is the Overseas Experience of young Pakeha New Zealanders. Interviews with a research cohort of twenty participants who undertook an Overseas Experience during the time from the late 1950s to the mid-1990s form the primary data. Interpretive analysis has been based on situating this data in the context of the literature of the anthropology and sociology of tourism, pilgrimage and ritual.

The thesis explores issues associated with identity and establishes in what sense Overseas Experience participants can be conceived of as 'tourists'. Rejecting approaches which attempt to define tourists and their practices according to type, this study favours the application of rite of passage in understanding the meaning of an Overseas Experience for Pakeha New Zealanders. Rite of passage lends a processual approach, which when complemented by an emic perspective, allows for a more holistic analysis of this tourist practice.

Drawing on the specificities of each participant's Overseas Experience has enabled a detailed examination of what I have termed the 'liminoid' episodes of this tourist practice. While the participants recalled that they had 'out of the ordinary' experiences as part of their Overseas Experiences, the study concludes that an Overseas Experience for Pakeha New Zealanders is strongly connected to concerns associated with the home context. Tourists' practices are shaped by perceptions about personal, cultural and national identity.

KEYWORDS: **IDENTITY; OVERSEAS EXPERIENCE; PILGRIMAGE; RITE OF PASSAGE; TOURISM; TOURIST; TOURIST PRACTICES; TRAVELLER; TRAVEL.**

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INTRODUCTION

We shall not cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time.
(Eliot, 1928:43)

Since the late 1950s increasing numbers of young New Zealanders have been engaged in a practice that most consider to be a formative part of their lives. In its inception the practice became known as a 'working holiday', but it is now commonly referred to as an Overseas Experience or more colloquially - 'The Big O.E.'[1]

An 'Overseas Experience' is more than the sum of the two component words 'Overseas' and 'Experience'. Indeed, it is more that the sum of events which comprise the total experience. But how do we begin to conceive of it as a social and cultural phenomenon? Is it tourism? And are the participants of this practice tourists? What does an Overseas Experience mean for the people who practice it? And what implications does this have for their lives and for New Zealand society? These are some of the questions which will be examined throughout this thesis.

The thesis explores the subjective perspective of a group of Pakeha New Zealanders who have undertaken an Overseas Experience during the period from the late 1950s to the mid-1990s. In doing so it takes an interpretive approach, following Geertz's (1973:20) conception of ethnographic description. That is;

> *... it is interpretive of ... the flow of social discourse; and the interpreting involved consists in trying to rescue the 'said' of such discourse from its perishing occasions and fix it in perusable terms.*

In this regard this study aims to 'take us into the heart' of what it *means* for young Pakeha New Zealanders to engage in an Overseas Experience (Geertz, 1973:18). It attempts to analyse an Overseas Experience as a touristic practice that is shaped by issues of personal and cultural identity. In so doing, it looks to the literature of the

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[1] The terms 'Overseas Experience' and 'O.E.' are used interchangeably throughout this thesis as these are the terms that are used in popular discourse.

anthropology and sociology of tourism, pilgrimage and ritual. The thesis is structured in the following way:

Chapter One briefly examines the history of tourism as a practice and its development into an industry. This precedes an overview of the anthropological and sociological study of tourism; outlining the general trends of this research as it developed during the 1960s through to the present. Having considered the foundations of the field of tourism research, this chapter moves on to consider more fully frameworks of relevance to this study of Overseas Experience.

Chapter Two presents the methodology employed in this research and introduces my personal interest in, and experience of, the research topic. The 20 research participants for this study are introduced - their Overseas Experiences span the period from the late 1950s to the mid-1990s. The participant profiles are situated historically through the inclusion of synopses of New Zealand society during the decade in which each participant left for her/his Overseas Experience.

Chapter Three explores the nature and composition of identity through the practice of an Overseas Experience. Specifically, the chapter examines the perceived distinction between 'travellers' and 'tourists'. In recognition of a need to examine an emic view, participants' perspectives of their identity while on an Overseas Experience are presented alongside of the literature related to the study of tourist practices.

Chapter Four presents participants' narratives of significant experiences which comprise the essence of their Overseas Experiences. The narratives are arranged in five central themes. This chapter provides material for an analysis of an Overseas Experience as a Pakeha tourist practice.

Chapter Five responds to the data presented in the previous chapter. The literature reviewed in Chapter One and the findings of Chapter Three are also drawn upon to form an analysis of the Overseas Experience as a Pakeha tourist practice constructed as a 'rite of passage'.

The study concludes by reviewing the outcomes of this research. It also suggests possible directions for future related research both within a New Zealand and a global context.

CHAPTER ONE

TOURISM - AN APPRAISAL OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL PHENOMENON AND REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH FOCUS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is presented in two sections. The first section, 'A Tour of the Field of Tourism', introduces tourism as an expanding industry and a challenging focus for research. It does so through a general overview of its historical roots and a review of the process by which tourism has been and continues to be researched, moving toward a more specific consideration of the literature of the anthropology and sociology of tourism, outlining the main debates of this field. The second section of the chapter, 'An Overseas Experience as an Episode of Tourism', focuses on bodies of literature within both the anthropology and sociology of tourism which appear particularly relevant to a study of Overseas Experience as a tourist practice. An appraisal of tourist typologies and consideration of the efficacy of rite of passage as an analytical tool for this specific tourist practice completes this chapter.

A Tour of the Field of Tourism

The Historical Roots of Tourism

The practice of 'travelling' has occurred to some degree in all societies for a myriad of reasons linked to subsistence needs, changes in climate, natural disasters, war, religion, and so on, for thousands of years. The phenomenon of 'tourism', however, is relatively recent.[1] The word 'tour', derived from the Latin 'tornare' and the Greek 'tornos', means a lathe or circle; the movement around a central point or axis. *Tour* + *ism* or *ist* denotes the action of movement around a circle. Hence, like a circle, a tour represents a

[1] Turner and Ash (1975:20) note that the development of tourism required both large and claustrophobic cities and the means to escape from them. For example, they cite the Greeks, prior to the fourth century BC, as great travellers but not tourists before the development of the Hellenistic urban system.

journey that is a round trip. The person who becomes a tourist must leave her/his own home, travel somewhere else for a period of time, and then return to her/his place of departure.

Tourism's immediate historical roots are found in early trading, Medieval pilgrimages and the European 'Grand Tour' of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Leiper, 1979; Shaw and Williams, 1995:22). These, in particular the Grand Tour, provided the geographical kernel from which the industry developed; expanding gradually from a tourist centre based in Europe into other more 'peripheral' regions (Brodsky-Porges, 1981).

The establishment of the Grand Tour as an early tourist institution arose from the view, developed in the Renaissance, that truth lay outside the mind and spirit (Graburn, 1989:29). Thus, this quest for 'truth' was manifest in journeying for reasons other than the religious pilgrimages common in Medieval Europe. Graburn (ibid.) suggests that it was this concern with re-examining the scientific and historical 'discoveries' of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that lay the foundations for modern tourism itself.

The Grand Tour took firstly the sons of European (typically English and to a lesser extent French) aristocracy and gentry and, by the late eighteenth century, the sons of the new professional middle classes, on a tour of the European continent. A typical tour lasted for three years and tended to focus on Italy, in particular its art and architecture, but also encompassed France and Germany (Trease, 1967:12-13).

The motive for going abroad in search of 'truth' however, was not limited to cultural education in art, music and language but also included the political education of the eighteenth and later the nineteenth century English upper-middle classes. Indeed, as Graburn (1989:29) suggests, 'the tour was deemed a very necessary part of the training of future political and administrative leaders...'.

A visualisation of the travel experience was aided and assisted by the growth of guide books, such as Thomas Nugent's *The Grand Tour* (1778), which promoted new ways of seeing.[2] The character of the tour shifted from that of the original observation and recording of galleries, museums and what were considered to be 'high cultural' artifacts - 'scholastic' tourism - to the more 'scenic' tourism of the nineteenth century. The

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2 Adler's (1989) article examines in detail the historical shift in sensory codification of travel conventions from one more dependent on the tongue and the ear to that of the eye.

latter was considered to be a subjective experience of beauty and the sublime (Towner, 1985).

As I will argue, understanding tourists' experiences requires an appraisal of the actions of tourists while travelling, together with the tourists' social, political and cultural lives when they are not. For, as previously noted, the tourist leaves only to return; the travel, while the focus of the tour experience and of this research, is framed by what comes before and after it. Moreover, I will argue that while tourists physically leave their place of departure in travelling, they do not leave this behind in an absolute sense; the cultural, social and political mores of the tourist travel with her/him; shaping the tour.

Why is Tourism Important?

Even though tourism was becoming more prevalent by the early part of the twentieth century, with Thomas Cook's package tours having made sightseeing by railway travel an acceptable and increasingly popular venture for the middle classes, and resort tourism for Europe's elite booming after World War I, mass international tourism is largely a post-World War II phenomenon. The expansion of tourism into an international industry was associated with a major shift occurring in consumption and in expectations regarding consumption in industrialised Western states in the 1950s (Shaw and Williams, 1995:8). Rising standards of living and the shortening of the work year were accompanied by longer paid vacations and a rapid improvement in means of transportation (Dumazdier, 1976:129-130; Young, 1973:30; Scheuch, 1981:1094). Subsequently, there was an enhanced motivation to engage in leisure activities including travel, together with an increased accessibility to the means by which to do so. Tourism was thus no longer limited to just the wealthier classes.

Within three decades after World War II an internationalised industry sponsored by governments and regulated by international agencies had developed. Tourist-generating states (originally the capitalist industrialised states of the 'West') formed the core of what was to emerge as 'an ecological, economic, and political system that is complex and global ...' (Cohen, 1984:382).

In 1975 the World Tourism Organisation was established, succeeding the International Union of Official Travel Organisations. The W.T.O. is an intergovernmental, international organisation aiming at the promotion and development of the tourist industry, including the acknowledgement of the interests of developing countries in

tourism. While tourism was understood to be generated from a 'First World' core, it also seemed to offer developing countries an opportunity to secure foreign exchange and promote economic development.[3]

Presently, mass tourism accounts for the largest movement of human populations outside wartime (Greenwood, 1972:81). Indeed, immediately prior to the rise in oil prices of the 1970s, tourism had become the world's single largest item in trade (Wood, 1979:274). The fact that tourism moves people rather than goods, generally between the 'First' and 'Third Worlds', infers that;

> *There is no other international trading activity which involves such critical interplay among economic, political, environmental, and social elements as tourism (Lea 1988:2).*

Currently, tourism is the world's largest industry with worldwide spending for international travel valued in 1992 at US $279 billion (Ritchie and Hawkins, 1993:8).[4] Further to this, worldwide tourism, growing at a rate of five to six percent per annum, is predicted to be the largest source of employment by the year 2000 (Urry, 1990:5).

The Need for Social Research of Tourism

Tourism, has become a significant social, political, economic and cultural feature of the contemporary world. As such, it would appear to be an area that is ripe for social research. Cohen (1984:376) argues that while there is varied research on tourism, this is comprised of empirical 'touristological' surveys and trend analyses aimed at meeting the pragmatic needs of the tourism industry and governments. Indeed, as others have observed, social scientists have demonstrated 'a strange reluctance to consider the phenomenon' (Dann, Nash and Pearce, 1988:2). Furthermore, it has been asserted that tourism has been 'trivialised and neglected by intellectual and social commentators' and has not been paid the theoretical and empirical attention it deserves (Dann, Nash and Pearce, 1988:2; Crick, 1989:310). Greenblat and Gagnon (1983:90) suggest that there are unspoken biases against studying people who are enjoying themselves; the bias in sociological research has typically been toward studying labour processes rather than

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3 During the decade of the 1960s optimism abounded over the potential of tourism to benefit economic development (Bryden, 1973). This was critiqued in the 1970s; Mings (1978), for example, cautioned against either a 'boom' or 'doom' approach calling for further research into the impacts of tourism on 'development'.

4 The World Travel and Tourism Council (1992:2-12) state that tourism is the largest industry in the world on virtually any economic measure including: gross output, value added, capital investment, employment, and tax contributions.

leisure pursuits. Pearce and Moscardo (1986:121) observe that social scientists have tended to perceive tourist behaviour and experiences as superficial and peripheral to the concerns of 'modern' society. Richter (1983:314) chastises political scientists for their lack of interest in the political consequences of such global migration of individuals and groups and states that even anthropologists and economists (the most active social scientists in this field) have only begun to examine the many facets of this phenomenon. While Mitchell (1979) also laments the deficiency of publications in the geographic literature on the subject.

Many social researchers have been actively discouraged from pursuing studies in tourism and what work they have done has been derided.[5] Considering the situation with regard to the discipline of anthropology, there currently exists a small collection of articles on tourism and some overviews.[6] There is, however, still a lack of full length monographs, a notable exception being Malcolm Crick's (1994) *Resplendent Sites, Discordant Voices: Sri Lankans and International Tourism.*

Why is it that the field of tourism has been, if not absolutely shunned, then certainly treated with considerable caution by social scientists, anthropologists included? Looking specifically at the disregard of tourism as a serious topic of research by anthropologists, Nunez (1989:270) stresses that everywhere anthropologists go they will encounter tourists or be mistaken for them by locals. Nash (1981:461), in speculating about the late arrival of anthropologists on the tourism scene, suggests that it would be demeaning for anthropologists to be identified with a 'frivolous activity or with people who look in a less authoritative way on other peoples' ways'. This could partially explain the absence of 'tourists' and accounts of 'touring' in anthropological monographs but it has also been suggested that anthropologists may wish to dissociate themselves from other Western intruders, perhaps to maintain their own obsessive monopoly over the 'exotic other' (Pi-Sunyer, 1981:278).[7]

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5 Crick (1994:1) lists Finney and Watson-Gegeo, 1979:470; Leiper, 1979:392; Mitchell, 1979:236; and Smith, 1978:274 as illustrative of those.

6 These include: Nunez (1978) and (1989) (2nd ed.) 'Touristic Studies in an Anthropological Perspective' in *Hosts and Guests*; Pi-Sunyer (1981) 'Tourism and Anthropology'; Nash (1981) 'Tourism as an Anthropological Subject'; Graburn (1983) 'The Anthropology of Tourism'; Crick (1989) 'Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences: Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings, and Servility'; MacCannell (1992) *Empty Meeting Grounds: The Tourist Papers*; and Nash (1996) *Anthropology of Tourism* .

7 Early anthropological fieldwork, particularly that carried out by the French, was essentially 'touring'. Large scientific expeditions including artists and scientists aimed to travel to observe and record the ways of 'primitive' peoples, gathering data on race, language, culture, and society. See W. H. Oswalt's (1972) 'The Rise of Ethnography' in his *Other Peoples and Other Customs: World Ethnography and its History* for information about these early anthropological expeditions.

Of the research that has been done on tourism by social scientists, Jeremy Boissevain (1977:525) (who began to study tourism as a factor in development) establishes four types of bias in this academic literature. These are: an inadequate framework of economic analysis; a lack of local voice (what tourism means to those involved in it (both 'hosts' and 'guests')); failure to distinguish the social consequences of tourism from other processes of change occurring independently in a society; and lastly what he calls the 'noble savage syndrome', which he levels at anthropologists who have a possessiveness about 'their' people. Boissevain (1977:525) suggests they have a Rousseauesque vested interest in maintaining their participants in a traditional and unchanged guise and hence resent the intrusion of Western tourists - a sure sign of the impending loss of the idyllic innocence of tradition to the industrial West .

The Origins of the Anthropology and Sociology of Tourism

This section considers briefly the chronology of both the sociology and anthropology of tourism. It examines the development of some of the main approaches taken by anthropologists and sociologists in the study of tourism as a social and cultural phenomenon.

The scientific study of tourism commenced in continental Europe, which was the first region to experience the impact of mass tourism. The first social scientific article on the subject was published by Italian L. Bodio in 1899. However, the primary early contributions were in German.[8] The first specifically sociological writings on tourism were in German also, beginning with L. von Wiese's (1930) classic article and leading to the first full-length sociological work on the topic by H.J. Knebel (1960) *Soziologische Strukturewandlungen in Modernen Tourismus*. F.W. Ogilivie's (1933) book on tourism, *The Tourist Movement: An Economic Study*, is the first social scientific composition on tourism in English; this was succeeded by A.J. Norval's (1936) work *The Tourist Industry: A National and International Survey*.

The subject, however, received little attention until the post-World War II period when the expansion of tourism provoked some spirited, critical writings from such writers as Boorstin (1964), Young (1973) and Turner and Ash (1975). These critical writings portrayed tourists as superficial idiots who were easy to please and easy to cheat. Turner and Ash's (1975) *The Golden Hordes* was the most extreme example of this

[8] See E. Homberg (1978) 'Reisen - zwischen Kritik und Analyse; zum stand der Tourismusforschung' *Z. Kult.* 28(3):4-10 for more detail on the German contribution to the early tourism literature.

critical attitude toward tourists. Boorstin (1964), in particular, contrasted this negative image of tourists with the lost art of travel - giving rise to the romanticised notion of 'the traveller of old'. He assumed that the art of travel, an active practice involving risks to health and even life, had been lost to the commodity of tourism, an intrinsically passive 'spectator sport' (Boorstin, 1964:84-5). This critical view of tourists was complemented by criticism of the effects of tourism on the 'host' society.[9]

The first organised attempt by anthropologists to examine tourism was a symposium of the Central States Anthropological Society held in Milwaukee in 1964. Theron Nunez's (1964) 'Authority Versus Anarchy: the Impact of Urban Tourism on a Rural Milieu in Mexico' was the only one of its papers to be published. Her (1963) 'Tourism, Tradition, and Acculturation. *Weekendismo* in a Mexican Village' was the first anthropological study of tourism.

The inaugural anthropological conference on tourism, a national academic symposium, was held in 1974 in conjunction with the Mexico City meetings of the American Anthropological Association. This conference acted as a catalyst for the emergence of the first edition of *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (1977); a 'pioneering work that legitimised the American academic study of tourism' (Smith, 1989:ix).

Up until the 1980s, most tourism research was still incidental to, or a spin-off from, other research (Jafari, 1981:326; Nash and Smith, 1991:13). A few anthropologists, however, began to specialise in tourism The first edition of *Hosts and Guests* (1977) reveals that initial interest in tourism was closely linked to culture contact and its influences (tourists were assumed to be representatives from 'developed' societies, bringing influences which affected their 'hosts' in a variety of ways). An anthropological consideration of tourism development was founded on such investigations into the impact of the 'Western World' upon the 'Third World' as Margaret Mead's (1956) *New Lives for Old* and Eric Wolf's (1982) *Europe and the People Without History* (Nash and Smith, 1991:13).

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[9] Examples of work in this tenet include a pioneering article by J. Forster (1964) 'The Sociological Consequences of Tourism', also B.R. Finney and K.A. Watson (1975) *A New Kind of Sugar: Tourism in the Pacific*, J. Bryden (1973) *Tourism and Development: A Case Study of the Commonwealth Caribbean* and L.A. Perez (1973/4) *Aspects of Underdevelopment: Tourism in the West Indies* on tourism in the Caribbean.

Concerns Regarding the Focus and Direction of Tourism Research

Debate between specialists emerged. Emanuel de Kadt's 1979 work, *Tourism: Passport to Development* focused on culture contact and its influences for implications of development. His approach was concerned with how best to maximise the benefits of mass tourism for 'host' societies. Criticisms of this came from such anthropologists as Nunez (1977), who deplored the *'cocacolaizacion'* of native peoples, and Greenwood (1977:137), who wrote of the 'tragic consequences' of the Alarde, a Basque ritual commoditized by tourism.[10] Greenwood (1977:131) states;

> *The anthropological perspective enables us to understand why the commoditization of local culture in the tourism industry is so fundamentally destructive and why the sale of 'culture by the pound', as it were, needs to be examined by everyone involved in tourism.*

Such anthropologists were, suggest Nash and Smith (1991:13), beginning to conceive of the tourist as an agent, not unlike the conqueror, government or missionary,

> *... of contact between cultures and, directly or indirectly, the cause of change particularly in the less developed regions of the world (Nash, 1989:37).*

Further research seems to suggest that the latter of these positions is too extreme. As seen from a 'host' society's point of view, there are positive and negative aspects associated with tourism. An example of this is the alteration of Erik Cohen's (1979) original notion of the impact of tourism on upland Thai villages as completely negative, to a position more positive about the near future (Cohen, 1989). Furthermore, Valene Smith's 'Preface' to *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (1989:x) admits that research undertaken in the decade between the first and second editions of the volume indicates that tourism is *not* the major element of culture change in most societies.[11]

The writings of the social critics, sociologists and anthropologists which castigated tourists provoked a strong reaction. This was heralded by MacCannell (1973, 1976)

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[10] Bryden, an economist, also supported this viewpoint (1973:218). He concluded from his case study of tourism and development in the Commonwealth Caribbean that an economic case could be made against tourism development.

[1] As Smith (1989:x) notes, to date no other comparative tourism study exists with time depth documentation by the same authors.

and followed by Graburn (1977), both of whom viewed tourism as a kind of quest; MacCannell saw it as a 'quest for authenticity' and Graburn as a 'sacred journey'. MacCannell (1973, 1976) claimed that researchers, in particular Boorstin, by accepting the prevalent (commonsense) view of the tourist, assumed that tourists sought artificial experiences through 'pseudo-events'. MacCannell suggested that such researchers confused the data of their observation with their instruments of analysis and thus gave moral pronouncements on leisure the status of scientific statements (MacCannell, 1976:10).[12] MacCannell argues for a deeper, more complex, analysis of the cultural significance of tourists. To him tourists are the pilgrims of the 'modern age' (1976:43). Their quest for authenticity, he claims, is a modern functional substitute for religion.

MacCannell has been widely criticised on a number of counts since his main contribution to the field in the 1970s. In particular his premise that 'the tourist' behaves in a standardised and typical manner as 'modern man' (sic.) seeking authenticity has been refuted as being reductionist on the grounds that 'the tourist' does not exist as a type, and tourists do not all exhibit a search for authenticity as the guiding ethos behind their practices (Cohen, 1979a:180). I will not elaborate on this here, but I will critically evaluate his work on what it means to be a 'tourist' in a discussion in Chapter Three, thereby positioning the experience of the research participants within a wider theoretical body of work addressing this concern.

MacCannell's work has nonetheless been considered by others in the sociological and anthropological disciplines to have placed tourism into the mainstream of the study of modernity and to have acted as a springboard for other social research (Dann and Cohen, 1991:162). Moreover, Cohen (1988a) notes that MacCannell's work has inspired others to take *tourists'* aspirations and behaviour seriously; a focus not so readily taken by sociologists and anthropologists who, as stated earlier, generally have preferred to concentrate on the *impacts of* tourism rather than the *reasons for* tourism.

In considering research which focuses on tourists, Dann, Nash and Pearce (1988) note that there has been a tendency to move away from an etically inspired epistemology toward one that is more emic. MacCannell and Boorstin both approached the nature of tourists' experiences from a distanced position which tended not to privilege the voices of the tourists themselves. In the critique of MacCannell's work, particularly, a transition to an emic approach took place.[13] This approach is characteristic of those

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12 Boorstin (1964:108)

13 This transition from the researcher's to the subject's (tourist's) point of view was pioneered by Gottlieb (1982).

who are influenced by the work of Victor Turner. Dann, Nash and Pearce (1988:41) suggest that this shift has developed from a 'de-ideologising' of the general approach to tourism and a 'progressive theoretical consolidation'.

Although Turner himself never undertook a specific study of tourism or tourists, his work on social processes, and in particular his research on ritual and pilgrimage, has been influential to those considering tourism as a ritual or pilgrimage of sorts. The image of the tourist favoured by the Turnerian inspired tradition is neutral (unlike Boorstin's negative and MacCannell's positive images), its analytical focus is on the social process, integrating the analysis of the individual experience with social dynamics, and the level of analysis relates to the deeper cultural symbolic meaning of the tourist experience within broader social processes (Dann, Nash and Pearce, 1988:42).

Cohen's analysis of the nature of tourist experience draws on Turner's processual approach. Cohen (1979b:31) states;

> *all studies need to acknowledge that even a synchronic view is part of a continuous process and can be analysed and understood only within the context of that process.*

He employs the notion of tourism as part of a wider social process through his proposal that a more discriminating distinction of the tourist experience should be based on its place and significance in the total world-view of tourists, their relationship to a perceived 'centre' and the location of that centre in relation to the society in which the tourist lives (Cohen, 1979a:179-201). Cohen (1979b) argues that a broad spectrum of desired touristic experiences can be distinguished in relation to a typology based on styles of travelling. I will be examining Cohen's work on a tourist typology in detail in Chapter Three. Cohen also believes that tourism research needs to be contextual - that it should consider the interrelationship of the processes of tourist penetration and the context of social change (1979b:31).

Building further on the assumptions of Turner (1969, 1974, 1978), Graburn (1977, 1983) has taken the lead in analysing tourism as a form of secular ritual. The work of Huizinga (1950), Leach (1961), and Norbeck (1974) have also been intrinsic to his analysis. Other anthropologists have also applied the concepts of play, ritual, and liminality to the study of tourism, including most notably Wagner (1977), Moore (1980), and Lett (1983). Graburn (1983) has argued that tourism can best be analysed as a near universal demonstration of the human need for play and recreation, the origin

of which is grounded in the consistent inclination for people to allocate meaning to their activities. He suggests that in many contemporary societies tourism fulfils functions once met by sacred rituals.

In opposition to this viewpoint are those who suggest that tourism is a modern leisure activity; these include Nash (1981, 1984), Dumazdier (1967:123-138) and Pearce (1981:20).[14] While Nash (1981) and Graburn (1981:470) are in agreement with regard to the need to pay more attention to the consequences of tourism for tourist-generating societies and the importance of studying-up, they have fundamental theoretical differences. The 'tourism as leisure' school of thought is essentially a functionalist view, identifying leisure - and hence tourism - with recreation (for example, Scheuch (1981:1099)).[15] This approach forms much of the macrosociological and institutional research on tourism.

Nash argues that tourism can best be viewed as a near-universal form of travel pursued by people at leisure whose origin cannot be determined but whose cultural variability can be assessed. Nash (1984) questions Graburn's contention that the need to alternate between ordinary and non-ordinary experiences is innate or universal, and he asks why such a need, if it did exist, would necessarily express itself in touristic form. While Graburn would prefer to explore the symbolic meaning of tourism, Nash favours analysis of the political and economic effects of touristic development.

Nash's conception of tourism as the intersection between travel and leisure has been criticised as being too broad (Dann, 1981; Cohen, 1981; and Bodine, 1981). Cohen (1981:469) argues that Nash fails to distinguish tourism from other types of non-instrumental travel and does not distinguish important systematic variation within the area of tourism proper. He fundamentally disagrees with Nash's definition of tourism, favouring a definition which highlights distinguishing traits of the phenomenon in one culture and then compares it with related phenomena in other cultures.

While Dann (1981:470) also concedes that Nash's definition is too broad for analytical purposes, he suggests that it also may be too restrictive. He finds it problematic that

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[14] There is an ongoing debate among sociologists and anthropologists over the appropriate positioning of the study of tourism - whether it should be developed into an autonomous field or be subsumed by an already theorised field such as leisure or play, as is favoured by Nash and Jafari. Crick (1994:312), however, doubts that touristic phenomena will be absorbed into another field of study such as leisure studies because touristic systems have so many diverse features. He suggests that 'what is of interest in one discipline may be of no interest to investigators in another'.

[15] Cohen (1979b:183-185) also identifies tourism with recreation but only with regard to one of five modes of touristic experience.

tourism is considered only with reference to leisure, leaving out the possibility for the examination of other phenomena such as pilgrimage. Anne V. Akeroyd (1981:469) too, sees it as limiting that Nash fails to recognise the 'more valuable aspect of identifying tourist travel as a rite of passage', and also notes that he does not discuss the analogy of tourism with migrants. Ultimately, as Dann (1981:470) and Cohen (1981:469) point out, the largest flaw in Nash's work is his reluctance to examine the problematic nature of typologies and the absence of any consideration of what motivates people to tour.

This lack of consideration for what individuals seek in a travel experience, the patterns of travel activity through which they are sought, and the features in a given society which may enhance or inhibit travelling has been a general criticism levelled at the sociology of leisure (Greenblat and Gagnon 1983:90). In an effort to explore these areas in more detail Cohen advocates a stance that would do away with tourism as an analytic concept and focus on comparative study of different culturally specific forms of travel (1984:375). Indeed, this exemplifies the paradox which faces social researchers grappling with tourism as a social, cultural and political entity - whether or not to embark on more detailed case studies or to try to develop a general theoretical framework (Crick 1994:2).

Cohen (1979b:31) poses the question - how are continuity and generalisation to be achieved under conditions of theoretical pluralism and manifoldness of empirical problems? His suggestion is to develop a research style which, despite the variety of subject matter, deals with the problems in a similar *manner* . He claims that research in the sociology (and anthropology) of tourism should be processual, contextual, comparative and emic and advocates a pluralistic and eclectic research strategy aiming to cut

> *a middle way between a presumptuous attempt to create a monolithic (generalising) 'theory of tourism' and the piece-meal, ad hoc investigation of discrete empirical problems (Cohen 1979b:32).*

In 1990 tourism was constituted for the first time as a 'Working Group' within the International Sociological Association. In 1994 this group became a permanent Research Committee of the International Sociological Association. Tourism has also become a more serious and growing research area in its own right within anthropology (Nash and Smith, 1991:13). Differences of opinion about the direction that tourism research should be taking, and also more fundamental debates about the theoretical

nature of the study of tourism, which were evident in the earlier stages of anthropological and sociological tourism research, continue to be unresolved.

An Overseas Experience as an Episode of Tourism - A Review of the Relevant Literature

Having provided an overview of the relevant literature and debates concerning the study of tourism in general, this section will examine more closely tourist typologies and also accounts which consider the experience of travel through the concept of rite of passage. In so doing, it will outline the tools with which an Overseas Experience will be analysed further in the thesis.

Review of Tourist Typologies

I hesitate to concentrate too emphatically on tourist typology as a means toward understanding the Overseas Experience mainly because models may serve to *constrain* rather than to free understandings of what people experience. The search for *the tourist* has indeed long been regarded as a project in futility. However, it seems necessary to visit some attempts at the classification of tourists. Tourist typologies have been shown to be advantageous in highlighting the broad diversity of tourists and providing insight into tourists' motivation and behaviour (Shaw and Williams 1995:75). A critical examination of the work of Smith (1977) and, in particular, Cohen (1972, 1974, 1979a and 1979b) is necessary to position the research cohort for this study with regard to types of 'tourist'.

Smith's (1977) typology is less complex than that of Cohen's. Her understanding of tourists fundamentally rests on the assumption that they are 'guests' to a 'host' culture and therefore need to be analysed exclusively in terms of their impact on that culture. She proposes a typology of tourists according to their adaptation to local norms. There are seven categories of tourist (explorer, elite, off-beat, unusual, incipient mass, mass, and charter). These categories are listed according to the number of people involved. Thus, explorers = very limited', and charter = 'massive arrivals'. Further to this, Smith argues that explorers accept and adapt to local norms where charter tourists tend to resent local norms and seek familiar amenities.

While Smith's analysis might be useful in terms of gaining an initial picture of the relative quantities of different types of tourists I find it lacking in many respects. It assumes that the relationship between tourists and the local communities flows in one direction - that of impact on 'hosts' by 'guests'. This is a superficial and also unrealistic understanding of any cultural encounter and relegates the local communities to a position of passivity, where they are 'acted upon' by tourism.

The terms 'hosts' and 'guests' are also misleading. These terms imply that the relationship between the two is akin to a situation in which a person is invited to someone's home at their request and that a certain etiquette will prevail. It also implies a one way relationship; void of any 'real' interaction. Furthermore, these terms obscure very real political and economic relations by trivialising the relationship to one that is governed by etiquette. Certainly, the tourist industry attracts tourists to certain locations (via initiatives taken by both state governments and private enterprise in places considered to be tourist destinations) but tourists are rarely invited to visit specific people in local communities as the term 'host' would imply when used in conjunction with an analysis of adaptation to local norms. This use of these terms avoids an understanding of tourism as a political process with important historical roots in a European drawn agenda.[16]

It is essential to consider tourists' perspectives of this process. To move beyond Smith's typology we need to look critically at the effect of tourism *on the tourist*. As Richter (1979:711) states in her review of *Hosts and Guests* (1977), we need to know about ...

> *the impact of travel on his (sic.) [the tourist's] own attitudes and the effect of such numerous and mobile individuals on their home environment.*

Rather than an assumption that tourists are 'guests' (denoting a person who is the recipient of the hospitality of another, usually at that person's home) I favour an understanding of tourists that examines their identity in terms of their own motivations and behaviours while a tourist, and acknowledges that there are significant factors derived from tourists' own social and cultural contexts which compel people to practice various forms of tourism.

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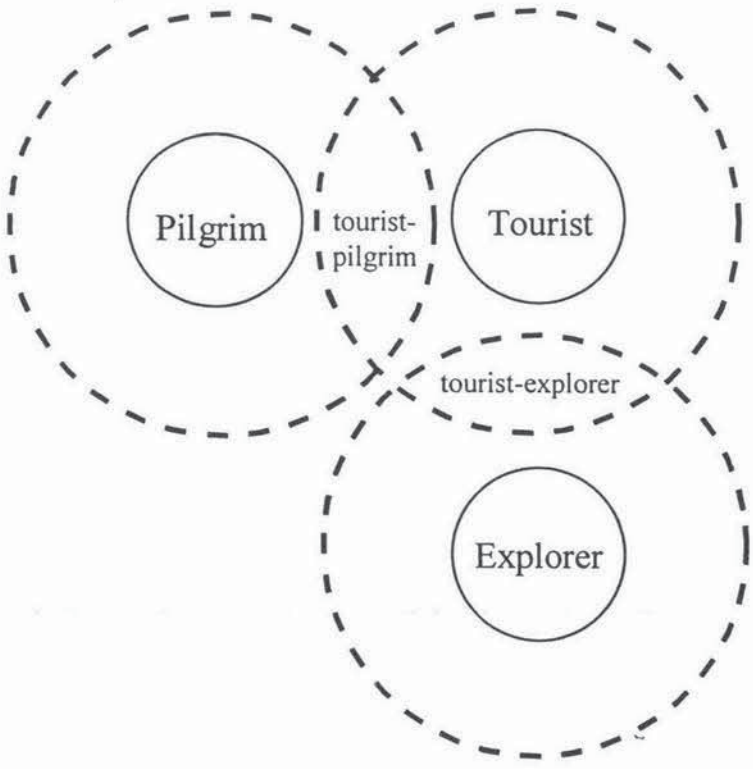
[16] Bruner (1991:242) cautions against the tourist-native encounter being conceptualised as a one-to-one relationship because this masks the framing of the relationship by Western discourse and the world system.

Cohen presents a synchronic typology of contemporary tourists which is altogether more complex than Smith's (1977) and arguably more useful. It both describes and theorises the various practices of different types of tourists. He begins by dismantling the stereotype of the 'tourist' and through his typology attempts to establish a foundation for a comparative study of tourism (in particular *tourists*). Prior to examining the typology in detail I shall firstly consider Cohen's conception of tourism itself.

In his 1974 article 'Who is a Tourist?: A Conceptual Clarification' Cohen grapples with providing an analytical definition of tourism which will isolate the touristic component from a variety of traveller's roles and thus overcome vagueness and establish the boundaries of tourism. He conceptualises travel as an overriding entity within which are positioned the roles of tourist, explorer and pilgrim, as this diagram illustrates.

A Simplified Conceptual Space for Traveller Roles



(Cohen, 1974:548)

Cohen's conceptualisation of 'tourist' adheres to the following dimensions within the general realm of traveller roles. These are: that the tourist is a temporary traveller having a fixed place of abode (as opposed to a 'nomad', 'wanderer', or 'hobo' who are

permanent travellers); the tourist is a voluntary traveller, able to terminate his/her trip whenever and return to his/her place of abode; s/he is a traveller on a round trip; s/he is on a relatively long and non-recurrent journey; and s/he is a traveller the purpose of whose trip is non-instrumental - it is an end in itself. It is interesting to note that Cohen's (1974) definition of tourism has not been significantly altered by those working in anthropological and sociological tourism studies.

Cohen, as I have noted earlier in this chapter, refutes the premise adopted by MacCannell that tourists somehow behave in a standardised and typical manner as 'moderns' seeking authenticity. Further to this, he assumes that tourists do not behave as total aliens to a new and foreign environment - experiencing all anew - but enter the new context in a 'bubble' of their accustomed native environment (Cohen, 1972:166). Cohen's (1972) article argues for the construction of a continuum around the paradox of strangeness versus familiarity (1972:177).[17] This continuum, he claims, forms the 'basic underlying variable for the sociological analysis of the phenomenon of modern tourism' (1972:167). The division of the continuum into a number of typical combinations of novelty and familiarity preceded a typology of tourist experiences and roles: the organised mass tourist, the individual mass tourist, the explorer, and the drifter.

The organised and the individual mass tourist are considered to be 'institutionalised' forms of tourism. The explorer and the drifter are 'non-institutionalised'.[18] For the purposes of this research the latter classification appears to be the most appropriate.

The institutionalised forms of tourism are sold as a package, standardised and mass-produced (1972:169). Visiting of attractions is the main activity practised and isolation of the tourist sphere from the local community is vital to maintain the autonomy valued by these tourists. Experience is therefore primarily vicarious and these institutionalised forms of tourism are associated with a decrease in the qualities of variety, novelty and strangeness (1972:173).

The non-institutionalised forms of tourism differ from each other in the extent to which tourists venture out from their own 'microenvironment' and away from what Cohen refers to as the 'tourist system', as well as in tourists' attitudes toward the local communities in which they temporarily reside (1972:174).

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17 The concept of strangeness versus familiarity will be examined in relation to experience in Chapter Five.

18 See Nieto Pineroba (1977); Wagner (1977) for studies focusing on organised mass tourism; Evans (1978) for 'explorer' tourists; Cohen (1973, 1982b); ten Have (1974); Vogt (1976) for 'drifter' tourists.

An 'explorer' type of tourist will generally try to avoid the places which attract mass tourists. S/he will seek accommodation which is comfortable and transportation which is reliable. Cohen (1972:175) emphasises the difference between 'explorers' and other forms of institutionalised tourists is at the level of experience of the 'host' country. He claims that 'explorers' will have a 'broader and deeper' experience of the people, places and culture of the 'host' country through making efforts to relate to the local people. 'Explorers', in turn, differ from 'drifters' who are less detached than the former, attempting to identify with local people on an emotional rather than an intellectual level, or even to, as Cohen (1972:175) interprets, 'become one of them'. Cohen's (1972) typology will be examined in relation to the research cohort in Chapter Three.

Cohen (1972:179) concluded that future research might consider how the impact on the tourists themselves and, through them, on their own society, varies between each type of tourist role. Indeed, his later work (1979a and 1987 in particular) contemplated more convincingly the place and significance of tourism in a person's life as derived from her/his world-view. This will be considered in more detail in Chapter Five.

Moving on from his initial suggestion that one should consider tourists as having different practices and desires, Cohen (1979a:180) argues that one needs to examine how the experiences of tourists are related to their world-view.[19] The nature of these experiences, Cohen (1979a) claims, depends especially on whether or not a person adheres to a 'centre', and of the location of this 'centre' in relation to the society in which s/he lives. Cohen (1979a) uses the concept of 'centre' in the manner in which Eisenstadt (1968) intended, that is, 'centres' in society are political, religious or cultural and have paramount symbols which may be differentially located. Cohen (1979a) refers to an individual's centre as being 'spiritual', whether it is religious or cultural, and draws on Turner's (1973) notion of a 'Centre Out There'. By doing so, he emphasises that centres are not geographically bound to an individual's life-space and that journeys to such externally situated centres suggest an ascension of a spiritual nature.

Ultimately, he states, phenomenologically distinct modes of touristic experiences are related to different types of relationships which exist between a person and a variety of 'centres'. To begin to see how this theorisation might relate to people who practice an Overseas Experience it is necessary to examine Cohen's modes of touristic experience: recreational, diversionary, experiential, experimental, and existential.

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[19] Cohen (1979a) disputes MacCannell's claim that 'the tourist' exists as a type itself.

Recreational tourists' primary motivation for engaging in tourism is to escape from the pressures of their routine lives to a situation which offers the pleasure of entertainment. This episode as a tourist, according to Cohen (1979a:181), enables them to re-create (and restore) a physical and mental sense of well-being. There is no concern for authenticity of experiences - the recreational tourist acknowledges that people, landscape and experiences are not part of his/her 'real' world.

The diversionary mode of tourism is undertaken by those who are alienated from the centre of their own society or culture. Travel for them is purely diversionary; an escape from a monotonous routine. Again, like the recreational mode, there is no interest with searching for meaning elsewhere through tourism. Both of these modes of tourist experience have been emphasised by social critics such as Boorstin (1964) to the neglect of other modes of tourist experience involving greater meaning to the tourists who practise them.

The experimental mode is more akin to the type of tourist MacCannell (1976) believes 'modern man' (sic.) to have become - these people are searching for authenticity through vicarious experiences. This, MacCannell claims, is essentially a religious quest. The tourist is attracted to experiences which are novel and far beyond his/her own cultural realm but s/he remains a stranger - the 'religious' experience in this sense is vicarious and gained through observing experiences of others.

The existential mode of tourist experience involves a person not merely seeking experiences which are other to her/his native society or culture but choosing to commit her/himself to another centre away from his/her usual social context. This type of tourist will live part of his /her life in the 'elective' centre. This centre, Cohen (1979a) states, may have religious, historical or cultural significance to the tourist.

As they are re-presented here, the modes of touristic experience (from recreational through to existential) become increasingly profound in nature. The difficulty of realisation for participants at each mode also increases. Importantly, these categories of tourist modes of experience are not bounded nor are they mutually exclusive - a tourist can operate within more than one of these modes and s/he can move from one to another.[20]

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[20] This typology has been further elaborated by Redfoot (1984), and has also been used by Cohen (1982); Goldberg (1983); and Graburn (1983).

Cohen's (1979) work has presented an interesting and challenging model for the interpretation of touristic experiences. He cautions against an understanding of tourists which postulates that 'all tourists are modern pilgrims despite what they say or feel' (1979b:23), aiming for an approach which looks for general societal conditions which generate tourism in the experiential, experimental, and especially existential modes of tourism (Cohen 1979b:23).

Cohen, Ben-Yehuda and Aviad (1987) in their appraisal of the various 'quests for meaning' sought by what they describe as 'decentralised contemporary Western youth', identify the four 'elective centres': traditional religious conversion, the occult, science fiction and tourism. Cohen et al. (1987:335) suggest that the structure of tourism practised by 'drifters', 'wanderers' and 'travellers' (Cohen, 1972; Vogt, 1976; Teas, 1974) in the experimental to existential end of the touristic mode continuum;

> *reflects in a concrete form the basic features of the structure of much of the post-modern quest to re-center the world: a multiplicity of mostly weak and often only implicit centers, between which drifters circulate, but none of which is able to attract the continuous commitment of many and become the focus of growth and institution building.*[21]

This body of research suggests that it is through these experimental and existential modes of tourism that the 'young' seek an experience which will provide meaning to their lives, and will contribute to their personal and ultimately their cultural identity. It is from journeying to centres that tourists have experiences which are meaningful to their sense of identity at the time, and indeed to their sense of what it means to be 'from ... '. Cohen's concept of the crucial nature of tourists' relationship to 'centres' appears to be a useful tool for understanding why many young Pakeha New Zealanders seek an Overseas Experience and engage in this form of tourist practice.

However, Cohen's conclusion that institution building is not a consequence of this process is problematic. Cohen et al (1987:341) assume that because *liminality* tends to be fostered through a journey to a centre, and structure is not imposed upon the individual who is drawn toward *personal* rather than collective interests, that tourist practices will *not* become institutionalised. This study will examine some of the issues raised by this assumption. Specifically, why do young Pakeha New Zealanders travel

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[21] Cohen's (1972:100) term 'mass-drifter' is referred to here. The m-d is outward-oriented, s/he spends a limited amount of time (and money) to see the world, meet people and 'have experiences', 'but tends to stick to the drifter-tourist establishment of cheap lodgings and eating places and cut-price fares.'

to centres? What is important about these centres for these tourists? What can this tell us about the nature of an Overseas Experience?

Shaw and Williams (1995:74) suggest that there is a need to learn more about how individuals change over time as tourists.[22] With respect to this study it seems important to consider what young Pakeha New Zealanders do outside of New Zealand, where they go and why, as this reveals much about where Pakeha have come from and, importantly, where they are going in a socio-cultural sense inside New Zealand.

Tourism as Rite of Passage

While Cohen's typology is useful we will now briefly consider a body of literature which draws on the concept of rite of passage, as this has been very influential in recent studies of tourists. Tourists are engaged in something more than a progression through time and space. Of tourism, pilgrimage and anthropology, Crick (1985:82) states that these share displacement into *non-ordinary* space and time. This presumes that the 'journey' also entails another dimension that the participant is likely to describe as emotional or uplifting, a shift from the routines of daily life to participation in a 'talismanic fantasy world' (Graburn, 1977). This change is marked by appropriate rituals and symbols that may not be obvious to the outside observer (Turner, 1969; Turner and Turner, 1978). Crick (1985:82) suggests that to practise tourism (or pilgrimage, or anthropology) involves undergoing a rite of passage. Traditionally, rite of passage has been associated with analysis of ritual in 'tribal' societies, but more recently it has been developed by Victor Turner and Edith Turner in their work on pilgrimage (Turner and Turner, 1978), and from this pivotal research further applied to studies of tourism by anthropologists and sociologists - notably Graburn (1977, 1983, 1989) and Cohen (1973, 1977, 1979a, 1979b, 1982, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1988, 1992).

Over the past few years in New Zealand the Overseas Experience has become known in popular culture as 'The Big O.E.'. This suggests that this style of tourism is becoming further institutionalised within New Zealand society as a significant event. Abrahams (1986:61-62) suggests that when a distinction is made between events and *the* event, especially *the big* event, a rite of passage is usually involved. To reveal a better

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[22] Shaw and Williams (1995:74) propose that this might be achieved by taking a biographical approach. This has been attempted by Pearce (1982) *The Social Psychology of Tourist Behaviour*, with his use of the concept of tourists' travel careers. Pearce claims to be using an emic perspective, however, this is not a convincing effort at in-depth analysis of how individuals change over time as tourists. Pearce (1982) is not committed to a comprehension of 'emic' as understanding from within a cultural world-view.

understanding of what an Overseas Experience means for those who have practised it the concept of rite of passage may prove to be fruitful.

Firstly, we will consider what is meant by a 'rite of passage' through revisiting the nature of the original model. This will precede a brief consideration of how rite of passage has been adapted by anthropologists and sociologists working in the fields of pilgrimage and tourism.

Rite of Passage Revisited

Arnold Van Gennep, French folklorist and ethnographer, defined rites of passage as rites which accompany every change of place, state, social position, and age (1908, 1960). This early understanding of such rites has perhaps 'provided the best framework for the analysis and understanding of the ritual process' (Graburn, 1983:13).

According to Van Gennep (1908, 1960), what constitutes a 'rite of passage' hinges on identifying three phases. The first phase is 'separation'. This consists of symbolic behaviour signifying the detachment of the individual or group, either from an earlier fixed point in the social structure or from a relatively stable set of cultural conditions (a cultural 'state'). Importantly, the person, or persons, undergoing separation is distanced from their routine social groupings. The second phase is termed by Van Gennep 'marge', but is more commonly known as the 'transitional' or 'liminal' phase. During this phase, the state of the ritual subject (the 'passenger' or 'liminar') becomes ambiguous; s/he passes through a realm or dimension that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state. S/he is, as Turner and Turner (1978:2) maintain, 'betwixt and between all familiar lines of classification'.[23] 'Reintegration' or 'incorporation' occurs as the final phase of the rite of passage (originally called 'agregation') in which the person passes back into the structured day-to-day life of her/his own society. S/he is returned to a stable state in which s/he has determined rights and responsibilities, and is expected to behave according to the prevailing norms and ethical standards associated with her/his new state.

Van Gennep's model attempted to provide an explanatory framework for understanding the transitions made through ceremonies at significant junctures in social life, such as birth, childhood, social puberty, marriage, pregnancy, fatherhood, advancement to a

[23] It is during this liminal phase, argues Turner (1973:214) that the 'passenger' experiences 'communitas', an intensive and undifferentiated bond with the group undergoing the ritual.

higher class, occupational specialisation, and death (Van Gennep, 1960:3) in the lives of 'tribal' peoples (whom he called 'semi-civilized'). This might appear to be of questionable relevance to research which does not claim to consider sacred or even ceremonial practices, much less 'tribal' societies. However, if we look beyond the specificities of Van Gennep's work to the broader theoretical observations, there are important conjectures relevant to contemporary social research. The anthropological study of pilgrimage draws on the work of Van Gennep and, through the work of Turner and Turner in particular, it offers many parallels for an anthropological study of tourist practices.

Using Rite of Passage in the Context of Tourism

The Latin root *-per ager* of the English word 'pilgrimage' means 'through the fields' (cited in Morinis, 1992:23). Pilgrimage is indeed a moving, intrinsically processual social practice that has at its core the notion of journeying. Morinis (1992:2) suggests that pilgrimage was not a subject deemed appropriate by traditional anthropological researchers who preferred a 'fixed socio-cultural unit'. Perhaps because of its very tendency for movement it has been avoided as a subject for serious anthropological study. For to undertake a study of this nature is to admit that change is, ironically, the only constant and that change occurs at all levels from the individual to the national and international in cultural, social, economic and political spheres. As emphasised by Turner and Turner (1978:231);

> *...pilgrimage should be regarded ... as an institution with a history ... Pilgrimage is more responsive to social change and popular moods than liturgical ritual, fixed by rubric.*

I would add that the same can be said here of the reluctance to consider tourism as an appropriate anthropological subject.

Morinis (1992:2) also claims that anthropologists have tended to neglect pilgrimages because they are *exceptional* practices; being irregular journeys *outside* of habitual social realms.[24] However, while a pilgrimage might be perceived as being *outside* of mundane socio-cultural practices, it is nonetheless, as Morinis (1992:4) also reminds us, 'a journey undertaken by a person in quest of a place or a state that he or she believes to

[24] A further reason suggested by Morinis (1992) for the avoidance of studying pilgrimage, is that pilgrimage being 'a composite process pieced together from elements of mythology, ritual, belief ... partakes of the mystical', and nothing, he suggests, is less amenable than this to investigation by social science.

embody a valued *ideal*.' Valued ideals are derived culturally from *within* our mundane habitual social realms. Therefore, while I agree with Morinis' (1992) statement that this area has indeed been under researched, I do not concede that pilgrimage (or tourism for that matter) is so *out* of our social and cultural contexts as to be deemed unworthy of rigorous and progressive research.

Turner (1969) infers that pilgrimage is like a rite of passage. The three staged structure associated with pilgrimage - the arrival, the communion, and the return - corresponds to the separation, liminality, reintegration of the rite of passage. As a performance, the pilgrimage stands as the anti-structural counterpart to the structured organisation of society with its rigid roles and statuses. In essence it is an opportunity for the expression of 'communitas' experience; 'the direct, immediate, and total confrontation of human identities', breaching the bonds of structure (Turner, 1969:131).

The pilgrim leaves his/her ordinary daily surroundings and departs on a journey to the 'Centre Out There' (Turner 1973). This journey is not only a movement in space from the familiar to the unfamiliar, but concomitantly also a spiritual ascent. During the travel, the pilgrim is removed 'from one type of time to another' (Turner, 1973:221). While in a liminal state, s/he also participates in a sacred existence and achieves a step toward holiness and wholeness, which peaks in the existential experience of the centre itself (Turner, 1973:221).

Turner and Turner (1978) emphasise the importance of Van Gennep's identification of liminality. Through this, they state, he discovered 'a major innovative, transformative dimension of the social' (Turner and Turner, 1978:2). Significantly;

> *liminality is now seen to apply to all phases of decisive cultural change, in which previous orderings of thought and behaviour are subject to revision and criticism, when hitherto unprecedented modes of ordering relations between ideas and people become possible and desirable (Turner and Turner, 1978:2).*

It is in this wider sense that I intend to utilise the concept of 'rite of passage', for indeed, New Zealand is experiencing 'decisive cultural change'. In contemporary New Zealand society, does the Overseas Experience operate as a vehicle through which Pakeha individuals confront the re-creation of ethnic identity? Pakeha New Zealanders individually and collectively reflect upon their present identities. Is the Overseas Experience a vehicle for this? Turner and Turner's (1978:3) vision of liminality as

encompassing not only *transition* but also *potentiality* may serve as a useful concept in an analysis of the Overseas Experience.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Anthropological and sociological research in the field of tourism has tended toward impact studies and to avoid focus on tourist practices. The research which exists with this focus is not substantial and often relies on typologies of which I regard Cohen's to be the most useful.

Moving outside of a specific focus on tourism to studies of ritual and pilgrimage, however, suggests that rite of passage could be considered a useful tool with which to conceptualise an Overseas Experience as a tourist practice. The more recent work of Turner and Turner (1978), in particular, suggests a possible analytical trajectory for this study.

This thesis will attempt to provide an understanding of the tourist process of an Overseas Experience from the point of view of a specific group of tourists with a loosely shared ethnic background. The substantive issues raised throughout this chapter, and which this study of Overseas Experience as a tourist practice will consider, include the following: Who are these people who have Overseas Experiences, and what is the significance of this tourism in their lives?; What type of tourist are they?; Where do they go and for what reasons?; the notion of a 'centre' and the process of 'centring' and how this is related to Overseas Experience participants' relationship with their home context; and ultimately, the relationship between the tourist practice of an Overseas Experience and issues of identity within a New Zealand context.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY AND INTRODUCTION OF THE PARTICIPANTS

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH FOCUS

In 1989, aged 22, I left New Zealand to 'do' my Overseas Experience. I had very little idea of what that entailed but it seemed imperative that I go, that I stay away for at least two years, that I travel extensively, experience things that I would 'never get the chance to do at home', visit the land of my forebears and perhaps also find a new direction for my life in terms of a career change. In hindsight this all seems quite a tall order but, in fact, all of it happened in one way or another and, so it appears, it happens to many others partaking in an Overseas Experience. This practice, I argue, is a specific form of rite of passage, mainly (but not exclusively) practised by young 'Pakeha New Zealanders' - making us, during this time, special kinds of 'tourists'.[1]

As it is traditionally understood, fieldwork, based on participant observation, was not a practical method through which I could have obtained data for this study. My research relies on people's selective reflections *after* their time overseas, not experiences *during* their time away. However, I do consider that this study is inspired by the humanistic perspective arising from ethnography and the shared understanding I have with people who have also practised an Overseas Experience. I have favoured an emic approach to this study, acknowledging in general Geertz's (1983) proposal that anthropologists need to try to see the world from 'the native's point of view' and more specifically Cohen's (1979a) call for a more discriminating distinction of the tourist experience based on its place and significance in the total world-view of tourists. It is through my commitment to these fundamental assumptions embraced by social anthropology that I perceive my research as contributing to this field.

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[1] 'Pakeha' is a term that is used with reference to New Zealanders of European descent. It is, however, a problematic label of identity in that it actually defines its subject by what it is not; the Maori definition of Pakeha being 'non-Maori'. Lacking an alternative identification for my cohort, I have referred to them as 'Pakeha' or 'Pakeha New Zealanders' for the purposes of this study because they are non-Maori and they all share European descendency, and a sense of belonging to New Zealand. I acknowledge however, that this is problematic because many people referred to as 'Pakeha' in this thesis would not identify themselves as such for various reasons.

In undertaking the research for this thesis I wanted to examine the significance of the Overseas Experience for people who practise it. It seemed to me that it has become so entrenched in the life patterns of some New Zealanders that the question 'why are you going?' appears ridiculous. The famous response to such a proposition - 'because it's there' - has perhaps taken on special meaning for potential Overseas Experience participants waiting with nervous excitement at Auckland Airport's international departure lounge.

Not only did I want to focus on the motivation for overseas travel but I also wanted to consider identity (personal, cultural and social) and possible changes to identity through this extended period of time outside of New Zealand as a 'tourist'. Beginning this study I became suspicious of the commonly held notion of the Overseas Experience as a virtually all embracing *New Zealand* institution; something that was held as important by all New Zealanders regardless of ethnicity or class. How could this practice be removed from the social, cultural and political fabric of the lives of the people involved with it? Indeed, how could this practice be an ethnically neutral expression of tourism when the people I have talked with (who have done their O.E. during a time span of 35 years) talk about a sense of tracing their roots to Europe? Surely this significant aspect of the O.E. suggests that the practice might be connected to a colonial past?

These quotes from interviews address aspects of an ethnically specific motivation for partaking in an Overseas Experience;

> *It filled in the picture ... (giving) me perhaps a keener sense of identity ... it was a sense of satisfaction of all those years of hearing where our parents came from to travel for ourselves and see ... Even though it's a long way away from here ... when you're in Britain it is so close.*
>
> *It was probably important for my parents, especially my mother, she wanted me to go and meet that side of the family. They hadn't been to New Zealand and a lot of them didn't come ever, so I guess it was her way of showing me my culture - in a way though it wasn't ever consciously that.*
>
> *I went because all my extended family are from Holland, so that was really important to go there and see them.*
>
> *... going back to one's roots, that was one of the motives ... the other motive was just plain curiosity from a New Zealand point of view. Just what's outside our shore?*

I wanted to go to Egypt to El Alamein where my mother's brother got killed in the war, for my mother's sake, so I could go there, his grave was there, find the cross amongst the thousands that are there, perhaps put a flower on and take a photograph or something like that.

I went to see relatives, it was certainly part of the reason for going. Although relatives had come out here, there was still a lot that I had never met. England was the place I was heading for because of it, because that's where they lived.

I think that's quite an important part of it for me, to see where my parents lived, and where my mother went to school. Yes.

... it was always this thing that you had to go to London, because London was the 'home of home'. We never really felt of London as being home, except my grandmother said 'Oh well, you'll be going home'.

While an Overseas Experience is undertaken by a wide variety of people, and it is not a culturally specific practice, there are commonalities which emerge in the reasons for why people do it, how it is practised and the value they place upon it once they return to New Zealand. The participants in this research, as I have already implied, did not agree on a common cultural identity. I have suggested, however, that they all share European descendency and a sense of belonging to New Zealand. The term 'Pakeha' is not used by all the members of this cohort to define themselves. Most chose to identify with a national identity of 'New Zealanders' or to combine national and ethnic identities and term themselves 'Pakeha New Zealanders'.[2]

I feel that it is beyond the scope of this thesis to address issues arising from the Overseas Experience of Maori, or for that matter of other New Zealanders of various ethnicities, although these pose interesting and relevant research topics for future studies. How *this* research cohort are changed (or not changed) by this experience away from New Zealand might shed some light on why this group of 'Pakeha'/'Pakeha New Zealanders'/'European New Zealanders' seem to need to leave, and what they are coming back to. Perhaps the re-membering of a colonial history through experiencing and imagining new identities via an Overseas Experience will contribute to a surer sense of who 'Pakeha' are.

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2 For further discussion of Pakeha identity see King (1985); Jesson (1986); Spoonley (1991; 1993; 1995a; 1995b); A. Bell (1996); C. Bell (1996).

The insights gained from my own experience have undoubtedly shaped this study, but I do not apologise for this; any researcher's experiences will impact upon her work. I make the point, however, that each of the participants' experiences are her/his own - while there are areas of sharing in terms of places visited or roads travelled, the interpretation of these experiences is specific to each person. Each of the voices of my participants is a valuable part in the piecing together of a larger picture of what it means to 'do' an 'O.E.' for Pakeha.

Twenty participants were interviewed during the course of my research. Most had responded to a notice I had placed in a local newspaper for people who would be willing to discuss their Overseas Experience with me. I stipulated that I was interested in the experience of young New Zealanders who had travelled overseas on a 'working holiday' anytime during the period from the 1960s to the present. Taking a diachronic approach to the practice of O.E. I needed to talk to people who had done this when it was just becoming established as a practice, through to those who have recently returned to New Zealand.

I interviewed the respondents to the newspaper notice over a nine week period. Feeling loathe to set a fixed agenda which might stifle the participants' own thoughts and ideas, but also wanting some direction for the interviews, I began with a list of general themes I wanted to cover. I hoped, however, that the interviews would develop a life of their own once the participants and I established a rapport. I soon realised that there would be no difficulty in encouraging people to talk about their Overseas Experience; each person answered my questions, but also told me about aspects of their Overseas Experience which appeared to be most important to them. The interviews usually ranged from one to three or four hours, with repeat visits to some of the participants' homes.

I soon had no difficulty in finding people to talk to. I was very quickly given the names of friends and family members by my initial contacts - and I was in the predicament of feeling 'swamped' with information and potential directions for the research to take. The interviews became journeys in themselves as travel stories began to flow. Photograph albums were dusted off and brought to the table, old newspaper clippings and passenger ship menus came out of treasured boxes and were proudly displayed. Memories were relived in the telling and just for a moment we were not sitting in New Zealand suburbia but riding the Marrakech Express, wandering through the streets of London, crossing Afghanistan deserts or trekking through the Himalayas.

What began as an 'interview' usually became a sharing of memories of what has become for me, and the participants in this research, a most extraordinary and yet formative part of life experience - the Overseas Experience. This thesis draws on the material of all the participants interviewed. Some of the participants have given detailed narrative accounts of their experiences while on their Overseas Experience and where relevant I have included these, other participants' experiences may be referred to only briefly at times by way of comparison, or in discussing the social context around which Overseas Experiences took place.[3] My inclusion of the expressions of the research participants should in no way be taken as a reflection of the quality of that experience itself.

Introducing the Research Participants in Relation to a New Zealand Historical Context

Importantly, people undergoing an Overseas Experience possess other identities prior to, during, and after this practice - the O.E. is part of a wider life experience. As a lead-in to an examination of participants' Overseas Experiences, I have provided some general information pertaining to their backgrounds and lives, pre- O.E. This, together with material referring to their lives post- O.E. will, I hope, give a sense of each of these people as more than just 'tourists', and ultimately, of the Overseas Experience as more than just 'travel'.

The following section introduces the 20 participants of this study and presents a summary of the structure of their Overseas Experiences. The participants are grouped according to the time periods in which they undertook their Overseas Experiences, beginning in the late 1950s and ending in the early 1990s. Preceding the biographies of each group of participants is a brief overview of the New Zealand context at the time of their departures.

The 1950s and Early 1960s in New Zealand - a Synopsis

New Zealand during the 1950s was considered to be in a period of relative prosperity. Britain continued to look to New Zealand to provide meat and dairy produce, and this sustained a buoyant economy, with a high level of employment (Barber, 1989).

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[3] Pseudonyms have been used for some participants at their request.

Important in this post-World War II period was the movement of women from the paid workplace back to unpaid labour in the home. The general context of increased economic activity and prosperity was reflected in increased consumption levels of New Zealanders who began to purchase time and labour-saving appliances for the home and to spend money on leisure activities, including vacations (Sinclair, 1993).

Although New Zealand was experiencing a 'boom' this was not translated into a strong sense of nationhood. 'God's Own Country' maintained the egalitarian myths of classlessness and cultural unity - the latter through a policy of 'assimilation' in 'race relations'. Yet the 1950s were not a time of prosperity and equality for all - Maori moved in large numbers from rural areas to urban centres experiencing detachment from their cultural roots. Throughout this time New Zealand adhered very strongly to an insular conservatism, following Britain's lead in matters of politics and economics.

New Zealand was noticed in an international context, but this tended to be linked to its efforts for the Commonwealth. In 1953 Edmund Hillary climbed the world's highest mountain. Phillips (1987:264) suggests that Hillary was;

> *...the perfect expression of New Zealand's superior Anglo-Saxon manhood. He was tall, immensely strong, fiercely determined, with a long, bony face - the picture of colonial honesty. He had been chosen by the British expedition to tackle the ultimate task. When it was all over, he remained modest and plain-speaking - just an ordinary bloke ... the Kiwi hero, for all his strength had a warm and caring heart.*

It was important for New Zealanders to do well but not to forget their place as 'regular Kiwis'.

Nonetheless, the golden days of apparent prosperity and international naiveté were numbered for New Zealand. In 1958 the European Economic Community was formed, foreshadowing the loss of traditional European markets to New Zealand and perhaps an inevitable severing of dependency on Britain. New Zealand began to forge links with the United States and to position itself in the Pacific through the treaties of SEATO and ANZUS.

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Margaret Biddulph, Bryson Anderson and Robyn Barton left New Zealand for Overseas Experiences during this time.

Margaret Biddulph

Margaret Biddulph lives in Dannevirke, where she has been for the past 31 years. She described her earlier life as one of moving around a lot, living in various places from Auckland to Greymouth and attending 13 different schools - 'I've been a traveller right back then.' (sic.) Margaret's mother immigrated from England to New Zealand at the age of 14 and her father's family, she stated, 'were New Zealanders as far back as I can think.'

Margaret was 25 when she left New Zealand in 1958 aboard the *Rangitoto* from Wellington. Having recently broken off an engagement she had jumped at the chance to travel when a friend asked 'How about coming to England?' Based in Earl's Court in London, she worked in 12 or 13 different jobs in Britain ranging from waitressing, secretarial work and nannying, to baking Cornish pasties. She backpacked around Britain and various countries on the European continent.

She returned to New Zealand on the boat after two years and met and married an English man in Hawke's Bay. Margaret and her husband are now retired with grown-up children.

Bryson Anderson

Bryson Anderson described himself as 'born and bred in the Manawatu' and a 'fourth or fifth generation New Zealander'. He spoke of a family background, through his father's side, of Scottish, Irish and Norwegian.

My great-great grandfather I think was a Norwegian sailing captain who came out to New Zealand here on a trip and liked the look of the country and thought he'd go farming. His name was Shmidt but he changed that in New Zealand to Smith; he used to live down in Foxton.

Bryson knew less of his mother's history. He recounted that she was brought up by a family not related to her; her adopted father had come to New Zealand from Australia as a 'drover's boy' aged 15 or 16.

Bryson's father was a farm labourer in Ashhurst when Bryson was growing up, then he ran a farm in Bunnythorpe with his brother for three years after the war. Bryson

stressed, 'money was really tight' after the war which meant that his father was unable to raise the money to purchase the dairy farm that he had leased with his brother. As a result the family left the farm and shifted into a state house in Palmerston North.

After finishing school in Palmerston North, Bryson became a primary school teacher and worked in Ohakune, the King Country and the Manawatu area for four years before going overseas in 1962. He travelled to England aboard the New Zealand Shipping Company's *Rangitane* with a friend (also a teacher) and based himself initially in Earl's Court, London, until he 'tied down a teaching job' in Richmond. Bryson shared a flat in Clapham with several other New Zealanders for most his Overseas Experience. Apart from teaching he also worked for the Royal New Zealand Navy, the English Milk Marketing Board - travelling around in a 'moobile' (a tandem trailer carrying a dairy cow) promoting English dairy products - and had a brief stint shovelling snow for the Battersea Borough Council. He travelled in England, Scotland and Wales and also France and Spain before returning to New Zealand the following year.

After his Overseas Experience Bryson continued teaching, got married and had three children. His work has taken him around the lower North Island but he has been 'back in the Manawatu' for about the past 16 years.

Robyn Barton

Robyn Barton lives in Palmerston North, where she was born and brought up. She is a fifth generation New Zealander. She traces her family history through her maternal grandmother, whose family were from Cornwall, and her father's side of the family 'who were from Ireland'.

Robyn and her twin sister Cheryl trained as seed analysts, and saved for 'two or three years' for their first trip out of New Zealand; their Overseas Experience. Robyn recalled that her grandmother had commented 'Oh well, you'll be going home', in reference to their trip to Britain. She emphasised that at this time there was a general assumption that 'you had to go to London, because London was the 'home of home''.

In 1963, having just turned 20, Robyn and Cheryl left on board the P&O liner, the *Southern Cross*, for the six week passage to South Hampton. They arrived in London, and based themselves at the Overseas Visitors' Club (an organisation catering for Australians and New Zealanders visiting London) in Earl's Court (which Robyn

describes as 'one of the things that everybody did') for three weeks before beginning to travel more extensively around Britain.

After leaving London, Robyn and Cheryl made trips to Essex, Wales and Scotland, and joined a tour of Europe which took them to Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg, south into Italy and back through France. In Essex they visited two old aunts who lived in Chelmsford, in 'a little council flat made of tin, a dreadful old place' which Robyn described as 'a duty that you had to do really'. After this visit they headed to Carluke in Scotland to stay with friends of their family, who suggested they get jobs there.

Originally planning to stay in Britain for six months before returning to New Zealand, Robyn and Cheryl's difficulty in finding work meant that they stayed several months longer. Unable to secure jobs at a laboratory in Edinburgh they eventually found work several weeks later at a preserving factory in Carluke. Although the pay was low (£ 5 per week) and they found it difficult at times, living with the family, they made some good friends at the preserving factory with whom they still correspond. While living in Scotland they also joined the Lanark Pipe band and the Edinburgh Ladies' Pipe band, an interest which they had shared in New Zealand prior to their Overseas Experience.

Robyn and Cheryl returned to New Zealand the following year. Robyn resumed working as a seed analyst and Cheryl trained to become a nurse. Robyn is married with two grown up children. She has travelled to Australia, the United States, the Philippines, Japan and Hong Kong since her Overseas Experience and now runs tours to shows in Melbourne.

The Mid-1960s to the Mid-1970s in New Zealand - a Synopsis

The 1960s heralded times of change internationally. New Zealanders, especially the young, were beginning to look to the United States, rather than exclusively to Britain, for guidance. The American Civil Rights movement, women's liberation, and gay rights were major struggles that impacted on a worldwide consciousness. The 'hippie' cultural alternative challenged the work ethic, traditional values and establishment leadership (Barber, 1989). The oral contraceptive pill became available during the

1960s giving women the opportunity to have more control over fertility. This was especially influential in the lives of young women (Smith cited in Park, 1991:90).[4]

As a member of SEATO, New Zealand was drawn into the Vietnam War in 1964 in support of the United States, however, this was not met with the approval of all. Protests against New Zealand involvement in a war that 'had nothing to do with New Zealand' came from mainly students, academics and trade unionists. Protests also came from a new environmentalist lobby. The major environmental issue at this time was the government's proposed aluminium smelter which required the construction of a hydro-electric dam to raise the level of Lake Manapouri, destroying the surrounding eco-system. The environmentalists won this battle and gained a significant foothold in raising awareness of conservation issues in New Zealand.

Although Britain did not join the EEC until 1973, it was obvious from 1962 that it would do so. In 1967 a short downturn in the world market signified declining international demand for New Zealand's farm products. This was reflected in a drop in export earnings and a rise in unemployment in New Zealand. Competition for unskilled and semi-skilled work increased, the socio-economic gulf widened and tension between Maori and Pakeha, especially in expanding main urban centres was exacerbated. When oil prices rose dramatically New Zealand was plunged into economic recession.

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During this time Joyce Hill, Sarah Lewis, Ethne Maher and Bernard Watson left New Zealand for their Overseas Experiences.

Joyce Hill

Joyce comes from Taranaki and described herself as 'a typical New Zealander'. Her father's parents came out to New Zealand from Weymouth, England and her mother's family immigrated from Jersey and Gibraltar four generations ago.

After leaving school Joyce did a BA at Victoria University before teachers' training at Canterbury University, then taught for three years. In 1965, aged 23, she and a friend from university left for a six month Overseas Experience.

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[4] In New Zealand this led to moral debates about the ethics of prescribing it to single women (Smith, cited in Park, 1991:90).

Joyce explained that at the time she felt that an Overseas Experience was 'the kind of thing that everybody was doing, so you just follow the trend'. For her this was 'the first experience I had had outside of New Zealand'. She recalled that, as a teacher of the French language, one of her main aims at that time was to 'go to France and experience the language firsthand'.

Joyce's Overseas Experience began in Australia, where she and her friend spent a month, before travelling through South East Asia, to India and overland to London. They planned their O.E. around contacts, including people they had met at university who lived in Asia. They were able to stay with a friend based at the New Zealand Embassy in Kuala Lumpur and also with a Chinese family there, as well as with people in Penang. They travelled in Cambodia and Thailand, and flew to Calcutta where they caught a train to Madras to board a bus going overland to Britain.

The bus trip was a three month tour travelling from Madras across to Bombay, up to Delhi, into Pakistan and Afghanistan, through Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Turkey and on into Europe. Joyce travelled briefly in England and Scotland, visiting an aunt of her father. She also visited France, in particular Paris, prior to flying back to New Zealand to get married.

She described herself as 'a bit of novelty' to people when she first returned from her Overseas Experience; 'the *Hawera Star* did a big interview with a photo and a write up' on her experiences. Joyce moved to Palmerston North, where her fiancé had been studying, and worked in the Massey University kitchens before obtaining a job at Palmerston North Girls' High School. She married and had three children, who are now in their twenties and have also travelled.

Joyce has travelled since her Overseas Experience but she described this travel as being different to her Overseas Experience. She currently lives in Foxton with her husband and says she prefers living in New Zealand to anywhere else; 'I don't mind being tucked down here. It's good. I don't belong anywhere else'. Joyce recommends an Overseas Experience 'because I think it makes you appreciate your own country first and foremost'.

Sarah Lewis

Sarah described her early life in Lower Hutt as 'pretty sheltered' and 'quiet'. Her father was English, 'born within the sound of Bo Bells' in London. He came out to New Zealand when he was four years old with his parents after the First World War. Her maternal family links to New Zealand go back further than this.

In 1914 Sarah's grandmother, a music teacher, and in Sarah's eyes 'quite an enterprising woman', came out to New Zealand. She met the man who was to become her future husband on the ship - he was an officer in the Merchant Navy. She had come to New Zealand to stay with the Turnbulls (of the Turnbull Library in Wellington), and then with an uncle in Hawke's Bay who was a bishop. During her time in New Zealand she received a cable from her mother telling her to return home as war had broken out and her father, a doctor, had been seconded to Malta. The ship on which she had come to New Zealand was embarking on the return voyage to England, so she again met up with her husband-to-be. As Sarah tells the story, he proposed to her going round Cape Horn.

Sarah trained as a nurse in Wellington Hospital, worked for a year and then left for overseas in 1967 aged 22. She travelled to England on board the *Ruahine* with three nursing friends. Arriving in London, she rented a flat in Kensington and did private nursing jobs around London for nursing bureaux. Sarah spent three years away from New Zealand travelling and working in Europe (Western and Eastern), through the Middle East and into West Asia. Aside from nursing she also worked as a nanny, a chambermaid and on a kibbutz - harvesting cotton and vaccinating chickens.

She returned to New Zealand in 1969, where she met her future husband in Wellington (they had previously met through mutual friends in London). They married and had children. Sarah continues to work as a nurse and is presently studying aromatherapy.

Ethne Maher

Ethne was born in Taihape and grew up on a farm there.

At the time it felt like it was out in the sticks, but I've been back there in the past couple of years and it's not nearly as barren as it used to be - it's where they do the bungy jumping now.

Her mother had lived in the district all her life but her father was from an urban background and, on returning from the war, 'got a farm through the rehab. system at the time.' Her parents were both born in New Zealand, but their parents had mixed origins. As she recalls 'some were born in New Zealand, Scotland and Ireland.'

Ethne described her background as 'fairly conservative'. She went to a small country school and then to Sacred Heart College in Lower Hutt to board 'because there was no bus into the town school'. Following school, she attended teacher's college and taught for three years in New Plymouth and Wanganui to fulfil her bond before going overseas.

She left New Zealand in 1970 with a friend of her sister aboard the *Iberia* - a P&O liner - bound for England. On board she met Lesley, her future travel companion on a trip across Europe and the Middle East to India. Initially, Ethne based herself in West Finchley in the north of London where she taught, but she also worked in a shop, as a chambermaid, a waitress and bar tender during her three years away. She travelled with a friend through central Europe, followed by a bus camping trip through Scandinavia and Russia and then, with Lesley and an English friend, Ted, Ethne travelled by car across Europe and the Middle East to India.

Ethne returned to New Zealand in 1973. She resumed work as a primary school teacher, married and had children. She has worked also as a secondary school teacher and as a tutor for job skills courses. Ethne and her husband (also a teacher) have fostered an interest in farming for several years. They now live on their own farm on the outskirts of Palmerston North and farm 'as a part-time thing'. Ethne is currently completing a Diploma in Rural Studies.

Bernard Watson

Bernard Watson described himself as 'a Kiwi and proud of it'. He was 'born and bred in Taranaki', and spent his early years in Stratford but has lived in the Manawatu for the past 25 years.

Prior to travelling to Britain for a 'working holiday' Bernard trained as a printer and worked in Palmerston North for the local newspaper, the *Manawatu Evening Standard.*

In 1971 he flew to England. One of his main motives for the working holiday was 'to see engines, more than people'. Bernard took the names and addresses of people from traction engine magazines with him to England and it was through one of these contacts, that he was able to find work as a maintenance engineer at a hospital in High Wickham, Buckinghamshire.

Bernard based himself in High Wickham for nine months. He bought a car and toured around England on his days off attending traction engine rallies. He explained that the English people with whom he worked found this strange - 'people of my age didn't travel, I mean a lot of people didn't travel out of their own city, out of their own district'.

The following year Bernard returned to New Zealand aboard the P&O liner - *SS Oronsay* . As a result of his experience in England he was able to sit his steam ticket examinations in New Zealand and obtain work with traction engines.

Bernard still keeps contact with people he worked with in England, and he has visited them on subsequent trips to England. Although he has since been to Britain three times Bernard states that travel is different now. 'You've got to fly both ways, which is a bit of a drag - I hate flying.'

Bernard's Overseas Experience has reinforced for him 'how sweet New Zealand really was, and is still'. Recalling his impressions on returning from his Overseas Experience he reflected that 'New Zealand is paradise ... in the 1970s everybody was employed, life was really sweet compared to what some other people had'.

Bernard lives in Tokomaru with his wife.

The Mid-1970s to the Mid-1980s in New Zealand - a Synopsis

In 1973 Britain joined the EEC and raised barriers against imports from New Zealand. After a brief boom in the early 1970s there was a long recession starting in 1974 and continuing through to the late 1980s. The recession was characterised by economic stagnation, a soaring rate of inflation and high unemployment. New Zealand was forced to find new markets for exports, to diversify its industries, and to aim for greater efficiency. Instead of small industries producing goods for the local market the focus

became large-scale industrialisation which aimed at exporting products to overseas markets.

The Muldoon years (1975 - 1984) are associated with 'Think Big' economic policies involving industrial concentration. The economic destiny of the country, the prosperity of different regions and the opportunities for employment depended increasingly upon business decisions made by directors of a small number of large corporations. Muldoon succeeded in reducing inflation through instigating a wage and price freeze, but this cost New Zealanders in terms of high food prices and high mortgage rates, high unemployment and an increasing national debt.

Despite this extremely conservative political climate, the Women's Movement made several important victories. The Women's Movement in New Zealand established centres throughout the country aimed at raising consciousness among women and it lobbied for equality in education and paid work, recognition of unpaid work, better health services, as well as campaigning against harassment, rape and discrimination in all areas of society. A sustained challenge to New Zealand's abortion laws was arguably the most politically visible act of the Movement, as well as campaigning for the successful passing of the 1982 Domestic Protection Act.

Maori too, in spite of a political context which did not favour their demands, became politically assertive, and made crucial headway in the struggle for tino rangitiratanga. Specifically, Maori demanded restoration of land ownership, revival of culture and language. In 1975 the Waitangi Tribunal was formed to consider Maori grievances concerning the principles specified in the Treaty of Waitangi. 1975 was also the year of the Maori Land March led by Whina Cooper from Te Hapua in Northland to Parliament steps demanding that 'not one more acre' of Maori land should be alienated. The occupations at Bastion Point in 1978 and again in 1981, and protests regarding land at the Raglan golf course in 1978, were key land protests.

In 1981 another protest movement brought controversy in New Zealand. These were the anti-tour protests concerning whether or not New Zealand should play rugby with South Africa. This time protests were not just directed at the government, but people stood divided on the issue in their workplaces and family homes. The issue ran deeper than a debate over the politics of sporting contacts with South Africa. It questioned the traditional place of rugby in New Zealand society and the way it has shaped the personal and national identity of many New Zealand men (Fougere, 1989:112; Dann, 1982).

The increasing involvement of women in paid work, the rise of feminism, and Maori activism around issues of land and language, and sporting contact with South Africa had all challenged assumptions about what it meant to be 'a New Zealander'. The goal posts marking New Zealand national and cultural identity were shifting - not only with regard to an international context in which Britain was pulling away from her former colonies, but also within the country itself.

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During this time Lee Pendergrast, Glen Pendergrast, Greg Prew, Shirley Goodall, Roger Goodall and Isabelle Vanderkolk left New Zealand for their Overseas Experiences.

Lee Pendergrast and Glen Pendergrast

Lee was born in Otaki and brought up in Waikanae. Her parents and grandparents were also born in New Zealand but before that she says 'we came from Lancashire'. 'I lived there [in Waikanae] until I went to boarding school in Masterton, and from there I went to Dunedin.' Lee studied physiotherapy in Dunedin where she met Glen, who was also doing physiotherapy training.

Glen was born and brought up in Mt. Roskill, Auckland. Both his parents were also born in Auckland; his mother's father came over to New Zealand from Scotland ('an Armstrong ... (and) ... Scottish from way back') and his father's grandfather also left Scotland for New Zealand but originally came from Ireland. Glen lived in Auckland until he finished high school and then 'headed off to Dunedin to do physiotherapy'.

Lee and Glen moved to Wellington where Glen completed his final year as a student and then, needing to complete a two year bond working for the health department, the couple worked for a year in Oamaru. They were married in 1973, worked at the Commonwealth Games in Christchurch and 'headed off the next month' [March 1974] for three years Overseas Experience.

On leaving New Zealand Lee and Glen flew to Singapore to begin a seven month trip through South-East Asia to India and Nepal, across the Middle East and into Europe. They made two further extended trips during their Overseas Experience - one to Morocco and the other through Tanzania, Kenya, Ethiopia, Sudan and Egypt. Between travelling they worked in London in a pub in Parson's Green and also as

physiotherapists in, as Glen described them; 'scungy East End hospitals ... where people would rather not go, and where no self-respecting British person would work'.

In 1977 they returned to New Zealand, and worked in Wellington for two years before leaving for a six month working holiday in Canada. Six months stretched to five years before they finally returned to New Zealand, where they settled in Palmerston North 12 years ago. Both Lee and Glen still practice physiotherapy. They have three children.

Greg Prew

Greg was born in Tauranga and brought up in Te Puke on a kiwifruit orchard. His father is English and his mother was born in New Zealand. Greg is unsure of his grandparents' past but knows that he has an English and Irish background.

On leaving school Greg won a scholarship to study at Massey University. He recalled feeling that studying was not the right thing for him to be doing at the time and so he left university and worked for a year before venturing overseas.

Greg left New Zealand in 1974 aged 19. He flew to Sydney and then travelled for a few weeks in Australia, hitchhiking his way to Townsville and then on to Darwin. From Darwin Greg flew to Timor where he began a solo six month trip through South East Asia to India and across the Middle East into Europe. In London he worked as a building labourer and went on a camping tour of Europe during which he met his Canadian wife, Sheila.

After returning to New Zealand, Greg decided to 'give university another go' and attended Waikato University for a year. However, he again found that this was not for him and left to manage part of an orchard in Opotiki that his parents and brother-in-law had bought. Although he enjoyed the orcharding work Greg knew that kiwifruit orcharding was 'not going to be a viable long-term option'. It was while he and Sheila were in Canada (where they lived for 21 months) that Greg 'came up with physiotherapy as an idea', applied and was accepted. They moved to Palmerston North for Greg's final year of training. Greg and Sheila continue to live in Palmerston North with their children.

Shirley Goodall and Roger Goodall

Roger comes from Christchurch. His maternal grandmother came to New Zealand from Scotland and her brother went to South Africa. He also has many relatives in Zambia and Zimbabwe on his mother's side of the family. After leaving school Roger trained as a teacher, where he met Shirley who was at speech therapy college there.

Shirley is from Hawera. She described herself as a 'fifth generation New Zealander'. She did not feel that she comes from England; 'I don't have any ancestors in England. Mine are all New Zealanders'.

Shirley and Roger were married in 1974 and left for their Overseas Experience in January of 1977; Shirley aged 22 and Roger, 24. They initially flew to Brisbane from where they travelled across Australia. They then flew to South Africa, spending some time in Mauritius on the way. Setting up a base in Johannesburg, Shirley and Roger worked selling a pre-school education programme. They travelled in South Africa for six months before going on to Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) for a further three, where Roger taught at a local school and Shirley worked with war victims as a hospital speech therapist. They left Africa from Kenya and flew to Israel to work on a kibbutz. Four months later, after a four week break on a beach in Cyprus, Shirley and Roger hitch-hiked across Europe to London.

With London as a base, Shirley and Roger made three separate trips. The first through central Europe in a camper van with another couple and their three year old; the second, an eight week tour with 27 Australians through Scandinavia, Russia and Eastern Europe; and the third on their own, hitchhiking through Spain, Portugal and Morocco. They financed these trips through live-in pub jobs in London.

Shirley and Roger's final episode of work and travel began when they were employed as water skiing instructors at Camp America, near New York. Following this they bought a car and drove across Canada and down the East Coast of the United States. They flew back to New Zealand after three years away.

On returning, Shirley and Roger worked in Hawera, before moving to Matamata. A career change to business management for Roger brought them to Palmerston North 12 years ago, where they now live with their three children.

Isabelle Vanderkolk

Isabelle was born and brought up in Gisborne. Isabelle's father is 'probably about fifth generation or sixth generation New Zealander'. He and his father were farmers, his family were originally missionaries in the Bay of Islands. Her mother is English. Isabelle explained that '... my father went over to England before the war to train as a plane engineer and so he met my mother over there, and he brought her back'.(sic.) She remembers that she was 'brought up with the notion of our family living over the other side of the world'.(sic.) With an aunt also in America, Isabelle stated that 'I always expected that I would go over and meet all these people ... see the relations'.

After attending boarding school in Hawke's Bay for eight years, Isabelle moved to Auckland where she completed a secretarial course at polytechnic for a year prior to working in a law office for two and a half years. Isabelle then left for her Overseas Experience in 1977, aged 19. She set out on her own because none of her friends were 'ready to travel then'.

Isabelle referred to herself as a 'European' - 'I don't mean European as coming from Europe, I mean European as opposed to Maori'. She recalled that she felt 'torn between being the half-Kiwi part or the half-English part' of herself when she was on her Overseas Experience. She stayed with her aunt in San Francisco for a few days on her way to London and then lived with a family friend for the first few months in Wales. She remembered that 'friends of my parents actually drove me down to where my mother had lived and showed me where she'd been to school and all those sorts of things which were very important to me ... they felt that it was their duty to show me, and I was very interested too'. Reflecting on her mother's interest in her Overseas Experience Isabelle stated that 'I guess it was her way of showing me my culture in a way though it wasn't ever consciously that'.

Isabelle joined a Contiki camping trip for nine weeks around Europe. This took her through France, Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Austria, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, and back to Britain. She based herself in London for four months, flatting with some New Zealanders and Australians she met on the camping trip. During this time she obtained temporary secretarial work.[5]

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[5] Temporary work is referred to as 'temping' by participants, and this latter term will be used at times in the thesis.

:lle returned to New Zealand, as she had planned, after 18 months. She had met her e husband prior to her Overseas Experience and had decided that 'I was really only g for a certain length of time and I knew that from the beginning'.(sic.)

:lle now lives in Palmerston North with her husband and three children. She is still :sted in travel and plans, with her husband, to take the older two of her children to letherlands in 1996 to meet their relations.

? *Mid-1980s to the Mid-1990s in New Zealand - ynopsis*

84 the fourth Labour government was elected into office and it set about asserting v identity for New Zealand as a nation firmly based in and committed to the ic. The new government, led by David Lange, adopted an anti-nuclear stance that ne the crucial feature in a foreign policy which New Zealand embraced as its own - ıe making of a greater power such as Britain or the United States.

:ver, the making of a strong identity for the country came at a price. The Labour nment initiated major deregulation of the economy. This was executed by the lrawal of state subsidies for so-called 'uneconomic' enterprises, the lifting of :tionist barriers to the import of foreign goods and advocating 'freedom' for the : to find its own level on international money markets. Underlying these changes . new philosophy - part of a growing international trend toward New Right politics :ch forecast that maximum prosperity for a society and self-fulfilment for its dual members could only be achieved by opening all parts of the economy to :t forces. Traditional notions of a left-wing Labour party and a right-wing nal party had become blurred.

hit the agricultural and the manufacturing sectors hard. State subsidies to the ng sector were abolished and, now open to the forces of a global economy, the ıltural industry experienced 'rural crisis' (Campbell, 1994). The manufacturing : was exposed to competition from countries where labour was cheaper. :quent cuts to textile industries resulted in a high level of redundancy for women :rs. Massive restructuring overall resulted in high levels of unemployment for :n, young people and Maori.

The share market crash at the end of 1987 worsened the economic situation in New Zealand - large companies went bankrupt and small shareholders lost savings. The economic recession deepened following the share market plunge, and this featured increased unemployment, a decline in rural land prices and the folding of many small businesses.

In 1990 a National government came to power and stepped up the effort to 'roll back the state'. Efforts to cut state expenditure, increase efficiency, and break the perceived pattern of dependency on the state were main features of government policy when the National party came to office and remain so in the mid-1990s. 'User pays' became the driving philosophy in the government's libertarian approach to running New Zealand. Major benefit cuts were instigated, fees were radically increased for tertiary education, and health services were no longer considered a right but a product to be 'purchased' by 'consumers'.

The Employment Contracts Act of 1991 greatly reduced the strength of unions in industrial relations, and paved the way for a casualisation of the labour force. This sees women, young people, Maori and Pacific islanders over-represented in unemployment and in part-time, casual, and out-work as the New Zealand state effects a transition from a Welfare to an Enterprise state.

As indigenous peoples globally became more politically assertive in challenging state control of their resources and affirming their cultural distinctiveness from dominant ideologies, Maori nationalism gained strength. In 1985 the authority of the Waitangi Tribunal was extended to enable it to investigate complaints dating back to 1840. Maori Congress was established in 1989 to unite all tribes in a single body to speak on behalf of Maoridom. There is, however, no consensus across Maoridom as to the relationship between Maori and the state. The 1990s have seen an increasing Maori response from iwi to neo-liberal government policies as an expression of tino rangitiratanga through identifying new economic bases and utilising these in the context of mauritanga (Spoonley, 1994: 94).

The process of the recovery of Maoritanga in the 1970s, 1980s and into the 1990s has been accompanied by a general realisation for many New Zealanders that we are situated politically, economically, as well as increasingly socially and culturally, within the Pacific. New Zealand is not a colony of Europe, and Britain is less frequently spoken of as a distant 'home'. Nonetheless New Zealanders continue to look to Europe with some sense of nostalgia and young New Zealanders continue to travel there in

increasing numbers each year. Overseas Experience participants are betwixt and between - they are New Zealanders from 'Down Under' and New Zealanders with a European heritage which needs to be recalled lest we forget where we came from.

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During this time Janice MacRae, Paul Kos, Hannah Leith, Lynette Townsend, Rachel Marsden, Michelle Whitmore and Emily MacKay left New Zealand for their Overseas Experiences.

Janice MacRae

Janice was born in Palmerston North and grew up on a farm close to Bunnythorpe as one of a family of six children. Her great- great grandparents on her father's side of the family came from Donegal in Ireland and her mother's side of the family were from Ireland as well. Janice stated that even though her mother has expressed a desire for her children to learn more about their genealogy, 'we haven't got an enormous amount of history' (sic.) [that is known about by her immediate family].

Janice left school when she was 16, which, she suggests, did not 'set her up well for going to university'. She described herself at the time as being 'shy' and 'keen to get away from Palmerston North and from New Zealand'. After working in a cafe for nine months she moved to Queenstown 'just get out of the North Island'. Eight months later she had saved about $3000 - 'that was a thousand pounds, which was my entry in (to England), aside from my air flight'.

In 1989, aged 18, and accompanied by an older cousin, Janice flew to England, spending a month in the United States on the way. On arrival in England she signed up with the Kensington Nanny Agency and almost immediately got a job travelling to France for a month with a family from Oxford. Her next nannying job was for three months based with a family in Radlet, Hertfordshire. Following a trip in central Europe with a friend from New Zealand, Janice returned to London and 'lived-in' with a family in return for three nights babysitting a week. She also worked in the cookie kitchen at Harrods.

Janice's next trip was a four month solo journey through Europe to Turkey. While travelling there she met a Scottish woman, Joc, with whom she was to go hitchhiking in

Ireland. She and Joc worked stocking supermarket shelves and gardening to finance the trip. Following the Ireland trip Janice worked in a vegetarian restaurant in Edinburgh before returning to New Zealand via Thailand.

Shortly after arriving home Janice left again to go hitchhiking in Australia. She returned to New Zealand after two months and began working for a photography shop in Palmerston North. In 1991 she enrolled at Canterbury University to study sociology. She currently lives in Christchurch with her partner and is completing a Master's degree in Community Health.

Paul Kos

Paul was born and brought up in Marton. His parents are Dutch; his father came out to New Zealand in 1953 to work on the railways, and his mother immigrated three years later - she worked in the kitchen at a girls' boarding school in Marton. His parents later established a market garden in Marton.

After beginning an apprenticeship as a fitter/welder, Paul left Marton for a job in Shannon to which he commuted from Palmerston North. He finished his apprenticeship there in two years and set off on his Overseas Experience in 1989, aged 23.

Paul travelled to England via the United States with his sister, Sandra. They went straight to London to meet up with friends before going to the Netherlands to stay with relatives for a month. From the Netherlands, Paul and Sandra travelled in Europe for three months on a Eurail pass. Returning to London, they each found flats with other New Zealanders in the north of London.

Paul worked all over London through various agencies doing plumbing, fabrication welding and pipe fitting - 'anything that was going, basically'. During his time in London, he did short trips to England, Scotland and Wales, the Netherlands, France and Andorra.

He also travelled with a group of six other New Zealanders down through Spain and Portugal to Morocco, Egypt, Turkey and Greece for four months. Paul then worked in London again to save money for a five month trip that would take him through Central America to the United States and then back to New Zealand. The trip 'fell through', however, when his partner became ill and so they returned to New Zealand after only

two weeks in Central America. They subsequently travelled for two months in Indonesia before returning to New Zealand. Paul had been away from New Zealand for three years.

Soon after returning home Paul enrolled at Massey University for a degree in Resource and Environmental Planning. He has continued to work for short periods of time as a fitter/welder to help finance his university study. He currently lives in Palmerston North with his partner and works as a policy analyst for local government.

Hannah Leith

Hannah was born and brought up in Palmerston North. Her father is from Palmerston North and her mother, from Pungarehu in Taranaki. Hannah's great-grandparents on her mother's side of the family were from Ireland, and on her father's side from Scotland.

Hannah lived in Palmerston North until she had completed her nursing diploma. She then began work as a Staff Nurse at Waikato Hospital, where she worked for 18 months - 'gaining experience and saving money to travel'.

In 1989, aged 21, Hannah and her close friend, Mary, flew out to Vancouver. They had a week there before flying to Frankfurt to begin four months hitchhiking around central Europe. Following this, with money running low, they caught the ferry to Harwich and headed down to London where they set up a flat with several other New Zealanders. They both worked as nurses through agencies in London for several months before embarking on a six month journey together through Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and India to Nepal.

Hannah and Mary returned to London after this trip where they again established a flat with other New Zealanders. Hannah worked this time for a large private hospital in central London. Her next excursion involved travelling from Central America down into South America for eight months. She left with another friend from New Zealand whom she had met in London but linked up and travelled also with a group of Australians in South America. After her trip to South America, Hannah spent several months back in London working before returning to New Zealand via Thailand and Australia.

She returned to New Zealand in 1992, but left again after a few months to join friends travelling in West Africa. She again nursed in London for a few months after the trip in West Africa before returning to New Zealand in late 1993 where she has been since.

Hannah lives in Palmerston North. She has recently completed a Master's degree in Development Studies. She works voluntarily for CORSO, a New Zealand non-governmental justice and development organisation.

Lynette Townsend

Lynette was born and brought up in Wanganui. She is a third generation New Zealander on both her mother's and father's sides of the family; each of her great-grandparents came to New Zealand from England.

Lynette trained as a nurse in Palmerston North for three years before moving to Wellington, where she worked for two years.

In 1989 Lynette and her partner at the time left to begin an Overseas Experience in Australia. They based themselves in Melbourne and worked for five months. Lynette wanted a break from nursing, so obtained work in a bakery. Hitchhiking up the west coast of Australia to Darwin made Lynette realise that, contrary to her initial expectation that Australia would not be 'part of the travel adventure', it became 'an adventure'. 'It was so different [from New Zealand] - people were really different and the countryside was really different.'

From Australia they travelled for six months in Asia before flying to England. They flew to Timor, and travelled west through Indonesia and then into Malaysia and Thailand. From Bangkok they flew to Kathmandu and spent several weeks in Nepal trekking before flying direct to London. Lynette and her partner flatted with English, Irish and Scottish people in Golders Green in the north of London for 18 months during which time Lynette worked in various hospitals and did live-in nursing jobs around England. They made two independent trips to Europe using London as a base. The first to Italy, Switzerland and Austria and the second through Greece and Turkey, to East Europe, and returning to England from the Netherlands.

Lynette contrasted her expectations of her Overseas Experience with her actual experience;

I didn't really have any great expectations except going to places and learning about other people and other cultures and having a bit of fun and having a good time. But I found that once I started travelling it wasn't only learning about other cultures, it was learning about myself.

Lynette returned to New Zealand at the end of 1992, where she began a BA at Massey University and continued to work as a nurse to support herself financially; she completed her degree in 1995. In the same year, on a cycling trip around the South Island, she met Chris who was on a working holiday in New Zealand from England. Lynette and Chris are now married and working in Liverpool while they save money for a trip to India.

Rachel Marsden

Rachel grew up in Waipukarau 'in a family of seven kids'. She referred to herself as 'third generation New Zealander' on her mother's side of the family. She explained that her great-grandparents had come to New Zealand from Wales. Her father's family came from Maidstone, in Kent.

On leaving school Rachel attended secretarial college and then worked at Glaxo in Palmerston North for two years. At the end of 1990 Rachel and her partner at the time (Mike) left New Zealand on their Overseas Experience. Rachel recalled; 'I just had a strong yearning to see what it was like overseas, to experience what it was like to live in another country'. She had planned this trip away and thought that it would be better to do this when she was 'young'.

Even two years before I went on my O.E. I knew that I wanted to go overseas for a year and then come back and go to university, I didn't want to be too old. That was my plan.

She and Mike flew to London with a three-day stopover in Singapore. In London they stayed with a friend's parents when they first arrived, and the following week Rachel had a secretarial temping job. A month later they went to Ireland for a couple of weeks to visit Mike's relatives, where they spent Christmas.

On returning to London they worked for eight months; Rachel as the secretary at an employment agency she had gone to in search of work. They spent their free time doing trips to Wales, where Rachel visited her mother's family's village, and to other places in England, as well as undertaking a six week tour of Europe. They lived in East

Finchley and later in Wimbledon 'with ten other Australians and New Zealanders'. Rachel remarked that it would have been good to live with people of 'another culture' but 'when you're over there you feel some sort of sense of solidarity with other New Zealanders'.

Toward the end of their Overseas Experience Rachel, Mike, and two of their flatmates travelled independently to Egypt for a few weeks. Rachel referred to this as 'the highlight' of her Overseas Experience. After this they flew back to New Zealand where Rachel enrolled at Massey University to do a Bachelor of Resource and Environmental Planning. She completed this in 1995 and is presently living in Wellington and working for a landscape design company.

She reflected on her Overseas Experience;

I've done my O.E., I've lived in London and I've lived in a big flat. I have it out of my system and I was able to concentrate on university, and now my job, a lot better.

Rachel is, however, still interested in travel;

Eventually when I get married and have kids I'd like to go over there for about two years, maybe with my job I'd be able to do a year's swap sort of thing. I've got no desire to go back and do an O.E. like I did before, I want to get into my career.

Michelle Whitmore

Michelle was born and brought up in Marton. She described herself as a fifth generation New Zealander. Both Michelle's mother's and father's families came to New Zealand from England.

In 1985, during her final year of secondary school, Michelle lived in the United States as an exchange student. After returning to New Zealand, she attended Massey University and completed an honours degree in History. She worked for a year writing a history of Nga Tawa, a girls' boarding school in Marton, before leaving for her Overseas Experience in 1991.

Michelle travelled to the United States on her way to London and stayed in Arizona for two weeks with the family she had lived with as an exchange student. On arrival in England she stayed with an English friend who lived just out of London before moving into an established flat of New Zealanders in the north of London. Michelle explained;

I did it like that because that was what friends who had already done their O.E. had done. I didn't have a job lined up, I had heard that temping was really easy and I had basic secretarial skills.

Michelle obtained temping work in London. While based in London she did short trips in Europe and a more extensive episode of travel in South America. She returned to England and worked in a permanent secretarial position for ten months before travelling in Central America and the United States with her partner (whom she had met in the flat in London). She returned to New Zealand in 1994.

Returning to New Zealand was a challenging adjustment period. Michelle stated;

I think we were quite lucky that a lot of our friends from London were already back and they understood, they knew about the highs and lows we were going to go through.

Michelle is still interested in travel - 'There are so many places that I still think are 'must sees''. However, she concedes that it is more difficult for her to do this now;

When I look back there are still lots of places that I want to go to but I'm glad I've travelled to the kind of places that I did now and didn't think; 'I'll go there later', and travel to easier countries.

Michelle is married with a child and lives in Palmerston North where she works as a marketing analyst.

Emily MacKay

Emily described herself as a New Zealander, first-generation. Her father was born in England and her mother, in Wales. Her maternal grandfather was a Welsh navy officer and her maternal grandmother was South African. They had met in Cape Town and had married and spent a life moving with the navy to Wales, Scotland, England and South Africa. Emily's paternal grandparents were from Scotland and England, and they had come to New Zealand when her father was nine years old 'for a better lifestyle'. Emily's parents met in London when her father was over there in his early twenties on his Overseas Experience.

Emily remarked 'because I has a British passport, I did not feel the pressure to travel before I was 27'.[6] She explained;

Travel is something that we were really encouraged to do, and actually I can't remember it not being an option for me. I remember thinking at school that I'd probably get a degree, work for a year and then go overseas. It is something that I've always wanted to do. There is a really strong pull for me to go travelling because the only relatives that I have in New Zealand are my father's sister and her two children. All my other relatives are overseas; lots in South Africa, lots in England, lots in Wales, a few in Scotland.

Emily had begun a Social Work degree at Massey University and decided that this was not for her, so moved to Auckland where she trained as a nurse - 'I also thought that it'd be a good job to travel with'. She had been planning to go to England and work when on holiday in the South Island she met an Israeli man, Eran, travelling in New Zealand, and this prompted her to change her plans and go to Israel. She left New Zealand in 1993, aged 25.

Emily lived with Eran's family for six months, travelling in Egypt for a month during this time as well. She described her time in Israel as being very different from New Zealand, and it was also because of language barriers it was difficult for her to understand and be understood by others a lot of the time. Emily took a language course for a month which, she explained, 'made things easier'. However, Emily found that there were pressures on her to convert to Judaism and to commit to bringing her children up in the Jewish faith. She found it too difficult to reconcile many of the differences in the way Eran's family lived with the what she wanted for a future. Their relationship broke up and Emily went to England for four months before returning to New Zealand.

Back in New Zealand, Emily worked in Thames for a year as a nurse, before leaving again to resume her Overseas Experience. She is presently still in England, having been on a cycle trip in Scotland and Ireland with friends from New Zealand and backpacking around Europe for a few months.

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6 New Zealand passport holders under the age of 27 travelling to Britain were eligible for a two year working holiday permit, providing they had proof of £2000 on arrival in Britain. Recent changes to this policy have been effected and now New Zealand passport holders are required to have a working holiday entry certificate with them on arrival to Britain. They cannot claim back and add on to the two years, the time spent outside of Britain during their Overseas Experience, as was the common practice with the more informal working holiday permit.

She remarked when she was back in New Zealand (in between her two episodes of travel) that she felt;

... lucky to be living in an untouched and beautiful part of the world, it's quite relaxed ... especially having lived in Israel. I identify with being born here and having grown up here, I like it here and it's easy for me to live here, but I don't have to live here.

CHAPTER THREE

AN 'OVERSEAS EXPERIENCE' PARTICIPANT: A DIFFERENT TYPE OF 'TOURIST'

INTRODUCTION

Marie-Francoise Lanfant in her introduction to *International Tourism: Identity and Change* (1995:7) says of identity that it is 'the test to which all human beings living in society are constantly subjected'. The test, she claims, is enhanced when the individual is 'attacked, weakened, marginalised, placed in awkward situations or torn between conflicting interests ... (indeed) challenge to identity is an experience of alterity.'

An Overseas Experience (an experience of alterity) involves, on many levels, a challenge to identity. The preceding chapter introduced the participants in this research and provided some information about their identities prior to and after their Overseas Experience. This chapter aims to explore further the identity of these participants, focusing on their sense of common identity as practitioners of a particular mode of travel/tourism: the Overseas Experience. I will describe and define the research cohort through a critique of efforts made by sociologists and anthropologists to define various types and styles of travellers and tourists. Specifically, I will evaluate whether there is in fact a valid distinction between travellers and tourists and, if there is, who draws it and why. Importantly, I will also consider how the participants perceived their *own* identities immediately prior to and during their Overseas Experience.

Overseas Experience Participants Identify Themselves

As Bruner (1995:225) surmises, generalisations in the literature about the motivations of tourists have tended to neglect a 'systematic observation of the tourists' own reactions and interpretations'. A consideration of what the participants said on the subject of their own identities while on their Overseas Experiences will help to reveal what an Overseas Experience is and who the people are who practise it. This will enable me to construct a more realistic account of what this practice actually means for

those who partake in it. The specific ways in which Overseas Experience participants identified themselves which will be examined are: in terms of *being travellers*, having various *changing identites*, and of *being free*.

Overseas Experience Participants as 'Travellers'

Paul Kos and Hannah Leith, who did their Overseas Experiences in the late 1980s to early 1990s, and Lee Pendergrast and Glen Pendergrast, who did theirs in the mid-1970s, partook in what they described as 'travelling'. They each explained how they viewed their involvement in this practice at the time of their Overseas Experience.

Paul: We'd usually be called ***backpackers*** *and that basically meant that you'd say to people that you didn't want to stay in expensive hotels, you'd want the cheapest accommodation. They're not going to get a lot of money out of you. Basically, I reckon that backpackers are rated as the scummiest tourists around really because you try to do what all the other tourists or other travellers do but at half, a quarter, or even a tenth of the cost. So, really you are trying to do everything on a minimal amount of money. I'd say most of what you'd actually call tourists would pay $50 a night for a room, would eat at hotels all the time and would go to the local supermarket, that sort of thing.*

... backpackers wouldn't cause a beautiful beach to be developed so a high rise building would get constructed. Also backpackers actually met the people. Tourists tend to just go through a country, look at the sights, buy a few souvenirs and then fuck off basically.

I'd say, still with tourists, that lots of the money would probably only go to a few people and probably in many cases it doesn't go to the local people with tourist operations, it would go to the big companies and big hotels and would go out of the country. At least backpackers spend money in the local economy, they go to all the local dairies and buy the local stuff. Sure, they're not going to buy the $100 souvenirs and that sort of thing.

I considered myself to be definitely a ***'backpacker/traveller'****.*

I asked Paul if, as a 'traveller', he perceived himself as also a 'tourist'?

Paul: Yes, but definitely a different type. We are still doing the same things basically, but it's just that we are not doing it the way they are. We are not spending the money to do it.

Hannah also reflected on what 'travelling' meant for her.

We decided to go through West Asia through Turkey to Nepal; an overland trip. We didn't want to take an overland bus because we didn't feel that that was 'real' travelling. We felt we wanted to organise and experience things ourselves. We'd travelled on our own in Europe and hadn't done any tours. Nepal was going to be the real adventure. We didn't really have any idea what we were letting ourselves in for. We had no idea what it would be like.

I would have called people who went on organised tours 'tourists', probably overall we ***travellers*** *stayed longer than tourists in any one place. We travelled for longer periods of time than tourists. At the time I was very incensed about being a 'traveller' and not a 'tourist', but reflecting back on it, there probably wasn't much difference. We thought that we were* ***'real' travellers*** *because we went to different places and we stayed for long periods of time but we were still passing through, we weren't really experiencing the culture. We stayed with local people in pensions and the tourists stayed in the richer hotels. We felt that we had less impact on the locals than tourists did but in reality it's probably the other way around.*

My ideas have changed a lot since I've got back and really started reflecting on what sort of impact I've had on the people that I've met. I used to think that I had less impact than tourists and that I was actually doing some good. But tourists, because they don't live with the locals and are more isolated from the people, maybe they have less impact than the travellers who impose our culture on the local people.

Lee and Glen Pendergrast emphasised the 'real' quality of travelling.

Lee: We were ***travellers****. Tourists had a different connotation. We felt we were travellers because we were independent, I did anyway.*

Glen: That's right. Tourists these days, but looking back there weren't the choices of terms in those days.

Lee: But there were organised tours.

Glen: There were the 'real' people who really did get way off the beaten track ... who stayed in one place and ...

Lee: Much further than we ever did.

Glen: We didn't rub shoulders with the tourists, really. We'd see them occasionally; there was always a trail or a trickle of people going through (independent travellers), even in the most way out places you wouldn't go too long without coming across other adventurous souls.

For Paul the emphasis on travelling meant spending a minimal amount of money on things such as accommodation and food, still trying to do what other tourists do but also having more contact with the local people, and therefore spending money in the

'local economy'. Riley's (1989) study of the road culture of international long-term budget travellers found that the primary difference between budget travellers and typical mass tourists rests on their derivation of status.[1] She claims that mass tourists derive status from staying in prestigious and expensive resorts and hotels while budget travellers seek ego-enhancement from attaining the 'best value' - status for budget travellers being often associated with hardship (1989:320).[2]

Hannah emphasised a distinction between the 'tourism' of organised tours and the 'real travelling' of independent trips which were characterised by a longer period of travel to 'different places' (than those tourists visited) and also by more contact with the local people (than tourists had), through staying with them. Lee and Glen stressed the distinction at the level of independence. Like Hannah, Glen and Lee also referred to travellers as being 'real', 'adventurous souls', who go further and stay longer.

Shifting Identities of Overseas Experience Participants

Although they shared characteristics with participants discussed above, such as visiting locations which are deemed to be 'out of the way' and having a limited budget, a number of the participants spoke of their identities while on their Overseas Experience in less clearcut terms than the aforementioned.[3] Differing from the previous group, who emphasised the 'independent' nature of their *journeys* while on their Overseas Experience, these people also drew on various other activities with which they were involved (aside from the journey itself) to construct an identity of themselves while away.

Greg Prew reflected on various travel sub-cultures around in the 1970s when he did his Overseas Experience. He mentioned 'hippies' and 'mass tourists', as well as 'other New Zealanders and Australians', as 'scenes' he tried to avoid. For Greg travelling was a practice important in this particular part of his life but, he claimed, that when like marijuana smoking, 'everyone started doing it' it lost its meaning for the few who had initially sought a special identity in its practice.

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1 Riley's (1989) research findings are based on 1984 - 1985 participant observation as a budget traveller in South and South East Asia, Australia and New Zealand.

2 As Riley (1989:313) outlines the main features of her cohort (long-term budget travellers); they prefer to travel alone, are educated, 'European and middle class, single, obsessively concerned with budgeting his/her money, and at a juncture in life.'

3 These participants are Ethne Maher, Greg Prew, Janice MacRae, Rachel Marsden, Emily MacKay, Shirley Goodall and Roger Goodall.

Greg: I certainly was quite different from the people who were on organised tours but exactly what that name was called I don't know. I suppose I was a 'backpacker' if you were going to put a name on it. The thing I remember was avoiding New Zealanders which I found quite odd in a way but I was really startled by how much like Australians they seemed in a lot of ways. I can't remember exactly where in India but I met some people who I knew from Te Puke who were on a bus tour and I felt quite distinct from them. Those were the days when Americans wandered around with flag shorts and cameras flung around themselves. I think that it was probably a bit early for Australians to be too loud. I think Australians became loud sometime after that - certainly by the '80s. I was really quite surprised at how loud New Zealanders were.

That certainly was the hippy track through there (Asia) - tons of people. It really was a well worn track. Just exactly how people got on when Afghanistan was overrun by the Russians or when the Shah was deposed in Iran, I don't know how all those things affected going through Asia, but it was pretty straightforward when I was around there. Apart from nearly having a punch up in Pakistan, it was very straight forward. It was reasonably adventurous but it wasn't at all difficult. With Nepal or India, Agra in particular (that would be where one would tend to go), I think that they were a bit touristy and they were a bit hippyish, and so I wasn't too distressed not to have gone there but equally I would have if I had had the chance. The only reason I didn't was circumstances making it difficult.

'Cause I was in the early days of marijuana as well, when I was young, and one of the things about that was you could have been reasonably sure that the people who were smoking marijuana would have been people that you would have probably had something in common with and then quite quickly it became a situation where it wasn't like that. Initially it seemed that would have been a little badge that you could have all worn but quite quickly everyone started wearing one so it stopped being like that. I used to think that travelling was a bit like that, in a way. I am pleased to have done it and I think it was important to do.

For the most part I think that people who have travelled have had their eyes opened more than people who haven't, but I have met people who don't seem to have needed to do that. I used to think to be educated you needed to have travelled, but a guy who I would say was my best friend has never been outside New Zealand so I have revised my opinion.

Sarah Lewis did not identify with *being* a 'traveller', neither did she see herself as *being* a 'tourist'. Identity for her appeared to be more closely linked to what she, and her travelling companion, *did*.[4] As has been previously emphasised by Hannah and Paul, Sarah sought to try to understand what life was like for the people with whom she worked and travelled while away. She reflected;

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[4] 'Doing' seems to be relationship-based as opposed to 'being done' which implies acting upon an object. In this context 'doing' connotes the facilitation of understanding and suggests subjectivity through 'meeting', 'learning', 'living', 'working'.

I don't think we actually thought about it really. Obviously we were tourists to a certain extent but I don't think we thought of ourselves as such ... I think we tried - as much as possible in the countries that we lived in for any length of time - to learn about their customs and their culture. We were really interested in that and being part of their lives as much as possible. In England it is inevitable if you live in London that you are going to meet up with Kiwis. I mean I think I tried even in England to meet English people, you know other people - people of a different culture - because if you are just going out with Kiwis you don't really learn anything, do you? Or gain anything? In fact you don't have such an interesting time. Just that small experience, living and working with an English family, was really great. It gave me some insight into their culture and how they live, even though it was probably a different part of society.

For Janice, her Overseas Experience has involved the construction of a transient identity. She defined herself in terms of travelling but also in terms of the intermittent paid work that she took on.

Janice: I always took on jobs that were temporary because it gave me that freedom to go, always just two or three months. I'd meet people and they'd say 'What do you do?' and I used to get really embarrassed and say that I was a cook. If I was cooking, then I was a cook; if I was nannying, then I was a nanny. It was very transient.

I felt that I'd done nothing. I had so many jobs that I couldn't label myself as anything. Or I used to say 'I'm just travelling at the moment', but that was enough and I ended up being quite proud of that. At first I used to be embarrassed because the people who I hung out with were all quite a lot older than me and they were all people who had done their study, they were lawyers or something - they had a name for themselves - travel was a secondary thing. They were quite in awe of this young woman who had nothing and just identified with whatever was going on in her life at that time.

Like many people returning home from an Overseas Experience, Janice now has mixed feelings and doubts about travelling. These doubts were shared by Hannah and Greg. Hannah expressed concern as to whether travellers are of benefit to the local communities they visit, and Greg reflected on his change in thinking about the educational value of travelling. Janice became critical of the emphasis travellers placed on spending as little money as possible. She explained;

Janice: I met this Scottish woman, Sophie, and we became friends, we went to Thailand together, she'd never been out of Scotland, hadn't travelled before. So she thought that she'd go with me. It was a strange end to my time away because she was really quite appalled with what travelling was all about - travelling for travelling ... When a boat would pull in and you'd go to get off at an island and people would clamber off with their packs to race to get to the cheapest bunk or whatever. It was all this 'dog eat dog' bullshit going down and people are very, very selfish - coming back at the end of the day and boasting about who they'd ripped off and who they'd scored a good deal with. They'd be talking about a dollar difference which would be piss all when they got

home and resumed their normal lives. It would just mean nothing. My friend just highlighted all this stuff for me, she was really disappointed with this travelling.

Her views had shaped what I felt when I came home. I felt really guilty as well that maybe I'd behaved like that in the past, but I was adamant that I hadn't. She didn't say much but what she did say was always quite sharp. Travelling was no big deal to her, she was going home soon. It wasn't an identity that she put on herself, she was a tourist and happy to be like that.

I probably won't travel in the same way that I did earlier. I think of two of my friends who are there at the moment and I think I'd love to be there but the whole idea of never having your own place, I'm not attracted to that any more. I'd like to stay in one place. It's the packing and the moving and the constant pressure that you have to prove yourself to somebody, I think 'no'.

Riley (1989:321) comments that, for many, being a 'budget traveller' involves 'playing with identity'. In this regard she refers to middle class people who pass, while travelling, as having little money, and are therefore more likely to have the opportunity to have invitations to share meals or stay with local people.[5] From the perspective of these budget travellers, these experiences not only save money but, perhaps more importantly, are status enhanced when shared with other travellers - this is what appeared to annoy Janice about this travelling practice, on reflection. As Riley (1989) states, many locals have difficulty accepting this 'temporarily impoverished' identity and question how it can be possible that these travellers can be poor when they had enough money for a plane ticket to visit their country.

Ethne Maher also expressed exasperation with aspects of travelling after her return home (although she did not make such a clear distinction between being a 'traveller' or a 'tourist'). She spoke of her Overseas Experience as being long enough to enable her to feel settled when she returned, but also long enough to become frustrated with being a tourist *and* a traveller.

Ethne: I often wonder if people who spend just a few months away feel that it just gets the old feet itching. Whereas I think I was there long enough to get it out of my system, although if the opportunity came up I probably wouldn't turn it down, but for a long time after I'd come back I thought I didn't want to go to another tourist spot ever again. I just felt 'Oh ... tourists!'
Tina: Did you actually see yourself as being a tourist or a traveller when you were visiting other places?

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5 Gottlieb (1982) uses the concept of playing with identity while being a tourist. She states (1982:168) that the 'culturally recognised ideal' of a vacation centres around a contrast with what is normally done back home. Her research, based on the vacation practices of Americans, suggests that upper/middle class tourists will 'play' at being peasants, while lower class tourists 'play' at being 'king' or 'queen' - obviating the social structural divisions of 'back home' (1982:173).

Ethne: I guess a bit of both, but probably when we did our trip to India I saw myself much more as a traveller, because a lot of tourists didn't go to the places that we went to, especially to Iran and Afghanistan and places like that. That's probably why it's such a highlight, that particular trip, well one of the reasons.

Independence while travelling was generally spoken of as being highly valued by most Overseas Experience participants - becoming part of what they sought as an identity.

Rachel Marsden experienced both travelling with a tour group and also independently while she was on her Overseas Experience. She spoke of her experiences travelling independently as being those she chose to recall as expressions of her Overseas Experience overall. Interestingly, it is from these expressions that Rachel derived an identity for herself while on her O.E. - 'backpacker' to herself and her compatriots, and 'Kiwi' to the local people she interacted with.

In Egypt, spending a longer time in each place, you learn part of the culture ... We considered ourselves as backpackers [but] we were 'Kiwis' to the local people. I guess you could distinguish us from the rich American tourists and Germans. The times that I talk about and laugh about were in Egypt, I don't know if it was the fact that it wasn't organised, it was a far more interesting experience. We really didn't have a clue that there were going to be yucky hotels. At the time you think it is so awful but they were the most memorable moments. You get yourself into more interesting situations when you are on your own.

Of the identity of people on tours, Rachel made the observation that;

On our tour you could have split people up into two different types really: there were those who sat in the pub all day and got drunk, there were those who went to see the art galleries and museums. (Rachel implied that she placed herself in the latter group.)

She spoke of the tour she participated in as containing less memorable and interesting experiences than her independent travelling.

The thing with organised tours is that although at the time it all seems fine, you think back and think 'well, half the things I've forgotten what we did', it's so scheduled and planned and after a while you think 'what country am I in now?', there are so many countries in a short period of time.

For Rachel, it would seem, a memorable episode of travel as part of one's O.E. required room for spontaneity or even accidents to occur. It is from such events that the 'real experiences' occur and, as I will elaborate in the following chapter, the makings of a good travel story.

Returning to New Zealand after a year Rachel felt she had completed most of what she believed to be the most important elements of an Overseas Experience but had a few unrealised ambitions that would have made her overall O.E. better.

Part of me wanted to be back there. A lot of my friends were writing and saying 'we've done this and that' and I felt like there were a lot of places that I wanted to go to and see, for example Turkey and Greece. I really would have liked to have had one more year over there to have seen things properly. And I would have l liked to have travelled by combi, but it has satisfied me now. I've done my O.E., I've lived in London, and I've lived in a big flat.

Emily MacKay also expressed feelings of wanting to see or do things properly, or regretting not doing so. She combined her plans for an Overseas Experience with an effort to live in Israel with her Israeli partner, whom she had met in New Zealand. She spoke of her feelings about wanting to 'do' her Overseas Experience which she emphasised as 'travelling';

I wanted to go travelling but then I met Eran and thought, 'Oh well, I'm sort of going travelling, I'm going to Israel, I'm going to live somewhere different'. But I also was thinking, 'If things work out then we have to decide on what we'll do and if we'll go travelling together'. But when that (our relationship) didn't work out and I went to England I was just too depressed to even want to do anything. So what had started off to be called 'an adventure' turned out not to be the travelling I had imagined. That's why I'm giving it another go.

After this initial period of 'travelling', which Emily did not feel to be 'real travelling', she returned to New Zealand and worked for several months before setting off again on her Overseas Experience. She is currently travelling independently in Europe having visited relations in South Africa and England.

Being Free: Overseas Experience as a 'Freeing up' of Identity

Freedom *from* commitments, responsibilities, duties or even the mundane routines of 'everyday life' were precursors for freedom *to* travel, explore and experience for Emily MacKay, Shirley Goodall, Roger Goodall and other O.E. participants. Whether or not this latter sense of freedom is actually realised is probably not as important as the central position it plays in the construction of what an Overseas Experience means for those who practise it. It has been talked about by all of the participants in one way or

another; either as an *aspiration* or *motivating force*, a *feeling* while away, a *time* in their lives; or a defining chracteristic. [6]

Emily spoke of her motivations for going on an Overseas Experience;

I don't want a house or a baby or ... I wouldn't mind a partner, but I haven't got one. I don't have any of the things that most people in New Zealand who I know have got and so a great alternative for me is to use the fact that I don't have any commitment to go and travel.

Shirley Goodall and Roger Goodall described their time away from New Zealand also in terms of freedom from other responsibilities which they associated with their peers back home in New Zealand.

Roger: Yeah, no responsibilities, no, you lived from one day to the next.

Shirley: You were really free - you had that responsibility in the fact that we knew we had jobs to do ... [but] you were living very much in the here and now. We weren't worrying about having children and looking at a house or mortgage - it was just us.

It is interesting that Shirley responded using a mixture of the second and third person plural. She seemed to be suggesting that her experiences, and Roger's, were generalisable to a wider group of people - that this (feeling of freedom) was indeed a common experience and perhaps therefore intrinsic to the Overseas Experience itself.

Cliff Taylor's novel *The Freedom Junkies* (1994) considers freedom as an intrinsic part of *identity* itself. It examines the Overseas Experiences of two young Pakeha New Zealanders in the 1990s; Talia Helriegel and Levi Wilde, whose experiences while travelling challenge them personally, politically and culturally. While the novel is on one level a series of adventure stories appealing to escapism and excitement, it makes important comment on what the Overseas Experience actually means for those who engage in it. Through the intertwined travel experiences of the two protagonists, Taylor deftly explores the ideal which becomes an ever increasing driving force in their journeying - the pursuit of freedom.

Levi Wilde *is* what he does.

> *What are we? thought Levi. We are what we are. It's what we're good at. It's what we do. We're scatterlings. We're the freedom junkies. It's the truest thing I know (Taylor, 1994:247).*

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[6] The concept of freedom will be discussed further in Chapter Five in relation to an examination of 'out of the ordinary' experiences which comprise an Overseas Experience.

This passage from the novel describes Levi's and his friend Shaun's expectation of experiencing being at Stonehenge. In the following quotation I have given emphasis to the pieces of the text which emphasise their ideal of freedom gained from this experience.

> *The pilgrim's road meandered across Salisbury Plain ten miles from the outskirts of the cathedral city to Stonehenge. The road passed through fields of grass and grain, between dry stone walls and beneath a limitless cerulean sky... They knew of Stonehenge only as an image, in photographs and fables. It seemed scarcely credible that somewhere across the fields the five-thousand-year-old sculpture stood in stone waiting for their touch. The prospect energised them. They talked effortlessly about their dreams and hopes and fears, with no audience but the overhanging oak trees and the skylarks panicking in the sky above. The time-worn milestones recorded their progress, and* ***the whole experience was a milestone in their lives.*** *In their ebullient banter* ***they acknowledged the idealism of their adolescence when the limits of their lives promised to be no less than the limits of the sky.*** *They laughed at familiar jokes and sang as they marched.* ***This was adventure! This was being alive.*** *Their early dreams voiced hopefully in the chaotic vacuum of youth had not been hollow words after all. The dreams had sustained them through the desperate and dangerous years of adolescence; when they'd wandered the small night-time netherworld of Auckland, when they'd hitch-hiked around New Zealand looking and hoping for trouble.* ***Always there had been the sense of a wider world where dreams could be bigger. Now they were here - in a strange land pursuing a mystery*** *(Taylor, 1994:72).*

Traveller or Tourist?

The ways in which the participants identified themselves while on their Overseas Experiences are varied and not conclusive. All appear to relate to an identity of being free, some to a description of having shifting identities and some to being travellers. Many would identify with all three descriptions. Interestingly, some participants drew a distincton between 'tourist' and 'traveller'. This perceived distinction made by Overseas Experience participants will now be examined alongside of the perceived distinction drawn by some social scientists.

To begin to examine the difference between 'traveller' and 'tourist' it seems necessary to take an initial look at how these words have come into use. Etymologically a 'traveller' is a person who suffers *travail*, a word deriving from Latin *tripalium*, a

torture instrument consisting of three stakes designed to rack the body (cited in Fussell, 1980:39). This would imply that travel is work. Indeed, as Fussell (1980:39) notes, before the development of tourism, travel was considered to be like study - its merits were the improvement of mind and judgement. As stated in Chapter One, 'tour' indicates a journey that is a round trip; the person who becomes a 'tourist' must leave her/his own home, travel somewhere else for a period of time, and then return to her/his place of departure. The term 'tourist' is thought to have come into common usage in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Oxford English Dictionary quotes Pegge (p. 190) as stating in 1814 that 'A Traveller is now-a-days called a Tourist' (cited in Cohen, 1974:529). While this might shed some light on the uses of the terms 'tourist' and 'traveller' back at the time of the inception of the tourist industry in Europe last century, from what premise is a distinction made now, and why?

Bruner (1991:247) claims that the distinction between tourism and travel is 'a Western myth of identity' - that this distinction is more in the minds of tourists and scholars of tourism, than in the 'reality of the touristic encounter' (1991:247). He suggests that this is a distinction drawn by all tourists to define themselves as other to the negative connotations associated with tourism. Travellers, Bruner emphasises, use the tourist infrastructure;

> *the sites visited, the performances witnessed, and the nature of the total experience may be very similar for tourists and for those 'travelers' who ostensibly detest tourism (Bruner, 1991:247).*

Fussell (1980:49) claims that tourists' preference for the term 'traveller' over that of 'tourist' is,

> *a symptom and a cause of what the British journalist Alan Brien has designated* ***tourist angst,*** *defined as 'a gnawing suspicion that after all ... you are still a tourist like every other tourist.'*

He uses the term 'anti-tourists' for such tourists (Fussell, 1980:47). [7]

Leed (1991:287) also understands the distinction to be somewhat of a fallacy. He remarks on the 'desperation' of the attempts made by 'professional tourists, well-funded anthropologists, and recording travelers' to distinguish themselves from the travelling masses, but concludes that the wish to avoid tourists and the places they gather is evidence that travel is no longer a means of achieving distinction (as it

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7 'Anti-tourist' was a concept used by MacCannell (1976:164).to describe the negative position taken by modern urban liberals and 'Third World' radicals in response to what he termed 'the expansion of the tourist class to incorporate different kinds of people'.

appeared to be in the days of the Grand Tour) but a way of realising a norm - the common identity of the stranger that we all share (Leed, 1991:287).

Van den Abbeele (1980) and Van den Berghe and Keyes (1984) present their argument for the aversion of tourists by tourists in terms of MacCannell's (1976) theorisation of tourists' quest for authenticity. Van den Abbeele (1980:7) understands the tourist's quest for authenticity as an individualistic one. He therefore surmises that competition for authenticity leads to tourists not considering themselves to be 'tourists' and viewing other tourists as capable of rendering a sight inauthentic by their presence. Van den Berghe and Keyes (1984:346) arrive at a similar conclusion and add to this that inflation, overcrowding, and shortages of accommodation caused by tourism inflame resentment between tourists. For 'ethnic tourists', Van den Berghe and Keyes suggest, the animosity is even deeper as tourism 'destroys the very thing he (sic.) has comes to see: the unspoiled native' (1984: 346).

Although he is critical of the distinction between tourists and travellers, Bruner (1991:246) concedes that there might be a distinction between the practices of the two at a level of potential understanding of another local culture. In postulating on the hypothesis that 'by reading newspapers, one really does not acquire new information, but confirms his or her view of the world and validates his or her social position in it', he considers that this 'may have more validity for mass tourists than for individual travelers'. After all, he suggests,

> *travelers move about at leisure precisely because they want to experience and savour the local culture, which gives them the opportunity for learning and transformation (1991:246).*

This observation is supported by the statements made by some of the research participants about what distinguishes them from people they call 'tourists'.

Burkart and Medlik (1974) and Smith (1977) have made a distinction between travellers motivated by 'sunlust' - the emphasis placed on holidaymakers for sun, sea, sex and sports - and those motivated by 'wanderlust' - a preference given to the journey itself. Riley (1989:320) implies that the behaviour of budget travellers tends toward the 'wanderlust' description of travel motivation. She states (1989:321) that while long-term budget travellers may not avoid the pleasures of the beach, they have a different notion of how to obtain prestige as travellers;

> *They usually visit the tourist sights in the area but seek 'non-tourist' experiences (Riley, 1989:321).*

Indeed, status is conferred on those who travel to exotic destinations and experience difficulty in getting there (Vogt, 1976).

This emphasis on the unpredictability and risk involved in the actual journey itself is also characteristic of the 'road stories' ('bullshit') told by American hitchhikers. Mukerji's 1978 study of hitchhiking 'bullshit' found that;

> *Young people who travel by thumb can treat their mode of travel as adventurous in itself. They do not enter strange places in the protective cover of a 'tour'; they face day-to-day problems in finding rides, food, and places to sleep. Because they are open to changes in their environment that can affect their style of travel, hitchhikers claim to have chosen a most adventurous and extraordinary way to see the world (Mukerji, 1978:249).*

Contrary to Leed's (1991:287) assertion that travel is no longer a means for achieving distinction but a way to sustain a common identity of 'stranger', I believe, with Riley (1989), that there *are* types of tourists who achieve status from the travel they do - Riley's long-term budget travellers - and the participants in this study; the Overseas Experience participants. It is their perception of this status that sets them apart from other tourists.

Paul, Hannah, Glen and Lee have described aspects of travelling which they feel identify their practice as distinct from that of others who are termed 'tourists'. Their expressions of their experiences of 'travelling', (or sometimes called 'backpacking') conform to the findings of Riley's (1989) analysis of 'long-term budget travellers'. It is their quest for novelty, variety, exoticism and 'a good value' as well as a general 'focus on avoiding the mass tourist destinations' and a goal of meeting the local people, which Riley (1989:321) finds distinguishes long-term budget travellers from other types of tourists. 'Tourists' tend to be viewed by these travellers as seeking a 'hassle-free holiday which includes comfortable accommodation, westernised meals, and minimal uncertainty' (Riley, 1989:322). Riley (1989:322) considers the following comments from her long-term budget traveller participants as common: 'tourists are money splashers'; 'the tourist wants to look but doesn't try to understand'; 'the tourist is looking for sensationalism'; 'travelers make an effort not to alienate the local population'; 'travelers are interested in the culture; in learning and communicating.' [8]

[8] Riley's 1989 study of long-term budget travellers found that when asked if they are 'travellers' or 'tourists', 100% of the research participants rejected the 'tourist' label.

Greenblat and Gagnon (1983:103) explain the distinction between types of travellers and tourists with reference to Cohen's (1972) model of an 'environmental bubble' of the familiar carried with travellers. Moving away from an understanding that 'good travellers' seek novelty and the unfamiliar, and 'bad tourists' avoid this, they suggest a conceptualisation of *unfamiliarity* differing by type and degree and being sought, tolerated and enjoyed by different persons at 'different stages of the lifecycle' (Greenblat and Gagnon, 1983:103). Building on this understanding and Riley's interpretation of how long-term budget travellers perceive their identity, I would suggest that there *is* a distinction between 'traveller' and 'tourist' for some of the people who practice O.E. and that this is very much associated with the nature of their experience, in particular on the way they frame their experience in terms of a journey. This makes O.E. practitioners a special *type* of tourist.

The responses to my questions about what participants perceived themselves to be doing when they were visiting other places on their Overseas Experience are varied and by no means conclusive. Some of the participants had definite viewpoints on what it was they were doing and how that differed to the activities of others - these people tended to have been involved in independently planned and executed trips. Others were engaged in several different modes at various times and thus at times identified with being 'tourists' and at other times 'travellers' or sought a description of themselves in terms of what foreigners called them - usually at a level of nationality; 'New Zealanders' or 'Kiwis'. From a combination of emic and etic data concerning 'tourist' identity, I will now attempt to formulate a foundation for a definition of the cohort.

Overseas Experience Participants as 'Tourists' - A Reply to Cohen's Typology

As outlined in Chapter One, Smith (1977) did not acknowledge a need to consider tourists' perspectives of tourism practices, much less the effect of tourism on the tourist. As I have argued, it is imperative that sociologists and anthropologists formulate an understanding of tourists which examines their identity in terms of their *own* motivations and behaviours while they practice tourism and acknowledges that there are significant factors derived from tourists' own social and cultural contexts which compel people to practice various types of tourism. Cohen's typology of tourists makes an effort to dismantle the stereotype of 'the tourist' and goes some way toward gaining an understanding of tourists in a wider context .

Cohen's analysis begins from the premise that tourists are a type of traveller. I fundamentally agree with Cohen's analysis but maintain that the 'travel' that forms a crucial component of Overseas Experience is undeniably tourism of some kind or another - my research informs me that an Overseas Experience will comply with the dimensions of 'tourist' within the general realm of traveller roles outlined by Cohen (1974:553).[9] As discussed in Chapter One, these are: a temporary traveller having a fixed place of abode; a voluntary traveller, able to terminate the trip whenever and return to his/her place of abode; a traveller on a round trip; s/he is on a relatively long and non-recurrent journey; and s/he is a traveller the purpose of whose trip is non-instrumental.

Guided by the fact that some of the research participants have identified themselves as 'travellers', I pose the question - what type of 'tourists' are these so-called 'travellers'? Specifically, what type of tourists are people who embark on an Overseas Experience?

According to Cohen's analysis 'non-institutionalised' forms of tourism differ from each other in the extent to which practitioners of these forms venture out from their own 'micro-environment' and away from what Cohen refers to as the 'tourist system', as well as in their attitudes toward the local communities in which they temporarily reside (1972:174). The 'explorer' and the 'drifter' are 'non-institutionalised' forms of tourism. The latter classification appears to be the most appropriate for understanding an Overseas Experience.[10]

The explorer category describes practices common to people who emphasise independent travel as being vital to their Overseas Experience. However, arguably, people who practice Overseas Experience *may* exhibit characteristics in common with *any* of the other types of tourism at a given time during their Overseas Experience - for example, some of the participants have stated they engaged in both independent and organised tours. Hence a typology of this nature seems to have little direct relevance for this research cohort.

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9 I use 'travel' in inverted commas here to indicate the participants' use of the term. Cohen (1974:543) suggests that people on 'working holidays' (most Overseas Experience participants) should be categorised as a type of partial tourist - in particular an intermediate type between the 'tourist-employee' and the 'drifter' in his list of seven types of partial tourist. Another type of partial tourist to which an Overseas Experience participant could belong is the 'old-country visitor'.

10 Recall, as outlined in Chapter One, Cohen describes 'explorer' tourists as having a 'broader and deeper' experience of the people, places and culture of the 'host' country through making efforts to relate to the local people. Cohen distinguishes them from 'drifters' who are less detached than the former, attempting to identify with local people on an emotional, rather than an intellectual level, or even to, as Cohen (1972:175) interprets, 'become one of them'. An 'explorer' type of tourist will generally try to avoid the places which attract mass tourists. S/he will seek accommodation which is comfortable and transportation which is reliable.

Altogether, it is suggested that typology is not particularly useful for either giving an overall accurate picture of the identity of these tourists or revealing much about the nature of their tourist practice. Importantly, Cohen's (1972) typology emphasises the practices of tourists while they are tourists - not their motives or expectations before, or their reflections after their travel episode. As such it presents a narrow window into what it might mean to be a tourist, given that 'tourist' is only ever a temporary identity for anyone. Nonetheless, this typology does suggests that people become tourists for differing reasons and seek different aims in the practice.

In an examination of identity while on an Overseas Experience, I have made clear the points that I consider to be common among the participants I interviewed and the points that differed. I now suggest that perhaps it is more useful to consider the identity of the research participants in terms of a continuum, based on their own articulated identities formulated in relation to the experiences they had as part of their O.E.. In recommending that identity while on an Overseas Experience be best conceived of as a continuum I hope to imply that there are levels of emphasis placed on travelling and the implications of such an act. Importantly, it can be seen from the excerpts of interviews above that there are different and shifting ideas related to what travelling means while on an Overseas Experience and of how important travelling is itself in the construction of an identity for those people who have an Overseas Experience.

At one end of the spectrum are positioned people who focused on the journey and the 'independent' nature of it. These people have stressed the importance of the 'real' travelling involved with an Overseas Experience. They suggested that this is comprised of such facets as spending a minimal amount of money and getting the best value for this amount of expenditure, going to places which are not mass tourist destinations, travelling to places on public transport, risk-taking and the unpredictable nature of travelling, staying in places for a longer period of time (than mass tourists), and meeting local people. Towards the other end of the spectrum are those who did not claim an exclusive sense of identity based on the *travel* involved with an Overseas Experience and therefore did not focus specifically on their personal *journey* as a core aspect of their O.E. These people have also spoken of other aspects over and above the travel itself during their time away. These include work, 'scenes', and learning about (an)other culture(s) and other New Zealanders from being with different people on tours and in flatting and work situations.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

This chapter has considered tourist and traveller identity. It has suggested that there is a need to examine an emic view of identity with regard to the practice of Overseas Experience. Through such an examination of participants' perspectives of their identity while on an O.E. it was revealed that there is no unified O.E. identity, rather some general trends and themes emerged.

Some participants expressed a sense of identity associated with being 'travellers'. For these people this was related to spending a limited amount of money, and attaining a high level of independence. I have suggested there is a correlation here between this identity and the derivation of status. Identity for other participants was not so distinct - it appeared to shift throughout the Overseas Experience and was not determined by a 'travel' episode alone. I have suggested that for all participants there was a general 'freeing up' of identity, involving a significant change from who participants consider themselves to be in their home context.

An examination of the literature concerning the definitions and conceptions of 'tourist' and 'traveller' reveals that there is no clear distinction between the two. It is conceded that there is a general aversion by tourists to being identified as such. Cohen has formulated a model which attempts to encompass the dimensions of 'tourist' through a range of traveller roles. This is an important challenge to the simplistic notion of 'the tourist', but it is altogether too restrictive a concept with which to analyse the tourist practice of Overseas Experience.

To gain a fuller sense of the meaning of an Overseas Experience requires examining what it means for participants to *do* an O.E. This necessitates an indepth focus of the practice as a process rather than *defining* it as a *type* of tourism. Rite of passage appears to be a useful model in conceptualising and explaining Overseas Experience in that it suggests movement through time and a change in the subject (participant) through the process itself, together with the agency of the subject.

CHAPTER FOUR

'OUT THERE': PARTICIPANT ACCOUNTS OF THEIR OVERSEAS EXPERIENCES

Most travel accounts consist of small islands of personal narrative afloat on an ocean of dates and geography. These well-structured stories are often threaded together into a sequence which is entirely dependent on the idea of route. The image of the route emerges as the key to their apparent coherence and authenticity. Even the personal experiences of the traveller are secondary to the coherence and logic of the route; the route gives the traveller the authority to narrate (Bishop, 1989:3).

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on what the participants of this study had to say about particular experiences while overseas. Mostly unedited participant narratives have been given precedence here to sustain a sense of what was important about their Overseas Experience for each of the participants. The chapter presents material from participant interviews according to a number of emergent themes. The themes are: freedom from social commitments associated with the home context; adventures involving (often physical and sometimes life-threatening) risk; perceptions of excitement and fascination through new (often 'once in a lifetime') experiences; temporary financial hardship; and casualised employment often in types of work unlikely to be considered suitable in the home context. Analysis of these themes follows in the next chapter, which examines the main features of each aspect of an Overseas Experience and considers these alongside of the work of other social scientists who have researched tourism, ritual and pilgrimage.

Freedom from Social Commitments and Perceived Restraints Associated with the Home Context

A perceived sense of freedom during the time of their Overseas Experience was a pervasive theme in the interviews with participants.[1] The participants associated 'freedom' with youth, lack of commitments, and the understanding that an Overseas Experience was a temporary practice which could involve 'once in a lifetime' events.

Youth

Undertaking an Overseas Experience between the ages of twenty and twenty-five years was the common practice for most of the participants interviewed; although there are participants who fell outside of this age range.

Those participants who undertook their Overseas Experiences in the 1950s and 1960s emphasised completing this before marriage. Joyce Hill, who did her Overseas Experience in 1965, explained that she was one of few people she knew who did an Overseas Experience because most of her friends were getting married in their early twenties. She described herself as *'a bit of a novelty'* - her local newspaper, the *Hawera Star,* featuring an article on her experiences on her return.[2]

Roger and Shirley Goodall were married when they embarked on their Overseas Experience together in 1977. They stated that compared to others they met 'while travelling' they were unusual in that, at twenty-two and twenty-four years respectively, they were older, and that most other people travelling *'were all single people'.* They explained that they were treated more *'as a couple who were living together'* because they did not *'display the traditional traits of married people'.*

For Glen and Lee Pendergrast, who were also married when they travelled during the 1970s, their Overseas Experience was associated with a way in which they perceived life at that time when they were 'young'. Glen recalled that *'once I could reel off every name of every hotel I ever stayed at ... I could remember them all.'.* He commented to Lee about trekking in Nepal;

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1 Recall 'freedom' is also mentioned in Chapter Three, specifically with reference to the identification with 'being free'. The focus in this chapter moves on from identity to practice; analysis of this follows in Chapter Five.

2 Margaret Biddulph, Robyn Barton and Bryson Anderson also recalled the importance at the time of doing an Overseas Experience prior to marriage.

Remember when we missed having breakfast because we thought that the next town was a thousand metres further on and we'd already gone through it so quickly because we were fairly fit in those days and we had to go through 'til about two in the afternoon without eating anything.

Lee surmised that perception changes with age;

In a way it's your own life experience too. You know, the way you look at things when you're twenty-one and the way you look at things when you're thirty-five, or forty-five or whatever ... that changes too. It sort of gets overtaken, for us, with where we are now, but things like this [referring to our interview] sort of validate it. 'Yes, we actually did do that. Yes, we did spend that time doing those semi-adventurous things'. And it's sort of interesting now, the kids in school are doing Kenya. Tom says, 'You went to Kenya, Mum'. Then it comes back. It is there for sure and it is a very positive experience, even the slightly stressful times.

Michelle Whitmore - who did her Overseas Experience in the early 1990s - also emphasised that this was an experience she associated with a youthful time in her life. Reflecting on whether she and her partner would consider living in London again in, she stated;

When I really sit down and think about it, it's not London itself, it's all the people we knew when we were there. We'd have to meet new friends and we'd be that much older, if we went back now.

The importance of being young was also stressed in association with the types of expectations one would put on oneself when on an Overseas Experience. Lee and Glen reflected that they would not now (in their forties) want to experience some of the conditions under which they travelled on their Overseas Experience during the 1970s when they were in their twenties. They elaborated;

Lee: We wouldn't rough it as much.

Glen: Oh no, I wouldn't sleep on a railway station and I wouldn't take third class trains again in India, standing up for days on end getting no sleep and whatnot, and spending three days sitting on railway platforms ... Gone are the railway station platform days.

However, they continued to make a distinction between what they would be prepared to do and 'mass' tourist behaviour.

Lee: We'd still eat in the markets though. I also wouldn't go to stay in hotels and eat in hotels ...we'd probably go to youth hostels.

Glen: I wouldn't even mind some of the semi-scungy hotels but there are some with the wire netting going down the walls and the Chinese bloke next-door doing the usual hoiking and cleaning out the nostrils and sinuses at six o'clock in the morning.

Lee: We'd certainly eat and sleep budget, but not budget-budget [and] I don't think that I would go on an organised tour though.

Bernard Watson - who did his Overseas Experience in 1971 - stressed the importance of good health while travelling, which he associated with youth. He stated;

Another thing that really influenced my early travelling was that a friend of my parents had worked all his life and then he decided to go on his trip to Britain. So away he went, he stepped off the aeroplane in London and he literally dropped dead at the airport. And I always promised myself that was never going to happen to me. I'd go and have a look round while I was still alive and kicking, and not leave it until I was sixty-five and have a chance of not doing it at all.

Another important association with 'youth' that was held by many of the participants was connected to being relatively free of commitments such as children, careers, and paying off house mortgages, which were generally associated with the expected practices of people who had returned from an Overseas Experience or who did not intend to undergo one. Isabelle Vanderkolk, who travelled in 1977, stated that recently she had urged '*younger friends*' to go on their Overseas Experience. She elaborated;

I think it's really important for everybody to do it. I said how important it was for them [her friends] to go and really, really enforced that if they don't do it now, they won't get the chance to do it so easily later on and that they must go and do it. I just had a letter from my friend today saying what fun they are having and how they're making the most of every weekend they have off work.

Lack of Commitments

Lee and Glen talked about some of their experiences while 'out there' on their Overseas Experience in terms of a spontaneity which was reliant on their lack of commitment to other things associated with the lives of most of their friends back home, who did not do an O.E. Their recollection of arrangements to meet friends while travelling gives an indication of their carefree attitude at this time.

Glen: We took one of those magic buses down to Barcelona, where we hitched down and crossed over to Morocco. We met up with these friends who we'd met in Kathmandu. It was like, "Meet you in Morocco!" And we did!

I asked Lee and Glen if they had any thoughts of travelling again. Both replied that they had thoughts of returning to Canada, where they had lived for five years after their Overseas Experience. They expressed concern however, that it was more difficult for them now that they have a house and children and careers to do the kind of travel they did on their Overseas Experience, and also to save the money in New Zealand dollars which would allow them to set up a base from which to live and work in another country. Lee reflected;

You have to do it at either end really. You can do the stuff [travel] first and then have kids - as we did for the ten years between getting married and having Kelly - or have them [kids] first. But then people don't do it [travel] the same way really.

Roger and Shirley (who travelled during the late 1970s) also remarked on their freedom from responsibilities during this time. As Roger summed up; '*You lived from one day to the next*'. Shirley elaborated that although they had jobs at times, and were responsible in that sense, they were not concerned with *'having children and looking at a house or mortgage'*. Emily MacKay (who is currently still on her Overseas Experience) expressed that she used 'the fact that [she] does not have any commitment' [she associated 'commitment' here with *'a house or a baby'*] to travel. She described her Overseas Experience as *'a great alternative'* to the commitment that she associated with '*most people in New Zealand who I know*' (sic.).

Hannah Leith described travelling during her Overseas Experience in the late 1980s and early 1990s as 'a *totally different way of life*'. She elaborated on what this meant with reference to a sense of freedom;

... the physical conditions, the hotels, the food we ate, the whole thing of spending hardly any money ... it was a different set of rules to live by. You are a lot freer, you don't have to worry about anyone, you can do whatever you like. Basically, you control your own destiny. If you wanted to stay you could stay, you didn't have any commitments, you didn't have to turn up anywhere, no appointments, apart from catching buses. It was a very free lifestyle.

For some people, this freedom from commitments associated with the home context, was not only the initial motivating force for travel, but it also became more of a sustained way of life. Hannah recalled that this happened to people she met while in South America;

A lot of people travelling in South America have been there for years. They've gone there and felt that they can't go back to their normal lifestyle. They were in this surreal life and they couldn't escape from it. They couldn't cope with going back to normality.

Hannah, like all of the participants interviewed, understood her Overseas Experience to be a finite episode of travel and work outside of New Zealand. She explained;

I didn't want to live in those places, I knew that I was just passing through and so the extreme experiences were 'copable' because they only lasted for short periods. I think if I had lived there it would have been a whole set of different experiences. There are a different set of rules for passing through, than staying there. Probably the longest I stayed in one place was three weeks, in one town where I was studying Spanish. You form relationships with people and you get into a bit more of a routine when you stay somewhere. There is commitment.

Limited time / Once in a Lifetime

Significantly, the freedom that allowed an Overseas Experience to occur had its limits. Most of the participants recalled an understanding (usually at the outset of the experience) that their Overseas Experience was an event that had a temporary lifespan. Most of them expressed this in terms of their O.E. being a 'once only' event in their lives, that they associated with 'being young'.

Setting out with a definite time allocation in mind was the experience of many of the participants. For those who travelled out of and returned to New Zealand on their Overseas Experiences on board ships in the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s, shipboard life offered them a limited time in a context of excitement. Bernard was one such participant. He described the journey back to New Zealand in 1971 as being one of the highlights of his Overseas Experience;

We had a hell of fun, I can tell you - continuous party. The amazing part of it really was that I think everyone realised they were only there for six weeks, it was probably a once in a lifetime opportunity, and there was no ill feeling - it was just get on with it. It was really good.

Glen also reflected on the effect a time limit had on his Overseas Experience with his partner, Lee. He regretted the limits they placed on their Overseas Experience in some respects;

We committed ourselves to three years away. Bad idea really setting a time frame, so the pressure was on really to come back. It was crazy really because there was no way we were settled at all, we stayed for two years and left again.

Glen explained how, on leaving New Zealand after returning from their big overland trip and time working in England, they had set their sights on travelling in South America. However, this did not eventuate;

I said, 'All right, South America'. But we really ran out of steam. You don't feel so driven any more, which I always did, you had to keep going and were always really keen to keep going. But I lost interest or ran out of steam, which I thought would never happen.

Lee emphasised that the Overseas Experience contained *'some perfect times that you wish would never end ... but you know that real life does change'*. She concluded that the experience had ramifications for their lives now in that they could look forward to further travel, although it could never be another Overseas Experience.[3]

Like Lee, who commented earlier that one's perception changes with time, Isabelle Vanderkolk also emphasised this in relation to her thoughts about her Overseas Experience. She stated;

If I was going over for the first time at my age now, or even a bit younger, I would have probably approached it quite differently - looked at different things, and been worldly, and known more about world events, and more about the history of places. But then you see different things through different eyes at different ages. I wouldn't want to be slumming it in London now.

She recalled her Overseas Experience in terms of an eighteen month period of time which contained '*... really important learning experiences, life experiences; broadening the mind .. a whole different chapter of my life*'. Indeed, for all of the participants interviewed their Overseas Experience was expressed as a special episode from which they learned something. It was recalled as '*totally unique compared with other experiences in my life*'; '*the big experience in my life*'; something that '*wouldn't have [been] missed ... for the world*'; something that one *'just got so much out of'*; *'just an amazing experience'*; *'a highlight - I don't think anything matches it really'*; *'one of the most important experiences to me, I learnt a lot'*; something from which *'I gained a lot of confidence'*; something that '*gives [me] a broader perspective of life*'.

[3] Michelle Whitmore and Joyce Hill also expressed satisfaction that they had travelled in challenging conditions when they were younger as they doubted they would do this at an older age.

Adventures Involving (Often Physical and Sometimes Life-Threatening) Risk

The narratives concerning *adventure* all involved risk, usually to the protagonist (the participant) or sometimes to a companion. I have grouped them into sub-themes to enable comparisons to be drawn between the experiences of the participants. These sub-themes are: experiences of risk associated with hitchhiking; potential and experienced attacks; experiences of exposure to political conflict; and experiences of risk associated with ill health.

Experiences of Risks Associated with Hitchhiking

Hitchhiking was the preferred mode of transport for most of the participants, although some owned cars, or used public transport some of the time. Hitchhiking has been described as a cheap (usually free), relatively easy mode of transport to obtain; and also it provided a good opportunity to meet local people. For those participants who claimed a 'traveller' identity, hitchhiking expressed the independence and freedom associated with this.[4]

Significantly, hitchhiking also carried with it a sense of potential and real risk for both the passenger and the driver, as well as a risk from the unpredictable circumstances around which the practice occurred. Roger and Shirley recalled experiencing a communication problem which resulted in their hitching a ride from the hot climate of the Spanish coast and ending up on the side of an isolated road on a snow covered mountain.

They also recalled another risk they had taken while hitchhiking. Running low on money after a period of travel in Africa and Cyprus, they hitched a ride with a truck driver in Greece bound for England.

Shirley: We'd been in Cyprus, living on the beach there for a month underneath a tree and then we got to Greece and stood outside the Ferry terminal in Thessolonica. We had heard where to go and they had said that was the place to go. So we went to Athens and hitched down to Thessolonica and stood outside the big wharf gates with the big sign 'London' and this really nice guy, Pete came past in one of these big trucks.

[4] As discussed in Chapter Three, some participants made a distinction between being a 'tourist' or a 'traveller'.

Roger: At this stage we had between us $10 (American). That was all our money.

Shirley: That's right and remember we stayed the night in that hotel and we got up about four o'clock in the morning and sneaked out because we thought the ferry was coming in about six, we thought we'd be gone by the time the guy woke up and the ferry didn't come in until about midday. We were in a panic because this guy would be looking for us and there are not many New Zealanders with packs on in this little wee tiny hick village. So we slunk around by the sea wharf for most of the morning. Then we stood there with our sign and the trucks came in on the boats that had come from Turkey.

Roger: Those were the days of 'dine and dash' - go in and get something to eat, eat it and bolt.

Shirley: Anyway this truck came past and this guy Pete had one of these trucks that had a cab in the back and he was going to London. So we climbed into the truck and seven days later he dropped us off on the motorway just a short distance from friends of ours.

Roger: We went on quite a long detour 'cause we had to pick up a load on the way and then had to drop it off somewhere else.

Shirley: You can't go through Austria on a Sunday. You have to get on a truck, the truck has to go on a train.

Roger: In Austria the trucks are not allowed on the road between midday Saturday and midnight Sunday. English trucks are not allowed on the autobahn between Munich and Koln so they put the truck on the train. And then we got to the Port around Holland way, Hoek van Holland. We didn't have any money. He bought us everything.

Shirley: He was a nice guy. He had our company for a week. We did have money, we still had traveller's cheques.

Roger: We stowed away on the ferry.

Shirley: We stowed away in the back of his truck. We sound terrible don't we! We just hid in the back of his truck when he drove on the ferry.

Roger: We still have one of the towels we stole on that boat.

Shirley: The thing that made us laugh, is that if that ferry had gone down, they would never have known, there would have been no passenger list or things. When that ferry went down a couple of months ago or was it last year, I thought 'I wonder how many other people were on it'. We just stuck our heads down and he just drove on.

Shirley: We actually must have been cashing travellers' cheques along the way but we were being frugal. We were as frugal as we could be. I remember he had only just known us, that guy Pete, and he got out of his truck and went somewhere.

Roger: He had only just come off the ferry from Syria and delivered a load across to Saudi Arabia or somewhere a truck load of toilet paper or something like this and picked up another load on the way back and got paid for that and dropped it off in Syria and had this bag on a strap (used to be fashionable for men to have) and said 'I've got to go and visit someone. You guys look after this.' We had only just got in the truck half an hour ago. We looked at all this money!

Shirley: Anyway we sat there and minded it for him. I suppose he thought,' If they're there when I come back, they'll be good companions all the way across Europe.'

Roger: So when we got to England he dropped us off about twenty or so kilometres away from friends of ours who were living in North Hampton, and we hitched a ride to their place and stayed there the night. The next night we turned around and got a train down to London. First thing in the morning we went to New Zealand House and looked for a job, had a job that day and went into a pub.

Their recollection of this incident highlights the importance for them of not spending much money on their transport, or food at this time. So vital was the saving of their resources for Shirley and Roger, that when they realised an opportunity to get all the way to England from Greece for nothing, they took it regardless of the risk of either being discovered and prosecuted for stowing away on the ferry, or of drowning if the ferry capsized.

Roger and Shirley remembered 'Pete' as being a 'nice guy' who trusted them with his money, bought them 'everything' and dropped them within 20 kilometres of their destination. The memory of this potentially risky situation has for them turned into a positive expression of adventure and the story of a 'good ride'.

Unlike Shirley and Roger's, Greg Prew's recollection of a potentially risky hitchhiking ride was not one that he laughed about. Travelling in the East of Turkey during his Overseas Experience in 1974, he too caught a ride on a truck. As he indicated, the actions of another traveller put him at risk;

Iran had extremely stringent laws on drugs. Taking drugs across the border into Iran was something that not even a very forward person would attempt. But when I was going through Turkey on the other side of Iran there was a person who had been in Iran who was some sort of musician and we were in the back of a truck, hitchhiking and out comes all these bloody hypodermic syringes and all sorts of crap and he had just brought it over the border from Iran. I was absolutely appalled, stunned, and I have vivid memories of him drawing up one of those ... you know, and injecting himself in the back of this truck, it was really disgusting. I really was quite surprised at him . We smoked a bit of marijuana and stuff there, but God, we would never have taken it

through the border into Iran, that would just be too silly. When this guy brought this stuff out I didn't know what to do

Shirley, Roger and Greg have spoken about risks which might be considered to be not directly associated with hitchhiking, that is, they might have occurred in other circumstances. Lee, Glen, Sarah and Janice spoke of risks which were directly related to hitchhiking.

Lee and Glen agreed that some of the driving was dangerous while they were hitchhiking, but they had different opinions as to the extent of the risk they were taking. Glen recollected it as, '*No worse than close misses around the bend*', whereas Lee stated that *'horrid hitchhiking rides'* were incidents when *'travel had been life threatening'*.

Janice MacRae, who did her Overseas Experience from 1988 to 1990, associated the risks she took through hitchhiking with her emotional state at the time. She recalled feeling lonely in London and unconcerned about her personal safety, and then later, when she was travelling in Turkey, feeling driven to achieve something through placing herself in dangerous situations.

I was pretty lonely at that time in London. It was just me and Rory, the kid I was baby-sitting, in the evenings. I didn't have a lot of energy then, I wasn't very well. I used to go walking. I'd get a tube out to Elephant and Castle and walk back to where we lived. I had a real carefree attitude to my life, I didn't worry about safety. I'd walk anywhere at any hour of the night and didn't give a shit. I felt quite self-sufficient and contained. Things were going all right. I had a plan for the future and that was to go to Turkey.

So I went on my own to Belgium through to Germany, and met this woman Joss and hung out with her for a while. But I ended up in Turkey on my own and really quite liked it. I wanted to go right around the edge of Turkey. Somehow I ended up with this awful Australian woman, in Anatolia by the coast. I met these two New Zealand guys who were playing rugby for an Italian team and they said 'Where are you going?' And I told them what I wanted to do, and they said 'Nah, don't go on your own. It's really dangerous'. It didn't interest me that it was dangerous but they suggested that I go with one of their cousins who wanted to do the same thing, so we were sort of lumped together.

She was a bossy, arrogant Australian woman, but we sort of looked after each other in a funny sort of way. It was a bit like having a room mate given to you for the year in a boarding school or something, you just make do. We were together for about three months.

I felt driven that I had to get to the end. I was hoping to get to the Russian border. You know at times that that is shit, that the whole idea of what you're trying to do is absolutely crazy. We'd been attacked the two of us, I'd been quite sick and had ended up in hospital at one point but it was like you had to get to the end to accomplish it or something. We were followed by this guy in this really isolated place and he was coming on to us, it was awful. But we made it. We saw the lookout tower, and then said 'OK, let's get back home'.

Shortly after her return home from England, Janice hitchhiked alone in Australia. She described herself during this time as 'restless' and having 'a total disregard'. Reflecting on the risks she took while hitchhiking she states;

You consider yourself kind of special because you're not home, you are doing something more valuable than being at home. People are always interested in you when you are travelling. You were unique because you were foreign.

Sarah Lewis commented on the dangers of hitchhiking she perceived in hindsight but emphasised that the risks that she took offered certain advantages such as travelling more quickly through borders, seeing the countryside and meeting more people, in particular the opportunity to stay at local people's houses. She elaborated on her hitchhiking experiences during her Overseas Experience in the late 1960s;

We had a fabulous week around Sicily actually, it was really neat, hitchhiking. I mean it really makes my blood boil now when I think of the things that I did. We were aware of the dangers just of travelling, being girls travelling on our own in those countries, just like you would have been as well. You felt quite vulnerable, although I was quite grateful in some ways that I wasn't on a bus tour because I felt that there were lots of bus tours going through but they took ages to get through borders and things you know, with holdups travelling on buses. And I don't think they really got to see enough or experience enough of the countryside and that.

I mean we met people, we took risks, we stayed in people's homes. We stayed in the home of people in Taxila. There's a Christian hospital there and we'd gone in there looking for toilet paper of all things, because in Afghanistan when I was there one part was dominated by the Americans and one part by the Russians. Of course, that was in those pre-war days, but they were setting themselves up basically, and you know, on the American side you could get toilet paper, on the Russian side you couldn't, and get to Pakistan there was nothing, it was as primitive as anything there. And at this Christian hospital we got talking to these people who just lived across the road from the hospital, so they said 'Come and stay at our place'. They were supposedly a Christian family. When I say supposedly, they were certainly very Christian-like in their attitudes to us. They were very, very kind to us and gave us coffee and eggs and things that they didn't eat themselves, and they were very generous and we had a room to ourselves, and beds. I don't know where they all slept, I mean I don't think there was much room for the rest of the family. It seemed to be about three or four children, and there were several

married children who were living there, they could have just built on extra rooms to the house.

One of the sons was a chemist and I was actually quite sick, I had a pretty nasty dose of the flu or bronchitis, so they got me some antibiotics. One of the daughters got married while we were there, so we went to the wedding, and I was actually too sick to go to the ceremony, but I went to the reception, and they had sweet rice and savoury rice for the meals and I was also too big to get into any of their clothes, even though I was only a size 10 in those days, I was too tall, literally too big, but they managed to find something to fit Biddy because she was quite petite. It was quite an interesting experience. They had the reception on a tennis court - it was the only spare space of land nearby. I can't remember what seating we had, I think it might have been just forms or something like that. It was fairly simple but they were very friendly and very generous to us, and it was quite interesting how when we were staying there we noticed the women didn't go outside the compound at all, they didn't go out to shop or to do anything really, they were just at home all of the time with the children, and we found that very claustrophobic. We didn't last very long there.

Sarah emphasised a common motive for hitchhiking, that is that it does not incur any transport costs for the passenger. However, as she recalled, hitchhiking carried with it the risk of disagreement between passengers and the driver;

I remember that with these English boys we hitchhiked quite a bit of the way around Turkey and we took rides mostly on trucks, cotton trucks or trucks carrying whatever, there wasn't much transport other than trucks anyway. There was this big truck carrying logs and it took us four hours to go forty kilometres over this hilly part somewhere around the south of Turkey and when we got to our destination or our stopping place they wouldn't offload one pack which happened to be mine, they wanted to be paid and that was a bit scary. I didn't know if I'd be able to get my pack if we didn't pay them some money for our transport and we were determined not to. Fortunately we were in a service station of some sort so they had to eventually give me my pack. You were bound to have that sort of situation and we travelled in these big cabs with them and they had these great long knives that they used to flash around cutting up fruit and things and we used to think 'Uh', there was something a bit nerve wracking about it (laughs).

Sarah considered it an unjustifiable risk to travel alone as a woman, let alone hitchhike independently. After she parted with her travelling companion, Biddy, she sought the company of others before returning home to New Zealand after a few days.

From Bangkok I actually travelled by train because I thought, 'Well, I can't travel on my own through these areas'. I wasn't at all keen to travel on my own. I mean there are plenty of adventurous women who do travel on their own, but for me it was too much of a risk. I had a few days in Bangkok, so I had quite a good look around there and there were quite a few people who I joined up with around there. That wasn't too

difficult. I remember staying in Penang, I spent a few days in Singapore and then I flew out.

The accounts of both Janice and Sarah suggest that this is a gendered experience - hitchhiking is an activity which is generally understood to be more of a risk for women than men. The New Zealand men Janice had met in Turkey had intimated that it was too risky for a woman and Janice herself conceded that it was dangerous and was even attacked while hitchhiking in Turkey. Sarah too considered this a risk, but a risk worth taking with a companion. However, while she acknowledged it was possible for 'adventurous women' to hitchhike alone; she was not prepared to put herself at risk.

Potential and Experienced Attacks

The experience of Hannah and her friend Mary, while hitchhiking on their Overseas Experience in 1991, is most definitely gendered. Wanting to avoid the public transport and also always keen to save money while travelling in Pakistan, they made an effort to secure a ride from Islamabad to Lahore in Pakistan with a man they had met briefly on the street. Aware of their vulnerability as women in a Muslim country, they had asked the opinion of a friend about the risk of accepting a ride with the man to Lahore, and had assessed this stranger to be wealthy, educated, interested in their travels and ultimately trustworthy. As Hannah recalled;

We were staying with a couple of aid workers in Islamabad, we'd met them when we were travelling around the northern areas and they became our 'husbands', which was really helpful. We decided that we were going to leave Pakistan and so we were going to Lahore, to head through to India. We'd had two months in Pakistan at this time, we'd had a terrible time on public transport, it was really uncomfortable and it took us hours to get anywhere but it would take us about five hours to get to Lahore by car. We thought, 'If we take the bus it will take forever'. It was really hot at this time, it was just before the monsoon, temperatures were at the highest,47 or 48 degrees Celsius. We knew that the bus trip would be really long and steamy and that we would have to suffer all the attention from the men.

We'd gone to Islamabad for the day with our friend Todd who was an aid worker and we met this guy on the street, he came up and started talking to us. He was a very wealthy man, you could tell by his dress and his jewellery, he was a Punjabi. He told us that his brother was the Minister of Housing ... he seemed affluent. He asked us what we were doing and we told him that we were travelling in Pakistan, and he was very excited to hear about all our travels. We told him that we were going to Lahore in a couple of days, and he said that he was going to Lahore as well in the next few days, and he would be happy to give us a ride.

Because we hadn't had any bad experiences we were very trusting and we had this whole mentality that we were out to get as much as we could get for free, so we just thought 'Good score, a free ride to Lahore in an air-conditioned car, what more could we want?' We were quite happy about the idea of getting a ride with him, it didn't occur to us that it could be dangerous. We asked Todd what he thought and he said the guy seemed pretty trustworthy.

He picked us up and he'd decided that he wanted to show us around for the day before he took us to Lahore. We hadn't actually been up to one of the hill stations so we went up there to a place called Murray with him. He lavished goods on us, he bought us heaps of stuff and gave us all this food. We were thinking 'Great, a few square meals that we haven't had to buy ourselves'. At one stage he took us into a jewellery shop and we were looking at these lovely rings (silver and lapis) we liked them but they were expensive and we knew we couldn't afford them. He offered to buy them for us, and we told him that we didn't want him to buy them for us because they were too expensive, but secretly we were hoping that he would because we wanted them (laughs)! He insisted, so we agreed. We had these rings from him and we didn't stop to think what that might signify, that we would have to pay him back anything for all these things.

It wasn't until about seven at night that we left for Lahore. We were a bit suspicious of him earlier on because he had a boot full of beer, which was strange because there is prohibition in Pakistan and you can only get beer if you are a Christian - you have to sign a certificate. We knew that he wasn't a Christian, so we were a little bit suspicious. He offered us a beer, and we decided not to accept it.

We stopped on the way out of Islamabad to get something to eat and he bought us some milkshakes. We figured out that he must have drugged the milkshakes because we drank up every last morsel of the drinks and immediately felt sleepy, we both went to sleep. My friend had a virus at the time and had to keep getting out of the car to vomit, this was dangerous because she was so sleepy. We got to Lahore and I remember seeing the lights and thinking that we must be there, and that we were really tired after a long day. We'd arranged to stay with him that night anyway because we knew that we'd get there late. We were staying at a government rest house, which was quite swanky, all these servants came out to take our luggage and help us in and I remember feeling weak and not being able to walk properly, I was stumbling up the stairs. We had a room with two single beds. I immediately fell on the floor and went to sleep, my friend was in one of the beds and he was on the other.

We both remember being hassled by him that night. He came up to me and unzipped my sleeping bag. I said 'Fuck off!' and he sort of whimpered and took off. We both woke up at one stage to this roaring noise, and we were so confused in our drugged state that we didn't know what it was, but I remember looking around to see if my friend was OK and seeing him masturbating on the bed! I didn't click because we were so drugged out we were so confused about the whole thing.

The next morning we woke up at midday and we were quite surprised about what a big sleep we'd had considering that it was really hot. We didn't put two and two together.

We talked about how tired we were. We were going to stay at this hostel run by the Salvation Army. We said hello to him in the morning and he said that we'd had a good sleep in and he was pleased that we'd slept so well and wanted to know if we wanted breakfast before we went. He was going to drive us to the hostel. So we thought, 'Great, free breakfast!' He closed the door while he fixed the breakfast up, then we walked in and breakfast was all set up including two glasses of apple juice. We slurped those down and felt really sleepy afterwards and had to go and lie down, and basically we didn't wake up for about another day and a half!

I can't remember a thing that happened over all that time except that I woke up on the grass outside the Salvation Army hostel with my pack next to me, and I didn't know where my friend was. This was three days after he had picked us up - we'd lost three days! I was still very drugged so I wasn't even thinking clearly but I wasn't in the least bit worried ... I didn't really consider my situation. I remember being escorted by some children who must have been living round there to a doctor who was in the Salvation Army compound and when I got there my friend was there. The doctor looked at us both and diagnosed us as having hepatitis because Mary had had this viral infection and had been quite sick. I looked at myself in the mirror and my pupils were really dilated and I said to my friend, 'Something's happened to us'.

We went to the hostel and there were a lot of other travellers there and we were very concerned about getting to the poste restante to get our mail and we kept on asking them what bus went to the post office, and we were concerned with little things like trying to find food and asking where a good shop was. I remember at one stage crossing the road to go to a bakery opposite and nearly getting run over because I was so out of it. The people at the hostel told us the next day when we were with it that we'd been acting really strangely and that we'd been falling on the ground and going to sleep and asking the same questions over and over. So we were still pretty much drugged out then.

The next morning we woke up at about five and we were both alert and oriented. I said to my friend, 'Mary, what's happened to us?!' We looked at our diaries and saw the date and realised that we'd lost all this time. We pieced it all together because we could remember small things, like someone coming to see us when we were with the guy, and as it turned out he'd got a doctor to come to see us because Mary was being constantly sick and he was worried because she wouldn't wake up. She found some anti-sickness tablets in her money belt and she didn't know where they had come from.

We were incensed. We knew that we hadn't been raped, we had no memory of that. We weren't fearful for our physical safety, so we decided to find him and find out exactly why he did this to us. We got on a rickshaw and got to the government resthouse. We knew that we'd got the right place because the servants recognised us and started whispering when we walked in. He was there. We had purposely not worn the rings that he'd bought us, in an act of defiance. The first thing he said to us was, 'Girls, how nice to see you! Oh, you are not wearing your rings?' We told him we wanted to talk in private, so we went up to his room and I started to get really angry with him which was totally counterproductive because he got angry back and told me to get out of the room

and said that I was very rude. To cut a long story short, he broke down in tears and told us that he knew we were going to go away and he liked us so much and he didn't want us to go away and that he was going to write to our husbands and tell our husbands what lucky men they were to have us as wives, and that he could have raped us but he didn't want to do that to our husbands. Nothing about us!

There was nothing we could do about it. We could have gone to the police and we threatened to but he just laughed at us and said, 'Don't you know I control the police', which was quite feasible because Pakistan was so corrupt, and considering that his brother was the Minister of Housing they probably had the show tied up.

We left Lahore that day. We left on Eade, which is a Christian festival that follows Ramadan. It was quite fitting because we were angry about what had happened to us and pissed off with the whole Muslim male ethos in Pakistan, after two months of being constantly harassed. This was the last straw. When we left Lahore, because it was Eade they were slaughtering all these animals in the streets. There were dead animals everywhere; camels and horses and sheep and goats and there were guts everywhere. It was like mass destruction. It was telling for us, we had been through this experience and it was all being destroyed by this bad thing that had happened. It was symbolic of our last week in Pakistan. We couldn't wait to get out in the end, we really felt like sexual objects. When we got to India we felt quite liberated, as far as our sexual status was concerned. We didn't have to cover up so much and there were a lot of travellers and it was a totally different experience. We still got the leers and the comments from some of the men but there wasn't the direct physical harassment.

Joyce (who travelled in 1965) also experienced difficulty at times when travelling in Muslim countries. She believed that 'women on their own can have big trouble, especially in Muslim countries'. She and her female travelling companion were not prepared to be alone in this context.

We linked up with three young men very early in the piece for the safety aspect, and we usually shared rooms. The only night that we didn't, we had bother. One boy went one way and one had gone another to get the accommodation while the two of us looked after the luggage and they both came back having gained accommodation. They (the hotel managers) wouldn't let us all sleep in the same room, so we sort of split that night and the blokes (at the hotel) put us in a room where the door didn't shut properly and the next minute they were knocking at the door. We got the door shut and just said 'Go away'.

Like Hannah and Joyce, Greg expressed exasperation with travelling in Muslim countries. However, while Hannah and Mary felt uncomfortable and angry with being approached and treated '*as sexual objects*', and Joyce referred to the *'bother'* of being disturbed in a hotel, Greg perceived a change in the way he reacted to situations. He elaborated;

There didn't seem to be any reason to piss about in Asia any more and I didn't particularly like the Muslim countries. There was a huge change in attitude and my feeling towards being there - between India and Pakistan. I would never have considered myself particularly an aggressive person but we nearly got into a punch up in the first day in Pakistan, it was just so aggressive in how people responded to what their way of life was all about. It was really quite stunning.

I can't remember [what happened] but just a group of bastards in cabs or buses stirring it up. I can't remember who I was with but there were a couple of Europeans around and it was going to get nasty but anyway it cooled off, nastiness was avoided but it could have got quite nasty and it really was quite surprising because I had particularly enjoyed Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand, and India, I liked.

Paul Kos, who did his Overseas Experience between the years of 1989 and 1992 described going through the Moroccan border as '*the scariest thing that ever happened to me*'. He cites it as an instance of *'culture shock'*, in which he felt that he had no control over his own safety. Paul recalled;

We were going through the border control and they were looking through our bags, we'd heard all these stories about people being kidnapped, then we went through the gates and all of a sudden there were about two hundred Moroccan taxi drivers sprinting towards a group of four of us. Some were saying, 'Don't go with him, he's a murderer ... he's a rapist ..' We just clung to the tourist guide (laughs), who also, I might add, the taxi drivers were calling a rapist and a murderer. In the end he did rip us off, but that's what you get to expect from Morocco I've heard. That was really freaky. It was the different sort of pressure from hawkers which was the scary thing for me.

As with hitchhiking, Sarah pointed out that the risks taken in other travelling situations could be beneficial in terms of special experiences. For Sarah and her friend, trusting a stranger resulted in a box seat at the ballet in Milan, watching Margot Fonteyn and Rudolph Nureyev.

We flew to Milan and we had a really interesting experience there that night at the Youth Hostel because you have all those men hanging around of course, but we could speak a bit of Italian by this stage so we were quite used to dealing with Italians - they were easy after Turks and all the rest of it. This fellow kept saying how Margot Fonteyn and Rudolf Nureyev were dancing at the Opera House there and he kept saying he could get us in there, get seats for us. We didn't believe him and thought he was having us on. But however, he finally convinced us that well, it wouldn't hurt to go and have a look. So he got us into a box - we just couldn't believe it, a box! And there we were in our jeans. A box at the opera, watching Margot Fonteyn! We went with him. Oh, he was OK. It turned out he was quite harmless. This is the thing. You just never know what you're going to come up against, and some of the times you thought, 'Oh well, this is a risk, it's a gamble'. And most of the time for us it turned out to be on the right side.

The threat of danger did not always come in the form of other people for some of the participants. For Glen and Lee, some of the animals they encountered in Africa put them at risk of attack in a few instances;

Glen: It was dangerous. That scorpion that wandered across us as we slept on the ground. In Kenya I was lying behind a wood pile one night and this scorpion walked across me ... woke up one night and there was this snake, but it was only a belt lying on the ground. Another night there was a tiger ... Then the time these charging elephants, they came roaring towards us and I was sitting on top of the van. It was a dead end, so they couldn't turn back and they could not go forward. They flapped their ears and tooted.

Lee: The little African guide who was with the driver, he was absolutely freaked. Then we knew this was real serious stuff. I just hit the floor. I'm not quite as cool about those things, but it was still an experience.

Experiences of Political Conflict

Lee and Glen, Sarah, and Margaret experienced travelling in places in which political conflict was evident. Risks associated with travelling through war zones as a tourist, such as being taken hostage by guerrillas or being injured or killed in the crossfire of a skirmish or by bomb attacks, are often foremost in the minds of the families of those who travel. However, the participants' perception of risk at the scene can differ from this and also differ between participants.

During their Overseas Experience, Glen and Lee were in Southern Turkey during the Greek/Cyprus war, in Delhi at the time of the May Day riots, and travelling through Ethiopia and Sudan when there was a war in Eritrea. When recalling their perceptions of the May Day riots both revealed that perceptions of risk can differ.

Glen: I felt more nervous when those May Day riots were on and there was shooting in the streets. You wanted to lay low for the day. I was keen to get out of it. Lee was more concerned about going through the bandit country with the armed guards and a guard guarding a truck of beer bottles.

Lee: You have different perspectives of the same experience, you get different things out of it. It didn't appeal to me then but now it's very exciting, once you are away from it you can look back. My mother dutifully typed out every letter that we wrote on that part of the trip, the nine months that we were away. But that's also interesting because it's slightly different to what you write in a diary. There were things that I wouldn't tell her about in detail because she'd worry. As it was they were really worried about the

Turkish situation which we were pretty oblivious to. The same as we were really worried about the riots in Delhi and we were out of Delhi but when you got to Delhi you realised that it was just this little pocket of Delhi that was a problem. You imagine that it's the whole city when in fact you could be there and not know it was happening.

Sarah chose to avoid any contact with the impending war between Russia and Czechoslovakia in 1968 by travelling south to Bulgaria. She recalled;

As we were coming into Bucharest it was a bit scary because the war was about to be announced between Czechoslovakia and Russia. That was 1968. That was a bit scary. We had a few days in Bucharest and when we found out that there was likely to be war, we thought it was better that we got out of it as quick as possible. It looked like all these tanks were going northwards, so we took a train to Sofia in Bulgaria, and that was even more repressive than Romania. It was much more military-like there, you really felt quite scared to go anywhere or do anything there. There was a soldier on every corner.

Margaret also found the former Eastern bloc of Europe frightening. She was in Berlin just weeks before the construction of the Brandenburg Wall in 1960.

One of the frightening experiences was hitchhiking into Berlin. We got to the border with the Russian soldiers, and West Berlin is like, as you know, an island. Well, it was like an island because you went from West Germany and then you went through East Germany to get to West Berlin. And the Russians at the border - I mean, we loved going through borders, getting our passports stamped, - but that was very frightening. They strip searched you, and we thought 'Where are we going?' So we got into West Berlin. Even though it was ***West*** *Berlin in those days the people looked very frightened, very scared. And I even sent a card home to my mother and I said 'To think I moaned about putting stamps on envelopes in my job!', because we just had this feeling of these fearful people.*

We stayed in West Berlin, we went through the Brandenburg Wall, we went through to East Berlin, and we went into a restaurant that you would think was a rich restaurant. The ladies had the little white hats and the aprons and everything, and it was a real flash restaurant, but the food had no goodness in it. The potatoes, everything you ate had no quality in it. And then we walked along a big mall place and we went into this big museum in East Berlin and it was real propaganda because it was all what Berlin was going to be - this was in East Berlin - and it was all what was going to happen. And it was just propaganda. I took illegal photos actually, because there was a lot more rubble in East Berlin than we ever saw in London. But we also saw old ladies wheeling barrows of bricks and bricks and bricks, and I've actually got it on one of my slides - one of these photos that I was lucky to get. But you know, it really got to me, because here are these poor old ladies working like slaves, and yet there's this blooming museum saying what it was going to be. It was just propaganda, and you still saw all the war placards you know. It was as if they couldn't let go, and the people

looked really frightened. West Berlin, as you know, it was like an island. I mean they were still surrounded by East Germany.

But it wasn't until we got back to Germany itself that we felt better. So we got back to West Berlin and we took ages to get a ride out the next day, but it was a real scary place and we only just got back to London and they put the wall up you see. We had never felt so scared in all our lives, we just wanted out. And I mean that's what I say about fictional. You don't realise the dangers.

Experiences of Ill health

Most of the participants for this research reported experiencing some forms of illness while on their Overseas Experiences. For Paul, Janice and Ethne illness defined the experiences they had at particular times during their Overseas Experiences and all expressed feelings of being at risk of danger due to this.

Paul referred to episodes of illness while travelling on his Overseas Experience as 'making life a misery, hell actually'. He recalled 'getting pretty sick a few times' with 'diarrhoea mostly and giardia', specifically 'in Crete and in Indonesia'. But it was an incident of illness involving his partner while travelling in South America which spelled the end for his Overseas Experience. Paul accompanied his partner home to New Zealand for further medical treatment.

Janice was ill in Turkey and was hospitalised while there. She recalled feeling pressurised by her travelling companion while in hospital and then later panicking about the risk of contracting Aids;

At that stage I was quite sick, I was skin and bone and she [Janice's travelling companion] was an absolute bitch to me. When I was in hospital she came and visited me finally and she went, 'I told you to start eating and drinking properly, didn't I tell you?' She was really bossy.

We went to Istanbul and I thought that I might stay and work there for a while but the men got to me. They are constantly harassing you, it made you really weary. I just felt like I had to get out. I had a panic attack about Aids at the time. I'd been in hospital and had this drip. Aids was really big then - posters about it were slapped all over the insides of tube trains (in London). That was a bad time for me.

Ethne, who did her Overseas Experience from 1970 to 1973, had an experience with illness which involved a friend with whom she was travelling. Ethne recalled that she and her two friends were having difficulty getting their car through the border between

Austria and Yugoslavia. Her friend Ted was very ill at this time and it was an anxious time for Ethne and Lesley, considering whether to risk sending him alone on a train to London for treatment. She recounted her experience of this;

We'd bought the car at an auction. Ted (who was actually a mechanic) popped underneath the car and bounced it up and down a few times and decided it was OK. We bought it for sixty pounds and Ted did it up before we went. I can't remember what sort of car it was. He took the back seat out and made it so that one person could sit in the back, by the time we packed things. We (Lesley and I) were only allowed to take an overnight bag of clothes because he had the car full of spare parts. There were a couple of things that we hadn't taken the spare parts for, like a windscreen but we'd taken an emergency one though. We couldn't have managed if Ted hadn't have been a mechanic because there were times when the poor old car was just about falling apart by the time we'd got back.

Anyway, when we got back to Austria on the way back from India, we'd been gone I suppose two months, they wouldn't actually let us through the border because they said that the car wasn't in good enough condition. It was starting to snow so they said 'Try going back through Yugoslavia'. But they wouldn't let us back into Yugoslavia either, even though they'd just let us through there to Austria.

Ted was sick at the time, and we'd been quite worried about him and tried to get treatment for him, but the antibiotics didn't do much for him. We didn't know then that he had malaria and hepatitis. We decided that we should get him on a train to London, and we had just enough money to do that. We arranged with his father that he could send out money that we'd left in London if we needed it. So we rang him and asked him to send out some money and we rang another friend to pick Ted up at the train. We stuck him on the train and hoped for the best! He really wasn't very good, he was in a state that he didn't really care what was going on around him and neither of us had our driving licence, so we did that. He had his set of tools with us, and he realised he couldn't carry that and said 'Oh, leave it with the car, I don't care'. We were a bit worried about that because that's his business.

I guess when the going got tough we used to go and get a cup of coffee and sit down and think about things. We got on really well we didn't get angry with each other when things went wrong. So, in the process of having a cup of coffee we got talking to a guy driving a big truck back to England and we explained the situation and he said that he was taking some other people with him so he didn't have room for another person but he could take the tools. We took the risk because either they were going to be left there and we were going to lose them or there was a chance that this guy would be honest enough and would get them to England. So we took his address and we said we'd contact him as soon as we got there, and by the time we'd returned to London he'd actually delivered them. We were lucky.

We left the car there. I think Ted actually got a letter asking him to remove it, but I guess it was almost for the scrap heap really, so we just left it. We didn't worry about car parts and we hadn't taken much luggage. We stayed the night there and had to wait

for the money to arrive, we were a little bit worried staying in this hotel; they didn't know that we had no money! And then we had to find a particular post office the next day to get the money, but it had arrived and so we paid our bill and got our tickets on the train back.

Ted was in hospital for a while after that. I ended up with hepatitis as well but it didn't show up until I got home. I remembered later that one time when Lesley was feeling sick Ted and I went for a walk to a market and it was so hot we decided to have a drink and we were half way through that drink and realised we were drinking the local water, and we thought, 'Oh, what the heck', at that stage. But I think that that's possibly when we got it because it seemed funny that he and I ended up with it and Lesley didn't.

Stories of ill health while on an Overseas Experience are told amongst participants and also appeal to people in the home context. An article in the Palmerston North newspaper, the *Manawatu Evening Standard*, testifies to local interest in the fate of a woman from Palmerston North who returned to New Zealand part way through her Overseas Experience due to illness (Naylor, 1995:17).

Jo Matheson, aged 22, was on a truck expedition travelling overland from London to Kenya in 1995 when she had an accident leaving her with a prolapsed disc in her back. As the article reports, in addition to the prolapsed disc, Jo was suspected of having contracted the ebola virus and underwent a seventeen day search for a hospital.

As well as the illness, the article lists Jo's other experiences in Africa as 'contact with witchdoctors, corrupt officials and military regimes'. These, it concludes, have 'not put her off travelling, ... she's still keen to go back - especially as she hasn't yet seen any wildlife (except camels, goats and monkeys)' (1995:17). The article claims that this is all 'part of the action' and infers that this has been an 'adventure' that 'tested Jo's strength' (1995:17).

Jo is reported as reflecting on this time as;

> *... such an interesting experience ... I've learned so much from it. It's not like my life was ever seriously in danger. When you're there at the time, nobody's going to kill you for money when they can get it anyway.*

Perceptions of Excitement and Fascination Through New (Often 'Once in a Lifetime') Experiences

> *Everything looks real, and therefore it is real; in any case the fact that it seems real is real, and the thing is real even if, like Alice in Wonderland, it never existed (Eco, 1986:16).*

For many of the participants an Overseas Experience involved excitement and fascination. These are heightened sensations arising from what the participants have recalled as the 'highlights' of their Overseas Experiences and I have interpreted as 'peak experiences'. The participants have indicated that sometimes these sensations were connected to the particular context appearing strange and the participant feeling alienated from his/her surroundings, while at other times perceived familiarity with an aspect of the context, an activity or practice, in which the participant was involved was expressed as part of the excitement or fascination.

Reactions to 'Strangeness'

Joyce, who did her Overseas Experience in the mid-1960s, felt that she and her friend were among a small number of 'outsiders' in the place. This added to the excitement of this situation for her in Cambodia. As she described it;

We went to Cambodia, which was absolutely fascinating. At that stage, I suppose it still is because of the war since then, but it was pretty run down really, although there was no war at that stage. That was fascinating because there was only the two of us white people there, and taking the little local rickshaw things where the man cycles along and you sit in the back. But there weren't a lot of tourists. We'd go out to these amazing old ruins and there'd be just the two of us there and our rickshaw man. It was fascinating. Angkor Wat would just possibly rate the highest of everywhere, and it was partly because it was like we were the first people ever finding it, because there weren't other people there. There were all these brilliant stone carvings everywhere. This whole city had got enveloped with the jungle and they don't really know why, at that stage anyway. The trees had grown even between the slabs of concrete and split them apart and all these beautiful concrete friezes.

Lynette Townsend, who undertook her Overseas Experience in the early 1990s, spoke of her arrival in Timor (as she described it, 'my first experience of a 'Third World' country') as 'exciting' but also a shock. She elaborated;

It was really different from what I had expected. There were terrible smells, horrible dogs everywhere, starvation, major pollution, masses of people crowding everywhere and pinching my skin. Even though people do go into Timor, they don't to the same extent as the other islands, so people weren't used to white skin and they were pinching me. I didn't have any idea that this was going to happen, it was just the crowds and all the starving people.

We were really lucky. On our first day we met this schoolgirl who wanted to practise her English and she showed us around the island. This was neat but I wasn't used to the people and it felt like a bombardment of the senses. She took us back to her house for lunch and they lived in this mud hut and they gave us this lunch of dried fish and this stir-fried silverbeet sort of stuff. It was really awful because we just knew that we had to eat this food because it would be an insult not to do so. We ate the food and I felt so sick and then that night I vomited all night. It wasn't so much the food but the culture shock and the stress and anxiety of being in a strange place.

Hannah, who, like Lynette, travelled in the early 1990s, reflected on an exciting highlight for her, which formed part of her '*South American experience*'. Excitement and fascination for her in this context involved trying some of the available drugs. She described in detail the experience of taking San Pedro (cactus juice) in Ecuador;

South America was my third trip and I was there for eight months. I thought that seeing that I was there I might as well try the drugs, so I tried drugs everywhere I went just to see what it was like. But I didn't feel like I had had to take them over and over again. The drugs were part of the experience. When I was in Columbia I had cocaine, which was part of that experience, everyone was on cocaine in Columbia, a lot of travellers had got addicted and sold their passports and were there for good basically. I saw that and I didn't want to be addicted to it but I wanted to try it to see what it was like and it was so cheap I thought, 'Well, what a good opportunity'. So I had a really good time on cocaine for one night, but I didn't try it again. In Ecuador and Peru the drug there was cactus juice called San Pedro. It was very natural, it was boiled and the juice was extracted and you drank the pure juice and it was an hallucinogenic.

All the travellers taking it were young people in their twenties. I was the only woman. It had to be done. It was part of the South American experience. It was quite a meaningful experience, I felt quite in touch with the countryside and the land when I was hallucinating, and also with my Spanish comprehension.

There was a group of us in a small town in the south of Ecuador called Villa Cabamba, it was well known for its cactus juice and it was a real traveller's 'Mecca' - everyone would go there to try cactus juice and there was an American guy there who would sell it to travellers, traffic it (laughs). A lot of travellers who were there for a while soon found out how to make it themselves though. The cactus was prolific, it was everywhere and you just need to get a few leaves and boil them up and you had it, it didn't cost a cent. We paid a little bit of money, and a group of about six of us took it and we knew that it was a long trip and we had been warned that it lasted for up to twenty-four

hours, so we thought that we'd get up early in the morning and start off. I was quite nervous about trying it because my partner had had it the day before and he was so out of it he was completely gone. He was impossible to cope with, he was on a different planet, and so were the people he had taken it with. He wasn't going to take it, he was going to make sure that I was OK, so I knew that I had a support person so that was good.

I had a third of a dose. The only thing was that we had a deadline, we had to catch a bus out of Villa Cabamba at five o'clock because we were crossing into Peru, and we had to get to the next town to get a connecting bus. Buses came infrequently so we knew that we had to get out of Villa Cabamba that day. Jerry had organised all the tickets and he was in charge of getting us back to the bus. We got up at six in the morning and had this juice and felt instantly sick, it was totally disgusting and I only had about ten ml of it. For the first hour I felt really sick and wanted to vomit, and I was quite nervous about what was going to happen, because it's taken internally it takes a good hour to get through your system. I felt OK, I felt normal and I thought it wasn't going to work. We went walking out of town. We had planned to walk up this river valley and up to this mountain. I was still feeling sick and saying that I didn't want to do it, and feeling panicky about it. They were reassuring me and saying to relax, and I thought 'Oh God, what have I let myself in for?' And then all of a sudden my perceptions began to change. We were sitting by the side of a river and there were these willow trees around; suddenly the trees became beautiful and there were all these flowers all over them - the cactus juice was starting to work. I started to realise that it was beautiful and good fun and I stopped panicking. By that stage I was out of it and I couldn't reflect on my normal state anymore. We started walking, and Jerry decided that he'd go back because he couldn't cope with us, we were too out of it. He told us that we had to be back by three, and he made us set our watches and put alarms on so that we'd know we'd have to be back.

I remember at one stage, everything was so vivid and it was like we were in all these worlds. We could see places that we'd travelled before and the scenery. We went past this fence and we were talking about how it looked like the Great Wall of China. There were a few campesinos (peasants) in the fields doing there work - and we said, 'Oh, look there's a peasant family' and went over to talk to them. We found it really easy to speak Spanish. Our Spanish was OK at that stage but we struggled to have a full conversation, but we seemed to be able to speak fluently. We started walking up this hill and it was quite steep and hard work. We didn't feel that we needed to do anything, we just wanted to experience the surroundings. It was just such a blowout experience. I was sitting in the middle of this path and I wanted to stay there and absorb it all, in reality it was a mud track up a steep hill and I was sitting there thinking that I was in paradise, there were these brightly coloured birds and butterflies and I said to my friend, 'It's paradise, it's paradise!'

We got to the stage when it was very steep and we realised that time was getting on and we thought that we'd better get back. We went back via the river. There was a steep cliff to get down and we thought that we could do anything. I said to my friend that I couldn't get down and he assured me that I'd be all right and that if I jumped he would

catch me. So I 'flew' down off the edge of this cliff and it was about ten metres down and he couldn't catch me, I landed on my head and I was cut and bruised. I just laughed, I didn't feel any pain whatsoever. We went for this swim in the river and we were all naked with all these people that we hardly knew, I had all these bruises and cuts and I was covered in mud. On the way back we were boulder hopping along the river; the boulders were quite a long distance apart and the river was swift and deep but we were leaping from rock to rock and we had this incredible energy. We eventually got back...

There were a couple of local women walking in front of us and they were turning around and laughing at us because we were all talking really loud in Spanish and I'm sure that they thought we were absolute lunatics, they know that travellers come through to take this cactus juice and they take it themselves for medicinal purposes. They knew we were on it. I went up to them and tried to have a lucid conversation. They immediately started laughing, I mustn't have been making sense.

I'd had nothing to eat all day. Jerry gave us water and made us drink it. We were still out of it on the bus. We spent the whole time talking in Spanish and giggling the whole way to the next town. I couldn't sleep that night and I couldn't eat my dinner, I was chasing this egg round my plate, I felt full. I was a physical wreck in the morning, I felt so sick I was exhausted, it took me a week to get over it. It was worth it though. I would never do it again it just took so much out of me. It was a once in a lifetime experience, although friends of mine have been back there and have done it every day. I think it would kill me if I had it for too long. I got a terrible flu bug after the cocaine from the sniffing and then I was exhausted and bruised and battered after the cactus juice.

In an unfamiliar context the 'ordinary' practices of daily living can also appear fascinating. Joyce remembered being disgusted by some of the toilet facilities she contended with while ill when travelling, especially in India, but she also found this 'fascinating'. India, as she explains, was a highlight for her. Other aspects of her travel in Asia which Joyce described as 'fascinating' include spitting, and the 'beautiful' minarets and wares for sale on the streets;

India was a highlight too, and as I say I have been back, but we only went back when we knew we were going to be with New Zealanders who could give us decent food because you just get so sick there. There are so many bugs we're not used to and you get this terrible dysentery. It's most unpleasant. People are at you the whole time. I ended up getting 'Delhi-Belly', and I was in Delhi by then so I didn't remember much of it the first time because I was feeling pretty crook. A lot of the people got it and it was so awkward because you're travelling along in this bus through the desert and you've got to go and everybody looks this way. It was quite fun on the bus especially in the desert where there are no toilets. They stop the bus and say 'Bushes!' and ladies go to the left, gents to the right and you all just went and faced away from the bus. It's all you could do, it's all so lacking in facilities. Of course the toilet facilities everywhere are always

a fascination, sometimes an abomination as well. The old slits in the ground which is all right when it's concrete but it's not so good when it's just dirt.

They spit. It's disgusting to our way. It's a different culture, especially when we stayed in cheap hotels we'd hear these guys hoiking and spitting and it was gross. But particularly in India because that was our first experience of it, perhaps we got hardened as we went on.

It [the bus travel] had its highlights, like breaking down in the middle of the Iranian desert. There were two buses, both were not totally full but they were a backup, partly because when there were breakdowns there were so little available parts. So we broke down and the other bus went on and got the parts sent back and then we toddled on and we had to wait in Isfahan to get the bus properly fixed. So that was good because we had three days there when we were only going to have one. It's a fascinating place, it's amazing. We were going and looking at mosques and just walking around and getting the atmosphere, dining at the odd restaurant. It was just wonderful to see those minarets and the mosques are just beautiful. And the sort of wares they had out selling on the footpaths, great big brass urns and vases, a bit like Ali Baba style stuff really, and silver and turquoise. We did a bit of buying there, a few things.

Joyce's experience of returning to India was different from her first visit. Robyn Barton also suggested that first encounters are 'fascinating' and 'exciting'. She described arriving in London for the first time in 1963, and compared it to the time she returned 23 years later;

I remember the night we arrived in London we came up by bus from South Hampton and we were dropped off at this Kiwi Court and we met a few people who were on the boat with us and we said 'Let's go into Piccadilly Circus' and we went into Piccadilly Circus and we came up from the underground and you just couldn't believe that here you were in London sitting in the middle of the square - these old men cooking chestnuts on these wood burners. It was November, it was cold, but the place was just absolutely alive. That Coca Cola sign was over there. They were selling Beatles memorabilia all over the streets and there were a lot of shows on - 'Half a Sixpence' and Harry Secombe and 'The Mousetrap' and all these shows were lovely and the Russian ballet was there. Gosh, it was just absolutely fascinating.

It wasn't like that last time, my friend who lives here is from Germany and she has never been to London, we went over in '86 and I said to her, 'Wait until we get to London', I kept saying this the whole trip. We crossed over, we got to London and we went down in the evening. It was just dead, there was nobody there. All these years I've remembered the place was just full of people, it was lovely, people were just parading up and down the streets. The Christmas decorations were up and the photographers with monkeys - we got a picture of it, it was just so fascinating, all the people in the background that was just down Oxford Street. They had these little monkeys and they were taking photographs. So, that was disappointing to go back and

find that it wasn't like that any more, that life had changed. London being the big centre of the world at that time was no longer the same.

I suppose it's much more exciting when you're young anyway, because you haven't experienced it before. And England was certainly ***the*** *place to be - especially with the Beatles and everything - and we saw the Beatles in Scotland, in a concert. Lulu was coming out then, and the Bachelors. All those sixties groups were all just starting out and we went to quite a lot of concerts in Blackpool - the Bachelors, Dave Clarke's Five, and the Rolling Stones, and we used to see them regularly on TV. They used to have those programmes like 'Happen In' - do you ever remember seeing a programme called Happen In? Or New Faces? Talent quests ... they used to have those on the TV every week, and you'd see all these people every week - Lulu, and Cilla Black, and all those people. Quite exciting. And it was at the stage where it was transforming from the American pop scene to the British pop scene, so it was a really interesting time.*

Reactions to Different yet not Unfamiliar Contexts

Margaret was also in London, but in the late 1950s. She spoke of the shows in London's West End as being important highlights of her Overseas Experience. Of particular significance for Margaret was the night she and a friend got a seat in a box at the Albert Hall.

Well, we'd only been there a week and 'My Fair Lady' was showing. I think I got there at 7.15 in the morning. We queued for seats, and we stood for 'My Fair Lady'. There were no seats, but it was so terrific because we were lucky, we saw the original - Julie Andrews, I think ... well, the original cast anyway.

We used to go to all the shows, and I can remember we used to go to Covent Garden, we 'lived' at Covent Garden, and we were forever running up the steps and sitting in the 'gods'. I remember Albert Hall was the same, we would go up in the 'gods' at the Albert Hall and one night we went to the Albert Hall and it was the '1812 Overture', and this guy came up to us - I'll never forget - and he said 'Would you two like to sit in a box tonight ?- Sir Wilfred Yeates isn't here.' Because, you see, they buy their own boxes. And we sat in this box. What was missing was the box of chocolates, you know. And we just were so overawed, my friend and I, - 'We are sitting in a real box!', you know. We were just so thrilled and we just thought that was marvellous. We just 'lived' at the Albert Hall and when Jim and I went back we wanted to see 'La Boheme' so we shouted ourselves three down in the red plush boxes and when I saw the 'gods', you know, I said 'To think, I used to run up there all the time.' But we were always in the 'gods', everywhere we went.

Margaret Biddulph and Bryson Anderson, who were based in London in the late 1950s and early 1960s respectively, both remembered meeting Rolf Harris, the Australian

entertainer, while they were there. This was exciting for them because, although not a New Zealander, they related to him as a fellow 'Antipodean', who, as Margaret emphasised, was 'just one of the boys'. She stated that *'he was very friendly with people we knew and we saw a lot of him in those days'.*

Coincidentally they both helped him to make recordings. Bryson remembered the night he and some friends went down to the recording studio to do backing vocals for Rolf Harris' new album.

Bryson: One of the things I did over there, believe it or believe it not, was I actually helped with a few other New Zealanders to do an LP for Rolf Harris. Now he had gone from Australia to Britain to make his fortune and he used to sing every Sunday night at the famous 'Down Under Club' where Australians and New Zealanders went but he managed to get on television and he was doing a children's program and he had lots of letters saying, 'We'd like a record of yours' so he decided to do a record of 'Botany Bay' and 'Waltzing Matilda' and a few others. But he needed a backing chorus and he didn't have much money, so we were approached by one if his agents, who said, 'Would you like to come down? We can't pay you, but we're going to lay on some Fosters grog for you.' It was at the same studios that the Beatles did all their recordings in. We had to have passes to get in because the place was very secure. That was a riotous night! I don't think we were much help but it was an interesting experience. We had to provide this big chorus for 'Botany Bay' and 'Waltzing Matilda' and other bits, which meant take after take, and of course being typical Australians somebody started on the beer half way through! Well, of course two thirds of the way through the sound engineers they'd had us and Rolf Harris was furious because he could see his LP going down the drain. It was never sold in New Zealand, it was just for the UK. He was a really talented guy.

Finding a sense of excitement through some connection with a particular context was the experience of Joyce and Emily. For Joyce it was her knowledge of the French language that enabled her to purchase the 'exotic' wares she sought as memorabilia of her Overseas Experience and later when she visited France, she found the architecture and history 'fascinating' because of her prior knowledge of this.

Joyce: I've still got some of those things. I remember I bargained for some turquoise in French because the shopkeeper couldn't speak any English and I couldn't speak any 'Iran' - whatever language it was. In the end we discovered we could speak enough French to barter. And I remember there were beautiful miniatures and I got a brooch painted as a miniature on some sort of a mother of pearl type of shell. So we had time there to shop, although I'm not a person to buy too much because you had to get it sent back, you couldn't carry too much and so we tried to stick to things like jewellery, scarves in India, silk, we both got a sari in Singapore. We sent parcels back from Singapore because at that stage buying there was so cheap and 'exotic' I guess is the

word, the oriental market... In India too we bought a few things and we sent a parcel back from there. All our parcels did arrive too.

With respect to French culture I was more interested in the buildings. It was fascinating to go and see these things that you had only seen in pictures. I'd been teaching about it and to go and actually see it was great and to hear the people speak and just to really be in the country I'd studied for years. I was just interested in the buildings, and particularly Paris. There are some amazing buildings and the history of each of those buildings. Just because really we had studied it in detail and therefore it became fascinating.

Emily, who returned from travelling in 1995 but has currently resumed her Overseas Experience, expressed unexpected excitement when she realised her connection to Scottish heritage. She described this;

One thing I did get really excited about on the last trip was crossing the border from England into Scotland. It was totally unexpected but it felt great. And my surname, MacKay, is very Scottish, so it was like going to where my family were from. I visited my grandfather's birthplace. I'm also really looking forward to going to South Africa, as I have connections there too. I have always felt a strong pull to go there.

After her initial Overseas Experience, Emily recalled feeling older and implied that she perceived New Zealand differently as well . She admits that travel is still exciting for her though;

I definitely see New Zealand differently now, even when I watch the international news. I don't mind living here and I do enjoy living here but the exposure to international events and news coverage is definitely limited. Now that I have returned from travelling I feel older, and I feel it's not such a big deal now. It's still exciting. You know, I get excited when I go to Wellington! But I've got some plans now.

Temporary Financial Hardship

All the participants I interviewed expressed that they had had to consider a limited budget at times during their Overseas Experience. Although in hindsight this has proven to be a temporary experience, it was, for some participants, a difficulty which impacted in a major way on their Overseas Experience.

There were different times and circumstances under which the participants experienced financial hardship and the historical, social and economic contexts out of which this hardship arose will be considered more fully in the following chapter. This section will

consider the context within which financial resources became central to the Overseas Experience. The focus on material realities was shaped typically by two objectives: (i) finding the means to leave and the means by which to return; and (ii) travelling on the cheap.

Finding the Means to Leave and the Means by Which to Return

For Robyn, Margaret and Bryson, who did their Overseas Experiences in the late 1950s and early 1960s, earning the money to enable them to actually embark on this experience was a major undertaking. Robyn emphasised that it took her and her sister *'two or three years to save up to go ... Mother let us off paying board so we could save up'.*

Margaret recalled that she was one of very few young New Zealanders who left New Zealand at that time, and consequently, she was considered unusual in doing so. She remembered some of the reactions to her leaving by some of the local Napier people;

Of course it was a rarity then, I mean it wasn't like now, it was a rarity then, yes, you were asked to go out and talk but mainly by English people, mainly people that had come from over there. Whereas the locals, were saying, 'This is 'God's own country', why have you wasted your money?' That sort of thing.

She and her friend worked and saved for nine months to afford the boat passage to England.

Well, I had never thought I'd ever get to England. But like over half the people on the ship, I had a broken engagement, and a girlfriend was going to England within nine months, and she said 'Well, how about coming to England?' So, the next thing was go to England, you see. So I did office work in Napier, but we worked every weekend as well. We worked at the races, catering, and we worked picking fruit. We worked so hard just to get enough money. The boat trip, as I read in my diary last night, was £150 return and we only took about another £100. How that would value today, I'm not sure but we hardly had any money. But we really made the most of it.

As Margaret explained, some of the people she met in England had quite a different perception to her's of the young New Zealanders they encountered doing their 'big trip';

Some of the people in England, the people I worked with, thought that you (we New Zealanders) kill a sheep, and then you did your big trip. They had you very wealthy because of all the sheep, and they just thought that, you know, you killed a sheep. And of course, ironically, I shouldn't say much because my husband, Jim, he immigrated

out, but I would say to them in those days, in 1958, 'Look, you can come to New Zealand for £10 and you can see New Zealand and then go home again!' - which they could in those days. But, I said, 'We cannot come here for £10 - we have saved a lot of money to come here.' But see, they haven't got the up and go.

Bryson too made the point that he was among a small number of people leaving New Zealand around this time for an Overseas Experience. Like Margaret, Bryson and his friend took on extra work to save the money for the boat passage to England. He elaborated;

Very few young New Zealanders in my time travelled by themselves, very few. That has been a big change over the years. I mean, my eldest daughter has had three trips around the world already, by herself. I went with that chap there [pointing to a photograph], who was a school teaching friend of mine and we both worked in the freezing works in the holidays and that sort of thing. We took leave before we sailed, which was about April 1962, I think. I resigned from my job and I used all the Christmas holidays and worked through February, March and I sailed on the Rangitane in April of 1962.

Janice, who left for her Overseas Experience in the late 1980s, also had to work for what she considered 'quite a long time' to save the money to do an Overseas Experience. She waitressed for eight months to enable her to buy the airline ticket to England and present proof of having £1000 in her bank account (the requirement for a two year entry visa into the United Kingdom for New Zealanders). She recalled the preparations made for her by her mother, who was anxious that Janice be accompanied to England because of her young age (18 years).

Eight months later I saved up enough money, which at that stage was about $3000 (New Zealand) that was £1000 which was my entry in, aside from my air flight. I told Mum and Dad about a month before I was going that I was going to go. Thankfully in Mum's eyes a cousin of mine, an older cousin who was twenty-seven at the time (I was eighteen), she was going to go to London via LA, so we went together. We didn't know each other very well but we had a few meetings before we went away and decided OK that was the way to do it. Basically she accompanied me to London and that's how I got there.

Some of the participants had definite dates booked for their return to New Zealand from their Overseas Experiences, especially those who had planned to return to get married. Others preferred to be less planned and return to New Zealand when they felt the time was right. Either way most of the participants had thought about obtaining the money for the return trip home prior to their departure.

As Margaret stressed, she had mixed feelings about returning to New Zealand but weighed up the type of life she could afford in England compared to that in New Zealand and realised that she would be a lot better off financially in the latter. She recalled of this time;

My family had no money, I only wrote home at the last - just before I was coming home - to see if I could borrow a wee bit of money for coming home. I would never have thought to ask my people for any money or anything. We always said to our girls if they got destitute, to let us know, but if they did they never let us know. We didn't want to come home, but we said 'Now we've lived life through fiction, we've lived life through not having hardly any money or anything. If we stay here (now that's in those days, and it hasn't changed) we will have to settle down like a Londoner, and to have what we can have in New Zealand we would have to have lots of money to live the lifestyle we've been used to.' So, that made our decision to come home, because the tourist life was over we felt after two years. It was kind of 'settling time' and that's how we saw it. To live the life we would like to, we would have had to have lots of money over there, whereas you can get ahead over here if you really want to, you know.

Sarah, who returned to New Zealand in 1969 after two years' Overseas Experience, made certain that she had the money to return at the outset of her trip. She stated;

I had my return fare though, that was untouchable. I had that money put aside. What I did was, I actually booked my fare from Singapore to Auckland, but up to that stage I had the money to get from London to Singapore, or I thought I did. I had allowed myself what I thought was enough money, I don't actually remember sort of working out ahead of time what it was going to cost, but I think we must have had some idea.

Greg's Overseas Experience was effectively cut short due to difficulty in earning enough money in London in the mid-1970s. He recalled borrowing some money from his parents for the plane ticket home to New Zealand, however, he made a point of emphasising that he did not take advantage of what he termed, '*a nice position to be in*'.

I think I probably just borrowed the fare home off the parents or something. I don't know. My parents were reasonably well off at the time. I can't recall actually. It wouldn't have been a huge concern though. That's why they (my parents) didn't want me travelling when they were away. I don't know that they financed me a hell of a lot. I don't know whether they would ever of expected me to pay them back, even if I had had to call on them, which is a nice position to be in. For the most part I didn't suck a whole lot of dough out of it, like I didn't stay there endlessly. Some people over in Asia, I'm sure that that's what they were doing - rich parents and these people were just wandering around in a dazed haze. Americans were especially good at it, the remittance men of the '70's. It was pretty weird and the same sort of types would show up in the next place you were at, wandering around.

Travelling on the Cheap

Janice summed up what I understand to be the way many of the participants in this study conceived of the relationship between money and the travel component of their Overseas Experience. She stressed;

Money becomes quite important when you're on your own and travelling, it is your survival in many ways.

Access to enough money could indeed determine whether or not a participant could obtain the basic necessities for living, or, in another sense, 'survive' the course of an Overseas Experience without having to relinquish the trip and return home.

Robyn remembered that at times lack of money meant going without food.

One time we arrived back from Wales on the night of our 21st with two shillings and six pence, so the only thing we could find to eat for the night was a Chelsea bun. Plenty of times we were hungry, we just didn't have the money - or shops weren't open, or the banks weren't open.

Ethne and Greg expressed some regret at the restrictions placed on them at times through having a limited travelling budget.

Ethne: I guess we did it probably as cheaply as you could do it. We took a lot of our own food. We took Vesta meals and to this day I can't eat them. I wrote in my diary that I had spoken to someone who was travelling from Kathmandu to London by plane and they were paying £200 - I must have thought that it was quite expensive compared to what we were paying.

Greg: Some people came back with some neat stuff and I'm sure that, looking back, there were things that I certainly did consider buying but I was too bloody cheap. I was very good at keeping dough, I came back with $50 (American) - extremely frugal. It was a little bit odd at times like when I didn't go to the casino when we were in Monaco because it was too bloody dear.

Paul, who did his Overseas Experience in the 1980s and early 1990s, reflected on the practice of spending as little money as possible. As stated in Chapter Three, when discussing identity, Paul made the distinction between 'backpackers' and 'other tourists' on the grounds of the amount of money each spent. As he described it, '*really you are trying to do everything on a minimal amount of money*' [as a backpacker]. However, as he pointed out, this in itself could be restrictive on the type of experience the Overseas Experience participant wanted to obtain.

Paul: Money was obviously a restraint at times. I left with about $4000 (New Zealand) which lasted about three or four months. So, yes, money did limit you. Also time with regard to visas. You can only stay in some countries for a month or so. Travelling with other people can be a big constraint sometimes - you can't always do what you want to do yourself - and after a while that started to piss me off a bit. When I was travelling through Egypt I started to realise that the people I was travelling with were so incredibly tight and they wanted to do everything at such a fast speed, so that in the end I decided to travel by myself for a while.

I guess it will be different when I travel again. It would have to be different because I'm not going to go through the same experiences I did when I first started travelling. I'm not going to go on any organised tours or anything, I'll still be backpacking when I travel, but it depends ... if I've got a bit more money, I might wimp out! (laughs).

Paul's comment about the nature of possible future travel suggests that he understands his low budget travel as part of his Overseas Experience to have been arduous but valuable because of this. His suggestion of 'wimping out' implies that it took some courage to achieve this style of travel.

Margaret stressed that when she and her friend did their Overseas Experience in 1958, they were one of few who did it, and even fewer who did it 'on the cheap'.

We hitchhiked mainly because we didn't have the money, but we also did it because we met so many different people. Well, I think we did have a more interesting time than if we were part of an organised trip because we enjoyed everything we did. We would work hard and save a bit and do something. We only had our return fares and about £100, and by the time we came home we had nothing and when we came back from the continent we only had ten shillings, but you know, at the time, you don't even think about it.

I know quite a lot of people, in fact they're going through my mind now, quite a lot of people who have been overseas about our time, but we were just the only ones I know that went at that time on the smell of an oily rag, you know, like young people go now. I can't relate myself to anyone in Napier, or the people I've met here, [in Dannevirke] who have said 'Yes, we were over there when you were there', but they didn't have to find it so tough as what we did, you know. The people that I know, they had money, they went comfortably. We didn't know anyone- we met a lot once we got there who were hitchhiking like ourselves - but the people that I can think of in my mind they either went for six months and didn't have to work, or else everything was organised. They didn't decide to go within nine months like us.

Bryson talked about some of the ways in which his Overseas Experience of the early 1960s was shaped by his lack of money.

In one of the holiday periods, it was their summer of '63, I took leave from the school and Brian, my friend who I had left New Zealand with, and I travelled down through France and into Spain and back up again. We were running short of cash and we thought, 'Well, better head back up to the UK and earn some more cash', so that we could go back through to Germany and Italy, and what have you. But of course, I think, as I told you on the phone, the day that Princess Alexandra got married, we had the locks neatly cut out of all the doors and we'd been cleaned out, and literally cleaned out. We didn't have any insurance as such, you see, which was foolish of us - you didn't have the money to have your gear insured. So that sort of set us back, and the plans for going on a second journey unfortunately didn't come about. Of course Brian met an Irish girl and decided to get married, and that further mucked things up, but however, that's the way it goes.

Sarah combined her travelling with working in the various destinations that she travelled to between 1967 and 1969. As she explained, the money was not a lot but she and her friend managed on their wages, and the compensation Sarah received from an accident she had.

We were travelling together for about eighteen months around Europe - it was actually quite a long time, but we just decided that, 'Oh well, we'll get jobs here and there'. I had no work commitments in England. We didn't of course have lots of money, but we somehow or other sort of managed, you know, when I look back. Working in Germany helped to give us a little bit of money and I got a bit of compensation from a car accident I had there in which I had to have a few stitches, so that helped.

She recalled some of the conditions that they travelled in. The train journeys were especially challenging.

From Istanbul we got a third class train across Turkey. And I mean, third class, you can imagine what that's like on a Turkish train, can you? I suppose we just never, ever thought about doing anything other than the very cheapest way of travelling. And there was actually a whole compartment of Europeans there. We quickly got ourselves sorted out, because the train got filled very quickly and we thought 'There's going to be no room for anybody here.' But they were all boys of course, except for Biddy and I. That was quite an eventful three day trip. We made friends with some people who were travelling in second class and they used to let us go and sleep in their compartment by day, because you couldn't sleep in our compartment by night, we were all squeezed like sardines.

But there was every Tom, Dick and Harry, and his dog, or his duck or his goat or whatever, and all their fruit and vegetables. I remember that there was this man they brought on who had some sort of a head injury. I never actually found out what was wrong with him, but he had a milk drip, and I thought 'Oh my goodness. Who's going to look after that?' I think either he was unconscious or semi-conscious. It was the most incredible situation, he was either being sent home to die, or whatever. I mean nobody knew what was wrong with him, but we eventually made room for him and he

had a bed to lie on somewhere. Everyone else had to double up somehow. We took turns in looking after him, but there was really very little you could do for him, it was quite sad. And there were no instructions as to what to do for him whatsoever. It was just an incredible situation. I wish I remember the details more clearly, but I don't.

I remember when we got to quite a way across Turkey, it was quite a religious place, it was sort of like next to Mecca on the list of places to visit if you were a keen Muslim, and I think I had my twenty-fourth birthday there and these very kind people who were travelling second class shouted us out for dinner that night.

In India we travelled third class on the trains, and that was basically to save money because we travelled at night, and we slept on these sort of luggage racks above all the people who were seated below. We were stretched out in our sleeping bags up the top. It might have been a little bit extra but it was a lot less than travelling first class.

Transport and living expenses, such as accommodation and food, were usually perceived by the Overseas Experience participants in this study as areas over which they could negotiate the price paid. The aim of the participants being to get 'the best value for money', or even better, 'to get a good score' as one participant described the practice of getting something for no payment. Shirley and Roger described to me some of the strategies they employed to 'make the most' of the financial resources they had at the time.

They recounted how in 1977 they conned a rebate out of the Taxation Department in South Africa (where they had been working illegally and travelling for six months) a few days before they flew out.

Shirley: Anyway we had our holiday visa extended for another three months and then we went back to have it extended again and they said, 'Gosh, what have you been doing all this time?' We didn't say that we had been working, we owned a car, this, that, and the next thing, but they said, 'No sorry, you've got to leave.' They gave us a week to leave. We took about three because we thought, 'We can't leave in a week because we've got all these things to sell!' We'd been taxed on all our earnings - even though it was illegal they still taxed us to keep the books straight - so we thought, 'To hell with it!' We went into the Taxation Department and filled out a claim form and got back a couple of hundred rand!

Roger: That was on the Friday before we were leaving. The whole time I gave them [the Taxation Department] the impression - I never actually said, but I gave the impression - that we were British passport holders and British passport holders were able to work without a permit. They came up with the idea that we were British citizens and I just didn't deny it. They went right through the whole process - there was an interview and we had to fill in all these forms and carry on. The Reserve Bank closed at 3pm and I knew that if we got away with it we would get a cheque and because we were

leaving the next day which was a Saturday I'd have to get the cheque before three o'clock so that I could get it cleared and get the money. We strung this guy on for nearly an hour. The final thing that had to be done was to have our passport stamped and every time we came to the passport we skirted round it and through the story, it was gone two o'clock and I was watching my watch thinking, 'I've got to time this nicely here', and he had somebody go off and get the cheque prepared. Everything was done, the cheque was there on the table in front of me, all it needed, the final thing to be done was to have my passport stamped. I got hold of the cheque and had it in my pocket and then I presented my passport. He said, 'This isn't a British passport.' I said 'No, it's a New Zealand passport.' He said, 'You can't be working if you're on a New Zealand passport.' I said, 'Can't we? I didn't know that! What made you think we had a British passport?' He started to say, 'But you said ...' And I interrupted, 'No, I didn't. I never said I had a British passport.' You could see the guy was absolutely flummoxed, he didn't know what to do so he went off to see someone and I said to Shirley, 'Let's get out of here.' So we took off, straight across the road, into the Reserve Bank, got the cheque cashed just as the bank was about to close and got out of there. Because it was two or three hundred rand, it was quite a bit of money for us.

Shirley: In New Zealand dollars it was about $1.50 to a rand, so it was about $500 (New Zealand), which even then was worth having. So we'd already got our tickets organised because we still had this air pass and we decided to go to Rhodesia at this stage. So we went out to the airport on Saturday in the afternoon and they called for boarding. I was a bit reluctant, thinking they would be watching for a passport so we waited until the second boarding call, then we waited for the third boarding call and then they might have called for passengers Shirley and Roger Goodall. The plane was out on the tarmac and we could see it there and there were no more people going up, and we went rushing through said, 'Here's our passport, there's our plane.' And the guy went, stamp, 'Go!', thinking we'd be late. It was probably totally unnecessary, we were probably being over cautious. But we got on the plane and thought, 'Thank goodness for that'. I guess we'd got absolutely sick of dealing with the South Africans' bureaucracy, which is just dismal. It takes so long to get anything done, every little detail has got to be done and I think it was just a bit of pay back. It's probably one of the worst countries we went to for bureaucracy, so it was a little bit of a pay back.

They also related how on the same 1977 trip they managed to leave Rhodesia having changed all their Rhodesian savings into American dollars.

Roger: In Rhodesia we were earning good money. I was getting $300 or $400 (Rhodesian) a month and Shirley was getting something similar. [Turns and says to Shirley, 'Remember, we had to do a scam on that one as well'.] So, we were earning quite good money and we knew we were only allowed to take out $1000 (Rhodesian) at the end of it because that was the maximum you were allowed to get out of the country, and the Rhodesian dollar had no international exchange. You couldn't take the physical cash out of the country but lots of people were getting money out by going down to South Africa, buying krugerrands and bringing krugerrands back into Rhodesia and then selling them to Rhodesians who were trying to get their own money out so they could get out. So they would go to South Africa and buy a krugerrand for around 200

rand and take it into Rhodesia and sell it for $500 (Rhodesian) and you could make a lot of money doing that. But then all you end up with is a whole lot of Rhodesian dollars which is not going to get you anywhere. So we had all this money because we were living in this hotel place and it was costing us $60 a month to live in it and combined we were earning $500 (Rhodesian) plus a month, so we've got $440 a month, (all our food and everything was paid for) left over to splash out.

Shirley : And we managed to.

Roger: All this money that we had made in Rhodesia, we got it out, because we were going to take $1000 (American) out. American dollars I knew via the grapevine was very good black market money in Kenya, everybody was after American dollars. The day that we were to leave we went round all the banks and made applications to withdraw $1000 (Rhodesian) and got it converted to American dollars. We just went from bank to bank to bank, but of course they all stamped your passport and we smudged them all so that they couldn't read them. You'd get a stamp and before the ink dried, you'd pick up the passport, and you'd quickly smudge it so it wasn't legible. Then you'd go to the next bank and say, 'Listen, we are leaving tomorrow and would like to exchange these Rhodesian dollars for American dollars'. So, you fill out the applications and do the exchange and they stamp your passport and you'd quickly smudge it and go to the next bank.

On arriving after the plane flight from Rhodesia to Kenya, Shirley and Roger discovered that their luggage was missing, and so they took the opportunity to 'get some money out of the airline'. They also made money selling goods on their bus trip through Russia.

Shirley: And then from there we went to Kenya. We met this really nice couple on the plane when we were there and then we got to the airport in Nairobi and our bags didn't come off the plane. We didn't have anything to wear. Well, we did really, we actually had some stuff but we said that we hadn't. We went and got the money out of the airline.

Roger: We told them we didn't have any money but I always used to carry a little bit of cash. I took these American dollars into the country undeclared, I had them rolled up in this sleeveless shirt.

Shirley: When our bags got lost we said to the airline, 'We've got no money', and made this big sob story, and the people behind us heard all this story and said, 'Look, you poor old things. You had better come and stay with us'. There we were under false pretences and these people, Mr and Mrs Young, were so kind. We stayed with them for about two weeks, very nice people.

Roger: Yeah, we got a whole lot of money out of the airline, and we made a bit of money in Russia too from the black market.

Shirley: Yes, we sold a couple of pairs of jeans.

Roger: I bought some old work jeans in Norway which cost me $7 (American), and they were exchanged in Russia for 100 roubles, equivalent at the time to $150 (American). Of course, we had all these roubles and you can't take them out of the country. So, we had to spend it. We bought vodka and champagne and we just partied the whole time.

Shirley: We had the bus full of all these magnums of champagne and bottles of vodka.

Shirley and Roger explained that these 'scams' were practices that had been taught to them by other people who were travelling and working in various places. As had been done to them, Shirley and Roger passed this information on to others.

Roger: We schooled a few of these other people that had come straight from Aussie to the UK and straight onto a tour, and you certainly wised them up on the ways of the world. So we got them all going and had people trading plastic bags because plastic shopping bags, especially if they had a name on the side of them like Harrods, the Russians would take anything, any plastic bags even just like your ordinary old shopping bag. You could sell those and pantyhose and chewing gum ...

Shirley: We didn't know these things beforehand, we just learned them from other people. We'd sit round the youth hostel or the bar at night and they'd say, 'This is what you do'.

Roger: We went back and would tell them what we'd just done and someone else would just arrive and say, 'Really?'

Shirley: You just pick up on what other people do.

'Work for Travel' - Casualised Employment Undertaken as Part of an Overseas Experience

The experiences of the participants varied with regard to the work they had undertaken during this period; many of them used their skills to obtain nursing, teaching, nannying, physiotherapy and other work. Some opted for a variety of different jobs, depending on the places they wanted to travel to, and others found it difficult to obtain jobs that paid well enough to save money for travel either due to high levels of unemployment at the time, or not having the skills required to get the work.

London as a Work Base

For most of the participants I interviewed, London was the base from which to save money for further travel during their Overseas Experiences. Some of the participants travelled virtually directly to London from New Zealand and began working immediately, others travelled for some time first and then arrived in London to replenish their finances prior to another travel episode.

Drawing on his own experience of living in London in the early 1990s, Paul explained the motivation for many New Zealanders using London as a base for their Overseas Experiences;

Everyone's over there for the same reasons - to save up as much money as possible to go travelling, and then to come back and save up some more for travelling. Everyone there had much the same ideas.

Hannah, who was based in London during her three and a half years' Overseas Experience (between 1989 and 1993), talked of London in terms of a place to make money for further travelling, but she also expressed feeling that London was a 'home' to return to after travelling episodes.

I felt like when I went back to England it was like going home; it wasn't like travelling. When I was travelling, I was always quite exhausted and I used to lose a lot of weight. By the end of eight months I was ready to go back 'home' to England. I didn't want to stay any longer and usually I'd run out of money as well so I couldn't afford to keep travelling.

I asked Janice why she had chosen to make London her base for her Overseas Experience between 1988 and 1990.

Janice: Probably at the stage I went, I had heard from people that work was easy to get, in London. It was just the first place to go, I mean I'd start there and then I'd go somewhere else, so work was the main thing. I was quite into the work mode, I'd worked so much to get the money. At that stage, in 1988 in London, work was really easy to get and it was a good move to make. It would be different now I'd imagine.

Emily had returned to New Zealand from her Overseas Experience when I interviewed her in 1995, but was planning to resume it again in 1996. She emphasised that England was a good place from which to travel cheaply to many varied destinations.

New Zealand is so far away from anywhere and it costs you so much money just to get to another country. From England you can get to so many countries which are all

really close to each other but are all so different, for such a small amount of money and I really want to try to make the most of that.

Michelle 'virtually went straight to London' and made it the base for her Overseas Experience between 1991 and 1993. She had heard through friends that it was *'easy to get temping work there, and [she] had basic secretarial skills'*. She reflected on how difficult it would be to travel with money earned in New Zealand;

Going back holds some appeal, but I don't know if it would be working in London or just travelling, but it's just so hard on the New Zealand dollar isn't it?

Vicky Upton's article in the Massey University student newspaper, *Chaff*, endorses the statements made by both Emily and Michelle. Upton writes;

> *London provides an easy base from which to explore the rest of the world, and the world certainly is more accessible when you are earning pounds! I guess you don't realise how close together a lot of the world is, and how far away New Zealand is from so much of it, until you get to somewhere like Europe and drive across four countries in a day (1995:17).*

Some of the participants, like Bernard and Sarah, found that they could obtain accommodation which did not overly drain their travelling funds. For Bernard, who was based in High Wickham - *'about thirty miles out of London'* - accommodation came with the job.

The house I was living in was very, very cheap - I think it was £1.50 a week rent, they were virtually giving it to us, and so not that £24 a week was much, but I probably might have taken home £18 or something, and that kept me going in the weekends. I put some petrol in the old car and tootled off, you know, and I mean I didn't live in flash hotels or anything like that, so I was even able to save actually, because I've always been a pretty good saver, so it kept me going.

Sarah, who was based intermittently in London between the years 1967 and 1969, had several flats. Her first flat was in Kensington High Street, in the centre of London.

I joined a nursing bureau and did some private nursing around London, so I just got a flat in Kensington High Street, just a basement flat with a couple of English girls and myself. Eventually another New Zealander joined us as well, but you know, I shifted flats around quite a bit because every time you went away you weren't going to pay rent for six weeks or two months or whatever, you just decided that if you were going to be away well, you'd leave the flat and find somewhere else when you returned.

Others, like Isabelle and Greg, found living in London very expensive. Isabelle was there from 1977 to 1978. She made the point that, for her, the Overseas Experience (in particular, the time she spent in London) was associated with a specific time in her life.

Isabelle: It was quite hard work finding enough money to do the things you wanted to do. It would be different if you went over there with a reasonable amount already saved up, but actually working in London and trying to save to come home as well as saving to do the things that you want to do is quite hard work. The flat we were in then was £40 a week, and it was basically a one bedroom flat, but there were four people living in it - two in the living room and two in the bedroom. That was £40 then and that was 1978, so that's an awful lot of money. You see different things through different eyes at different ages - I wouldn't want to be slumming it in London now.

In Greg's case London, as a base for him in 1974, was excessively expensive. He was only able to find work there between travel trips for a few weeks before returning to New Zealand.

Greg: I was extremely careful about money because it was hard to earn and if you got some you could keep going and if you haven't got any, you can't. I wasn't in a position really to earn any, as it turned out. That was a bit distressing, I think. I didn't feel that I wanted to stay endlessly anyway. I think it would have been much more useful to have a skill that you could sell for reasonable money, and I think that 'reasonable money' would have to be that you acquired more than you were spending in any one week.. I did at one stage make thirty pounds a week, but even that wasn't enough to go anywhere. It was pretty bloody desperate if you were actually trying to survive for any length of time.

Participants Who Used Their Vocational Training for Work While on Their Overseas Experience:

Although for many of the participants their Overseas Experience was perceived as an opportunity to use the skills they possessed to gain work, for most of them this was not expressed in terms of promoting their careers.

Hannah trained as a nurse prior to her Overseas Experience. As she explained, she initially wanted to work in another capacity on arrival in London, but found that it would be in her interest, financially, to get a nursing position.

We moved into a flat with a friend of ours then set ourselves up for London life - got jobs. We got nursing jobs, even though we vowed and declared we wouldn't get nursing jobs, we wanted to do something different seeing that we were away. But we found that the money was really poor, or we weren't qualified for anything else apart from

barwork or waitressing which was poorly paid. So we stuck to nursing, through agencies. At the same time we were saving for our next trip.

Isabelle and Rachel (the latter who did her Overseas Experience in 1990) obtained secretarial work in London, having done similar type of work in New Zealand. For Isabelle temporary positions appealed because of the flexibility they offered. Both Isabelle and Rachel mentioned the long travelling times to and from work though as a disadvantage, but many participants conceded that this was just part of '*living in London*'.

Sarah had trained as a nurse in New Zealand. Like Hannah she had wanted to try another job, such as *'a barmaid in a hotel in the south of England'*, but discovered that jobs such as this were '*poor paying*' in England. Sarah therefore got nursing agency work in London. However, she found later that there was other work she could do that would take her to various places she wanted to travel to. In addition she also benefitted because the childcare work she gained in England and Italy paid extra because she was a trained nurse.

Sarah's first 'travelling job' was for six weeks and it involved looking after an English high-country, sheep-farming family, while they took their summer holidays in Sandwich and then in Wales. She described this time as *'quite fun'* although *'very, very lonely'*, with the three children aged from two to ten years proving '*a bit of a handful*'. She recalled that the family were *'very, very nice'* and *'although they were quite a well-off family they didn't flaunt their money around'*. Sarah remembered being taken to France for a day with them '*just for a meal of mussels*', having the midday meal cooked by the maid, and that the family had their '*own little ruined castle nearby*'.

Janice, who did her Overseas Experience in the late 1980s and early 1990s, also took on nannying work that allowed her some travel in that she too accompanied families on their vacations. For Janice this was an experience outside of her usual context at home in New Zealand.

Like Sarah, she remarked on the wealth of the families for whom she worked. She described her first opportunity to travel to France as part of the nannying job as giving her '*quite an opportunity*' which initially felt *'quite unreal'*. She explained this in more detail;

I had never seen wealth like that. I kept on thinking this was so strange for me - as somebody who had been working and every dollar had been closer to me getting away,

and here you had these people for which obviously money was no object. It was like 'Oh my God! I'm going to hang with these people for a while!' It was really exciting in that way.

The initial novelty of the job wore off when Janice found that the family expected more than just childcare (hard enough work in itself) was expected of her. Janice remembered that she was asked to entertain dinner guests with stories about her life in New Zealand. She recalled;

They liked hearing about the rituals - fish and chips on Friday nights and stuff like that. They liked the wacky kind of do-it-yourself image of New Zealanders I think. I used to emphasise the way we did things. Fish and chips were eaten off newspaper and you did blob the sauce on the corner and wipe it up with the chips and things like that.

On returning from France, Janice gained another nanny position with a Jewish family in Hertfordshire, north of London for three months. She described this experience as a *'really miserable time'*. Like Sarah, Janice stated that nannying was a lonely experience and very isolating.

Apart from nannying, Sarah was able to obtain work at an armed forces recreation base in Southern Bavaria, as a chambermaid in a hotel, in an effort to travel more. She was based in Bavaria with her friend, Biddy (a Christchurch woman whom she had met in her flat in Kelburn High Road after the nannying work), for *'two or three months'*. During this time they hitchhiked around the local area during their days off work.

Sarah recalled it as being *'a very interesting place with lots of areas with chateaux and castles which had been homes for kings and queens, and a lot of rococo and baroque architecture'*. She remembered that it was where *'the highest mountain in Germany is, so it's a mountainous region, really very pretty'*. Having no knowledge of German at all, and unable to share a room with her friend, who spoke *'schoolgirl German'*, Sarah recalled that she *'did pick up quite a bit'* while she was there.

Similar to her experience working and travelling in Germany, Sarah obtained a number of jobs in Israel on a kibbutz. Although *'it was quite a poor kibbutz'*, working there gave her what she described as *'a wonderful experience'*. She described some of the work she did while there;

At the time we were there they moved us around all the different areas, so we were either in trucks jumping down on cotton, or we were in chicken sheds holding chickens to be vaccinated, or we were in the kitchens helping cook meals. It was a good experience of communal living really. It was an Israeli kibbutz but they did have quite a

few students as well, it wasn't full of overseas students by any manner or means but there would have been thirty of us or something like that. It was hard work, honestly you worked a full day and you didn't get paid, it was just your keep.

After working on the kibbutz, Sarah and Biddy had enough money to *'travel around Israel for a week staying in youth hostels and then we caught a boat back to Greece going via Rhodes'*.

Italy was the other base from which Sarah worked and travelled a little as well. She and her friend obtained nannying jobs there for six months, Sarah was living and working '*in a big villa on the outskirts of Florence*'. While she was there, the family organised and paid for Sarah to have Italian lessons at the university, during the children's school day. This, and accompanying the family to the Dolomites on a skiing holiday, were two important opportunities Sarah took while working in Italy, to *'experience Italy'*.

After their time in Italy, Sarah and Biddy no longer sought to combine work with travel in an effort to see and learn about different places after their time in Italy. Their Overseas Experience was drawing to an end. On returning to England their '*main purpose then was just to sort of work for a few months and then go back overland, to India*'.

Sarah: We worked really hard and saved every cent. I worked in a children's home at Guildford. It was a nursing position. It was really the only way I could get enough money, and it was a live-in job, so I did earn quite good money on that and I was able to save just about everything really.

Shirley and Roger also worked as they travelled on their Overseas Experience from 1977 to 1980. Using their teaching training to secure jobs selling a pre-school educational package, they effectively travelled throughout most of South Africa during their six month stay there. They explained that they worked in South Africa illegally, because they 'only had three month holiday permits' which they extended.

Basing themselves in Johannesburg, Shirley and Roger bought a car and made the most of the opportunity to travel with their door-to-door selling work. They became managers of a team of salespeople, and were able to make more money through the commission earned from sales. Their efforts to sell the package was helped, they claimed, by '*being New Zealanders ...because the All Blacks had just been there the year before, and the All Blacks got beaten by the South Africans*'. They explained this experience in more detail;

Shirley: We used to go from two until five and set up appointments. They had to have the husband and wife at home. I could probably go into the patter now if I could really stretch my memory. You have your husband and wife home and say, 'OK, we'll come back at six o'clock.' Then each presentation would take an hour and you would have three presentations at night, so from five to six we had to go around and pick up everybody, go to the Wimpy bar for tea, go back, drop everybody off and pick them back up again at ten and see how many they had sold. That gave us a really good income.

I just cringe when I think about it now, but you were basically just dropped off on the corner in a town that you never knew. In those days apartheid was really quite strong and there would be me standing on a street corner underneath the light waiting to be picked up at ten o'clock at night, and on the other side of the street corner would be fifteen or twenty black people standing there - all the houseboys and the gardenboys, all standing there having their social time. It never even occurred to us that we were unsafe. I wouldn't even stand on a corner out here, but in those days ...

Anyway, we really did thousands of miles of South Africa - we went all round. Everywhere you could go we have been. Our aim was for an experience. We wanted to travel.

Roger: We went to all the obscure places too. For two reasons: one, we wanted to go there just to go to the unusual places, and also it was a lot easier selling in more of these obscure places because they weren't used to having door-to-door sales people. I think the job provided us with a reasonable living while we were there. We were living in a semi-luxury flat, living a lot higher than what we needed to. Not beyond our means so that we weren't saving **any** *money, but it wasn't costing us anything to see the whole country and we were able to travel right throughout the country and basically all our expenses were paid for through what we earned from the job.*

After six months Shirley and Roger were asked by the company who produced the educational packages if they would consider moving to Perth to become managers for a new company established there. They declined. As Roger explained, although '*it was very tempting... it was the wrong end of our trip*'. Shirley confirmed this, '*We had too much to do and too many places to see*'.

England, for Roger and Shirley, was a place where they predicted they could obtain jobs easily, and save more money for further travel. After their travel and work in Africa they headed to London, and worked and lived-in at a pub.

Roger: I think it was going to be a pleasant change to be in an English speaking country. We had gone through all the exercise of getting all the documentation done before we left New Zealand by getting my grandparents' birth certificates and all the drama that went with it, so all that was prepared and ready to go. We were getting very low on resources and we knew that if we got there - firstly, we had friends that I used to teach with which would be very supportive, and secondly we were pretty sure that we

could get work pretty easily and get accommodation pretty easily and we would be able to fit in. But England was pretty boring after what we'd been through.

Shirley: We never thought of anywhere else. England really meant London to us. We did a bit of sightseeing in London, just what we could see in our off days and we had half a day off a week or something so we didn't really get to see much of London. But we didn't have a burning ambition to see anything of England.

Roger: We went down to Wales to watch the All Blacks play rugby but we didn't do a lot.

Shirley: We needed extra accommodation. The bar job was just so ideally suited to what we wanted, and most of the staff were either New Zealanders or Australians. There were more foreigners behind the bar than there were English people. It was a little wee sub-culture that we just fell into and you would go to other bars and there would be other New Zealanders behind the bar, everybody knew everybody.

Roger: Yeah, which one was getting paid more and who got better food and everybody just shuffled round and you'd find other places that paid much better but the food might be lousy or you'd get another one that had really good food but the accommodation was lousy and you'd try and sort out what was best for your needs.[5]

Interested in seeing some of the United States, Shirley and Roger decided to combine work with travel, as they had done in South Africa, and applied for a job with Camp America. A primary attraction for them was that they did not have to pay for the flight there. As Roger stated;

It sounded like a good idea because they pay for your return ticket to the States and we could get there, say we're coming back, and not come back.

Shirley explained that they had learned how to water-ski while in Cyprus, and so convinced the Camp America officials at the interviews that they could be water-skiing instructors. They landed the job and were flown to the United States from Britain for the summer to work for Camp America in New Jersey with 300 others. On arrival the plan changed, as Shirley recalled;

It was a Jewish camp, I think that is why they put us there because we had some affiliation through the kibbutz. We got out there and they hadn't got a boat to water ski on, let alone needing water skiing instructors. Anyway, here we were and they decided that there was this one Round Lake and there was Long Lake. But, instead of working in Round Lake they set Roger and I up as managers of this Long Lake and Long Lake was a camp where people came for a week or a weekend or something, and so we were put over there to manage that. We were in charge of liaising with people, and making

[5] Other participants, such as Lee and Glen Pendergrast, also did barwork for the same reasons.

sure the food was on the table and all the gear was all right, looking after the kitchen and managing it really. That was a bit of a hoot.

Roger remembered an incident that occurred which tested their skills as managers shortly after their arrival;

There was one group there from Harlem and another one turned up from the Bronx. It turns out that they were basically rival gangs. In the dining hall they were both eating together, that was a mistake. We organised that, but we didn't know about these sort of things. One group at one end of the hall, and one group the other end of the hall, but the two groups met and as somebody was passing behind somebody else they tipped their plateful of food down the other guy's back. He picked his plate up and threw it, and within ten seconds the whole place was just a riot - kids jumping out windows and through doors! Within thirty seconds the whole place was emptied out, there was no one left, just upturned tables. The place was just smashed to smithereens. Sue and I were still sitting there with our platefuls of food in front of us.

Shirley: I'd dived under the table with the food going everywhere. They had to come back in and clean it up.

Roger: We couldn't believe what was going on, so we told these counsellors that they had to bring the kids back and clean it up. The counsellors went back and said to the kids 'You've got to clean it up', and the kids said, 'No way.' This was at lunch time, come evening meal time they were all trooping up to get their meal, but the place was still a mess. So, we said that there'd be no food until the place was cleaned up. The message finally got through and they got a meal late that night once the place was all cleaned up. Those two groups stayed on there and didn't have a single problem for the rest of the week.

As they had done in South Africa and Rhodesia, Shirley and Roger aimed to get the most out of every situation they were in - especially if this could help them to keep travelling costs down. When the time came to leave Camp America they had their departure well planned. They recounted this;

Shirley: We were there for the time, that Camp America time, and then we left about three days before the end of the camp season. We had bought a car by then, and we took off.

Roger: We filled the car up with a whole lot of food from the kitchen.

Shirley: We were making our own way to JFK airport, and then they would have stood there and called out our names and 'Oh no, not here'. By that time we were well gone. We never heard anything about it.

Bernard, like Shirley, Roger, and Sarah, used his skills to get himself a job outside of the area in which he usually worked. Bernard, who as stated earlier, lived and worked in High Wickham (near to London) in 1971, had trained as a printer. He explained that he *'had an interest in steam and a sort of an engineering background'* that *'got [him] the job of a maintenance fitter in the hospital'*. As a result of the time he'd spent working at the hospital he obtained a reference and was able to sit his steam ticket examinations when he returned to New Zealand. Bernard regarded this as a help to his career after his Overseas Experience.

Although he did not have a high cost of living while there he described the money he earned as enough to *'just keep me going'*. He explained that *'at this time, New Zealanders going to Britain had to have their return passage paid for, so that we did not get stranded there'*. With his return fare booked and paid for Bernard used what savings he had from his job to explore the surrounding area.

He worked for *'eight or nine months'* at this job and during this time bought a car and travelled around England staying in Bed and Breakfasts and visiting traction engine rallies. Sometimes, he recalled, Ken, the chief engineer who gave him the job, would come with him. On the whole, however, Bernard explained that this travelling around that he did was a novelty to his workmates and his boss.

You know, I'd say to the guys at work, now listen there's a rally on this weekend at so and so, whereabouts is that? And they'd point me in the general direction, and I'd say well how far is that? , and they'd say, 'Ooh, it's fifty mile' - and I'd say, 'Hell, fifty miles, that's not a problem'. And then the old chief engineer on Monday morning, he'd come in and he'd line me up and he'd say, 'Well Bernard, where'd you go in the weekend?' - and he would have to have a full report of where I'd been and what I'd seen, and he had this bad arthritis in his hands and they'd be like this [makes hand into a claw], and I'd tell him and he'd say 'Huh' - and away he'd go and he'd shuffle off out, and that was it until next Monday morning.

Bernard reflected on the different attitude to travel that he encountered amongst the men he worked with in High Wickham;

Certainly there were a lot of guys on the staff there that really hadn't been anywhere. They hadn't been to Europe, and you could throw a stone across the channel - and they hadn't been there. And I'm not quite sure why, whether they - no, I really don't know why, and I've often thought about that, and I really don't think it was purely and simply economics, just something about them as a group that don't travel like we do. I can't understand it really.

Lee and Glen had both trained as physiotherapists prior to their Overseas Experience which took place in the 1970s. They explained that their main reason for staying in London as part of their Overseas Experience was because it was '*easier to make money for further travel*'. Extending their qualifications in physiotherapy was not a priority then.

Glen: We saw a lot of the country, but it was always going to somewhere else. We only did one detour and that was a bit of a loop around to see Amsterdam. [We went there] purely for working really, no other reason. It was the 'done thing' anyway [to go to London for work]. Work did come into it but more from the point of view that you can't survive a few years away without working. So they were the days that it was commonly 'done' to work in the UK. My grandfather was born there, so I had a certificate of patriality on my passport, which really meant that I could come and go fairly easily. It just took a few days at the Home Office getting our passport visas extended.

Lee: It was work to holiday not sort of work to increase our academic record or to improve skills or further qualifications. It was purely for monetary gain. But it ***was*** *wider experience.*

Lee and Glen mainly did physiotherapy work through agencies in London. As Glen elaborated, this was a good opportunity for them to make money to travel.

There were physio journals, with jobs advertised in them, and there were a lot of locum agencies over there. We knew that was probably the only way to go while we were there working. The agency jobs were for places no self respecting British person would work; the scungy East End hospitals where people would rather not go. Sure, you could have worked at a more prestigious place there, but the locum jobs when we first went were quite high paying really. We weren't taxed at source which meant that basically no one bothered paying the tax there so we really got quite highly paid. If we got two half day jobs they paid even more there.

Bryson was based in London as part of his Overseas Experience in the early 1960s. He explained to me that he would have lost his superannuation rights in New Zealand, if he had been away for more than two years. This shaped not only the duration of an Overseas Experience for young New Zealanders at that time but more specifically in the context of living and working in a base like London, the types of employment New Zealanders sought. As Bryson put it;

About the only thing that New Zealanders thought about doing permanently over there, was playing rugby. (Laughs)

Bryson worked for most of his time in London as a teacher. He described arriving in London with his friend, Brian, getting a place to live and getting his first job there;

Well, we did what most young New Zealanders did in those days, you headed for Earl's Court, or 'Kangaroo Alley'. It was ridiculous wasn't it, going 12,000 miles to see other Australians and New Zealanders? We got a bed sitter and of course it was obligatory to call into New Zealand House because that's where all your mail was sent. Earl's Court was where everybody lived, but after a while you got so sick of it that once you got established you moved out. In our case it was Clapham Common, or out to Hampstead or whatever. We didn't spend too long at Earl's Court because we were actually looking for jobs, and in my case it was a teaching job. Once I tied down a teaching job, which wasn't that easy to come by but I eventually got one, then later on we shifted out to Northcote Road at Clapham [puts on a Cockney accent] - 'Down by the Junction mate'. There was Brian and myself and there were two or three others - we were all New Zealanders. Brian was also a teacher, but he didn't teach at the same school as I was at, he taught at some of the schools in inner London itself.

I got a job at St Mary's Secondary Modern School, which is the easiest job I've ever had, actually. I used to travel up and down by train each day, that was in Richmond, very close to one of the royal parks. It may have been eight or ten miles that I was travelling each day from home to work. I'd zoom down to the Richmond station, then hop off and get a bus back to the school. I was there for ten months.

On the 250th anniversary of the school they gave badges to the staff they were presented by none other than Richard Attenborough, who lived out of Richmond at that stage, and he gave the speech on that day. These badges went to each member of the staff, but the school chaplain missed me out the first time - he didn't give me one. So I went to see the school chaplain and he said, 'We don't give them to bloody colonials'. But eventually they did cough up with one.

However, like Sarah, Lee and Glen, at times Bryson obtained work other than that in which he was trained. He described one experience;

A job we had when we were running a bit short of cash, and the school was closed due to this bad winter was shovelling snow. Somebody came to the flat and said 'It's great money shovelling snow', so two or three of us went down and we worked for the Battersea Borough Council, shovelling snow. What a job! I'll never take that on again, as long as I live. The English, at that stage, were simply not geared up for bad winters. No double glazing, no insulation, unbelievable. And getting rid of snow? No fronted loaders or anything! We were shovelling the stuff into the Thames. And of course, what happened? The Thames flooded everywhere.

An '*absolutely fantastic job*' according to Bryson was working for the New Zealand High Commission for '*three or four months*'. He explained why he rated this job so highly;

My sister had worked for the New Zealand High Commission and she had some friends there and one of them rang up one day and said, 'Are you doing anything?' and I said, 'No' and they said, 'Would you consider working for the High Commission?' and I said, 'Well, I don't know. I'm not a diplomat or anything'. And they said, 'No. But there's a job in the New Zealand Navy for you.'

In those days of course New Zealand didn't go to Australia to have a frigate made, it was still very much Tyneside or Northern Ireland, Belfast and I think when I was there New Zealand was in the process in having built the frigate 'The Otago' and 'The Wellington' or 'The Canterbury', something like that, and of course everything the New Zealand Navy wanted done in the UK was done through these guys here [points to a photograph of the staff of the New Zealand High Commission in London taken while he was working there]. I had to organise New Zealand's part in that and I had other jobs besides organising that one.

I worked there during the time the United States of America discovered that the Russians had put missiles in Cuba and Kennedy threatened to get rid of them. I can tell you it is the truth, I can't prove it, but I was called in by Maurice Ashdown, and he said to me, 'You're working for the High Commission now. If the balloon goes up, if there's an outbreak of nuclear war, you'll have priority on a flight out of the United Kingdom. Have one suitcase ready.' I was in the right place at the right time and I used to go to work thinking, 'My God' and fortunately it didn't happen. But I can tell you the world does not know how close it came to a nuclear war over Cuba. Fortunately for everybody the Cubans sort of got the message and the Russians started to pull out these missiles.

Ethne outlined her personal aspirations immediately prior to her Overseas Experience in 1970;

First of all I wanted to train as a teacher and get my qualifications, and then have a trip, and then after that I'd worry about other things in life. But certainly they were two important goals that I had.

Also a teacher, like Bryson she did other work during her Overseas Experience. She reflected on her initial plan for working as part of her Overseas Experience and on what she actually ended up doing. Like most of the participants, Ethne experienced poor working conditions at times, but also the occasional interesting occurrence which, she acknowledged, made her working experiences special.

Originally that was my plan; I'd teach in England, which I did for a little while. But I just found that I wanted something that I didn't have to take home at night, and so I worked at a shop for a little while. After spending a year in London living in the north, in West Finchley where we flatted with Ted's friend, having been brought up in the country I found London was just too much for me. So I went to Scotland and worked in hotels. I started off as a chambermaid and I ended up doing restaurant and bar work. I

went to a place that was just out of Edinburgh, North Berrick, and worked in a tourist hotel there. It was quite near one of the major golf courses and they had some of the famous golfers staying there. I actually met Bob Charles. Someone said 'You've got to meet the New Zealand golfer'. So they brought him over to me.

Then I went to a little place up the West of Scotland, to a hotel. The staff accommodation was absolutely horrific, and the food was absolutely horrific. I'd been a bit spoilt I think at North Berrick because we were given whatever was on the menu for our food. But this place was just diabolical. The trouble was there was a bus once a week, so I had to work there for a week to get out again and it was the longest week I'd spent in my whole life! From there we'd go into the employment places and there were a couple of jobs going at Pitlochry, so I worked in a hotel there until I went on the trip to India really.

Margaret held mostly secretarial jobs in London in the late 1950s. She explained that she worked through an agency and *'was never without work'.*

We must have had about 12 or 13 jobs in London - and people were just wonderful to us. There were always jobs there, you went from one job to the next. You never really went without or anything - you lived modestly, but you didn't really go without, and there was always a job.

She described her perception of the attitude of London employers toward New Zealanders at that time;

They thought more of the New Zealanders than the Aussies then, and I think even now they don't have any problems getting work, do they? Well, what got me was we were willing in those days to do anything, I mean if it was invoicing or typing up statements or anything. Whereas, I found the girls I worked with, even going back then, they had a set job and if they weren't to do invoices they wouldn't do it. They were amazed at our attitude, that we were taught that you fill in a day no matter what you do, even if it was licking stamps. But the English girls I worked with then their attitude was, 'No, I come here to type that and I'm not licking a stamp on that', and no way would they say, 'Oh look, you're running late. I'll help you lick some stamps' or anything like that. You know, they would rather sit until their next lot of work came in. Whereas we were taught to fill a day no matter what and this is why I think it stood us in good stead, because we were never without work and we got wonderful references. This is all New Zealanders, not just me and my friend, and it's the same now isn't it, for young people? They will fill a day, won't they?

We had no problem with work, in fact it got embarrassing because they'd offer us permanent jobs and this is the decision we had to make, after two years. At the agency we had to do a typing test and then they actually sent me to an American firm at one stage which was most interesting and they wanted me to stay permanently but no, you just worked - it made you very unsettled when you came back because you'd had so many jobs.

We did work at the London Lions' Cornerhouses at night - there were a lot of those. So even then, we did not stop work, we worked hard to get there like you all do (referring to people doing the Overseas Experience now), but in our day a lot of people that went had a bit of money behind them. But we were like the average young person going now, we lived on the smell of a smell, and we worked in cornerhouses at night pouring teas.

In addition to office work in London, Margaret also worked in a variety of other jobs as she travelled around Britain. She waitressed in Edinburgh during the festival there, nannied for a family she met when she was hitchhiking on the Isle of Wight, and while hitchhiking in Cornwall obtained a job at a Cornish pasty bakery on Bodmin Moor.

Paul trained as a fitter/welder in Marton before he did his Overseas Experience in the late 1980s to the early 1990s. He was thinking of a career change at some stage in the future and stated that part of the reason for doing an Overseas Experience was to *'get out there and have a look around the world and perhaps find out what I wanted to do with my life'*. He explained this in more detail;

I expected to find myself really ... 'What am I going to do? What interests me? What things are important to me?' Before I went I was aware that I was stuck in small town New Zealand; I hadn't been aware on many different views on life, I was pretty conservative so when I went out there I was hoping that I'd be exposed to all these different things, and meet a whole lot of different people. When I travelled I was exposed to lots of different ideas, different people, different jobs and different environments, countries ... and so it gave me a good broad base to start with. It changed my life in that it directed me into what I'm doing now.

As Paul explained, the work he obtained in London was aimed at making money for travel. It was the travel, mainly, through which he sought a new direction in life;

Money from work was just a means to travel. My work wasn't to further my career or anything because I knew already then that I didn't want to do that for a career, so it was just for the money.

We [he and his sister] spent about a month there [in London] before we did a Eurail trip for about three months, and then went back to Holland for a while. By then the money was starting to get a wee bit low and so my sister and I headed over to London to find work. I worked off and on for about two years and then went on a trip down to the south of Europe to Spain and Portugal, and down to Morocco, Egypt, Turkey and to Greece. I spent quite a while in Greece, on Crete before returning to London again because I was running out of money.

He worked intermittently in London at a variety of trade-based jobs. Paul described the work that he did and some of his experiences working in London during his Overseas Experience;

I worked everywhere. I worked for agencies most of the time as a fitter/welder, or plumber, or pipe fitter - anything that was going, basically. I might be working on one job for a week in the South of London and then go to the North of London or the East End. I did find it difficult at times to find work. It wasn't as easy as everyone had said, and things were starting to get a bit tough in London at the time and so I did have a bit of trouble. I was out of work for about three months at one stage, but I got work in the end - sort of 'once you're in, you're in'. In total I worked a couple of six month stints. In New Zealand I was doing fabrication welding, and that sort of thing. In London I was doing anything. I was doing plumbing, I was doing fabrication welding, pipe fitting ... I had a really broad experience which was really good. I felt comfortable about going into any job and doing anything.

Paul's assumption about the different work ethos of his English workmates proved similar to that of Margaret's, 30 years previous. He stated, *'Basically Pommies don't know the meaning of work'* and recounted an incident which he felt exemplified this;

At one stage at a job I was working on a few of the lads I was working with were actually sacked for being late every day and so they just sabotaged the whole job basically, and we left a week later so we never told anyone either. We didn't care, we were just in it for the money really.

Participants Who Did Not Have Specific Skills to Obtain Work as Part of Their Overseas Experience

For those participants who did not have job-specific training, or who had training in work that was difficult to obtain, finding work which would earn enough money with which to travel could be difficult at times. Robyn, Greg and Janice all had experience of this during their Overseas Experiences.

Robyn and her sister had trained as seed analysts prior to embarking on their Overseas Experience in 1963. They planned to get work in Scotland and to stay with friends of the family, but found it impossible to obtain jobs there in the area of their speciality. They described their experience of trying to find work in Scotland, at a time in which they understood unemployment to be high;

We went to Scotland in February to get a job. By April we had a job, so it was about three months that we had to live with these people board free really. It meant our parents were sending money over and they sent some lamb, a whole lot of meat through

the Gear Meat Company. It was a bit embarrassing because we thought we could go over there and pick up a job straight away and you couldn't get a job, so it was really like it is here now or even worse because there just wasn't anything.

We were both at that time trained as seed analysts, there was only one seed testing laboratory in Edinburgh and they didn't want any more staff - it was such a narrow field that it was virtually impossible to get a job over there. Every day we would get on the bus and go to town and go around all the factories and say, 'Have you got any work?' They just didn't have anything, it was disheartening.

We couldn't get work for a month and when we did get work it was in the preserving factory in Carluke. It was not well paid, it was hard work, and long hours. But that was the only thing we could get, we were lucky to get that, we only got that because Mother wrote over to the manager and said, 'Please take my daughters on'. Unemployment was so high that they didn't employ foreigners and people from the Antipodes before they employed their own, so it was virtually impossible to get a job. We were paid £5 a week, £2'10 went for board and 10 shillings went on the bus fares so we were only left with £2, it wasn't very much really.

Robyn described the work environment they experienced at the factory in Carluke, comparing this to what she had known in her work in New Zealand;

We worked in terrible conditions. We had worked in a nice neat little laboratory where you turned up at eight o'clock and went home at half past four, and never got your hands dirty or wet, and we ended up going to this place which was made of stone. The walls were about a foot thick, there was no glass in the window. It was in the middle of winter, and we had to get dressed up in our gumboots and funny old hats and funny old wrap around green thing, and start off with ... slicing the beetroot which had to then be put into jars, three pieces around the outside and the rubbish in the middle. All the pipes were open to the ceiling, you know, and they were all dripping water, and the machine made an absolutely dreadful noise all day.

But they'd switch us around. First of all we had the beetroot, and our hands were all stained red, and the stink of vinegar was shocking, and then we went on to scraping the carrots which meant you had to scrape the skins off the carrots, and then we went on to the rhubarb machine which was a great big dangerous thing. You had to sort of feed this rhubarb in and it shredded it. But the rhubarb is not like ours, it's like this (holds hands out wide), and you had to cut it with a big machete. Terrible. Absolutely dreadful work. And then we'd have these four revolting meat paste sandwiches to get us through all this hard work.

Then we went into another part of the factory which was dealing with dates which had come from Morocco, and they were in big clumps, and when you broke them open they were all alive with maggots I suppose, or some sort of little worm. We said to the manager, 'Look, you can't put these into packets!' and he said, 'What are you complaining about woman?', and we said 'Look' and he said 'Whip them in your

fingers, ladies. Whip them in your fingers'. I'll always remember that. Oh, for goodness sake! I've never touched a date since then.

And then they decided to put us on overtime, which went to half past nine at night. So that was working from seven in the morning until half past nine at night. And that was labelling the tins. They'd come shooting down a big thing, and you'd catch them, wrap the label around and put them in a container. And then we'd get on the bus, a double decker red bus going back from Carluke to Lanark, we'd be falling over asleep. And then we'd have to get up the next morning and go back and do it all again. Some of those people were doing that for fifty years of their life. We were lucky because we had two days off in the weekend. Some of them didn't even have that.

Robyn has more positive memories of the people she got to know while she was working in the factory. She kept in contact with some of them and visited them when she returned there in 1986.

We had a good experience with those people we worked with in Scotland, because even though it was sort of factory work and they were quite poor people, they had hearts of gold, you know. And they did everything for us. They gave us a lovely farewell party. We've got it all on tapes. A lot of them have gone now, you know. I did take a trip to Carluke to find this woman that was our best friend. But she was such a bright, happy person, I don't know how old she would have been then, about thirty-five or thirty-six. Little short dumpy lady with glasses, and full of fun, and so funny and happy. But when I saw her she was really quite depressed and her husband had died and she was remarried, and the chap she had married was a drunkard and she had her children's children's children, all just around home. They had no work, her family were this chain of unemployed. So her lot hadn't turned out very happy.

Greg had no specific training when he left New Zealand on his Overseas Experience. He found that the only unskilled work he could obtain in London in 1974 was poorly paid and insufficient to live on and accumulate savings. He recounted his experience of this;

I was 19 when I left. I think, in a lot of ways, I was too young, also because I wasn't trained for anything. When I got to Europe I had two pairs of shorts and two shirts and that was it. I got a job in Harrods pub. I had to work in the sub sub basement because I had to work somewhere where I could wear shorts to work which was quite funny. I could do construction type of stuff but when I was in London I was making 20 quid a week on a construction site just as a labourer, but I was spending more than 20 quid a week to live, and I was just dossing down on someone's floor and so it was just ridiculous. I went into New Zealand House a number of times, but I went in once and I got an ad. from a person up north who wanted someone to help with the harvest, and I went up there and it was raining.

Quite quickly I thought, 'Nah', that was part of the reason for coming back early too. There just wasn't a hell of a lot of point, I couldn't earn enough money to look after myself. I think, in terms of staying anywhere you need to be able to make reasonable dough and I couldn't.

As mentioned earlier in Chapter Three, Janice described her life with regard to work during her Overseas Experience as 'very transient'. She worked as a nanny, a cook, a shelver in a supermarket, a gardener, and a waitress. Janice found that although she had no training at the time she was on her Overseas Experience during the late 1980s and early 1990s, she could obtain enough work, when she wanted it, to save for travel. Generally, the work she did was not well paid but it served her purpose. She recalled;

It was fun to begin with because it is really easy money - it's hard work, but anyone can do it. You could pick up jobs no problem.

Unlike many of the participants, Janice's Overseas Experience was very much something that she undertook on her own, choosing not to live in a 'Kiwi flat' (a flat with other New Zealanders). Isolation and loneliness were feelings that Janice associated with most of the jobs that she undertook in London. After two years of working intermittently in Britain at unskilled jobs Janice decided to finish her Overseas Experience.[6] She described how she felt at this time;

I remember being tired of working for the wealthy people. I got tired of wringing mops out of buckets and scratching bits of black stuff off lino squares.

The casual work that participants undertook as part of their Overseas Experience was generally acknowledged as work that had a definite purpose. That is, it was sought for the purposes of accumulating financial resources with which to travel. While some of the participants recounted interesting opportunities which arose through the work they gained, there was a sense that this work had a definite time limit and was connected to a particular time in the lives of these participants, not forming the foundation for future career paths. Some of the participants, as a consequence of their Overseas Experience in general, and not the specific work they had undertaken as part of this, decided to pursue tertiary study once they returned to New Zealand. As Janice stated;

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6 By 'unskilled work' I mean here the type of work that does not require specific training. I do not mean to imply that the people who perform this type of work do not possess skills.

I looked through a book to decide on an 'ology' that I might do. I thought I might do psychology and then I thought sociology because I knew about people - now that I'd been away I'd met lots of people. I enrolled at Canterbury University and have been here in Christchurch ever since.

CHAPTER FIVE

'OVERSEAS EXPERIENCE' AS RITE OF PASSAGE

What gives value to travel is fear. It is the fact that, at a certain moment, when we are so far from our own country ... we are seized by a vague fear, and the instinctive desire to go back to the protection of old habits. This is the most obvious benefit of travel. At that moment we are feverish but also porous, so that the slightest touch makes us quiver to the depths of our being ... This is why we should not say that we travel for pleasure. There is no pleasure in travelling, and I look upon it as an occasion for spiritual testing ... Pleasure takes us away from ourselves in the same way that distraction, as in Pascal's use of the word, takes us away from God. Travel, which is like a greater and graver science, brings us back to ourselves (Camus, 1963:13-14).

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will consider how Van Gennep's original model of rite of passage has been adapted by anthropologists and sociologists working in the fields of pilgrimage and tourism. I will demonstrate that it is through an understanding of the formative experiences outlined in previous chapters, together with reflection on identity, that the Overseas Experience for these participants is a practice which can be characterised as a Pakeha 'rite of passage'. Following this consideration of the Overseas Experience as a rite of passage, I will discuss the ramifications of this in the context of 'cultural' identity - specifically, the characteristics that suggest this is a practice undertaken in certain ways by Pakeha New Zealanders.

Crick (1989:332) observes that tourism is an odd anthropological subject given that international tourists are *out* of culture in that they are not members of the culture of the place of their destination and neither are they within the bounds of their 'normal social reality' - they are in what has been termed by Lett (1983) a 'ludic' or 'liminoid' realm. What is important in an Overseas Experience is not only what happens 'out there' in this liminoid realm but what this means at the level of self and what that interpretation means at the level of cultural identity. The Overseas Experience - and indeed tourism as

a whole, as suggested by Crick (1989:328) - is very much about *our* culture and one of its most central rites of passage.[1]

Adler (1989:1378, 1379) claims that analysis of a style of travel [or tourism] must attend to the conventions of performance and self-imposed prohibitions, however implicit, of those who sustain it. What I have loosely termed 'out there' experiences are those expressions of experiences (conventions of performance) had as part of an Overseas Experience which were subsequently recounted as narratives of 'special' importance to the participants. The preceding chapter presented some of those recounted experiences grouped into wider themes common to other O.E. participants.

Through reference to and analysis of the narratives presented in Chapter Four I will demonstrate that through being 'out of culture' people engaged in an Overseas Experience are involved in a process of re-defining and re-creating their identity, culturally. Graburn (1983:29) states;

> *Styles of tourism may be leading indicators of fundamental changes taking place in national or class culture, changes which may be latent in the more restricting institutions of the everyday world, because tourism is that short section of life in which people believe they are free to exercise their fantasies, to challenge their physical and cultural selves, and to expand their horizons .*

His statement points to an essential feature in the practice of tourists - freedom to experience. This is of paramount importance for the Overseas Experience participant. But *experience* what? My argument in this chapter is that tourists engaged in an Overseas Experience share experiences which are understood by them to be 'out of the ordinary'. My research indicates that these 'peak' experiences form the essence of what an Overseas Experience means, not just for these participants, but for many young Pakeha New Zealanders who have undertaken an Overseas Experience.

Applying Rite of Passage to the Context of Tourism

This section analyses the Overseas Experience as a rite of passage. In doing so it examines, in particular, the work of Graburn, the Turners, and Cohen; all of whom have been influenced by, or have directly drawn upon 'rite of passage' to inform their

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[1] Bruner's (1995:230) data suggests that the tourists he did fieldwork with 'may have had more experience of the tour group than an experience of Indonesia.' '... there is no doubt that the cultural content, the knowledge of Indonesia, is acquired within the context of the tour group, and this is one of the most important things about the entire experience.'

research. It also refers to the research overviewed in Chapter One concerning pilgrimage, ritual, and rite of passage. Taking each of the five main themes which emerged from my interviews with Overseas Experience participants, I will consider their implications in terms of 'rite of passage'.

Freedom From Social Commitments and Perceived Restraints Associated With the Home Context

A theme which permeated the interviews I conducted with participants was that of a perceived sense of freedom during the time of their Overseas Experience.[2] This 'freedom' was associated with youth, lack of commitments, and the understanding that an Overseas Experience was a temporary practice which could involve 'once in a lifetime' events. Importantly, freedom acted as a catalyst for the occurrence of other experiences (recounted in the ensuing themes) associated with this period away from the home context.

Most of the participants in this study were between the ages of 20 and 25 when they left New Zealand on their Overseas Experiences. They indicated that this was generally an experience sought by people who were not yet married. Participants who did their O.E. in the 1950s and 1960s emphasised that this practice usually occurred prior to marriage. Some of the participants who travelled during the 1970s were married at the time of their Overseas Experiences, but stated that this was not common and that they were regarded more as unmarried people, due to their behaviour. Those participants who did their Overseas Experiences during the 1980s and 1990s tended not to mention marriage in relation to their O.E.

There was a general understanding among some of the participants that their outlook on life had been different during the time of their Overseas Experience, when they were 'young'. This was expressed in terms of feeling that fitness and health were at a peak during this time in their life, that they felt able to persevere with uncomfortable living conditions, and that they had more energy and motivation for facing new challenges confronted on their Overseas Experience. Many participants also commented that the opportunity to actually have an O.E. might not be there in the future due to 'commitments'. Indeed, lack of commitments, was cited by participants as one of the major features associated with the freedom they experienced while on their O.E.

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2 Recall, freedom is also mentioned in Chapter Three in reference specifically to the identification with 'being free'. The focus in this chapter moves on from identity to practice.

'Commitment' was expressed by participants in relation to marriage, having children, owning a house, and building a career. Many of the participants expressed that it was this freedom from commitments which allowed for spontaneity, living for the present, and control over their own destiny.

Significantly, the freedom that allowed an Overseas Experience to occur had its limits. Most of the participants recalled an understanding (usually at the outset of the experience) that their Overseas Experience was an event that had a temporary lifespan. Most of them expressed this in terms of their O.E. being a 'once only' event in their lives, that they associated with 'being young'. There was a general assumption that it was the energy and motivation required for the O.E. and the experiences associated with freedom during this limited time that made the Overseas Experience a highlight in many of the participants' lives.

Van Gennep's model of rite of passage has been directly applied to the anthropological study of tourism by Nelson H. H. Graburn. Graburn uses the concept of 'freedom' in analysing tourism as a form of secular ritual. He claims that touristic time is non-ordinary and hence similar to sacred time in religious settings, that is, tourism interrupts the flow of profane time. Underlying this is the implication that tourism, in many contemporary societies, fulfils functions once met by sacred (or more precisely supernatural) rituals.[3]

Like MacCannell (1976), Graburn (1977, 1983) considers tourism to be the 'pilgrimage of modern times' (Cohen, 1992:48).[4] Tourists, he asserts, move from a structured state of experience to a liminal state and back. Indeed, he considers tourism to be the epitome of *freedom* and personal choice characteristic of Western individualism.

Of particular influence on Graburn's work in this area were Leach (1961), Turner (1969, 1974), and Huizinga (1950). Drawing on Leach's (1961) work on the rites of reversal of the ordinary behaviour roles during the period of liminality and Turner's (1969) analysis of transition rituals, Graburn suggests that tourists go through a process of inversion during their touristic odyssey. This inversion process occurs at the liminal phase of the touristic rite of passage, during 'secular time' when tourists are 'free' to

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3 Graburn draws on Moore and Myerhoff's (1977) *Secular Ritual,* which demonstrates that ritual does not have to pertain to religion.

4 Other ensuing studies of tourism with consideration to play, ritual and liminality include Wagner's (1977) research on Swedish tourists at a Gambian beach resort, Moore's (1980) work on Walt Disney World in Florida, Lett's (1983) research on yacht tourism in the Caribbean, and Passariello's (1983) study of Mexican vacationers.

experiment and challenge their understandings of their cultural selves (Graburn, 1983:29).

In this respect Graburn's understanding of tourism can be seen as similar to Huizinga's conception of play. Huizinga claimed that play is;

> *... a free activity ... outside ordinary life ... connected with no material interest ... with its own boundaries of time and space .. [which] promotes the formation of social groups (1950:13).*

This enabled Graburn to apply analytical insights to the study of recreation, or more pointedly 're-creation', given that Graburn does not see tourism as a frivolous pursuit. For Graburn, tourism (like play) is a;

> *... ritual expression - individual or societal - of deeply held values about health, freedom, nature and self-improvement, a recreational ritual which parallels pilgrimages ... (Graburn, 1983:15).*

Tourism shares with play the aspects of removal from the normal rules, of limited duration and unique social relationships, and of the feelings of immersion and intensity that Turner characterised as 'flow'. Tourism and games are rituals which both differ from and reinforce certain aspects of the structure and the values of everyday life. Freedom allows tourists opportunities to transcend social structural normative limitations, and to play with ideas (Turner, 1977:42).

In conceiving of tourism as a rite of passage, freedom (and its associated playfulness) is understood by Graburn (1977, 1983, 1983b) and Cohen (1982, 1984, 1985) (also Wagner, 1977; Lett, 1983; Gottlieb, 1982; and others) to occur at a liminal point in the touristic episode.[5] These studies emphasise the antithetical character of the touristic moment as compared to ordinary life. In the former, normality is suspended and the individual is temporarily freed from his or her ordinary preoccupations. Life is experienced as 'out of time and place'.

The concept of liminality has been used thus far without question, having been taken from Van Gennep's original model and applied to analysis of ritual in a religious context such as pilgrimage. Turner and Turner (1978:231) however, suggested that in a 'modern' context where activities of individuals during 'free time' tend to be voluntary, the notion of 'obligatory liminality' is really 'optative liminoidity'. Liminoidity is, as

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[5] The work of Lett (1983) and Cohen (1984) emphasises particularly the ludic and liminal existence in some touristic styles as a temporary release from everyday life.

Cohen (1988:43,44) summarises, often secularised, plural, fragmentary and experimental.

Cohen (1988:40) has been critical of those researchers of a Turnerian approach who tend to conceive of all tourists as ludic, for over-generalising. I find though, that there is much to suggest that ludicity experienced in a liminoid space is indeed an appropriate means through which to construct an understanding of the episode of an Overseas Experience. Taking the first theme of the interview data - freedom from social commitments associated with the home context - I suggest that it is this experienced freedom that sets up the conditions whereby special experiences comprising an O.E. can be attained.

Significantly, participants related the freedom they sensed during their Overseas Experiences to 'lack of commitments', in particular to marriage, owning a house, having children and developing a career. This suggests that this experience is dependant on a suspension of activities which could be considered appropriate for the home context. More than merely a separation from the normal social context in a physical sense, participants needed to engage in separating from the patterns of behaviour which might be deemed appropriate for them as New Zealanders in their 20s and seek experiences other to these. This correlates with the separation phase of a rite of passage prior to, and a prerequisite for, a liminal phase outside of the normal social context.

Alongside of the understanding that freedom involved surrendering commitments, was the knowledge that this was a unique and temporary practice associated with a specific time in one's life (usually the early to mid 20s). In terms of rite of passage, it is crucial that the freedom associated with an Overseas Experience is experienced as temporary - sustained freedom would not allow participants to return and integrate back into their home context.[6]

The notion of freedom as temporary was maintained by an assertion by participants that they had a different 'outlook on life' during their Overseas Experience. This was associated with feelings of high motivation and energy related to peak fitness and health, interest in new challenges, perseverance with uncomfortable living conditions, and behaving in ways accepted by other Overseas Experience participants (one couple claimed that they were regarded as unmarried people due to their behaviour), and most importantly being 'young'.

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[6] Returning from an Overseas Experience was fraught with difficulty for many participants. A separate study of this adjustment would be an interesting exercise, perhaps making a comparison to anthropologists returning from fieldwork.

Participants concluded that freedom allowed for spontaneity, living for the present, and controlling their own destiny and made the O.E. a 'highlight' for them. If freedom is considered as determining the existence of an Overseas Experience I would also suggest that it is the central feature by which all other experiences in an O.E. are constructed. It is the thread that binds the collection of liminoid experiences together and shapes this collection into *an* Overseas Experience. The loss of this sense of freedom (commonly after two or three years) for participants of an Overseas Experience necessitates the return to their normal social context in New Zealand.

Adventures Involving (Often Physical and Sometimes Life-Threatening) Risk

Participants' narrative accounts of adventures while on their Overseas Experience revealed that risk was involved for participants or their companions. Their accounts identified risks associated with hitchhiking, attacks, war zones and illness.

For most of the participants hitchhiking was revealed to be the preferred mode of transportation. It was relatively easy to obtain, cheap (free), and for many it reaffirmed the sense of independence and freedom sought through travelling. Participants knew, however, that there were associated risks with hitchhiking. The participants identified risks from the driver, from other passengers, and from other circumstances associated with the ride such as unfamiliarity with the location. Despite this it was generally understood to be an appropriate practice for men in most travelling contexts, although for women this was expressed by some as 'too risky' in certain circumstances (such as a woman hitchhiking on her own, or hitchhiking in Muslim countries).

Many of the participants recalled that successful risk-taking through hitchhiking gave them a sense of accomplishment. Some emphasised that through trusting strangers one could obtain experiences that were rare and special, such as meeting and staying with local people.

Experiencing attack was expressed as a risk that was either encountered by or perceived as a possibility for some of the participants. The experiences of participants ranged from attacks which may have been life-threatening, such as Hannah's account of being drugged and held against her will for several days while in Pakistan, to Joyce's taking precautions against unwanted behaviour by ensuring that she was accompanied by male companions in Muslim countries. While some of the participants recalled that they had felt uncomfortable, angry or frightened at these times during their Overseas

felt uncomfortable, angry or frightened at these times during their Overseas Experiences, it was evident that these feelings did not obscure the Overseas Experience from being an overall positive event.

Many of the participants at some stage in their Overseas Experience travelled through places which were experiencing political conflict. States in Africa, the Middle East, India, and the former East European Bloc were mentioned as places where participants had travelled at times of war or political unrest. Participant accounts revealed that political conflict was a foreign experience; outside of the familiar contexts of this cohort. There was however, mixed reactions to these experiences. Some participants found that they felt relatively safe and removed from any danger due to being an outsider, while others found that these were extremely frightening situations, which they tried to avoid.

Most of the participants for this research reported experiencing some forms of illness while on their Overseas Experiences. Many of the participants mentioned the familiarity with which they had talked about their health problems to other 'travellers' when 'on the road'. Indeed, experiences of ill health while travelling often turn into popular travel stories that are told time and time again. Especially while travelling in developing countries, gastro-intestinal complaints were common for most people at some stage in their travel. Often bouts of diarrhoea and vomiting were laughed about later with others who had shared a similar fate, but at times illness could impact seriously on the experience of participants who perceived it as putting their enjoyment, and sometimes even their lives, at risk.

Illness was perceived as a risk which could, and at times did compromise an Overseas Experience. Like other risks, however, in retrospect these were not remembered with solemnity. The incidents of ill health instead formed part of the whole Overseas Experience, adding to the sense of adventure with which participants recalled their Overseas Experience.

In Chapter Three it was suggested that Cohen's (1972) typology could be useful in the consideration of the issue of identity with regard to Overseas Experience participants. Cohen's (1972) 'explorer' category of tourist would be the most useful for considering those Overseas Experience participants who emphasised independent travel as part of their O.E.[7] However, as mentioned earlier, these categories are narrow constructs which

[7] Recall, an 'explorer' type of tourist will generally try to avoid the places which attract mass tourists. S/he will seek accommodation which is comfortable and transportation which is reliable. Cohen (1972:175) emphasises the difference between 'explorers' and other forms of institutionalised tourists is at the level of experience of

regard only the practices of tourists *while* they are tourists. They do not consider the contexts surrounding their becoming tourists or the return to a non-touristic social context.

Significantly, the use of tourist categorisation as a means to interpret the experiences of Overseas Experience participants will not reveal much other than to describe tendencies of behaviour patterns, in relation to other tourist categories. I suggest that what needs to be done is to look *behind the apparent* experiences of the Overseas Experience participants to what is revealed about the Overseas Experience as a whole. Turner (1969) and Turner and Turner (1978) suggest that rituals and symbols may not be obvious to outside observers. Treating the Overseas Experience as a rite of passage - we must look critically at activities involved in this process; for example, an examination of how participants travelled from place to place revealed that this was mostly hitchhiking, which in turn involved behaviour such as risk-taking.

Participant accounts revealed that hitchhiking, the preferred method of obtaining transport, involved known risks, yet it carried with it a sense of accomplishment related to a reaffirmed sense of freedom and independence, and the attainment of rare and special experiences. This paradox was also evident with regard to the risk for participants of personal attack, exposure to political conflict, and ill health. Of the former situation participants reported feeling uncomfortable, angry, and/or frightened at times, yet this did not appear to mar the overall impression of the O.E. which was undeniably positive. While there was a mixed response from participants with regard to political conflict, most regarded these circumstances as dangerous and their presence there as out of their usual realms of experience. Some expressed this feeling of being outside the situation in terms of absolute fear, others felt unthreatened because of this. Health risks were never reported as being a reason not to consider going on an Overseas Experience, although this risk is very common especially in developing countries, and it did pose the threat of serious physical illness and possibly even death. The dangers and annoyance factors were recalled but also sickness was talked about as a source of common ground with other travellers, and developed into shared stories. Importantly these remembered incidents did not obscure the Overseas Experience as being an overall positive event.

It appears that the overall Overseas Experience is not just perceived as a positive event *despite* these risks but also *because of* them. That is, the participants' Overseas

from 'drifters' who are less detached than the former, attempting to identify with local people on an emotional rather than an intellectual level, or even to, as Cohen (1972:175) interprets, 'become one of them.'

It appears that the overall Overseas Experience is not just perceived as a positive event *despite* these risks but also *because of* them. That is, the participants' Overseas Experience benefits from this risk-taking behaviour. Recall in Chapter Three, Riley's (1989) research confirmed that self-testing appeared to accurately depict the style of tourism engaged in by long-term budget travellers.[8] Her research found that the primary difference between budget travellers and mass tourists was the derivation of status. Budget travellers experienced ego-enhancement from attaining the best value; this was associated with experiencing hardship. Riley (1989) stresses that long-term budget travellers undergo a quest for novelty, variety, exoticism, and good value, which makes them a different type of tourist.[9]

Overseas Experience participants who undergo risks derive a status as accomplished travellers, and return home as New Zealanders who have 'done their O.E.'. This risk-taking is self-testing and marks the Overseas Experience as an event that involves the undertaking of challenges by participants. As such, it enables the participant to have a central and active role in creating his/her own experience and becoming a hero in specific adventures which form part of the Overseas Experience. As Morinis (1992:22) said of a pilgrimage, an Overseas Experience 'is a personal act, giving rise to the traveller's personal impressions and experiences'.

Graburn (1977, 1983) claims that self-imposed touristic forms of rite of passage are personally meaningful in modern societies which do not impose enough satisfactory rites of passage for people to mark the progress and vicissitudes of their lives (1983:12-13). He adds;

> *... such tourism often consists of prolonged absences, often arduous, which are a kind of self-testing wherein the individuals prove to themselves that they can make the life changes, in the same way that the ordeals and spirit quests of traditional societies prove to the rest of the social group that a person is ready and capable of assuming the new status expected of them (1983:13) .*

Michael Jackson (1996) suggests that the very structure of narrative is grounded in the structure of journeying. As they were in their journeys, participants of an Overseas Experience are also the heroes of the stories that are told about their Overseas

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8 Like Graburn (1983), Riley 's (1989) research findings also suggest that play is significant in tourist behaviour. She claims that budget travellers play with identity .

9 Vogt (1976) suggests that status is conferred on those who travel to exotic destinations, and experience difficulty in getting there.

and re-creation of the original experience and emphasis given by participants to specific events, such as hitchhiking, attack, political conflict and illness, perpetuate an interest in and understanding of the Overseas Experience in the home context. This is important in developing an acceptance of this practice, in the home context, as an institutionalised activity.

Initially it may seem ironic that Graburn's notion of tourism embraces the idea of tourism as a form of play - a freedom from the commitments associated with daily routines and responsibilities, a time to be carefree and to pursue activities for pleasure rather than necessity - while also claiming that tourism is a rite of passage - a self-testing undertaken often by the young and involving sometimes arduous and difficult experiences. The synthesis of these two ritualistic aspects of the practice of tourism, however, makes for a broader, more inclusive picture of the touristic experiences of Overseas Experience participants. Importantly, the accounts of Overseas Experience participants reveal that their practice is a complex integration of both 'play' and 'work'; freedom and constraint. An Overseas Experience is constructed through playing with identity; a re-creation that can involve, and *needs to involve* risk-taking.

Perceptions of Excitement and Fascination Through New (Often 'Once in a Lifetime') Experiences

Excitement and fascination were sensations that were associated with events considered highlights of the Overseas Experiences by most participants. Participants recalled feelings of excitement and fascination with respect to contexts they considered 'strange' and also to more familiar contexts.[11]

Reactions to contexts considered strange were recalled by Joyce, Lynette, Hannah and Robyn. Joyce and Lynette remembered feeling quite alien to situations in which they found themselves; both recalled the perception of being one of few Westerners to be in those places at that time. Joyce recalled that part of the excitement for her and her friend at Angkor Wat in Cambodia was feeling that they were like *'the first people to ever find it'*. For Lynette her experience in Timor was expressed as '*culture shock*' and described in terms of *'a bombardment of the senses*'.

[11] By 'strange' I refer here to that which is unfamiliar to the participant; outside of the participant's usual social context.

ever find it'. For Lynette her experience in Timor was expressed as '*culture shock*' and described in terms of *'a bombardment of the senses'*.

Different experiences in strange contexts were considered part of *the* whole experience of an O.E. by several participants. Hannah described in detail her recollection of taking cactus juice, which she understood to comprise an important element of her *'South American experience'*. Similar to Hannah's emphasis on *the* experience to be had, Robyn reflected on London being *the* place to be when she arrived there on her Overseas Experience during the 1960s. While experiences involving excitement and fascination in strange contexts could be 'unnerving', 'shocking', and frightening experiences, they were often special, because, as Robyn reflected, it was the first time, and things are often more exciting when one is young.

For participants who had been based in London as part of their Overseas Experience during the 1950s and 1960s the well known West End shows were recalled as exciting events.[12] 'Making it big' in London was the aim for many New Zealanders and Australians in the entertainment industry and it was during the 1960s that Australian Rolf Harris became popular in Britain. He was popular also amongst the community of Australians and New Zealanders based in London on their Overseas Experiences, because he represented something of a symbol of common identity. Margaret and Bryson both met Rolf Harris and sang on recordings with him. For them this was a different experience but one that affirmed a sense of communalism with other New Zealanders and Australians outside of their home contexts at this time.

Other participants found it exciting to bring knowledge to an unfamiliar context which assisted understanding in some ways. Joyce found that her knowledge of French enabled her to communicate with others who also understood French as their second language. She remarked that her studies had also given her tools to enable her to appreciate French architecture during her Overseas Experience. Emily's awareness of her Scottish heritage as she crossed the Scottish border was also an experience of excitement.

Cohen's (1979a, 1979b, 1987, 1988, 1992) modes of touristic experiences are useful for considering participants' experiences with familiar and strange contexts, as outlined with regard to excitement and fascination. There are, however, problems with a direct transposition of Cohen's modes of touristic experiences onto a conception of an Overseas Experience, as will be explained.

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[12] London was considered to be the centre for such internationally acclaimed 'cultural' events at this time.

chaos'. The 'world' of any given culture and society is not clearly bounded; the cultural inheritance of one society is often appropriated by, and made part of other cultures (Cohen, 1979:191). Importantly, states Cohen, centres are 'traditional' or 'elective' only relative to a given point in history (Cohen, 1979:191). Hence such a centre may be extraneous to a person's culture of origin, her/his society's history, or her/his biography. However, it may also be a traditional centre to which s/he, or her/his 'people' had been attached in the past. Such travellers, suggests Cohen (1979:191) may re-elect their traditional centre.

In this 'world' of 'centres' and 'other' Cohen understands there to be two movements - a movement toward the Centre; and a movement toward the Other. These movements are conceptualised as a continuum of modes of experience which relate to a person's adherence to, or avoidance of, a centre. Ranging from closest to furthest away from a centre, the modes are: recreational, diversionary, experiential, experimental, and existential.

I will examine how some of these modes correspond with and help to explain the participants' recollections of excitement and fascination. A *recreational* mode of touristic experience, explains Cohen (1988:36), is characterised by a 'modern' individual's attachment to the Centre of his/her own society. Significantly, a person operating in this mode is not alienated from his/her normal social and cultural context, however s/he will attempt to 'recreate' herself in the Other context in which s/he is temporarily living. Cohen claims that this is the usual mode of experience of mass tourists, who do not aim to change their basic assumptions about their social worlds through touristic experiences but seek the familiar while away from home. In addition to this, recreational experiences are sought to provide pleasure and a sense of 'time out' from the mundane activities of life in the home context.

The participants expressed that they were not 'alienated from' home contexts, at least not in any profound or long-term way. Indeed, the Overseas Experience participants asserted that a sense of familiarity in new contexts was important, and indeed exciting at times. Often this sense of familiarity was associated with connections to the new context through shared cultural heritage, or with links to the home context through the presence of other New Zealanders, or Australians. However, the participants did not exclusively seek the familiar in all situations. Familiarity was experienced, often

alongside of strangeness. While aspects of recreation were a component of an Overseas Experience for participants, this did not define their experience.[13]

The *experiential* mode of touristic experience is more profound than the recreational or diversionary modes. Cohen's concept of an experiential tourist is 'an observer' who is concerned with the authenticity of the Other but does not identify with the Other him/herself. These tourists appreciate their new context aesthetically, but remain strangers (Cohen, 1988:36; Cohen, 1979:188).

The *experiential* mode perhaps best informs an understanding of participants' means of dealing with the contradictions in familiarity and strangeness while on their Overseas Experiences. Importantly participants emphasised the temporary nature of these experiences, and their desires to learn a little of 'other's ways', and of 'the history' of places visited, but not to *be* of these people or places themselves. Hannah's account of drug taking in Ecuador, exemplifies this - she even referred to this as *a* South American *experience* itself. Her description of this experience emphasised her impressions of the beauty of her surroundings and her interpretation of things she saw in the light of her experiences and those of her companions (recall her impression that she saw the Great Wall of China, and a 'real' peasant family in the fields).

Unlike the *experimental* mode, in which participants try out other centres in search of a new 'elective' centre for themselves, the Overseas Experience participants in this study emphasised that they were not in search of a new centre. They almost all expressed a sense of belonging to New Zealand in some way; even if, culturally, they sought to make links with centres in Europe, few wanted to live in Europe in any permanent sense. They expressed themselves in terms of being excited at the differences they discovered in other parts of the world and at the sometimes familiar aspects of life they experienced in parts of Europe.

Cohen's modes of experience are too rigid to allow room for the apparent contradiction and flux clearly experienced by Overseas Experience participants who could quite feasibly operate in several of these modes simultaneously. Theirs is not a quest of pure motive or intent. Excitement and fascination were expressed in response to familiar *and* strange contexts - the latter, although often frightening, were recalled by participants as 'special', unique and more exciting because they were experienced in a time of youth. Mixed with the desire to distinguish themselves from this place, and Other 'exotic'

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[13] Recall, as discussed in Chapter Three, Greenblat and Gagnon (1983:103) suggest a conceptualisation of *unfamiliarity* differing by type and degree and being sought, tolerated and enjoyed by different persons at 'different stages of the lifecycle'. This less rigid understanding seems more appropriate for this cohort.

contexts, as New Zealanders (of some type), was a desire to learn more about a place from which their forebears came to New Zealand, as long ago as five generations previous or as recent as one.

In contrast to the relatively static concepts of typology or modes of behaviour, the notion of rite of passage implies processual movement. This is not to imply that there is some set path that New Zealanders pass through on an Overseas Experience. Even though there are marked similarities in interpretations of experiences, participants express this as a personal journey of unique and special experiences.

Temporary Financial Hardship

All participants noted that a limited budget affected their Overseas Experience in some way. For some participants this determined the type of experience they had in terms of the length of time they could spend travelling, the type of accommodation and food they could buy, transport they could use and also the amount of and type of work they needed during their time away from New Zealand. Importantly, this particular experience of financial hardship was temporary and directly associated with their Overseas Experience.

Finding the means by which to leave New Zealand and the means by which to return, and then travelling cheaply were the overriding economic concerns for the participants in relation to their Overseas Experiences. Participants who did their Overseas Experience in the 1950s and 1960s recalled that it had been difficult to save the money required to leave New Zealand. Some took on extra work to enable them to do so, and others worked and saved for two or three years. For these participants it was also important to have the return fare saved prior to leaving New Zealand. At this time there was a significant difference in the cost of travel from New Zealand compared to the price of travel from Britain. One participant commented that there was a perception amongst British people that New Zealanders must be comparatively wealthy to be able to afford the trip to Britain. Her perception of this was that the British did not have the inclination to travel, whereas New Zealanders were more motivated to do so.

Participants who travelled in later years did not emphasise the effort required to earn the money for an O.E. to the same extent, although Greg, who travelled during the 1970s, recalled needing to borrow money to get home and Janice, who travelled in the late 1980s, remembered the long hours of waitressing during the eight months it took her to save for the airfare to London.

One participant emphasised that while on an Overseas Experience 'money is survival', and this was revealed as an extremely important factor in the recalled experiences of all participants who travelled on the cheap. Travelling cheaply involved decisions about food consumption, types of accommodation, and modes of transport which often meant making compromises and restrictions for participants.

Participants recounted experiences of going without food at times, travelling in cramped conditions for long periods of time, and feeling that their travel was at times hurried because of a lack of money. Participants spoke of these 'tough' experiences in terms of 'managing' or 'coping'. Generally though, there was an understanding that, overall, this did not have a negative impact on the entire Overseas Experience. Rather, they implied that a lack of money and the resulting challenges endured made for a more interesting and even better experience.

Roger and Shirley, who did their Overseas Experience during the 1970s, recalled several strategies, learned from and passed on to other travellers, which they employed to either reduce spending or make money while travelling. In particular, they used black markets and targeted airline companies and 'corrupt' state bureaucracies in doing this.

Once again Riley's (1989) conclusions about long-term budget travellers resonate with the expressions of these Overseas Experience participants. Self-testing is apparent as a practice common to many of these Overseas Experience participants - as I have suggested earlier, this was associated with risk-taking (through hitchhiking, potential and experienced attack, travelling through areas of political conflict, and the potential for illness). Furthermore, self-testing is also related to the temporary experiencing of financial hardship.

Just as participants derived enhanced status through risk-taking, so too did they derive enhanced status by experiencing hardship. Riley's study implied, 'long-term budget travellers' contrast themselves with 'tourists' who they consider to be 'money splashers' (1989:322). Riley (1989:320) found for her cohort that gaining 'the best value' was what was most associated with the status they derived; this involved spending minimal money.

Spending minimal money to gain good value appeared to be important for the participants of this study, however, this needs to be considered in association with participants' accounts of the effort involved in attaining the finances to enable them to

on their O.E. The phrase 'money is survival' expressed by one participant indicated that not only was physical survival dependent on money (as in the ability to obtain the basic necessities for living), but so was the 'survival' or duration of the Overseas Experience itself (this was also determined by the ability to obtain work while on an Overseas Experience, which will be discussed in the next section). The participants of this study emphasised that it was important to 'manage' or 'cope' with 'tough' times and that this involved a 'challenge'. It was this challenge that determined the quality of the experience for these participants.

Shirley and Roger described specific strategies derived for dealing with the challenge of financial hardship. These involved ways of spending less money or making money while on their Overseas Experience. The strategies, such as selling jeans on the black market in Russia and exchanging krugerrands for American dollars through several banks, were learned from and passed on to other travellers. This type of effort to manipulate circumstances in this liminoid context suggests that for these participants 'hardship' was not merely to be endured but to be 'played with' and certainly *challenged.*

Gottlieb's (1982) research suggests that tourists seek an inversion of the everyday. She states that in order to see just what is inverted and how it is necessary to investigate the nature of social and cultural patterns in a tourist's day-to-day existence. She argues that a distinction between the familiar and the faraway produces distinct kinds of liminal zones. Notably, Gottlieb (1982) claims, those tourists who come from a working class background will seek experiences which will enable them to 'play' at being 'King for a day', while tourists from a middle class background and above will prefer to 'play' at being 'peasant for a day'. Riley's research also found that, for many, being a 'budget traveller' involved 'playing with identity' (1989:321).[14] In particular, she referred to middle class people who pass, while travelling, as having little money, and are therefore more likely to have the opportunity to have invitations to share meals or stay with local people.

Both Gottlieb (1982) and Riley (1989) found that while out of the home context tourists sought different types of experience with regard to class. Because class has not been a key focus in this thesis I cannot comment analytically on how Overseas Experience

[14] Gottlieb (1982) uses the concept of playing with identity while being a tourist. She states (1982:168) that the 'culturally recognised ideal 'of a vacation centres around a contrast with what is normally done back home. Her research, based on the vacation practices of Americans, suggests that upper/middle class tourists will 'play' at being peasants, while lower class tourists 'play' at being 'king' or 'queen' - obviating the social structural divisions of 'back home' (1982:173).

participants have treated this during their O.E.[15] However, I agree with the above researchers that tourists do behave differently outside of their home contexts, especially with regard to what might be considered appropriate for their socio-economic status, age and ethnicity.[16] Further to this, I suggest that this is particularly evident in an Overseas Experience which involves an extended period of time outside of the home context as a 'tourist'.

Turner's (1969) concept of 'anti-structure' has relevance to the notion that behaviour *other* to (or even counter to) that appropriate for the home context occurs during an episode such as an Overseas Experience. Turner applied this to his study of pilgrimage, stating that, as a performance, pilgrimage stands as the anti-structural counterpart to the structured organisation of society, with its rigid roles and statuses. According to Turner, pilgrimage, in its essence, is an opportunity for the expression of the 'communitas' experience: 'the direct, immediate, and total confrontation of human identities', breaching the bonds of structure (1969:131). Communitas implies a conscious effort and commitment to a shared sense of identity, spontaneity, personal wholeness, and social togetherness (Turner, 1974:80-154).

Is the experience of temporary financial hardship for these Overseas Experience participants 'anti-structural'? This experience of hardship, involving the careful budgeting of resources, ensuring good value for money, travelling on the cheap, and effort to earn money to depart for and return from an Overseas Experience is specific to an Overseas Experience, and not generally associated, for these participants, with their normal social contexts. Strategies employed (such as those mentioned by Shirley and Roger), and the derived status associated with this hardship, are directly related to the Overseas Experience and tend not to carry across into the lives of participants after their return to the home context. In this regard 'hardship' can be seen as anti-structural, in that it has assumptions which are not in keeping with those of 'societas' - the 'bonds of structure' associated with the home society - in particular, the expectations that New Zealand society has of young adult Pakeha New Zealanders (especially educated and middle class).[17]

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15 I have not endeavoured to analyse class or the changing expressions of this during an Overseas Experience in this thesis, however, I acknowledge that this presents a relevant and promising area for future research.

16 See the commitments that participants associated with staying at home instead of doing an Overseas Experience - such as marriage, having children, owning a house, and building a career.

17 Some participants' experiences of hardship while on their Overseas Experience were undoubtedly connected to the political and economic climate at the times in which they were on their O.E. See the brief historical sections in Chapter Two for more details of this. However, the hardship refer to here is generally associated with the total Overseas Experience, and to this style of tourism in particular, not in relation to living in the home context.

While anti-structure is associated with 'communitas', there is some doubt as to whether Overseas Experience participants actively share a 'social togetherness' while engaged in this episode outside of their home contexts. Rather, this is fraught with contradictions. The Overseas Experience is certainly a *shared* experience. Some participants recalled a notion that 'everybody was doing it' (referring to feeling that this was a trend among their peers at the time that they went on their Overseas Experience); there is a known transient community of 'Kiwis' who are based in London during their Overseas Experiences - particularly in certain areas of London, such as Earl's Court and parts of north London; there are now 'Do-it-yourself' type books written on the Overseas Experience and even the British Tourist Authority acknowledges that the Overseas Experience is an entity which concerns them. Evidence of the latter can be seen in the British Tourist Authority's 'The Big OE Pack' which is marketted to prospective New Zealand Overseas Experience participants.

However, in acknowledging that this is an experience shared by many other 'Kiwis', participants of this study emphasised that *their* experience was 'special', 'unique', and 'once in a lifetime'. With reference to the experience of temporary financial hardship, research suggests that this was a necessary challenge (indeed a *self*-test) which required an *individual* (or partnership), to devise ways of dealing with it. Values that are not so far removed from the normal social context for these participants were associated with this.

Being able to 'cope' with 'tough' situations mentioned in relation to the experience of temporary financial hardship by participants on an Overseas Experience suggests that participants possess individualism, determination, entrepreneurship, and adaptability - all of which are often quoted as 'typical 'Kiwi' attributes'. These stereotypical traits that constitute the so-called 'typical New Zealander' hark back to the pioneering days of the late nineteenth century, but are linked strongly to a dominant Pakeha male ethos in New Zealand society today (Phillips, 1987:86).

So, to argue that the experience of hardship while on an Overseas Experience is an example of 'anti-structure' would be to claim that this was counter to the pattern of the home society. This is evidently not so. While hardship, and indeed risk too, might *appear* to be different to the usual experiences of everyday life in the home context for young adult Pakeha New Zealanders, these experiences serve to reinforce the general notion of what is expected while away and once back in the home context. That is to be 'a New Zealander'.

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To conclude, temporary financial hardship has been shown to be self-testing and a situation from which participants were able to derive enhanced status. The experience of this challenge was what made this a qualitative experience for participants. Strategies to manage these 'tough' times demonstrated participants' efforts to manipulate or 'play' with situations during this liminoid stage of the Overseas Experience. While such activities of participants appeared to be anti-structural, in the sense that they tended to be contrary to expectations associated with young Pakeha New Zealanders in the home context, they were not in others. In particular, individualism and adaptability are both considered virtuous in the home context, and therefore they did not seem anti-structural.

'Work for Travel' - Casualised Employment Undertaken as Part of an Overseas Experience

Participants' experiences of work while on their Overseas Experiences depended on the time at which they sought work, the work skills they brought with them on their O.E., and whether or not they sought to combine work with travel as part of their Overseas Experience. Most participants attained casual employment, rather than permanent full-time positions, during the time they spent working while on their Overseas Experiences.

London served as a base from which to find work for the majority of participants spanning the three and a half decades from the late 1950s to the mid-1990s. The reasons expressed by participants for this are two-fold. Participants stated that they went to London mainly for reasons associated with gaining temporary employment, but also because it was considered a good place to travel from, in that European destinations were close and cheap air tickets all over the world were easily obtainable there. For some participants who returned there between travelling episodes London became a 'home', however, others found it 'lonely' and 'expensive'.

The general motivation amongst participants who gained work during their Overseas Experience was to work to earn money to travel. Although many participants obtained work using their vocational skills (including nursing, teaching and physiotherapy), few emphasised that career promotion was important to them at this time. Some participants, however, did use their Overseas Experience as a time in which to consider

career changes in their lives.[18] A distinction was made by some of the participants between what they considered the New Zealand work ethic and the English work ethic - they found that New Zealanders were generally considered to be held in high esteem in England for their initiative and hardworking ethos.

Many participants who had specific training used this to get short-term work that paid well. This could however, also mean long travelling times to and from the worksite and, on occassion, poor work facilities. Some participants used their skills not just to obtain work similar to that which they would have done in New Zealand but to obtain jobs which involved different experiences; such as nannying jobs working for wealthy families, which provided travel opportunities; door-to-door selling across South Africa; and working for the New Zealand High Commission in London.[19]

Participants who did not bring specific vocational skills with them on their O.E., or had highly specialised skills, could find it difficult to obtain work which paid enough to enable them to do the travel they wanted to as part of their Overseas Experience. These participants emphasised strongly the experience of being without work as well as the temporary nature of the work obtained as part of their Overseas Experience.

Work obtained during an Overseas Experience was generally of a short-term nature and because of this jobs often lacked security (in that there may not be employment for more than one day at a time) and conditions could be less than favourable (long travel times to and from the worksite and long shifts, for example 14 hour days). However, participants recalled that they were prepared to put up with these conditions and tended to emphasise the *flexibility* of this type of work and their *control* over their circumstances (that is, they could turn the work down if they wanted to). As has been suggested with regard to both risk and hardship, most participants did not conceive of these occurrences as detracting from the Overseas Experience, rather they used them as challenges - as part of a self-test.

Participants who had undertaken their Overseas Experiences in the 1950s and 1960s commonly referred to it as a 'working holiday'. This juxtaposition of the concepts of both work and play poses questions of how these two apparently contradictory activities can co-exist in the same experience and the nature of the relationship between the two. Earlier, in a discussion related to the concept of freedom from commitments while on

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8 Greg Prew, Paul Kos and Janice MacRae experienced significant career changes on return from their Overseas Experiences.

9 Recall the nannying experiences of Sarah Lewis and Janice MacRae; Shirley and Roger Goodall's working illegally in South Africa; and Bryson Anderson's working for the New Zealand High Commission during the Cuban missile crisis.

an Overseas Experience, I remarked that it is helpful, and indeed more encompassing, to embrace Graburn's conception of a touristic experience as comprising of play and rite of passage. This also helps us to understand the place of work in an Overseas Experience. To pose the question in a Turnerian (1977:42) way; we should ask how do Overseas Experience participants use work to transcend the social structural normative limitations, and to play with ideas?

As the expression 'money is survival' helped in building an understanding of how participants perceived their experiences of temporary financial hardship during an Overseas Experience, so too the notion that participants 'worked to travel' establishes how they perceived this aspect of their Overseas Experience. The work component is ultimately defined by participants for what it can offer the travel component of an Overseas Experience - work *enabled* travel.[20] Work enabled an Overseas Experience to occur but also determined its end, in that participants worked to save for a fare home, started to consider committing to a career, or returned home due to lack of funds for travel through unemployment or low paying jobs while on an Overseas Experience.

Some participants suggested that 'Kiwis' were sought after by employers in London due to their reputation as hardworking, reliable workers who were prepared to 'turn a hand' to most jobs. This notion is connected to the concepts associated with the 'typical New Zealander' referred to in the previous discussion of coping with hardship while on an Overseas Experience. While arguably there is no such person as 'the typical New Zealander' the myth of such a person operates as a strong national stereotype and characteristics attributed to this idea, such as toughness, determination, adaptability and entrepreneurship, are spoken of by Overseas Experience participants as 'cultural' traits.

Importantly, these work experiences were not usually the type of work or conditions of work sought in a home context. Participants did not tend to associate this time with career development, but perceived it as an opportunity to earn money for travel and to try something different. These work experiences, like the experiences of hardship, might be considered anti-structural but they were not associated strongly with a sense of communitas. Like most experiences which formed part of an overall Overseas Experience, the experience of work is emphasised by participants as being highly individualised, personal, and special. While participants described what they perceived to be commonalities with other New Zealanders while they were on an O.E., they were

[20] Recall in Chapter Four, Roger and Shirley turned down an offer of permanent and well-paying work because they had not accomplished the travel they had set out to do on their Overseas Experience.

adamant that this was *their* experience - each participant 'owned' her/his experiences and stories of working during an Overseas Experience.

Cohen's analysis of modes of touristic experiences does not consider how tourists might incorporate work into their experiences or use work to extend or enhance touristic experiences. In failing to do this Cohen can be criticised for what he has accused MacCannell (1976) of - treating tourism as if it is a pure and bounded activity, which it clearly is not. This study reveals that Overseas Experience participants take work out of its usual context and use it for different purposes. In doing so they re-define the meaning of work through an altered form of tourism (see Chapter Four; in particular Shirley and Roger's, Sarah's, and Janice's use of work to attain various travel experiences).

Why did participants choose London as a base through which to re-create the experiences of work and tourism through an Overseas Experience? Although participants stated that London provided good working and travelling opportunities, I would suggest that beyond these materialist reasons are less tangible reasons, in particular, curiosity about cultural identity and heritage. Certainly participants had no sense of commitment to London as a substitute centre - it might be elective but only temporarily - but working in London as part of an Overseas Experience involved more than just a cursory visit to one of Europe's centres. While in London, participants became acquainted with the place, learnt what they considered to be more than just 'tourist' information about the city, and through this possibly gained a sense of at least a temporary reaffirmation of their historical connections to Europe.

Concluding Comments

In Chapter One I posed the question - in contemporary New Zealand society does an Overseas Experience operate as a vehicle through which Pakeha individuals confront the re-creation of ethnic identity? Through a consideration of the interview material from this research it is apparent that Pakeha New Zealanders, individually and collectively, make important connections with their colonial pasts and their present identities through an Overseas Experience.[21] I would suggest, however, that perhaps at a more visible level participants gained a renewed sense of what it means for them to be 'New Zealanders' (however they choose to define this).

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[21] As aforementioned, the participants in this study are 'Pakeha' New Zealanders, the dominant ethnic group in New Zealand, whose predecessors colonised this nation state.

I have indicated through an examination of Cohen's modes of touristic experience that Overseas Experience participants are not alienated from their home contexts and through their Overseas Experience do not aim to be like, or of, the people and places they encounter. Yet, I have suggested that they endeavour to test themselves through various experiences, and to achieve an enhanced status by entering challenging situations. This is experienced through a tourist practice that is reliant on certain patterns of action by participants. Most significantly, this practice relies on freedom from commitments associated with young New Zealanders in the home context, adventures involving risk, perceptions of excitement and fascination through new experiences, temporary financial hardship and casualised employment.

An Overseas Experience is not a rejection of the home context but an affirmation of perceived 'cultural' values and meanings associated with New Zealand. I have suggested in this analysis that qualities associated with 'the typical New Zealander' are sometimes interpreted as 'Kiwi' culture by Overseas Experience participants and used to sanction their actions while on an Overseas Experience. Issues of cultural identity - in particular, whether there is a Pakeha cultural identity; what this might comprise of; and how this is shaped by an Overseas Experience - are pertinent questions that this thesis raises.

The aim of this research has been to work toward an understanding of an Overseas Experience as an expression of tourism. This has been achieved through a detailed examination of the practices of Overseas Experience participants over a time period spanning the duration of the practice in New Zealand. The experiences of these participants has informed the findings of the research. Importantly this demonstrates that an Overseas Experience comprises of essential components which each situate the participant in the centre of the experience; an Overseas Experience is potentially generalisable but remains 'special' to each participant.

I have argued through analysis that 'rite of passage' is a useful tool through which to conceptualise this phenomenon. Rite of passage implies movement and a sense of agency not revealed through a reliance on typology to explain touristic practices. Moreover, the work of Graburn, Turner and Riley has proved useful in demonstrating that an Overseas Experience involves actions taken by participants which sometimes appear to be contradictory, however, when examined in relation to the entire Overseas Experience, these actions form a complex collection of liminoidal episodes.

CONCLUSION

Tourism, now the world's largest industry, would appear to be of the utmost importance for research. Yet, as a subject of social scientific enquiry, it has been neglected, trivialised and avoided. Sociologists have demonstrated a tendency to study labour and not leisure; not wanting to be associated with frivolity. Anthropologists, whose methodology relies on fieldwork using participant observation, have tended to avoid tourism as a focus site, especially *tourists* who might be interpreted as 'classificatory kin'. Crick (1985:78) notes that;

> *... tourists are relatives of a kind; they act like a cracked mirror in which we can see something of the social system which produces anthropologists as well as tourists. More than that, tourists remind us of some of the contexts, motives, experiential ambiguities and rhetoric involved in being an anthropologist.*

Mascia-Lees and Sharpe (1994:652) also comment on anthropology's tentative relationship with tourism;

> *Indeed, the construction of ethnography as science and as work helped distinguish it from other forms of cultural encounters, especially leisured travel and tourism. As the discipline has increasingly turned to self-critique, it has acknowledged that the differences between ethnographer and exhibitor, between anthropologist and missionary, between fieldworker and tourist have not been as absolute as we once liked to suppose.*

Social scientists must confront this predicament; it should not necessitate a situation of avoidance of tourism research. We must engage with multiple issues arising from the increasingly dominant role tourism is playing at both local and global levels. Future research needs to encompass studies that look beyond the preferred approach of the impact of 'First World guests' on 'Third World hosts'. Cohen (1979b:32) advocates a pluralistic and eclectic research strategy. He has called for approaches that are *processual*, *emic*, *contextual* and *comparative*. This study of Overseas Experience from the perspective of a group of young Pakeha New Zealanders has attempted to meet with some of Cohen's challenges.

This thesis has taken a *processual* approach in two ways. Firstly, it has considered an Overseas Experience as a practice occurring over the past four decades in New Zealand.

In doing so it has looked beyond a synchronic view to examine the practice of an Overseas Experience at points throughout its history - it has looked at the practice through the eyes of its practitioners, from the inception of the Overseas Experience in the late 1950s, through to the present day. This has revealed emergent themes that form the features of this touristic expression - these are experiences that have endured over the lifespan of the O.E.

Secondly, the approach is processual in that it considers Overseas Experience participants' lives around this particular tourist episode. In this regard it acknowledges that 'tourist' is a temporary identity and that the O.E. is situated in a specific time in the lives of Overseas Experience participants. This study makes an effort to explore what is important about this particular time for its participants and how the meaning of this event, for them, changes with time.

An examination of the use of tourist typologies reveals that the latter are relatively static concepts that do not allow for an understanding of Overseas Experience as a process. In contrast, rite of passage implies movement through time and a change in the subject (participant) through the process itself, together with the agency of the subject, and has therefore been the preferred analytical concept for this study.

A processual approach to this study has exposed emergent themes that form the central features of this touristic expression; an Overseas Experience. These themes are: freedom from social commitments and perceived restraints associated with the home context, adventures involving (often physical and sometimes life-threatening) risk, perceptions of excitement and fascination through new (often 'once in a lifetime') experiences, temporary financial hardship and casualised employment undertaken as part of an Overseas Experience. This processual approach has been complemented by an *emic* perspective.

Bruner (1995:225) alleges that there is a need for 'systematic observation of the tourists' own reactions and interpretations' in tourism research. An emic approach was advantageous when considering participant identity while engaged in an Overseas Experience. This has assisted in constructing a more realistic account of what this practice actually means for those who partake in it. Participants' perspectives have revealed that there is no unified O.E. identity, rather the emergence of some general trends, such as a 'freeing up' of identity, involving a significant change from whom participants consider themselves to be in their home context.

An emic perspective has allowed for participant narratives to be given precedence. In so doing it has revealed that Overseas Experience participants share experiences that are understood by them to be 'out of the ordinary'. However, the marked similarities in type of experiences do not diminish the fact that participants expressed their Overseas Experience in terms of it being a *personal* journey of *unique* and *special* experiences.

Overseas Experience participants conceived of this experience as personal, yet they also understood it to be shared and connected in some way to their social identities - expressed in terms of 'culture' but more commonly 'nationality'. This following quote from an Overseas Experience participant interviewed on the television documentary *Inside New Zealand - 'The Big O.E.'* (1994) illustrates one explanation for 'doing' an Overseas Experience;

> *...I think it's a hangover from the colonial days; in the sense that you're not really* ***anywhere*** *until you've gone overseas and seen where* ***somewhere*** *is. (my emphasis)*

I have sought to *contextualise* this study through connecting the personal to the social. This has involved seeking more than just a perspective from participants as tourists but considering their lives around this touristic episode; exploring what an Overseas Experience means to them in relative terms, as well as in relation to cultural identity. This goes some way toward Cohen's suggestion that an understanding of tourism needs to be placed within a world-view.

Conceptualising an Overseas Experience as a rite of passage has enabled a critical examination *behind the apparent* experiences of O.E. participants. This has yielded a more holistic understanding of an Overseas Experience. I have suggested that in engaging in an Overseas Experience participants have undergone challenges (sometimes involving self-tests). These challenges formed part of a rite of passage that appeared to take participants out of their normal social context, and required them to devise strategies through which to 'survive' the Overseas Experience. The resources which participants drew on during their Overseas Experience were, however, firmly connected to the home context. In particular they were based on, at times stereotypical, but nonetheless, strong ideas of what it meant to 'be a Kiwi'.

For many participants 'what it meant to be a 'Kiwi' was related to a rediscovery of a sense of cultural heritage. Participants felt connected to their home context (New Zealand) and through this sought to make connections to their forebears' contexts. This was evident in many participants' decisions to make London a base for their Overseas

Experiences. In this way many participants gained a temporary reaffirmation of their historical connections to Europe.

The practice of an Overseas Experience raises further important questions about cultural and national identity. Cohen (1984:375) has called for a need to focus on *comparative* studies of different 'culturally specific forms of travel'. Future research progressing from this study of Overseas Experience from a Pakeha perspective might explore how an Overseas Experience is constructed for other ethnicities. How has this practice been experienced by Maori? What shape does it take for people of New Zealand nationality who do not identify as being either 'Maori' or 'Pakeha'? How does a New Zealand-derived Overseas Experience compare to extended tourist practices in other national contexts?

Having considered an Overseas Experience as a rite of passage, what other contemporary practices might also be interpreted with this model? How does this *tourist* practice relate to other movements such as migration or work practices that involve travel?

Studies taking up issues more specifically related to this thesis might consider the nature of a future Pakeha Overseas Experience. 'The Big O.E.' has become a 'sign of the times' as Pakeha New Zealanders question their identity in terms of culture. Will this extended tourist practice continue in its present shape? Will there continue to be a perceived need for Pakeha to leave New Zealand to experience what is 'out there'? Will Pakeha New Zealanders persevere in making loose connections with a former 'home' twelve thousand miles away, as New Zealand affirms a national identity as a Pacific centre?

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